



# information bulletin

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documents of communist and workers' parties

## 19<sup>th</sup> International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties

“The 100th Anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution:  
the ideals of the Communist Movement,  
revitalizing the struggle against imperialistic wars, for peace, socialism”.



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# Opening Speech by Communist Party of the Russian Federation

**Socialism is genuine freedom**

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**Comrades,**

**Dear fellow-countrymen and guests of our country,**

The centenary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, the occasion that brought us together, is being marked by the whole world. Few exploits and accomplishments known in History can be compared in their grandeur and significance to the October 1917 Revolution.

Today there are people in every corner of the Earth who reflect on the significance of the Great October, people whose hearts beat faster at the words Lenin, Bolshevik Party and Soviet Power.

A hundred years ago the working people of our country raised a Red Banner over Russia. Those were the fateful "ten days that shook the world." Concise slogans that all ordinary people understood spread across the world: "Peace to the Peoples," "Bread to the Hungry," "Land to the Peasants," "Factories to the Workers," "Power to the Soviets." They were heard by everyone, especially those whose brains and talent create the main values on Earth. They were heard by the oppressed peoples of the colonies which Capital was bleeding white and by the soldiers who were languishing in the world war trenches.

**The searchlights of the Aurora cruiser did not only put the spotlight on the Winter Palace. They pierced the darkness of capitalist slavery. They gave hope to millions of people.** They could all subscribe to the words of the poet Vladimir Mayakovsky addressed to the Revolution: "Four times glory to you, blessed."

**But what happened in Russia was not only the greatest of all social revolutions. It gave birth to the first state that embodied the cherished dream of humankind, the dream of justice, equality and brotherhood.** The dream that seemed impossible until Lenin and his comrades-in-arms roused the people to rebel against age-old oppression and humiliation.

Therefore the October Revolution was not simply a step toward unheard-of political and social change. It is imbued with the light of great moral transformations which changed the world and influenced people's view of the world in various parts of the planet.

We are reminded of this by the leader of the national liberation struggle and the first Prime Minister of India Jawaharlal Nehru who said that "The Soviet Revolution has advanced human society by a great leap and has lit a bright flame which could not be smothered, and it has laid the foundation for that new civilisation towards which the world could advance."

As the General Secretary of the CC of the Communist Party of China noted, "A hundred years ago the salvos of the October Revolution brought Marxism-Leninism to China. The foremost brains of China found the solution to the country's problems in the scientific theory of Marxism-Leninism. The Chinese people thus found a buttress in its quest of national independence, freedom, prosperity and happiness."

In previous epochs even the boldest political

4 transformations could not change the fact that big proprietors and their servants remained in power. Rulers and ruling clans changed, monarchies crumbled, borders were redrawn and constitutions were rewritten. But power invariably remained in the hands of the minority which exploited the absolute majority of people. In the hands of those who profited by the labour of millions, those who conferred the status of law on class inequality. **It was only the October Revolution that for the first time made the working people the masters of their land and turned them from a disfranchised labour force into makers of the new world, and new history.**

Until that time humanity was in the vice of exploitation and appalling injustice. Most people were born and died in this vice having no chance to break out of it. This lot and this curse passed on from generation to generation. Whatever emblems were displayed on the banners of various states, whatever slogans were inscribed on them, the stamp of injustice loomed over the world and humanity lived according to its cruel and immoral laws. **Only the Communists who took power in Russia in October of 1917 managed to break this vicious circle.** Now the people instead of being a hostage to the interests of the ruling elite, became the master of the state and its main creator.

The talented Russian poet Alexander Blok wrote: "Only one thing makes man human: awareness of social injustice." Today, as we pay tribute to the great accomplishments of the October Revolution we can say with confidence: **only that power is genuinely people's power and truly progressive power that seeks to overcome social inequality and is able to put this aspiration into practice.**

The puny efforts of those who try to "cancel" the significance of Great October are ridiculous and false. Russia suffered its way to its revolution. It covered a long and arduous road of dreaming and aspiration to arrive at socialism. This was truly a great leap. Our answer to the First World War was the Decree on Peace. Our answer to foreign intervention was the Red Guard units. Our answer to hunger and economic disarray was the Decree on Land, the NEP and GOELRO plan. Our answer to runaway inflation was the gold-backed Soviet *chervonets*. The Soviet Land responded to the Fascist invasion by the heroic defense of the Brest Fortress, the heroism and courage of Leningrad and Stalingrad, the ten Stalin strikes and the Red Banner over the Reichstag. **The foundation of the 1945 victory was laid in October of 1917.**

As Pablo Neruda wrote, "Lenin embodied the great dream of human kind by making it real in the Soviet land." The October Revolution ushered in a new era. **Its main principles were labour and solidarity, equality, brotherhood and collectivism.** The course of events acquired a totally new direction. A country appeared on the world map where the working man took power in his hands. The results stunned the whole planet. **"The Soviet miracle" was the Leninist-Stalinist modernization which increased the country's potential by 70 times within 20 years. It was thousands of the best factories. Liquidation of illiteracy and advanced science, the conquest of outer space and a powerful defense shield.**

**It was unique guarantees in the sphere of education, healthcare and social security.** The emergence of the New Man, the creator who was ahead of his time. It was concern about children, women and old people which the state had made its sacred duty.

The Soviet Land demonstrated that socialism alone could fully unlock the people's creative gifts. Yes, even before the Revolution Russia had produced many scientists, writers, artists and composers. But almost all of them were members of the nobility. A gifted person who did not belong to the privileged class and was born into a poor family had next to zero chance of fulfilling his talent and sharing its fruits with society.

True creative freedom gave a chance to many wonderful authors from Russia and the other Union Republics to represent the 20<sup>th</sup> century in magnificent works of literature, music, theatre and cinema. Mikhail Sholokhov, Alexei Tolstoy, Leonid Leonov, Konstantin Fedin and Alexander Fadeyev are just some of the great names that came into prominence in the early post-Revolutionary decades. They were followed by Alexander Tvardovsky, Konstantin Simonov, Yuri Bondarev, Valentin Rasputin, Vasily Belov, and Fyodor Abramov. The galaxy of Soviet film-makers was no less impressive: Sergey Eisenstein, Sergey Bondarchuk, Grigory Chukhrai, Georgy Danelia, Marlen Khutsiyev, Vladimir Menshov. **For the majority of them such a successful creative career would have been impossible without the social and cultural changes brought about by the Great October.**

Albert Einstein, the scientific genius, said that such creative people as Lenin renew humanity's conscience. His work "Why Socialism" written in 1949, was the subject of a brilliant lecture about the future of the new generation delivered at the State Duma by Nobel Prize winning scientist Zhores Alfyorov.

One could subscribe to the words of the remarkable Soviet writer Alexei Tolstoy who said that socialism meant "the fulfillment of human genius in the conditions of the highest social freedom." Echoing him the famous German writer Heinrich Mann wrote: "For the Soviet Union socialism is the path to a complete liberation far greater than merely economic liberation. Through equality to freedom."

**The freedom that socialism gave every man and enshrined in its constitution is the freedom not to be a beggar and not to be exploited. Freedom from the fear of losing one's job tomorrow, of being unable to pay for one's housing, food, clothing and vital medicines. Of not being able to pay for the education and feed one's children. Not being able to support elderly parents. A freedom to feel a full individual and not a human good sold in the labour market. A freedom that was granted to all regardless of their background, nationality or profession. To workers, peasants, scientists and artists.** Only such freedom can be recognised as true freedom. Its absence makes all the other freedoms meaningless.

The exercise of people's power through the soviets, the transfer of the social wealth and public property into its hands played the decisive role in the country's

development and in moulding the new man. This was what united people during the Great Patriotic War in the face of the colossal danger that threatened the Soviet Union and the entire planet. **This terrible war could only have been won by a people which had a common cause, a common idea, a common faith, a common culture and common property. Without the victory of the October Revolution of 1917 the Great Victory over Fascism in 1945 would have been impossible.** Zhukov, Rokossovsky, Konev, Vasilevsky and others would not have become great military commanders. ...

That Victory finally proved to the world that our people followed the behests of Lenin and the ideals of socialism. It vindicates that choice today. After that Victory the world socialist system, the Socialist Commonwealth was formed around the USSR. Socialism won many new supporters on all continents. Its ideas inspired the freedom and independence struggles of outstanding political leaders of the new epoch, Mahatma Gandhi, Ernesto Che Guevara, Fidel Castro, Gamal Abdul Nasser, Nelson Mandela, Hugo Chavez and many other champions of people's happiness. **Occupying 26% of the Earth's territory, the socialist world by 1985 accounted for nearly half of the world industrial output.** History has vindicated the words of the French Communist writer Jean Richard Bloch who said: "I consider the Russian Revolution and its accomplishments to be one of the main elements of civilization."

World capital would stop at nothing to preserve its dominance and to restore the absolute sway of capitalist laws in the world. It went out of its way to undermine the socialist system. The onslaught of world capital brought its ugly fruit in the later 20<sup>th</sup> century. This was facilitated by the fact that in the 1980s power in the Soviet Union was seized by avowed turncoats, traitors and bribe-takers who dismantled people's power. It is our profound conviction that **this was only a temporary success of world capital. It merely delayed its inevitable collapse.**

True, capitalism now felt itself free of the competition between the two systems and proceeded to curtail the social guarantees the West had granted its citizens under the pressure of the October Revolution. Capital resorted to open and unbridled arbitrary behavior all over the world. In recent years Yugoslavia and Afghanistan, Iraq and Libya became its victims. Today world capital tries to strangle Syria and is bringing colossal pressure on Venezuela and North Korea.

**Modern globalism is the highest form of imperialism. The onslaught of capital on workers' rights is mounting fast. Imperialism is becoming more aggressive in the world and the threat of a new large-scale war is growing.** The financial and economic crisis is worsening with each new wave being more grievous and painful. One side effect of the crisis is the groundswell of nationalist and separatist sentiments in contemporary Europe.

The world is witnessing growing social stratification and mass impoverishment. "The middle class" is rapidly shrinking even in the most prosperous capitalist countries. Only the incomes of the super-rich continue to grow at a fabulous rate.

**According to the international organization Oxfam,<sup>5</sup> today 1% of the planet's population owns greater wealth than the remaining 99%.** The onset of liberalism constantly increases tension and social divisions in the world. **The number of billionaires grew 6-fold since 2000. Meanwhile whole countries suffer from hunger.** According to the UN data, the number of people suffering from hunger increased by a further 38 million in 2016.

These destructive trends are fully in evidence in Russia. **Several authoritative think tanks put our country in first place in terms of the level of social inequality.** 10% of Russian citizens say they suffer from hunger. One in every three persons cannot afford to buy new clothes. Meanwhile 200 of the country's richest people increased their fortunes by another 100 billion dollars during the past year concentrating nine-tenths of the national wealth in their hands.

The financial-oligarchic capital ever more openly relies on the most reactionary forces. It is not above cooperating with terrorist groups in the Middle East and with avowed fascists who have seized power in Ukraine. All this shows that the world capitalist system is mortally ill. In its death throes it may destroy the whole world. This makes the current stage of world history particularly dramatic and worrisome.

**In the last century two systemic crises of capitalism triggered two world wars. The great October Revolution in 1917 rescued humanity from the first war. The Great Victory of May 1945 rescued it from the second war. The current world crisis may either lead to a catastrophe in which civilization will destroy itself, or to new massive transformations on the basis of socialism. This is the choice facing modern mankind. We are actively involved in this struggle.**

In this struggle we are inspired by the example of those countries where staunch supporters of the socialist option are in power. They are China which has the world in awe of its spectacular successes in the economy and the social sphere. Cuba, which the US imperialism has vainly tried to strangle for six decades. The dynamically developing Vietnam. These countries challenge capitalist globalization, refuse to submit to their diktat and score successes on the socialist path. The experience of fraternal Byelorussia is highly instructive.

**Comrades, friends,**

Our main common task is to broaden resistance to the aggressive offensive of capitalism. To form a united front in support of the countries that come under imperialist pressure. **To constantly expose the essence of capitalism which cannot exist without terrorism, wars, crises, destruction of nature and the suffering of millions.**

Today the great achievement of the October Revolution – the Soviet Union – is no more. We have failed to preserve it. It has been treacherously destroyed. But the march of time cannot be stopped. Socialism alone offers a way out of the impasse. Being the successors to the Great October Revolution we are fighting to bring the country back to the path of justice. Like the Bolsheviks

- 6 100 years ago, the CPRF proposes a salvation strategy, a constructive “Ten Steps Towards A Decent Life” program. Together with like-thinking people we oppose Fascism, nationalism and Banderovism.

Truth is on our side. The invincible logic of history, the power of the ideas of Marxism-Leninism are on our side. The centenary of the Revolution is a celebration of the future, not of the past.

The lights of October are directed toward tomorrow. New sprouts of creation and progress will grow under its life-giving rays.

We are confident that the sun of socialism will again rise over Russia and the whole world. The working people will triumph.

It is a great joy and honor for me to greet you all, those who have gathered here to celebrate the centenary of the October Revolution. Those who, in the most difficult of conditions, do not give up and continue the struggle for our common cause, the cause of socialism, justice, peace and friendship among the peoples. By your example you prove that the cause of Lenin, the cause of October has not been left in the past. It is alive. It steadfastly leads us into the future. We believe that through common effort we will manage to attain a bright, joyful and worthy future.

**I congratulate you on the holiday, the jubilee of the Revolution,**

**Long live Great October,**

**Long live Socialism,**

**Long live the hard-working people,**

**Long live the victorious people!**



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# Algerian Party for Democracy and Socialism (PADS)

La célébration du centième anniversaire de la Révolution<sup>7</sup> socialiste d'Octobre 1917, de la prise du pouvoir par le prolétariat en alliance avec la paysannerie laborieuse est un moment important pour l'ensemble du mouvement communiste international. C'est un moment particulier pour saisir sa portée historique internationale et assimiler les leçons de la conduite des luttes qui a rendu possible cette victoire. Ses enseignements essentiels sont toujours valables comme sources d'inspiration dans notre combat actuel malgré le renversement historiquement temporaire du système socialiste. **La restauration du capitalisme est elle-même une source d'enseignements pour nos partis dans notre effort pour passer en revue les causes de la contre-révolution à partir d'une analyse marxiste-léniniste. Cet effort est indispensable pour nous préparer sérieusement à l'accumulation des facteurs d'une nouvelle situation révolutionnaire que rend inévitable l'aiguïssement actuel des contradictions fondamentales insurmontables du régime capitaliste, en particulier à son stade impérialiste, à un moment où les rivalités entre Etats impérialistes s'expriment à travers la montée des tensions sur tous les fronts et la multiplication des foyers de guerre, avec le risque d'un cataclysme nucléaire. Les conséquences de la victoire de la contre-révolution nous imposent d'approfondir nos réflexions critiques et autocritiques pour préparer les conditions subjectives, idéologiques et organisationnelles de la contre-offensive du mouvement ouvrier et populaire afin d'abattre ce régime suranné devenu une menace pour la survie de l'humanité tout entière, et abolir l'exploitation de classe.**

La révolution d'Octobre a été l'oeuvre de millions de prolétaires et de paysans dirigés par le parti bolchévique armé par la théorie révolutionnaire du marxisme conçue comme un guide pour l'action révolutionnaire. **Lénine a élaboré une ligne révolutionnaire en appliquant de façon créatrice le marxisme aux conditions de la Russie tsariste, à partir de l'examen de l'ensemble des rapports de classe caractérisés par la formation d'une classe ouvrière fortement concentrée et par l'existence d'une importante paysannerie opprimée par les vestiges de la féodalité et les grands propriétaires fonciers.** La ligne léniniste a formé une avant-garde prolétarienne apte à prendre la tête de la révolution démocratique bourgeoise pour la mener jusqu'au bout et la transformer de façon ininterrompue en révolution socialiste. La tactique élaborée par Lénine à la veille du congrès de 1903 a préparé l'avant-garde prolétarienne à jouer un rôle actif et dirigeant dans les processus révolutionnaires en gestation et non à se mettre à la remorque de la bourgeoisie, à limiter les objectifs de son action à la seule élimination des vestiges de la féodalité et aux seules libertés formelles souhaitées pour la classe ouvrière, conformément aux limites prétendument tracées par les révolutions qui avaient précédé dans l'Europe occidentale, **dans le cadre d'une longue étape considérée comme un préalable à celle du socialisme et devant créer les forces productives sans lesquelles le socialisme n'aurait aucune chance selon les conceptions opportunistes des menchéviks.** Sous la direction de Lénine, le parti bolchévique a mené de front deux guerres sociales indissolublement liées:

<sup>8</sup> la lutte contre l'autocratie et les vestiges du servage en même temps que la lutte de la classe ouvrière contre la bourgeoisie.

La formation d'une telle avant-garde pleine d'abnégation, mue par un très fort esprit de sacrifices et devant entraîner l'ensemble de la classe ouvrière et à travers celle-ci toute la population laborieuse, a été le fruit de la lutte idéologique menée de façon implacable par Lénine contre le menchévisme et les différentes variantes de l'opportunisme. **Sans l'immense travail théorique effectué par Lénine et l'imprégnation du parti bolchévique par la stratégie révolutionnaire découlant de ce travail, la révolution d'Octobre aurait été impossible.** Le rôle du parti en tant que force dirigeante organisée sur la base des principes du centralisme démocratique et d'une discipline de fer, l'aptitude de la classe ouvrière à assumer un rôle dirigeant malgré son infériorité numérique dans la société russe, grâce à son alliance avec la paysannerie laborieuse, la théorie du maillon faible de la chaîne impérialiste, la mise en lumière de la loi du développement inégal, la thèse de la possibilité de construire le socialisme en un seul pays, le refus de soutenir son gouvernement dans la guerre impérialiste, la lutte sans merci contre le social-chauvinisme, l'affirmation en actes de l'internationalisme prolétarien et l'appel du parti bolchévique à travailler à la défaite militaire de son propre pays pour mettre fin à la boucherie mondiale et hâter la chute du régime réactionnaire, l'élaboration de mots tactiques d'ordre souples tenant compte de l'état d'esprit des travailleurs, des leçons que ces derniers tirent de leur expérience au cours des luttes, la capacité à utiliser toutes les formes de luttes et à passer rapidement de l'une à l'autre, à combiner travail légal et illégal, luttes parlementaires, y compris dans les parlements les plus réactionnaires et les plus anti-démocratiques - comme la Douma- et luttes extra-parlementaires, grèves économiques et grèves politiques, transformation des grèves en insurrection, c'est tout cela qui a permis au parti bolchévique de conquérir la majorité au sein de la classe ouvrière et des masses populaires, de prendre le pouvoir. Cette ligne offensive dans son essence a forgé une armée de militants, de cadres et de révolutionnaires professionnels résolus à prendre la tête de la révolution. Elle l'a préparée à adhérer immédiatement en avril 1917 à l'analyse léniniste de classe de la dualité des pouvoirs opposant le gouvernement provisoire de la bourgeoisie et des propriétaires fonciers aux soviets, à la mise en lumière par Lénine de la signification historique des soviets. Apparus en 1905 et largement ancrés après février 1917 dans les usines, parmi les soldats et les paysans, les soviets ont préfiguré les organes de la dictature du prolétariat et la forme de l'Etat prolétarien en alliance avec la paysannerie. Le parti bolchévique éduqué par Lénine a très vite adopté et popularisé dans le travail de propagande le mot d'ordre de "tout le pouvoir aux soviets", comme mot d'ordre préparant les masses, à travers leur expérience des luttes et des déconvenues, à la prise du pouvoir.

Contrairement à ce que prétend la propagande mensongère de la bourgeoisie mondiale la révolution

d'octobre ne fut pas le résultat d'une action conspirative menée par une minorité usant de violence pour s'imposer à la majorité. Elle a été l'aboutissement de la crise d'un régime réactionnaire si désuet et décrépît qu'il a dressé contre lui une immense force de destruction. Le régime soviétique issu de l'insurrection victorieuse du 25 octobre jouissait de l'appui de l'immense majorité de la population. Sans cela, sans les sacrifices de centaines de milliers d'ouvrier et de paysans, il n'aurait jamais mis en déroute la contre-révolution interne barbare et les troupes des 14 pays interventionnistes menés par les plus grandes puissances de l'époque, les USA, l'Allemagne, la France, l'Angleterre, le Japon, interventionnistes qui ont ravagé la Russie.

Après octobre 1917, de nouveaux rapports de classe se sont formés grâce à la conquête du pouvoir par le prolétariat et le renversement de l'Etat de la bourgeoisie et des propriétaires fonciers. La Russie soviétique, devenue le pays le plus démocratique au monde, a pu résoudre de nombreux problèmes dans un même processus: décret sur la paix, sur la nationalisation des terres et leur remise aux paysans, contrôle des usines par les ouvriers puis nationalisation, application aux peuples opprimés par la Russie tsariste du droit à disposer d'eux-mêmes, journée de 8 heures, égalité de l'homme et de la femme, séparation de l'Eglise et de l'Etat, suppression de l'analphabétisme et développement de l'instruction publique, promotion des langues maternelles des peuples auparavant opprimés par le régime autocratique. Le pouvoir soviétique, la propriété sociale des moyens de production et d'échange, la planification centrale, l'enthousiasme et l'esprit de sacrifices de millions d'homme convaincus par leur propre expérience qu'ils oeuvraient désormais pour eux-mêmes et non pour la bourgeoisie ont permis à l'URSS de rattraper en 10 ans un retard d'un siècle sur les pays capitalistes développés de l'Europe de l'ouest. **Les menchéviks anciens et nouveaux conseillent systématiquement d'attendre un prétendu plein développement des forces productives avant d'inscrire le socialisme à l'ordre du jour.** L'URSS a pu se hisser en moins de 30 ans au rang de 2ème puissance mondiale grâce à une industrialisation accélérée fondée sur l'industrie lourde et la production des moyens de production, à la modernisation de l'agriculture, l'essor des sciences et des techniques. **Le but de la production n'était plus la recherche du profit mais la satisfaction des besoins matériels et moraux croissants du peuple laborieux, la préservation de son indépendance face aux dangers d'intervention impérialiste.**

**L'URSS avait toujours prôné la paix entre les nations sans cependant renoncer à se doter des moyens de se défendre contre ses ennemis impérialistes perfides**

La révolution d'Octobre a eu une immense répercussion dans le monde. Elle a stimulé la combativité de la classe ouvrière dans les pays capitalistes, des plus développés aux plus retardataires. Elle a partout suscité la formation de partis communistes et provoqué la faillite de la 2ème Internationale devenue aux mains des opportunistes l'instrument idéologique de la bourgeoisie au sein de la classe ouvrière. L'URSS a été l'artisan principal de la destruction du nazisme et du fascisme, vaincus grâce à l'héroïsme de ses peuples qui défendaient au prix de leur

vie leur liberté et leurs conquêtes sociales.

Son existence, l'extension du camp socialiste ont créé à l'échelle mondiale un rapport des forces favorable à la classe ouvrière et aux peuples opprimés. La bourgeoisie a dû faire des concessions aux travailleurs pour ne pas perdre le pouvoir. Le système colonial a été ébranlé. Les peuples colonisés ont pu arracher leur indépendance politique. **L'aide de l'URSS aux pays libérés a permis d'entrevoir la possibilité de brûler l'étape capitaliste et de passer au socialisme.**

La parité réalisée par l'URSS dans le domaine des armes a dissuadé l'éclatement d'une nouvelle guerre mondiale.

A l'inverse, le renversement du socialisme a donné libre cours à la destruction des acquis du développement, à l'annulation des conquêtes sociales des travailleurs, à la régression de la condition de la femme, au retour de la misère la plus extrême et de l'obscurantisme religieux, aux ingérences militaires et aux guerres pour le repartage du monde et le contrôle des sources d'énergie.

Malgré l'encercllement impérialiste, le travail de subversion des Etats impérialistes, ce renversement n'était pas inévitable. Nous devons étudier les erreurs commises qui ont été exploitées par les classes déchues. Nous devons examiner les tactiques mises en oeuvre par les représentants des classes expropriées qui ont su s'adapter aux nouvelles réalités pour combattre de l'intérieur le socialisme en s'infiltrant dans les organes de l'Etat et du parti, en sabotant ou en paralysant la dynamique du socialisme.

**Le dénigrement de la période de Staline, l'affirmation en 1960 de la victoire définitive et irréversible du socialisme en URSS, du remplacement de la dictature du prolétariat par l'Etat du "peuple tout entier" alors qu'à l'intérieur de l'URSS les agissements des partisans du retour au capitalisme n'avaient pas cessé, le but fantaisiste de l'instauration du communisme en 1980, ces proclamations étaient de la poudre aux yeux. Elles ont endormi la vigilance des militants communistes et des travailleurs. Elles ont créé un climat d'euphorie prédisant une victoire garantie du socialisme.** Les mises en garde de Lénine sur les difficultés que le socialisme - première phase du communisme - allait rencontrer pendant encore longtemps face à la force de l'habitude et de la petite production privée qui engendre inévitablement le capitalisme, face aux carriéristes qui infiltrent l'Etat soviétique pour le miner de l'intérieur, face aussi aux rapaces impérialistes qui entourent l'URSS, n'ont pas été entendues. Les révisionnistes ont pu restaurer en 1966 les catégories marchandes et assigné aux entreprises le profit comme but de leurs activités. Cette orientation contre-révolutionnaire a cassé la planification, désorganisé la production, entraîné de graves pertes matérielles et morales. L'enthousiasme des travailleurs, leur dévouement pour bâtir de nouveaux rapports entre les hommes fondés sur l'entraide et la fraternité sur le socle de la propriété sociale ont été sapés à la racine.

Une grande leçon se dégage, la lutte pour affermir le socialisme est longue et difficile. Elle implique la plus grande vigilance contre les signes de déviation, la révision des principes de fonctionnement de l'Etat prolétarien

dans un contexte international encore dominé par le <sup>9</sup> capitalisme, l'affaiblissement de la planification centrale et de la propriété sociale des moyens de production, la violation des normes de la démocratie prolétarienne.

Notre époque demeure celle du passage au socialisme, **quelles que soient les défaites momentanées que puissent subir notre mouvement en raison de la force et de la ruse de nos adversaires; en raison aussi des erreurs ou des indécisions et des hésitations, du poids de l'esprit menchéviste qui paralyse les rangs du mouvement communiste international.**

Le sentiment de découragement qui s'est emparé de larges catégories de travailleurs depuis le renversement de l'Etat soviétique ne doit pas nous cacher que les conditions d'une nouvelle situation révolutionnaire s'accumulent peu à peu. **Et la situation peut connaître une accélération et des bonds inattendus.**

Par rapport à 1917 les effectifs du prolétariat se sont multipliés de plusieurs fois à l'échelle mondiale. Tous les pays sont enserrés dans les mailles du système capitaliste-impérialiste. Toute crise survenant dans l'un de ses lieux se propage à grande vitesse aux quatre coins du monde. La pression intolérable de la bourgeoisie monopoliste à la recherche du moyen de relever ses taux de profit n'épargne aucune couche sociale. Le fossoyeur de la bourgeoisie est numériquement plus important qu'il y a cent ans. L'histoire poursuit sa marche en avant vers l'abolition révolutionnaire du capitalisme.

La contradiction entre d'un côté, l'esprit de résignation qui semble dominer au sein de la classe ouvrière, objet d'un travail de propagande massif et permanent pour l'éloigner de l'idéologie socialistes, et de l'autre la férocité de l'exploitation qu'elle subit, cette contradiction ne peut durer indéfiniment. Elle éclatera avec d'autant plus de force que les travailleurs constatent que leur part dans les richesses qu'ils produisent diminue, pendant que celle de leurs exploités atteint des sommets sans cesse dépassés, que leur travail a créé des moyens fabuleux qui leur permettraient, si le système capitaliste était remplacé par le système socialiste, de vivre mieux sans absolument craindre le lendemain, **d'avoir un logement confortable, d'être soignés, d'accéder à l'instruction, à l'art et à la culture, aux loisirs, de donner la possibilité à tout enfant qui contient en lui un Raphaël ou un Beethoven de le devenir, à tout enfant sauvé de la rue ou d'une favela de devenir un grand constructeur d'engins spatiaux, etc.**

Dans les luttes quotidiennes, pour de meilleures conditions de vie des travailleurs, pour l'emploi, pour la paix dans le monde, nous ne devons pas cesser une seconde de faire la propagande pour le socialisme, d'expliquer les causes du renversement du socialisme, de pousser les exploités à s'organiser, à lutter, à tisser des liens de solidarité entre eux et à l'échelle mondiale, à éviter les pièges des conflits ethniques, nationaux et religieux que leur tendent leurs exploités, à rejoindre le parti communiste pour abattre le régime capitaliste.

L'humanité n'a aucun avenir radieux à attendre du capitalisme. Rien ne pourra sauver ce système périmé du soulèvement révolutionnaire des classes qu'il exploite et

10 opprime.

L'avenir des peuples est dans le socialisme.

Vive le Centième anniversaire de la Grande Révolution  
Socialiste d'Octobre 1917!

Vive l'internationalisme prolétarien!



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# Communist Party of Australia

On behalf of the Communist Party of Australia, I would like to thank the Communist Party of the Russian Federation and General Secretary Gennady Zyuganov for the impressive and ambitious program of meetings and celebrations prepared for the representatives of the international Communist movement. The decision to hold the International Meeting in Russia was an obvious one. The centenary of the Great October Socialist Revolution demanded that we meet here on the soil where those epoch-making events took place.

Over the next several days, we are rightly going to hear a lot about the victory of the workers, peasants and soldiers of Russia in 1917. It is undoubtedly true that we wouldn't be meeting here reviewing and planning our work if it weren't for those events. The road to social progress would have been much longer and more difficult. The creation of something like the Communist Party in Australia would have been delayed for a very long time. For this reason, our Party has gone to considerable effort to celebrate the Great October Socialist Revolution in a fitting way.

## **The backdrop to the 18<sup>th</sup> IMCWP**

Unfortunately, the political and social backdrop for the centenary of 1917 is not encouraging. The political right is on the march in many parts of the world. Political forces previously considered too extreme and with such repugnant anti-worker and racist agendas are taking political office or dramatically influencing the policy agenda of country after country. Workers and other exploited people are resisting but the accumulation of decades of ideological, legislative and even more direct attack on the rights of workers and other exploited people have left us vulnerable.

The geopolitical situation of the world has deteriorated since our parties last met in Vietnam. The economic crisis facing the US, papered over for the time being, has deepened. Rivals to its economic hegemony of the US are getting stronger relative to the US and this is causing recklessness and increased aggression on the part of US imperialism. Thoughts that the Trump administration would not last or simply continue the policy course set by previous administrations have proved incorrect. Trump's election marks an escalation of the military and economic aggression against independently-minded, sovereign nations and emerging blocs that reject its dominance.

We see this in the Middle East with the US's direct involvement and resourcing of terrorist groups determined to destroy the sovereign state of Syria. We see it in Eastern Europe and the tensions between the Ukraine and the Russian Federation. We see it in the threats and economic sabotage against Venezuela and the coup carried out in Brazil. And we see it in the provocations against the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

The Australian government has been drawn even more closely into the war fighting plans of the US. Australia volunteered to carry the war for hegemonic control from Iraq into Syria. It helped the US in its confrontational stance over the situation in the South China Sea and

<sup>12</sup> declared its willingness to fight a genocidal war against the DPRK. This is in addition to its boosted commitment to the US administration's "Pivot" or rebalance to the Indo-Pacific region. This includes the establishment of new military bases, including the major one in Darwin, and hugely expensively acquisitions of military equipment. Over the next two decades, the Australian government has committed itself to spending more than one trillion Australian dollars over the next two decades and adopted the target, as requested by former US President Obama, of spending two percent of GDP on "defence". This is a major theft from the Australian people who continue to have their living standards cut and basic rights curtailed.

### **The impact of the demise of the USSR**

As we have been predicting for some time, the demise of the Soviet Union has been a tragedy for the people of the world. Millions of people have died and suffered losses in terms of living conditions and rights. The current wars and efforts at destabilisation are a continuation of US imperialism's plan to retain global hegemonic power despite a loss of leadership in the economic sphere.

The US's long term plan for global control have some way to go. The dismantling of the USSR in territorial terms is not complete. Obstacles remain to its unfettered access to the resources of the country, including the oil and other riches of Siberia. US imperialism sees the territorial integrity of China and its growing economic power as an opportunity for the enrichment of the people of the world but as a grave threat.

The US wants to carve up these rivals and to install subservient regimes that will do its bidding. It is this perverse logic, the logic of capitalism and imperialism, that drives its efforts to surround the Russian Federation and the People's Republic of China with client states, military bases, nuclear weapons and other military assets. The survival of humanity and the planet has been placed at risk by this reckless, anti-people agenda.

A major task before the international Communist movement is the building of a mass peace (or more correctly, "anti-war") movement with a clear understanding of the origins of the threat to the peoples of the world. Our Party is playing its part but it must redouble its efforts as part of the overall strategy of removing the threat to peace through the building of socialism. Success in this area of our work is a top priority in our work in the coming period.

### **Deteriorating conditions in Australia**

To many outsiders, Australia may appear to have escaped the worst rigours of the global capitalist economic crisis. This is an illusion. Australians have suffered cuts to government employment, welfare payments and reductions in government services. Unions have been subjected to investigations where the most scandalous and baseless accusations have been made. The legal system has been used to limit trade union rights including access to their members in workplace. A special police

force was formed to harass construction workers and their trade unions, fining them thousands or, in the case of one union, several million dollars, for taking strike action. In fact, strike action is virtually outlawed. In the meantime, one worker per week dies on average per week on Australian construction sites.

Precarious jobs are predominant in the limited number of jobs being created in the troubled economy. Zero hour contracts are common as are underpayment and non-payment of wages. Workers from overseas are being used to undermine local pay and conditions. Automation and the employment of "artificial intelligence" is not being used to reduce the burden on workers but to severely reduce the numbers of jobs available.

A fightback by the peak Australian trade union council is underway but is yet to bite. Our Party's influence in the trade unions is limited and we are yet to succeed to inject a militant, class struggle spirit to the actions that do take place, albeit with very restricted objectives.

### **The rise of the right in Australia**

Australia has not been exempted from the rightward drift in similar societies and economies. Fringe racist groups attack minorities including Muslims and recently arrived migrants. Resentment at high levels of unemployment, including youth unemployment has given rise to slogans within trade union memberships for "Aussie workers for Aussie jobs." Fringe ideas have representation within state and federal parliaments such as the racist, right-populist Pauline Hanson's One Nation Party.

Anti-science sentiments are on the rise with high level encouragement, particularly regarding the challenge of climate change. The Australian government has resisted international efforts to limit CO2 emissions and is captive to the fossil fuel lobby. Its recklessness, combined with the disruption from successive US administrations, is putting the survivability of the planet at risk.

The most pressing direct challenge to the working class in Australia is the ruling class's war on workers and their trade unions described earlier. It has been accompanied by a media campaign to smear the image of trade unions in the eyes of Australian workers. The impact has been great, but the fightback is gathering strength. Much hangs in the balance in Australia at the present time. Police state tactics are being employed that must be stopped so that Australia doesn't continue its drift towards a quasi-fascist state with even harsher conditions for our movement.

### **Revitalising the struggle**

The challenges are great but the opportunities for Communists to assume their leadership role are also great. Our Party has experienced modest growth in recent years especially among young workers and students most of whom, for a time, were not interested in our historic movement. They come to us as the products of the media and education systems hostile to Communism. Real life experiences draw them to questioning the system and to learn and be active.

Our Party is about to hold its 13<sup>th</sup> National Congress in Sydney in December. Our 12<sup>th</sup> Congress was held in 2013 under the slogan “United and Active for a Socialist Australia”. The emphasis was placed on uniting and organising the Party for the period that followed. This year’s Congress has the slogan “Taking the Party to the People”. There is a shift in emphasis to look outward that is evident in the work of our Party from maintenance and consolidation. The time for very bold initiatives to build the influence of our Parties has arrived because what is true for Australia must also be true for many other parties around the world. We must work with a range of other forces in our struggle against the very aggressive agenda of capitalism and imperialism but the time has arrived to demonstrate leadership and initiative.



# Party of Labour of Austria

Dear comrades,

We would like to thank the Communist Party of the Russian Federation for successfully hosting this year's meeting. It is of course of great symbolic importance that we are able to celebrate the 100th Anniversary of the Great Socialist October Revolution in the country in which it took place and the city where it initiated.

The Great Socialist October Revolution was an event of world-historical significance, the central event of the 20th century. It set the foundation for the establishment of the first socialist state in history and for the further development and spread of the revolution in other countries throughout the 20th century. It led to seven decades of great achievements and improvements for the working class and the peoples of the Soviet Union. It brought employment and home, free education and medical care for the entire population. It ended discrimination of women and oppression of nations and minorities. The huge scientific, technological and cultural achievements led to the improvement of the lives of millions. The Great Anti-fascist victory would not have been possible without the struggle and sacrifices of the millions of the Soviet people, the leadership of the Communist Party and the achievements of the socialist system. Furthermore, it was under the pressure of those achievements that the ruling bourgeois class was forced to make concessions to the demands of the working class' movement in capitalist countries. The internationalist aid and support of the USSR to the peoples' struggle against colonialism and national oppression was decisive for their liberation and further economic development.

Dear comrades,

Our country, Austria, was among the countries the October Revolution had a great and immediate impact on. The disastrous consequences of the imperialist war led to waves of strikes, demonstrations and revolts by the proletariat, the unemployed and the repatriated soldiers. The young Communist Party of Austria, founded in November 1918, played a leading role in this process, but wasn't able to win the masses to its favour due to its lack of experience and its mistakes, but most importantly because of the trust the working class had in social democracy.

We never forget that it was social democracy and only social democracy which was able to stabilize bourgeois rule and end the potential revolutionary crisis. Nobody put it more bluntly than Otto Bauer himself, leader of the Social Democratic Party of Austria and founder of the so-called "Austro-Marxism", who wrote about the events as follows: "No bourgeois government would be in the position to handle this task. (...) It would stand defenceless against the suspicion and the hate of the proletarian masses. Only social-democrats could manage this task of unprecedented difficulty. Only they did the proletarian masses trust."

This describes perfectly the role of social democracy in every revolutionary situation. All successful revolutions, like the October Revolution, as well as all defeated

revolutions, such as those in Germany, Austria and elsewhere, demonstrate the fact that without the decisive defeat and weakening of opportunism within the working class movement the victory of the revolution is impossible. As Lenin pointed out two years after the revolution: "One of the necessary conditions for preparing the proletariat for its victory is a long, stubborn and ruthless struggle against opportunism, reformism, social-chauvinism, and similar bourgeois influences and trends, which are inevitable, since the proletariat is operating in a capitalist environment. If there is no such struggle, if opportunism in the working-class movement is not utterly defeated beforehand, there can be no dictatorship of the proletariat." (Lenin, Works, 30, 275)

This is of utmost importance for us today. The fact that that we are currently operating under non-revolutionary conditions doesn't make the task of struggling against opportunism any less urgent. On the contrary, it is exactly in this period that this struggle must be waged and won; that the masses must learn by their own experience the role of opportunism, otherwise at the decisive moment it will be in fact already too late. Delaying the organisational split with opportunism proved to be the central weakness of all revolutionary attempts in the direct aftermath of the October Revolution as very vividly the experience of the German Revolution demonstrates. The Communist Party, the revolutionary organisation of the vanguard is a precondition for the victory of the working class and a historical necessity. It was due to the leadership of the Bolshevik party and its revolutionary and scientific theory of Marxism-Leninism that the proletariat was able to smash the bourgeois state, establish its own Soviet power in alliance with the poor peasantry and build up socialism.

Dear comrades,

The situation today is difficult for the international communist movement. 25 years after the completion of the counter-revolution in the Soviet Union and the socialist states in Eastern Europe, we are still experiencing

the consequences of this major setback for the working class movement on a global, regional and national scale. But we are still living in the period of transition from capitalism to socialism. It is the task of communist parties around the world to take up the struggle in the footsteps of the October Revolution.

Dear comrades,

Responding to its duty, our party, the Party of Labour of Austria, has made great effort to honour the 100th anniversary of the Great Socialist October Revolution within the scope of its scarce resources and limited capabilities. In cooperation with the Communist Youth of Austria we were able to organise several regional party events in honour of the October Revolution all over the country and in a few days a central event will take place in Vienna with the participation of several international guests from fraternal parties and a rich political and cultural program. What we experienced during our campaign and the events themselves was that despite the anti-communist propaganda and the de-politicisation due to decades of so-called "social-partnership", there is a growing interest among the working class and especially the youth in the historical events and a need for an alternative to the system of capitalist exploitation and imperialist war. This gives us courage to continue the struggle despite the very negative relations of power and the possible harshening of the conditions of our political work. It inspires to intensify our efforts and overcome our organisational weaknesses. We are convinced that the 21st century will be marked by new revolutionary class struggles and will bring about the downfall of capitalist rule.

Long live the proletarian internationalism!

Long live Marxism-Leninism!

Long live the Great Socialist October Revolution!



# Communist Party of Azerbaidjan

Уважаемые товарищи!

Первым долгом я выражаю признательность организаторам за приглашение нас на мероприятие в связи ознаменования 100-летию Великой Октябрьской Социалистической Революции. Проведение 19-ой МКРП в Ленинграде в честь ознаменования 100-летия Великой Октябрьской Социалистической Революции очень правильное решение и иначе не могло быть. Мы считаем, что сегодняшняя Международная встреча станет локомотивом по дальнейшему развитию и объединению всех левых сил в один кулак, чтобы вместе бороться реакционными силами неоимпериалистов, ибо капитал явления и сила международная и бороться с этим явлением, без объединения левых сил всего мира, очень трудно.

Великий Октябрь является не только главным событием XX века, она является важнейшим событием всего человечества положившего начало прогрессивного развития во всех сферах общественной жизни. Что бы не говорили, как бы не обливали грязью, буржуазные идеологи, все демократические изменения человеческих отношений начались после Октябрьской Революции! Благодаря Октябрю человек почувствовал себя человеческим, женщины настоящими женщинами. Некоторые малочисленные народы и нации приобрели свободу и создали свои государства и развивались общечеловеческим развитием. Бывшие колонны царской России стали самостоятельными государствами со всеми атрибутами. К этому относятся все бывшие союзные республики и конечно, наша республика.

В начале XX века в Азербайджане с высшим образованием были всего несколько десятков человек, а общая образованность среди населения составляло 19,5%. После Октябрьской революции наша республика стала в путь строения социализма в составе братских республик. Азербайджан за короткий срок решил проблему неграмотностью. Во время социалистических отношений наша республика, как и все союзные республики развивалась такими темпами, что и не приснилось капиталистического способа производства. Забыть этого – значит не уважать свою историю, свою принадлежность. Все наши здравомыслящие люди помнят и отдают глубокую признательность Великому Октябрю!

Товарищи!

Октябрьская Революция совершилась потому, что тогдашними событиями руководил авангард рабочего класса РСДРП(б) во главе великим мыслителем, теоретиком ЛЕНИНЫМ! Победу Октября способствовали все угнетенные народы России, в том числе

народы Кавказа. Уместно отметить, что социал-демократические идеи нашего народа появились еще до нашей эры, с появлением Зороастризма.

Но идеи марксизма появились у нас в конце XIX века. Свои истоки Коммунистическая Партия Азербайджана берет от первых марксистских кружках появившихся в Баку в конце XIX века. В 1901 года был создан Бакинский комитет РСДРП. Это- один из первых социал- демократических комитетов России, который стал твердой опорой В.И. ЛЕНИНА в борьбе за пролетарскую партию нового типа.

Баку в конце XIX, в начале XX веках был один из самых промышленных городов России и поэтому Бакинский пролетариат по своему составу был интернациональный, а по своему духу революционным. И потому одним из революционным и социал-демократическим центром был Баку! Революционные социал-демократические организации Азербайджана строились на незыблемых принципах пролетарского интернационализма. Они следовали призыву В.И. ЛЕНИНА «...Мы должны выступать как единая, централизованная, боевая организация, мы должны опираться на весь пролетариат, без различия языка и национальности, сплоченный совместным постоянным решением теоретических и организационных вопросов...» Вот это один из важнейших принципов нашей работы в современных условиях!

Баку стал кузницей профессиональных революционеров. Достаточно сказать, что многие большевики Ленинской гвардии, такие как И.В. Сталин и некоторые известные революционеры прошли Бакинскую революционную школу. Под руководством большевистской организации пролетариат Азербайджана, выступая как один из наиболее решительных и боеспособных отрядов героического рабочего класса России, вписал немало славных страниц в летопись революционной борьбы страны. Событием общероссийского значения стали летняя стачка 1903 года на России, застрельщиками которой выступили рабочие Баку, стачка пролетариев в декабре 1904 года, завершившаяся подписанием первого в истории рабочего движения России коллективного договора.

Многие знают, что в 1901 году в Баку создали тайную типографию «Нина», печатавшую и распространявшую не только газету ленинской «Искры» но и социал-демократических газет и журналов. В советское время исторический музей типография «Нина» была самым посещаемым музеем школьников. К сожалению после преднамеренного распада Союза как и везде политическое руководство взяли в свою руку доморожденные люди. Они первым делом закрыли все революционные музеи. Наши обращения к руководству республики о восстановлении типографии «Нина» как исторический музей остается не замеченным. Но мы продолжаем борьбу в этом и другим направлениям.

Товарищи!

Коротко о ситуации в комдвижении в нашей республике. Как только в конце 1993 года была вновь восстановлена Компартия Азербайджана

обуржуазившие политтехнологи очень беспокоились.<sup>17</sup> И долго не думая они создали условия, чтобы другая компартия также зарегистрировалась и на политической арене республике появилась еще одна компартия. Говорят дурачки пример заразителен, наверняка наши политтехнологи пример взяли у России?!

В настоящее время в республике действуют две зарегистрированные и три не зарегистрированные компартии. Наша компартия, расколовшись от компартии руководимой Р. Ахмедовым, с 2001 года действовала в аббревиатуре Компартия Азербайджана на марксизма-ленинизма. Но после объединения в 2011 году с той же компартии, которое мы отмежевались, по решению объединительного съезда объединившейся партии действует в аббревиатуре Коммунистическая Партия Азербайджана. А руководящий орган называется Центральным Комитетом.

Сейчас комдвижения республике переживает трудные времена. На коммунистической арене появились штрейкбрехеры, которые хотят расколоть комдвижении. Но наша борьба ведется в двух направлениях: первое направление- вести усиленную пропаганду идею марксизма-ленинизма, а другое направление- вывести на чистую воду оппортунистов всех мастей. Думаю в ознаменовании 100 летия ВОСР коммунисты Азербайджана с честью преодолееет все трудности.

Товарищи!

К сожалению условия нашей политико-пропагандийской работы существенно отличается от многих постсоветских республик. Необъявленная война вокруг Карабаха, против воли народов бывших братских республик, неблагоприятно сказывается на пропагандистскую работу. Мы не можем вести полноценную работу структуризации партийных органов. Населения приграничных районов Нагорного Карабаха и более миллиона беженцев до сих пор считают, что во всех грехах Карабахского конфликта виноваты коммунисты. Но несмотря на все эти трудности наши пропагандисты ведут неустанную работу идеи Великого Октября.

После преднамеренного распада СССР мир стал однополярным. Воспользуясь этим империалисты, во главе США, диктуют свои воли всем государствам и народам всего мира. (Хорошо, что нынешнее руководства России понимают ситуации происходящие в мировом масштабе). В этой атмосфере очень трудно вести пропаганду научные идеи коммунизма. Нам нужна поддержка международной комдвижении. Здесь уместно отметить, что КПСС и СССР были опорой коммунистических и рабочих партий всех стран. Но после распада СССР такой опорой у международного комдвижения почти отсутствует. К сожалению такие социалистические страны, как Китай, Вьетнам и другие не всегда поддерживают коммунистических и рабочих партии капиталистических государств.

18 Например, когда партийно-государственная делегация приезжают с официальным визитом той или другой страны они не считают нужным встретиться с представителями Компартии этих стран. И потому компартиям приходится применять гибкую политическую работу. Может быть и потому руководство многих компартии постсоветского пространства, особенно в России, поступают именно так. Но это очень опасная игра. С одной стороны простые коммунисты не понимают эту «изаширонную» политику, с другой стороны внутри партии часто возникают проблемы. Чтобы не допустить дальнейшую раздробленность, надо обязательно объединиться. Ибо «Пролетарии всех стран, объединяйтесь!» - лозунг, которую завещали нам классики марксизма не просто слова!

В заключении хочу сказать, что наверное идеологи «глобализации» не забыли пророческие слова классиков марксизма: «Призрак коммунизма бродит, сейчас, во всем мире»! И нет сомнения в том, что под руководством коммунистических и рабочих партий весь мир придет «к победе коммунистического труда»!

Спасибо за Ваше внимание!

