MUNICH, November 9, 1962 (Non-Target Communist Area Analysis Department: Yugoslavia/Stankovic) — The 45th anniversary of the "Great October Revolution" is being taken by the Yugoslavs as a victory of Tito’s ideas within the International Communist Movement.

The most important Yugoslav dailies in Belgrade, Zagreb and Ljubljana on November 7 published articles in which Nikita Khrushchev’s line was hailed — a line which is unmistakably identified with Titoist ideas. The 22nd Congress, whose first anniversary is being celebrated simultaneously with the 45th anniversary of the October Revolution, is claimed by the Yugoslav papers to be an event as important as Lenin’s victory in 1917. Not only is the new Yugoslav constitution, imbued with Lenin’s ideas of the "Great October", as put by “Borba”, but this idea is also visible in the workers’ councils, whose actual founder was Lenin, as claimed by Professor Vranicki in the Zagreb weekly “Vjesnik u srijedu”.

There is no doubt that the Titoists are today in a victorious mood as far as developments within the Soviet bloc are concerned. Contrary to their too hasty and too impulsive reactions in 1955 and 1956, when Khrushchev started making changes in his empire, the Yugoslav leaders today are rather cautious and reserved. They are obviously happy because of changes in Bulgaria, but are very careful not to express their happiness too loudly. They claim — to quote “Politika” — that “relations between socialist Yugoslavia and the first country of socialism, the Soviet Union, which was born through the great October Revolution, have been moving upwards”. All this in spite of the fact that Tito has taken opposite attitudes to those of Khrushchev at least on two major points in international politics: in the United Nations over a world trade conference, and in connection with the Chinese aggression against India. This may be taken as yet another proof that a Communist country may take a different line than that prescribed by Moscow, and still have its relations with the Soviet Union “moving upwards”. It is, perhaps, unlikely that Tito’s example will be followed by other Communist countries, but Tito has no reason to be dissatisfied with the present development within the Soviet bloc. While he is for the unity of the Communist countries and Parties, his formula implies that Communists should be united in the acceptance of ideological disunity as a hard fact.

"New Ideas" Victorious

The November 7 issue of “Politika” claimed that “new internal conditions” have been created in the Soviet Union in which, “during the past several years new socialist forces have been released, both in the Soviet Union and within the world Communist movement”. Then “Politika” continued:

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These forces, which appeared at the 20th and 22nd Congresses of the Soviet CP and which are becoming ever more dominant both in the developed socialist countries and within a number of Communist Parties all over the world, represent an even broader basis for new successes of the socialist development... Of course, within socialism there have been definite contradictions; in the course of the struggle for the removal of the remnants of what has been called "Stalin's personality cult", these contradictions have -- sometimes in a very fierce way -- opposed any attempt for the acceptance of new ideas within the Communist movement, regardless of the fact that these new ideas have been a consequence of general development..."

"Politika" added that all the opponents to the "new ideas" have relied "on the most backward forces within contemporary socialism". However, "there is no doubt that dogmatism in theory and conservatism in practice will be defeated within the world socialist and Communist movement". The standard bearers of these "new ideas" are now fighting against war, which appears to be a way out only for the most reactionary contemporary social forces afraid of co-existence and of a peaceful development of socialism in the world. In the conclusion, "Politika" said:

"In this sense the anniversary of the October Revolution this time is, among other things, also a confirmation of these principles (i.e. of peaceful co-existence), a confirmation of the ever greater successes of socialism. The Yugoslavs are satisfied that on the occasion of this great anniversary can be established that relations between socialist Yugoslavia and the first country of socialism, the Soviet Union, which was born through the great October Revolution, have been moving upwards."

To Abandon Old Concepts

The Belgrade daily "Borba" and the Ljubljana daily "Delo" insisted that this year's 45th anniversary of the "Great October Revolution" is not only a Soviet celebration but rather a common Yugoslav-Soviet holiday. "Delo" quoted the Yugoslav Party Program, passed in April 1958 and for years considered by the Soviet bloc leaders a "manifesto of revisionism", in which the real meaning of the "Great October Revolution" was given. Here is what Tito's program said:

"The tides of the Great October Revolution have for forty years now been setting off socialist chain reactions in the social relations of all peoples and of the whole world, encouraging and channelling numerous revolutionary and evolutionary processes toward the achievement of socialist objectives. Inter-
linked with these processes and continuing in them, the Great October Socialist Revolution has truly developed into a world process of socialist development."

This peaceful and evolutionary aspect of the October Revolution is especially underlined by Professor Dr. Predrag Vranicki in his article in the November 7 issue of the Zagreb weekly "Vjesnik u srijedu" (the Wednesday Herald). Writing on the occasion of the 45th anniversary of the October Revolution, Professor Vranicki, whose book "History of Marxism" is considered in Yugoslavia "the most unique book" in the whole Communist world, presented Lenin as a standard bearer of the ideas now prevailing in the Yugoslav Party. Said Vranicki:

"Lenin’s radical advocacy of Marx’s and Engels’ thesis that "the proletariat needs a state which is withering away", his creation of the first workers’ and other councils (soviets) in history, were contemplative and practical acts of the most fateful historical significance."

In other words, Lenin is great precisely because of the acts the Yugoslavs believe to have been now implemented in Yugoslavia by Tito and his colleagues. Some of the old Marxist and Leninist ideas, which seemed to have been solely possible and irreproachable, as Professor Vranicki put it, have now to be abandoned. This is why the Yugoslav interpretation of Leninism is totally opposed to the Chinese interpretation. For Professor Vranicki, "Marxism and Leninism" is not only "criticism of other people but also a criticism of ourselves". In his opinion, the most important feature of Marxism and Leninism is its flexibility. Such a flexible Leninism is now in force, struggling against Stalinism.

"If Stalinism, in a historically non-creative manner and only seemingly in the name of Leninism, created something which was actually contrary to Lenin’s spirit, today in the name of Lenin -- Stalinism is being subjected to a criticism on a broad international plane."

One of the most important ideas of Lenin, Vranicki claimed, was his "determined insistence that socialism could not be realized... without an all-round participation of man in the social process and management". In other words, socialism would have been impossible without the Yugoslav road to socialism! Professor Vranicki concluded his article as follows: "History had created Lenin -- Lenin had created history!" Every reader, however, misses, after this slogan about Lenin, the only logical conclusion possible for Vranicki’s article: "The only real continuation of Leninism -- is Titism". Professor Vranicki did not say this, but his article was aimed at making this point.

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x) The book by Professor Predrag Vranicki (pronounce: Vranitski) was published in Zagreb at the beginning of this year.
We shall conclude our analysis by quoting Frančiš Barbieri, the Moscow correspondent of the Zagreb daily "Vjesnik" who, said in the November 7 issue of the paper that the "affirmation of the Great October is seen by Soviet people also in the fact that the Soviet government has been determined to build socialism in a peaceful way, even at the price of disagreements with the leaders of other socialist countries". In addition, Barbieri informed his Yugoslav readers that the "new Soviet constitution will be passed next year, fixing the principles of democracy and self-management". In other words, the Soviet leaders have adopted the Titoist road?

It remains to be seen whether the Yugoslavs are correct in their assumptions.