

On the Draft Program of the Communist League of Yugoslavia

International attention was focussed recently upon the Draft Program of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia and the criticism to which that Program was subjected by Communist Parties throughout the world. The Yugoslav Program, published in Belgrade in March, makes up a volume of 176 pages; it is manifestly impossible to publish this or any significant sections from it in this magazine. Interested readers will find the whole of chapter three of this Program, dealing with international relations, reprinted in English in the London magazine, *World News* (May 3). A fully developed critique of the entire Program, written by P. Fedoseyev, I. Pomelov and V. Cheprakov, appeared in the April issue of *The Communist*, theoretical organ of the CPSU, and is given in full English translation in the Canadian magazine, *Marxist Review* (June-July issue). Below are printed the editorials on the question which appeared in the *People's Daily* (Peking), May 5; and in *Pravda* (Moscow), May 9.—*The Editor*.

THE CHINESE EDITORIAL

Today is the 140th anniversary of the birth of Karl Marx, founder of scientific communism. Since 1844, Marxism has been carrying on a persistent struggle against all trends of reactionary bourgeois and petit bourgeois thought and against all kinds of opportunist ideas among the ranks of the international workers movement. Marxism has continually emerged victorious in the struggle, for revolutionary practice has borne out its correctness.

It was in the course of the struggle in the age of imperialism and proletarian revolution that Lenin developed Marxism and carried it forward to a new stage, the stage of Leninism.

Now the international workers' movement has placed before Marxism-Leninism the new sacred task: to carry out irreconcilable struggle against modern revisionism or neo-Bernsteinism. This is a struggle between the two fundamentally different lines of Marxism-Leninism and anti-Marxism-Leninism, a great struggle involving the success or failure of the cause of the working class of the world and the cause of socialism.

The recently closed seventh congress of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia adopted a "Draft Program of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia" which is an anti-Marxist-Leninist, out-and-out revisionist program.

To sum it up briefly, in method of thinking, the draft program substitutes

sophistry for revolutionary materialistic dialectics. Politically, it substitutes the reactionary theory of the state standing above classes for the Marxist-Leninist theory of the state, and reactionary bourgeois nationalism for revolutionary proletarian internationalism. In political economy, it takes up the cudgels for monopoly capital and tries to obliterate the fundamental differences between the capitalist and Socialist systems.

The draft program openly forsakes the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism, sets itself against the declaration of the meeting of representatives of the Communist and workers' parties of Socialist countries held in Moscow last November, and at the same time repudiates the "Peace Manifesto" adopted by the meeting of representatives of sixty-four Communist and workers' parties, endorsed by the representatives of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia itself. The draft program brands all the basic principles of revolutionary theory established by Marx and Engels and developed by Lenin and other great Marxists as "dogmatism," and the leaders of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia style themselves "irreconcilable enemies of any dogmatism."

What are the most basic things in the "dogmatism" which the leaders of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia have chosen to attack? They are proletarian revolution and proletarian dictatorship. But it is common knowledge that without proletarian revolution and proletarian dictatorship there can be no socialism. The draft program of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia concentrates its opposition on proletarian revolution and its attack on proletarian dictatorship, smears the Socialist state and the Socialist camp and beatifies capitalism, the imperialist state and the imperialist camp. This cannot but give rise to doubt about the "socialism" avowed by the leaders of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia.

Speaking like the reactionaries of all countries and the Chinese bourgeois Rightists, the leading group of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia has viciously slandered proletarian dictatorship, alleging that it "leads to bureaucratism, the ideology of statism, separation of the leading political forces from the working masses, stagnation, the deformation of Socialist development, and the sharpening of internal differences and contradictions." They maliciously slander the Socialist camp alleging that it also has a policy of "positions of strength and struggle for hegemony." They describe the two radically different world politico-economic systems, the Socialist camp and the imperialist camp, as "division of the world into two antagonistic military-political blocs." They represent themselves as standing outside the "two blocs" of socialism and imperialism, or in a position beyond the blocs.