Первый секретарь ЦК КП Азербайджана  
Т. Нуруллаев



# Brazilian Communist Party

Dear comrades and friends:

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The Brazilian Communist Party salutes all communist and progressive parties that are present in this event and congratulates our host, the Communist Party of the Russian Federation, for the initiative. We wish you all strength and success in the struggle against capitalism. We are in Lenin's country and Lenin is our main reference in the revolutionary struggle for Socialism.

The recent evolution of capitalism has created a state of war between workers and the big international companies which try to keep their profits high by increasing the exploitation rate over the workers with the support of bourgeois governments which day by day eliminate more and more political, social and human rights to support their interests.

The difficulty to deal with the crisis and the many uncertainties about the future makes the main world imperialistic powers more and more aggressive against other peoples and countries, especially against those that have large reserves of natural resources. The USA and its allies have invaded Iraq, Afganistan, Libia and have financed mercenary forces to combat and try to overthrow the Syrian legally elected president, and now threatens and provokes North Corea and Iran and demonstrates the political will to keep with the blockage against Socialist Cuba.

On the other hand, the Venezuelan people have proved one more time that it's possible to defeat imperialist forces by mobilizing and organizing the workers. We understand that, in Venezuela, there's a possibility to build a way to Socialism and that this is the only way to prevent popular forces to be defeated. We would also like to highlight the success of the peace negotiation process led by the Colombian Revolutionary Armed Forces which are now a legal popular leftist political party able to conduct the colombian workers to have better conditions to fight for Socialism.

The Communist International Movement has the task not only to combat capitalism and imperialism on a world basis but also to face the illusions of reformism which still exist in our trenches. Reformism may be very dangerous for the revolutionary movement as it demobilizes workers and makes things easier for capitalists, given that many reformist parties present themselves as "leftists" but they are, in fact, fancy organizations whose task is to illude workers and create obstacles for revolutionary forces to get closer to the workers. Some reformist forces sell the idea that elections and institutional disputes are enough to build Socialism.

In Brazil we undergo a complex and difficult situation. There's a huge economic and political crisis with a deep recession and high unemployment. We now have a "pure" bourgeois rightist government which has come to power by means of a parliamentary coup d'Etat. This government has the task to eliminate all social gains obtained by the working class in the latest 50 years by means of many strikes and confrontations, as well as to also eliminate democratic rights and to accelerate the process of privatization of public enterprises and to sell the rights for the exploitation of natural resources including forests

20 and water reserves. Fascist groups have shown their faces and are active, and many people claim for the return of rightist military rule. Even having only a 3% popular approval rate and being under serious denounces of corruption involving illegal financial relations with big companies, the present president controls more than a half of the Congress by buying votes.

But since 2013 popular movements are getting stronger. This year there were many strikes and popular demonstrations in Brazil against the president and the liberal reforms being applied, including a general strike in april 28th, the most important general strike in the latest 30 years. There will be general elections in Brazil in 2018, and there's much uncertainty in all political fields about possible candidates and electoral possibilities.

Our party has been present in all these actions, and we have just presented to the working class a political program aiming at the union of leftist forces and popular movements and to help and support the debate about possible struggle lines to overcome the present situation and to combat capitalism. Its title is "Defeat the bourgeois project and build a popular alternative - bread, work and housing". This initiative adds to other similar ones that are being taken by leftist political groups and social movements.

We are doing our best to be prepared to face class struggle in Brazil under the present conditions. You may be confident that, wherever there are workers struggling for their class rights and for Socialism, our party's and our youth's red flags will be there.

Long live Marxism - Leninism!

Long live Proletarian Internationalism!!

# Communist Party of Brasil

O Partido Comunista do Brasil saúda o Partido Comunista da Federação Russa e agradece pelas excelentes condições e impecável organização proporcionadas para a realização deste magno evento que é o 19º Encontro Internacional de Partidos Comunistas e Operários. Saudamos também todos os partidos presentes.

Comemora-se em todo o mundo no dia 7 de novembro o centenário do mais importante acontecimento político e social da história da humanidade – a Grande Revolução Socialista na Rússia. Os meios de comunicação das classes dominantes estão repletos de artigos e ensaios enxovalhando a revolução e a construção do socialismo. Procuram rebaixar o significado da efeméride e mandam sua depressiva mensagem: nada a comemorar. Mas o proletariado consciente, os partidos comunistas e revolucionários, os amantes da paz, os que combatem em todo o mundo por transformações políticas e sociais, opondo-se à barbárie capitalista, têm sim, tudo a comemorar.

Foi uma epopeia que se escreveu não apenas durante os breves e intensos “dez dias que abalaram o mundo”, mas uma gesta iniciada muito antes. Na Revolução russa, pensadores revolucionários e homens de ação de épocas anteriores, ativistas políticos, agitadores e organizadores da luta contra a autocracia czarista e, desde o início do século 20, o Partido Bolchevique, sob a direção de Lênin, desempenharam papel decisivo, quando se exigiu a intervenção do fator subjetivo. Mas sem a plena mobilização da atividade criadora das massas populares, fruto de prolongado e aturado acúmulo de forças, não é possível o progresso social nem empreender o salto civilizacional. O que, por sua vez, requer o protagonismo das massas e das classes.

## **Revolução internacionalista**

O conjunto das realizações da Revolução de Outubro e da luta pela construção do socialismo que se lhe seguiu tem conteúdo e forma de acontecimentos épicos e não há propaganda negativa nem leitura niilista, nem mesmo a renúncia capitulacionista a seu legado que apaguem essa epopeia da memória dos povos ou esgotem sua força inspiradora nos atuais e futuros embates revolucionários.

Essa força inspiradora provém dos seus grandiosos feitos e de sua repercussão internacional. A Revolução Russa tornou-se paradigmática para o mundo porque fez saltar pelos ares um império reacionário, que Lênin chamava de “prisão dos povos”. Sobre seus escombros, surgiu ao cabo de uns poucos anos uma nova civilização humana, uma economia desenvolvida, um povo culto e digno. Sob a influência soviética cresceu o movimento operário nos países capitalistas, desenvolveu-se a luta anticolonial nos países dependentes. A Revolução Russa soergueu um Estado soberano e instrumentalizou um Exército poderoso que se constituiu na força capaz de derrotar o mais feroz inimigo da humanidade – o nazi-fascismo. A Revolução Russa e o socialismo soviético estiveram presentes como inspiração, influência indireta e apoio moral na grande Revolução chinesa, na Revolução cubana, na Resistência vietnamita. Até mesmo a adoção, pelos países capitalistas, do Estado de “bem-estar” resultou, a par das lutas sindicais e políticas

22 nos países capitalistas, da influência da Revolução de Outubro e do socialismo na URSS.

Revolução Socialista de Outubro e o Estado soviético por ela fundado exerceram enorme impacto no mundo e influência na organização e levantamento do movimento revolucionário mundial. Mostraram às massas trabalhadoras de outras nações o caminho da luta emancipadora, inspiraram-nos com a força do exemplo, impulsionaram o movimento operário e de libertação nacional durante toda uma época histórica. A Revolução de Outubro impactou nas lutas contra o sistema capitalista tanto nas metrópoles quanto nas colônias e países dependentes e aprofundou ainda mais a crise desse sistema.

A Revolução russa e a subsequente construção do socialismo no país eurasiático se produziram em circunstâncias mundiais e nacionais peculiares, cuja expressão geopolítica mais importante, à época, foi a Primeira Guerra Mundial. O esgotamento do regime czarista criou as condições para a eclosão de movimentos revolucionários, desde o início do século 20 (revolução democrática de 1903-1905).

A Revolução de Outubro quebrou a frente do imperialismo mundial, derrubou a burguesia na Rússia, levou ao poder o proletariado em um sexto do território mundial e criou as condições para a liquidação de todas as formas de exploração e opressão do homem pelo homem.

A vitória da revolução abriu uma nova época na história contemporânea, a época da revolução proletária e nacional-libertadora, da criação da frente revolucionária do proletariado e dos povos oprimidos contra o imperialismo.

Por todas essas razões, a Revolução de Outubro foi uma revolução com caráter internacionalista.

O agravamento das contradições de classe e a influência das lições da Revolução de Outubro fizeram com que desde 1918 se desenvolvessem grandes batalhas de classes na Europa e na Ásia.

Nenhum outro acontecimento político-social, como a Revolução Russa, materializou com tamanha dimensão a palavra de ordem lançada seis décadas antes por Marx: “Proletários de todos os países, uni-vos”! Se bem não tenha resultado na revolução proletária mundial – esta era a expectativa dos bolcheviques e de todo o movimento revolucionário à época –, a revolução socialista de 1917 teve extraordinário impacto internacional, exerceu influência direta sobre acontecimentos subsequentes, mudou a face do mundo e deixou marca indelével em todo o século 20.

Mudava a face do mundo, abria-se nova época na história da humanidade. Realizada no auge da guerra entre grandes potências que rivalizavam para dominar o planeta, a Revolução russa estabeleceu o contraponto essencial com o sistema imperialista. Desde então, a disjuntiva entre o capitalismo (imperialista) e o socialismo tornou-se uma das contradições essenciais da época. Os embates políticos, as guerras e as revoluções nacional-libertadoras e socialistas do século 20 eclodiram e

desenvolveram-se tendo esses antagonismos como fatores objetivos condicionantes.

O poder estatal socialista que emergiu em 1917, internacionalista por natureza, tornou-se o vetor preponderante na luta pela paz mundial e o progresso social, um incontornável fator a neutralizar os efeitos da agressividade do imperialismo e a influenciar positivamente as lutas dos trabalhadores e dos povos.

### **Ecoss da Revolução Russa no Brasil**

Ao contrário do que ocorrera na maioria dos países europeus, assim como na Argentina, no Chile e Uruguai, o PC do Brasil não nasceu da ruptura de um grande e influente partido social-democrata, mas de uma cisão no movimento anarquista. Foi dos embates políticos e ideológicos entre os setores avançados do proletariado brasileiro e sobretudo duma luta entre comunistas e anarquistas que resultou a formação dos primeiros agrupamentos comunistas, que mais tarde se uniriam para constituir o Partido Comunista do Brasil.

O historiador brasileiro Nelson Werneck Sodré, marxista estudioso da história do Brasil e dos comunistas, assinalou que o Partido Comunista “nasceu e cresceu como consequência necessária do processo de formação da classe operária brasileira e do desenvolvimento de suas lutas. Sua fundação respondeu a uma exigência do movimento operário que já mostrara, nas primeiras décadas do século 20, a carência de um partido político operário revolucionário”.

O documento comemorativo do 90º aniversário do Partido Comunista do Brasil (2012) assinala: “Quando o movimento operário brasileiro enfrentava uma crise de perspectiva, os bons ventos da vitoriosa revolução socialista na Rússia, de 1917 – que já sopravam pelo mundo –, chegaram ao Brasil. O triunfo dos trabalhadores russos mostraria aos operários brasileiros um caminho novo: o da necessária organização do proletariado em partido político independente, de classe, tendo como objetivos a conquista do poder político e a implantação do socialismo”.

O Congresso de fundação do Partido Comunista do Brasil realizou-se em 25, 26 e 27 de março de 1922. Os dois primeiros dias de trabalho ocorreram na cidade do Rio de Janeiro. Mas, devido a ameaças policiais, a sessão do último dia foi transferida para Niterói. Contou com a participação de nove delegados que representavam 73 comunistas. Já no início de sua existência, o Partido aderiu às 21 condições para ser membro da Internacional Comunista.

### **Um balanço necessário**

A revolução de 1917 foi propulsora do progresso social. Partindo de uma base econômica atrasada, em poucas décadas a União das Repúblicas Socialistas Soviéticas tornou-se um dos países mais prósperos e socialmente mais avançados do mundo. Sobre os escombros do antigo regime, surgiu uma nova civilização humana, uma economia desenvolvida, realizou-se imenso progresso material e espiritual, conquistou-se a justiça, a igualdade, nasceu um povo culto e digno. São incomparáveis as conquistas sociais, as reformas

estruturais, os saltos civilizacionais operados pelo novo ordenamento político do Estado proletário baseado na aliança operário-camponesa.

A luta pelo socialismo, como fenômeno histórico, é fruto também de suas circunstâncias. Na Rússia o novo poder defrontou-se com a guerra civil em que as classes derrocadas contaram com o apoio de 14 exércitos estrangeiros numa ação contrarrevolucionária durante três anos.

Os primeiros tempos da construção do novo regime conheceram o comunismo de guerra e a NEP – Nova Política Econômica. Seguiram-se a conflitiva coletivização do campo e a industrialização vertiginosa, em meio a uma luta de classes exacerbada e a tumultuadas lutas políticas nos órgãos de governo e no partido dirigente. Enquanto promovia a industrialização acelerada, o país viu-se diante da circunstância de preparar-se para a guerra, num quadro mundial em que a revolução, depois de um período de ascensão e de vitórias parciais na Alemanha, Hungria e Sérvia, entrava em refluxo.

O Período de industrialização acelerada, de fins dos anos 20 do século passado até o começo da Segunda Grande Guerra, foi o mais florescente do ponto de vista econômico e social, de um impressionante, incomparável e irrepetível desenvolvimento, em que se exigiu tudo das massas trabalhadoras e do partido, período de mobilização total, quando se trabalhava e vivia em permanente campanha e em ambiente de cerco. Por outro lado, talvez residam nesse período – marcado por uma acerbada luta de classes, por atos de sabotagem e ameaças de agressão pelos inimigos externos e internos, em que se exigiu também centralização absoluta no comando da vida econômica como na política –, as causas estruturais para que o regime soviético assumisse as características que assumiu, com resultados gloriosos, mas também com erros que o debilitaram. O heroísmo da façanha soviética, e a urgência do esforço de edificação somado à inexperiência, levaram a direção comunista a atuar com a noção do socialismo pleno e mesmo do comunismo imediato e ao abandono de qualquer ideia de transição longa. A mentalidade de cerco e a necessidade de comando ultracentralizado para garantir a mobilização total e permanente do povo fecharam o regime, que não chegara a desenvolver a institucionalidade democrática socialista – a democracia de massas, popular, dos soviets, essência da ditadura do proletariado, segundo a formulação clássica do marxismo-leninismo. Isto acabou por alienar da governação do país as massas populares, o único sujeito criador e transformador da História. Não se equacionou satisfatoriamente a antinomia entre o desenvolvimento extensivo e o intensivo, com repercussões negativas na produtividade e no atendimento de demandas básicas das massas populares quanto a bens e serviços.

Cada período da construção do socialismo teve sua importância e história, próprias. Foram circunstâncias que para o bem e o mal construíram o conjunto da obra e se integraram no esforço criador da nova sociedade.

### **Uma luta sempre atual**

Para os comunistas, a Revolução triunfante em 1917

será sempre uma fonte de inspiração nos combates<sup>23</sup> que se realizam na atualidade, sob novas condições, na resistência à ofensiva do sistema capitalista contra os trabalhadores e os povos e para abrir caminho à nova etapa da luta pelo socialismo.

Objetivamente, a extinção da União Soviética, no início dos anos 1990, marcou uma viragem negativa na evolução do quadro mundial. Sendo resultado de uma contrarrevolução, cujos primeiros sinais se manifestaram a partir do 20º Congresso do Partido Comunista da União Soviética (1956), a derrota da Revolução soviética implicou inaudito retrocesso na situação política internacional, quadro em que a burguesia, o imperialismo e toda a reação mundial arremetem contra todas as conquistas democráticas, sociais, civilizacionais da humanidade.

A derrota do socialismo, para a qual concorreram também fatores externos ligados à pressão e ao cerco dos países imperialistas, criou uma situação inteiramente nova no mundo. Como já assinalamos, no terreno das ideias deu azo à negação dos valores da Revolução de Outubro. No terreno político ensejou o surgimento de uma correlação de forças extremamente desfavorável aos que lutam por uma sociedade liberta da exploração capitalista. Hoje é corrente a visão de que o socialismo foi definitivamente derrotado e saiu da cena histórica como realidade e perspectiva.

Não compartilhamos esta visão. O socialismo continua sendo uma necessidade objetiva da evolução da civilização humana. E, nessa ótica, o socialismo e a sociedade sem classes, o comunismo, são o ideal supremo a justificar a existência e a atividade do Partido Comunista. Ao reafirmarmos os princípios e os ideais de Outubro de 1917, simultaneamente nos aferramos à realidade da época e à do país em que atuamos. Hoje parece claro que está sepultada a ideia do “comunismo súbito”. O exame atento da História indica que a construção do socialismo e o alcance de uma sociedade tão avançada quanto o comunismo – sociedade sem classes, reino da abundância, liberdade triunfante sobre a necessidade – é tarefa para muitas gerações que atravessará diferentes épocas históricas.

Para os comunistas brasileiros, a Revolução triunfante em 1917 será sempre uma fonte de inspiração nos combates que se realizam, sob novas condições, na resistência à ofensiva do sistema capitalista contra os trabalhadores e os povos e para abrir caminho à luta pelo socialismo, nas novas condições do século 21. Também não compartilhamos a ideia de um modelo de revolução e de socialismo, que serão sempre o resultado do desenvolvimento da luta de classes em cada cenário nacional peculiar, sob a direção do Partido Comunista, orientado pela teoria marxista-leninista.

Na passagem do centenário da Revolução de Outubro, o Partido Comunista do Brasil renova seu compromisso com a unidade e o fortalecimento do movimento comunista internacional, em que cada país atua com plena independência política, ideológica, orgânica e de ação.

# Communist Party of Canada

We are honoured to bring greetings to this historic gathering on the centenary of the Great October Socialist Revolution.

Great October is the historic marker between all class divided, exploitative and oppressive societies heretofore; and the end of the exploitation of one human being by another achieved with the victory of Soviet power in Russia. The epoch of the transition from capitalism to socialism was irrevocably opened for the working class to pass through, according to the objective and subjective conditions in each country.

As Lenin said, the road to socialism is not straight like the Nevsky Prospect. The loss of the USSR showed that the transition period is intense – a life and death struggle with imperialism, in which socialist states can be overthrown and great setbacks sustained. But the political struggle of the working class and its allies for socialism cannot be stopped and will prevail, because the working class is the grave-digger of capitalism, as Marx proved. This is the irreconcilable contradiction of capitalism that foretells its inevitable passing.

Imperialism has seized the moment to drive the world to the brink of world war and environmental devastation, and to unleash the forces of reaction and fascism aimed to destroy socialism, to overthrow socialist and progressive governments, to eliminate the Communist and Workers' parties.

US imperialism's threat to "totally destroy" DPRK, to overthrow governments in Venezuela and Syria, and to effect regime change in Cuba, is an invitation to world war and nuclear catastrophe. US imperialism is sliding towards fascism. The growth of fascist movements and parties globally, of austerity, xenophobia, racism and misogyny, is imperialism's response to the changed balance of forces after 1991.

We live in a very dangerous time, facing the stark choice of socialism or barbarism. We must soberly assess how to roll-back the threat of fascism, reaction and war, and how to advance the struggle for fundamental social transformation which working people increasingly seek, despite growing anti-communist campaigns.

In Canada, nascent fascist movements are also blooming, given new life by developments in the US and Europe. These include Soldiers of Odin, PEGIDA, and La Meute. They prey on the insecurity and fear of working people who are victims of the capitalist crises and who are aware that there is no recovery for them, while the biggest corporations rake in super-profits, lay-off workers, drive down wages and pensions, and demand social spending cuts. Social democratic governments and parties, including in Canada, continue to offer prescriptions to better manage capitalism. In Canada, the Trudeau government was elected on a platform promising peace, jobs, democracy, equality, and redress for Indigenous Peoples, most of which they have abandoned. Trudeau has bowed to US demands to increase support for NATO and NORAD, and will increase military spending by 70%. Foreign Affairs Minister Chrystia Freeland (granddaughter of a Ukrainian fascist collaborator) has stick-handled the government's pro-US positions, including

threats to Venezuela, and permanent stationing of Canadian troops in Latvia and Ukraine. We vigorously oppose these policies, and campaign for peace and disarmament, withdrawal from NATO and NORAD, and cutting current military spending by 75%. We are working hard to build the peace movement, and in particular the Canadian Peace Congress, affiliate of the World Peace Council.

The climate change crisis, causing major disasters this year, has forced itself onto the global agenda. The struggle for climate justice must be a priority for our movement. Socialism will prevail, provided the globe has not been destroyed by war and environmental devastation.

The NAFTA negotiations are collapsing, killed by US protectionism. A revived Trans Pacific Trade and Investment Partnership is on the horizon. We have campaigned hard against these deals and capitalist globalization generally, designed to cement corporate control of the world's resources and markets, eliminating national sovereignty.

We fight for mutually beneficial, multi-lateral trade that includes long-term credits for developing countries.

We have closely followed developments in Catalonia and Kurdistan. Like other parties, we condemn the use of force by the Spanish government against the Catalan people and their struggle for national self-determination, a right that Lenin invoked as inviolable for Marxist Leninists.

Canada is a multi-national state, created at the point of a gun, after British colonialism defeated France in North America in 1763 and then subdued the French speaking populations in what is now Quebec. During capitalism's rise, colonial governments aimed to exterminate or forcibly assimilate Indigenous Peoples. This unequal and involuntary union of oppressed and oppressor has been maintained by force and violence of the Canadian state ever since.

While the CPC does not support the option of Quebec secession, because it will weaken the struggle of the working class as a whole against capitalism and for socialism, we unequivocally support the right of Quebec and other nations in Canada to self-determination and to secession if they so choose. This puts the onus on the English speaking nation to offer a new, equal and voluntary partnership as the basis for unity in Canada, one which recognizes the national rights of all, including the right of each to leave, in a new democratic Constitution. This is the option we favour and campaign for.

In conclusion comrades, we thank the CPRF for hosting this historic meeting in Leningrad, the cradle of the Great October Socialist Revolution.

We express our confidence in the unity and coordinated action of the Communist and Workers' parties, in our historic struggle for socialism, peace, and a sustainable global environment.

Long live Marxism-Leninism!

Hasta la Victoria Siempre!

*Delivered by CPC leader Elizabeth Rowley on behalf of the 25 Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party of Canada to the 19th Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties held in Leningrad, November 2-3rd, 2017.*

# AKEL, Cyprus

*but all the essential characteristics of our revolution are of international significance in the sense of its impact on all countries. But I am not talking in this broad sense. I am speaking in the narrowest sense of the word, that is meaning with the words international significance the importance of our revolution or the historical necessity to be repeated on an international level..."* And he added: "Of course, it would be a very big mistake to exaggerate this truth, to extend it beyond certain key characteristics of our revolution."

The October Revolution was not the result of some momentary act or a coincidence of circumstances. It was the result of the sum total of a series of objective and subjective preconditions that, at the given moment, the Russian proletariat under the leadership of the Bolshevik Party responded earnestly with selflessness and self-sacrifice to the demands of the times - to seize power and set forth the principle of building socialism under extremely adverse conditions.

The Great October Socialist Revolution was the result of both the uneven development of capitalism in conditions of imperialism, the shift from the beginning of the 20th century of the world's revolutionary centre to Russia to the creation precisely here of the weakest link in the imperialist chain; a link, the contradictions of which the First World War with its horrifying consequences intensified immensely, while at the same time the radicalization of Russian society was growing; a link that, to be broken, must also have had the maturing of the subjective factor, a fact that would shape the necessary "revolutionary situation".

For a "revolutionary state" to develop, it is usually insufficient for "the lower classes not to want" to live in the old way; it is also necessary that "the upper classes should be unable" to live in the old way, but that it must be accompanied by a considerable increase in the masses' activity, namely "the ability of the revolutionary class to develop mass, powerful enough, revolutionary action to crush (or significantly weaken) the old government, which even in an era of crises never falls, unless they "overthrow it", concluded V.I. Lenin in 1915 (The Bankruptcy of the Second International).

It is not enough for the revolutionary class, however, to develop "revolutionary actions", but it must act in an organized and conscious way. It is precisely at this point that there is still a crucial issue raised related to the role of the revolutionary vanguard, which acts however not "from above" arrogantly, but is fully coordinated with the whole of the working class and the broader strata of the people. The vanguard, being at the head of the most decisive events, with its self-sacrifice and selflessness, gives a living example and guides the masses with which it forges and maintains unshakable ties and wins their trust.

These characteristic elements, which evolved in Russia in 1917, contributed to the overthrow of the Tyranny with the February Revolution and its transformation into a socialist one in October. In the vanguard of these world-shaking revolutionary processes was the Bolshevik Party, which guided by V.I. Lenin was able to respond to the burning issues of the time, responding to the visions and wishes of the overwhelming majority of the Russian

This year progressive humanity is honouring in a special way the 100th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, which, with its dynamism and example, shook the world, ushering a new era for Humanity; an era that was marked by the overcoming of capitalist barbarity and the beginning of the construction of socialism. The oppressed and downtrodden overcame difficulties, adversities, hardships, tragedies, and in conditions of complete disorganization brought about by the ongoing First World War overthrew the Tsarist autocracy and transformed the bourgeois democratic revolution into a socialist one.

The international significance of the Great October Socialist Revolution is undisputable. V.I. Lenin himself, speaking about the international significance of the Russian revolution, wrote in "Left-wing communism, an infantile disorder of communism": "... not just some,

people.

In 1917 the Russian people sought PEACE and LAND. The bourgeois democratic revolution of February was the only one that offered the abolition of the Autocracy, but also the creation in the country of dual power - the Soviets of Representatives and the Provisional Government; a Provisional Government, which could not, or better still, did not want to meet the popular demands.

Within a period of eight months, the revolutionary processes in the country were so deep that they were increasingly radicalizing society and intensifying the pressure for an end to the Dual Power and the assumption of all power by the Soviets of the working people, soldiers and peasants.

The Revolution of October with the storming of the Winter Palace, the overthrow of the Provisional Government and simultaneous assignment of all power to the Soviets proved in practice through the deliberations of the 2nd All-Russian Congress of the Soviets of workers, soldiers and peasants that it was ready to implement the popular demands.

The first legislative act of the Soviets was the Decree on Peace - the day after the storming of the Winter Palace (October 26th/November 8th 1917), which recorded the proposal of the new Soviet power addressed to all warring peoples and their governments to begin negotiations, aiming at ending the war and the signing of a just and democratic peace.

The second legislative act of the Soviets was the Decree on Land, giving land to millions of poor and landless peasants, which was proclaimed "social property," that is, it now belonged to all the people.

The Third Legislative Act of the Soviets was the Decree establishing the Council of People's Commissars, which was declared to be the supreme executive power in Soviet Russia, accountable to the Congress of Soviet Representatives and revocable by it.

Therefore, the first Decree of the newly created as a result of the October Revolution of the Soviet state of workers and peasants was for Peace, through which it called upon all warring countries to conclude a ceasefire and sit down at the negotiating table; negotiations however that were to be conducted without any demand whatsoever for the annexations of territories (that is, without the conquest of foreign territories, without the forced annexation of foreign peoples) and compensations. At the same time, the abandonment of secret diplomacy was proclaimed and the desire of the new Government was expressed to struggle for the liberation of countries and the peoples from colonial oppression.

Reading the Decree on Peace today, one could argue that its content is naive because it was addressed to the imperialist warring states, calling on them to end the war and conclude peace without territorial annexations and compensations.

However, was V.I. Lenin so naive when he signed the first Soviet Decree? The very objective situation itself at the end of 1917 shows us that in Germany there was

growing dissatisfaction with the prolonged war that was increasingly radicalizing German society. In addition, almost the rest of Europe was only just and barely holding back and containing the revolutionary upheavals. Gradually people began to perceive the absurdity of the war and the relation it had with super-profits for the ruling class. That's why it was no coincidence that the Decree addressed the ordinary citizen. Therefore, the Decree, I repeat, was addressed to "all warring peoples and their Governments".

Consequently, the Decree on Peace was an all-European popular demand that had the utmost international significance, because along with the foreign policy moves subsequently pursued by the young Soviet state, it set as its main objective the creation of the best possible conditions for growth/development and the strengthening the socialist revolution in Russia, but also the establishment of world peace and security for the Peoples. At the same time, the Decree on Peace expressed the Soviet people's willingness to live peacefully with all other nations, while it also constituted a legal document where the effort for a broad international understanding and cooperation was expressed which represented the solid basis of Soviet foreign policy throughout the 70 year old path of its existence.

The peace-loving foreign policy of the USSR was based on the democratic principles proclaimed by the Decree on Peace, which, from the very outset of the victorious October Revolution gave a concrete form to:

- (a) the restoration and strengthening of the political and economic independence of small and economically weak countries and peoples, and
- (b) the safeguarding of the right of all the peoples of the world on their own, without any external interventions – whether direct or indirect - to choose their own form of state governance.

A policy that continued in the mid-war years, especially in the mid-1930's when the clouds of war began to gather over Europe and beyond. Since 1933, the Soviet Union made a proposal to the General Disarmament Commission for the term "aggression" to be defined, however the British and French-controlled League of Nations rejected the Soviet proposal because they didn't want a common front against German aggression.

Subsequently, the efforts of Soviet foreign policy to achieve a system of "collective security", whose implementation would have at least signified in Europe the cooperation of the first socialist state - the USSR with the capitalist countries of England and France (bourgeois democracy) against fascism/Nazism- were also rejected; an effort which unfortunately for humanity did not materialize with the imperialist circles of England and France primarily responsible, who were pursuing the policy of "appeasement" of Hitler Germany, which led to the Munich Pact (September 1938) between Great Britain, France, Germany and Italy, aiming to direct the Hitlerites towards the east.

Eventually, the anti-Hitler coalition operated with its ups and downs, even if proper consistency had not always

<sup>28</sup> been demonstrated, even if the collaborators in this coalition had other plans and thoughts against the USSR; thoughts expressed openly and publicly after the anti-fascist Victory of the peoples, the greatest burden of which was taken by the Soviet Union, while the Soviet people paid a heavy price in millions of dead, with the declaration of the Cold War and the pursuance of the “atomic bomb policy” .

On the one hand, the Soviet Union is proceeding to annihilate the atomic bomb’s political power by developing its own atomic arsenal, thus creating a balance of forces, even though it is based on the “terror of a nuclear disaster”. On the other hand the country of the Soviets acts as a steadfast fighter for Peace and Security of the Peoples, and setting an example to other nations, the Supreme Soviet of the USSR voted in March 1951 the Defense of Peace Act and proclamation of propaganda in favour of war a Crime against Humanity.

It is through such concrete actions that an impetus was given to the Peace Movement, which developed and embraced all the countries all over the world; a Movement that, from its first steps, stood firm on positions of principle against war, subordination, colonial oppression and racial discrimination, which pose a threat to world peace.

The counter-revolutionary overthrows at the turn of the 1980’s and 1990’s of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, which led to the collapse of socialism in Europe, the dissolution of the USSR, and the restoration of capitalism in these countries were a serious setback to the development of Humanity; a setback which, in addition to the severe socio-economic negative impacts on the popular masses, have put world peace and stability in danger.

It would be an unforgivable mistake if today, under the pressure of the negative developments for socialism, we throw the foreign policy pursued on peace issues by the USSR and the socialist system after the Second World War and beyond in the dustbin; a policy that contributed to changing the balance of forces and which created favourable conditions for advancing the struggle of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America to assert a better life.

Contrary to the enthusiastic declarations of various apologists of capitalism about the prevalence of a “new international order”, which supposedly was stabilizing world peace and that would lead to a reduction in armaments, a growing aggression of the US-NATO-EU Euro-Atlantic Front is being observed in violation of the principles of International Law and the Helsinki Final Act, with tactics not only promoting the destabilization and undermining of sovereign states, but also the waging of blatant military interventions and raids. Not only has NATO globalized its action, which it has done in association with the EU, but it is modernizing and expanding its arsenal, seeking to “legitimize” its supposedly pre-emptive, military interventions.

The lack of the “opposing pole”, which was provoking the socialist system, was an encouragement to imperialism, which today, with multinational capital as its spearhead, is intensifying the processes for the control of geostrategic points in areas not only with energy reserves, within

the framework of inter-imperialist competitions for the redistribution of global and regional spheres of influence.

Despite the inherent inter-imperialist contradictions and antagonisms, in most cases an increased collective aggressive activity of the ruling imperialist states is being observed, based principally on the fact of the diversification of national monopolies and their transformation or subordination to multinational capital, which, although apparently acting supra-nationally, does not however cease promoting the geostrategic interests of a minority ruling oligarchy of ruling imperialist countries.

The modern systemic crisis, which plagues capitalism demonstrates yet again the deadlocks in which this exploitative system is driving Humanity into; a crisis that, in essence - even in the developed centres of capitalism - further strengthens and widens the differences within society, impoverishes the majority of the population and accumulates the wealth generated in the hands of an increasingly shrinking economic oligarchy.

The ruling class and its political representatives are trying to overcome the crisis on the one hand through the drastic enforcement of austerity measures, the imposition of fiscal discipline, with the ongoing dismantling of the welfare state, the reduction in development spending, and finally with the loss of national sovereignty of states, which is being replaced by multinational and financial monopolies, who now have the sole control over the economic, political and social management of each separate society. On the other hand however, they are also trying to overcome the crisis by promoting new armament systems and increasing state spending in the war and arms industry, which yields untold super-profits to the military-industrial complexes. Thus, the inherent problems of capitalism, which each crisis reproduces, constantly highlight the continuity and timelessness of socialism as a superior stage in human society’s development.

The International Communist and Workers Movement is fighting back in the difficult conditions of neoliberalism and capitalist deadlocks to project alternative solutions to existing and emerging problems, but to also build the perspective for Humanity’s future. This is indeed a difficult task, which is even more difficult because of the manipulation of public opinion and the common people on an international, regional and local level through controlled actions, with the ruling bourgeoisie media leading the way. This is an effort which having the fulfillment of the ultimate strategic goal at its centre, that is the overcoming of capitalist anachronism, should be in a position of being implemented through effective, flexible tactics and daily action to pursue and achieve intermediate and medium-term goals directly linked to existing reality, also including the struggle against war, military weapons, for the abolition of military bases in sovereign states, the reduction and up to the abolition of spending on arms programs, an end to the interventions in the internal affairs of sovereign countries and to military operations in foreign countries.

The forces struggling for peace face an experienced and well-organized opponent who, despite its inherent

contradictions, manages to act in a coordinated and collective way. This obliges the political and social forces fighting against the multinational monopolies and their political representatives to coordinate their own actions and goals at both a regional, as well as an all-European and international level, in order to stop the onslaught of neo-liberalism, which, in addition to the socio-economic negative developments, is fermenting and promoting policies against peace. The relations of mutual understanding and respect created between the peace-loving forces must be based on mutual understanding and mutual respect, without mutual exclusions and directing.

As much as we use loud and fine-sounding slogans, whatever action we as a communist movement take will be ineffective if we don't manage to be not only a vanguard and a leading force in the struggle to defend and expand popular and worker's gains, to preserve conditions of peace and security, but to also be a force rallying all the social strata and political forces that oppose, in one way or another, the prevailing neo-liberal order.

AKEL, all through its 90 years of life and struggles, has always placed Cyprus and its people - Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots - above all else. It has been and is a force rallying wider political and social forces in an effort to:

- fortify and strengthen the Republic of Cyprus,
- free it from the occupation and de facto partition,
- ensure its territorial integrity and,
- reunification of the people - Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots - in conditions of peace, security and prosperity in a bizonal, bicomunal

federation, a fully demilitarized state without<sup>29</sup> foreign armies and military bases, with a single sovereignty, a single international personality, a single citizenship, a bridge of peace and cooperation between the peoples of the eastern Mediterranean and the Near East.

The October Revolution, apart from its profoundly social character for the liberation of the working class and wider popular strata from the barbarism of the exploitative capitalist system, is directly linked to the cause of PEACE, which ensures the unhindered development of all the peoples of the World with simultaneous respect for their choices.

Socialism and peace are identical and intertwined concepts, and Communists have to be at the forefront of the struggle for peace, attaching a deep social content to it. The struggle for peace particularly today assumes a strong anti-imperialist character and Communists, on the one hand, must not and cannot be absent from and the other hand they have an obligation and must express their solidarity with all struggling peoples because this is what the history and action of the International Communist and Workers Movement dictates.

100 years have elapsed since the victorious Socialist Revolution of October 1917 in Russia, and its universal timeless teachings and visions that have nurtured generations and generations of people, remain unchanged, maintain their realism, timelessness and relevance, shaping consciousness today too and strengthening today the will of working people and oppressed to overthrow and overcome capitalist barbarism, to build a socialist society, for world peace to prevail.



# Communist Party of Denmark

The Great October Socialist Revolution brought hope and optimism to the peoples of the world. A bright new future had dawned with promises of peace, prosperity and freedom after years of war, misery and tyranny. These prospects and the bold way in which they were brought about inspired men and women all over the world.

As the October Revolution was looked upon with hope and admiration by ordinary people, in the same degree was it loathed and hated by the global bourgeoisie and other representatives of the old world – and that from the very beginning. The reason is obvious. We talk of the "general crisis" of capitalism: The Revolution had questioned the unavailability of capitalism end thereby its very existence, demonstrating that ordinary people were able to take their destiny in their own hands. This was a danger that had to be countered.

However, the capitalism of the time was unable to counter this threat because it was divided into rivalling empires, being themselves divided by rivalling interests. The War of Intervention against the young Soviet republic led to nothing. Instead, after a few years, imperialism itself was thrown into a new, self-inflicted and global war, which proved disastrous and enhanced the threat even more: Now, a third of the world was exempted from imperialist rule and from capitalism, and soon after the war the colonial empires began to crumble. Something had to be done.

The leading imperialist power emerging from the Second World War was the United States of America, and US strategists saw what was necessary: Imperialist Europe had to be united, its rivalries to be overcome, and capitalism unified under US leadership.

At that time, in the immediate post-war years, capitalism had been utterly discredited, especially in Europe, which saw the rise of strong Communist parties in several countries. A Danish Conservative leader said in Parliament, "We are all Socialists." There was no confidence in a system responsible for two world wars and a devastating world economic crisis. Capitalism had to prove itself capable of peace and progress. And behind this guise a new offensive against socialism and the Soviet Union had to be waged.

As we all know, this operation succeeded, albeit by other means than previous attempts. Imperialism gloated: Capitalism had won the world-historic contest, history was at its end.

But capitalism had not changed. It continued to be ridden by its internal contradictions as analyzed by Marx, and soon ruptures began to form in what came to be called the European Union. Conflicting interests became more and more visible, leading to acts of oppression of weaker member states by the stronger ones and to acts of aggression against the neighbours of the Union; we saw the latter in Yugoslavia and are seeing it now in Ukraine. Even between the EU and its maker, the USA, differences are beginning to show. For the EU is outgrowing its tutor both in population and in economic strength; and two equal imperialist centres cannot coexist forever.

Nevertheless, the EU is continuing to promote itself as

the project of peace, of democracy, and of prosperity. It is no such thing. It is a project of peace only in the sense that it ended the rivalries between the old empires of Europe. Bringing the forces of war together does not spell peace. The democracy of the EU is a joke; and as for prosperity, well, ask the Greeks...

But many, even among the Left forces, are still allowing themselves to be fooled: to regard the EU as a guardian of peace and label resistance against the EU, strivings to break with the Union, as the British just did it, as nationalism and reaction. It is not.

Today, capitalism is characterized by transnational monopolies of a size exceeding that of many states and striving to exert their dominance over these states. In Europe, no single state is powerful enough to resist these monopolies. And the Union was not built to do so. On the contrary – the rule of the monopolies is channeled through the institutions of the Union, just as class rule generally is channeled through the state institutions.

This is important to understand: The EU is not a defense against global monopolies, on the contrary. Just as the

Revolution had to crush the old state in order to liberate<sup>31</sup> workers oppressed by national capital, so the new supranational superstate has to be crushed in order to liberate working humanity oppressed by supranational monopolies.

Thus, for the modern European working class, resistance against the EU is necessary, progressive, and revolutionary. Labour parties of varying denominations are ignoring this, and as a result, workers are increasingly turning their backs on them to support instead the nationalists, appearing to defy the EU, or abstain altogether. We saw it in France as earlier in Greece and Spain, we saw it in Germany, and we saw it again recently in Austria. In Denmark, we are seeing it too on a less disastrous scale.

The October Revolution raised the banner of national sovereignty and self-determination. It highlighted the dialectics of proletarian internationalism and patriotism. Its heritage will live. Слава памяти Великой Октябрьской Революции! Да стравствует Новый Октябрь!



# Communist Party in Denmark

Esteemed comrades.

First, of course, a warm thank you to the Communist Party of the Russian Federation for organizing this year's international meeting of the Communist world movement. And a special thank you for combining this year's meeting with the celebration of the 100 years anniversary of the October Revolution.

The great Russian October Revolution has, as we all know, played a very big role for Russia and the neighbouring countries entering into the Soviet Union, but for countries far away from Russia as well. And the role of the revolution is definitely not outplayed yet even though a hundred years have passed.

To very briefly sum up the role of the revolution:

The revolution was the starting signal of the introduction of socialism in Russia and the neighbouring countries. The construction of socialism meant a huge step forward for the working class, for the peasants and for the ordinary people in general. Illiteracy was abolished and superstition replaced by science on a very high level.

Unemployment vanished. Production grew at an enormous speed. The people were through the soviets directly involved in the management of the country, of factories and other enterprises and so on. The Soviet Union was able to defeat the German fascists' attempt to capture the country.

But it was not only in the Soviet Union that socialism showed its strength and worldwide significance. It was to a large extent also in what is somewhat misleading called the third world. The Soviet Union thus was very active in the international class struggle as it was played out in the struggle for the decolonization of Africa, for the liberation of Vietnam from the French and American yoke, for the building of the socialist Cuba etc.

But also in the so called western world, including in little Denmark, the October Revolution and the building of socialism in the Soviet Union had an invaluable significance.

In Denmark the communist party was founded in 1919 and became a member of the Communist International. This happened strongly inspired by the events in Russia. Even though we were at that time and still are a small party, we have definitely played a decisive role in Denmark, not at least during the German occupation from 1940 to 1945 when the communists were the leading force in the resistance movement and later on in the struggle against Danish membership of NATO and later of the EU.

But it was not only the communists who were strengthened by the many good examples of enormous progress in the Soviet Union. Exactly because the working class could see that in the east a new society was created which did well without capitalists and capitalism, many workers got to believe in their own strength which came to play a big role in union struggles in Denmark and in many other countries.

And that is exactly how the October Revolution seriously proved its worldwide significance.

Because in spite of errors and shortcomings during the building of socialism the October Revolution – the world's first socialist revolution – demonstrated that a world without capitalism is not only possible but is necessary in order to stop wars all around, to build up countries directing at serving the working class and the people, to abolish famine and need and the exploitation of the poor by the rich. Capitalism and imperialism are, in Lenin's clear words, dying, and it is our task to accelerate this death of an outlived form of government as much as possible.

So what are the tasks facing us?

There are, of course, differences between the countries, but there are clear common features.

It is about fighting for peace, against imperialist armament and wars. Here, alas, we see that the bourgeois government has just launched a proposal for reinforcement of the Danish army, especially pointing towards Russia, and this proposal seems to gain a big majority vote in the parliament – also from the social democratic parties. Military armament is not only seen in Denmark, but in a lot of other countries among others inspired by the madman in the White House in the USA. But we, the communists, do not forget that it was just after the October Revolution that Russia stopped the country's participation in the world war, because without peace it would be a lot more difficult to build the socialist society.

In many places it is all about national sovereignty. The October Revolution among other things showed the way through the recognition of Finland as an independent state and the development of the other countries in the Soviet Union. In today's Denmark one of the big tasks of our party is the struggle against Denmark's membership of the EU. We want and fight for a complete exit from this big capital project in Europe.

The inspiration from the October Revolution and the <sup>33</sup> time after showed that it was not just a utopian idea that enterprises and entire countries could be lead without the power and influence of the capitalists. That was a visible reality until the counterrevolution temporarily conquered in the Soviet Union and in the former socialist countries in Eastern Europe.

The struggle against anti communism becomes still more significant in this era. We see communist parties and communist symbols banned all around. Those in power try through mass media, through education of children and young adults etc. to equate communism and Nazism, even though they are absolutely incompatible bodies. It is a very important task for the communists to fight the dark forces who will, at any costs, preserve capitalism no matter the anti democratic methods used.

But, naturally, we should not stop believing – as many others regrettably have – that a better society, a socialist society is not just a dream, but something that can and shall become a reality. That the building of socialism in the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries could not take place without mistakes on the way is, of course, regrettable, but on the other hand very understandable, as, to a large extent, it was quite new ways of development that had to be invented and executed. And the mistakes made during the building of socialism are quite small compared to the "mistakes" and accidents created by capitalism and imperialism!

So there is all good reason for us to celebrate the 100 year's anniversary of the October Revolution.

Capitalism is the problem – socialism is the solution.



# Communist Party of Finland

## Comrades

The October Revolution 100 years ago opened the way to independence for Finnish people. Lenin supported the peoples sovereignty and without that Finland would not have gotten its independence in 1917. By that time we had been controlled by either Sweden or Russia for hundreds of years. As in Russia, we had the war between whites and reds. In Finland, which was at that point a vassal state of Germany, the whites won the war and after that carried out a bloody political genocide. The collapse of Germany in the First World War was fortunate to save our independence, but the events soon afterwards had a severe impact on relations between Finland and the Soviet Union.

The Communist Party of Finland was founded in 1918 as the conclusion of the Finnish Revolutionary war and the writings of Lenin. Unfortunately, next year when we celebrate our 100th anniversary, we do it in a situation where communist parties in Finland are small and in lack of young and new members.

## Comrades

It is of great importance for us to be here at the World Communist and Workers' Parties meeting in St. Petersburg.

We want to tell you a few examples on how the so-called welfare state of Finland is undergoing de-democratization and demolition of basic security. Imperialistic forces, such as Nato, are currently using Finland and other arctic areas as a playground for military exercises. During the year, Finnish army has participated in numerous exercises, both on our own soil and abroad. The host country agreement with Nato and Finland participating in the Nordic co-operation organization, Nordefco, has already made us part of military unions. Finland can no longer say it's a neutral country.

All these actions make unnecessary confrontation with our closest neighbors such as the Russian Federation. Our right-wing government is pushing more militarization and intends to use billions on weapons and other new military equipment. At the same time, they cut our social security and weaken our working conditions. Finnish government is also pushing the biggest social and health services reform in decades, which is going to weaken democracy and privatize our services even more.

The struggle of the workers movement is international, and we as communists are a part of it. We have many tasks in the world where inequalities are constantly growing between the periphery and the central areas. We struggle for better working conditions and social security, against war and militarization. It is important to give support to all kind of peoples movements, even if the original initiative didn't come from communist groups. Whenever the movement promotes human rights, saving the environment or any other political issues close to our goals, even the short term ones, we must participate.

It's our job to provide the working class people information about current political situations. Therefore, we must take

on more new tools of media to support our traditional papers. Marxist studies must always be organized for new party members so that our knowledge of the neoliberal politics and oppression by the ruling class remains up to date. Even there where we are small, together we are strong.

Long live the International Meeting of the Communist and Workers' Parties!

Long live the struggle against imperialistic wars and capitalism!

Long live the struggle for peace, socialism and communism!



# German Communist Party

Dear comrades,

please, let me first thank the hosting Communist Party of the Russian Federation for the organization and invitation to this important meeting which takes place in a historic town which in our eyes is still to be called Leningrad! Hundred years after the Glorious October Revolution we are gathering here in moments in which peace once again is threatened and in a time when the subjective factor shows the need of a socialist revolution – but actually there doesn't seem to be a subject to put it in practice.

Dear comrades,

about some issues regarding recent federal elections in Germany:

Compared to the federal elections before and to elections for EU-parliament more people participated in recent elections.

Both parties of the former government coalition, the reactionary conservative CDU and the old social-democratic party SPD, lost many votes.

Results of the Green Party and „The Left“ party have been relatively stable. „The Left“ party lost votes in former GDR areas and gained additional votes in the west. Liberal party, which is a considerable social reactionary party, won many votes. The relatively new party AFD, a racist and nationalist party open to fascist tendencies, won around thirteen percent.

As you may remember our last party congress analyzed that German imperialism will become more aggressive in foreign policy as well as in its domestic policy - towards non-monopolistic parts of the people and specially against the working class. For us the federal election results represent this tendency.

What are reasons behind the election results, especially in mass consciousness and in that of the working class?

Parts of the working class see themselves as beneficiaries of the crisis. Specially if they compare themselves to working class people living in economically weaker states within and outside the EU. Another part of the working class are deeply worried about their social prospects. They are right but they have a wrong analysis of the reasons.

They realize, and they are right do so, that refugees coming to Germany are abused to intensify competition among the exploited. It concerns among other things labour markets, housing markets, but it is also drying-out local government finances / budgets.

Their anger is not directed at those who use refugees to intensify exploitation of the working class, to which refugees mostly belong to. Their anger is not directed at those, who profit from the various forms of division of the exploited, for example refugees, migrants, local working class. Sadly, their anger is directed at refugees. They fall for the explanations of racists and nationalists, whose intention is to divide the exploited and integrate them into the strategy of monopoly capital. These tendencies materialized in federal election results.

Another tendency we have to analyze is that the left-wing movement - including us, the German Communist Party - is currently not able to convince the masses and the whole working class of our answers to their anxiety about the future that these are the right answers to their actual concerns.

Why? We think that the slogan „Refugees welcome“ is a good one. But it is not a sufficient answer to anxiety about the future. The anxiety about the future is justified. The feeling that refugees will be exploited to intensify competition among different parts of the working class is correct.

In our point of view it is necessary to explain what are the reasons for war, mass escape and poorness. And we have to explain who benefits from war, mass escape and poverty.

If we look at our own election result, than we gained about 12.000 votes. This result is a really poor one. But it was the first time since 1989 that we took part in federal elections. That is part of the explanation. The second reason is that German laws force small parties to submit around 2.000 signatures in each of the seventeen federal states to be allowed to participate in the polls. We did not succeed in seven of the seventeen federal countries to do so.

But by taking part in this election our main goal was to reorganize the party itself, to get more „red flags on the street“ as we said. This goal we reached. So we are not content with the number of votes, but we are content with the increase of party activities.

In march of 2018 our next party congress will take place. It is the 22nd congress. You know that the 20th congress brought a change which the 21st congress stabilized by defining the party as a marxist-leninist party again. Our plan for the next congress is now that the main topic should be to define what this means for the party strategy.

The main document defines that the working class in the leading imperialist countries and also in Germany is in a defensive state since the 70th/80th of last century, beginning with Reaganomics and Thatcherism in the US and UK, and a little bit later with Helmut Kohl in Germany. This process has been enforced deeply with the counter-revolution in European socialist countries. In Germany there was a further enforcement with the annexation of GDR and the war policy and the so called Agenda of the Social-democrat Schröder in coalition with the Green Party.

For our strategy we see now that the first step is to fight for ending this defensive state. This means that working class needs to learn the possibility of gaining ground in the struggle against counter-reforms. We have to propagate consciousness within the working class and other non-monopolist parts of the people, that it is not only necessary to fight against counter-attacks of the ruling class, but that it is necessary to fight against monopol capital.

Dear comrades,

at least some words about our understanding of the complicated relationship between the Communist and Workers' Parties.<sup>37</sup>

Since the creation of the SolidNet structures in 1999 and the following annual meetings, it was made an attempt to come to an understanding in political and strategical questions and to make efforts for common actions. Our meetings contribute to the analysis of the main tendencies of the international class struggle and the strategical orientation of the communist movement.

However, an increasing political and ideological unity of the communist movement would mean better conditions to resist against imperialism. Nevertheless, we have differences in issues like alliances, road the the socialist revolution, evaluations of the states with a socialist orientation or state alliances like BRICS.

As German Communist Party we act on the assumption that „every Communist Party works out its politics on its own. Every CP is responsible for it in reference to its own working class and society, and, at the same time, in reference to the workers of all nations.“

We are against any right or left wing exaggeration. With sorrow we state that in our movement there are some tendencies which concentrate simplifications and impatience. We try to come up against that.

We are in favour of open exchanges of view, on the basis of autonomy, independence, equality and voluntary collaboration – here we have good possibilities to increase our scientific ideology. In all exchanges of view, we see all fraternal parties as equal, independent of their size or their influence in the society. This approach we do expect as well from them. In our understanding disputes between fraternal parties cannot be settled out in public.

In one year the former Communist Party of Germany (KPD), which is illegal since 1956, would have celebrated a century of existence after its foundation by Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht in 1918. As its successor, the DKP would really like to host the next meeting. We could fulfill the organizational aspects, but we regret to say that our economic conditions do not allow it.

Thank you for your attention!

# Communist Party of Greece

## **Dear comrades, representatives of the Communist and Workers Parties**

We are particularly moved to be here in Leningrad, at the meeting being hosted by the CP of the Russian Federation, precisely 100 years after the Great Socialist October Revolution.

We continue to call Petrograd, Leningrad, the name that it took in honour of the leader of the world historically important revolution that changed the fortune and course of humanity, inaugurating the beginning of the end of capitalist barbarity and the dawn of a new society; the name of the founder of the young workers' state, the first socialist democracy known to mankind, irrespective of the fact that this course was interrupted in 1991, after tragic mistakes and weaknesses that allowed the restoration of capitalism.

We are firmly convinced that the earth will become red in any case, red with life and creativity and that the red flag will be raised again in Leningrad, in Moscow, all over Russia and the countries of the former Soviet Union, in Europe, in Asia, in America, in Africa, in Oceania, all over the world.

The KKE feels particular pride, because on the first day when the red flag was being brought down from the Kremlin, it had the courage to declare in Rizospastis "Comrades, hold the flag high! Hope lies in the struggle of the peoples!"

## **Dear comrades,**

The study of history, the class struggle itself confirms a general fundamental conclusion: the struggle for power is objective when the class that is in power, in the specific historical context, represents a historically obsolete socio-economic formation, while the class that can assert power is the motor force of the new, higher socio-economic formation.

History has demonstrated that in class societies the class conflicts are always violent, precisely because the very concept and the essence of power and the struggle for it entail imposition, violence. The radical changes in terms of the character of power only come about through revolutions, i.e. the movement of masses, under the leadership of the emerging class in each phase and guided by its political party, its political representatives. Such were all the bourgeois revolutions and subsequently the proletarian ones, while before the bourgeois revolutions, the radical changes were also brought about by wars, with the invasion and military superiority of peoples-tribes that possessed more developed means of production.

In the struggle for power, as well as during the development and prevalence of the new social relations, progress is not linear and upward, but there are several zigzags, leaps and setbacks.

## **Dear comrades,**

Being fully aware of all the above, at the same time

we must not forget the greatest lesson of the October Revolution:

the emerging force, the working class, with its revolutionary movement can play the leading role in the cause of social progress, in the transition from the old mode of production and organization of society to the new communist one.

And this is what happened in October in Russia. In a very short period of time, centuries of backwardness and pre-capitalist vestiges were swept away. The achievements in Soviet Russia and later in the USSR were attained in conditions of imperialist interventions, permanent threats by the imperialist centres, the undermining of production.

There is no way they can convince us that the course of the populations in the endless expanse of the Tsarist empire, their general political level would be as it is today without the victory of the October Socialist Revolution, without the beginning of socialist construction. The same is true for the other countries of socialist construction in Europe, Asia and America.

The achievements of socialism in the USSR, even if they later suffered a catastrophic setback, cannot be compared to the current situation of the working class in capitalism. Likewise, we cannot compare the level of capitalism of the 21st, 20th and even 19th centuries with what was provided by the newly emerging capitalist relations in the 14th century in the urban centres of Italy.

The experience of socialist construction indicates the trend for the rapid development of society as a whole, the amazing increase of the level of social prosperity. However, it cannot show us what it would really be like today, when science, knowledge, labour potential and productivity have objectively reached even higher levels. In general, the bourgeois criticism of the history of the USSR conceals that it constituted the first historical steps of the immature level of communist society.

This what the younger generations should be aware of, in particular the youth of our countries, so that they do not easily fall into the trap of the deliberate distortion that is promoted with a "scientific" camouflage. Of course the various historical researches who serve capitalism today know that the upsurge of the labour movement all over the world had a solid basis, namely the impact that the achievements of the Soviet Union have had for decades.

However, We, the communists know that we have the duty not to conceal the weaknesses of our movement, but openly criticize them in order to get rid of them once and for all. For that reason, at our meetings there is no room for verbalisms, big words and mere applause. Our meetings should focus on the essential presentation of views that will contribute to the correct assessment of the past as well as to the clear definition of the present in order to be able to make a leap into the future.

For that reason, the experience from October Revolution is inexhaustible and above all timely. This is the basis on which the communists from all over the world should rely on, enriched with the experience from the other socialist revolutions that followed within a strictly defined

historical context.

The victory of socialism –as a first immature phase of communism- against capitalism has demonstrated that the working class, as the only truly revolutionary class, has the historical duty to complete its basic tasks:

- To overthrow, smash the exploiters i.e. the bourgeois class which is their main economic and political representative; to beat their resistance and thwart their attempts to reinstate the yoke of capital, wage slavery.
- To attract and lead under the revolutionary vanguard of the Communist party, not only the industrial proletariat, either as a whole or its vast majority, but the entire mass of the working people and the people exploited by capital and monopolies; to enlighten them, organize and educate them through the process of a tough battle and class conflict against the exploiters.
- At the same time, it must eliminate and render harmless the inevitable wavering between the bourgeois class and the proletariat, between the bourgeois power and the working class power, that the middle strata, the small-proprietors in agriculture, trade, crafts and other services of various scientific fields will manifest, as well as by state employees, all of which represent numerous sections in all capitalist countries.
- The success of the victory against capitalism requires a proper relationship between the party that leads the revolutionary change, the Communist Party, and the revolutionary class, the working class, as well as with the working masses and the exploited people as a whole. Only the Communist Party can lead the masses in the most decisive struggle against capitalism, imperialism, provided that its members are committed communists, steeled and educated by their participation in the class revolutionary struggle, and provided that it manages to become part of the life of the working class and consequently the exploited masses as a whole and it gains the trust of the working class and the people.
- Only the guidance of this Party enables the proletariat to release the power of its revolutionary assault, to eliminate the resistance of the labour aristocracy, which is bought off by the bourgeoisie, as well as of the corrupt and compromised reformist, opportunist trade unionists and achieve the victory. Only the workers and the other popular strata who are liberated from capitalist slavery can develop at the utmost their initiatives and activities through their new institutions which emerge from the revolutionary process, as they were organized for the first time in history in the working class power in the soviets in Russia. Only in that way can they achieve the participation in government, which they are deprived of during the bourgeois power, despite the illusions fostered regarding their participation. The working class, participating in

the organs of state power from the bottom up, is actually learning through its own experience how to build socialism, how to develop a new voluntary social discipline. It forms, for the first time in history, a union of free people, a union of workers in a new society, in a society without the exploitation of man by man.

- The conquest of political power by the proletariat does not entail the end of class struggle against the bourgeois class. On the contrary, it renders this struggle “extremely broad, sharpened, relentless” as Lenin noted. In this framework we should pay particular attention on the following assessment which all of us have confirmed in practice: any inconsistency or generally any ideological-political weakness in revealing the revisionist, opportunist, reformist forces may significantly increase the danger of the overthrow of working class power by the bourgeois class that will utilize these forces for the counterrevolution as has happened many times in history.
- In order for our course to be truly victorious all CPs must elaborate a revolutionary strategy in their countries and this attempt must embrace the international communist movement. The experience of the Bolsheviks in this direction, enriched with the experience from all socialist revolutions, with the experience of the revolutionary movement in each respective country must serve as a beacon in this process. The fact that this experience was not assimilated and did not prevail thereafter and that the character of the revolution was determined on the basis of other mistaken criteria requires our serious reflection.
- Today, in conditions of a general setback, of a negative correlation of forces at an international level and in each region separately, each communist party has the duty to intensify the preparation of the working class, on a daily basis with hard ideological-political work and class oriented activity for the revolutionary upsurge to come. Because, our era continues to be an era of transition from capitalism to socialism. The era of capitalism’s overthrow was inaugurated by the October Revolution 1917 that paved the way and marked the beginning of socialist revolutions. For that reason, we consider timely the words of Lenin that the start was made and the proletarians of which nation will complete this process is not important. For that reason, we do not fall back, we do not retreat; we are deeply convinced that we have to carry through this task.

### Dear comrades,

The 100<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the October Revolution finds the International Communist Movement, as a whole, deeply divided, faced with enormous difficulties, in a relatively perplexed situation, despite the partial positive steps made in separate countries with the undeniable

effort of many vanguard leaderships and entire party organizations in various country.

The unity of the International Communist Movement in the 21<sup>st</sup> century must be based on certain essential indisputable principles.

### 1

Our theory is Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. The role of the Communist Party is irreplaceable. Socialism is more timely and necessary than it has ever been in the history of humanity. The timeliness and necessity of socialism, the socialist character of the revolution do not depend on the correlation of forces at each time.

The bourgeois class has lost its progressive role even before the revolution of 1917. It finds itself in the era of reaction, of monopoly capitalism, namely imperialism; capitalism in its last stage that is in decay. As the experience from October Revolution has shown, there is no room for any cooperation-alliance with the bourgeois class or any sections of it in the name of defending bourgeois democracy or avoiding any “pro-war powers”. The bourgeoisie and the bourgeois power, as a whole, undermine and suppress workers’ and people’s rights, achievements. In their “peaceful conditions” they prepare wars. The consolidation of the anti-capitalist-antimonopoly struggle, of the struggle for socialism requires the alliance of the working class with the poor farmers and the self-employed craftsmen.

### 2

Our answer to the question “reform or revolution” is revolution because no organ of bourgeois power can be humanized. The line of social democracy since the beginning of the previous century until today has completely failed, it has caused great damage, it led to the defeat of the revolutionary communist movement, it assimilated working masses in the capitalist exploitative system, it led militant, progressive forces in favour of social development to be disarmed.

### 3

The socialist construction as a first immature phase of the communist society highlighted the scientific laws that the revolutionary vanguard must be aware of and not violate so as to eradicate consciously and methodically the seeds of counterrevolution. More specifically, the theory and practical implementation of “market socialism” is disastrous for socialist construction, whether it is used to justify the toleration of capitalist relations or the long term support of the small commodity production or the long-term distribution of the social product in the form of trade. In these three instances, in each one separately and altogether, central planning is undermined as well the socialist character of the ownership over the means of production. As a result, the class state power is undermined and the counterrevolutionary forces are being recreated, developed and strengthened. Thus, instead of the victory of communism we return to capitalism as it finally happened with the developments of 1991 being the milestone of this process.

#### 4

The forms and the modes of this setback are not that important. In the USSR this happened gradually through the opportunist sliding that started in 1956 and broke out violently in 1991 with the final dissolution of the USSR and the CPSU and the ascending of new capitalist forces to power that exercised state power in the form of bourgeois parliamentary democracy. Elsewhere, this may happen gradually, with the CP maintaining state power and following a clear course of capitalist restoration and consolidation of the capitalist relations of production. The capitalist relations are bound to take the upper hand, even in cases where they have not prevailed yet, no matter if this course is presented as or is honestly considered to be a temporary solution. The result will be a new wave of confusion and disillusionment among the working masses and the people. This line is the beginning of the end of our perspective. Historical experience has demonstrated that the problems that arose in the course of socialist construction were mistakenly interpreted as inherent weaknesses of central planning. The solution was sought in the expansion of market, which was a step backwards, instead of making a step forward expanding and strengthening the communist relations of production.

#### 5

Today, in the 21st century, capitalism in its imperialist stage prevails at international level. The socialist relations – remnants of the socialist past – that survive in some countries, exist only to remind us that they are the swansong of the first attempt of socialist construction that began in 1917 and continued in several countries during the 20th century. In the final analysis, it is not possible for two kinds of production relations to coexist for a long time with various forms in the framework of a new superior social system like socialism-communism i.e. the exploitative capitalist relations and the ones that lead to their abolition, the socialist ones. The one or the other kind shall prevail. Our worldview and the historical experience have proven that their coexistence can only serve as a vehicle for counterrevolution.

#### 6

In the framework of this complicated situation inter-imperialist competition is sharpening as well as the great contradictions over the division of the markets, the control of the energy resources and their transport routes, the geopolitical control and the upgrading of each country in the region and generally. New alliances and blocks are being created that lead to the creation of axes and anti-axes, increasing the danger of involvement in wars, at local and regional level, as well as the possibility of a generalized imperialist war. In any case, it is certain that the regional confrontations and wars will continue as well as the involvement of stronger regional powers and imperialist centers by means of direct military involvement or through diplomatic, political means, economic war etc.

#### 7

In this confrontation the international communist movement and each communist party separately

cannot stand in puzzlement. It must elaborate its own<sup>41</sup> line for the struggle in each country, in each continent and internationally: a line for the overthrow of the imperialist barbarity that breeds economic crises, poverty, unemployment and wars or “peace” with the gun to the people’s head. For that reason, it is essential to study historical experience, to consciously reject mistaken positions of previous decades that led the revolutionary forces to political disarmament, perplexity and ineffectiveness. Every communist party must elaborate a line for the disengagement of their countries and their people from imperialist interventions and wars, defending the sovereign rights of each country; a line which will lead to the defeat of the bourgeois class which is attacking, and simultaneously a line of rupture with the domestic bourgeois class, aiming at its overthrow that will bring about real peace and prosperity for people and not the return to the previous situation that will prepare new crises, military interventions and wars in the name of the national interest. At the same time, it is necessary to elaborate and promote suitable slogans that will facilitate and escalate the people’s struggle and prepare these forces so that in conditions of revolutionary situation they will direct the working and popular masses that are in revolt to a successful overthrow of the capitalist power and to take power into their hands.

#### 8

This dynamic will not emerge like an oasis, merely in one country. In this discussion about what is to be done, which is taking place today in the squares, at our demonstrations, at strikes, in cities and villages, in factories and work places in general, in universities and schools, in all over the world, the bourgeois class and the opportunists pose the dilemma “how can we do it ourselves? It is not realistic!”.

#### 9

Only the communist movement, the communists that believe in the visions and the struggle of the October Revolution, in Marxism-Leninism can put them in their place, refute defeatism and fatalism.

#### 10

Our weapon is proletarian internationalism, our joint struggle, our class and comradely solidarity which is necessary against national isolationism and imperialist cosmopolitanism. The principle of proletarian internationalism is also a significant message for the 100<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Great October Revolution. Without the practical expression of the people’s internationalism towards the Revolution and the young Soviet Union the victory might not have been possible.

This is a valuable conclusion and lesson.

#### **Dear comrades,**

The KKE, as other Communist Parties, was born and developed under the impact of the Socialist October Revolution. In 2018 it will celebrate 100 years of heroic life and activity. It focuses its attention on its internationalist duties and as is known, it has applied to host the next

42 IMCWP in Athens, the city where our International Meetings started from.

**Comrades,**

**Hold high the red flag of socialism-communism!**

**Hold high the flag of Marxism-Leninism!**



# Hungarian Workers Party

Dear Comrades!

43

Revolutionary greetings to all the participants of our summit! Sincere thanks to the Communist Party of the Russian Federation for organising the 19<sup>th</sup> meeting!

Comrades!

November the 7<sup>th</sup> is a holiday for us, Hungarian communists too. The celebration of the triumphant revolution. But also a message to today's communists. It tells us not to give up! If we could win a hundred years ago, we can win today too.

We Hungarian communists are proud that the Hungarian workers' movement also contributed to the realisation of the ideas of the Great October. Our predecessors did what many others couldn't do. They put the power in the hands of the working people. In 1919 they established the Hungarian Soviet Republic, in 1949 the Hungarian People's Republic. Well or not, but we were building socialism.

We have learnt a lot. For example, we have socialism if the power belongs to the workers, if the factories, the banks and the land are in the hands of the society. We are convinced that these are basic rules, regardless of place and time. But from historical experience we know that each country should use these rules in their own realities.

But we have also learnt that the capital will never forgive that we took away a country from it. The danger of counter-revolution is always present. You can't take a break from the class struggle.

Comrades!

We have spoken a lot about the capitalist crisis at the recent years' summits. We have spoken about the possibilities and our plans too. But what is the reality?

The communist and workers' parties couldn't make use of the crisis of the capital. They couldn't turn the course of events yet. The strategic initiative is in the hands of the capital.

There are many reasons behind this situation. The capital used effective weapons against us. It bought opportunist parties, put them into power, to prevent us from getting there.

The capital unleashed previously unknown, destructive sicknesses on the world. Such as terrorism, to make us fear and forget about fighting against the capital. They unleashed migration, to make the movement busy with that, instead of the class struggle.

But let's speak about ourselves too! Our movement lacks unity in determining the basic tasks.

We think it's not enough to fight for reforms in capitalism and postpone socialist revolution for an indefinite time.

We don't believe that it's enough to have bigger representation in the parliament to change the world.

We don't find it a good solution either to cooperate with NGOs, greens, blues, pinks, all kinds of intellectual socialists.

44 If we want to win we must forget illusions. We must fight the opportunists, the defeatists.

We must strengthen our faith in the ideas of the Great October. Capitalism must be defeated, power should be given to the workers, to the people. The factories, banks, lands must be the property of the society. Instead of the capital's European Union, we must create the European alliance of peoples.

Our policies shouldn't be made to fit the feelings of the petty bourgeoisie and the middle class intellectuals, but to fit the interests of the workers, the toiling masses. If we don't do that, we won't be any better than the mensheviks of Lenin's time, the SRs, all kinds of pseudo-revolutionaries.

In Hungary we are building a Marxist-Leninist party. We know there's no revolutionary situation in Hungary yet. But the world can change quickly. We are preparing for that. In the last few years we strengthened our party's political unity. We consolidated our financial situation. People appreciate, that we stand on their side. This is not enough for the victory, but this is a necessary prerequisite of the victory.

Comrades!

The capitalist crisis is not over yet. The workers, the toiling masses are starting to wake up. They want to have their say in Europe's and the world's future. They are starting to realise that today's capitalism is ready for anything to keep its power. It's ready to destroy nations, destroy human environment. It's ready to unleash the destruction of war on us.

Our movement is facing changes. We sincerely hope that the participation of the Chinese Communist Party and other big parties in the active work will bring us forward.

Now the time is coming when - instead of just words - the world's communist parties should create a joint strategy and tactic to defeat the capital. Not to cooperate with the capital, but to defeat it.

This is why we are here and as future members of the Working Group we want to contribute to this with all our efforts. Long live the memory of the Great October! Forward to the new revolutions!



# Tudeh Party of Iran

Dear Comrades,

45

Firstly, on behalf of the Central Committee of the Tudeh Party of Iran, I wish to express our revolutionary greetings to this most important and significant international gathering of communist and workers parties, coinciding with the celebration of the 100th anniversary of the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution. May I also express our comradely greetings and gratitude to our host; the party of Lenin, the Communist Party of the Russian Federation.

Comrades,

We have gathered here to celebrate - and at the same time review - one of the greatest events of the 20th Century, and in humanity's historical and social development; the victory of the October Socialist Revolution. The October Revolution took place at a time of capitalist domination; during the disastrous First World War fought between the imperialist countries over the division of the world and its wealth; the period of suppression of progressive ideas; and at a time when the "ghost of communism" - according to the Communist Manifesto - had begun to disturb the dreams of the leaders of the capitalist world.

The October Revolution aimed to open the way to a society free of war, violence and repression in one of Europe's largest and least advanced countries. The victory of the October Revolution - brought about and led by Vladimir Ilyich Lenin and the Bolsheviks - against Tsarist Russia, marked a historic end to the claims that capitalism was eternal and showed to the oppressed peoples of the world that another world is possible. The victory of the October Revolution also underlined the significance of Karl Marx's historic statement: "The philosophers have thus far only interpreted the world, in various ways. The point, however, is to change it."

The victory of the October Revolution cannot be regarded as separate from the underpinnings of Marxist-Leninist ideology. As the innovative and creative successor of Marx and Engels, Lenin, by detailing the economic-political nature of imperialism, arrived at the conclusion of the law of "uneven growth" of capitalist countries during the stage of imperialism. This law is one of Lenin's most important discoveries and played a fundamental role in the evolution of Marxism. Lenin's creative theoretical work encompasses diverse arenas. Indeed the experiences and achievements of the October Revolution were influenced by this constructive and rigorous theoretical base accordingly, as well as by Marxism in general. This is of course squarely contrary to the claims of those who try to exploit the collapse of socialism in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, and portray Leninism as somehow deviating from or being at odds with Marxism. Thus, Marxism-Leninism, the flagship of the thoughts and ideals of the October Revolution - including its definition and explanation of the nature of imperialism; the economic crisis inherent to the capitalist system; the unbalanced economic growth during the era of imperialism; and the theory of the socialist revolution - has maintained its importance, scientific nature and relevance.

Dear Comrades,

The October Revolution took place in a country neighbouring Iran, our homeland. It replaced Tsarist Russia with a Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. Following the triumph of the October Revolution, Iran became free from the threat of collapse, colonisation and loss of its national sovereignty and independence. The Iranian people saw the USSR as their best sponsor and advocate for freedom and independence. Immediately after the October Revolution, the Soviet government annulled the enslaving treaty of 1907 which had divided Iran into two spheres of British and Russian influence. Lenin himself, in his declaration of 14th December 1917, announced that the August 1907 agreement made between Britain and Tsarist Russia - with all its secret amendments concerning the division of Iran into two subordinate areas and a neutral region - was null and void. He stressed that any treaty that contradicts the national independence, territorial sovereignty and freedom of the Iranian people was invalid and should be torn apart so that they could no longer be referred to.

The revolutionary government of the Soviets also terminated all financial claims and colonial privileges of the Tsarist government of Russia in Iran. Furthermore, the "Capitulation" (immunity from prosecution) law which applied to the legal and judicial affairs of Russians living in Iran was annulled by the new government. To this end, the Soviet government issued a declaration on 26th June 1919 that listed all the benefits that Tsarist Russia had received from Iran, terminated them in their entirety, and then concluded: "The Russian people believe that the 15-million-strong nation of Iran will not perish as they have a proud and heroic history which contains many personalities that the civilised world rightfully honours and respects. Such a nation will awake with a roar to tear apart the chains imposed by the evil oppressors and will walk in the brotherly path of free and progressive nations towards a new, bright, creative and prosperous humanity..."

Under the influence of the Great Socialist October Revolution, the national liberation movements in Iran, which were already campaigning for change, grew further and spread. Some leaders of these movements were already in contact with the Bolsheviks and involved in the smuggling of the publications sent by Lenin and the exiled leadership to the Bolsheviks. This was followed in 1920 and 1921 by armed uprisings in Azerbaijan, Gilan and Khorasan provinces. These popular insurrections included large masses of workers and peasants, as well as the *moyenne* (or middle) bourgeoisie and the commercial bourgeoisie. From these popular social movements and under the leadership of great revolutionary figures of that era - such as Heydar Amou-Oghli, one of the leaders of the Constitutional Movement of Iran - the "Communist Party of Iran" was born in 1920. The Communist Party engaged in a complex struggle for social, economic and political change but was attacked by the monarchical regime and was declared as banned under the constitution. The leadership of the party were arrested, imprisoned and its leader, Dr. Taghi Arani, was murdered in prison in

February 1940.

Seventy-six years ago, following the onset of the Second World War, the collapse of Reza Shah's despotic regime and the release of Communist prisoners, the revolutionary and democratic successor of the Communist Party of Iran, the Tudeh Party of Iran, was formed and became the core of a mass radical social movement within a short time. Influenced by the effective organisation of the Tudeh Party of Iran, national and democratic movements spread across the country leading to the establishment of autonomous regional governments in Azerbaijan and Kurdistan. As a result of the widespread struggle of the Iranian people during the term of Prime Minister Mohammad Mossadegh, the oil industry in our country was nationalised. During the coup d'état of 19th August 1953 - which was carried out by the CIA and MI6 - this popular movement was brutally suppressed, placing Iran under the control of the oppressive police-state regime of the Shah and his imperialist masters. The historic legitimacy of our movement and its unbreakable link with the ideals and thoughts of the October Revolution, together with the deep-rooted nature of the workers' movement in our homeland, contributed significantly to the revolutionary movement growing struggle against the tyrannical regime, and the victory of the Iranian Revolution of February 1979. The importance of the presence of the October Revolution's descendant and flagbearer - the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics - on the northern borders of our country and the role it took in deterring any threats by imperialism to interfere in the internal affairs and against the glorious revolution of our people, is irrefutable.

Today, nearly 39 years after the victory of the National Democratic Revolution in Iran, our people are ruled by a medieval religious dictatorship that betrayed the ideals of our revolution. The savage suppression of democratic rights and the freedom of our people, combined with neo-liberal economic policies pursued by the regime, have resulted in millions of our people living below the poverty line, rampant unemployment and a level of deprivation unseen in our recent history. It is also important to state that over the past 39 years we have seen some of the most reactionary and inhumane laws introduced against trade union, women and youth movements in the country. The women's movement has been one of the most innovative and courageous components of the popular movement challenging the theocratic dictatorship. We should be clear that communist organisations - and the left forces in general - are banned and suppressed in Iran. The Islamic regime is bitterly and vehemently anti-socialist and regards Marxism as a heresy. Despite the anti-American rhetoric of the Iranian regime, the Islamic Republic's foreign policy in the region and across the world has been nothing but adventurist, threatening our sovereignty and helping none other than reactionary Islamic forces. Furthermore, despite this same rhetoric from the regime - and its continual naked attempts to bolster its credentials in this respect - the Islamic Republic has played into the hands of imperialism at every critical junction in the affairs of our country and the wider region. A real counterbalance to the designs of imperialism and its regional allies, since

the collapse of the Soviet Union, it most certainly has not been.

Dear Comrades,

We are celebrating the 100th anniversary of the victory of the October Revolution at a time when global capitalism is engulfed in a deep and wide-ranging economic crisis. The world of monopoly capitalism in this the second decade of the 21st century is a world blighted by inhuman and deepening inequality in which hundreds of millions of people are deprived of the most basic human and democratic rights and in which the shocking poverty of hundreds of millions of people, their marginalisation, along with war and the ever-continuing destruction of the environment, are seriously threatening the future of humankind. The re-emergence of racist and supremacist dogmas in Europe and the United States - a current that drew towards two world wars and the killing of tens of millions of people during the twentieth century - and the coming to power of such governments as that of Donald Trump, that clearly promote racism and domination of US imperialism over the world, should sound a serious warning alarm for progressive people everywhere.

The struggle against the threat of war across the Middle East and against the wider aggressive policies and hegemonic designs of NATO and US imperialism remains a key challenge facing peace loving forces around the world. Well aware of the people's desperate desire for an end to the disastrous First World War, Lenin issued the decree for peace, an end to Russia's participation in that conflict, just days after the revolution as he was conscious that the struggle for socialist revolution could not succeed without it being accompanied by a resolute commitment to a strategic campaign for peace. One hundred years after the success of the Socialist Revolution, the need to continue in the struggle for peace and against war is one of the tenets of that Great October which remains resolutely relevant to the struggle of humanity in the twenty first century. Thus, the campaign for peace is an important and integral part of our strategy for a better future for the Iranian working people.

Comrades,

The existence of classes and the class society is not an invention of communists, though it remains a terrible reality. The current crisis of the class-based system of global capitalism is the direct result of the neoliberal policies that have been pursued over recent decades. David Harvey, the Marxist thinker and distinguished professor at the City University of New York, reached the conclusion that speculative finance capital in the 1970s eventually got the upper hand over productive capital so that the primary thrust of economic activity became the price of shares in the stock market and not production. Financial interests and, as Lenin put it, "the power of accountants instead of engineers", prevailed upon and dominated the ruling classes and elite. Neoliberalism has caused a change in the concept of "social status". It has discarded all that remained of democracy and human

rights. Persistently and relentlessly, it promotes and<sup>47</sup> protects class supremacy and even a new kind of "caste" system in the world.

Finally, the October Revolution stoked up the engine fire of hope - hope for freedom, equality, social justice, peace, and socialism - in the hearts of hundreds of millions of toilers and oppressed people around the world. Today, the giant media trusts that promote the capitalist system are fiercely and relentlessly spreading lies against socialism, the October Revolution and any kind of revolutionary uprising in general. These media moguls portray the October Revolution, and in particular the role of Lenin in leading this revolution, as a historic mistake and in effect present it as something detrimental to the working class and the global struggle of workers. Despite all the achievements by USSR and other socialist countries in building socialism, today it is clear that this process was faced with flaws and weaknesses that, in combination with the massive, organised and crushing pressure of global imperialism, eventually led to the collapse of the socialist system in those countries in the final years of the twentieth century. Critical and scientific evaluation of this significant historical experience, without any dogmatism, is the only way for the communist and working-class movement and progressive forces of the world to develop a road map to build for the future of human society. Ignoring the deficiencies - the bureaucratic structures that grew in those countries and which over time replaced creativity and a scientific approach to phenomena and which diminished the revolutionary characteristics of the ruling parties in those countries - cannot provide an effective means for our struggle and the struggle of the working class and its allies in fighting monopoly capitalism.

The inhumane and unsustainable nature of global capitalism in the 21st century is clear for all to see and humanity is longing for a better alternative. Contrary to the claims of those who praise and promote this anti-human system and refer to it as representing "the end of history", the very beginnings of the Soviet Union and the victory of the October Revolution proved that another world is possible - and through the utilising of humanitarian principles, a different world based on equality, social justice, and peace can in fact be created on the ruins of capitalism. This is the essence of October 1917 and one we must not lose sight of. As the experience of the past millennia of human history has shown, the path of creating this new world is neither an easy one, nor one that can be followed without enormous effort and great sacrifice. What is clear is that the growing and insoluble crisis of global capitalism and its anti-human nature demands the historical necessity of creating a new system.

Loyal to the principals and ideals of that Great October, and along with the overwhelming majority of human society, we continue in our struggle to create this new system, this new socialist society, by learning from past experiences and through the correct and careful comprehension of the objective and subjective conditions of the 21st century in our homeland.

48 Long live the great October Socialist revolution!  
Long live Socialism!  
Long live the international unity of Communists!  
Tudeh Party of Iran



# Communist Party of India

Marking the centenary of the epoch-creating Great<sup>49</sup> October Socialist Revolution (1917) is also an opportunity to introspect and analyze the global economic, social and political developments during the past two and half decades since the disintegration of the Soviet Union and collapse of the Socialist regimes in Eastern Europe to chart out the path to meet the new ideological and theoretical challenges faced by the Communists and Workers parties world over.

To reach to any conclusion on present path, one has to grasp the meaning of the first socialist revolution, the tasks accomplished during the period when the Soviet people were building socialist state as well as the mistakes that were committed.

Let us first have a look on what the Great October Revolution meant for the working people and toiling masses world over.

The Great October Socialist Revolution was a genuine and profoundly people's revolution under the leadership of the Bolshevik Party led by Comrade Lenin. The greatest social breakthrough of the 20th century was accomplished and defended in the subsequent period by the overwhelming majority of the working people. It realized the demands of deliverance from imperialist war, transfer of land to the peasants, and control over factories and means of production to the workers, acceptance of the rights of self-determination of nations, way for the transition to the socialist stage. The October Revolution showed that it is possible for the working class, in alliance with the peasantry, to take power and blaze the trail to socialism, towards social and economic justice and equality.

No other socio-economic experiment in any country has achieved so much in so short period of time and given impetus and a direction to human progress. The path to socialist construction in one country, undertaken by the USSR, converted a backward country into a powerful industrialized state within an incredibly short time, under conditions of isolation and blockade.

Socialism in the USSR demonstrated that unemployment, illiteracy, deprivation and disease are not inevitable evils of modern times, that they can be eradicated and a large measure of social security ensured for the masses. This held out a ray of hope to the world's deprived people. It inspired the working class movement in all countries. It compelled even bourgeois economists and capitalist states to speak out for full employment and social security, and to regard elements of planning and state intervention as necessary components of economic policy. It is that which gave birth to the concept of a welfare state.

Against this brief history of only 74 years of socialism in USSR and the ongoing struggle in some of the socialist countries for it, we have the four centuries old history of capitalism and imperialism. Capitalism put an end to the feudal system and led to vast increase in the production forces of the society. There was corresponding advance in the social, political and cultural field. But this system grew and fattened at the expense of brutal exploitation of its working masses and of numerous colonies,

50 the occupation and despoiling of entire continents, enslavement of blacks and the genocide of indigenous tribes etc.

It is imperialism's greed, its search for market and colonies, its desire of domination that plunged mankind into two World Wars and innumerable regional and local wars. It is imperialism that unleashed the arms race and drew all others after this mad pursuit.

On the other hand socialism has, from its inception, stood for peace, for liberation and progress.

The Leninist national policy broke up the Tsarist "prison of nations" and for the first time bestowed upon all nationalities in the former empire, measures of equality. It is this policy which gave scores of primitive ethnic communities a script and a written literature, something they did not have before. Fraternal socialist help drew the vast Soviet East from darkness of obscurantism into the light of knowledge and development. This was a source of inspiration to all people suffering from colonial and feudal bondage.

It was once again the Soviet Union which contributed the most to save the world from Hitler's fascist domination, at the cost of unparalleled sacrifices and unsurpassable heroism. This paved the way for 'decolonization' and liberation of colonies.

A world without wars and armaments was what socialism offered first and continually strived for it. It was the socialist countries which have acted as shield for the newly liberated countries against imperialist nuclear blackmail and neo-colonial threats.

Steps to end the atomic monopoly of US imperialism and thus counter its efforts at nuclear blackmail had been initiated soon after the war. Soviet science and technology registered spectacular advance during these decades. The Soviet Union overtook America in space science, power and delivery system, and several other spheres in an incredibly short period. It developed the most numerous scientific and technical personnel compared to other countries.

Socialism, freedom from exploitation and oppression, liberation from imperialist bondage—all these ideas gripped the masses and moved millions in all countries as a result of the Great October Revolution and undeniable achievements of socialism in the USSR.

It can never be forgotten that Socialist Soviet Union lived through a war of intervention by 14 imperialist powers soon after its birth. It survived a devastating civil war, aided and abetted by the very same powers. It later withstood and then routed the fascist onslaught precisely because of its political, ideological, social and technological superiority. It twice rebuilt itself of the ruin and destruction inflicted within two and half decades, in the midst of its own difficulties it rendered help and assistance, first to the people fighting for independence from colonial rulers and later to the newly liberated countries and people fighting for social and economic justice.

The Victory over Fascism in which Soviet people made

unprecedented sacrifices paved the way for liberation of colonies including India.

II

When the epoch-making revolution took place in Tsarist Russia, India was in the midst of its own struggle for freedom from British colonizers. The victory in 1917 in Russia gave a new impetus and direction to the freedom struggle in India. Not only class struggle got sharpened but the ideas of socialism too started echoing. The rise in the working class movement in India led to the formation of the first central trade union organization, All India Trade Union Congress (AITUC) in 1920. Numerous revolutionary movements cropped up and the young revolutionaries took to the path of violence that the colonial rulers and even the reactionary forces within the broad National Freedom Movement termed as "terrorism". Many of these revolutionaries later came over to the Communist movement, as unlike the bourgeois leaders, the Communists had a proper approach to these young revolutionaries.

Leading lights of the freedom struggle started referring to the ideals of Russian Revolution and socialism gradually thus making socialism reference point of development in liberated India. Right from Gandhi and Tilak to Nehru and Subhash Chandra Bose became supporters of Russian Revolution and of a socialist society. In this background the Communist Party of India was formed in December 1925.

The problems that we were facing during the freedom struggle, the emergence of Soviet Union provided clues to the solution. These problems included right of national self determination that is right of the oppressed countries to independence from foreign domination; right not to be dragged into imperialist wars; the rapid industrial and agricultural development of our backward and poverty-stricken country; the abolition of feudal land tenures and the distribution of land to the tillers of the soil; the rising of popular living standard; the spread of mass education, health care and culture, and last but not the least, the problem which was then on our horizon (and continues to be even today) namely how to keep our multilingual, multi-racial and multi-religious country united with the consent of all its people subsequent to the achievement of the freedom for which we were striving. The path of development as and when the country achieves independence became the focal point of debate in almost all political formations that have emerged with the spread of freedom movement. Socialism was most accepted concept.

The ideals of October Revolution became the primary source of inspiration, not only for those who were adopting Marxism-Leninism, but the big segment of our National Freedom Movement including the dominant leadership of the Indian National Congress. Apart from communists, there were socialists and liberal leaders of the INC who started pleading for Socialism as the most suitable goal to be pursued after country attained the freedom. This trend helped us even after attaining our freedom in opting for a secular democratic set-up and

Constitution.

The unhindered support of the Soviet Union to the people fighting for national liberation, particularly the victory over fascism heralded the era of decolonization and liberation of colonies. India too attained freedom in 1947.

Soviet Union continued to be on the back of the newly liberated countries. It provided political and economic assistance to all newly liberated countries that were willing to build their own independent self reliant economy. India was among the countries which received maximum moral and material assistance including financial support from Soviet Union and newly emerged East European Socialist regimes.

Though our ruling classes in the beginning wanted to merge the interests of development with the capitalist order and depend on assistance from the Western capitalist powers, particularly Britain and America. But the assistance from these sources was not without strings. The overwhelming majority of the ruling party was reluctant and hesitant to go for this conditional assistance. Gradually they opted for the fraternal help being offered by the Soviet Union and other Socialist countries. But this decision was neither spontaneous nor without struggle. The ideological and political struggles on choosing the means for development in the first decade of independence have lot for us to analyze and learn while deciding our strategy and tactics in the current phase of crisis the country is faced with.

Soviet Union and other Socialist countries helped us to build our own industries in coal, steel, and petroleum, pharmaceutical, medical and such other core sectors. These public sector undertakings were the main source of our strength by which we could withstand the repeated onslaught of imperialism including the global melt down caused by the crisis of finance capital in 2008.

These decisions to seek help from Socialist world also helped in taking some very important decisions on land reform, nationalizing the core sectors of natural resources like oil and coal, abolition of privy purses of feudal lords and ultimately the nationalization of banks. The idea of making public sector the determining factor of national economy had general popular support. These progressive measures paved way for fast development of industries and agriculture.

In the international arena, Soviet help to the newly liberated countries and their assertion against imperialist pressure facilitated the emergence of the non-aligned movement that later developed into a "third block". This block was basically anti-imperialist. It played very important role in shaping the world events in the last half of the 20th Century.

III

The disintegration of the Soviet Union and collapse of Socialist regimes in Eastern Europe has created a new situation. The process of introspection and analysis is going on. The world meetings of the Communist and

Workers parties have attempted on introspection in <sup>51</sup> the past two and half decades. Certain unanimous conclusions have been reached but the process is to be continued as there are several important aspects, particularly related to democracy and democratic set-up in the socialist system, that need to be deliberated upon. The Information and technological revolution has thrown up new ideological and theoretical questions that need to be pondered over.

Communist Party of India in its 15th Congress held in Hyderabad in April 1992 adopted a detailed document on the disintegration of Soviet Union and collapse of the Socialist regimes in Eastern Europe. It reached to certain conclusions including one that reiterate our firm commitment to Marxism-Leninism. It also categorically said that the collapse of Soviet Union is not the collapse of Socialism. It is the collapse of a model. It further concluded that no model of Socialism could be copied. Every country has to evolve its own model based on geographical, national, ethnic and cultural traditions and other local realities. But this document lacks in analyzing the impact of IT revolution on classes and their consciousness. It needs to be studied.

If we look at the present realities, certain things are obvious. The rule of finance capital that Lenin himself has described as the crucial stage of most brutal exploitative capitalist system is there to impose its economic and political hegemony world over. The CPI, while analyzing the crisis that started in 2008 and was termed as Global Melt Down has described it as the crisis of finance capital and not the cyclic crisis of capitalism.

The Political resolution, adopted by the 21st Congress of the CPI held at Patna in 2012, has said:

"The world is in the mire of a serious economic crisis that it has not witnessed since early thirties of the last century. It is not the ordinary cyclic crisis of capitalism. It is a crisis of finance capital that attempted to establish its hegemony on the economic and political system world over. In the wake of the disintegration of the erstwhile Soviet Union and collapse of the socialist regimes in Eastern Europe, it was proclaimed that the days of class struggles were over, history had come to an end and the only path of development was through capitalism that propounded the theory of globalization, liberalization and privatization. What actually was meant by this mantra was a total freedom for maximisation of profit by all means and a licence to loot the natural resources in any part of the world. As finance capital has neither a national character nor grooming in industrial activity, it was bound to be brutal and inhuman in all its endeavour.

"...absence of a credible alternative is leading to far more right-ward shift in the European Union. In number of countries, particularly in Austria, Finland and Hungary, rightist parties have gained in the recent elections. These rightist forces have launched an offensive against the Left. Hungary has outlawed the Left.

"The global economic crisis is affecting the countries and people in different regions differently. If Europe is in dire strait by heaping the miseries on the people through cut in pension and wages, reduction in public fund for

52 education and public health, raising of interests on public borrowings, the Arab countries too are in turmoil. The bankruptcy of banks and financial institutions in USA and Europe has dwindled the incomes of Sheikhs and Amirs who are passing on the burden on their own people. Apart from urge for democratic and human rights there are economic reasons for the people's uprising in most of the Arab countries. American imperialists along with their NATO allies are out to exploit the people's uprising to protect their own interests in the Middle East and North Africa. They are adopting different yardsticks keeping in view only their interests. Wherever possible, they want to protect their stooges or maneuver installation of another puppet regime. Libya has already been captured, manipulations are on to install puppet regimes in Egypt and Yemen and repeat Libya in Syria. In Qatar as well as in most of the Gulf countries they are out to protect the ruling monarchies. But the global economic meltdown has started affecting most of these countries and hurting the people there who will be out on streets more and more.

"China, Cuba and Vietnam are adopting their own course to continue efforts to build socialism in the context of globalised economy. The DPR of Korea is continuing its efforts for socialist construction in a very difficult situation. The present regimes in Laos also intend to follow the path of socialist construction.

"All these efforts will become more and more relevant as the global economic crisis gets further deepened and more and more people join the resistance movement and ultimately the struggle for an alternative to the hegemony of finance capital. Finance capital has in its nature to go to any low to maximize the profit. Karl Marx, in the first volume of *The Capital* itself has quoted T. J. Dunning, the trade unionist as under:

"Capital eschews no profit, or very small profit, just as Nature was formerly said to abhor a vacuum. With adequate profit, capital is very bold. A certain 10 per cent will ensure its employment anywhere; 20 per cent certain will produce eagerness; 50 per cent positive audacity; 100 per cent will make it ready to trample on all human laws; 300 per cent, and there is not a crime at which it will scruple, nor a risk it will not run, even to the chance of its owner being hanged. If turbulence and strife will bring a profit, it will freely encourage both. Smuggling and the slave-trade have amply proved all that is here stated." (Volume 1, Chapter 31)

"With bid for hegemony of finance capital, the capitalist order is reaching to that barbaric stage.

"The international finance capital, from day one of its mission for economic and political hegemony had also seen to it that the ideological opponents of economic neo-liberalism are marginalized in their countries. Much more serious was their bid through several streams of non-governmental organisations (NGOs), financed and encouraged under different covers to hijack the issues that the ideological opponents of neo-liberalism could have used to sharpen the class consciousness of the masses. Apparently, these NGOs took up the noble 'cause', their campaign to disturb the existing class organisations, both mass and political, that could have

better fought on these issues. One needs to adopt a clear and conscious approach to such attempts and foil the greater conspiracy of the international finance capital to blunt the class consciousness of suffering masses and disarm ideologically the real fighters of economic neo-liberalism.

(Some quotes from the Political Resolution, but not in continuity)

From what is happening at the moment, certain trends and attempts by the Finance capital to impose its political and economic hegemony world over can be identified. It may differ from country to country and region to region, but the basic features are common. Let us list some of them:

- \* Engineer, encourage and spark conflicts within the country, between the countries and regions but keep the control of finance capital on the natural resources.

- \* Convert the non-imperialist countries into market and keep them under the control of the finance capital. WTO and IMF are the main tools of this conspiracy.

- \* Provoke armed conflicts within the country or with neighbors. It helps to capture the natural resources. Arms race only can help imperialism, particularly the US imperialism to revive the industrial military complex and economy as such.

- \* Marginalize and setting aside the class politics; promote classless consciousness either through the so-called Non-Governmental Organizations (NGO) or floating the political parties that claim to be non-class but ultimately serve the interests of the Finance capital. Here the Communist and Workers parties have to be over-cautious.

- \* Blunt the class consciousness in the non-bourgeois classes. Fracture the working class. The emergence of new segments in the middle classes. Fracturing of the classes is a reality that cannot be ignored. Impact of IT has to be studied. It too has caused fracturation in classes.

- \* Fracturation in classes, blunting of class consciousness and emergence of political forces claiming to be non-class is a big challenge that the Communist and Working class parties can ignore at their own peril.

All these have played an important role in having rightward shift world over.

In India we are facing a very serious challenge. The last Congress of the CPI held in 2015 has described the formation of the Narendra Modi government as not to be treated just as replacement of a bourgeois party with other. It has said:

"The advent of the Narendra Modi government as a result of the clear majority for the Bhartiya Janata Party in the Lok Sabha election marks a definite right-ward shift in the politics. As the corporate capital has staked everything for the victory of the BJP-led NDA alliance that was actively and aggressively backed by the RSS, the new government clearly represents the combination of the interests of corporate capital, rightwing ideology coupled with the worst form of majoritarianism and

communalism having fascistic tendencies.”

This government is bent upon reversing everything. In political, economic and constitutional structural arena it is trying to impose an order that endangers the very secular-democratic fabric of the country. It is paving the way for a fascistic take over. On economic level it is a government that serves the interests of the Corporate and finance Capital, heaps burden on the common people, dismantling the public sector, reversing all the policies that were formulated to help the people. It is allowing unbridled entry of finance capital by liberalizing all the restrictive measures including limit on FDI and FII.

So far there has been a consensus in the country on foreign policy. It was of an independent, mostly anti-imperialist non-alignment. Now it is being totally reversed. More and more the country is surrendering to US imperialist and politically and economically aligning with its tools like Japan.