They hold that the U.S.-dominated United Nations can "bring about greater and greater unification of the world," that economic cooperation of all countries of the world, including the imperialist countries, is "an integral part of the Socialist road to the development of world economy." They maintain that "the swelling flow of state-capitalist tendencies in the capitalist world is the most tangible proof that mankind is irrepressibly and by the most diverse roads deeply entering into the epoch of socialism."

These propositions cannot but call to mind the revisionist preaching about "evolutionary socialism," "ultra-imperialism," "organized capitalism" and "the peaceful growing of capitalism into socialism" made by Right-wing Socialists in the late nineteenth century, and early twentieth century, such as Bernstein, Kautsky, Hilferding and their ilk, which were intended to induce the working class in the various capitalist countries to give up revolutionary struggle for socialism and uphold bourgeois rule.

The present preachings of the leaders of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia also harbor a wild attempt, namely, to induce the working class and other working people of various countries to take the road of surrender to capitalism. In his speech delivered at Pula in November, 1956, Tito, leader of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, said: "What is actually involved is whether the new trend will triumph in the Communist parties—the trend which really began in Yugoslavia." He also said: "It is a question now whether this course will be victorious or whether the Stalinist course will prevail again. Yugoslavia must not concentrate on herself, she must work in all directions." These statements fully betray their true ambition.

It is by no means accidental that the draft program of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia has appeared at the present time. Since the Great October Socialist Revolution, the international Communist movement has achieved a series of great historic victories, the Socialist system has been successfully set up among a population of 900 million and more, and the general crisis of capitalism has greatly extended with the imperialist countries headed by the United States experiencing a new and profound periodic economic crisis.

Therefore, the imperialists led by the United States are stepping up their sabotage of the international Communist movement. The bourgeoisie has been resorting to two methods to undermine the workers' movement—suppression by brute force and deceit. In the present new international situation, when the revisionist harangues of the Right-wing Socialists are daily losing their paralyzing effect on the working class and the laboring masses, the program put forward by the Yugoslav revisionists fits in exactly with what the imperialists, and particularly the American imperialists need.

In his speech "On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People," Comrade Mao Tse-tung said:

Revisionism, or rightist opportunism, is a bourgeois trend of thought which is even more dangerous than doctrinairism. The revisionists, or Right opportunists, pay lip service to Marxism and also attack doctrinairism. But the real targets of their attack are actually the most fundamental elements of Marxism.

Now facts have proven that this thesis of Comrade Mao Tse-tung answers not only to the situation in China, but also to the international situation.

The declaration of the meeting of representatives of the Communist and workers' parties of Socialist countries says:

The main danger at present is revisionism or, in other words, Right-

wing opportunism, which as a manifestation of bourgeois ideology paralyzes the revolutionary energy of the working class and demands the preservation or restoration of capitalism.

It points out with special emphasis:

Modern revisionism seeks to smear the great teaching of Marxism-Leninism, declares that it is outmoded and alleges that it has lost its significance for social progress. The revisionists try to exorcize the revolutionary spirit of Marxism, to undermine faith in socialism among the working class and the working people in general.

They deny the historical necessity for a proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat during the period of transition from capitalism to socialism, deny the leading role of the Marxist-Leninist party, reject the principles of proletarian internationalism, and call for rejection of the Leninist principles of party organization and, above all of democratic centralism, and for transforming the Communist Party from a militant revolutionary organization into some kind of debating society.

The declaration clearly portrays the features of the modern revisionists who show themselves in the contents of the draft program of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia.

It is quite obvious that open and uncompromising criticism must be waged against the series of anti-Marxist-Leninist and out-and-out revisionist views assembled in the draft program of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia.

If theoretical criticism of the revisionism of Bernstein and Kautsky and their ilk by the Marxists of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries was inevitable, then it is even more necessary now for us to criticize neo-Bernsteinism.

This is because modern revisionism is propounded as a comprehensive and systematic program by the leading group of a party that wields state power. It is also because modern revisionism is aimed at splitting the international Communist movement and undermining the solidarity of the Socialist countries, and is directly detrimental to the fundamental interests of the Yugoslav people.