It is sparking conflicts on the basis of religion, caste, ethnicity and linguistic affiliation to impose a fascistic rule. Hastening the communal-casteist polarization is its main political weapon.

This cannot be fought back only on the basis of Left unity. While the Left has to build much more closer unity on the economic issues and fight on its own the economic neo-liberalism as most of the other bourgeois political formations have swallowed the prescription of Neo-liberalism, it has to go for the broadest possible unity of all secular democratic and left forces to combat the fascistic threat.

The CPI has, while sticking to its strategy of building a Left Democratic Alternative based on Left Unity has called for building a Secular Democratic-Left Platform to foil the fascistic offensive. It is neither an electoral platform nor any basis for building a Left Democratic Alternative to usher the country towards a democratic revolution. But surely, a step towards that goal.

Comrades,

At the end I take the opportunity to thank the leadership of CPRF for hosting the 19th meeting of the Communist and Workers Parties to coincide with the celebration of the Centenary of the Great October Socialist Revolution.

# Worker's Party of Ireland

Comrades,

The Workers Party of Ireland is honoured to be present in Russia on this historic occasion. The Central Executive Committee of our Party wishes to thank the Working Group of the IMCWP and the Communist Party of the Russian Federation for hosting this meeting and providing the facilities for our work.

In these next few days we celebrate the 100<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, one of the greatest events in human history, an occasion of historic global significance which changed forever the power relations between exploiters and exploited and made real the vision of a new socialist society. The socialist revolution that took place in Russia in October 1917 was the first and the greatest successful workers' revolution in history, translating into practice the revolutionary ideas of Marx and Engels and providing a momentous catalyst for the revolutionary process throughout the world.

The October Revolution transferred power to the working class, broke down the machinery of the bourgeois state and established the world's first workers' state. The object of the October Revolution was to abolish all forms of exploitation and oppression and to construct a new society based on socialist ideas.

The October Revolution transformed the world. It constituted a decisive break with the old world order, abolished private ownership of the means of production and laid the basis for the political, social and economic liberation of humankind. The Revolution inspired the workers and oppressed of the world and offered real prospects for change, investing the workers' movement with a revolutionary consciousness and objective and educating, organising and mobilising the mass of the working people in the task of building a new society, fundamentally altering the balance of forces across the globe.

In Ireland, in February 1918, some 10,000 people attended a rally in Dublin to greet the success of the October Revolution.

Under Soviet power life expectancy and literacy levels were increased, the living conditions and material well-being of the people were improved and the health and education of citizens was secured. The October Revolution created the basis for material and social advancement, for the transfer of power to the working people, the creators of wealth, and provided the workers with the opportunity, through their labour and struggle, to build the social, political, economic and cultural conditions which offered the prospect of a free and fulfilled life.

The Revolution declared important rights for women, equality under the law, the right to divorce, and the right to free and legal abortion. These gave women the right to control their wages and property, maintain a claim to their children in the event of divorce, and to decide where they wanted to live, go to school, and to work.

The industrialisation of the economy, the expansion of medical and health services, the development of educational provision and training, the measures taken to

provide for culture, literature and sport, the development of agriculture, scientific and technological progress and the improvement in the material conditions of working people were among the many accomplishments of the revolution.

The October Revolution confirmed that the purpose of the revolution is to establish workers' power and that socialist construction begins with the revolutionary acquisition of power by the working class. The workers' state, the dictatorship of the proletariat, is an instrument of the working class in the class struggle. Real, fundamental, transformative change requires a rupture with the capitalist system and its abolition, to create a world where the working class controls its own destiny under socialism-communism and a society which maximises human potential, dignity and development rather than a system driven by the relentless pursuit of profit for the benefit of the few.

We are here, as communists, not only to celebrate the October Revolution but to learn from it, to revitalise the class struggle and to strengthen the struggle for socialism.

Across the world, tens of millions of workers live and work under worsening social and economic conditions without any possibility that their lives can be improved under the existing capitalist system.

The expansion of NATO; the growing militarisation of the EU; an emboldened imperialism increasingly ready to use military force, either directly or through its proxies; unilateral imperialist threats, intervention, aggression and war, all represent a serious threat to peace and the peoples of the world.

As Lenin stated, imperialism is capitalism at that stage of development at which the dominance of monopolies and finance capital is established. Socialist and capitalist relations of production cannot coexist, one beside the other. As communists we stand for an end to the capitalist system and the abolition of the bourgeois state. The ruling class, the capitalist class, will never voluntarily surrender its power without being forced to do so. The

weapon in the hands of the working class is the power of class struggle.

Marxism provides us with a vital theoretical tool for interpreting the world and Lenin and the October Revolution demonstrated how that revolutionary theory provides the basis for changing it.

The October Revolution took place because the Bolsheviks were armed with two indispensable weapons – first, a dynamic revolutionary theory and secondly, a disciplined revolutionary party committed to leading the working class to power.

The task of socialist revolution is difficult and complex. The central issue of a socialist strategy is, accordingly, to create the conditions for a revolutionary transformation of society. In order to attain such conditions it is necessary not only to build the vanguard party but to actively engage and mobilise the broad popular masses of the working class. The leading role of the working class is secured by conscious planned action. In this respect each revolutionary party must be prepared to take the necessary steps to raise and strengthen class consciousness and to build an organisation capable of taking power for the working class.

As Lenin stated: "If you work consistently, if you work devotedly, if this work is linked up with the interests of the oppressed masses, who make up the majority, revolution will come; but where, how, at what moment, from what immediate cause, cannot be foretold."

These are the lessons of Red October. Now is the time to revitalise the struggle against imperialism, against the power of capital, for solidarity, peace, for socialism.

Long live the ideas of the Great October Socialist Revolution!

Long live Marxism-Leninism!

Long live proletarian internationalism!



# Communist Party (Italy)

Дорогие товарищи,

Коммунистическая Партия (Италия) поздравляет вас с 100-ой годовщиной Великой Октябрьской Социалистической Революции и благодарит Коммунистическую Партию Российской Федерации за организацию этой важной встречи.

В этом году коммунисты всего мира отмечают столетие Великого Октября, события, изменившего курс истории человечества и открывшего эру перехода к социализму. Пусть эта годовщина станет для коммунистов стимулом для развития борьбы за социализм на пути, открытом Красным Октябрём. В момент, когда буржуазная пропаганда, фальсифицируя историю, пытается очернить значение Октябрьской Революции и строительства социализма, коммунисты должны активно пропагандировать, среди рабочего класса, трудящихся и молодёжи, великие достижения социализма, его значение не только для пролетариата социалистических стран, но и для трудящихся капиталистических стран, роль Советского Союза в победе над фашизмом, в сохранении мира на Земле, в интернационалистской помощи антиколониальным движениям и коммунистическим партиям всего мира. Также активно надо объяснить истинные причины временной победы контрреволюции в СССР, вытекающие из ревизионистского курса, начатого Хрущёвым после убийства Сталина.

Классовый враг и оппортунисты в рабочем движении отрицают актуальность ленинизма и примера Октября, утверждая, будто капитализм изменился и в сегодняшних условиях надо ограничиваться парламентской борьбой. Врут! Основное противоречие капитализма, то есть непримиримый конфликт между капиталом и трудом, между общественным характером производства и частным присваиванием продукта, не только продолжает существовать в своей сущности, но даже обостряется в своей форме, путём юридического и материального сжатия тех социально-экономических прав, которые несколько лет назад, когда ещё существовал Советский Союз, казались неоспоримыми. Механизмы частного присваивания общественного продукта и выкачивания капиталистической прибыли препятствуют развитию производительных сил и даже их разрушают в кризисные периоды. К усугубляющейся эксплуатации рабочей силы добавляется безумная эксплуатация природных ресурсов, ставящая под угрозу само выживание Земли. Ожесточённая межимпериалистическая конкуренция порождает ряд местных вооружённых конфликтов, которые принуждают миллионы обнищавших людей к бегству и могут привести к мировой войне. Доминирующий империализм пытается навязывать свою волю народам мира и сломать их сопротивление путём криминальных эмбарго, препятствующих их экономическому развитию, их праву на самозащиту, имеющих подрывную цель свержения их политического строя, вплоть до прямой вооружённой агрессии. В политическом плане, начался общий процесс ограничения социально-политических прав и даже

формальных свобод буржуазной демократии. Возможность доступа коммунистических и рабочих партий до выборных институтов ограничивается или запрещается. Расширяются произвольная власть репрессивных органов и шпионаж за гражданами.

Капитализм исчерпал свою историческую роль и стал опасным препятствием прогрессу человечества. Единственный путь, чтобы покончить с современным варварством и эксплуатацией — это революционное свержение капитализма. В этом отношении, развитие борьбы за выход Италии из Евросоюза, НАТО и прочих империалистических организаций с целью их окончательного расформирования является важным шагом в это направление.

Только социализм, то есть установление диктатуры пролетариата, упразднение частной собственности над средствами производства и их обобществление, централизованное планирование экономики под рабочим контролем могут обеспечить мирное, свободное и многогранное развитие человечества. Существование частной собственности несовместимо с продвижением к коммунизму. Ленин считал её выживание, как временное отступление, вынужденное особыми историческими обстоятельствами. Позиция Ленина диаметрально противоположна теориям «рыночного социализма».

Ленин и Красный Октябрь нас учат, что характер пролетарской революции — социалистический, а путь к социализму - не поэтапный, не предусматривает ни постепенный курс реформ, ни промежуточные фазы якобы для завершения национально-демократической революции. Теория завершения буржуазно- демократической революции всегда была на вооружении оппортунизма, особенно в Италии. Она не оправдана историей и всегда приводила к жгучим поражениям. То же самое можно сказать о теории этапности. Эти две теории всегда являлись удобным алиби оппортунистов для избежания пролетарской революции и должны быть решительно отвергнуты. Опыт СССР допускает этапность в сфере экономики, но в условиях диктатуры пролетариата, после революции, а не вместо её, как это блестяще объясняет Сталин в своей работе «Экономические проблемы социализма в СССР».

Ленин и Красный Октябрь нас ещё учат тому, что теория «завоевания» государства через достижения большинства в парламенте лишена всякой научной основы. Во-первых, буржуазный парламент надо использовать, как трибуну для развития классовой борьбы вне его и против него; во-вторых, для утверждения рабочей власти недостаточно заменить буржуазных министров, депутатов и чиновников пролетарскими кадрами, просто занимая их посты в буржуазном госаппарате. Надо сломать «машину» буржуазного государства и заменить её новыми органами пролетарской диктатуры. Восприятие буржуазной демократии и её правил игры в стратегическом плане и игнорирование ленинского учения о государстве приводят пролетариат к поражению, как это было в

Чили и, в некоторой степени, в Италии после войны,<sup>57</sup> или к критическому положению, как это происходит в Венесуэле. Не может быть успеха пролетарской революции без радикального, травматического и бескомпромиссного разрыва с предыдущим строем.

Ещё одно учение ленинизма и Октября заключается в том, что пролетарская революция не является ни спонтанным взрывом масс, ни путчем заговорщиков. Её предпосылкой является одновременное наличие объективных и субъективных условий, когда низы не хотят быть управляемыми по прежнему, а верхи не могут их управлять по прежнему.

Оппортунисты всё время ссылаются на отсутствие объективных условий для революции, либо сваливают на класс вину за отсутствие субъективных условий, тем же оправдывая свою инертность и скрывая свою роль тормоза революции. Объективные и субъективные условия не случайны, их надо создать. Для этого требуется кропотливая работа революционной партии по восстановлению классового единства рабочего класса, по связыванию его экономической борьбы с целью свержения капитализма и взятия власти, по созданию сети социальных альянсов рабочего класса с другими трудящимися слоями общества, по ужесточению классовой борьбы и доведению буржуазного строя до состояния неуправляемости при параллельном создании альтернативного пролетарского управления.

Красный Октябрь доказал, что главным орудием и движущей силой революции является ленинская партия — строго организованный, сознательно дисциплинированный и идеологически непоколебимый авангард рабочего класса. Вопрос идеологической сплочённости партии - один из основных аспектов революционной борьбы. Партия является местом синтеза теории и практики революции, которые друг без друга не могут существовать. Следовательно, мы должны уделять особое внимание теоретической подготовке кадров, особенно в момент, когда мощный пропагандистский аппарат капитала ставит под угрозу идеологическую и культурную автономию рабочего класса систематической фальсификацией истории и обманчивыми иллюзиями новой социал-демократии о возможности реформирования и улучшения капитализма. Должно быть ясно, что капитализм не болен чем-то, он сам - болезнь, которую надо искоренить. Мы должны справиться с вопросом укрепления революционной партии в обстановке пока ещё контрреволюционной, чтобы партия была приспособлена перейти в наступление и готова сражаться в любых условиях любыми методами борьбы, диктуемыми реальной обстановкой, за самое благородное из всех дел - дело освобождения человека от эксплуатации и нужды, дело торжества социализма-коммунизма в каждой стране.

**ВПЕРЁД ПО ПУТИ КРАСНОГО ОКТЯБРЯ!**

**ДА ЗДРАВСТВУЕТ ПРОЛЕТАРСКАЯ  
СОЦИАЛИСТИЧЕСКАЯ РЕВОЛЮЦИЯ!**

58 **ДА ЗДРАВСТВУЕТ МАРКСИЗМ-ЛЕНИНИЗМ!**  
**ПРОЛЕТАРИИ ВСЕХ СТРАН, СОЕДИНЯЙТЕСЬ!**



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# Communist Refoundation Party

Dear Comrades

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I would like to thank the comrades of the Communist Party of the Russian Federation on behalf of the comrades of the Partito della Rifondazione Comunista for their kind invitation, as well as for their wonderful hospitality and the perfect organization with which we have been welcomed into the city which once bore the name of Leningrad.

I feel extremely moved to speak in this room and in this building, (Tauride Palace ) where such fundamental events of the Russian Revolution were played out and where Lenin himself spoke.

We are here to celebrate the hundredth anniversary of a Revolution whose impact has been described by the great historian Eric Hobsbawm as being even more profound and vast than that of the French Revolution itself, in a century which was “the most revolutionary in history”. We should approach this protracted historical period with the same spirit deployed by Marx e Engels in their lifelong study of the French Revolution. We should emulate the same depth of analysis carried out by Antonio Gramsci from his fascist prison cell, in his reflections on the defeat of the Revolution in the West, following his 1926 prophecy to the central committee of the Soviet Communist Party regarding the dramatic consequences of the split within the leadership of his group. As both Marx and Lenin have taught us, it is of no use to hide problems, difficulties, errors or contradictions. Instead, we must learn from victories and defeats too.

The study of historical processes is crucial for the renovation of both theory and practice.

As in others restoration moments, propaganda and dominant ideologies, the voices of the dominant classes, as Marx was well aware, tend to vilify the Revolution as the absolute evil. Not only do they seek to conceal the great conquests of socialist and communist movements but they reconstruct narratives where a world of idealised peace, harmony and justice is brusquely interrupted by revolutionary violence.

In this fabrication, socialist and communist ideals are presented as inevitably leading to war and repression. We know that this is not historically accurate. The October Revolution was the result of the Great War started by imperialist powers, as well as being the fruit of centuries of no longer sustainable social injustice and oppression. The Bolsheviks had to fight against terrible foes aided and abetted by the combined forces of the capitalist powers. The historical context made an indelible mark on the course of the Revolution and it is only too easy to engage in judgements with hindsight. The success of the Bolsheviks in relation to other rival socialist groups must be attributed to their greater capacity to interpret and give voice to the needs and aspirations of the vast masses of soldiers, workers and peasants. They learned from the practical experiences of the masses, identifying key elements and building a programme which was capable of mobilizing them and guiding them forward. Without the overthrow of the provisional government in October, there is absolutely no evidence to assume that the Revolution could have taken a peaceful and

<sup>60</sup> democratic path. It is much more probable that it would have fallen victim to Tsarist repression.

The collapse of the socialist regimes in Eastern Europe and the disintegration of the Soviet Union do not cancel the historical significance of the 1917 Revolution. Neither do they justify the much-repeated slogans of the dominant classes and their mass media between 1989 and 1991, regarding the end or the death of communism.

As democratic and libertarian communists we would like to pay homage to the women and men who were the protagonists of this great revolutionary event and process, which shook the foundations of the capitalist order and inspired liberation struggles of millions of oppressed peoples all over the world.

The thrust of the October Revolution and the challenge represented by the existence of the Soviet Union were important factors in forcing the dominant capitalist classes to gradually accept universal suffrage, the development of democracy, the welfare state and the recognition of workers' rights.

The October Revolution was essential to the anti-fascist movement and the anti-Nazi resistance which led to the approval after 1945 of advanced democratic constitutions such as that in Italy.

It also served as a catalyst to the anti-colonial struggles which put an end to the acceptability of racism and offered them concrete evidence that their revolts were not inevitably condemned to failure and defeat. And how can we not pay homage to a Revolution that sanctioned equality between the sexes, questioned the subordination of women, legalized divorce and abortion, abolished the laws against homosexuality, against the discrimination against Jews, and proclaimed the self-determination of peoples?

In celebrating the October Revolution, we are not removing its tragedies, its contradictions and the increasingly authoritarian character the construction of socialism assumed. Lenin in «State e Revolution» described it as a power above society and increasingly distant from society and Marx advised that the emancipation of the workers must come about by the workers themselves. The radically democratic matrix of the slogan all power to the soviets, however, had to come to terms with the immense difficulties of the civil war.

The evolution towards a single party system was more a result of the emergency arising from the break with the other socialist parties (in an exceptional emergency situation) than of an ideological choice.

The nexus democracy-socialism is essential for us in rebuilding a transformative project in the 21st century.

In the words of Enrico Berlinguer in an historical speech celebrating the 70th anniversary of the October Revolution « Our lived experience has led us to the conclusion that democracy is today the universal ideal on which to found an original socialist society

Comrade Hugo Chavez cited the letters from the anarchist Kropotkin to Lenin where he advised him to give more space to self-government.

These are reflections of militants and leaders who were strongly influenced by the October Revolution and intended to promote its ideals.

We also feel the need at this time to pay homage to the memory of many communist protagonists of the October revolution who were assassinated during the period of Stalinist terror.

But we cannot forget the terrible historical conditions surrounding the development of this unprecedented revolutionary experiment, its enormous achievements, the extraordinary modernization of such a backward society under siege. Faced with the horrendous bloodbath of the First World War which caused 18 million deaths, Lenin and his comrades successfully carried out a victorious insurrection and an unprecedented social upheaval. The capitalist, imperialist, militarist, obscurantist, patriarchal, colonialist and racist social order that the Bolsheviks challenged was responsible for heinous crimes, misery and inhumane injustice that no "Black Book" today remembers and lists.

Against a reactionary "commonsense" which today seeks to impose a predatory capitalism as the only possible world, we defend the greatness of a Revolution which tried to end war, misery and exploitation.

Today the contradictions of capitalism continue to be enormous.

In a world where global capitalism provokes war, religion fundamentalisms, nationalism and racism the October Revolution, which adopted the Internationale in 1918 as the hymn of the Soviet Republic, is more relevant than ever.

Viva the October Revolution

Viva the future communism!!

# Workers Party of Korea

Comrade Chairman,

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Dear Comrade representatives,

First of all, I would like to extend my warm congratulations to the 19th International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties that opened in the historic city of St. Petersburg, the cradle of the great October socialist revolution, at a time when humankind's aspirations for socialism are unprecedentedly high.

I would also like to take this opportunity to express my sincere gratitude to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Russian Federation for the kind invitation extended to the delegation of the Workers' Party of Korea and for the tremendous efforts it has made for the successful organization of this international meeting.

My warm comradely greetings go to all delegations and representatives of the communist and workers' parties who participated in this meeting.

Comrades,

The great October socialist revolution that took place in Russia in 1917 was an epoch-making milestone in history that enabled the working masses to fulfil their long-cherished desire for an ideal society—a society free from exploitation and oppression where everybody enjoys an equitable happy life.

The cause of socialism ushered in by the great October socialist revolution served as a driving force of history that brought down the old society that had persisted for thousands of years and created a new society for the people; it also served as a banner of human emancipation inspiring the world's people in their struggle for independence.

However, the path traversed by socialism for the past century since the birth of the earth's first socialist state borne of the victorious October socialist revolution has by no means been smooth.

The history of the trailblazing march of socialism that requires an endless creation of the new records not only brilliant victories and miraculous achievements, but unbearable pains and heartrending setbacks.

Despite the serious setback of socialism in eastern Europe, socialism as a science has a secure place in the hearts of people as an immortal conviction.

The history of humankind for the last century shows that capitalism, for its reactionary nature and structural contradictions, can never bring dignity and happiness to the masses of people, while socialism, with its eternal viability for its scientific accuracy and truthful nature, is the only future of humankind.

In the report to the historic 7th Congress of the Workers' Party of Korea, Comrade Kim Jong Un, chairman of the WPK declared that socialism is the common ideal of humankind, that it is a law of historical development that humankind advances towards socialism.

Under circumstances where there is a sharp confrontation between socialism and capitalism, the Workers' Party of Korea has held high the banner of socialism and built socialism of our own style centred on the masses

62 of people, in the face-to-face showdown with US imperialism, the chieftain of the world reactionary forces.

The secret behind the stability and invincibility of our socialism lies in the fact that it is centred on the masses of people, making people genuine masters of society and making everything of the society serve the people.

Today, socialism is deeply rooted in the life of our people, and they are fully convinced through their own experience that socialism is the only genuine system for the people which guarantees dignity and worthwhile life of an independent human being.

The single-hearted unity between our Party and people, the very foundation of our Party and state and the most powerful weapon of our revolution, is now at its best, ensuring the socio-political stability that is impervious to any upheaval in the international situation.

Thanks to the powerful implementation of a strategy for economic development driven by the principle of self-reliance and science and technology in the face of unparalleled sanctions and blockade perpetrated by the US imperialists and its followers, steady progress is being made in the people's livelihood and the overall economic development of the country.

The miraculous successes being made in the DPRK is a vivid evidence of the truth that socialism is science and so is its victory.

The Workers' Party of Korea takes a great pride in having pioneered and kept to the path of socialism centred on the masses of people based on its own conviction and decision, and is full of confidence in the final victory of socialism of our own style.

Under the outstanding leadership of the respected supreme leader Comrade Kim Jong Un, the people of the DPRK united firmly behind the Workers' Party of Korea are working new miracles and innovations day after another in their struggle to achieve the magnificent goal of building a great prosperous powerful socialist nation—the goal put forward in the 7th Congress of the WPK.

Comrades,

To build a peaceful world free from war is the goal the Workers' Party of Korea is aiming at; to endeavor for peace and security of the region and the rest of the world is the consistent stance of the WPK.

Peace is valuable, but it never comes on its own accord.

In order to thwart the imperialists' moves of aggression and war and safeguard peace and socialism, it is imperative to possess strong force to defend them.

To cope with the vicious moves of the US imperialists who engage in nuclear war threats against our country on a near-daily basis, regarding our socialist system as a thorn in their flesh, the Workers' Party of Korea has put forward the strategic line of simultaneously developing the economy and strengthening the nuclear armed forces, known as Byongjin, and has built a powerful war deterrent accordingly to defend our socialist system and our people.

War has been averted and peace maintained on the

Korean peninsula for the last 60-odd years since the end of the Korean War—this has been possible all thanks to the fact that the Korean people under the leadership of the Workers' Party of Korea have built strong national defense capabilities based on a nuclear deterrent that can defeat aggression of any formidable enemy.

The current situation on the Korean peninsula clearly proves that our nuclear weapons are now serving as powerful deterrence that safeguard peace and security on the Korean peninsula and in Northeast Asia and guarantee the Korean nation its sovereignty, right to existence and right to development.

No matter who says what, the Workers' Party of Korea will never step back even an inch from the path of Byongjin, and will firmly defend the Korean-style socialism centred on the masses of people. We will root out the U.S. threats of a nuclear war and safeguard peace on the Korean peninsula and in the region.

In the struggle to safeguard socialism and peace, the WPK values mutual support and solidarity with the communist and workers' parties and other progressive forces of all countries.

The Workers' Party of Korea will, in the future, too, work hard to safeguard peace and security in and around the Korean peninsula and to bring forward the victory of humankind's cause of independence and socialism with the support and encouragement of communist and workers' parties of the world.

Availing myself of this opportunity, I would like to once again express my heartfelt gratitude to the Communist Party of the Russian Federation and all communist and workers' parties of the world for their unwavering support to and solidarity with the WPK and the Korean people in our struggle to build a prosperous and powerful socialist nation and to achieve the independent national reunification.

The Workers' Party of Korea reaffirms its determination to continue to stand shoulder to shoulder with the communist and workers' parties of the world in the effort to advance the victory of the cause of socialism, the future of humankind.

Thank you.

# Lao People Revolutionary Party

## **Dear Comrades,**

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The Lao People's Revolutionary Party's delegation has a great honor and pleasure for the kind invitation of the Communist Party of the Russian Federation to attend the 19<sup>th</sup> International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties which being held in the sacred land of the Great October Socialist Revolution in the occasion of its 100<sup>th</sup> anniversary, under the theme "*The 100<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution: the ideals of the Communist movement, revitalizing the struggle against imperialistic wars, for peace, socialism*"

First of all, we would like to express our sincere thanks to the Communist Party of the Russian Federation for its warm hospitality and all facilities extended to our delegation. We are highly appreciated for a comprehensive preparation for this meeting. In addition, we would like to send our best greetings to all comrades of communist and workers' parties throughout the world gathering here to commemorate the triumphant victory of the Russia's Great October Socialist Revolution amidst the rapid and complex changes of the situation in all regions around the world due to the genuine eager for wars of imperialism and capitalism.

## **Dear Comrades,**

Victory of the Russian's Great October Socialist Revolution in 1917, under the brilliant leadership of the Bolsheviks Party led by Lenin is a historic event stunning worldwide in the last 20<sup>th</sup> century, opening up a new era, the era of transition from capitalism to socialism throughout the world. The Russian people have taken the power to their own hands and established the first proletariat's state in the mankind history that putting an end to the chains of imperialism, enabling the emergence of socialism from theories to reality and became a bright example for the nations in the struggle for their national independence.

Thanks to the impact of the Great October Socialist Revolution in Russia that brought about the victory in the struggle for national independence in many countries, and embark upon towards to socialism such as Mongolia in 1921, the Eastern European Countries, some countries in Asia, and Latin America after the World War II. The Socialism has expanded from one country to a strong socialist community, a solid pillar for national liberation movements in many countries throughout the world in the 1970s-1980s of the last 20<sup>th</sup> century. It also became a significant factor in the protection of world peace.

## **Comrades,**

By the impact of the Russian Great October Socialist Revolution in 1917, peoples in Indochina have firmly and bravely struggled in dangerous and hardship conditions under the guidance of the Communist Party of Indochina which was founded by President Ho Chi Minh in February 3, 1930. Under the guidance of the Communist Party of Indochina and the Party Committee of Lao Region, the struggle of Lao people has gained victories step by step. Prominently, the declaration of independence to the

64 world in October 12, 1945. The Lao people together with Vietnamese people and army have achieved the triumphs in many battle fields against French colonialists who came back to invade Laos for second times and led to the glorious victory of Dienbienphu. This resulted in the signing of the Geneva Treaty on Indochina in 1954 by the French colonialists.

Recognizing the need of party's leadership in struggle of the Lao people against the American imperialists which replacing the French colonialists, the Lao People Party which originated from the Communist Party of Indochina has founded in March 22, 1955. Since that time party led the struggle of the Lao people and gained victories step by step until the absolute triumph in 1975 by seizing power with bloodless fight, succeeding in the national democratic revolution and proclaiming the Lao People's Democratic Republic in December 2, 1975, that meant the beginning of a new era in Lao history: the era that people have become the owner of the nation, their own destiny, and fulfilling the task of national defense and development towards to socialism.

By adherence the words of Lenin *"the Least Developed Countries, if need to step forward to socialism without passing the capitalism, nonetheless they require the assistance from many fraternal socialist countries... the least economic developed countries also be able to step up towards socialism directly without passing capitalism if have 2 factors which are receiving assistance from developed socialist countries and leading by a political party of working class..."*.

Thus, throughout almost 42 years of construction and renovation of the people democratic regime, the Lao People's Revolutionary Party who is a Marxist-Leninist party has creatively applied Marxism-Leninism to the Laos' reality with great support and assistances from socialist countries and friends around the world. During the 1970s, the party and the government have led the Lao people to heal the wounded of massive destructive war in many decades that launched by imperialism, and carried out renovation policy since 1986, which caused the entire nation has enjoyed firm political stability, social order, continuous economic growth, people living standard have improved step by step from the income less than US\$100/person/year in 1975 to more than US\$2400 recently. Lao foreign affairs have expanded, the role and influence of the Lao PDR have been raising in the regional and international arena. Currently, the party and the government of the Lao PDR are focusing on economic development, putting all the efforts to graduate the nation from the Least Developed Country status by 2020.

### **Comrades,**

When reviewing the consequences of the Russian Great October Socialist Revolution in 1917 to mankind, it can be seen that throughout the past century, the Great October Socialist Revolution has become a real value and remained significant for the nations in the struggle for their independence, freedom and well-being.

It is true that throughout the past century, the way towards socialism of the nations faced many difficulties and challenges, particularly after the collapse of the Soviet Union and socialist countries in the Eastern Europe at the beginning of the 1990s of the last century due to sabotage of imperialism and capitalism. However, we believe that the great and comprehensive achievements in the socialist countries at present still be the desires and vivid example for nations in the struggle for their brighter future; the only cohesive solidarity and the unity within the communist and workers' parties, thereby we can deal with the sabotage of the imperialism and capitalism forces.

Once again, may I wish our conference a brilliant success.

Thank You

# Communist Party of Mexico

**Cien años del triunfo de las ideas revolucionarias del marxismo-leninismo, cien años de la derrota de las ideas del reformismo/revisionismo.**<sup>65</sup>

Queridos camaradas:

El Comité Central del Partido Comunista de México saluda a los partidos comunistas y obreros presentes en éste XIX EIPCO que se reúne en Leningrado; agradecemos al Partido Comunista de la Federación Rusa por su organización. Reiteramos nuestro agradecimiento al Partido Comunista de Grecia, que hace 19 años tomó la iniciativa de convocar a estos Encuentros, en momentos complejos, difíciles, cumpliendo con los principios del internacionalismo proletario, dando una contribución imprescindible; agradecemos a los otros partidos que han organizado los Encuentros en sus respectivos países.

Nos reunimos en la víspera del centenario de la Gran Revolución Socialista de Octubre de 1917, el momento más importante en la historia de la humanidad y constatación tangible del papel revolucionario de la clase obrera y de su vanguardia, el partido comunista.

Rendimos homenaje a Lenin, al Partido Comunista Bolchevique, al proletariado heroico que derrocó al viejo orden y constituyó el poder soviético, el poder obrero. Rendimos homenaje al centro insurreccional formado por el Partido con los camaradas Sverdlov, Stalin, Búbnov, Uritsky y Dzerzhinski. Rendimos homenaje al movimiento obrero internacional que se movilizó en solidaridad con la joven República Soviética y en defensa del poder obrero contra la intervención de varios países imperialistas que pretendieron, en palabras de Churchill, "ahogar al niño en la cuna".

Queremos también rendir homenaje a la heroica Leningrado y su proletariado revolucionario por su rol en 1917 y en la Guerra Civil. Rendimos homenaje a Kirov, secretario del Partido Comunista Bolchevique en Leningrado, asesinado por la conspiración trotskista. Rendimos homenaje a la resistencia al bloqueo nazi durante la bárbara agresión en la Segunda Guerra Mundial y al Comité de Leningrado del PC(b) de la URSS encabezado por A. Zhdanov.

Estamos hablando del parteaguas de la Historia. La construcción socialista en el siglo XX es la demostración palpable de la superioridad del socialismo-comunismo sobre el caduco modo de producción capitalista. Lenin al reiterar contundentemente la necesidad de la insurrección escribía: "de dos o tres días de lucha depende el triunfo de la Revolución Rusa y de la Revolución Mundial". Cuan cierto es eso, pues el poder obrero soviético fue la base de la creación de la Internacional Comunista que formó decisivamente partidos comunistas por todo el Mundo que han cualificado la lucha de la clase obrera internacional; el poder obrero soviético inspiró al proletariado internacional a radicalizar la lucha, y derechos sociales, laborales y sindicales fueron conquistados; el poder obrero soviético inspiró la lucha anticolonial que alteró el mapa oprobioso de la dominación imperialista sobre pueblos y países de África, Asia y América; el poder obrero soviético derrotó al fascismo que es la manifestación más bestial del capitalismo; el poder obrero soviético nos legó la experiencia de la construcción socialista, con

<sup>66</sup> socialización de los medios de producción concentrados, planificación de la economía, combate a muerte a las relaciones mercantiles, control obrero. El poder obrero soviético inspiró la lucha política por el poder y obreros revolucionarios con sus partidos comunistas al frente llevaron adelante nuevas revoluciones y experiencias de construcción socialista en Europa, Asia, África y América.

Estamos convencidos de que estamos viviendo la época abierta por la Gran Revolución Socialista de Octubre, de transición del capitalismo al socialismo. Y que es nuestro deber proseguir esa ruta, ese camino, hasta el fin definitivo de la explotación, de la barbarie y de la guerra.

En la Revolución Socialista interviene de manera consciente el proletariado, por el trabajo paciente, metódico, constante, imparable del Partido Comunista, a condición de ser guiado por la teoría de vanguardia, el marxismo-leninismo, por su carácter de clase, y por su adhesión inquebrantable al internacionalismo proletario. Conquistar, preservar y desarrollar esas características no es una cuestión sencilla, por la lucha constante contra la ideología burguesa y pequeñoburguesa, y también contra el oportunismo y el revisionismo. La historia nos demostró que hubo partidos comunistas que mutaron en partidos similares a los de la II Internacional en descomposición: fue el caso del mexicano, y de todos aquellos de la corriente eurocomunista, y es también un riesgo contemporáneo.

Nuestra lealtad a la Revolución Socialista de Octubre implica claridad en lo que a la construcción socialista se refiere. Socialismo de mercado no es socialismo, y no será la bandera que propondremos levantar a la clase obrera de nuestros países.

Nuestra convicción sobre la vigencia de la revolución socialista implica afrontar la lucha de clases contemporánea, demostrar la caducidad del capitalismo de los monopolios, el imperialismo, y sus límites históricos, desnudar los nuevos ropajes del oportunismo y del revisionismo, tales como “socialismo del siglo XXI”, “gobiernos de izquierda”, “gobiernos progresistas”,

las manifestaciones de la colaboración de clases que oxigenan la barbarie capitalista.

Estamos convencidos que los partidos comunistas tienen que dar pasos para la elaboración de una estrategia contemporánea consecuente con el legado de la Revolución de Octubre, por ejemplo con relación a los objetivos programáticos. Es la triunfante Revolución socialista quien nos lega la enseñanza de que las metas intermedias han sido superadas y de que se coloca el poder obrero y socialismo como objetivo programático principal. Recordemos que son 100 años del triunfo de las ideas revolucionarias y 100 años de la derrota de las ideas reformistas/revisionistas del oportunismo de Bernstein y Kautsky.

También la Revolución de Octubre da duras lecciones con relación a la actitud de los comunistas frente a los conflictos interimperialistas, de gran vigencia. No colocarse bajo bandera ajena, no tomar partido por ningún centro imperialista, colocar los objetivos de la clase obrera siempre en primer lugar. Por ello el PCM redobla su accionar contra el imperialismo en general, pero también contra la llamada multipolaridad que es una forma de embellecer a otros centros imperialistas a los que algunos encuentran virtudes.

El socialismo-comunismo es el objetivo viable para la resolución de los problemas de los trabajadores del mundo y del conjunto de la humanidad. No será una conquista gradual, sino el resultado de nuevas revoluciones dirigidas por los trabajadores y sus partidos comunistas, y en ese objetivo estamos empeñados en el Partido Comunista de México.

¡Viva la Gran Revolución Socialista de Octubre!

¡Viva el marxismo-leninismo y el internacionalismo proletario!

¡Viva el Partido Bolchevique!

¡Viva Lenin y Stalin!



# Communist Party of Norway

Communist Party of Norway (NKP) would like to<sup>67</sup> express our gratitude for the invitation to the 19th International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties (IMCWP). It is a great honour to be present in the year of the 100th Anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution here in St. Petersburg.

The Great Russian revolution has been of great significance and has given fundamental knowledge for our analyses. Socialism works, it is proven. Capitalism is not unshakeable. NKP sees the necessity of a Communist vanguard party, and we understand the strength in acting together internationally.

As we are gathered here today, all Communist and Workers' Parties in the world, it is on the background of our common ideology. Still, the historical background of our parties and the development in our different countries varies. But the side we choose is clear; we all side with the working class. We hate injustice and abuse of power. We are communists with a will to fight and sacrifice, with a steady course for political analysis, tactics and strategy. We have the methods, and move based on how reality looks – for enlightenment, analysis and knowledge.

Norway today is a highly developed country, and in the consensus of the bourgeoisie there are high ratings of satisfaction, despite increasing differences. The thing is that everyone would be so much better off with a social society change. Norway needs a change in system.

The result of the election this autumn gives Norway four new years with bourgeois politics, meaning; increasing differences, tax credits to the rich at the expense of the poor, poorer working conditions, unemployment and keep up the double morale politics with supporting NATO-wars abroad and hand out the Nobel peace prizes. And Nazis demonstrates again in Norwegian streets. The bourgeoisie cannot tell the difference between freedom of speech and hateful antagonism.

Historically NKP gain increased support and renewed trust in period of crisis, and after showing what communists are capable to accomplish, like the efforts of our comrades during the Second World War fighting for peace and liberty, or the period after the referendum against EU membership in 1972.

For the first time since the Second World War Norway has foreign military forces on Norwegian soil. These are American NATO-soldiers. This is against the base policy of our country. NKP demands disarmament, solidarity and peace beyond the borders, and invite you all to participate in the demonstration against the aggressive NATO exercise "Trident Juncture" in Norway next year. This NATO exercise is the biggest in over 20 years, with 35 000 soldiers, thousands of vehicles, 150 aircrafts and 70 ships participating.

NKP is the real alternative against capitalism and imperialism. Therefore, we have strengthened our party as the only revolutionary party in Norway, and important themes are taken care of.

However, our party has strong forces against us – all means used to throw us away from the scene. Anticommunism, the rewriting of history, opportunism

<sup>68</sup> and illegal surveillance, defines our working conditions. After the counter revolution in the Soviet Union, still the fear of communists is present among the Norwegian population. We are being judged and punished by the historic and present anti-communist lies.

The correct understanding of the successful Marxist-Leninist principles which led to the Great October Socialist Revolution are as important today as they were 100 years ago.

Long live Marxism-Leninism!

Long live Communism!

# Communist Party of Pakistan

Dear Comrades!

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On behalf of Communist Party of Pakistan my fellow delegates and myself, I am grateful to Communist Party of Russian Federation for inviting us in the land of Comrade Lenin to participate in the centenary celebrations of great October Revolution along with brother Communist Parties. I also congratulate CPRF for hosting the meeting. Our Party dedicated the year 2017 to great proletarian victory of the time and are celebrating memorable Bolshevik Revolution by conducting seminars, conferences, rallies and cultural activities.

Dear Comrades!

Today we are in the country where the great October Revolution, first time in the history of mankind, showed the oppressed classes of the world the shining path to break their chains of social slavery, injustice, political and economic inequality. Bolshevik Revolution liberated the colonies of brutal monarchy from all sorts of inequality. People of underdeveloped states got rid of their nomadic life and started enjoying modern facilities. First-time in the history Proletariat rose to power, women were given equal rights in all ranks. Revolution saved millions of people from famine, poverty and joblessness, provided homes to the homeless. These goals were achieved against all odds, including Imperialist assault, Internal conspiracies of bourgeoisie and civil war. What made it happen that too in very short time. Socialist revolution did it by organising the economy on Socialist principles discarding exploitative Capitalist system, depending on Internal resources and making the production a Socialist Property. Soviet Union superseded the Imperialist countries even in the field of science and space technology.

Dear Comrades!

Great Bolshevik Revolution also played a momentous role in other regions and countries. It inspired the people of Imperialist colonies, help them morally and financially to fight for their independence. As a result more than 111 countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America were liberated from Imperialist rule. After French Revolution European proletariat was dreaming for Socialist Revolution and welfare States. Bolshevik Revolution showed them the path to turn their dreams into reality and they started organising themselves under the banner of Communist Parties.

Dear Comrades!

Soviet Union provided valuable technical and financial help for the economic development of the countries which broke the chain of direct colonial rule. Even Pakistan which is an ally of Imperialist block right from the beginning, enjoyed that support from Soviet Union and socialist countries in the form of steel mill, power generation plants and refineries. This generous support was to help these countries against the exploitation and hegemony of Imperialist block. This valuable support was

70 also extended to all non aligned countries for their social, economical and technical department. In the bipolar world the balance of power was in favour of proletariat and forces of social justice. Crises of Suez canal and Bay of Pigs proved it clearly.

Dear Comrades!

Great October Revolution and formation of USSR was a unique and momentous victory of mankind, disintegration of Soviet Union and drowning into the Capitalist system is great tragedy of human history. But this is not the failure of the system rather it is failure of the Party. The Party forgot the lesson by great Lenin that revolution and counter-revolution go side by side in the society and in the party as well. If counter-revolution is underestimated it will start eating up revolution. Therefore, the ideological struggle should not be deferred in the society and within the party even after entering Communist system from Socialism this struggle will continue until the Communist humankind is developed.

Dear Comrades!

After the success of counter-revolution in Soviet Union Capitalists started an ideological assault. Liberals and Social democrats who were already against Socialist system and Bolshevik Revolution and were playing the role of Capitalist agents, augmented their propaganda campaign. Frustrated element in Communist Parties became Renegade and took refuge in Capitalist system declaring Socialism an unnatural, impracticable ideology, tailoring excuses for Capitalism and persuading masses to follow Bourgeois electoral system for change. A combined assault of these elements caused erosion and grouping in Communist Parties. But the celebration of bourgeoisie, in this regard, was short lived. Though some parties are still struggling against the phenomenon, most of the brother parties have revisited their stance and reorganised their ranks. They are devising methodology and strategies according to their own circumstances with more clarity and strong belief in Socialist ideology. Meanwhile Imperialists are trying to divide the societies on religious and racial bases to block the penetration of progressive ideas among the masses especially women. Communist Parties successful in tackling with this problem should share their experience with brother Communist Parties.

Dear Comrades!

In countries like Pakistan where religious terrorism is openly supported by state organs, religious fanatics and reactionaries are allowed to operate freely. Any person can be abducted under the allegation of blasphemy, tortured and killed. Personal differences, family feuds, and land snatching are covered by these allegations. Governor of biggest province, and a central minister for minorities was killed in daylight. A recent example is lynching of a University student "Mashal Khan" by furious mob in KPK province. It takes to move a mountain for the registration of the case with the police. Attorneys and

judges are reluctant to handle the case. Most of the time they openly refuse. Many people are behind the bar for life. Religious minorities are facing the worse of it. Their minor innocent girls are kidnapped, raped and are forced to change their religion. Their property is looted. In these horrible conditions either they are migrating on mass scale or changing their religion unwillingly. Peasants are so under debt that they have to work for landlords without any payment like slaves. Their females are subjected to sexual assaults. Small growers and farmers are forced to sell their produce in the market for a price which is usually below the cost of production. The situation of industrial workers is not any better. The government has fixed 170 dollars as minimum wages but because of contractual system they are paid \$40 to \$70 per month. They are not given appointment letter, no social security, no registration with Employees Old age Benefit Institution. They are denied right of association and trade unions are non existent among this group. Genuine trade unionists have to struggle against pocket unions i.e. guardian of the Interests of the employer. Interestingly this is being done in the presence of ILO representatives in the country.

Men have an undeclared right to beat up their women or kill them for allegation of adultery. If they do so they are called saviour of the family honour rather a murderer. In rural areas the landlord's favour these persons and they usually escape justice.

Dear Comrades!

These are the conditions in which we have organised our party on ideological bases. It should be noted that any radical activity brings the danger of abduction by state agencies. Either distorted body of the person is found in the wild or recovered in mentally crippled state. However we believe that these problems can only be solved through continuous struggle for Socialist Revolution. We also believe that bourgeois democracy only serves the interest of ruling class. Our main concerns are religious terrorism, feudal and State atrocities. We are also striving to include women in our struggle against Capitalism, who are more than 50% of our population.

Dear Comrades!

To eliminate civil wars and achieving international peace is impossible without eliminating international Capitalist system and liberating the people from exploitation. This goal is definitely attached to Socialist Revolution.

Long Live Internationalism

Long Live Socialist Revolution.

# Paraguayan Communist Party

## Nuestro desafío es traer al futuro de vuelta

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Estimadas y estimados camaradas, saludamos este 19° Encuentro Internacional de Partidos Comunistas y Obreros, con la fuerza del Centenario de la Gran Revolución Bolchevique y con la certeza de que la unidad de las fuerzas revolucionarias a escala mundial será la garantía para que la humanidad permita el desarrollo del talento y las capacidades de cada mujer y cada hombre en todos los rincones de nuestro planeta.

Estar reunidos en el escenario territorial de la primera gran experiencia de Estado obrero, de Poder Obrero, para debatir sobre las enseñanzas de la Revolución Bolchevique nos genera una cobertura simbólica que sacude de manera interpeladora a las revolucionarias y los revolucionarios, sobre todo en la necesidad de realizar un balance de nuestros actuales despliegues en el marco de la lucha de clases que se desarrolla en tiempos de crisis civilizatoria, de crisis estructural del modo de producción capitalista.

**Es tiempo de balance, tiempo de crítica y autocrítica, tiempo de intercambio e integración de luchas populares. Es tiempo de priorizar el desarrollo de nuestras fuerzas con mayor claridad práctica en cuanto al necesario internacionalismo proletario, como única arma para derrocar al capitalismo y construir sobre sus escombros el socialismo- comunismo.**

A propósito de estos tiempos, traemos un párrafo del camarada Lenin, en su "Discurso en defensa de la táctica de la Internacional Comunista", del 1 de julio de 1921, donde decía que "No debemos ocultar nuestros errores ante el enemigo. Quien tema esto, no es revolucionario. Por el contrario, si declaramos abiertamente a los obreros: «Si, hemos cometido errores», esto significa que en adelante no han de repetirse tales errores y que sabremos elegir mejor el momento. Y si durante la lucha se pasa a nuestro lado la mayoría de los trabajadores - no solo la mayoría de los obreros, sino la mayoría de los explotados y oprimidos -, entonces venceremos de veras."

Creemos que el hecho de no reforzar nuestra concentración en la unidad de las organizaciones revolucionarias, en la comprensión del carácter internacional de la lucha de clases y en la necesidad de practicar el internacionalismo y la solidaridad proletaria en sus múltiples dimensiones, desde el humilde debate y estudio profundo de nuestra teoría revolucionaria con expresiones formativas a escala internacional, hasta la priorización de un debate serio, responsable y profundo para el diseño de una estrategia revolucionaria contemporánea, producto de la experiencia práctica proporcionada por nuestra historia de luchas, demarcan nuestro proceso y proporcionan el encuadre para ubicarnos dentro de esta crisis civilizatoria.

Al comprender que la multiplicidad de crisis (financiera, económico-productiva, energética, alimentaria, climática, militar) converge en la crisis civilizatoria, lo que decimos es que el modo de ver al mundo y de vivir en él, promovido por la clase dominante, o sea, por la burguesía, es lo que está en crisis. Por eso, la crisis civilizatoria es una síntesis política, simbólica, cultural e ideológica de la decadencia del modo de producción capitalista.

72 Esta crisis general es consecuencia lógica del sistema capitalista como ordenador de las relaciones sociales de producción de bienes y servicios, así como de producción y reproducción de vidas.

La preeminencia financiera por sobre la producción industrial en cuanto a la acumulación y concentración de ganancias es fundamental a la hora de comprender la decadencia intelectual y cultural que se expresa a escala mundial y envilece las relaciones humanas agudizando la lucha de clases.

Los derivados financieros, la industria militar y el narcotráfico se conjugan y articulan un eje central de ganancias. A propósito, en las Tesis de nuestro 8° Congreso hemos planteado que la esencia parasitaria del capitalismo con el sistema financiero en su centro de reproducción ha desplazado al capitalismo industrial disparando la degradación de las sociedades con altos niveles de violencia y caotización, donde los intentos de dominación y control geopolítico se sirven de la industria militar a la vez que la cultura degenerada de las élites consumistas se sirve del narcotráfico en una combinación narco- militar brutal.

La deslocalización y la fragmentación de la producción, articuladas con la concentración monopolica del capital y sus ganancias, nos obligan a una integración y coordinación profunda y estratégica a escala mundial, probablemente hoy más que nunca. Y cuando hablamos de hoy, nos referimos a la época que vivimos, al carácter del capitalismo en este siglo XXI.