We consider as basically correct the criticism made in June, 1948, by the Information Bureau of Communist Parties in its resolution "Concerning the Situation in the Communist Party of Yugoslavia" in regard to the mistake of the Yugoslav Communist Party in departing from the principles of Marxism-Leninism and sinking into bourgeois nationalism; but there were defects and mistakes in the method adopted at that time by the Information Bureau in dealing with this question. The resolution concerning Yugoslavia adopted by the Information Bureau in November, 1949, was incorrect and it was later withdrawn by the Communist and workers' parties which took part in the Information Bureau meeting.

Since 1954, the Soviet Union and other countries of the Socialist camp have done their utmost and taken various measures to improve their relations with Yugoslavia. This has been fully correct and necessary. The Communist parties of various countries have adopted an attitude of waiting patiently, hoping that the leaders of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia would return to the Marxist-Leninist standpoint in the interest of adherence by the Yugoslav people to the road of socialism.

However, the leading group of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia has spurned the well-intentioned efforts made by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Communists of other countries. Around the time of the Hungarian event, they tried to disrupt the unity of countries in the Socialist camp on the pretext of so-called "opposition to Stalinism"; during the Hungarian event, they supported the renegade Nagy clique; and, in their recent congress, they have gone further and put forward a systematic and comprehensive revisionist program.

The leaders of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia should think soberly: Will the League of Communists of Yugoslavia be able to maintain its solidarity with the Communist parties of other countries by abandoning the fundamental viewpoints of Marxism-Leninism and persisting in revisionist viewpoints? Can there be a basis for solidarity without a common Marxist-Leninist viewpoint? Will it be in the interests of the Yugoslav people to reject friendship with the countries in the socialist camp and with the communist parties of other countries?

We deem it absolutely necessary to distinguish between right and wrong on vital questions in the international workers' movement. As Lenin said: "A policy based on principle is the only correct policy." The world is now at a new historic turning point with the East wind prevailing over the West wind. The struggle between the Marxist line and the revisionist line is nothing but a reflection of the sharpening struggle between the rising class forces and the moribund class forces in society, a reflection of the sharpening struggle between the imperialist world and the socialist world.

It is impossible for any Marxist-Leninist to escape this struggle. Historical developments will testify ever more clearly to the great significance of this struggle for the international Communist movement.

THE SOVIET EDITORIAL

Our times, the epoch of the historic victories of the world Socialist system, are characterized by the growing unity and solidarity of the international Communist movement and the strengthening friendship of the peoples of the Socialist countries.

The Communist and workers' parties regard themselves as a component part of the great international Communist movement and display lively interest in the work and experience of each of the fraternal parties. Hence the seventh congress of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia in April, which dis-

cussed a question so important as the party's program, also commanded the attention of the Communist and workers' parties.

The draft program of the League of Communists brought forth serious criticisms from the Communist and workers' parties of many countries. Statements by the central committees of the Communist and workers' parties of a number of countries pointed out that many of the theories contained in the draft program of the League of Communists contradicted the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism and actually constituted a revision of Marxism-Leninism.

They applied particularly to the description and appraisal of such vital questions as the present international situation, the two world systems and two camps, the significance of the building of socialism in the USSR and other countries, the principles of proletarian internationalism and the mutual relations between the Socialist countries and between the fraternal Communist parties.

The draft program of the Yugoslav League of Communists had the appearance of a document opposing the declaration of the conference of Communist and workers' parties of the Socialist countries which was approved by all the fraternal Communist parties.

Because of this the draft program proved a document directed toward weakening rather than strengthening the unity of the Communist and workers' parties, toward weakening the unity of the Socialist countries. The fraternal Communist parties hoped that their comradely remarks on the draft program would be accepted by their Yugoslav comrades in the right light. However, at the congress of the Yugoslav League of Communists, Yugoslav leaders spoke about these remarks with irritation and refused to have anything to do with them, without going into a discussion of the essence of the matter.