En este marco se desarrolla la lucha de clases, y las demandas históricas de este momento nos interpelan, al decir del camarada Lenin, con los problemas candentes de la organización, con el principal desafío de alcanzar la fuerza integral capaz de derrotar y superar a la organización de la clase dominante.

Y para lograr nuestros objetivos, es necesario realizar un balance crítico y autocrítico de nuestros Partidos.

## **PARTIDO DE NUEVO TIPO**

Sin lugar a dudas, esta crisis promueve el descrédito hacia los Partidos políticos. La clase dominante reivindica lo “apolítico” como forma de “renovación” de la política, apelando a hombres y mujeres que no tienen militancia ni experiencia en organizaciones políticas, a la hora de encabezar proyectos electorales y gestionar los Estados burgueses.

Lenin lideró la dirección colectiva que formuló y llevo a la práctica la concepción del partido de nuevo tipo. En “El izquierdismo, enfermedad infantil del comunismo”, Lenin definió al Partido de Nuevo Tipo como un conjunto de organizaciones caracterizado por su disciplina, su perseverancia y su heroísmo, valores construidos a partir de la conciencia de clase y la moral de sus militantes, de su habilidad para mantener contacto con las masas y generar confianza, de su capacidad de un análisis político crítico para generar una visión estratégica y táctica certera, de su ejercicio de autocrítica permanente. Lenin afirmaba que estos atributos referidos no eran frutos

del azar, sino de un esfuerzo prolongado y permanente y de la experiencia ganada en la lucha, en la aplicación de la doctrina revolucionaria no como un dogma, sino consciente de que esta solo toma forma en relación con la actividad práctica.

Una de las grandes enseñanzas de los Bolcheviques fue tener la capacidad de estructurar un conjunto, un sistema de organizaciones (conspirativas, clandestinas y de masas) altamente disciplinadas, para resolver favorablemente la confrontación contra la autocracia zarista, lo que implicaba confrontar con una de las más efectivas y brutales policías secretas de finales del siglo XIX y comienzos del siglo XX: la Ojraza rusa.

Los bolcheviques lograron vencer al zarismo y a su policía secreta, dando comienzo a la revolución más significativa del siglo XX. El enemigo de clase tomó nota del sistema de organizaciones que fue capaz de triunfar y construir el primer Estado Obrero de la historia de la humanidad. La clase dominante ha operado su proyecto estratégico de dominación ajustando sus acciones, aprendiendo de sus errores y analizando los elementos centrales que permitieron triunfos de la alianza obrero-campesina y de los pueblos, desde 1917 a esta parte. Ha estudiado y conoce muy bien la estructura clásica leninista, por lo tanto es fundamental que tomemos la esencia del leninismo para resolver las formas organizativas capaces de emprender una lucha revolucionaria con efectivas posibilidades de triunfo.

Comprender a la sociedad y al territorio ruso como todo un campo de batalla y relacionar e integrar el mismo a Europa, Asia y el mundo fue determinante; combinar la idiosincrasia rusa, la tradición de los narodniki con la universalidad del marxismo; lograr una organización revolucionaria con férrea disciplina y con la suficiente elasticidad para asimilar y asimilarse a la potencial autoorganización del pueblo; y definir que la alianza obrero-campesina es la única capaz de resolver las tareas democráticas de manera revolucionaria y además avanzar hacia la dictadura del proletariado. Estas son algunas claves importantes de la experiencia bolchevique, que debemos desglosarlas a la luz de la situación concreta en el mundo de hoy.

No nos caben dudas de que el Partido de Nuevo Tipo es proletario y revolucionario. La organización de organizaciones es la expresión política del proletariado. Es el partido del proletariado. En este sentido, concebimos al proletariado como el sujeto revolucionario.

En el Manifiesto del Partido Comunista, Marx y Engels decían que en una revolución comunista “los proletarios no tienen nada que perder en el la más que sus cadenas. Tienen, en cambio, un mundo que ganar”. Entendemos que dicha frase tiene vigencia al extender el concepto de proletarios incluyendo a la enorme masa excluida y marginada que ni siquiera esta en relación de dependencia y explotación, por lo que tiene una profunda insatisfacción y rabia que potencialmente la ubica como negadora del capitalismo. Porque asumimos que la frase de Marx y Engels era producto de una constatación histórica que identificaba a la clase obrera como la principal negadora del modo de producción capitalista. Cualidades como la concentración de masas

proletarias en la fabrica, la disciplina horaria y productiva, el conocimiento de los procesos productivos y la hostilidad (negacion del capitalismo) hacia las patronales hacian de la clase obrera sujeto revolucionario.

La combinacion de las cualidades mencionadas es fundamental para el fortalecimiento del Partido de Nuevo Tipo. Resolver los niveles de centralidad y de autonomia del conjunto de organizaciones y de cada una de ellas, se relaciona con la capacidad de cooptacion, disuasion y represion del enemigo.

Nuestro Partido en el Paraguay, como el movimiento comunista en general, fue muy perseguido desde 1928 (año de su fundacion) en adelante. La mayor parte de nuestra existencia fue clandestina. Una gran cantidad de militantes y dirigentes comunistas fueron asesinados, secuestrados-desaparecidos, encarcelados durante años, torturados y exiliados. Luego de la caída del tirano Stroessner (gobierno desde 1954 a 1989) lo que quedaba de la dirección y del Partido, volvió al Paraguay y empezó a reconstruir el Partido. Nuestro principal error fue el de priorizar la articulación de las direcciones sociales y políticas del campo popular sin tener una estructura estribada en organizaciones de bases. Al no tener profundidad en el trabajo de bases no impulsamos la unidad desde abajo. Entonces, el Partido se fue convirtiendo en una organización de articuladores de la unidad. La indudable vocación unitaria de las y los comunistas, siempre reivindicando el trabajo por abajo y por arriba, ante la cantidad objetiva de sus miembros y el gran esfuerzo que requería el unir a dirigentes sociales y políticos del campo popular, objetivamente priorizo casi con rasgos de exclusividad, el trabajo por arriba.

### **Elegimos Poder Popular**

En el Paraguay se expresa una parte de lo más grotesco, degradante y decadente del capitalismo. Latifundio para el monocultivo transgénico a gran escala con utilización de agrotóxicos potentes, latifundio para la ganadería, control territorial para el narcotráfico y otros tráfico ilegales, contrabando y triangulación a gran escala, además de un sistema financiero organizado para captar dinero malhabido. La mafia y el narcotráfico dirigen el Estado oligárquico y domina las relaciones en el país.

En contrapartida, nuestro país tiene riquezas energéticas en el terreno hidroeléctrico, además de una tierra sumamente fértil, grandes cantidades de agua dulce subterránea (los denominados acuíferos), importante cantidad de minerales, conformando una biodiversidad con bienes naturales de carácter estratégico, que se combinan con cielo en privilegiadas condiciones (caso Concepción y norte del país) para el monitoreo satelital. Además su ubicación (corazón del cono sur al lado de Brasil, Argentina y Bolivia) lo convierte (y de hecho así ha venido funcionando) como satélite de los EEUU para el monitoreo de la región.

En este contexto, nuestro Partido recupera al Lenin del trabajo clandestino, de la estrategia revolucionaria, de la combinación de formas de lucha con efectiva preparación para que los probables estallidos sociales

como consecuencia de las injustas y criminales<sup>73</sup> condiciones en las que vivimos, encuentren a una fuerza capaz de orientar en el sentido superador humanista, revolucionario, socialista y comunista.

Nuestro país padeció tiranías militares fascistas durante décadas. Luego de la Guerra de la Triple Alianza (1865-1870) se sucedieron gobiernos de explotadores en el marco de Golpes de Estado y guerras civiles. Nunca tuvimos una fortaleza institucional.

Camaradas, como sabrán, en junio de 2012 tuvimos un Golpe de Estado Parlamentario, disfrazado de "Juicio Político". La Masacre de Curuguaty, donde murieron 11 campesinos y 6 policías, fue utilizada como acontecimiento sobre el cual acelerar el Juicio Político, que se desarrolló en tan solo un día.

En el Partido entendimos que se estaba dando inicio a la restauración conservadora con tinte terrorista, dada la crisis del capitalismo y el ropaje narcomafioso y extractivista que el sistema impuso a nuestro país.

En elecciones realizadas en pleno golpismo (situación que aun no hemos terminado de debatir en cuanto a nuestra participación electoral dentro de la Concertación Frente Guasu), se impuso un empresario multimillonario con frondosos antecedentes por contrabando a gran escala y lavado de dinero relacionado al narcotráfico, Horacio Cartes.

Cartes triunfó luego de comprar a la principal organización política conservadora del país, el Partido Colorado, derramando muchísimo dinero para cambiar los estatutos y permitir que una persona sin militancia en dicha organización pueda candidatarse para Presidente de la República. Las primeras medidas de Cartes, luego de asumir la presidencia de la República fueron: cambiar la ley de defensa nacional para militarizar toda la zona norte del país, con la excusa de perseguir al Ejército del Pueblo Paraguayo (EPP), aprobar una ley de "Alianza Pública Privada" cuyo contenido es de privatización y entrega del patrimonio público priorizando a los monopolios extranjeros.

Aumento de la pobreza, del desempleo y una brutal persecución a luchadores sociales es parte de la expresión del proyecto de entrega, saqueo y represión liderado por Cartes y por las cúpulas colorada y liberal.

Múltiples movilizaciones obreras, campesinas, estudiantiles, territoriales, indígenas se combinaron con dos Huelgas Generales, con ocupaciones de tierras, defensas de territorios y confrontación con multinacionales exportadoras de granos transgénicos se han sucedido durante estos cuatro años, en los que una parte del movimiento popular se concentró en recuperar su capacidad de trabajo de base, autogestión, dirección unitaria y movilización permanente.

Desde noviembre del 2013 nos juntamos varias organizaciones sociales y políticas para organizar la Huelga General que se desarrolló con mucha fuerza en marzo del 2014. De ahí en adelante, nos pusimos de acuerdo para construir el Congreso Democrático del Pueblo (CDP) al calor de las luchas.

74 En el 2015 constituimos el CDP y nos empezamos a preparar para la Lucha Prolongada con cierres de rutas y movilizaciones, con la intencion de derogar las leyes de militarizacion y de privatizaciones. Fueron 14 dias de luchas que lograron una pequena modificacion en la ley de privatizaciones, lo cual demostro tanto el poder del enemigo como nuestra debilidad organizativa-ideologica. Desavenencias a la hora de evaluar el esfuerzo para la Lucha Prolongada genero la salida de algunas organizaciones, atendiendo a que el debate, en nuestra opinion, nos coloco ante la necesidad de superar la mera unidad de accion para ubicar a la construccion y disputa por el Poder en el centro de nuestras acciones.

Durante el 2016 y el 2017 hemos transitado en medio de importantes luchas sindicales, campesinas, estudiantiles, reivindicando la necesidad de prepararnos como alianza obrero-campesina y popular para gobernar nuestro pais, generando una hegemonia producto de nuestra altura moral e intelectual.

El pasado 29 de setiembre hemos lanzado nuestra campana "Elegimos Poder Popular", reivindicando la necesidad de recuperar la confianza en la fuerza propia de la alianza social capaz de enfrentar y derrotar a la narcopolitica y a los monopolios. Forjar la direccion de la alianza social de la clase obrera, el campesinado empobrecido, las y los trabajadores autonomos y los pueblos originarios es nuestra gran tarea.

Desde junio del 2012 se ha generado un progresivo quiebre de la debil institucionalidad del Estado oligarquico. Este quiebre ha generado niveles importantes de violencia asi como un altisimo grado de descredito del pueblo trabajador hacia el quehacer politico. Se iguala a la politica con la politiqueria, todo enmarcado en un sistema electoral escandalosamente fraudulento y plutocratico.

Entonces, nuestra campana "Elegimos Poder Popular" intervendra en el proceso electoral denunciando esta situacion y reforzando las experiencias de autogestion y resolucion de problemas en los territorios, en las fabricas y empresas, en los colegios y universidades. Al mismo tiempo presionara para reformar el sistema electoral en cuanto a la publicidad, el transporte en el dia de las elecciones y el control electoral.

Elegimos Poder Popular es un conjunto de taticas para reforzar los aspectos ideologico-organizativos de la alianza social, construyendo acuerdos y combinando organizacion con autoorganizacion para materializar el programa de transformaciones que nuestro pais requiere.

Por la situacion concreta no presentaremos candidaturas para estas elecciones. Entendemos que los niveles de crisis nos permiten una tatica de desobediencia y desarrollo del Poder Popular frente a la total falta de garantias para el respeto a la Constitucion Nacional.

Nuestra ventaja es que como Congreso Democratico del Pueblo, somos la fuerza organizada de masas mas grande de nuestro pais. Somos conscientes de que nuestro acumulado asi como nuestra experiencia de articulacion unitaria son insuficientes. A la vez estamos muy confiados en nuestra propuesta y nuestro aporte a la construccion

de una Patria Grande en Nuestra America, desde una perspectiva revolucionaria.

### **Revolucion democratica con contenido anticapitalista y socialista**

Camaradas, atendiendo el proceso de degradacion y decadencia del capitalismo, relacionado a la financierizacion del sistema y a la caida tendencial de su tasa de ganancias, la agudizacion de la violencia y la proliferacion de guerras y conflictos se pone a la orden del dia.

Existe una coincidencia en el pensamiento crtico, desde el democratico- liberal, pasando por el progresista hasta el marxista, acerca del peligro que tenemos como humanidad en relacion a nuestra propia existencia.

Disuadir al enemigo, hacerlo retroceder en el uso de la violencia reaccionaria y terrorista forma parte de nuestro principal objetivo. Y sabemos que ese objetivo sera posible en la medida en que tengamos una estrategia revolucionaria a escala mundial.

Multiples combinaciones de diversa fndole se deben conjugar en la estrategia revolucionaria mundial, asumiendo las formas nacionales de nuestros proyectos, a la vez enmarcados en un contenido internacional clasista capaz de orientar amplias unidades con el objetivo de cumplir con las tareas democraticas que el momento historico demanda.

En el caso paraguay, nuestra tarea prioritaria es la construccion de poder para lograr condiciones de disputar poder con posibilidades de victoria. Asumimos la combinacion dialectica de construccion y disputa de poder. Cuando construimos prioritariamente tambien disputamos poder. Cuando logremos las condiciones y prioricemos la disputa del poder continuaremos construyendo poder.

Nuestra alianza social tiene el desafio de incluir a pequenos y medianos industriales, empresarios, productores agricolas que se ven perjudicados por el avance de la narcopolitica y los monopolios imperialistas, debatiendo con mucha profundidad sobre la necesidad de derrotar al imperialismo, entendiendo que en este tiempo, la Revolucion democratica, agraria y antiimperialista debera estar envuelta en un proyecto anticapitalista y socialista capaz de acelerar las fuerzas productivas y detener a la barbarie que amenaza la existencia de la humanidad.

Reivindicamos el patriotismo autonomista, reconociendolo en la primera experiencia de Estado Nacional Popular Independiente de Nuestra America, liderado por el Dr. Jose Caspar de Francia, y luego por Carlos Antonio Lopez y el Mariscal Francisco Solano Lopez. Y asumimos que esta reivindicacion nacional, de la historia y de la cultura del pueblo paraguay, tiene sentido en la medida en que se funde en el internacionalismo proletario y forma parte de una estrategia revolucionaria mundial.

Entendemos que la Direccion Colectiva es fundamental para construir una Vanguardia revolucionaria. En nuestro pais existen organizaciones y grupos de revolucionarias y

revolucionarios. Nuestro Partido se prepara para ser parte protagonista de una vanguardia cuya dirección colectiva será compartida con otras dirigencias revolucionarias con las cuales coordinamos y -quien sabe- que tal vez iremos conociendo al calor de las luchas.

Los problemas, producto de la subordinación del trabajo al capital, son problemas que nos incumben a todas las organizaciones revolucionarias. Por lo tanto, lo que suceda en nuestros países es problema de todas y todos, no solo de quienes vivimos en un determinado país.

Estamos seguros de que honrar a la Gran Revolución Bolchevique es resolver la unidad de las fuerzas revolucionarias a escala mundial. Los niveles de globalización y de proliferación del capitalismo de los monopolios en su fase imperialista nos imponen un alto grado de coordinación de nuestras fuerzas. Debemos traer al futuro de vuelta.

El centenario de la Revolución Bolchevique nos sacude en cuanto a la necesidad y urgencia de preparar a la alianza obrero-campesina y popular para librar grandes batallas que derroten a la barbarie capitalista y desarrollen esa nueva sociedad a la que llamamos socialismo-comunismo.

Concluimos nuestra ponencia con la parte final de las Tesis aprobadas por el 8° Congreso de nuestro Partido en el año 2016: El comunismo es una concepción de vida en la que el ideal de felicidad es la lucha contra toda opresión, en la que la ética es inseparable del pensamiento científico-crítico y de las relaciones interpersonales, en la que la estética y la belleza material y moral van insertas en todas las acciones, en la que el heroísmo y los sacrificios diarios son vistos como componentes necesarios de la felicidad y alegría colectiva y personal en un mundo capitalista injusto, triste, feo y atroz que odiamos y al que combatimos a muerte, y por el mundo solidario, lleno de hermosura, que amamos y por el que luchamos. Forjar y tomar el poder para construir juntas, juntos, la sociedad en donde quepamos todas y todos con la garantía de que nuestras potencialidades puedan desarrollarse y enriquecerse permanentemente, es el más bello desafío que podemos asumir las mujeres y los hombres que pretendemos un Paraguay que garantice la vida, el pan y la paz a la que llegaremos construyendo el socialismo y la sociedad comunista.

Partido Comunista Paraguayo. Octubre de 2017.

# Philippines Communist Party [PKP-1930]

Dear comrades :

On behalf of the Partido Komunista ng Pilipinas (PKP-1930, the Philippine Communist Party) I must thank and salute the Communist Party of the Russian Federation (the CPRF) for kindly hosting this 19th International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties, and for providing all the excellent facilities. The CPRF's sponsorship of this International Meeting gives all of the foreign delegates here this rare opportunity of visiting this historic city of Lenin at this very important occasion of the 100th Anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution (GOSR).

Further, I wish to extend warmest fraternal greetings to all the delegates to this 19th International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties.

Dear comrades :

We left our country earlier this week while Marawi City, in our southern island of Mindanao, lay in total ruin, after almost five (5) months of war. The carnage and destruction in that predominantly-Muslim city was caused by local and foreign jihadist terrorists who are affiliated with the so-called "Islamic State of Iraq and Syria" or "ISIS", also known as "Daesh".

The local jihadist terrorists are members of the "Abu Sayyaf" kidnap-for-ransom criminal gang, the Maute clan's gang of drug dealers, and other terrorist groups from the lawless parts of Mindanao, who have all pledged allegiance to ISIS or Daesh. Last May, they attempted to take over Marawi City, the capital of Lanao del Sur Province, in a desire to turn it into the center of their envisioned "Islamic Caliphate" in the Philippines. Malaysian, Indonesian and even Middle Eastern terrorists participated in this attempt to form the first "Islamic State" in Southeast Asia.

Hundreds of civilians were taken as hostages by these terrorists, and a number were beheaded simply for being non-Muslims. Women hostages were usually turned into sex slaves, and children turned into slaves and human shields. Around 1,000 have been killed by the terrorists, including around 160 government soldiers and policemen. Using their network of supporters, the terrorists were able to secretly stockpile large caches of armaments and explosives in the commercial center of that city before their uprising in May. It was an intelligence fiasco for the Philippine government which allowed the violation of secular principles when the local government started to call itself an "Islamic government" a decade ago.

During the terrorist siege of Marawi City last May, churches and christian schools were occupied and burned by the terrorists. Almost all of the 400,000 inhabitants of Marawi City and surrounding municipalities had to flee in terror, with half of them taking shelter in government-run evacuation sites -- such as schools and stadiums -- in nearby provinces. After almost 5 months of war, government forces have been able to neutralize the leaders of the Abu Sayyaf and Maute gangs, and their foreign collaborators. Final mopping up operations are

being undertaken to weed out the few remaining terrorist hold-outs.

A lot of rehabilitation work now needs to be done, and the national fabric of christian-muslim unity and solidarity has to be repaired. However, the threat of similar terrorist uprisings has not abated, inasmuch as obscurantist and jihadist teachings continue to spread among the multi-ethnic Muslim communities in Mindanao, fanned particularly by secessionist elements who are irresponsibly calling for a religious war.

## **THE IMPERIALIST MACHINATION OF JIHADIST TERRORISM**

The jihadist terrorists first figured in the Philippines in the wake of the US-led terrorist war against Afghanistan in the 1980s. Some members of the secessionist Filipino Muslim community in Pakistan were recruited by the CIA to fight alongside Osama Bin Laden's terrorist Al-Qaeda gangs which were fighting the national-democratic government of President Najibullah in Afghanistan. Other secessionist fighters were later recruited directly from Mindanao, and after fighting in Afghanistan, they later went home to form the Abu Sayyaf and other jihadist and bandit gangs in Mindanao.

We know of course that the Al-Qaeda, Taliban and other terrorists groups were formed in Pakistan by the CIA and other US imperialist agencies. Philippine recruits to these groups later became useful for US plans to balkanize our country, to strengthen secessionism, and to destabilize any government that would dare defy US imperialist dictates. The terrorist siege of Marawi City was apparently meant to warn the present populist Duterte regime against its warming up to relations with China and Russia, and particularly against President Duterte's verbal attacks against former president Obama and some other US officials.

It is no coincidence that the coming together of Mindanao terrorist in order to seek recognition from Islamic State in October last year was already forewarned by then US Defense Secretary Ashton Carter, during that time when Duterte was trying to build up his populist appeal by verbally attacking Obama. As a result of the jihadist uprising in Marawi, President Duterte is now cozying up to Trump, and is rebuilding special relations with the US imperialists.

Previous to this, US policy-makers also used jihadist terrorism in attempting to balkanize our country. In January 2003, Hashim Salamat, the chairman of the secessionist "Moro Islamic Liberation Front" (MILF), wrote to US president George W. Bush asking for US help to pressure the Philippine government toward a negotiated settlement of their secessionist war in Mindanao. The job was assigned to the so-called US Institute for Peace (USIP), a think-tank funded by the US Congress, which prepared a proposal for the creation of a Muslim sub-state in Mindanao, on the basis of so-called "ancestral domain" (which the USA itself does not recognize for the native Indian peoples of the USA). It was a treacherous plan which would strengthen US control over Muslim

areas in Mindanao, particularly in areas which are <sup>77</sup> potentially rich in oil and other resources.

Even while the "Moro Islamic Liberation Front" (MILF) was continuing its secessionist armed struggle, representatives of the US embassy in Manila, including then US ambassador Kristie Kenney, made secret visits to the MILF camps in Mindanao. In November 2009, US Secretary of State Hillary Clinton visited Manila to urge then President Gloria Arroyo to accept the proposal prepared by the US Institute for Peace (USIP). A "Memorandum of Agreement on Ancestral Domain" (MoA-AD) was prepared for signing by representatives of the MILF and the Philippine government, but this was thumbed down by the Supreme Court for being unconstitutional and a threat to national unity and territorial integrity.

But still, the US imperialists persisted and imposed a new agreement for a Muslim or "BangsaMoro" sub-state upon the succeeding regime of President Benigno Aquino III. This agreement designed by the US Institute for Peace (USIP) is still pending before the Philippine Congress, and is a main headache for the government of President Duterte. However, it is clear to all progressive forces in the Philippines that the US imperialists will not stop at its attempts to balkanize the Philippines, Indonesia and other countries in Asia, even using terrorist groups affiliated with ISIS or Daesh as its henchmen. This is similar to the imperialist use of ISIS or Daesh in its plan to balkanize Syria and Iraq in order to attain their goal of a so-called "New Middle East" where imperialist and zionist interests will dominate.

The struggle against jihadist terrorism in the Philippines and other parts of Southeast Asia, is related to the struggle against jihadist terrorism in Syria, Iraq and other parts of the Middle East. There is a need to forge the unity of all anti-imperialist forces throughout the world to struggle against imperialism and its proxy terrorist forces. In this connection, our party appreciates the fraternal assistance that Russia is extending to the legitimate government of Syria, the government led by President Bashar Al-Assad, in their struggle to maintain national independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity -- a struggle against imperialism, zionism and their jihadist terrorist allies.

## **THE GREAT OCTOBER SOCIALIST REVOLUTION WILL ALWAYS BE OUR INSPIRATION**

Dear comrades :

For our party, the Great October Socialist Revolution (GOSR) remains the foremost and most decisive event in modern world history, despite the temporary setbacks to socialism in Eastern Europe and the former USSR in the 1990s. This is because the GOSR marked the beginning of the great transformation of society from a capitalist system to a socialist system. Truly, the GOSR opened for mankind the present world epoch of transition from capitalism to socialism.

Our party will be holding a big celebration of the 100th Anniversary of the GOSR on November 7, to reaffirm our loyalty to Marxism-Leninism. This coincides with the 87th

78 Anniversary of the Public Launching of our party. Our party was organized on August 26, 1930, on the 34th Anniversary of the 1896 Philippine Revolution against colonialism. The founders of our party chose to hold the public launching of our party in the working class district of Tondo in Manila on November 7, 1930, during the 13th Anniversary of the GOSR.

Our party was founded and launched by working class leaders who were inspired by the GOSR and the socialist system built up in the USSR. That system ensured full employment, free education up to the highest levels, free health care and social services, affordable food and housing, affordable transportation and recreational activities, and almost free utilities (water, electricity and communication) for everyone. It was a system which encouraged the scientific, cultural and sports development of everyone, and the real equality of women and men not only in the workplace but also at home.

The GOSR proved that the working class, as the most revolutionary class, is capable of seizing power from the bourgeoisie, and using that power to centrally plan social production for the benefit of the people.

The birth of Soviet Russia and the later formation of the USSR in the wake of the GOSR gave the international working class their first true "motherland" before the Second World War, which the international working class defended with "Hands-Off-Russia" and "Hands-Off-The-USSR" campaigns against the war-mongering and predatory designs of their own national bourgeois leaders.

Guided by the GOSR and Lenin's behest, the USSR proved that a multinational state can function without any national oppression, and that no ethnic strife can happen while obscurantist teachings are banned and countered with scientific knowledge. The USSR was the main bulwark against fascism, bore the brunt of the hitlerite attacks during the Second World War, and became the liberator of many peoples towards the end of that war.

The forging of the socialist community in Eastern Europe was with invaluable Soviet assistance, and the USSR was also the main contributor to the anti-colonial victories of National Liberation Movements. The economic and diplomatic might of the USSR and the socialist community helped to guarantee the freedom, national sovereignty, territorial integrity and security of many developing countries in the post-colonial era.

Up to the end of the 1980s, the USSR and the socialist community -- with their social accomplishments -- were the inspirations for the international working class, for trade unions, for youth and women. The USSR in particular stood as the bulwark in the struggle against imperialism and its nuclear war threats, and helped assure the maintenance of peace and security on the global level.

Economic indicators of the United Nations on the USSR and the socialist community up to the end of the 1980s will show no economic reason for the collapse of

the socialist system, and Soviet people themselves in a referendum have rejected the breaking-up of the USSR. The collapse was mainly the work of the special agents of imperialism who wormed their way to the top echelons of party and state leadership, and who then denigrated socialism and the dictatorship of the proletariat with sly non-class concepts of "restructuring" and "common human values".

The traitorous capitalist-roaders who brought about the breaking-up of the USSR and the dissolution of the socialist community have committed a historic crime not only against their own peoples, but against the whole of humanity. They will forever be condemned by history for turning their backs and tongues against the GOSR and the achievements of socialism, for sabotaging humanity's escape from the barbaric system of capitalism, and for denigrating mankind's paths of progress towards socialism.

With this temporary setback to socialism, all the previously-eradicated social ills have returned to those former socialist countries which fell back to the capitalist system --- unemployment, homelessness, high cost of basic commodities and utilities, poverty, lack of medical and social services, lack of educational and other rights, national oppression, religious obscurantism, even ethnic strife. Despite the dissolution of the USSR and the socialist system, the capitalist system remains incapable of solving its innate crisis, incapable of equitably distributing wealth and of serving for the good of humanity.

The continued systemic crisis of capitalism -- including the plunder of the environment, the spread of vices and dangerous drugs, the fashioning of international financial scams, and the fomenting of conflicts and wars -- shows the consistent need for the capitalist system everywhere to be overthrown, and replaced with socialism. The social wealth now concentrated in the hands of monopolists and oligarchs has to be taken over by the working class organized as the state, and used in a centrally planned way for the benefit of society.

The main lesson of the GOSR is the need for revolutionaries to constantly prepare and work for the overthrow of the capitalist system, and for the building of a socialist system. This is the strategic goal of our party for our country, in the same way that this is also the strategic goal of all fraternal Marxist-Leninist parties for their own countries.

Long live the Great October Socialist Revolution !

Long live proletarian internationalism !

Long live the International Communist Movement !

# Portuguese Communist Party

The Portuguese Communist Party fraternally greets<sup>79</sup> the parties attending the 19th. International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties and specially the Communist Party of the Russian Federation, which meaningfully hosts us, in the city that was the cradle of the Great October Socialist Revolution, in celebration of the centenary of this major event of the historical process of liberation from all forms of exploitation and oppression, and the struggle of the international Communist and revolutionary movement.

The PCP celebrates the centenary of the October Revolution by promoting under the slogan "Socialism, a demand of the present and the future" a broad range of initiatives in Portugal - prominent among them the big rally to be held on November 7. We emphasize the universal historical significance of the first victorious proletarian revolution, the great value of the achievements of the new society and the decisive influence of the Soviet Union in the progressive and revolutionary advances of the Twentieth Century, as well as the present-day deepening structural crisis of capitalism and the demand for its revolutionary overcoming, with the edification of socialism and communism.

The PCP has carried out other diversified actions, in accordance with the axes of common or convergent action defined by the 18th IMCWP, held in Hanoi in 2016, such as solidarity with Communist parties facing persecution; solidarity with countries and peoples that are the victims of interference, blockade and aggression by imperialism; the struggle against militarism, war and for the dissolution of NATO; actions in defence of peace and disarmament, beginning with the demand for the end of nuclear weapons - among other important actions such as the commemoration of the Centenary of the October Revolution.

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One hundred years after those "ten days that shook the world", the international framework has changed profoundly, but Lenin's theoretical and practical contribution towards the conquest of power by the workers and the triumph of socialism remains extraordinarily relevant. And if it is true that, as Lenin warned, it would be wrong to mechanically copy the experience of the Bolsheviks, an even greater mistake would be to look at the October Revolution and at Lenin's work as something that is irreparably dated and consigned to the Museum of History. No, the odyssey of the Bolshevik party and Lenin's work, where theory and practice are dialectically intertwined - among other important aspects, regarding the imperialist phase of capitalism; the State and Revolution; the Party of the new type; the universal and the particular in the struggle for socialism; the role of the working class and its alliances; the diversity of paths to socialism - represents a brilliant legacy, an inexhaustible source of reflection, of experiences and of inspiration for Communists and revolutionaries across the world.

This is what the history of the international Communist and revolutionary movement fully demonstrates in fundamental aspects, and in the case of Portugal, the PCP's experience has confirmed throughout its 96 years of struggle, namely in what regards:

- the building of the Party as an independent force and vanguard of the working class and of all workers, as a “great Party collective”, profoundly democratic with a single general line and a single central leadership, rooted in the workers and the people, and theoretically based on Marxism-Leninism, understood not as dogma, but as a guide for action;
- the drawing up of the Party programme which, based on the experience of the Communist movement, is fundamentally based on our country’s concrete reality, on a correct definition of the stage of revolution, on the corresponding policy of social alliances and its expression at the political level, on the dialectical articulation of the struggle for democracy and the struggle for socialism;
- the conception of working-class unity as the kernel of the unity of all anti-monopoly classes and strata, the priority of shopfloors and workplaces in the Party’s organizational structure and activity, and considering the popular struggle of the masses as the main form of struggle, the driving force of the process of social transformation and of building a new society;
- the definition of the PCP as a Party for which patriotism (and the struggle for national sovereignty and independence, which we consider to be a fundamental condition to fight imperialism) and internationalism (in a broad and diverse anti-imperialist dimension, but anchored on proletarian internationalism and relations between Communist parties) are inseparable and one of the fundamental components of our Party’s Communist identity.

As a result of the growth and ripening of the class consciousness of the Portuguese working-class movement, the PCP was founded in 1921 under the influence of the October Revolution, the Bolshevik Party and Lenin. Learning from both the positive and negative experiences of the international Communist and revolutionary movement, it grew and became, during the nineteen-forties, while in clandestinity, the vanguard of the working class and the leading force of anti-fascist resistance, with an irreplaceable role in the Revolution of April 1974. But it was mainly based on a profound knowledge of national reality and its peculiarities, analysed with Marxist criteria, that the Party’s strategic and tactical line was drawn up, and the Programme of the Democratic and National Revolution was adopted, which, in its fundamental lines, was confirmed by the April Revolution in Portugal.

In the PCP’s opinion, this experience is an expression of fundamental Leninist theses in which the concrete analysis of a concrete situation, and the dialectical relation between the general and the particular play a key role in the elaboration of the political line and in defining the tasks of the Communist Party. If an exaggerated focus on national particularities has nothing to do with the Communist project, ignoring or underestimating them is completely alien to Lenin, who emphasized that “All

nations will reach socialism, this is inevitable, but not all nations will reach socialism in exactly the same way (...)”.

With the advance of the counter-revolutionary process and the submission of Portugal to the dynamics of European capitalist integration, the reflection and experience of the PCP led to the adoption, at its 19th Party Congress, of the Programme “An advanced democracy, the values of April in the future of Portugal” considering the current stage of the revolution in our country as that for an advanced democracy. A democracy that, premised on the reality of the first and only social revolution in Europe after World War II which, although “unfinished”, left deep marks in society and in the conscience of the Portuguese, is a simultaneously political, economic, social and cultural democracy, that expresses the interests and aspirations of the overwhelming majority of the Portuguese people; has an anti-monopoly and anti-imperialist class content; and where many of its tasks are already tasks of a socialist society. In other words, between the stage of advanced democracy and the socialist stage of the Portuguese revolution, not only is there not a “big wall of China”, as there is a dialectical connection, to be shaped by the struggle of the workers and the masses, in accordance with Lenin’s theory of an “uninterrupted” revolution. Just as the Democratic and National Revolution paved the way for socialism (which is still today enshrined in the preamble to the Portuguese Constitution), the advanced democracy we are fighting for today is also an integral and inseparable part of the struggle for socialism.

These are, in short, some of the fundamental aspects of the PCP’s experience in the struggle to conquer power by the Portuguese workers, a condition for achieving their strategic goals, which are socialism and communism.

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The PCP has, for a long time, considered that there are general laws of revolution - like those concerning the importance of theory, the role of the vanguard revolutionary party, the role of the working class and its alliances, the creative participation of the masses, the issues of the power of the State and ownership of the main means of production, the dialectic between the general and the particular - but that there are no, and nor can there be, “models” and the paths towards the complete liberation from capitalist exploitation are very diverse, as are diverse the concrete realities in which the Communist parties and other revolutionary forces act.

The October Revolution ushered in a new era in the history of Humanity, the era of the transition from capitalism to socialism. The fact that we are living through difficult times, when imperialism carries out a dangerous offensive and the revolutionary forces are temporarily weakened, does not call this reality into question.

For the PCP this does not mean, however, that the conditions are met everywhere for placing the socialist revolution as an immediate goal and task. As the experience of the international communist and revolutionary movement shows, the struggle for socialism does not develop in a straight line. It is developed in stages, which are not determined by our will, nor by arbitrary decisions, but result from the study of the socio-

economic characteristics and of the political system in each country. These stages may be more or less clear-cut, more or less interconnected. In the imperialist times in which we live, there is the convergence and even the interweaving of the national-liberation, democratic or other stages, with the socialist stage, it being possible to move from one to another, given the condition of working-class hegemony. The PCP keeps this well in mind, in the concrete situation of Portugal. In any case, the experience of liberation processes throughout the century that has elapsed since October shows that for a revolution to triumph in its goals (of national liberation, democratic or other) it must point to the prospect of socialism.

In view of the maturation of the objective material conditions for the socialist revolution – regardless of the form it may come to embody – the PCP believes that the great challenge confronting the Communists and other revolutionary forces, in global terms – the situation from country to country being diversified – is to overcome the backwardness of the objective factor, first and foremost by strengthening the Communist Parties. The times we live in are of resistance and of gathering forces on a world scale. This requires many sacrifices and much persistence in carrying out the laborious and difficult task of building strong Communist Parties, solidly rooted in the working class and the masses and having real influence in the life of their countries. For the PCP, this is perhaps the greatest challenge confronting the Communist and revolutionary movement, and much can be learned from the experience of the Bolshevik party. For the PCP, nothing can replace the patient work among the masses and persistence in the struggle in defence of their concrete and immediate interests and for the corresponding tactical convergences and alliances, with the awareness that neither this struggle, nor these convergences, can lead us to forget the ultimate goal, nor can we, in the name of the ultimate goal, underestimate the decisive importance of the struggle for limited objectives, or deny the evidence of intermediate phases and stages of struggle.

As stressed at its 20th Party Congress, held in December 2016, the PCP also believes that it is necessary to bear in mind that the difficulties and dangers of the present world situation, as a result of the deepening of all fundamental contradictions of capitalism – between capital and labour; between the development of the productive forces and the relations of production; between the socialization of production and its private appropriation; in a framework in which the tendential law of the falling rate of profit operates – coexist with great potential for progressive and revolutionary advances. That is why it considers essential that Communists should be well rooted in the masses, identified with their interests and committed to their organisation and struggle, and confident in the inevitability that situations of crisis, with a revolutionary dimension, will arise and for which we must prepare ourselves, knowing how to resort to different forms of struggle. A vanguard party will only be so if it does not live for itself, but for the masses. For the PCP, this is also one of the strongest lessons from the experience of the October Revolution where an underground Bolshevik Party became the leading force of the revolution due to its persistent organisational work and its deep links with

the interests and aspirations of the working class and the masses.<sup>81</sup>

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The PCP believes that it is a fundamental internationalist duty to contribute to recover and strengthen the international Communist and revolutionary movement. A contribution that requires, in the first place, its own strengthening and greater influence among the workers and the Portuguese people. In the PCP's view, its foremost internationalist duty is to the working class and the people of Portugal. At the same time, the PCP seeks to strengthen ties of friendship, cooperation and solidarity with other Communist parties (as well as with other revolutionary and anti-imperialist forces), based on an exchange of experiences, the exchange of information for a common analysis of the international situation and on defining initiatives and common or convergent lines of action in the struggle against big capital and in solidarity with the peoples in struggle against imperialism's interference and aggression.

Without ignoring that there are delays and difficulties along this path and despite advances that we do not underestimate, the PCP believes that the international Communist and revolutionary movement has not yet recovered from the hard blows that it suffered with the defeats of socialism in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. Confronted with the violent political and ideological offensive of the ruling class – prominent in which, among other aspects, there is fierce anti-Communism, the persecution and outlawing of Communist parties and other democratic forces, and gigantic operations to falsify History and facts that must be opposed – and confronted with the probability of a long and protracted phase of resistance and gathering of forces, we have seen the development, on one hand, of tendencies to abandon the revolutionary project and adapt to the system and, on the other hand, of dogmatic and sectarian trends and displays of impatience and leaps forward, pointing to the seizure of power by the working class as an immediate universal task. A vast diversity of situations and tasks of each Party, at the national level, has not facilitated the development of multilateral cooperation. It is in this context that the PCP believes it is necessary to strengthen bilateral and multilateral relations and cooperation. The International Meetings of Communist and Workers' Parties can make an important contribution in this respect, bearing in mind the much that unites us in the struggle for workers' and peoples' rights and for the revolutionary overcoming of capitalism.

In order to strengthen the international Communist movement and preserve its unity, the PCP believes that it is essential to respect the principles of independence, mutual respect, frank and fraternal debate for better mutual acquaintance and to bring positions closer, non-interference in internal affairs, mutual solidarity. The PCP is well aware of the existence of differences of opinion, even of divergences, which the complexity of the international situation and the diversity of national realities makes practically unavoidable. For the PCP, the problem does not essentially lie in the differences of opinion, as in the methods of work that do not respect

82 tested principles of relationship. The PCP believes that attempts at organisational centralization or political and ideological homogenization do not serve, but rather hamper, the unity of the international Communist and revolutionary movement.

The evolution of the international situation highlights the need for the strengthening and unity of Communists, and between them and all revolutionary, anti-imperialist and peace-loving forces.

Faced with the deepening structural crisis of capitalism and in view of an extensive and complex process of rearrangement of forces at the world level, imperialism is intensifying its exploitative, oppressive and aggressive offensive.

Imperialism, in particular US imperialism, attempts to counter its trend of relative economic decline and to ensure, in articulation with its allies, its hegemony at a world level.

In this context, the exit of the United Kingdom, the growth of the far right, the ongoing militarist drive, among other important aspects that mark the reality of the European Union are an expression of its deep crisis and of an offensive aimed at strengthening its federalist, neo-liberal and militarist pillars.

This is a situation in which there is a growing danger that the most reactionary and aggressive sectors of imperialism will increasingly bet on war and fascism.

Solidarity with the peoples that are victims of imperialism's threats and aggressions, and a powerful movement for peace and disarmament, are today fundamental tasks.

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At its 20th Party Congress, held at the end of 2016, the PCP reaffirmed its unshakeable determination to continue the struggle in Portugal for an advanced democracy, with the values of the April Revolution in the future of Portugal, as an integral part of the construction of socialism and communism. This struggle needs a break with decades of right-wing policies and a patriotic and left-wing alternative.

A patriotic and left-wing alternative that the PCP proposes, taking into account our national reality, namely the growing economic domination by national and foreign monopoly capital and the political subordination and economic dependence that results from the process of capitalist integration of the European Union.

A patriotic alternative, because the new course and the new policy must break with the growing external subordination and dependence and affirm national sovereignty and a sovereign economic development. A left-wing alternative, because it inscribes the need to value labour and the workers, the materialization of social rights and the social functions of the State, a fairer distribution of income and public control of strategic sectors, with a view to defending workers and the non-monopoly strata and sectors.

This course requires a stronger and reinforced PCP, assuming its vanguard role in close connection with the

working class, the workers and the people. It needs daily work in defence of the interests of the workers, the people and the country, for the unwavering and persistent fight against right-wing policies and for the patriotic and left-wing alternative, strengthening the unity of the working class and workers, the commitment to the creation of a broad social front of struggle, for stronger mass organizations and mass movements, the growing activity of the anti-monopoly classes, strata and sectors, the convergence and unity of democrats and patriots, the combination of electoral and institutional action with the action of the masses, the intensification and convergence of the mass struggle, a determining and decisive factor to ensure the success of any project of social change that serves the Portuguese workers and people.

This course raises, as an essential issue, the need for an organisationally stronger PCP, with deeper roots among the workers and the people, linked to the Portuguese reality, articulating the struggle for short-term goals with the struggle for more general goals, reaffirming its Communist identity and its revolutionary project.

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One hundred years after the October Revolution, capitalism, plunged in its structural crisis, is revealing its exploitative, oppressive, aggressive and predatory nature. Capitalism has nothing to offer to the peoples, except an ever greater accumulation, centralization and concentration of wealth, more exploitation, growing injustice and social inequality, attacks against social and labour rights, the denial of democratic freedoms and rights, plunder and destruction of resources, interference and aggression against national sovereignty, militarism and war which, in its imperialist phase, embraces all continents, endangering world peace and the very existence of Humankind. Capitalism is a system that is in permanent confrontation with the aspirations of the workers and peoples.

The disappearance of the USSR and the defeats of socialism in Eastern Europe had an undeniable and profoundly negative impact on the global balance of forces, on the awareness of the masses and on the development of the struggle for socialism. However, the nature of capitalism has not changed, and this reaffirms the demand for its revolutionary overcoming by socialism and communism.

The reality of today's world proves the importance and scope of the October Revolution's goals and affirms socialism as a demand of the present and the future. The Twentieth Century was not the century of the "death of communism" but the century in which Communism was born as a new and superior form of society. However, this does not erase the recognition that the enterprise of the revolutionary overcoming of capitalism is complex, irregular and uneven, with victories and defeats, advances and setbacks.

Through differentiated paths and stages, in a more or less prolonged historical period, through the struggle for the social and national emancipation of workers and peoples, it is the replacement of capitalism by socialism which, in the 21st Century, remains inscribed

as a real possibility and as the most solid prospect for Humankind's development.

It is to this process of struggle and construction that the Portuguese Communists commit themselves with unwavering determination.

Grounded on the firm commitment to the workers and the Portuguese people, affirming its Communist identity, honouring its nature and history as a patriotic and internationalist Party, the PCP will remain steadfast in the struggle for a democratic, developed and sovereign Portugal, in the struggle for an advanced democracy, with the values of the April Revolution in the future of Portugal, having socialism and communism as its goal.



# Romanian Socialist Party

Dear comrades, dear friends

First of all I want to thank the Communist Party of the Russian Federation and comrade Ziuganov for this wonderful meeting in the same place where, one hundred of years ago, Lenin proclaimed the power of Soviets/.

Next I want to congratulate you in the name of Romanian Socialist Party and in the name of its president, Constantin Rotaru. More than that, I have the task to congratulate you in the name of all Romanian Communists which are divided now in four parties besides us: Romanian Communitarian Party, The Party of the Communists and the Romanian Communist Party of 21th century.

Comrades

Right now all all main mass media in the world “celebrates” the great October Revolution in its way, according to ideological affinities and political interests. For instance last week the Russian patriarch Kiril has visited Romania and he declared that 100 year ago a criminal experiment began and thanks God it was finished 25 years ago. Maybe he has direct wire with the last Russian saint, emperor Nicholas the second! The TV channels compete each others to speak about the “crimes of communism” and some hot heads want that 7 november to be the international day of the crimes of the communism or to start a kind of “Nuremberg of communism”. The anticommunist propaganda has intensified this year using two kind of ammunition: minimization (it was not a big deal) and demonization (Lenin was a traitor paid with German money and Trotzki another one paid with Jewish ones). Anyway, they cannot deny that the Bolshevik revolution was the most important event of the last century.

For us, the communists and for all the progressive movement the meaning is different. A hundred years ago a new epoch began: the epoch of socialist revolutions. To those that say that socialism is kaput we answer: after the counter-revolutions started in 1989 the socialist system lost 25% from population. It hurts, but it is not the end. The capitalism is doomed and more and more people understand that the alternative is socialism or barbarism.

Yes, it was a defeat. Especially in my country, Romania, where the Romanian Communist Party crushed in 24 hours. The communists were forbidden as in other “democracies” as the Baltic states, Hungary and Poland. The Romanians were the first to do that. Totalitarian anticommunism has risen since 1990. I say “totalitarian” because it does not accept competition. This was the “democracy” accepted by the bourgeois elite from European Union for East Europeans countries.

Anticommunism was used as an anesthetic for the working people in order to accept the capitalist restoration: privatizations and retrocessions. To accept the steal of the results of 40-year labor, the people were to feel culpable for collaborationism .. Even now, 27 years after the counter-revolution started in december 1989 and killing of Ceaușescu the ideologues of the Right point the finger to communists for all what goes wrong in the country. The crimes of 27 years of capitalism are to be considered again crimes of communism. In the period

1994 – 2015 the Romanian courts rejected 14 attempts to register a party which has in the name the word “communist”. After 2015 they decided that the danger has passed and a new law has been adopted according to which it is enough to have 3 members in order to register a party. It is allowed to use the word “communist” but not Romanian Communist Party.

The good news is that more and more Romanians wake up from the anesthesia and see what capitalism means: inequality, unemployment, lack of health insurance, diseases and poverty for majority. Three millions of the have gone to find work outside, hoping in a better capitalism in Italy, Spain, France, USA and other countries. Many of them change their vision about communism there and become leftists.

Comrades

It is a time for celebration but it is also a time for lucidity. Yes, without the Great Socialist October Revolution there have not existed Poland, Finland, Baltic States, Belarus, Ukraina and other states. Yes, without it the world would have been a a world of rich metropolis and poor colonies. Yes, without the fear of communism there would not have existed welfare states in the developed countries.

But we have to see what went wrong with the socialism applied in Eastern Europe and Soviet Union in order to correct the errors next time. To see why the communist parties have lost the power and the peoples accepted that. To see how the parties of the working class are to behave in the future in order that keep the power for working people and not make gaps between them and people. We are sure that the future is ours.

Long live the Great October Revolution!

Long Live Socialism!



# Russian Communist Worker's Party

**Dear comrades, let me greet all participants of the meeting!**

27 years ago (in April 1990) I gave a speech at the conference of Leningrad CPSU organization that was to discuss the list of delegates to be sent to the XXVIII Congress of CPSU. Exactly then there took place the division between *market oriented* supporters of Gorbachev and orthodox communists. This division is still present in Russian Federation and manifests itself as the existence of two parties: CPRF and RCWP and the struggle between these two parties.

We are celebrating the centennial anniversary of the Great October, still we meet now the jubilee of October not on the rise of our movement but under the conditions of temporary defeat of the October Revolution's cause in the land of October, i.e. in the state of retreat. That's why the best way to celebrate the Great October's jubilee would be to focus upon the tasks not resolved and to analyze our experience and the mistakes committed. Our party has prepared report entitled "**100 years after the Great October Socialist Revolution, the lessons and tasks for the contemporary communists.**" We attach to this document great importance and believe it to be **the second program of our party.** In August this year, 100 years since the historical VI congress of Bolsheviks that had taken the course on armed uprising, there was held a conference of communist and workers parties that adhere to orthodox Marxism. At the conference there was adopted declaration entitled "October-100" that we offer for consideration (as well as for critics) to all the parties.

In the report of RCWP CC there is analyzed in detail the world-historical importance of the October revolution that was the first in the world that had successfully established the **dictatorship of proletariat.** It's very important that **the Great October Socialist Revolution was the first revolution that had been theoretically predicted by Marxism as natural and inevitable transition form capitalist social-economic formation to the more progressive communist one.**

It's known that a revolution requires the presence of subjective factor. Lenin developed the theory of proletarian party – the party of **a new type** and created the party of Bolsheviks. The main lesson (in a **narrow sense**) that Lenin gave to all proletarian parties is the fact that Bolsheviks were able mobilize working class and popular strata of Russia for the revolution not because they joined with *all sorts of opposition*, but first of all because they could defeat opportunistic trend of Mensheviks in workers' movement both **ideologically and organizationally.**

We should specially stress that Bolsheviks never gave up the idea of the world revolution. In the report there was analyzed the experience and merits of Comintern that from the moment of its creation had provided communists with their own pole in workers' movement, the pole that had been clearly defined both ideologically and organizationally. The Third, i.e. Communist International carried out huge theoretical work, in particular it predicted Fascism and gave it definition. ("Fascism in power is an open terrorist dictatorship of

the most reactionary, the most chauvinistic, the most imperialistic elements of the financial capital, a special form of class domination of bourgeoisie..."). Though the issue of Comintern's dissolution requires a special analysis, one thing is quite obvious: **the main result of Comintern's activities was the defeat of Fascism** and creation of world Socialist system with the most powerful organizational nucleus as represented by USSR and by the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance countries.

Soviet Union saved the world civilization while having provided the decisive contribution to the defeat of German Nazism. What is especially important is the fact that this victory demonstrated the undisputed superiority of Socialism over Capitalism. On having promptly reconstructed the demolished national economy, USSR had turned into one of the most educated countries of the world with advanced science and culture. That's why the priority of USSR in space research wasn't accidental. The first person on Earth who went into space on board of Vostok space ship was Soviet pilot, **communist Yuri Gagarin Soviet pilot, a former worker – a moulder-caster.**

Soviet Union had a huge influence over the total world history course. The experience of Socialism, its' social achievements both in USSR and other socialist countries forced capitalists to meet the demands of working people in their countries and introduce wider range of extended social guarantees.

The report pays special attention to the issue of power organization after the victory of socialist revolution. Essentially this is **the main issue of the communist program.** How one can organize the power of working people themselves and not of the people who only claim to represent them? We insist that the power should be organized as Soviet. The stability of Soviets and their best ability to perform the functions of proletarian dictatorship can be explained by the fact that the system of **Soviets is based on objective reality that is characteristic for working people – i.e. on their organization that arises in the process of material production.** The role of Soviets is very important already on the stage of struggle for power. No parliaments or center-left governments of "people's trust" are likely to be transformed into Soviet power, neither would they adopt a Soviet Constitution nor lead people to Socialism. **The way to Socialism goes through Soviets, through struggle.**

The experience of USSR has persuasively and unequivocally proved that **the economic basis** for performing, strengthening and developing Soviet power as a form of proletarian dictatorship is the socialized property of means of production, preplanned directly social production that is aimed at providing complete well-being and free universal development of all members of society. **This is the goal of socialist production.** The rejection of this goal, the course towards market leads to the degradation and destruction of Socialism as market oriented commodity production fundamentally cannot be a basis of proletarian dictatorship. Any attempt to construct a socialist market oriented commodity economics will inevitably lead to the destruction of Socialism. **Now we can say that it's**

**not only a scientifically predicted occurrence, but also a historical fact that unfortunately has been proved by experiment.**<sup>87</sup>

(The most important condition for development of Socialism is the movement towards non-commodity, directly social nature of production. Nowadays this issue has not only been an issue of interest, but it has also been the point of dissent among communists, including Russian communists. In our report we give a reply to our *market oriented comrades*, in particular those, who suggest that we should follow the "Chinese path": you will all end up in Capitalism if you go along this road. What we see is essentially the dream of Gorbachev. i.e. **to move to Capitalism under the Red Banner.**

Of course, the economic successes of China are impressive and incite respect, still they don't necessarily mean a success of socialist construction. Lenin used to say that such type of *satisfaction* man can experience under Capitalism as well. **Now China is the second in the list of countries by the number of billionaires, whereas Russia is the third. It's quite obvious that both countries are quite far away from the construction of classless society, i.e. Communism.** Meanwhile Chinese Capitalism has been actively playing reactionary role worldwide – it's enough to recall the shooting of workers at Chinese oil drilling plants in Zhanaozen, Kazakhstan and the struggle of Greek workers against the plans by Chinese companies to privatize the port of Piraeus. It's difficult for us to say this but we see that **Chinese comrades are likely to repeat the sad fate of CPSU.**)

For obvious reasons we paid special attention to the issue of tactics and necessity of utilizing the possibilities provided by bourgeois parliament to the development of class struggle. The approach by Lenin was illustrated by one of his most categorical expressions: "*Only blackguards or fools can believe that proletariat should first conquer the majority in the course of elections that are carried out under the oppression of bourgeoisie, under the conditions of the hired slavery and only afterwards they should conquer the power. This is the utmost manifestation of stupidity or hypocrisy, this is the substitution of class struggle and revolution by elections under the old order, the old power.*" Everything is decided in the course of extra parliamentary struggle.

In the report there is a special chapter dedicated to the reasons for the defeat of Socialism in USSR. Lenin used to say that "**nobody can defeat us but for our own mistakes**". If we wanted to answer briefly why the Soviet power and CPSU were defeated whereas the majority of working people expressed indifference regarding the counterrevolutionary coup performed in 1991, we would say as follows: **it's because that by that time the power had not been Soviet and the party – communist any longer.**

In the report we dwelled in detail upon the practical mistakes made by the party and the authorities starting with the main one – i.e. the rejection of the main issue in Marxism – i.e. the rejection of **proletarian dictatorship.** This was performed by the leaders of the party that went

88 on calling itself communist. At the XXII Congress of CPSU there was adopted a new party program that excluded mentioning the necessity of proletarian dictatorship from its basic programmatic issues. Meanwhile the XXVIII Congress of CPSU adopted the program of transition to market, i.e. to Capitalism. Even the models of *honest* privatization as G.A. Zyganov told us were elaborated within CPSU CC. The struggle within CPSU in that period was also reflected in the report.

**Life itself has proved the correctness of Marxism's founders when they claimed that Communism is science and that it should be dealt with correspondingly.**

The parties that adhered to orthodox, i.e. revolutionary Marxism joined together in Communist (i.e. the 3<sup>rd</sup>) International in XX Century. The tasks of communist parties, their responsibilities among which the most important was the responsibility to struggle for the revolutionary character of the parties, the struggle against opportunism were reflected in the 21 conditions of admission to Comintern. In the world there are still many parties who occupy the positions of revolutionary Marxism. Theoretical thought is still alive and Marxist-Leninist scientists go on with their studies.

As a separate topic we analyze the issue of *whether we should aim for Socialism at all, in case Capitalism can provide a high level of prosperity?* We, Soviet communists that lived and struggled in Soviet times when answering the question of "what was better under Socialism?", point out that the main benefit of Socialism was not only the social security of people from the market or the absence of unemployment, or free of charge education, healthcare and accessible housing. We tell that the better **relationship between people** was that mattered most. Those relationships were much more honest, pure and fair. They were more **human. This is worth struggling for!**

Nowadays imperialists in many countries have been **banning** communist parties activities (eg. in Ukraine and in Baltic republics) and symbols, communists are not allowed to take part in elections etc. Anticomunist propaganda has been carried out everywhere with a various degree of frenzy. Still the main tool of anticommunism is not the bans, but the leading of the movement aside, its **emasculatation**.

RCWP claims that today opportunism and revisionism have been transformed from natural biases of communist movement into a controlled weapon of bourgeoisie. The best known example of such transformation is the trend called *Eurocommunism* that is represented by the party of European Left. It's clear that such parties pose no threat to bourgeoisie and are supported. These are our class enemies. Bourgeoisie has perfectly well learned to *emasculate* revolutionary ideas. The example of the recent Youth Festival in Sochi can illustrate this well. Dances and fun instead of anti-imperialist struggle is its essence.

Our program means the **development of the struggle of working people themselves**. One can achieve anything by struggle only, not by begging, whereas providing the scope of the struggle and the degree of its organization

have reached a certain threshold, we can raise the issue of working people's power – the Soviet power. We've been under severe pressure of reaction but we have to keep our stamina and fight in order to be able to timely bring the spark of revolutionary knowledge and revolutionary fire to the powder keg of people's energy. Lenin used to say: **"it doesn't depend on us only if there is revolution or not, but we'll perform our task and this effort will never perish"**. Let's check our thoughts and deeds against Lenin and the party of Bolsheviks.

**Let's not falter on our chosen way! There is no other way around.**

**Long live Marxism-Leninism, the teaching on revolutionary struggle of proletarians all over the world. Proletarians of all countries – unite!**

# Communist Party of Soviet Union

Дорогие товарищи,

89

От имени **Коммунистической партии Советского Союза** приветствую участников 19 Встречи коммунистических и рабочих в городе-герое Ленинграде и поздравляю со 100-летним юбилеем победоносной социалистической революции, открывшей новую эру в истории человечества, эпоху социалистических революций и преобразований, эпоху крушений колониализма.

Победа Октябрьской революции стала возможной благодаря сложившимся к тому моменту объективным и субъективным предпосылкам. Россия стала средоточием различных противоречий в эпоху империализма, которые привели сначала к империалистической Первой мировой войне, а затем к революции. Социалистическая революция победила во многом благодаря наличию большевистской партии нового типа, руководимой В.И. Лениным. Вопросы стратегии и тактики партии большевиков в Октябрьской революции и сегодня, спустя 100 лет, остаются для нас актуальными.

## Что дала революция миру?

Прежде всего, Мир! Мир – во всех смыслах, мир – значит не война (окончание империалистической войны), последовательное проведение Советским Союзом миролюбивой политики. Это и Мир социализма. Революция способствовала широкому распространению идей социализма по земному шару, развитию мирового революционного процесса и образованию мировой системы социализма.

Работая недавно в архиве, я наткнулся на интересное письмо морского офицера, который пишет, что только «Мир и Ленин» могут остановить уничтожение России. Мир и Ленин – в этих двух ёмких словах воплощены гуманистические идеалы революции и способность Ленинской партии к созидательному действию в интересах народа. Как видим, 100 лет назад наряду с большевиками и рабочими, это понимали передовые люди разных сословий. Казалось бы частный случай, но на самом деле это наблюдение и вывод офицера характеризует тенденцию мирового революционного процесса, четко узнаваемого думающими людьми того времени.

Революция открыла новую главу в истории человечества и круто изменила ход мировой истории. Она привела к завоеванию рабочим классом власти и созданию первого в мире социалистического государства с общественным строем, при котором нет угнетения и эксплуатации людей, а народ является хозяином своей страны. (До победы Октябрьской революции изменения в человеческом обществе сводились лишь к замене одного эксплуататорского строя другим – прим.авт.).

Великий Октябрь открыл новую эпоху пролетарских революций, а социализм, являясь новейшим общественным строем, вышел на мировую историческую сцену, показывая направление

90 развития всего человечества.

Революция нанесла тяжелый удар по господству империализма, дала миру образец свержения эксплуататорского общества и созидания общества социалистического, без эксплуатации человека человеком, обретение многими народами своей независимости. Революционное движение в капиталистических странах получило новый толчок.

Главное достижение Революции – это сохранение человеческой цивилизации. Революция смогла сначала остановить разрушительную кровавую Первую мировую империалистическую войну, а затем спасти человечество от фашизма. Много лет тому назад в своем докладе я уже говорил, что победа Советского Союза над фашистской Германией в Великой Отечественной и Второй мировой войне была заложена именно в 1917 году. Этот тезис стал пониматься все большим количеством людей. И здесь на XIX Встрече этот вывод прозвучал с новой силой вчера и сегодня. Именно Советский Союз, образовавшийся в результате революции спас человечество сначала от коричневой чумы – фашизма, а затем от развязывания империализмом широкомасштабной ракетно-ядерной войны. Только Советский Союз был способен сломать хребет фашистскому зверю и сохранить мир на планете.

### **Что дала революция народам СССР?**

Об этом тоже было много сказано. Страна была освобождена от интервентов и местных эксплуататоров, а народы обрели равноправие и свободное развитие. В кратчайшие сроки восстановлено народное хозяйство, проведена модернизация. Советский Союз добился беспрецедентных успехов в темпах роста экономики, социальных завоеваниях, развитии образования, науки, техники, культуры и советского общества. Граждане СССР получили право на труд, была ликвидирована безработица и дискриминация женщин, для всего народа стали доступны бесплатное образование и медицинская помощь. Советская власть заботилась об охране детства и материнства.

Российская империя, именуемая классиками европейским жандармом и тюрьмой народов благодаря социализму стала Советским Союзом - страной дружбы и братства народов, страной, оказавшей влияние на крушение колониальной системы и оказавшей интернациональную помощь другим странам. Большую помощь братским коммунистическим и рабочим партиям оказывала наша партия.

Великим достижением реального социализма в СССР было образование новой исторической общности людей – Советского народа. Многие граждане СССР и сейчас, спустя 26 лет после разрушения Союза, ощущают свою советскую идентичность и передают свои теплые и прекрасные воспоминания о Советском Союзе внукам, завещая возродить Родину Великого

Октября. И сегодня в юбилей Великого Октября мы вспоминаем пламенных революционеров, отдавших жизнь за светлое будущее человечества. Мы с гордостью вспоминаем тех членов КПСС, кто до последнего дыхания оставался верен Ленинской партии и служил своему народу и народам мира.

В этом большом зале находятся представители ряда партий из республик СССР, которые прекрасно помнят, ценят и гордятся своей принадлежностью к нашей великой единой Родине - СССР.

Мы заявляем, что советский народ имеет право на свою государственность!

Мы убеждены, что наступит день, когда Красное Знамя вновь будет гордо веять над Кремлем и развеиваться на флагштоках столиц союзных республик СССР, а по просторам нашей Родины прокатится Триумфальное шествие Советской власти.

Мы гордимся свершениями наших предшественников большевиков-ленинцев, о чем надо и приятно говорить в юбилей. Но наряду с этим юбилей, это очередной повод подведения итогов столетней эпохи, обязанность принципиального критического анализа неудач и поражений, извлечение уроков и выводов, работа над ошибками, анализ причин перерождения руководства партии и разрушения СССР и ряда других стран социализма, корректировка стратегии и тактики борьбы на основе опыта коммунистических и рабочих партий. Ведь Ленин говорил, что лучший способ отметить юбилей – это сосредоточиться на нерешенных задачах. Поэтому, эти и другие вопросы, в августе месяце мы в очередной раз рассмотрели на международной конференции в Ленинграде, организованной РКРП-КПСС. Наша конференция, в которой приняли участие несколько десятков марксистско-ленинских партий (из числа тех, кто не поражен бациллой оппортунизма), приняла Августовскую (2017) Декларацию «Октябрь-100» «100 лет Великой Октябрьской социалистической революции, уроки и задачи для современных коммунистов», где подробно изложены основные подходы Компартий – участниц конференции (их ядро составляют компартии, входящие в европейскую «Инициативу»).

Мы считаем, что добиться целей, которые провозглашают коммунистические и рабочие партии в своих программах можно только революционным путем. Если партия, именуемая коммунистической, становится на путь оппортунизма и реформизма, то она уходит от своей главной стратегической цели. Оппортунизм выхолащивает суть коммунистических партий, делает их частью буржуазной политической системы. Мы видим, что парламентский путь и реформизм скорее обуржуазит компартию и никогда не приведет к социализму. Поэтому у нас нет иллюзий, что в рамках капитализма, посредством реформ, возможно исправить эксплуататорскую систему.

Сегодня, как и 100 лет тому назад в повестке дня стоит революция, установление диктатуры пролетариата, обобществление средств производства,

всестороннее развитие демократии и человека.

Однако взятие власти – это всего лишь часть дела. Её можно и потерять и лишиться завоеваний, что собственно и произошло в Советском Союзе. Проблема удержания власти напрямую связана с вопросом о диктатуре пролетариата, искренней поддержки социалистических преобразований со стороны широких слоев трудящихся при одновременном развитии демократии и демократических институтов. Не допустить всевластия бюрократии – архисложная задача. В прошлом партия с этой задачей не справилась и мы потеряли страну... После 1991 года наша партия избавилась от «горбачевщины» и ряда других порочных явлений. Партия нашла силы к восстановлению, сплочению республиканских партийных организаций сначала в форме СКП-КПСС, а затем в составе КПСС (на пространстве СССР). Мы не скрываем наличия огромных трудностей организационного и др. характера. Тем не менее, была проделана большая работы по сплочению и объединению коммунистических сил, партийные комитеты нацелены на целеустремленную работу в рабочем движении. Партия работает над изучением и решением многих проблемных вопросов, чтобы после победы революции обеспечить её необратимый характер и не наступить на те же грабли.

В современном политическом дискурсе компартий имеет место взгляд, что к разрушению СССР привели некоторые политико-юридические вопросы, связанные с отменой положения о диктатуре пролетариата при Хрущёве и отменой статьи 6 Конституции СССР о руководящей роли партии при Горбачеве. Не следует путать причины со следствием. Наивно полагать, что росчерком пера или законодательным актом можно отменить диктатуру пролетариата. Если бы в те годы была диктатура пролетариата, то она не позволила бы себя отменить. Реально была диктатура партийно-государственной номенклатуры, разрушительная деятельность которой в партийно-политической, научной, идеологической и экономической и других сферах привела Союз к гибели.

Созданное под руководством Ленина государство диктатуры пролетариата постепенно из средства обеспечения его политического господства превратилось в силу, господствующую над ним, т.е. над пролетариатом и трудящимися. Безусловно, вопрос об осуществлении диктатуры пролетариата очень важный и сложный, особенно о способности её осуществления, методах и способах, о соотношении диктатуры и демократии и т.д. Мы в СССР не смогли сохранить власть рабочего класса. В этом вопросе существует ряд противоречий и подводных камней. Дело в том, что диктатуру пролетариата сложно реализовать без централизации, которая в свою очередь ведет к бюрократизации, перерождению верхушки аппарата и отходу от социализма. Бюрократия препятствует развитию демократических институтов. Социализм без демократии - не социализм, а его антипод. Тов. Лой

из Вьетнама в своём интересном докладе говорил<sup>91</sup> о децентрализации, к которой вынуждена была обратиться Социалистическая Республика Вьетнам для решения социально-экономических задач и развития человеческого потенциала. Как видим, существует и такой взгляд и реальная практика сохранения и развития социализма.

Наша партия и впредь будет глубже исследовать не только причины разрушения СССР и ошибки социалистического строительства, но и опыт других стран. Всякие упрощения экономических проблем социализма и пренебрежение марксистско-ленинской диалектикой и современной наукой не допустимы. Однако формат юбилейной Встречи не позволяет подробно останавливаться на этих и других вопросах. (Это больше тема научно-практических конференций и подготовки научных монографий - прим.автора).

Уважаемые товарищи, пользуясь этой высокой трибуной, хочется выразить солидарность советских коммунистов с борющимися народами Сирии, Палестины, Венесуэлы, Кубы, КНДР, Украины и другими народами в их справедливой антиимпериалистической борьбе!

Сегодня у человечества нет альтернатив социализму, как не было альтернатив у России 100 лет назад. Либо социализм и спасение жизни на планете и самой Планеты, путь к её процветанию. Либо капитализм с войнами, грабежами и угрозой ядерной и экологической катастрофы. Когда этот научный факт овладеет умами огромных масс, люди сметут паразитов.

Да здравствует социалистическая революция!

Да здравствует Социализм!

Социализм победит!

# New Communist Party of Yugoslavia

Дорогие товарищи,

приветствую вас от всего сердца от имени Новой коммунистической партии Югославии и выражаю признательность Коммунистической партии Российской Федерации за организацию такого важного собрания – 19-й международной встречи коммунистических и рабочих партий. Особую радость испытываем мы от сознания того, что эта важная встреча проходит именно в городе-колыбели Великой Октябрьской социалистической революции – в городе-герое Ленинграде.

Сто лет назад произошло событие всемирно-исторического значения. Рабочие и крестьяне России, руководимые партией большевиков, взяли в свои руки власть. На всю страну, на весь мир прозвучали слова Ленина: «Рабочая и крестьянская революция, о необходимости которой все время говорили большевики, совершилась». Родилось первое в мире государство рабочих и крестьян. Великий Октябрь начал свое победное шествие по необъятной территории России и мира.

Сто лет прошло с тех незабываемых дней, когда свершилась первая в истории человечества победоносная пролетарская революция. Она произошла в России, но привела в движение многомиллионные массы трудящихся на всех континентах, обогатила их бесценным опытом борьбы с эксплуататорами, дала миру образец решения коренных социальных проблем. Она заложила фундамент новой, социалистической цивилизации. Выстрел «Авроры» возвестил о том, что начался, говоря словами В.И. Ленина, «величайший, труднейший в истории переход» – переход от капитализма к социализму.

Победа Октября открыла путь для претворения в жизнь идеалов социализма. Октябрьская социалистическая революция дала мощный толчок всему мировому общественному развитию, ускорила ход революционной и освободительной борьбы.

Как сказано пятьдесят лет назад "Пройдут века, человечество достигнет высот, которые превзойдут самую смелую фантазию наших современников, многие события могут быть забыты. Но **7 ноября 1917 года** – день, когда была совершена первая победоносная социалистическая революция, навсегда сохранится в памяти грядущих поколений".

Дело Великого Октября переживет века!

Дорогие товарищи,

Мы обязаны по этому поводу выразить свое большое уважение и благодарность тем знаменитым сыновьям югославского народа, которые были верны пролетарскому интернационализму, не жалея своих жизней, сражались за победу Великой Октябрьской социалистической революции и вместе со своими русскими братьями и другими народами защищали Республику советов – первое государство рабочих и крестьяне в мире.

Многие из них по возвращении на родину участвовали в рабочем и коммунистическом движении в Югославии, в гражданской войне в Испании и в антифашистской борьбе в Югославии. В 1941 году в оккупированной Европе на территории партизанской Ужицкой республики, размером с современную Бельгию, югославские партизаны впервые праздновали годовщину Великой октябрьской революции. Вдохновляемые идеалами Октября плечом к плечу с советскими солдатами в 1944-45 годах освободили Югославию и перевернули страницу истории в своей стране, освобожденной от капиталистов и захватчиков.

Дорогие друзья,

Ситуация на Балканах в настоящее время после геополитической катастрофы, вызванной перестройкой, не оставляет места для надежды рабочему классу и широким народным массам. После кровавых боев на территории Югославии, навязываемых и навязанных империалистических решений и моделей оккупации процессы колонизации когда-то свободной Югославии фактически завершены.

Путем так называемой приватизации уничтожено 98% промышленного потенциала Сербии. А в промышленности работало более миллиона людей. А уровень национального дохода, т.е. брутто совокупного общественного производства сегодня существенно ниже, чем в начале 1989 года. В Сербии, как и в восточной Европе и СССР приватизация довела до значительного обрушения социально-экономического положения рабочего класса.

История показала, что приватизация была мероприятием контрреволюции. Первую приватизацию в Европе осуществили в 1933 году гитлеровские власти, а целью ее была – приватизация имущества, национализированного во время Веймарской республики.

Балканы в настоящее время являются экспериментальным полигоном Европы в отношении решения вопроса выживания в эпоху кризиса капитализма. Для реализации этой стратегии и с целью тяжелейшего давления на рабочее движение рекрутированы орды фашистских и религиозных фундаменталистов.

Сегодня на Балканах происходит апробация границ, до которых можно осуществлять политическое давление и навязывание условий со стороны Евросоюза, международного валютного фонда и НАТО.

НКПЮ считает, что национальные вопросы на Балканах могут решаться только на внутренней антиимпериалистической платформе, а всякой «самоопределение» в кавычках под спонсорством империализма есть только опция и мера, реализуемые в интересах империалистов и против интересов наших народных масс. Поэтому коммунисты на Балканах несут огромную ответственность за то,

чтобы демаскировать империалистические цели,<sup>93</sup> которые кроются за проектами типа так называемой «Независимости Косова».

Текущая ситуация на Балканах беспрецедентна! Балканы являются носителями долгой кровавой истории имперской политики «Разделяй и властвуй» (*divide et impera*). Объединение стран и народов Балкан есть единственный способ, который может привести к экономическому, национальному и политическому освобождению. Первый шаг в этом направлении – усиление роли компартии, что обеспечит лучшие условия для развития и повышения активного сотрудничества между компартиями.

Необходимо усилить работу внутри рабочего класса, чтобы вовлекать новые свежие молодые силы в профсоюзное движение с целью создания классово-ориентированных профсоюзов. Мы так же должны всеми своими силами способствовать усилению и расширению мирового анти-империалистического движения против военного присутствия НАТО на Балканах.

Дорогие товарищи!

В исторической перспективе СССР сражалась за выживание всего человечества. Разумеется, события далеко не всегда представляются именно так.

Во время Второй мировой войны советский народ принес в жертву по меньшей мере 25 миллионов мужчин, женщин и детей ради победы над нацизмом. Ни одной другой стране в современной истории не приходилось проходить через такие испытания.

Сразу же после этой победы СССР вместе с Китаем, а затем и Кубой запустила самый невероятный и благородный проект всех времен: систематическое разрушение западного колониализма. По всему миру угнетенные массы поднялись против европейского и североамериканского варварства, а Советский Союз был готов стать для них лучом надежды, предоставить существенную финансовую, идеологическую и военную помощь.

По мере того как угнетенные и обездоленные нации одна за другой приобретали независимость, во всех столицах западного мира росла ненависть к Советскому Союзу. Ведь разграбление «небелых» континентов считалось естественным правом «цивилизованного мира».

После падения Берлинской стены империализм со всей силой вылез из своего много десятилетнего мрака. В течение только двух десятилетий в кровавых войнах на геополитической сцене разорены Югославия, Афганистан, Ирак, Ливия, Украина, и далее продолжается военный поход на Сирию, Венесуэлу, не прекращается давление на Кубу, Корейскую Народно-Демократическую Республику (КНДР).

США оказывают давление на КНДР ежедневно. Давайте не будем забывать - это не провоцирует КНДР, но она защищает себя. На протяжении

<sup>94</sup> десятилетий Америка развертывала несколько сотен тысяч военнослужащих на границе этой страны и последовательно направляла в этот регион ядерные ракеты. Президенты США последовательно заявляют, что они вторгнутся в эту страну и установят там лояльный к себе режим. Каждый год Америка на корейской границе выполняет «маневры», которые имитируют вторжение. Если армия США хочет спасти мир от сумасшедшего и опасного режима, то мы предлагаем сначала бомбардировать Белый дом и Пентагон.

Дорогие друзья,

Призываем рабочий класс, рабочих и народы всего мира присоединиться коммунистам и революционерам, объединиться вокруг своих классовых интересов, чтобы своими руками строить будущее, прогресс, мир и правду для всего человечества. В этом отношении особенно важно создать условия сближению народов и объединению в революционной борьбе против капиталистической политики, против экономического кризиса, против агрессии империалистов на ми во всех обликах и свободу.

Призываем вас к

1. Солидарности с классовой борьбой рабочих и особенно с растущей борьбой за права рабочих, молодежи и женщин на Балканах
2. Осуждению антикоммунизма и приравнивания коммунизма к фашизму, особенно исходящего от Евросоюза.
3. К солидарности с коммунистами Украины, которые находятся под постоянным давлением, физическими нападками, угрозами и подвергаются физической ликвидации.
4. К солидарности с коммунистами Казахстана, которые находятся под ударом буржуазных властей страны.
5. Солидарности с народами Ближнего востока, особенно народами Сирии и Палестины, которые находятся под постоянным империалистическим давлением и военными действиям
6. К солидарной поддержке Кубы и Венесуэлы в защите от империалистического давления во всех обликах, направленных на разрушение легитимно избранных властей и .своего пути развития

Мы не должны допустить, чтобы империализм беспрепятственно уничтожал будущее человечества. Пока империалисты планируют, стравливают народы и ведут войны, рабочий класс считает своих погибших.

Не позволим, чтобы нас стравили и спровоцировали страхом, ненавистью, расизмом и ксенофобией.

Только пролетарская социалистическая революция

может вывести человечество из тупика, в который его завели империализм и империалистические войны. *«Каковы бы ни были трудности революции и возможные временные неудачи ее или волны контрреволюции, — окончательная победа пролетариата неизбежна»*(В.И. Ленин)

Дорогие товарищи!

несмотря на огромные препятствия, мы верим в силу единства рабочего класса, и мы уверены в способности бороться за новый, свободный мир - мир социализма.

Истинное изменение невозможно без повседневных, классовых боев. Против единства капитала только единство рабочего класса и трудящихся! Солидарность и уникальность в борьбе! Как сказал Энгельс: «Крупные изменения не приводят к временному взлету, а длительному действию больших масс, целых классов».

открытое приглашение молодым изменить здесь и сейчас, построить новое общество - социализм-коммунизм, а также остановить жестокую атаку капитала и эксплуатацию человека над человеком.

Дорогие товарищи!

Независимо от того, большая ли наша партия или нет, находимся ли на легальном положении или нет, входим в состав правительства или мы оппозиция, парламентская ли мы партия или нет, мы всё-таки одна большая семья, несмотря на частые перерывы в сотрудничестве, споры и недоразумения. Наша цель должна быть ясной - строительство мира без эксплуатации человека над человеком. Коммунистическая идеология не умерла, как неоднократно повторяли антикоммунисты. Коммунистическая идеология - это не прошлое, это не ностальгия по прошлым временам, это не религия и музей, из которых мы будем копировать цитаты, картины и рисунки, коммунистическая идеология - это постоянный призыв ко всем людям активно участвовать в строительстве общества без классов и эксплуатации здесь и сейчас.

Человечество, проходя через капитализм, приобрело кровавый опыт. И не только в 20-м веке! Очевидно, что эту разрушительную систему нельзя оставить в судьбе человечества. Все это заставляет коммунистическое движение продолжать противостоять капитализму в критической битве с ее длительной историей, со всеми ее ошибками, поражениями и достижениями. И на основании накопленного опыта, освобождаясь от бремени догматизма, оппортунизма и ревизионизма, открывать новую страницу борьбы за освобождение человека, которая должна будет подтвердить всем людям, что социализм возможен и достижим.

20й век начался с самого большого наступления пролетариев всех времен, а закончился их временным поражением. 21-й век станет веком решительного и необратимого на этот раз свержения капитализма и

построения социализма - коммунизма.

Наше будущее — не капитализм, а новый мир  
победоносной социалистической революции и  
строительства коммунизма!

Красное знамя над Кремлем – неизбежно.

Взяли рейхстаг – и здесь справимся.

Смерть капитализму - социализм народу!

Благодарю за внимание!

# South African Communist Party

## The Significance of the Russian Revolution for South Africa

The dramatic events unfolding in Russia in late 1917 were eagerly followed, as best as they could, by a small group of radical socialists in the far south of the African continent. On 16 November 1917, less than two weeks after the beginning of the Bolshevik revolution, their weekly newspaper, *The International*, published an editorial titled, "The Great Events in Russia":

"The cable news regarding the revolution in Russia is so confusing and every day so contradictory that it is hopeless attempting to build on them", the editorial noted. Nonetheless, sensing something important was happening, it observed accurately that the "Maximalist [Bolshevik] wing of the Social Democratic Party has been gaining strength since the political revolution." The editorial ended on a cautionary note, "should the Social Democrats fail, we can expect the most bloody massacre of the working men of Petrograd that history has ever recorded. Long live the Social Revolution, the light of the East."

A few months later, in March 1918, with the imperialist-directed counter-revolution unleashed in Russia, *The International* called on the South African working class to show solidarity with their Russian comrades: "Workers of South Africa! Arouse from your submissiveness and lethargy, and show that you see through this foul conspiracy of International Capital against the Russian workmen. The cause of the Russian workmen is your cause. Workers of the world UNITE. You have a world to win." The references to South African working class "submissiveness" and "lethargy" suggest that *The International* collective felt somewhat isolated in South Africa in their enthusiasm and concern for the events unfolding in Russia.

*The International* was the organ of the International Socialist League (ISL) which, like other splits in the socialist movement at the time, had broken away in 1915 from the South African Labour Party. The break was in principled opposition to the South African Labour Party's support for the newly formed Union of South Africa government's participation in the inter-imperialist First World War. The ISL was the nucleus of what, in 1921, was to become, the Communist Party of South Africa, affiliated to the Communist International.

Radical socialist traditions were brought into South Africa by white workers and professionals drawn largely to the country by the mining industry which experienced a massive boom in the late 19th century and then, again, following the end of the Anglo-Boer War at the turn of the century, and the establishment of the Union of South Africa as a British Dominion in 1910. Another early radical socialist influence was from Jewish immigrants fleeing pogroms in Tsarist Russia and Eastern Europe. This latter group had ties with protagonists involved in the revolutionary events unfolding in faraway Eastern Europe.

By late 1918 the ISL collective began to feel greater optimism about the Russian revolution. The collective published a pamphlet titled "The Bolsheviks are

Coming”, in English as well as in isiZulu and seSotho, and addressing itself: “TO THE WORKERS OF SOUTH AFRICA – BLACK AS WELL AS WHITE”. “The hope of the workers is coming from Bolshevism. The free commonwealth of labour is an actual fact in Russia today”, the pamphlet proclaimed.

“Bolshevism means the victory of the wage-earners. It will soon spread to Britain, France, America and throughout the world. Get Ready for the World-wide Republic of Labour.”

Clearly, the ISL collective at the time shared the same belief as the Bolsheviks that the October Revolution was a catalyst in a semi-peripheral society that would soon ignite socialist revolutions in the more developed capitalist societies of the West. The strategic calculation was that the westward spread of the revolution (and, presumably, only the westward spread), would create the conditions both for the defence and consolidation of socialism in Russia, and for a future world revolution.

Yet, as we know, a different trajectory was to emerge out of the October Revolution. It was a trajectory with significant implications for the socialist struggle in South Africa and, indeed, through much of the world.

### **The October Revolution and the critical strategic role of Lenin**

Compared to all other preceding social revolutions, both the timing and character of the October 1917 Russian Revolution was informed by a strategic programmatic theory. As Prabhat Patnaik has recently written, the Bolshevik Revolution was not a coup, but nor was it an unplanned and purely spontaneous event. Unlike the Paris Commune, or the February 1917 Russian uprising, the October Revolution was guided and led by a programmatic strategy, based on a Marxist analysis of the concrete reality. Lenin’s strategic and organisational role in this regard was absolutely central.

At the heart of Lenin’s contribution was his appreciation of the thoroughly dialectical nature of capitalism’s combined and uneven development. Lenin developed several inter-related core organising concepts that were critical for the October Revolution. In the first place, in his polemical engagement with the New Iskra tradition, Lenin argued that in societies coming late to capitalism, the national bourgeoisie was not capable of abolishing the yoke of feudalism and of completing the bourgeois revolution. This leadership task fell to the working class in alliance with the peasantry, and, accordingly, the strategic agenda became a proletarian-led, uninterrupted advance beyond capitalism towards socialism.

This strategic perspective grounded the necessity for a worker-peasant alliance against feudalism in the first phase of the struggle. It, in effect, broke with a mechanical and stage-ist, evolutionism. As Patnaik puts it neatly: “this shift in attitude...made Marxism, till then confined to Europe, a revolutionary doctrine of relevance to the entire world, no matter how limited the degree of its capitalist development had been.”

The second and related insight was Lenin’s analysis of imperialism. In this he differed both with the reformist evolutionism of a Kautsky, who had argued that the imperialist stage of monopoly capital constituted a short and relatively painless stepping stone to socialism, and the more radical argument advanced by Rosa Luxemburg that the crises of imperialism, exemplified by the inter-imperialist First World War, signalled the imminent global collapse of capitalism requiring more or less spontaneous mass strikes to bring it down.

For Lenin, imperialism for all of its chronic instability, was not necessarily on the verge of systemic collapse. Rather, its crises and its uneven development created weak links within its global chain. In 1917, Tsarist Russia, staggering under a multiplicity of contradictions, was the “weakest link” and an active revolutionary advance there would set off a chain reaction across the system – with expectations particularly vested in countries like Germany, with a large working class and a mass socialist party.

### **The October Revolution turns eastward**

The expectation shared by the Bolsheviks and their distant supporters in South Africa that the Russian Revolution would quickly herald successful socialist revolutions in the more developed West was not to be fulfilled. As Lenin and the Bolsheviks were to increasingly appreciate in the aftermath of the October 1917 revolution, there was at least one more national democratic task (historically associated with the emerging bourgeoisie in Europe) that, in the age of imperialism, would now require working class, socialist leadership if it were to be carried through with any degree of effectiveness– the resolution of the “national question” in colonial and semi-colonial societies.

While the Bolsheviks, and Lenin in particular, had, in advance of October 1917, correctly appreciated the imperative of working class leadership in alliance with the peasantry in the first phase of advancing a socialist revolution in the conditions of Russian society, there was initially less clarity about the revolutionary potential of national liberation struggles.

It was at the Second Congress of the Communist International in 1920, that the issue received closer consideration. Lenin and the Indian communist, MN Roy, played leading roles in the “Commission on the National and the Colonial Question”. In his report back to the Congress on the commission’s work, Lenin wrote:

“We have discussed whether it would be right or wrong, in principle and in theory, to state that the Communist International and the Communist parties must support the bourgeois-democratic movement in backward countries. As a result of our discussion, we have arrived at the unanimous decision to speak of the national-revolutionary movement rather than of the ‘bourgeois-democratic’ movement.”

We can see here the origins of the communist strategy of supporting revolutionary national democratic struggles in colonial and semi-colonial conditions. As Lenin goes

98 on to explain, the idea of a “national-revolutionary movement” was advanced to distinguish between two diverging tendencies within national liberation struggles – the one national-revolutionary, the other a “bourgeois-democratic” reformist tendency: “if we speak of the bourgeois-democratic movement, we shall be obliterating all distinctions between the reformist and the revolutionary movements. Yet that distinction has been very clearly revealed of late in the backward and colonial countries...”

The Comintern urged Communist Parties in countries like India, Persia and China to work closely with, and to help radicalise, the “national revolutionary” tendency in the anti-colonial and anti-imperialist national struggles. This line of march had the additional strategic value in that it struck at the colonial under-belly of the major colonial powers then actively engaged in counter-revolutionary occupation and destabilisation of the Soviet Union.

### **The National Question in South Africa**

The possibilities in this important strategic re-alignment were not immediately apparent to the radical socialist movement in South Africa. A December 1917 statement published in *The International* is fairly typical of both the progressive outlook and limitations of the ISL and of its successor, the CPSA, in the immediate years after the latter’s launch in 1921.

In calling for the abolition of various discriminatory measures directed against black workers (including pass laws, the mine-compound system and the denial of basic civil and political rights) the ISL statement declared that:

“Society is divided into two classes: the working class, doing all the labour; and the idle class, living on the fruits of labour. Strictly speaking therefore there is no ‘Native Problem’. There is only a working class problem.”

For the ISL and the early CPSA the strategic line of march was one of class against class. In the South African reality, this strategic posture was accompanied by largely futile attempts to persuade the bulk of white workers that their racial prejudice against black workers was self-defeating.

Matters came to a head in the 1922 Rand Revolt which was inspired in part by the Bolshevik Revolution. White workers on the Rand launched an armed insurrectionary struggle against monopoly capital, and particularly against the Chamber of Mines. The immediate catalyst for the uprising was the imperialist-aligned mining bosses’ attempt to employ black workers, at lower wages of course, in semi-skilled and artisanal mining jobs previously the exclusive preserve of white workers.

Many of the white workers were newly proletarianised Afrikaners, forced from the land by the scorched earth policies of British imperialism in the course of the Anglo-Boer War (1899-1901). These workers brought to the Rand Revolt traditions of militant struggle, forming themselves into armed commandoes. The 1922 Rand Revolt was simultaneously a militant working class struggle against profit-maximising, imperialist-controlled monopoly capital and a racist struggle to preserve white privilege. It was a contradiction captured in one of the

prominent banners displayed by the strikers: “Workers of the World Unite, For a White South Africa!”

The CPSA has sometimes been unfairly criticised as the author of the slogan. It was not. In fact, the Party tried valiantly to halt the white worker violence meted out against black workers who were seen as strike-breaking scabs. This white worker insurrectionary struggle was eventually crushed by the Smuts government but not without bloody clashes including the use of the air-force to bomb workers entrenched in positions around Johannesburg. While the insurrection was defeated and white workers lost the battle, they did not lose the war. In a whites-only electoral system, the Smuts government was ousted from office in general elections in 1924 and replaced by a Pact government, an alliance of the Afrikaner National Party and the Labour Party. Among its key platforms was the further entrenchment of white Job Reservation and other related measures.

For the newly formed CPSA the Rand Revolt provided many salutary lessons. The Party now set about focusing more effectively on the recruitment of African workers and already by 1924 the overwhelming majority of its membership was black. This went hand-in-hand with communist-run night schools involving literacy and political training. The CPSA was beginning to learn in practice its own Leninist lessons. The majority of white workers were more obviously fully proletarianised, while the majority of black workers were often semi-proletarians, temporary migrant workers still retaining strong connections to their rural villages. However, this did not make the former necessarily more revolutionary than the latter. Lenin had argued against Bernstein that history does not necessarily progress from its apparently more advanced side. In our own conditions, South African communists were learning a similar lesson.

However, the CPSA had still not developed a clear strategic programme relevant to the actual situation in South Africa. The 1921 Lenin-Roy Second Comintern resolution on the potential of “national-revolutionary” movements in the colonies and semi-colonies does not at first seem to have had any resonance locally. Possibly its relevance was seen as applying to largely peasant-dominated societies with powerful remnants of feudalism like China, India and Persia at the time.

South Africa, by contrast, had undergone a dramatic, imperialist led, forced march into monopoly capitalism based on industrial mining from the last quarter of the 19th century. By the 1920s large swathes not just of South Africa, but much of the region had been transformed into impoverished labour reserves exporting male migrant labour into the mines. The struggle in South Africa appeared still to be one of class-against-class, notwithstanding the reactionary role of many white workers and their political parties.

It was the 6th Congress of the Communist International in 1928 that mandated the CPSA to pursue a national democratic struggle as a “stage” towards a “workers’ and peasant republic”. This mandate called for the recognition that mobilisation around the grievances and aspirations of the nationally oppressed majority of South Africans was the critical motive force in the

struggle for socialism against a double colonial reality – the continued hegemony of British imperialist capital and emergent national monopoly capital buttressed by an “internal colonialism” (white minority rule).

While acknowledging that the 1910 Union of South Africa had accorded a degree of political independence to South Africa under white minority rule, the CI correctly argued that South Africa remained an essentially COLONIAL reality. This is how the Executive Committee of the CI in its Resolution on South Africa put it:

“South Africa is a British Dominion of the colonial type. The development of relations of capitalist production has led to British imperialism carrying out the economic exploitation of the country with the participation of the white bourgeoisie of South Africa (British and Boer). Of course, this does not alter the general colonial character of the economy of South Africa, since British capital continues to occupy the principal economic positions in the country (banks, mining and industry), and since the South African bourgeoisie is equally interested in the merciless exploitation of the negro population.”

The same CI resolution instructed South African communists to pay particular attention to the still small emergent black, nationalist formations, with the ANC specifically mentioned. This new strategic line was adopted by the CPSA in 1929.

As an affiliate of the Communist International, the CPSA was obliged to accept the Comintern Resolution. This it did, but not without varying degrees of enthusiasm and reluctance. For many, support for what were seen as small elite black formations like the ANC was felt to be a betrayal of the working class struggle, and a threat to inter-racial working class solidarity.

The CPSA had, however, already been working with the ANC. The Party was instrumental in arranging for the President-General of the ANC, Josiah Gumede, to attend the conference of the League Against Imperialism in Brussels in 1927. From there Gumede travelled on to the Soviet Union and visited its Asiatic regions, witnessing for himself that dark-skinned non-Europeans enjoyed full citizenship rights. On his return to South Africa, Gumede proclaimed that he had seen “the new Jerusalem”. However, his growing closeness to the Communists in South Africa did not endear him to many in the leadership of the ANC, particularly traditional leaders in the ANC’s “upper house”, who argued that the Bolsheviks had killed the Tsar in Russia and that was the fate that awaited them here in South Africa if the Communists were to come to power. Gumede was ousted from the leadership of the ANC in 1930.

Notwithstanding these and other contradictory dynamics, over the following decades and down to the present, the Communist Party in South Africa has had an alliance with the ANC, a relatively unique alliance with overlapping memberships and important symbiotic influences. While Gumede was ousted from the ANC leadership for his close ties with the Communist Party, in subsequent decades many of the outstanding leaders of the ANC were also Communist Party members, among them Moses Kotane, JB Marks, Walter Sisulu, Nelson

Mandela, Joe Slovo and Chris Hani.

This revolutionary symbiotic relationship owes much to the Great October Revolution and its direct product – the Soviet Union. In South Africa, the prestige of the Soviet Union amongst democratic and progressive forces grew immensely during the World War 2, especially after the entry of the Soviet Union into the war in 1941. The central role of the Red Army in the defeat of fascism received popular acclaim and helped enhance the local profile of the Communist Party. In the post-1945 years with the onset of the Cold War, the newly elected hard-line racist National Party, with ideological links to fascism, sought to disguise its racist ideology by positioning itself as part of a supposed Western crusade against the “global Communist threat”.

The CPSA, hated and feared locally more for its consistent non-racialism and ability to mobilise the growing black working class than for its socialism, was banned in 1950. Its underground successor, the SACP, was consistently portrayed by the white minority regime as local agents of Moscow, as the “rooi gevaar” (the “red peril”). After the banning of the ANC in 1960 and the strategic defeat suffered by the movement in the mid-1960s, most of the surviving leadership was forced into a distant exile. It was in this exceedingly difficult period that the Soviet Union’s selfless solidarity support to the ANC, and indeed to other liberation movements in southern Africa, played an absolutely decisive role in the ultimate defeat of colonialism and white minority rule throughout our region. In popular black culture, the Soviet Union became a legendary reference point in this period. Many 40- and 50-year olds in South Africa today have names like Soviet, Sputnik, Lenin, Russia and even Kalashnikov.

The abiding significance of the Soviet Union in the South Africa reality had its paradoxical flip-side in the late 1980s. With the collapse of the Soviet bloc of countries from 1989, the apartheid regime no longer served a useful purpose for Western imperialism as the pre-eminent regional gendarme in the Cold War-era regional hot wars of southern Africa costing over a million lives. In fact, thanks to a highly successful global anti-apartheid movement, the apartheid regime had become an awkward embarrassment to ruling imperialist elites. Imperialist pressure on the apartheid regime in the post-Soviet conjuncture was one important factor in propelling the negotiated settlement in South Africa. Of course, the most important factor in the transition to a non-racial democratic settlement was the rolling semi-insurrectionary mass struggles that had been sustained from the mid-1970s, and which were largely led by the ANC-SACP alliance.

Needless to say, it is an alliance that has had many ups and downs. And now, at the centenary mark of the Russian Revolution, it is an alliance that is once more going through one of its more difficult moments.

Why?

**Southern Africa in the 1960s – 80s: a weak link in the imperialist chain**

100 In seeking answers, as the SACP we have found it useful to (amongst other things) travel back one hundred years to the strategic, and particularly Leninist, advances in Marxism that were forged in the crucible years in and around the October Revolution.

The national liberation struggles against Portuguese colonialism and white minority internal colonial regimes in Zimbabwe, Namibia and pre-eminently South Africa established the entire southern Africa region as a turbulent, unstable, semi-peripheral “weak link” in the post-1945 imperialist chain. Both the imperialist centres and progressive radical liberation forces within our region appreciated the stakes very clearly. The obvious complicity of imperialism and local South African monopoly capital in the vicious national oppression of the African majority meant that the interconnection between the national democratic struggle and the anti-monopoly capital struggle had a direct and obvious mass appeal.

Could a non-racial, one-person one-vote constitutional dispensation be de-linked from an ongoing anti-capitalist struggle? Could a South African “February revolution” be contained, preventing an uninterrupted advance to a more radical “October”? This was the risk that South African monopoly capital and its imperialist backers took in engaging with the ANC-led alliance in the negotiations of 1990-1993. They were encouraged by the collapse of the Soviet bloc as well as by the general retreat of post-independence national democratic advances in the rest of southern Africa – largely as a result of brutal apartheid de-stabilisation and the fomenting of proxy civil wars in Angola and Mozambique.

From within the SACP there was no illusion in the early 1990s that the impending democratic breakthrough in South Africa would quickly lay the basis for a rapid and perhaps insurrectionary advance to a socialist “October”. The post-1945 global reality, and especially the post-1989 global conjuncture, were qualitatively different from the global situation so acutely analysed by Lenin in 1915 and onward. Inter-imperialist rivalry and wars were no longer the dominant feature. There was (and is) now a single imperialist hegemon and the dominance of globalised finance capital, rather than rival national monopoly capitals.

But, in the SACP’s analysis, this reality did not mean that Lenin’s insistence that, in semi-peripheral societies within the imperialist chain, the national bourgeoisie is incapable of consummating a national democratic revolution was irrelevant. On the contrary, we have continued to argue that the advance, deepening and defence of our national democratic revolution requires working class and semi-proletarian popular hegemony.

The SACP has accordingly advanced the strategic perspective of an uninterrupted anti-monopoly capital struggle for deep-seated structural transformation from the bridgehead of the 1994 democratic breakthrough (our “February”). We saw this more as a protracted struggle, a “war of position” rather than an insurrectionary “war of manoeuvre” (to evoke Gramsci’s terms). In our post-1994 situation it was not a question of abolishing our democratically-elected Constituent Assembly, as the

Bolsheviks had once done. Rather, it was a question of using its hard-won constitutional outcomes, the space opened by these gains to advance, deepen and defend a national democratic revolution which would necessarily have to have an anti-imperialist and anti-monopoly capital character.

Favouring such an advance were two important factors. First, South African monopoly capital, long nurtured behind the protective barriers of white minority rule, was relatively off-balance following the land-slide ANC-led Alliance electoral victory in 1994. Second, the anti-apartheid national liberation forces had sustained semi-insurrectionary mass struggles over the better part of a decade-and-a-half. The trade union movement was relatively large and ideologically radical and there was a strong mass struggle tactical and organisational repertoire that linked community-based with work-based struggles. In the mid-1990s these mass forces remained mobilized.

What was to be way forward?

### **The two tendencies in third world national movements**

As Lenin and MN Roy had correctly recognised in 1920, national movements in the semi-periphery of the imperialist world are likely to exhibit two divergent tendencies, a bourgeois-democratic and a national-revolutionary tendency. From the mid-1950s through to the early 1990s, it was the national-revolutionary tendency that was clearly the dominant but never the exclusive current within the ANC.

Since at least 1994, a sharp internal debate has been at play within the ANC-led alliance around these two tendencies. For a variety of reasons, it is the bourgeois-democratic tendency that has prevailed over the past two decades. And in its prevailing we can recognise all of the problematic illusions that Lenin so acutely critiqued in his polemics with Bernstein, Kautsky and the New Iskra tendency – notably the assumption that progress is essentially evolutionary, stage-ist, un-dialectical – that progress is made from its most “developed” side and never from the weak-link, never as result of the thoroughly uneven, under-development inherent in capitalist accumulation.

In South Africa this evolutionist tendency has conceptualised our democratic breakthrough as a “return” of a formerly ostracised South Africa into the bosom and “normality” of a happy family of nations (as if the relative and always only partial isolation of apartheid South Africa was not exactly one of the key strategies of the ANC itself). Archbishop Tutu, in his foreword to the report of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, proclaimed that the demise of apartheid marked the end of the three great “anomalous crimes” against humanity of the 20th century – which he characterised as fascism, supposedly abolished in 1945, Communism supposedly abolished with the fall of the Berlin Wall, and now apartheid in 1994. Radically absent from Tutu’s world-view was any sense of the persisting reality of imperialism and its centuries’ long existence in a variety

of colonial, semi-colonial, and indeed internal colonial forms as in white minority rule in South Africa. Apartheid was, of course, never a stand-alone reality but an integral part of a persisting and wider imperialist system which, if anything, had grown stronger and more arrogant with the collapse of the Soviet bloc.

Although Tutu has never been an ANC member, this kind of perspective was generally shared by successive ANC leadership figures after 1994, including many who had formerly been SACP members. The “completion” of the National Democratic Revolution was now conceptualised as “normalising” South Africa capitalism by “de-racialising” (but not socialising) private ownership and control of monopoly capital. A supposedly “patriotic”, emergent black capitalist stratum promoted through a variety of state interventions has been invoked as the leading class force in the National Democratic Revolution. Any serious anti-monopoly capital, anti-imperialist, socialist-oriented advance is deferred to a distant and largely symbolic future “stage”. Lenin’s call for an uninterrupted advance has been forgotten in these quarters.

Sadly, but inevitably, these strategic and programmatic illusions have now resulted in the significant stagnation of democratic advances and of the ANC itself. The supposed black “patriotic” bourgeoisie has inevitably proven to be essentially a parasitic and compradorist force, dependent for its primary accumulation on pillaging public resources through increasingly criminal means that have factionalised the ANC and polluted our hard won democracy. National sovereignty, a key task of the national democratic revolution, is betrayed through illicit capital transfers to Dubai and other tax havens.

The deep structural distortions of our capitalist political economy remain untransformed – among them, extraordinarily high levels of monopoly concentration; a racialised spatial economy now perpetuated by the property market as effectively as any apartheid era social engineering; and our continued semi-peripheral primary commodity exporter status within the global capitalist chain. These structural features, in turn, are reproducing crisis-levels of largely racialised unemployment (currently at 27,7% in the narrow definition), inequality and poverty.

The current cul-de-sac into which our national democratic revolution has run, and the current turmoil within the ANC and between the ANC and its alliance partners, are not sustainable. Turmoil born of social crisis is, we know, not least from the Great October Revolution, the terrain on which both further set-backs or major advances might be achieved. As the SACP we are well aware that our 2017 reality both locally, regionally and internationally is, in many respects, quite different from the reality of 1917. Yet there is still much to celebrate and, above all, to learn from that defining moment of the 20th century when, for the first time in human history, working men and women abolished capitalism and held imperialism at bay, against the odds and at huge human sacrifice for some seven decades.

**Long live the living example of the Great October Revolution!**

# Communist Party of the Peoples of Spain

Dear Comrades,

It is a great pride to be able to address a few words on behalf of my party to the delegates present at this International Meeting held at the time of commemoration of the 100th Anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution.

The Spanish Communists want to thank the Communist Party of the Russian Federation for its work and its role in organizing this 19th International Meeting. Likewise, we would like to greet all the fraternal parties that have promoted and organized the previous editions of the International Meetings, without whose effort it would have been impossible that today we could all meet here.

One hundred years ago the Russian proletariat broke the ice, showing the path to follow by the revolutionary workers' movement of all countries. With the seizure of political power in Russia, on November 7, 1917, a new epoch began in the history of humanity: the epoch of the transition from capitalism to socialism-communism, the era of proletarian revolutions. The era in which we are still living.

The working class, continuator of the struggle of all social classes exploited throughout history, dragging with its struggle all the popular strata, became for the first time a ruling class and, raising a new type of state based on power of the soviets, exercised the dictatorship of the proletariat to abolish for the first time in history the exploitation of some human beings by others.

**The Bolshevik Party demonstrated that in the revolutionary process the Communist Party plays an irreplaceable role.** The Bolshevik Party was prepared ideologically, politically and organizationally for the seizure of power. They had a precise analysis of the monopoly phase of capitalism and the position of Russia in the imperialist pyramid; they were able to reestablish the Marxist theory on the role of State. The Bolshevik Party was also prepared from an organizational and political point of view. In a relentless struggle against the old forms of work and against opportunism in organizational matters, the Bolsheviks organized a party of professional revolutionaries, deeply linked to the masses, deeply proletarian from a class point of view: a party of a new type.

Thanks to October, we know that no other organization is capable of leading a successful revolutionary process except a Communist Party, which must be able to forge its own alliance policy, to maintain its own organization and to maintain an independent political position, capable of representing the aspirations, and objectives of the working class.

**October boosted the revolutionary struggle of the world working class.** In the heat of the triumph of the Great Socialist Revolution of October, the proletarian masses of all countries entered a new state of revolutionary effervescence. The example of the Russian Bolsheviks generated waves of sympathy and forged the proletarian internationalism we know. The friendship between the peoples of the world, the joint struggle against the imperialist powers, the conception that the

working class is one class, all this was reinforced thanks to the Bolshevik triumph, and all this is still fully valid today.

**The Soviet Union demonstrated for decades the superiority of socialism-communism over the capitalist social formation.** This was despite the difficult historical conditions in which the revolution developed, and the powerful internal and external enemies that the Soviet power had to face, since the revolutionary triumph to the counterrevolution. It is a fact that, for the first time in history, the exploitation of man by man was surpassed and that, in the USSR and in the rest of the socialist countries, the foundations were laid for the formation of a superior society, free from exploitation and all forms of oppression. That is why it is now our task not only to claim the advances of socialist construction, but also to use them to explain to the masses that their labour and social demands are objectives possible to be guaranteed on the condition of disappearance of the private ownership of the means of production.

**The Great Socialist Revolution of October 1917 marked the path to follow: demolishing capitalist relations of production and the capitalist state through the Socialist Revolution;** socializing the concentrated means of production to give way to a centrally planned economy, under the workers' control of the production and distribution of the social product; to raise the socialist-communist democracy from the work centres understood as the basic cells of a new power: the proletarian dictatorship that guarantees the defense of the workers' power, that is erected in a new type of State that corners until their complete disappearance all trace of mercantile relations of production, any trace of exploitation and oppression of some human beings by others, until the complete triumph of communism.

The fact the Soviet Union and the majority of the socialist camp were temporarily defeated does not deny that we

continue to live in the period of transition from capitalism<sup>103</sup> to socialism. It is therefore our responsibility, and no one else's, to take the necessary steps for this century to be that of new triumphant proletarian revolutions.

Comrades,

In our days, precisely because of the absence of the socialist bloc, the danger of generalized imperialist war is very real. We are deeply concerned that the working class and the people are once again used as cannon fodder in the confrontation under foreign flag. At the same time, we are fully convinced that the international communist movement is the only force capable of proposing its own alternative, favourable to the working and popular majority of all countries, based on the construction of a world free from exploitation and war, on the basis of relations between countries based on mutual cooperation and not on looting and plunder.

On the 100th Anniversary of the Great Socialist Revolution of October we express our commitment to continue the work of the Bolsheviks. As heirs of October, we are willing to work decisively to develop the necessary tools to help advance the Communist and Workers' Parties of the world in their revolutionary struggle.

It is our commitment, it is our task, it is our responsibility.

Thank you very much.

**Long live the Great Socialist Revolution of October!**

**Long live marxism-leninism!**

**Long live the 19<sup>th</sup> International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties!**

**Proletarians of all countries, unite!**



# Communist Party of the Peoples of Spain

## LET 'S PUT AT WORK FOR THE CREATION OF A GREAT GLOBAL FRAMEWORK AGAINST IMPERIALISM

Just a century ago from the Great Socialist Revolution of October, the international capitalism has arrived to its most advanced imperialist phase of development, where all the tendencies analyzed by Lenin have been confirmed and developed according to the political lines that he concretized. Its violence, the greater exploitation of the working class, the greater part of the planet subjected to its logic of accumulation, militarism and pillage, are central elements of this analysis. The setbacks suffered during the 1990s have left the working class at its greater disadvantage. The absence of the former socialist bloc of the East has left the working class in a situation of ample difficulties for the struggle for their emancipation.

In such a situation the challenges for the International Communist Movement are extraordinary. The need to overcome current weaknesses and advance revolutionary positions is pressing. The Communist and Workers Parties are placed before the responsibility of giving a proper and coordinated response to the demands of the historical moment. The barbarism of imperialism is such that the very future of humanity is at stake.

This historical exhaustion of the capitalist system brings a double consequence for today's class struggle: on the one hand, in a general way, it confronts us with an ever more parasitic and decomposing capitalism from the point of view of its integral logic; on the other hand, it confronts us with great capitalist powers caught in a frenzied spiral of violence, essential for them, in the face of the distress and blockage of the necessary mechanisms to give continuity to the accumulation of capital. In this context the risks are so extreme that they also affect even the continuity of the existence of Humanity.

From these two determining circumstances, all aspects of the life of the international working class, peoples and nations, are subject to the several forms of violence that the capitalist system continually generates as a consequence of its desperate situation, aggravated by more with the outbreak of the last global crisis in August 2017.

The all powerful monopolies, with iron hand, exercise their dictatorship at all levels, imposing an international order where the main victims are the weakest capitalist countries in the chain. The process of concentration and centralization of capital is accelerated and enlarged with global dimensions.

We are, then, in the later phase of parasitic and decaying capitalism, which is necessarily subject to a spiral in its exploitative violence. The international working class is subjected to a higher rate of exploitation and greater poverty, coupled with a generalized loss of rights in the direct capital-labor relationship. Aggressions against nature increase, affecting the much needed stability of the habitat for the continuity of the life of the human and animal species, as a result of the desperate competition between these giant monopolies. The whole Humanity is subjected to all kinds of mechanisms of alienation and coercion by the bourgeois ideology today hegemonic, degrading those identity and cohesive values of human groups, including the violent patriarchal and mercantilist subjugation of women, racism, sexual discrimination, exclusion of minorities, cultural brutalization, etc., seeking to nullify all the most advanced capacities of human societies (which have merged largely

within the capitalist system), and that, like all societies in the stage of death, they consider that they are a danger for the maintenance of their brutal domination.

Finally, imperialist war as an extreme resource of violence to try to overcome the deep economic crisis has been expressed in the last decades in a variety of criminal attacks on Yugoslavia, Libya, Iraq, Somalia, Lebanon, Syria, Yemen, Mali, Afghanistan, etc. At the same time as other situations that must be considered as low-level wars remain active over the years exerting its continuous violence against helpless populations, as they are the cases of Palestine or the Western Sahara, as well as the continued military threat against the DPRK or the criminal and long lasting blockade against Cuba, among others.

This extreme situation, which will endure as long as the capitalist system survives, is focused in the near future on the increase of all its most negative tendencies. Only the intervention of other forces can prevent this drift towards greater barbarism and, therefore, places the organizations of the International Communist Movement before responsibilities of historical importance, which we have to respond without further delay.

## **1. INTERVENING IN THE INTERNATIONAL CLASS STRUGGLE**

One of the most incontestable expressions of the difficulties facing the ICM today is its lack of intervention, in a unitary way, in any practical aspect of the international class struggle, however small it may be.

This is not only a reflection of the current internal difficulties of the movement as a whole, but is also an expression of a high irresponsibility to the demands for practical intervention that the situation demands, which is something inescapable for any revolutionary organization. This fact reveals a major problem that needs to be solved.

That these International Meetings have not yet had the capacity to agree on a minimum agenda of unitary intervention, annually or in certain specific situations, is a serious setback that place direct consequences on the living conditions of the working class of all countries. It also brings new difficulties on the conditions of the capacity of this working class to organize the struggles for their emancipation in better conditions.

This is an issue that must be addressed in the key of debate among revolutionary organizations. And this has to be done following our own path.

This state of affairs, which has remained unchanged in the last decades, is an obstacle to the international working class being able to perceive that there is an alternative for the future - for the workers and for all human kind - as opposed to the current scene of barbarism and absolute hegemony of capitalism even in spite of its steady and deep crisis.

Capitalism, with its very development, has already created the necessary material base for the transition to socialist society. If we agree, that question must be considered central to the revolutionary struggle and to the program that is to direct the ICM's struggles.

Today the ICM, as a group of organizations, has to make a responsible revolutionary effort to create the conditions that allow it to successfully cope with the current situation of the class struggle with the capacities that the times demands.

What to do about this situation right now and in the near future? As always, look for the way and find it...

Our aim, in general terms, is to make possible the paradigm of socialism and to give a new horizon to the working class's demands while at the same time we are able to provide an answer to those demands emanating from broad popular sectors. Let us discard, therefore, a reductionist way that considers that it is not essential to have a proposal for a change in the subjectivity of the broad masses that allows them to recognize the way out.

This change of subjectivity is directly linked to a process of accumulation of forces that may articulate the working and popular block in order to change the current correlation of forces in front of the various forces that support the ruling class today. It refers to a tactic aimed at changing such a correlation of forces, adding to those who want this change those who do not oppose the possibility of change (Lenin), who would generate the necessary force to make possible the defeat and total destruction of the enemy of class. All this aims are to be accomplished only under revolutionary leadership and always following the premise of the merger of the Vanguard Party with the masses.

## **2. AGREE TO INTERNAL RULES OF THE ICM IN ORDER TO ATTAIN A REAL ADVANCE IN TERMS OF UNITY.**

This process cannot be possible without the presence of the Vanguard Party, being this understood as the only organization able to provide the necessary skills to enforce the much needed leadership in a revolutionary process. A Party that works to change the correlation of forces in favor of the working class, knowing how to raise the class struggle to a situation of revolutionary crisis. That is where the ICM has to go into deep detail through the tactical development of his intervention.

The PCPE wants to take this opportunity to briefly outline its vision of where it would be possible to move forward to reverse the current situation unfavorable to the revolutionary cause. We have a great interest in attending all the proposals that will be presented in this Meeting.

Our proposals, in a summarized way, are:

An ICM committed to solve its current difficulties, derived fundamentally from non-small ideological differences and diverse experiences in the struggle; agreeing on a method of discussion and an agenda within a schedule of shared work. This is linked to the commitment of concrete political practice, to make it operational.

An ICM committed to a practice of specific actions that may help to unify the movement, to make it visible in the eyes of the working class, and to pave the way for overcome present ideological issues with support in that line of action practice, making through inner debate and practice its definitive unity in terms of dialectics. This means a practical unit of action that must seek the leadership in the revolutionary's aims coming from the broadest masses.

Only then we may have an ICM able enough to produce an accurate analysis of the current forms of violence exerted today by capitalism, and thus intervening in the struggle (from a theoretical and

106 practical basis) against it. Several forms of violence that correspond to various internal contradictions from inside the system of domination that, tilting around the principal capital-labor contradiction, have the ability to articulate diverse social subjects that must be part of the necessary and essential process of accumulation of forces for the revolutionary struggle. Racism in all its present forms, violence against women, destruction of natural environment, military spending, privatization, counter-reforms at work places and working conditions, etc. All these, and other collisions, provide us with the necessary basis for the accumulation of forces as a result of a policy of alliances, which must become one of the decisive factors in the development of the necessary subjective factor on the road to seizure of power by the working class.

An ICM that develops its practical action in the concrete analysis of capitalist formation as it exists today. An ICM that always bear in mind the current conditions of reproduction of capital in the present society of high scientific and technological capacities never known before, in global internationalization and in the further concentration and centralization of capital, as a special opportunity to advance sustained positions in historical materialism among the great working and popular masses. We value this context as the most favorable moment, (we insist) never before seen in the history of the class struggle, for the advancement of positions aimed to the emancipation of the working class.

An ICM that recognizes the sovereignty of the various processes and the irreplaceable role to be played by its subjects, and that assumes proletarian internationalism as an essential practice in the daily political struggle, and not as a rhetorical formulation unable of translating into practice in the face of those kinds of violence that are part of imperialism. This may be the proletarian internationalism to which the recognition of the right to free self-determination of peoples is an integral part; an ICM that honors the much needed respect to the sovereignty of specific revolutionary subjects, without any kind of interference in the internal affairs of each organization.

An ICM that makes Marxism-Leninism the necessary ideological tool to guide the development of the international class struggle, nurtured and perfected by the best contributions of the history of the international revolutionary tradition, with new learning and experiences taken from the daily struggle

in the specific reality of each organization; an ICM always committed to achieve higher levels of coordination and unity, both politically and ideologically, understanding that this objective is linked to an international practice based on previous principles, and to the very development of the class struggle and the advancement of the capabilities of organizations in the revolutionary field. Only by taking steps in these first objectives, assuming practical commitments, it will be possible to place other goals on the agenda. In order to advance and consolidate these levels of coordination, it will be essential to work in structures that, like the WSF, already have a work that is oriented in the same direction and that accumulate forces that must necessarily participate in this process.

In order to achieve progress in international revolutionary coordination it is possible to begin by assuming the commitment to work in the formation of a World Anti-imperialist Front, as a framework of alliances and as a mass front, to intervene with its own position against the current aggressiveness of imperialism against working class and the peoples, against the imperialist war and the arms career in general.

This are demands widely felt that will facilitate the intervention of the ICM along with the broad masses with the central objective of confronting the aggressiveness of the policies of imperialism.

The best tribute we can offer to the Great Socialist Revolution of October would be to start the works for international revolutionary coordination by promoting, in a first step, this Anti-imperialist World Front. The international working class and peoples of the world will begin to recognize the Communist and Workers Parties as guides to their emancipation cravings.

This initiative, to work for the formation of a great Anti-imperialist World Front, could begin with a first commitment, agreed by this XIX EIPCO, to convene a world day against imperialist war next year and in support of the peoples who suffer in a more direct way the violence of these wars.

The year of the 100th Anniversary of the October Socialist Revolution is undoubtedly a good opportunity to advance in what the class struggle demands of us today.



# Comunists of Catalonia

Camaradas un saludo a todos los partidos presentes, en especial un agradecimiento al PCFR por su invitación a este encuentro en un contexto tan extraordinario como es la celebración del Centenario de la revolución rusa. <sup>107</sup>

Quiero excusar a Joan Josep Nuet, que hoy debía estar en este encuentro però la grave situación política en Catalunya le impide compartir con Vds, este momento. El secretario general de los Comunistes de Catalunya, està acusado por la Fiscalia de los delitos de sedición, rebeldia i malversacion de fondos, junto con otros miembros de la Mesa del Parlament de Catalunya. Ayer jueves declaró ante Tribunal Supremo de Justicia que le ha vuelto a convocar para el 9 de novembre.

Camaradas, la movilización del 1 de Octubre en Cataluña fue un éxito. Entre 2 y 3 millones de personas votaron, salieron a la calle y se enfrentaron a la represión de las fuerzas y cuerpos de seguridad de la Estado Espanyol.

Entendemos que esta movilización cambió y cambiará conciencias políticas y se inscribe en la oleada de cambio que cuestiona el Régimen de la Monarquía del 78 y abre una perspectiva de revolución democrática en Cataluña y España. La radicalidad democrática supera los marcos de la democracia formal y enriquece con acciones directas la democracia representativa y participativa. Los elementos de ruptura con el marco político, económico, social y territorial se tienen que profundizar democráticamente.

Los y las comunistas catalanes nunca consideramos este 1O como un referéndum de autodeterminación, y aunque hemos sido parte activa de la movilización de la jornada, no podemos referendar su resultado como la opinión del pueblo de Cataluña.

El hecho represivo caracterizó la jornada de la 1O y la resistencia pacífica de la ciudadanía supuso una primera derrota moral, comunicativa e internacional al centralismo autoritario. El movimiento de "Escuelas Abiertas" evidenció junto a los preparativos de las votaciones un verdadero potencial de autoorganización popular meritorio.

No podemos tampoco banalizar la presencia del fascismo a la calle, espoleado por la actitud del PP, C's y el clima de represión que profesan los cuerpos y fuerzas de seguridad contra la disidencia política y social. Denunciar la vertiente sexual de la represión contra las mujeres y sus cuerpos.

Por eso la respuesta democrática a la represión -el Paro laboral del 3O, superó en mucho los marcos del independentismo y la convocatoria unitaria de la "Mesa por la Democracia" con los sindicatos mayoritarios, Entidades Civiles, con la pequeños y medianos empresarios, aconteció un referente de unidad democrática muy importante.

La proclamación unilateral de la independencia no ha sido nunca la política de Comunistas de Cataluña. Sólo reconoceremos un Referéndum de Autodeterminación, que tenga la capacidad de reunir las condiciones democráticas adecuadas para una decisión de esta trascendencia.

Por este motivo no apoyamos una Declaracion de

108 Independencia que comporta que al menos tres millones de catalanes y catalanas no fueron a votar y que forman también parte de “Un Solo Pueblo” que proclamamos.

Hace falta que nos preparemos por una acción tiránica y represiva del Estado, comandado por el Gobierno del PP, el Partido más corrupto de Europa, ovacionado por el Partido de C s y soportado por una parte del PSOE y de la gran patronal. Joan Josep Nuet està también imputado por el Tribunal Superior de Justicia de Catalunya por permitir que el pasado año se debatiera en sede parlamentaria el Derecho a la Autodeterminación.

El Gobierno del PP con la aplicación del artículo 155 de la Constitución ha decretado una situación de excepción. Tras la destitución del President de la Generalitat, ahora en exilio voluntario con otros 5 consellers, la detención y encarcelamiento del vicepresidente y de 7, miembros de su Gobierno, que se enfrentan a **penas que podrían ascender a los 48 años de cárcel**, que disuelve el Parlament, que cesa a los mandos policiales de Catalunya, que cierra embajadas catalanas en el extranjero y queda forma il-legítima convoca elecciones para el 21 de diciembre, pueden desencadenar massives protestes. El soberanismo independentista puede poner en marcha un poder alternativo a partir de los 4.000 cargos electos, entre alcaldes, concejales, diputados. Mientras 15.000 policias y Guardias Civiles han sido trasladados a Catalunya.

La Declaración Unilateral de Independencia, votada el pasado 27 de octubre por 70 diputados de los 135 que componen el Parlament y con ausencia del hemiciclo de toda la oposición se convierte en una acción que

da elementos a la derecha para justificar políticamente jurídicamente esta escalada. Estamos ya en una fase constituyente que podría pero tomar un carácter involutivo, como así ha sido, fruto de la reacción de las fuerzas conservadoras y centralistes, que han animado ya a bandas fascistas a campar por Barcelona.

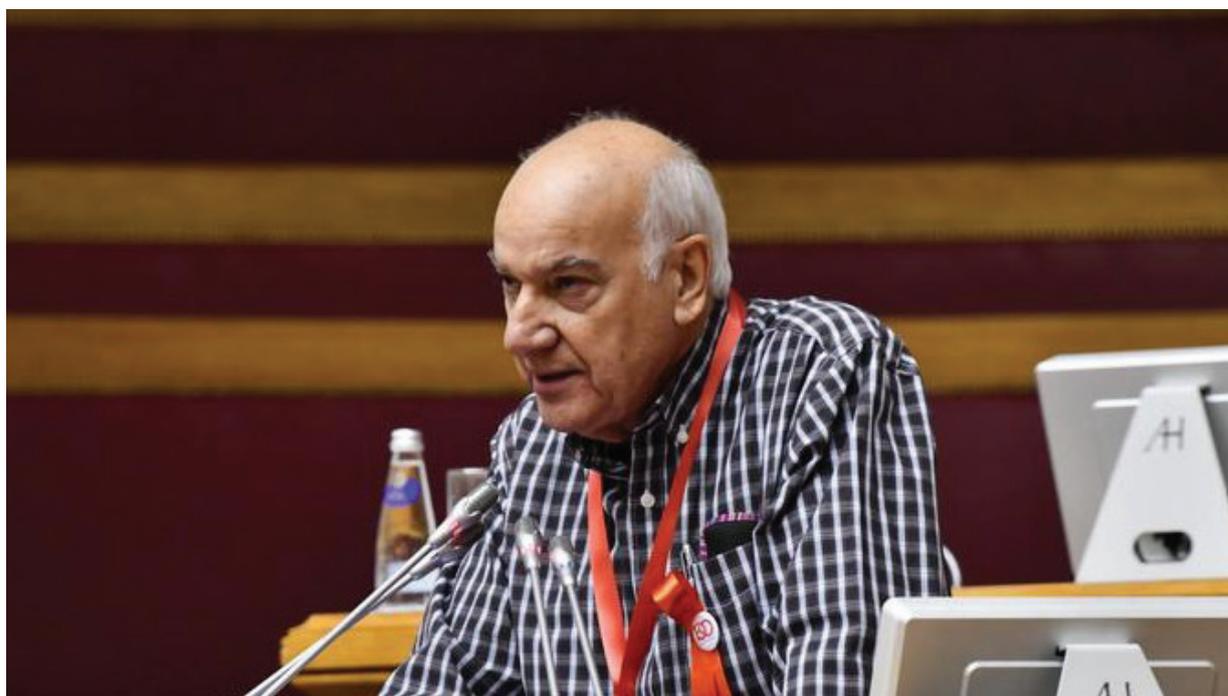
Para ello se impone la necesidad de:

A) impulsar el Frente Democrático amplio con demandas de respeto a los derechos y libertades, en defensa de las instituciones catalanas y el autogobierno y contra la represión ejercida por el Gobierno más corrupto de Europa, además de la libertad de los presos y la Amnistía.

B) Poner en marcha un llamamiento constituyente en Cataluña y en España que busque “Procesos Constituyentes Sociales Democráticos y Republicanos” que conecten con la movilización y lo fortalezcan a la vez que sepan dialogar para frenar la represión. La fase deconstituent de los marcos jurídicos y políticos del 78 ha empezado y ahora hay que proponer nuevos marcos de cohesión social y territorial favorables a la clase popular trabajadora que contemplen todas las soberanías y que desarrollen la fraternidad entre los diferentes pueblos del Estado Espanyol.

Camaradas, reclamamos vuestra solidaridad con nuestro Secretario Genral, con el pueblo catalan, con el Govern encarcelado, con sus Instituciones elegidas democráticamente, contra la represión, por la democràcia.

Muchas gracias compañeros y compañeras



# Communist Party of Sri Lanka

Comrade Chairman,

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Comrade Delegates of the fraternal parties

At the outset let me express our profound appreciation of the work of the Communist Party of the Russian Federation in hosting this International Meeting of Communist and Workers Parties. We thank them for their warm hospitality and for the provision of extensive facilities to the participants for to hold a successful meeting. I also convey the warm fraternal greetings of my party to Communist Party of the Russian Federation and the other parties represented at this meeting and their delegates.

This meeting is held in the background of the celebration of the centenary of the great October Socialist Revolution. The initial ignition of the Revolution for the commencement of the Revolution was caused in this city by the Bolshevik Party led by Vladimir Lenin. This momentous event which was called "Ten Days that Shook the World" by John Reed the American Journalist who witnessed the events is truly the most important event of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, It has had a lasting impact on the developments of the world thereafter. Its global impact is omnipresent in the contemporary world and will continue to influence the course of the developments in the world in the future as well. The entire world treading on the scientific forecast of Marx and Engles will have a socialist system the world over which is destined ultimately to blossom into a communist society.

Celebration of this great event is proceeding a pace the world over, We will be privileged to witness the centennial celebrations in Moscow which is bound to be an unforgettable historic event of great proportions, In Sri Lanka on the initiative of our party it will be celebrated as a national event. Hundreds of people, mostly workers, peasants and intellectuals will gather together in recognition of the historic nature of the event with the participation of the head of state and leaders of political parties of different hues at the NelumPokuna (the Lotus Pond) the premier theatre in Colombo.

The fall of the Communist government in the Soviet Union and collapse of Communist rule in the former socialist countries is of a transient nature, The demise of Communist rule is not failure of socialism. The working class is fighting back along with the remaining Communist citadels of power. Capitalist ideologues such as Francis Fukoyama are made to revise their Comrades

Comrades,

The battle between labour and capital is heightening in the world.. Suffice it to mention the class battles raging in France where an attempt is made to decimate the rights of workers and change the conditions of their work. Working class is fighting in different fronts : to preserve their hard won trade union and democratic rights, to protect the environment and the 2015 Geneva agreement on Climate change to ward off threats to life on earth; to fight against the curtailment of global

110 trade causing cuts in jobs; to prevent rearmament and spread of military tension in different parts of the world; to reform the trade and financial institutions in the world, to eradicate poverty particularly in the developing world, to arrest disparities among different segments of populations and to prevent the amassing of huge profits by monopolies to the detriment of the working population and many others.

The Capitalism is repeatedly in crises. The so-called recovery is only a mirage. Contradictions among capitalist countries is growing, G 20 comprising major economies of the world was reduced in effect to a "group of 19" due to the intransigence of the US President Donald Trump on a number of important global issues. Capitalism however is not falling apart. The so-called emerging economies along with the BRICS countries slowly but steadfastly are challenging the hegemony of the US both on economics and politics.

Comrades,

Under the rule of the present government in Sri Lanka people are oppressed on several fronts. Having come to power promising to establish good governance it is denying the democratic rights of the people including those of trade union. The democratic processes are also being restricted. You will remember how the people who protested against the privatization of the Hambantota Harbour were beaten up. You will also remember how the goons of the government attacked workers who struck work at the petroleum storage facility in Kolonnawai wooden rods. In November, 2015 the government promised the recognised political parties in the country to hold local government elections by April 2016 after disposing of the appeals in respect of the re-demarcation of wards. Instead the government has rolled back the electoral process altogether.

The government has refused to hold elections to the Provincial Councils elections as they become due. The Supreme Court determined that the two-paged Twentieth Amendment to the Constitution which sought to postpone the Provincial Councils Elections requires to be passed by a two-thirds' majority in parliament plus a referendum. What did the government do? It caused the bill to be passed with an over thirty-page amendment which was inconsistent with the SC determination. In this respect the Bar Association of Sri Lanka has pointed out that the government has undermined the rule of law.

The people's living standards have been decimated. The economy is in shambles. The rate of inflation in August this year had risen to 9.4% compared with 3.2% in January 2015. The government which is sabotaging the massive development projects commenced by the previous government has not come out with any development projects of its own. Now it is planning to sell national assets. The rate of growth of the economy which was at 6-7 % under the previous government has come down to around 4 %. The present government has doomed the future of the country.

The massive corruption under present government has been exposed at the Presidential Commission on the issue of Central Bank Bonds and needs no elaboration.

The CPSL stands for a new constitution under which the people's sovereignty is exercised through parliament. From the documents of the Steering Committee of the Constitutional Assembly which were presented to parliament recently it is evident that the United National Party and that part of the Sri Lanka Freedom Party in government are at logger heads in regard to certain fundamental issues pertaining to constitutional reforms including the abolition of the executive presidency. So how can a draft new constitution be passed by a two-thirds majority in parliament and be approved at a referendum?

The real Opposition to the government is the Joint Opposition with 54 seats in parliament. It is not recognised as the Official Opposition as its members come from an Alliance of parties which is led by the SLFP which is in government. It is the Joint Opposition which is fighting for the people both inside parliament and outside. The majority of the people of the country are behind it. The Official Opposition - the Tamil National Alliance and the Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna with 16 and 6 members in parliament respectively - has practically coalesced with the government.

Our party stands on the side of the people in the face of the challenges confronting them. We will create favourable conditions for the resolution of the problems facing the country. We will steadfastly continue our struggle for social progress. Our objective is socialism. Our present task is to work towards building a left and democratic alliance leading to the formation of a government led by those forces. That however cannot be achieved overnight. We will persist in our endeavour.

On July 3<sup>rd</sup>, next year our party will be 75 years old. As said earlier this year we will celebrate the centenary of the October Revolution. The hundredth birth anniversary of our founder General Secretary, the late comrade Pieter Keuneman also falls this year. It has been commemorated in a fitting manner.

In the coming period we will carry on the struggle to defend the people's interests giving priority to resolve the more urgent issues. We will strive to build a stronger party. We will also work for the strengthening of the Socialist Alliance comprising five left parties. The CPSL is also committed to build the unity and cohesion of the progressive forces in the country. We look forward to a better and productive future for the working people of our country.

Long live socialism.!

Long live proletarian Internationalism !

# Communist Party of Sweden

Dear comrades,

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First and foremost, the Communist Party of Sweden wishes to thank the Communist Party of the Russian Federation for hosting us here on this historic occasion.

The Great October Socialist Revolution marked the definite beginning of the current era of transition from capitalism to socialism. The revolution confirmed the correctness of the strategy and tactics of the Bolsheviks and for the first time showed the world that a socialist mode of production is possible in practice. Furthermore, despite being under constant military and economic pressure the workers' and peasants' state proved successful and resilient, unprecedentedly transforming a former czarist backwater into the developed society that would bring emancipation of the working class and abolish wage slavery. Thanks to the revolution, the Soviet people could go where no other people had gone before.

The eradication of illiteracy helped the masses do away with the times of superstition and advanced the levels of education, which together with the planned character of the economy created the basis for rapid industrialization. Leaning on the shoulders of science and technology, and advancing it, the socialist organization of labor allowed another feat of unparalleled historic importance, the successful victory in the total war against the most industrialized and militarized imperialist powers at the time. The socialist mode of production helped to diminish the headstart of the imperialists, and in some cases even surpassed them technologically, bringing the core of matter itself, the power of the atom, into the service of the people and even kickstarting the exploration of space a few years later. All this, and countless other social, scientific and cultural achievements were made possible only thanks to the October Revolution.

Moreover, the revolution effectively opened the doors of liberation for oppressed peoples around the globe, and its very existence advanced the position of strength of workers everywhere, much to the despair of its imperialist detractors. It faced, and continues to face, the unending criticism and hostilities of its bourgeois adversaries because of their inability to ignore its indisputable successes. October offers a promise to the workers of the world, that history has not ended and that society can and will change. Thus, celebrating and studying the revolution, like our parties do here, continues to be of paramount importance.

The events in Russia had profound impact on Swedish society. Inspired by the February revolution, and triggered by the failure of capitalism to provide the basic means of sustenance, workers and soldiers rose up throughout the country in the spring of 1917. In Seskarö, at the base of the Gulf of Botnia, workers briefly overpowered police, seized power and established a local soviet. At the peak of the revolutionary sentiment, the bourgeoisie grew increasingly nervous, and even the king contemplated fleeing the country. But, eventually the unrest subsided in the wake of the increasing repression from the state paired with compromises. And most importantly, at the time there was no vanguard party. What would later become the communist party, our party, had only been founded in the later stages of the turmoil

112 that spring, and was not yet a force to reckon with. The October Revolution, on the other hand, decisively forced the Swedish capitalist class to make concessions toward the Swedish working class, that had achieved a comparably high level of consciousness and organization at that time, or face the, perhaps not so small, continued threat of strikes and popular uprisings ultimately leading to revolution. In order to minimize risks and perhaps to survive as a class, they had to adapt and saw a solution in the harmlessness of social democracy and parliamentarism. The threat of the successful revolution in Russia, and the following social progress there, eventually paved the way for the beginning of what was popularly known as the Swedish welfare state, discussed in our prior contributions. It helped to alleviate some of the human cost and social symptoms of capitalism, avoiding increased worker militancy.

Figuratively speaking, the reforms may have given the bakers somewhat larger crumbs from the table of the owning class than otherwise, but never the fruits of the labor itself. Today, this is still the case, but with the crumbs getting ever smaller. With capital concentration tightening, real wages stagnating and debts skyrocketing.

The success of the revolution, and the presence of the Soviet Union, was a prerequisite of Swedish social democracy as a manager of capitalism at that moment in time. Since the counter-revolutions in the socialist countries the bargaining power of the working class has diminished substantially. Appeasement of the working class is no longer as important to the capitalists, now that it is less organized and less class conscious. Profit disabling reforms have been rolled back by the very same social democrats that introduced them, which validates the fact that the reformists are systemically unable to guarantee lasting reforms, no matter if they have good intentions or not. Public services have been privatized bringing unreliability to infrastructure, healthcare and education, and availability according to a class gradient of ever deepening contrast. Yet our party has no illusions about the nature of the bourgeois state, and for the reasons described previously, we do not see a solution through renationalization. We only see one lasting solution to that end, and that is socialism.

At our 37th Congress, held earlier this spring, the party substantially revised its programme to better reflect the conditions at hand in the post-Soviet period. The earlier concept of a stepwise path to socialism has been abandoned, in light of the assessment that the productive forces in our time have matured and developed to such an extent that a direct transition to socialism is objectively possible. The updated party programme also takes a stronger stand against forces that claim that there is a possibility for, and who propagate illusions about a capitalism with a human face. We have revised our position on popular front tactics as a viable road forward today, and now, in light of historical experience, instead favor collaboration strictly on a class basis, so as to preserve political independence and to promote a clear nondiluted class position under an undisguised communist banner. The Great October Revolution was only the first of many victories. One hundred years is little time in the perspective of human history, and this is only the

beginning. Let us take this moment here in the city where it all started, to commemorate our past defeats and to celebrate common victories, knowing that there will be many new octobers ahead.

# Syrian Communist Party

Дорогие товарищи!

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В начале глубокая благодарность руководству КПРФ за прием 19-ой международной встречи коммунистических и рабочих партий. Эта встреча, которая проходит в столетнюю годовщину Великой Октябрьской Социалистической Революции, которая явилась величайшим событием современной истории. Событие, доказавшее на деле, что общество без эксплуатации и держава, объединяющее побратившиеся народы, это не только мечта в умах мыслителей, стремящихся к счастью всех людей, но и объективная реальность, которую можно воплотить в жизнь борьбой пламенных революционеров и руками трудящихся.

Победа Октябрьской Революции не означала только коренной перелом в социальной борьбе трудящихся во имя создания социалистического общества и рабоче-крестьянского государства, а в последствии системы социалистических государств на значительной части земного шара, но Октябрьская Революция ознаменовала, также, качественное изменение в природе национально освободительного движения в колониях и зависимых странах.

Ленин ещё до победы Октябрьской революции теоретически обосновал прогрессивный и революционный характер национально освободительных движений, направленных против империализма. Ленин также твёрдо отстаивал право наций и народов на самоопределение и создании ими независимых государств. Октябрьская революция воплотила ленинские идеи о поддержке угнетённых народов на деле. Она освободила народы, находившиеся под гнётом царизма и предоставила могучую поддержку народам в других странах, борющимся за национальную независимость. Этим, Октябрьская революция открыла новую великую эпоху в развитии национально освободительного движения, как со стороны его сущности, так и со стороны перспектив его развития. Большевики руководствовались высказыванием Энгельса о том, что «НЕ может быть свободен народ, который угнетает другие народы».

После победы Октябрьской революции Ленин прояснил: « Мы действительно, выступаем теперь не только как представители пролетариев всех стран, но и как представители угнетённых народов...». Коммунистический Интернационал выдвинул соответственно такой лозунг: « Пролетарии всех стран и угнетённые народы соединяйтесь!».

По этому поводу Сталин указывает : «Октябрьская революция ударила по тылам империализма, по его периферии, подорвав господство империализма в колониальных и зависимых странах...Пролетариат не может освободить себя не освобождая угнетённые народы».

Историческая победа Советского Союза над гитлеровской Германией, ознаменовала небывалый взлёт мирового революционного процесса. Это привело к началу решительного крушения

114 мировой колониальной системы. Национально освободительное движение, после второй мировой войны, приняло невиданный ранее размах, одерживая победу за победой. Одной из первых этих побед, было завоевание моей Родины, Сирии, полной национальной независимости 17 апреля 1946 года.

Отличительной чертой национально освободительных движений после Октябрьской революции, и, особенно, после победы СССР во второй мировой войне, было усиление переплетения и сращивания борьбы за национальное освобождение с борьбой за социальное освобождение. Одним из ярких примеров этого является Сирия. Сирия стойко сопротивлялась империалистическим и сионистским планам и заговорам, направленным против неё, и в тоже время предприняла много важных шагов в сторону социального прогресса. В ней была проведена аграрная реформа, национализирован иностранный капитал, создан сильный государственный сектор. Труженики получили серьёзные социальные завоевания. Сирийские коммунисты твёрдо защищают эти достижения и завоевания, ведя борьбу за возобновление продвижения страны по пути социального прогресса. Это означает развитие производительных сил, сопряжённое с повышением жизненного уровня рабочего класса и всех трудящихся.

Дорогие товарищи!

Несомненно, что временное поражение нанесённое мировому революционному движению, в результате свержения социалистического строя в Советском Союзе и разрушения социалистической системы в странах Восточной и Центральной Европы, привело к состоянию снижения активности и сдачи позиций отрядами этого движения. Но затем появились признаки оживления и особенно на полях национально освободительного движения. Произошли важные преобразования в ряде стран Латинской Америки в сторону избавления от полного политического господства американского империализма. Некоторые из этих стран предприняли серьёзные шаги в области уменьшения экономической зависимости, главными из которых явилось освобождение из шупалец долговой зависимости мировым империалистическим центрам. Это привело к ослаблению гегемонии американского империализма в странах Латинской Америки, на которые он привык смотреть как на задворки США.

В нашем регионе, регионе Восточного Средиземноморья, империалистическая экспансия потерпела ряд серьёзных неудач, особенно в Ираке и в Ливане. Империализм пытается возместить свои потери развязыванием контрнаступления, одним из основных направлений которого является разносторонняя агрессия против Сирии.

Да, Сирия снискала особую ненависть со стороны империалистических и сионистских кругов, потому, что Сирия образовала и образует сильное

припятствие осуществлению экспансионистских планов империализма, опаснейшим из которых является, на данное время, так называемый план «большого нового Ближнего Востока». Наша партия охарактеризовала этот план, как план «Большого Сиона». В добавок к этому Сирия твёрдо поддерживает национально освободительные движения в нашем регионе. И Сирия ни на дюйм не отступила, даже в самых трудных условиях от поддержки законных прав палестинского народа, главными из них является право на возвращение на родную землю, самоопределение на ней, создание суверенного национального государства.

Сирия стойко держится, противостоя империалистической агрессии, принимающей различные облики и продолжающейся более шести лет. Эта стойкость сама по себе, большая победа, не только для Сирии, но и для всего мирового революционного движения. Сирия одержала ряд побед над террористическими обскурантистскими бандами, благодаря мужеству её воинов, стойкости свободолюбивого народа, и поддержки союзников. Но битва продолжается. После того как империалистические круги отчаялись в разгроме Сирии, они взяли курс на её обескровление и расчленение. В этом направлении идёт прямая империалистическая агрессия, воплощающаяся в военных действиях американских войск против Сирии, под надуманными предлогами, и создание ряда американских военных баз в некоторых районах страны. В тоже время, Турция, этот ядовитый коготь НАТО в нашем регионе, оккупирует некоторые сирийские земли и стремится к оккупации новых. Также продолжается оккупация сионистским Израилем сирийских Голанских высот, сионистская военщина постоянно наносит удары по сирийской территории.

По мнению Сирийской коммунистической партии, национально освободительная борьба нашего народа должна сконцентрироваться на:

- Защите независимости Родины
- Отстаивании полного национального суверенитета
- Постоянной борьбе за единство территориальной целостности нашей страны.

Перипетии ужесточения борьбы сирийского народа, требуют постоянных усилий по дальнейшему сплочению ряда патриотических сил. Это означает, в первую очередь, удовлетворение интересов народных масс, особенно прожиточных. Ведь народные массы являются основным фактором мужественной стойкости Сирии.

Дорогие товарищи!

Сирийские коммунисты, плечом к плечу со всеми патриотами страны ведут ожесточенный и благородный бой против империалистической агрессии.

Основной лозунг сирийских коммунистов : «защита Родины и защита куска хлеба народа»! Они уверены, что Сирию не поставят на колени. Они готовы жертвовать, как всегда жертвовали, самым дорогим, что у них есть во имя свободы своей Родины и счастья своего народа!



# Communist Party of Turkey

On behalf of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Turkey, I comradely salute the Communist Party of Russian Federation for organizing this historic meeting on the 100<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the October Revolution, and all comrades who attend this meeting from all around the world.

I do not think that today we have gathered here only for commemorating a great event that occurred a hundred years ago. In our 19<sup>th</sup> meeting, we got together to discuss the Great October Revolution, the principles and values which had been the subject matter of the revolution, the validity of Marxist-Leninist theory as proven once again by the revolution itself and all developments that followed it, and the tasks that all these entrusted on us.

A century later, the socialist revolution is timely, and nothing can set this fact aside, nothing can push it back to an uncertain date.

In order to avoid falling into repetitions, I would rather emphasize the situation in Turkey in my speech, in which I will try to be as frank as possible.

Dear comrades,

Turkey is a perfect example that proves how futile, how deceptive the strategies other than socialist revolution are; how meaningless they are for the toiling masses.

15 years ago, various “left-wing” groups in Turkey used to say that the major problem was “the military’s role in politics”, and consider demilitarization and democratization as the main target. Hence, they supported Erdoğan, either explicitly or tacitly. They also considered the EU membership candidacy of Turkey as a positive step. In the end, Erdoğan showed everyone, including some of these factions which supported him, what democracy means in the bourgeois order. The prisons in Turkey are now crammed. The TKP has proven right.

They said, “let the Kurdish issue be resolved first” years ago in Turkey. Hence they supported Erdoğan. Then the Kurdish national movement showed that it can become an ally of the United States as the case may be, and they kept silent in the face of this fact as well. They have made the principle of the self-determination of nations, which Lenin firmly associated with a revolutionary strategy, a pretext for adopting a position in conflicts within the imperialist system, made it an excuse for dividing the working class movement. In the end, neither the Kurdish issue has been resolved, nor could it be possible to prevent the consolidation of hostilities between peoples. The TKP, once again, has proven right.