The materials of the congress of the Yugoslav League of Communists showed that the incorrect theses of the draft program were developed in detail and defended by the congress speakers and certain of the others who took the floor. Such speeches require criticism and a decisive rebuff. It is impossible to ignore the appraisal of the international situation given at the congress, which was wrong in principle, and the distorted estimate of the reasons for the international tension.

The report by Tito, the General Secretary of the Yugoslav League of Communists, propounded the idea that the policy of the great powers after the Second World War was based on the principle of strength and not on the right of all nations to decide their own destinies. According to Tito, an example of this foreign policy was the many years of Stalin's pressure on Yugoslavia. It emerges from that statement that the leaders of the Yugoslav Union of Communists placed the USSR on the same level as the imperialist powers. Crudely distorting the facts of history, they ascribed a policy of strength to the USSR.

The whole world knows that the USSR waged a steadfast and persistent struggle for a democratic path of development—against the resurgence of fascism and for socialism. To declare that Soviet policy in the first post-war years was characterized by a desire to win domination over other nations, as was done

in the speeches at the Congress of the Yugoslav League of Communists, merely means repeating the inventions of imperialist propaganda about a so-called Soviet empire surrounding itself with satellites.

This attempt to whitewash the imperialist powers was most clearly evident in the allegation that the policy of the USSR was the main reason for the establishment of the Atlantic Pact.

The distortion of the real reasons for the formation of the North Atlantic alliance is actually nothing more or less than a justification of U.S. imperialism, which set up this aggressive war bloc as its principal weapon in trying to achieve world domination.

The circumstance must be noted that in their analysis of the international situation the speakers at the congress ignored the indisputable fact that a fierce struggle is now being waged between the imperialist forces of war and the forces of peace in which the Socialist countries are in the vanguard.

The leaders of the Yugoslav League of Communists do not agree with the characterization generally recognized by the Communists of all countries of a world divided today into two opposing camps—socialism and imperialism.

They declare that Yugoslavia is outside these camps. But the division of the world into two camps did not occur at the whim of any persons or parties. The Socialist and imperialist camps are a reflection of the indisputable fact that there are in the world today not one but two social and economic systems. Two economic systems exist and will continue to exist for a long time to come. The goal now is to establish peaceful economic coexistence between the two systems, to normalize the economic relations between the world of socialism and the world of capitalism.

The problem of the mutual relations between the Socialist countries, and the Communist and workers' parties at their head, is of key significance for the development of socialism and communism. This is a new problem. It arose only after the Second World War with the appearance on the international arena alongside the USSR of the other Socialist countries of Europe and Asia. The Socialist countries built their mutual relations on principles of full equality, respect for territorial integrity, state independence and sovereignty and non-interference in one another's internal affairs.

These are important principles. They do not, however, exhaust the entire essence of the relations between the Socialist countries.

Fraternal mutual assistance is an inalienable part of these mutual relations. The Socialist states are united in a single community by their common interests and goals, in their efforts for the victory of socialism and communism. The emergence of socialism beyond the bounds of a single country, its conversion into a world social and economic system, the formation and consolidation of the camp of Socialist countries—this is the main thing which defines the international development characterizing the present epoch.

Under present circumstances, when a new Socialist society already unites more than one-third of humanity, the build-up of practical and theoretical cooperation between the Socialist countries becomes a vital necessity. Yet the line

followed in the speeches at the congress of the League of Communists is to substantiate the separate individuality of the Socialist countries and to set them off in opposition to one another. Now that there are not one but many Socialist countries, it is impossible to build socialism and communism individually, one by one.

Every Socialist country, no matter how big or small it may be, is currently in need of the assistance of the other Socialist countries and the entire international working class movement. The very existence of every country as a Socialist country and its successful advance is possible only thanks to the existence of the Socialist camp and thanks to the fact that it is possible to find support in the economic might and political unity of this camp. The main speakers, and certain others, at the congress spoke with gratitude and appreciation of the United States aid to Yugoslavia.