The experience of Turkey is utterly revealing as it illuminates the consequences of dreams considering the improvement of a bourgeois dictatorship through reforms and the outcomes of collaborating with bourgeois actors. Capitalism does not reconcile with democracy, freedoms or peace!

Considering the issues of independence, sovereignty; of anti-imperialism... A decade ago, Erdoğan was introducing himself as an anti-American politician, one

who is friends with oppressed nations in the Middle East and Latin America. We have warned our friends on many occasions back then. Unfortunately, as some expected democratization from him, some others imagined him as an anti-imperialist leader. When Erdoğan started to support terrorist gangs in Syria in collaboration with USA, only then, they had abandoned these dreams. Some friends wondered, “how come Erdoğan could change this much!” We have always told them that “he has not changed at all, he was and has always been the man of giant monopolies”.

Now, the relationship between Erdoğan and certain countries has deteriorated due to many different reasons. Once again, we regretfully see that the foreign policy maneuvers that Erdoğan conducts to strengthen his hand in intra-imperialist rivalry and negotiations have caused a stir in certain circles. Some consider him as a great leader, a folk hero. Our task is to prevent this illusion to plague world communist movement as well.

Comrades,

The hostility of Turkish capitalism against working class, the anti-people character of this government, does not change when it fares well with Russia or China in foreign policy. The system of alliances has been faltering in international politics today; all bourgeois governments are redefining their positions. Communists must not get lost, shall not allow themselves to be carried away from pillar to post, in geostrategic developments. When Erdoğan possibly makes out with the United States, those who are singing praises to him today will once again blame him for being a “reactionary dictator”. As a matter of fact, nothing has changed with him, and nothing will ever change.

Dear comrades,

The fact that the most powerful and the toughest enemy at international scale today is still the US and NATO should not draw us away from the class character of the issue at hand. Communists are fighting against the US imperialism, its military bases, its occupations, against the NATO, and they will never trivialize this fight. However, unless this is openly combined with overthrowing the bourgeois dictatorship at home, a colossal inconsistency would arise. Today, we have the so-called “nationalist leftists” in Turkey who support Erdoğan. Yesterday they were at the forefront of opposition against him. Well, what do the toiling masses make of it? “Nothing has ever changed for me,” they say.

Many comrades ask us about what is going on in Turkey. We tell them that capitalism is in a huge crisis, the capital inveighs against the laborers, yet cannot find a way out. Turkish currency is losing its value at breakneck speed, political uncertainty is looming, the war is around the corner. The TKP, in turn, is talking about turning this chaotic, dreadful scene into an opportunity. For there is no solution within capitalism. We would not sympathize with the reactionary, Islamist dictatorship of the monopolies simply because it has fallen out with the US. But we would also come out against any color revolution, a Soros coup, to be attempted against Erdoğan. We do not prefer one to the other.

And we comradely appeal all communist parties to stay away from the religious reactionaries, from the liberals, from the allies of the US in Turkey. Your only friends in Turkey are those who fight for the cause of the working class.



# Communist Party USA

Greetings, comrades, on behalf of the CPUSA. These are very difficult times, and we want to speak to just a few concerns.

Capitalism today is wracked by interlocking crises. Faced with increasing economic instability, transnational capital wages an all-out attack on the international working class and the planet on which we depend. To guarantee its profits in the midst of crisis, it demands savage austerity programs, unfettered rights to penetrate new markets and capture new resources, free trade deals that exempt it from all regulations, and—as throughout its history—the right to compel ever more flexible, precarious, and underpaid, even unpaid, forms of labor.

In other words, capital's response to crisis is a one-size-fits-all program of austerity, deregulation, environmental destruction and imperialist aggression.

Because capital's only response to crisis is more inequality, more violence, more austerity, capitalist democracy also faces a crisis of political legitimacy. Hundreds of millions today look to the left with fresh eyes. Even in the United States, where the wounds of Cold War anti-communism are still open and bleeding, young people proudly identify with politicians like Bernie Sanders, who proclaim socialist ideals.

But all is not bread and roses. The inability of capitalism to deliver on its promises of democracy and opportunity has also propelled reactionary and fascist movements into the political mainstream.

The far-right danger must not be underestimated. Fascists come to power by offering racism and national chauvinism, theocracy, and state violence as solutions to the insecurity sown by capitalist globalization. They divide and disorganize the working class, promising jobs, economic security, power, and prestige to some, while targeting others for intensified oppression.

The political agenda of these groups is set by the most vicious, most reactionary section of the capitalist class. This agenda was not born with Donald Trump. In the United States, it has festered for 150 years, since the slaveholders we defeated in our Civil War began organizing to reclaim power. To understand it, we need only look to the parts of the United States already under the control of the far right, where we see poverty wages, for-profit prisons, relentless attacks on trade unions, vicious austerity and unchecked privatization, massive voter suppression, and the adoption of laws that limit the freedoms of women, religious minorities, and the racially and nationally oppressed—African-Americans in particular.

Trump's election brought this agenda to the national level, where it takes the form of an intensification of every violent and undemocratic feature of capitalism in crisis: the open courting of neo-Nazis and white supremacists; renewed imperialist aggression and attacks on the sovereignty of Cuba, Venezuela, Iran and the DPRK; the rolling back of even modest environmental protections; an intensified program of state violence against immigrants and refugees; and attacks on judges and other officials who refuse to implement the fascist program.

Defeating this agenda will require the broadest possible unity. The Communist Party, and even the whole anti-capitalist left, cannot do it alone. In the absence of class and socialist consciousness, sections of the working class can fall sway to fascist ideas. The resistance requires a bolstered struggle within the working class for a program that can unite workers against fascism. It requires building a broad movement including the working class, the peoples' movements, and even sections of the ruling class whose self-interests are in maintaining the institutions of capitalist democracy. We know this. We learned it in the heroic anti-fascist struggles of the 1930s and 40s, under the political leadership of the Communist International.

But we also know—we also learned, from those same struggles—that we can't win without communist parties at the core of the fight. The parties of capitalist democracy may not realize it, but they cannot beat fascism without us, any more than they could beat Hitler and smash the Axis powers without us. They cannot win without us, because they cannot see the way forward through bourgeois democracy and beyond capitalism. Their vision is limited to the preservation of the same violent and undemocratic system in which fascism first takes root. Neoliberal globalization is not a remedy for national chauvinism; austerity is not a remedy for economic crisis; in short, capitalism cannot provide a lasting solution to fascism or a sustainable future for the human race.

So stopping Donald Trump's nuclear clown show is only a first step. And seizing next year's elections to break the power of the extreme right in the legislature is only a first step. And driving neo-Nazis back into the shadows is only a first step in the decisive fight for the advancement of democracy. Our revolutionary struggle must be to transform the violent and unequal social relations of capitalism, pulling racism and other forms of oppression out by the roots. It is by advancing democracy against ALL forms of inequality—including the inequality of workers, people of color, women, youth, seniors, the LGBTQ people—that we can win the broad unity needed to secure a defeat against the extreme right and move on to even greater victories.

And so here we stand for full nuclear disarmament, beginning with the USA. Here we stand for an end to the U.S. blockade against Cuba, and for a foreign policy that respects the national sovereignty of every country suffering under U.S. imperialist aggression. Here we stand against racism, sexism, and homophobia. Here we stand for sustainable development, social progress, and a peace rooted in justice, rather than an order built on fear.

As Lenin said in a speech ninety-six years ago, on the fourth anniversary of the revolution, we consolidate the achievements and fulfill the promises of bourgeois democracy, but we do it as a by-product of our revolutionary struggle for socialism. Struggle and struggle alone, he said, will determine how far we go. We have a world to win; we must, and we shall, overcome!

# Communist Party of Vietnam

*Dear comrades,*

**1.** First of all, I would like to convey to all Russian comrades and representatives of all fraternal parties the warmest greetings and solidarity from the Communist Party of Vietnam. We highly appreciate enormous efforts of the Communist Party of the Russian Federation in hosting the 19<sup>th</sup> International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties and would like to express our sincere thanks for your warm reception and hospitality. We particularly are very happy to be in this historic city on the occasion of the centenary of the Great October Socialist Revolution.

*Comrades,*

**2.** 100 years ago, the Great October Socialist Revolution had open a new bright future for humanity – an epoch of socialism – a society free from exploitation of man by man, a society based on equality between all nations, nationalities and human beings, a society oriented towards progressive and human values. The foundation of the Soviet Union had changed one of the most backward country in Europe into the world economic, scientific, cultural and military superpower; turned hundreds millions of peasants and workers living in slavery and poverty to the masters of their society free from unemployment, where all people had been enjoying free housing, education, healthcare and living in dignity. The Soviet Union and its heroic people had played a decisive role in the liberation of humanity from fascism in the Second World War, sacrificing 27 million people and nearly 1/3 of the national wealth. The strong support of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries had enabled the victories of many other nations of the world in the national liberation struggle against colonialism and neo-colonialism, against imperialist aggressions and the apartheid in the 20<sup>th</sup> Century. The very existence of the socialist system and particularly its obvious superiority in the area of social justice and progress had been also an important factor in forcing capitalist ruling class to accept many compromises in favor of the working class and people, particularly, by developing welfare system in their respective countries. In words, the October Revolution had changed the fate of not only Russian people but also of the world for the better. This is an undeniable fact. Lenin was not only a great dreamer; he was actually a great creator of the new future of mankind.

**3.** The collapse of the Soviet Union and socialist countries in Eastern Europe was not at all inevitable. It was also not due to objective reasons despite the fact that socialist countries had been always the main target of the permanent attacks by the imperialist and reactionary forces (this had been proved by the history of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century, particularly by the Victory of the Soviet people in the WW II and the victories of the people of Vietnam and Cuba against imperialist aggression). The main reason is the subjective mistakes of the leadership of the CPSU in both leftist and rightist deviation from Marxism-Leninism, appeared in the forms of revisionism, communist arrogance, infantile sickness of leftism, opportunism and betrayal, about which Lenin had repeatedly warned. The communist arrogance and leftist deviation was reflected in the conclusions about the “invincibility” and “triumph” of socialism or that Soviet Union had entered

the stage of “full-scale of building communism” in 1960’s or “developed socialism” in 1980’s, underestimating the potentials and capacity of capitalism, which, according to Lenin, “will hit back with a force a hundred times stronger”. This had led to the stagnation in theoretical, policies and carders’ works required for the new period of socialist construction since 60’s. As a result, the country had lost its dynamics in socio-economic, political and culture-ideological development in the 70’s and 80’s while the over centralisation and bureaucratisation had distanced the Party, State and political system from working people and reality. The “perestroika” did not at all change the situation towards “more socialism” as promised but in opposite, had led to the collapse of the socialist superpower, mainly because of the opportunism and betrayal of the top CPSU leadership. This had show that the leftist deviation can create an obstacle for socialist construction but the rightist deviation will lead to the destruction of socialism, proving Lenin’s conclusion that “the mistakes of right doctrinarism” is a thousand times more dangerous than the “left-wing communism”.

**4.** However, the collapse of the Soviet Union and socialist countries in Eastern Europe doesn’t mean the “end of history”; it doesn’t mean that socialism is no more relevant. The prediction of many bourgeois scholars of the “chain reaction” to be followed in Asia and Latin America did not realised. In opposite, Vietnam, China and Laos have achieved tremendous socio-economic development through process of reform and renewal towards socialism while Cuba and the DPRK have been firmly defending their socialist states despite faced the on-going blockage, embargo and permanet sabotage by the imperialism. The rise of the left in Latin America and their endeavour in advancing “21<sup>st</sup> Century socialism” also show the viability of the socialism today. Despite many difficulties and challenges faced, communist and worker’s parties had overcome the crisis in the 90’s and are actively engaged in the struggle for social justice and socialism in many countries. The on-going economic, social and ecological global crises, particularly the unprecedented level of disparity and social insecurity reveals clearer the deep contradictions and anti-human, anti-progress nature of the modern capitalism, once again emphasizing the necessity, importance and values of social equality and socialism in present world. Therefore, the ideas and banner of the October Revolution remain and even became more actual for the humanity today.

**5.** The world we live in today is very different from the world 100 years or even 30 years ago. The nature of the basic contradictions, particularly the class one, remains almost the same but their form of apperance is significantly different because of the deep changes in the structure of the economy, society, labor and particularly, of the working classes itself. The systems of social relations, knowledge and information have also gone through radical changes. Especially, the level of political awareness and mobilisation of the masses has become very complex due to the impact of the collapse of the socialist system, intensified ideological offensive by capitalism and depolitisation and fragmentation by the emerging “civil societies”, populism and extremist forces, ect. These, among others, have contributed to the

reality that the level of people’s struggle today is far from 121 being corresponding to the level of the exploitation and domination by the capital and while the exploitation and domination of the capital became more systemic and globalised, the struggle of its victims is still very much fragmented. Besides that, the general attitude in societies concerning the forms of resistance and struggle today is also different comparing to the past period. At the same time, capitalist class, although facing crisis, continues to strengthen its monopolistic control and domination over the systems of production and distribution, finance, knowledge and information as well as political institutions, military and security in many countries and at a global level. The “revolutionary conditions”, as described by Lenin, are not yet in existence at present in most of the countries.

**6.** The new conditions require from us new strategies and tactics of the struggle while remaining adherent to the ultimate socialist objective, having in mind that “all nations will not reach socialism in the same way” as concluded by Lenin.

Marxism-Leninism should continue to be our basic ideological foundation lightening our struggle in the next period, but we need to creatively develop and apply it based on “concrete analysis of concrete conditions” in each country, avoiding all forms of dogmatism, leftist and especially rightist deviation.

Special focus and efforts should be put in the renewal and building revolutionary political parties to meet the requirements of the new period. While maintaining the basic nature of the vanguard of the working class, we should also find the ways to address the changes in the structure of the labor in contemporary societies. While maintaining the principle of democratic centralism, we need also to overcome the dangers of overcentralisation and bureaucratisation and to practice internal democracy in such a way so that the party can always recruit the most militant, ethical and wise people into its rank, especially into its leadership and maintain itself as a symbol of the “brain and conscience of the times” or exmple of “ethics and civilisation”, as defined by Lenin and Ho Chi Minh.

The main and most important power of our struggle is power of the masses. In the context of domination of neo-liberal, capitalist and right-wing ideology, we should work out new methods of political – ideological education of the masses, taking into consideration of the growing influence of the electronic media at present. It’s also very crucial to have new strategies and methods of an effective mass mobilisation in the context of changing social structure and relations in today’s societies. We need to admit the fact that our influence is still limited at present and find the way to build coalitions with other progressive forces for achieving concrete targets without losing our nature, principles and ultimate objectives.

**7.** Nearly 100 years ago, Ho Chi Minh had brought the light of the October Revolution and Marxism-Leninism to Vietnam, founded the Communist Party of Vietnam and guided the Party to lead Vietnamese people to the successful August Revolution, ending colonialism and feudalism in Vietnam, establishing the first people democratic republic in South – East Asia. The struggle

122 of the Vietnamese people under the leadership of Ho Chi Minh and the Communist Party of Viet Nam for national liberation against the French and then American imperialists, strongly supported by the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, have achieved glorious victories in 1954 and 1975, contributing to the ending of the colonialism and neo-colonialism in the world in the 20<sup>th</sup> Century. Socialist system headed by the Soviet Union had extended significant assistance to Vietnam in the process of rebuilding the country and construction of socialism after the war. All these will remain always in the mind of the Vietnamese people.

This year, the Communist Party of Vietnam has launched a national-wide programme titled “*Historic significance and implications of the Great Russian October Revolution and practical socialism on Vietnam’s contemporary revolution*”. On the last 26 October, we conducted a national conference under the theme “*100<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of the October Revolution and Practical Socialism – historic values and significance in the contemporary world*”. The Party, State and people of Vietnam will conduct a National Celebration of the Centenary of the October Revolution on the upcoming 5 November. Vietnamese medias and publishers have been devote many works to the October Revolution.

**8.** The October Revolution, the achievements and failure of the real socialism as well as the developments of the world during the past 100 years can lead to the following important conclusions:

*First*, historic reality had shown that only genuine and scientific socialism can settle the basic contradictions of the times, fully liberate human being, classes, societies and nations, bring about equality, justice and happiness to everyone and stable peace to humanity. This should be

a society oriented towards the humane and progressive values, with the power of the people, by the people and for the people, securing equal and sustainable development and consistently improving materialistic and spiritual life of the people.

*Second*, building socialism is constructing a qualitatively new society, which demands permanent creativity in renewing and updating theoretical works and policies to address the emerging contradictions and meeting the requirements of the new periods of development; avoiding any stagnation and self-satisfaction. It demands the creative application of Marxism-Leninism in a historic concrete situation of each country, avoiding conservatism or dogmatism as well as all forms of leftist and especially rightist deviation.

*Third*, building socialism is not a spontaneous of short-term business but a self-conscious, oriented and long-term process demanding a stable, permanent and consistent leadership of a political force faithful to this ultimate objective; any interruption can lead to the abolishment of all achievements of the people struggle. On the other hand, any party in power will face permanent danger of bureaucratisation, corruption or political, ideological and ethnic degradation. That’s why it is very important and crucial for a ruling party to permanently renew itself, to strengthen its militancy and leadership capacity, maintaining itself as “a brain and conscience of the times” and “example of ethics and civilization” as demanded by Lenin and Ho Chi Minh.

Long live the Great October Socialist Revolution!

Long live socialism!

Long live international solidarity!





# Appeal of the 19th International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties

We, representatives of 103 Communist and Worker's parties from 77 countries that took part in the 19th International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties held in St Petersburg, Russian Federation, on November 2-3, 2017 under the theme of ***"The 100th Anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution: the ideals of the Communist Movement, revitalizing the struggle against imperialistic wars, for peace, socialism"***

- stressing that the year of 2017 will undoubtedly be marked as the year of the Centenary of the Great October Socialist Revolution;

- being convinced that Lenin and the Bolshevik Party have been and remain the source of inspiration and priceless experience for the planet's communists and other revolutionaries;

- emphasizing the historic significance of the October Revolution in 1917 which had opened a new epoch in the history of the humanity by laying down a broad foundation for the revolutionary overcoming of capitalism by socialism and communism, sustained economic and social development and progressive movement of mankind towards the building of a just society – free from exploitation of man by man, but also answering the daunting challenges of the 20th century;

- highlighting the accomplishments of the Soviet Union – the world's first State of Workers' and Peasants – which within a historically brief space of time achieved unprecedented success in all the economic, social, cultural, political, scientific and technological areas, gave a stimulus to the development of the international communist and workers' movement and to the struggle of the workers in the capitalist countries, became a guarantor of peace and made a decisive contribution to the Victory over Fascism and to the achievements of national liberation movement of oppressed and colonized nations;

- being aware that in the year of the 100th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution we face a special task of conducting research and drawing the right conclusions on the causes that led to the disintegration of the USSR;

- equipped with the Lenin's theory about socialism as a new socio-political system and rejecting the speculations that the counter-revolutionary changes that took place in the late 20th century annul the historic significance of the October Revolution and the achievements of the USSR in the building and development of the new type of society;

- having discussed the experience and practice of the struggle for the ideals of the communist movement;

- in front to a capitalist system plunged in a deep structural crisis and to a violent and dangerous exploitative and aggressive offensive of imperialism – a reality that affirms socialism as a demand of the present and future;

- saluting the struggle of the workers and peoples which take place all around the world against imperialism's offensive and for sovereignty and national independence, peace, social progress and socialism;

**We call on all the Communist and Workers' parties**

**to intensify coordination and take the following joint actions:**

- to give an objective assessment of the ongoing socio-political processes in the light of the need to step up the struggle against anti-communism, anti-Sovietism, constantly strengthen solidarity with the communist and workers' parties, with the communists and all those who face political persecution and a ban on their activities namely with the Ukrainian people and the CP of Ukraine;
- to organize scientific research and exchange of opinions on the causes that led to the counter-revolution in the USSR, capitalist restoration and dissolution of the socialist camp;
- to organize wide-scale study of Lenin' works by party members and the population explaining their historic significance and relevance in the modern world, hold events aimed at popularizing the works of Lenin on the occasion of the 100th anniversary of his work "The State and Revolution";
- to conduct a broad international campaign to mark the 200th anniversary of the birth of Karl Marx stressing his contribution to history and the significance and relevance of "The Communist Manifesto" which was published 170 years ago and "Das Kapital" published 150 year ago. Particular attention should be paid to explaining its significance to young people;
- to promote exchange of the theory and practice of the struggle against all forms of capitalism exposing its exploitative, oppressive, aggressive, inhuman and predatory nature and ideological essence, broaden the theoretical background of the population, especially the youth;
- to strengthen unity, solidarity and coordination in the struggle for labor, social, trade union and democratic rights namely by taking advantage of the mobilization of

working people on May 1;

- to build up joint efforts in protecting the rights and democratic freedoms, fighting racism and fascism, using for this purpose the anniversary of the Victory over Nazi-Fascism (9 May 1945) and the 75th anniversary of the victory in the Battle of Stalingrad (2 February, 1943);
- participants of the International Meeting stress the necessity to confront Russophobia;
- to demand an end to the US blockade of Cuba, resolutely oppose the imperialistic plans aimed against the Cuban people; support the right of the Palestinian people to a free, sovereign and independent State; and express solidarity with all the peoples of the Middle East, Africa, Latin America, Asia and Europe who face occupation, intervention, interference or blockade of imperialism, oppose terrorism and religious fanatics ( Syria, Iraq, Bolivarian Venezuela, Ukraine and others);
- to undertake measures aimed at environmental protection;
- to broaden the anti-imperialist front for strengthening peace struggle, against the aggressions and exploitation of imperialism, organize joint actions against NATO and its expansion, against nuclear weapons and foreign military bases, against militarism and war, for disarmament and for a peaceful and just solution of international conflicts based on the principles of International Law, against USA's intervention in the Korean Peninsula and for the peaceful reunification of Korea.

Finally, the communist and workers' parties that took part in the work of the 19th IMCWP thank the Communist Party of the Russian Federation for the hospitality and excellent organization of the Meeting.



# Solidarity Statements

## Declaration in Solidarity with Latin American and Caribbean peoples' struggles

Communist and Workers parties, gathered in Leningrad within the XIX IMCWP celebrating the 100th Anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, express their firm and combatant solidarity with the working class and peoples of Latin America and the Caribbean:

-In the face of aggressive anti-workers, anti-popular policies aimed to take away workers and union rights, with the so called labour flexibilization and outsourcing increasing exploitation, imposing longer work shifts , deteriorating workers income's purchasing power and thus sentencing more workers and their families to suffer hunger and poverty.

-Confronting capitalist monopolies, that independently of the nationality they present themselves with, increase their gains while living and working standards for working class deteriorate precipitously.

-Facing the offensive of energy, mining, agriculture monopolies, who pillage the earth and strip native peoples and communities from their resources, promote paramilitary groups and intensify exploitation of working class and poor farmers.

-In the face of continued imperialist aggression with their free trade agreements, punitive military plans, army bases, the IV Fleet.

-Facing harsh anti-immigrant policies from US imperialism, reinforced during the Obama administration and hardened today with Trump, against workers from Central America, the Caribbean, Haiti, and Mexico.

-Against the wall that the Trump administration seeks to build across the border between the US and Mexico.

-Facing imperialist blockade against Cuba, as well as similar measures promoted by the European Union.

-Facing aggressive imperialist policies against the working class in Venezuela.

-Amid escalating political assassination in Colombia, and for the liberation of more than 1500 insurgent prisoners held in several colombian jails, that threatens the peace process.

Reaching the 100th anniversary of the beginning of the transition era from capitalism to socialism with the victory of the October Revolution, and 50 years after the falling in combat of Ernesto Guevara, communist and workers parties, from Leningrad express their firm internationalist solidarity and support to the struggle of the working class and peoples of Latin America and the Caribbean to conquer their rights, for the overthrowing of the capitalist barbarity, for the only option for the survival of mankind which is socialism.

**Signed by:**

Party of Labour of Austria  
Communist Party of Bangladesh  
Brazilian Communist Party  
New Communist Party of Britain  
Communist Party of Canada  
Communist Party in Denmark  
Communist Party of Denmark  
Communist Party of Ecuador  
Communist Party of Estonia  
Communist Party of Finland  
German Communist Party  
Communist Party of Greece  
Workers Party of Ireland  
Communist Party (Italy)  
Communist Party of Jordan  
Socialist Party of Latvia  
Communist Party of Mexico  
Communist Party of Norway  
Communist Party of Pakistan  
Palestinian Communist Party  
Paraguayan Communist Party  
Philippines Communist Party [PKP 1930]  
Romanian Socialist Party  
Communist Party of the Russian Federation  
New Communist Party of Yugoslavia  
Communists of Serbia  
Communist Party of the Peoples of Spain  
Communist Party of Turkey  
Union of Communists in Ukraine

## Solidarity Statement with the people of Cyprus

**“The freedom and reunification of Cyprus is a milestone against imperialist aggression”**

We assert that the Cyprus problem is the result of foreign intervention and imperialist aggression; in July 1974, the Greek junta and the fascist organization EOKA B staged a coup d'état against the elected President of the Republic of Cyprus Archbishop Makarios.

We recall that Turkey exploited the coup d'état to materialise its expansionist plans in Cyprus, invading illegally the island which remains occupied to this day in flagrant violation of international law.

We recall that the double crime of the coup d'état and invasion was planned by the US and NATO aiming to divide Cyprus and impose union of one part to Greece and the other to Turkey, as both countries were NATO members.

We emphasize that the persisting violation of the sovereignty and the territorial integrity of the Republic of Cyprus, the continuing violation of the human rights and freedoms of Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots, the perpetuation of the division of the people of Cyprus and the illegal mass settlement of the occupied territory to alter the demographic character of the island, form another expression of the imperialist aggression in the region of the Eastern Mediterranean and the world.

We reiterate that the Cyprus problem is in essence an international problem of invasion and illegal occupation, in violation of the fundamental principles of international law and the Charter of the UN, but also has an internal aspect, of restoring relations between the two communities of Cyprus, the Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot.

We underline the negative prospects for the future of the negotiations following the recent failure of the peace process in Switzerland.

We stress that the recent failure cannot be the end of all efforts to liberate and reunify Cyprus but that the leaders of the two communities, echoing the calls of the UN Secretary-General, should return to the table of the negotiations with the political will to reach a solution within the agreed framework of bicomunal, bizonal federation and in accordance with international law.

We reiterate that Turkey's departure from its long-standing intransigence that has hindered any concrete progress in the last 42 years remains a prerequisite for the comprehensive solution of the Cyprus problem; for the termination of the occupation, the demilitarisation of the Republic of Cyprus, the annulment of the anachronistic Treaty of Guarantee and the exclusion of any right of foreign intervention.

We underline that the status quo entrenches the long-term aspirations and objectives of Turkey against Cyprus and is not counter-productive for the strategic goals of NATO to maintain the geostrategic and military control of our region. On the contrary, we emphasise that the

comprehensive solution of the Cyprus problem within the agreed framework is the only way to reunite our people and country, thus providing the impetus for common class struggles and a future socialist transformation.

### **The Communist and Workers' Parties signing the present Statement:**

Demand the immediate withdrawal of Turkish army, the demilitarization of the Republic of Cyprus and the abolishment of foreign guarantees and of any rights for foreign intervention; it is within this context that permanent peace can be pursued, that would allow indeed the reunification, independence and freedom of the Cypriot people as a whole.

Demand the solution of the Cyprus problem the soonest possible, on the basis of international law and the UN Security Council resolutions. The solution must restore the human rights and freedoms, provide for the transformation of the Republic of Cyprus from a unitary state to a bicomunal, bizonal federation with a single and indivisible sovereignty, a single international personality and single citizenship with due respect to the principle of political equality, as this is prescribed in the relevant UN resolutions.

Call for an immediate verification of the fate of the remaining missing persons of the Cypriot tragedy.

Deplore the policies of Turkey in the occupied part of Cyprus aiming to the consolidation on the ground of the divisionist *faits accomplis*; including the enforced economic and cultural assimilation of the Turkish Cypriots, as well as the recent imposition of “charges” for medicines and basic supplies transferred to Greek Cypriots enclaved in the occupied part of the island.

Express their strong support for the resumption of the direct negotiations as soon as possible and call on Turkey to commit itself in abandoning its long-standing intransigent stance against Cyprus.

Call on the international community to stop tolerating the continuing illegality that is taking place in Cyprus, and exert its influence on Turkey in order to terminate its divisive policies on the ground and take concrete steps for the solution of the Cyprus problem within the agreed framework.

Express their solidarity with and support to the struggle of the Cypriot people for the liberation and reunification of its country.

## **THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF AKEL – NOVEMBER 2017**

**Parties undersigning**

Argentina - Communist Party of Argentina  
 Australia - Communist Party of Australia  
 Bahrain - Democratic Progressive Tribune  
 Bangladesh - Communist Party of Bangladesh  
 Bangladesh - Workers' Party of Bangladesh  
 Belgium - Communist Party of Wallonia-Brussels  
 Brazil - Communist Party of Brazil (PCdoB)  
 Britain – Communist Party of Britain  
 Britain - New Communist Party of Britain  
 Bulgaria - Communist Party of Bulgaria  
 Bulgaria - Party of the Bulgarian Communists  
 Canada - Communist Party Of Canada  
 Chile – Communist Party of Chile  
 Colombia - Colombian Communist Party  
 Croatia - Socialist Workers' Party of Croatia  
 Cuba - Communist Party of Cuba  
 Czech Republic - Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia (CPBM)  
 Denmark - Communist Party in Denmark (KPiD)  
 Denmark - Communist Party of Denmark  
 Ecuador - Communist Party of Ecuador  
 Egypt – Egyptian Communist Party  
 Finland - Communist Party of Finland  
 France - French Communist Party  
 Germany – German Communist Party (DKP)  
 Georgia – Unified Communist Party of Georgia  
 Ireland - Communist Party of Ireland  
 Ireland - The Workers' Party of Ireland  
 Hungary - Hungarian Workers' Party  
 India – Communist Party of India  
 India – Communist Party of India (M)  
 Iran – Tudeh Party of Iran  
 Iraq – Iraqi Communist Party  
 Israel - Communist Party of Israel  
 Italy – Party of the Communist Refoundation  
 Jordan – Communist Party of Jordan  
 Lebanon - Lebanese Communist Party  
 Luxembourg - Communist Party of Luxembourg (KPL)  
 Madagascar - Party of the Congress for Independence of Madagascar (AKFM)  
 Malta – Communist Party of Malta  
 Norway - Communist Party of Norway  
 Pakistan – Communist Party of Pakistan  
 Palestine - Palestinian People's Party  
 Palestine - Palestinian Communist Party  
 Panama – Party of the People  
 Peru - Communist Party of Peru (Patria Roja)  
 Philippine Communist Party [PKP 1930]  
 Portugal – Portuguese Communist Party  
 Romania – Romanian Socialist Party  
 Russia – Communist Party of the Russian Federation (CPRF)  
 Russia - Russian Communist Workers' Party  
 Russia - Union of Communist Parties-CPSU  
 Serbia - Communists of Serbia  
 Serbia - New Communist Party of Yugoslavia  
 South Africa - South African Communist Party (SACP)  
 Spain - Communist Party of Spain (PCE)  
 Spain - Communist Party of the Peoples of Spain  
 Spain – Communists of Catalonia  
 Syria - Syrian Communist Party  
 Syria - Syrian Communist Party (Unified)  
 Sudan – Sudanese Communist Party  
 Turkey - Communist Party of Turkey (TKP)  
 Ukraine - Communist Party Of Ukraine  
 Uruguay – Communist Party of Uruguay  
 USA - Communist Party USA  
 Venezuela – Communist Party of Venezuela  
 Vietnam - Communist Party of Vietnam

**We condemn the imperialist wars and interventions in the Middle East and Northern Africa, the Eastern Mediterranean, the Balkans. We express our solidarity with the peoples of the region**

The Communist and Workers' Parties participating in the 19th International Meeting of the Communist and Workers' Parties and who sign this resolution:

Note that the intra-imperialist contradictions and antagonisms for the control of gas, oil, energy pipelines, and more generally, resources and markets, are the basis of imperialist wars and are directed against the peoples.

We condemn the imperialist wars and interventions that have marked the developments in the Middle East, the Eastern Mediterranean and the Balkans, under the responsibility of the US, NATO and the EU, in the context of intra-imperialist rivalries, as witnessed by the many years of warfare against Syria, Iraq, Libya, the presence of NATO forces in the Mediterranean, the Aegean Sea, and in the wider Balkan region.

We express our internationalist solidarity with the people of Syria, Iraq, Libya and the other peoples of the region.

We demand a just solution to the Cyprus issue, which remains unresolved 43 years after the invasion – occupation by the Turkish bourgeois state.

We support the just struggle of the Palestinian people to end the Israeli occupation.

We stand by the side of refugees and immigrants and at the same time we struggle against the causes that give rise to this phenomenon.

We condemn the involvement of the Greek government of SYRIZA-ANEL, as well as all other NATO and EU governments, which provide troops, bases and other military facilities as a base for imperialist designs in the region.

We call on the peoples to strengthen their struggle against imperialist wars, to eradicate the causes that give rise to them, to escalate the struggle against NATO and the EU, against imperialist alliances.

No involvement of our countries in imperialist plans, no involvement of our country's military forces in imperialist missions. We demand the removal of American-NATO and other foreign military bases from each country. NATO out of the Mediterranean, the Aegean, the Balkans, from every region of the globe.

**Neither land nor water to the Murderers of the peoples.**

**Signed by:**

PADS

Party of Labour of Austria

Communist Party of Bangladesh

Communist Party of Belarus

New Communist Party of Britain

Communist Party of Bulgaria

Party of Bulgarian Communists

Communist Party of Canada

Communist Party in Denmark

Communist Party of Denmark

Communist Party of Ecuador

Communist Party of Estonia

Communist Party of Finland

Communist Party of Greece

Hungarian Workers Party

Communist Party of India

Communist Party of India [Marxist]

Workers Party of Ireland

Communist Party (Italy)

Communist Party of Jordan

Socialist Movement of Kazakhstan

Socialist Party of Latvia

Communist Party of Mexico

Communist Party of Norway

Palestinian Communist Party

Communist Party of Pakistan

Paraguayan Communist Party

Communist Party of Poland

Philippine Communist Party [PKP 1930]

Romanian Communist Party

Communist Party of the Russian Federation

Russian Communist Workers Party

New Communist Party of Yugoslavia

Communists of Serbia

Communist Party of Slovakia

South African Communist Party

Communist Party of the People of Spain

Communist Party of Sweden

Syrian Communist Party

Communist Party of Turkey

Communist Party of Ukraine

Union of Communists of Ukraine

Communist Party of Venezuela

Under the leadership of Erdoğan, Turkey has provided political and material support to terrorist groups in Syria, and has been an accomplice to all massacres perpetrated and humanitarian/economic devastation inflicted upon this country since the very beginning of imperialist intervention. Yet today, in defiance of all international agreements and rules, Turkey is carrying out military operations in Syria under the pretext of “counterterrorism”. We, the undersigned communist and workers’ parties, hereby protest Turkey’s military presence in Syria, and call for the immediate termination of these military operations. Erdoğan’s foreign policy maneuvers, which solely aim to maintain his personal status and to satisfy the emerging pursuits of Turkish capitalist class, do not serve to the interests of the toiling masses of Turkey or the region by any means. As the undersigned communist and workers’ parties, just as we do not sympathize with the pressure and blackmailing exercised by the US and other NATO countries against Erdoğan and oppose to any “color revolution” attempt to be staged in Turkey, we neither accept to label the reactionary and anti-people policies pursued by Turkish government as something positive or even anti-imperialist. The workers will have the final word in Turkey, in Syria and all around the world. As the communist and workers’ parties, we stand by this word and we will do everything in our power to strengthen it.

### Signed by:

Algerian Party for Democracy and Socialism  
Party of Labour of Austria  
Communist Party of Bangladesh  
Communist Party of Brasil (PCdoB)  
Communist Party of Britain  
New Communist Party of Britain  
Communist Party of Canada  
AKEL, Cyprus  
Communist Party in Denmark  
Communist Party of Denmark  
Communist Party of Esthonia  
Communist Party of Finland  
Unified Communist Party of Georgia  
German Communist Party  
Communist Party of Greece  
Hungarian Workers’ Party  
Communist Party of India  
Communist Party of India (Marxist)  
Workers’ Party of Ireland

Communist Party (Italia)  
TUDEH Party of Iran  
Communist Party of Israel  
Communist Party of Luxembourg  
Communist Party of Mexico  
Communist Party of Norway  
Palestinian Communist Party  
Philippine Communist Party [PKP 1930]  
Communist Party of Poland  
Portuguese Communist Party  
Romanian Socialist Party  
Communist Party of the Russian Federation  
Russian Communist Workers Party  
New Communist Party of Yugoslavia  
Communists of Serbia  
South African Communist Party  
Communist Party of Sri Lanka  
Communist Party of the Peoples of Spain  
Communist Party of Sweden  
Communist Party of Syria  
Communist Party of Syria (Unified)  
Communist Party of Turkey  
Communist Party of Ukraine  
Communist Party of Uruguay  
Communist Party USA  
Communist Party of Venezuela

**Solidarity letter with the reprisals of October 1 in Catalonia and against the judicial processes of the Catalan government, workers and activists**

Philippine Communist Party [PKP 1930]

Romanian Socialist Party

New Communist Party of Yugoslavia

Communist Party of the Peoples of Spain

The undersigned, Communist Parties and Workers gathered in St. Petersburg at the XIX Meeting of Communist and Workers Parties condemn the repression that the police of the Spanish State exercised on October 1 against the people of Catalonia in their struggle for the right to self-determination, the right of expression, assembly and demonstration. They express their rejection of the application of art. 155 of the Spanish Constitution in Catalunya made by the PP Government, which has led to the dissolution of the Catalan Parliament, the removal of the President of the Generalitat de Catalunya, his Vice-President and all his Government, as well as intervention in all areas of the political rights of Catalonia.

We request the dismissal of the case open to Joan Josep Nuet, Secretary General of Communists of Catalonia and other members of the Parliament's Board of Crimes of Sedition, Rebellion, and embezzlement of public funds. Sant Petersburg 2 de Novembre de 2017

Los abajo firmantes, Partidos Comunistas y Obreros reunidos en Sant Petersburg en el XIX Encuentro de Partidos Comunistas y Obreros condenan la represión que la policía del Estado español ejerció el día 1 de octubre contra el pueblo de Catalunya, en su lucha por el derecho de autodeterminación, el derecho de expresión, reunión y manifestación. Manifiestan su rechazo a la aplicación del art. 155 de la Constitución española en Catalunya que hace el Gobierno del PP, y que ha supuesto la disolución del Parlament catalán, la destitución del Presidente de la Generalitat de Catalunya, su Vicepresidente y de todo su Gobierno, así como la intervención en todos los ámbitos de los derechos políticos de Catalunya.

Solicitamos el sobreseimiento de la causa abierta a Joan Josep Nuet, Secretario General de Comunistes de Catalunya y otros miembros de la Mesa del Parlament de los delitos de Sedición, Rebeldía, i malversación de fondos públicos.

**Signed by:**

Communist Party of Bangladesh

New Communist Party of Britain

Communist Party of Canada

Communist Party of Denmark

Communist Party of Estonia

Communist Party of Finland

Communist Party of Norway

Communist Party of Pakistan

Palestinian Communist Party

## Motion against the anticommunist persecutions at the expense of the CP of Poland

On March 31<sup>st</sup>, 2016 four cadres of the Communist Party of Poland were sentenced by the regional court of Dąbrowa Górnicza to 9 months of restricted freedom with obligatory social work and fines. The legal procedure at the expense of the CP of Poland and of its cadres that has been going on for two years will restart on the 27<sup>th</sup> of November with the charges of “*dissemination of the communist ideology*” in the «Brzask» newspaper and on the Party's website. If the court finds them guilty, the charges are up to two years of incarceration.

At the same time, the CP of Poland is facing a new offensive from the Polish capitalist class and from the government party of “Law and Justice” (PiS), which is trying to illegalize the CP of Poland on the context that “*the Program of the CP of Poland does not abide by the Constitution*”.

The CP's that participate in the International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties condemn the attempts to outlaw the Communist ideology in Poland. We denounce the persecutions against our Polish comrades. These persecutions, as well as the persecutions in other EU member-states, go hand in hand with the intensification of the anti-popular offensive, aim at equating Communism with the fascist monster; they aim at erasing the achievements of Socialism from the collective memory of the peoples.

100 years after the October Revolution, the peoples can and must draw conclusions from the anti-communist political positions of the EU and of the bourgeois governments that are becoming more intense. They must trust the Communists and demand the satisfaction of their modern needs, organizing their struggle against the capitalist system, the monopolies and their power.

All charges against the CP of Poland and its cadres have to be dropped immediately.

Hands off the Communists of Poland, the Communist ideology and their unrestricted action.

Solidarity with the CP of Poland!

Anti-communism shall not pass!

### Signed by:

Communist Party of Australia

Party of Labour of Austria

Communist Party of Azerbaijan

Progressive Tribune Bahrain

Communist Party of Bangladesh

Communist Party of Belarus

Communist Party of Brazil

Brazilian Communist Party

New Communist Party of Britain

Communist Party of Bulgaria

Party of the Bulgarian Communists

Communist Party of Canada

Socialist Workers Party of Croatia

Communist Party of Cuba

AKEL, Cyprus

Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia

Communist Party in Denmark

Communist Party of Denmark

Egyptian Communist Party

Communist Party of Ecuador

Communist Party of Estonia

Unified Communist Party of Georgia

German Communist Party

Communist Party of Greece

Hungarian Workers' Party

Communist Party of India

Communist Party of India (Marxist)

Iraqi Communist Party

Communist Party of Kurdistan

Tudeh Prty of Iran

Communist Party of Ireland

Workers Party of Ireland

Communist Party of Israel

Communist Party (Italy)

Jordanian Communist Party

Socialist Movement of Kazakhstan

Party of the Communists of Kyrgyzstan

Workers Party of Korea

Socialist Party of Latvia

Socialist Peoples' Front (Lithuania)

Party of the Congress for the Independence of Madagascar

Communist Party of Mexico

Party of the Communists of Republic of Moldova

Communist Party of Nepal

Communist Party of Norway

134 Communist Party of Pakistan  
Palestinian Communist Party  
Paraguayan Communist Party  
Communist Party of Peru (Patria Roja)  
Peruan Communist Party  
Philippine Communist Party (PKP-1930)  
Portuguese Communist Party  
Romanian Socialist Party  
Communist Party of the Russian Federation  
Russian Communist Workers Party  
New Communist Party of Yugoslavia  
Communists of Serbia  
Communist Party of the People of Spain  
Communists of Catalonia  
Communist Party of Sri-Lanka  
South African Communist Party  
Sudanese Communist Party  
Communist Party of Sweden  
Syrian Communist Party  
Syrian Communist Party (Unified)  
Communist Party of Tadjikistan  
Communist Party of Turkey  
Communist Party of Ukraine  
Union of Communists of Ukraine  
Communist Party of Uruguay  
Communist Party USA  
Communist Party of Venezuela

We, participants in the 19th International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties (IMCWP), held in St. Petersburg, Russia on November 2-3, 2017, extend wholehearted support to and solidarity with the Workers' Party of Korea (WPK) and the Korean people in the struggle to safeguard the socialist cause and ensure peace and security on the Korean peninsula and in the region from threats of aggression and war by the US.

The WPK and the Korean people unwaveringly hold high the banner of socialism and victoriously advance the socialist cause even in the face of war threats and sanctions by US imperialism and its followers.

The communist and workers' parties, in the spirit of international justice and for the sake of global peace and security, strongly condemn and categorically reject the reckless war threats and inhumane sanctions by US imperialism and its followers that seek to obliterate the socialist system of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK) and to engulf the Korean peninsula, the region and the entire world in a calamitous nuclear war.

The just cause of the WPK and the Korean people to build a powerful socialist nation by embodying the people-first principle under the wise leadership of Comrade Kim Jong Un, chairman of the WPK, is a great contribution to defending and victoriously advancing the socialist cause on the global scale.

Expressing full support to the statement of the chairman of the State Affairs Commission of the DPRK in which the strong will to fight against US imperialism to the end was declared, we emphatically call upon progressive parties and organizations of the world to step up international solidarity movement in support of the just cause of the WPK and the Korean people in hearty response to the open letter of the Central Committee of the WPK that called for joint action and united front to smash the reckless moves of war and aggression by the US imperialists.

Signed by

Communist Party of Australia  
Communist Party of Azerbaijan  
Communist Party of Bangladesh  
Workers' Party of Bangladesh  
Communist Party of Belarus  
Communist Party of Brazil  
Brazilian Communist Party  
New Communist Party of Britain  
Socialist Workers' Party of Croatia  
Communist Party in Denmark

Communist Party of Ecuador  
Unified Communist Party of Georgia  
Hungarian Workers' Party  
Communist Party of India  
Communist Party of India (Marxist)  
Communist Party of Ireland  
Workers' Party of Ireland  
Communist Party (Italy)  
Jordanian Communist Party  
Communist Party of Kazakhstan  
Socialist Movement of Kazakhstan  
Party of the Communists of Kyrgyzstan  
Colombian Communist Party  
Lebanese Communist Party  
Communist Party of Norway  
Communist Party of Pakistan  
Palestinian Communist Party  
Party of the People (Panama)  
Paraguayan Communist Party  
Communist Party of Peru (Patria Roja)  
Philippine Communist Party (PKP-1930)  
Russian Communist Workers' Party  
Communist Party of Soviet Union  
New Communist Party of Yugoslavia  
South African Communist Party  
Communist Party of the People of Spain  
Communists of Catalonia  
Communist Party of Sri Lanka  
Syrian Communist Party (Unified)  
Communist Party of Tajikistan  
Communist Party of Ukraine

# Participants List

Algerian Party for Democracy and Socialism  
 Communist Party of Argentina  
 Communist Party of Armenia  
 Communist Party of Australia  
 Party of Labour of Austria  
 Communist Party of Azerbaijan  
 Communist Party of Azerbaijan  
 Communist Party of Bangladesh  
 Worker's Party of Bangladesh  
 Democratic Progressive Tribune  
 Communist Party of Belarus  
 Communist Party of Wallonia-Brussels  
 Brazilian Communist Party  
 Communist Party of Brazil  
 Communist Party of Britain  
 New Communist Party of Britain  
 Party of the Bulgarian Communists  
 Communist Party of Canada  
 Communist Party of Chile  
 Communist Party of China  
 Colombian Communist Party  
 FARC-EP  
 People's Vanguard Party, Costa Rica  
 Socialist Workers Party of Croatia  
 Communist Party of Cuba  
 AKEL  
 Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia  
 Communist Party of Denmark  
 Communist Party in Denmark  
 Communist Party of Ecuador  
 Communist Party of Egypt  
 Communist Party of Estonia  
 Communist Party of Finland  
 French Communist Party  
 German Communist Party  
 Communist Party of Greece  
 Unified Communist Party of Georgia  
 Hungarian Worker's Party  
 Communist Party of Israel  
 Communist Party of India

Communist Party of India (Marxist)	New Communist Party of Yugoslavia 137
Iraqi Communist Party	Communists of Serbia
Communist Party of Kurdistan-Iraq	Communist Party of Slovakia
Tudeh Party of Iran	South African Communist Party
Communist Party of Ireland	Communist Party of Spain
Worker's Party of Ireland	Communist Party of the Peoples of Spain
Italian Communist Party	Communist Party of the Peoples of Spain
Communist Party (Italy)	Communists of Catalonia
Party of the Communist Refoundation	Unified Left of Spain
Jordanian Communist Party	Communist Party of Sri Lanka
Communist Party of Kazakhstan	Communist Party of Sweden
Socialist Movement of Kazakhstan	Sudanese Communist Party
Party of the Communists of Kyrgustan	Syrian Communist Party
Workers Party of Korea	Syrian Communist Party [Unified]
Socialist Party of Latvia	Communist Party of Tadjikistan
People's Revolutionary Party, Laos	Communist Party of Turkey
Lebanese Communist Party	Communist Party of Ukraine
Socialist People's Front, Lithuania	Union of Communists of Ukraine
AKFM, Madagascar	Communist Party of Uruguay
Communist Party of Macedonia	Communist Party USA
Communist Party of Mexico	Communist Party of Venezuela
Popular Socialist Party of Mexico	Communist Party of Vietnam
Party of Communists of the Republic of Moldova	
Communist Party of Nepal (UML)	
Communist Party of Norway	
Communist Party of Pakistan	
Palestinian Communist Party	
Palestinian People's Party	
Party of the People, Panama	
Paraguayan Communist Party	
Communist Party of Peru (Patria Roja)	
Peruan Communist Party	
Philippine Communist Party [PKP-1930]	
Communist Party of Poland	
Portuguese Communist Party	
Social Alliance Party, Romania	
Communist Party of the Russian Federation	
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## DOMINICAN REPUBLIC, FORCE OF THE REVOLUTION

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