When reading these speeches kowtowing to the U.S. ruling circles, one is prompted to ask: Why is Yugoslavia in such favor with the U.S. monopolists? Every Communist is justified in wondering why the U.S. imperialists, the worst enemies of socialism, consider it profitable to themselves to help Yugoslavia. For what services? Is it not because the Yugoslav leaders are trying to weaken the unity of the international Communist and working class movement? Everyone knows that U.S. aid to any country is not unselfish.

It entails one or another form of economic and political dependence. Under the guise of this aid the U.S. monopolies ship to the recipient countries goods that find no market elsewhere. Such assistance from the U.S. monopolies does not promote a development of the recipients national economy. As a result of this so-called disinterested aid from the U.S. imperialists Yugoslavia's general state debt abroad has reached the stupendous figure of more than \$800,000,000. As for Soviet-Yugoslav economic ties, they are based on an other foundation.

The report made to the Yugoslav congress listed the major agreements concluded between the two countries in recent years. These were primarily the agreements to build industrial enterprises in Yugoslavia costing \$110,000,000; then the agreement for a commodity credit worth \$54,000,000 from the Soviet Union to Yugoslavia. Mention was also made of the \$30,000,000 loan in gold or foreign currency, the special agreement for the construction of an aluminum plant, fertilizer factory and so on.

Even this brief list shows the basic difference in principle between so-called U.S. aid and the economic relations linking the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia. While U.S. aid aims at subjugating the recipient countries, the Soviet Union tries to really help the other Socialist and economically underdeveloped countries to strengthen and develop their economy and to industrialize.

Yet the framers of the draft program of the Yugoslav League of Communists flagrantly distorted the nature of the relations linking the Socialist countries, accused them in an unfriendly and even slanderous way of a desire for hegemony.

They claimed that in the initial phases of the development of socialism in

individual nations or states there exists a possibility of utilizing economic exploitation of other countries in one form or another.

Do certain persons in Yugoslavia feel that this tendency toward exploitation also exists in the economic relations between the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia? If so, it would be possible to free Yugoslavia from such exploitation. We are not imposing anything on anybody—neither our state structure, nor our forms of public life, nor our ideology. The Soviet Union does not impose its friendship or economic assistance on anyone.

The Yugoslav leaders think that existing ideological differences should not cause a worsening of state relations between Yugoslavia and the Socialist countries. But a simple repetition of this platitude is insufficient, as experience shows. It is impossible not to see that ideological differences deepen if they are not eliminated. Naturally this leads to differences on political issues.

The Soviet Union and its Communist Party have energetically advanced along the line of eliminating all injustices and mistakes made in the past with regards to Yugoslavia.

But it must be bluntly stated that Yugoslavia, in 1948 and the following years, made mistakes of a nationalistic nature and departed from the principles of Marxism-Leninism on a number of major issues.

The Yugoslav League of Communists and the draft program clearly show that the Yugoslav leaders continue to adhere to their positions, which contradict the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. The untenability of the positions held by the leadership of the Yugoslav League of Communists and their violation of the principles of interparty relations, as well as the principles of proletarian internationalism, were forcefully manifested in their incorrect attitude toward criticism on questions of principle.

In response to comradely criticism of shortcomings and mistakes in the draft program, there came a shower of ridiculous accusations of interference in Yugoslavia's domestic affairs.

There must be complete clarity on the major issue. How can one accuse other Communist parties of aspiring to interfere in Yugoslavia's internal affairs if the Central Committee of the League of Communists itself sent its draft program to all the fraternal parties? What was that done for? Apparently it was done so that they could give their opinions about the draft.

When these opinions were voiced, however, the most unceremonious attacks began against the fraternal parties.

The most important question for each Communist or workers' party in the present conditions is its attitude to the whole Communist movement on a world scale.

The slightest deviation from the principles of Marxism-Leninism, any manifestation of separateness or sectarianism, inevitably leads to the quagmire of revisionism. The great invincible vital force of the Communist movement throughout the globe, of the Socialist world, consists in their unity and solidarity based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism.