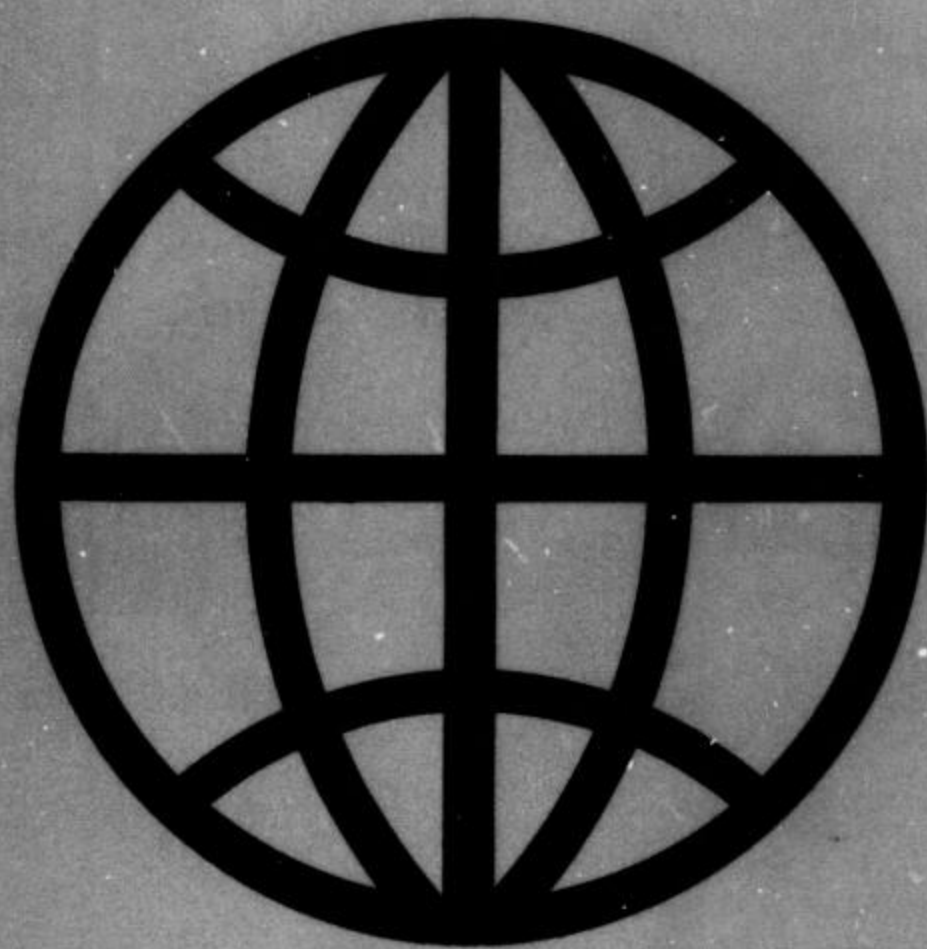


# **WORLD MARXIST REVIEW**

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## **PROBLEMS OF PEACE AND SOCIALISM**

**NOVEMBER 1969**

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This issue contains more materials about the International Meeting of Communist and Workers' parties.

Gus **HALL**, General Secretary of the Communist Party USA, contributed an article, "The Turning Point of History," in which he says, among other things:

"What has fundamentally and irreversibly changed the world scene is the rise of the three currents making up the world revolutionary process. The powerful world socialist system of states and, in the first place, the Soviet Union, the worldwide national liberation movements and the working-class movement in the capitalist world—these are now the main movers of history."

Ezekias **PAPAIOANNOU**, General Secretary of the Progressive Party of the Working People of Cyprus, says in "Against Reaction and War":

"The ideas of the Conference are spreading and becoming more and more popular not only in the international Communist and workers' movement but also among broad sections of the working people opposed to monopoly rule and dictatorial regimes, and fighting for civil rights and national independence."

In the section **Towards the Lenin Centenary** we offer the reader articles by Erwin **SCHARF**, Member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the Central Committee, Communist Party of Austria, "Perfect the Forms of the Anti-Imperialist Struggle in the Spirit of Leninism", and by Bonifati **KEDROV**, "Lenin and the Natural Sciences."

The **As His Contemporaries Knew Him** section contains remembrances by Camilla **RAVERA**, founding member of the Italian Communist Party and member of its Central Control Commission.

The section **In the Communist and Workers' Parties** carries an article by Barbu **ZAHARESCU**, Member of the Central Committee of the Rumanian Communist Party, about the Tenth Congress of the RCP, and one by Pavel **AUERSPERG** and Vilem **NOVY**, members of the Central Committee of the Czechoslovak CP, on the September meeting of the CC CPC, entitled "New Stage in Consolidation."

The significance of the space explorations, including the latest by the Soviet cosmonauts, is examined in an interview to our journal by Hero of Socialist Labor Academician **PETROV**.

**Our Round Table** is an account of a discussion by representatives of a number of Latin American Communist parties and of research institutions of some socialist states on "Latin America: Economic Integration and the Working Class."

The section **Viewpoints** contains an article by Werner **KALWEIT**, a German Democratic Republic economist, on the economic motive forces of socialist society. The French scholar and member of the Central Committee of the French CP, Jean **SURET-CANALE**, speaks of the problem of tribes, classes and nations in Tropical Africa.

Under the head, **The Battle of Ideologies**, Jan **PRAZSKY** dissects a **Time** magazine article to show the methods of modern anti-Communist propaganda.

**Readers' Questions** offers an article, "Third World: Friends True and False," written in response to readers' requests.



# ***The turning point in history***

GUS HALL

It is not possible or necessary to pin-point exact dates designating the beginning or the end of historic epochs or periods. They deal with sweeping changes and flowing relationships. The currents propelling such eras converge and at times proceed along parallel paths. The forces of a new period are in the process of development while forces of the old still retain vitality and the capacity for further growth. The emergence of the present epoch has been just such a development.

The birth of the first socialist republic, the Soviet Union, shattered the shell of world capitalism and established a working class beachhead on the mainland of world imperialism. This event shook capitalism to its very foundations. But it did not stop capitalist development in the rest of the world. It, however, paved the way for the development of new world forces unleashed by the new epoch.

The superiority of the new social system was demonstrated in the primary role played by the Soviet Union in saving the world from fascism. This historic victory for progressive mankind marked the beginning of a new phase in the new epoch. The vastly augmented global revolutionary process emerged as the most powerful current. The socialist beachhead grew into a powerful economic, military and ideological community while world capitalist development reached its apex. It vastly sharpened the contradictions between the two systems, projecting them more forcefully as the chief contradictions on the world scene. The forces set into motion propelled powerful working-class movements in capitalist countries. They gave rise to tidal waves of national liberation which swept the imperialist oppressors from most parts of the world's surface.

Thus human society arrived at the most profound revolutionary turning point in its history.

Some are having difficulty in adjusting to the unique and unprecedented fact that this turning point is neither ancient history nor on the distant horizon. It is here and we are in the eye of its social storms. The transition from capitalism to socialism is history's greatest happening. It is human society's most explosive qualitative leap. It is both an historic process and a current event, precisely because it is a total shift in a way of life. This process is not only explosive—it is revolutionary. It is a many-sided process—economic, political, military and ideological. This is the essence of the events that give life its present direction. All processes of social progress, all movements, all struggles of today are related to this qualitative leap. And they can only be understood if they are viewed in this dialectical relationship.

This turning point has given rise to, and is propelled by, a worldwide, three-pronged revolutionary development now converging into a single process. The process is not an even one. There are periods when the process does not produce a shift of state power in any country. There are setbacks, frustrations, periods when the process levels off on a new plateau. There are moments of explosions and periods of evolutionary development. There are violent transfers of class power and some transitions that are not so violent.

But through all this, the revolutionary process goes on, the constant maturing and gathering of the forces of the revolution never ceases. There is the accumulation of experiences. There is the internal deterioration of capitalism, resulting in the sharpening of internal class relations and of re-



lations between imperialism and the oppressed peoples and nations. And there is the ideological and political growth of the forces of the transition. This many-sided process of the unfolding of reality is based on the laws of social development. We are witnessing the death agony of the last of a long line of social systems based on man's exploitation of man. Capitalism is the end of the road for all forms and systems of slavery.

To one extent or another all present-day phenomena are shaped by the forces of the revolutionary process whose motive power is generated by the laws of capitalist development. Those who have brought Marx "up to date" by declaring these laws "obsolete" confuse form and content. What changed is the reality within which these forces operate. The rules of the game have changed but the brutal predatory character of imperialism remains the same. The aggressive war-like beast is now forced to seek its prey, in circumstances where it is no longer the master of the forest. As a result it has been forced to shift its tactics. With greater cunning and newly acquired skill it seeks to separate and insulate its intended victim. Though the new rules of the game are increasingly being set by the advancing forces of the revolutionary process, like any beast that is getting cornered, imperialism remains a dangerous foe. Because it is motivated by a single instinct, aggression, it cannot be tamed or petted. Because of this inner essence of imperialism the tactics of anti-imperialists must be guided by only one goal: the total destruction of the beast.

The internal processes of each imperialist country and its external relationships are also basically governed by the laws of capitalist development. But these laws themselves are now being increasingly influenced by the shift in the balance of world forces, by the forces of the revolutionary process. The tremors of these shifting world forces are sharply felt in the core of world imperialism.

The basic essence of our internal reality could be stated in one sentence. There is some measure of crisis developing in every phase of our life—except one. This exception is monopoly profits; here there is no crisis. This one sentence is not only an assessment of the way things are, it is also a statement of *why* things are as they are. The root cause of all the expressions of crisis is the unending, limitless, unrelenting drive by the capitalist class for maximum profits.

The growing war budgets of the 1960's, and especially in the period of the escalation of the Vietnam war, have made this a decade of unprecedented profit expansion. At the same time, the rate of exploitation of labor in manufacturing has gone up 17 per cent in the past ten years, according to the official government figures. And this despite the fact that the workers, in the past two or three years, have won the biggest money settlements ever.

The drive for profits results in a continuing polarization of our people into a richer rich and a poorer poor. The unparalleled profits are drawn from the exploitation of 70 million workers. They are drawn from the unparalleled special racial and national oppression of 40 million of our people. The drive for profits has created areas of dire poverty. It results in skyrocketing prices and inflation and causes a further deepening of the crisis in education and housing.

Today the economy does not simply move spontaneously, in response to economic laws. It is also manipulated by giant monopolies and cartels. It is very much regulated by the government, acting on behalf of these monopolies. Of course, there are limits to what they can do. In the last analysis, they cannot ward off the operation of economic laws. They cannot escape the contradictions generated by capitalism itself. As the crisis of U.S. capitalism deepens, their range of choice narrows. The laws now operate in a more advanced stage of capitalist development and in a world in which there are two social systems.

United States capitalism has increasingly faced the problem of accumulation of unused capital. This, of course, is related to the general problems of capitalism in this epoch. But it is a politically acute problem for U.S. capitalism. The shift in the world balance of forces has assumed the shape of a burgeoning obstacle to the opening up of new areas of capital investment. This obstruction has further transformed the unused capital into blood clots in the veins of imperialism. Their intense pressures have generated a runaway irrationality in the social system. Its channels for investment restricted, the monster is turning upon itself and devouring its own. It is turning to conglomerates — capitalist cannibalism — to the nth degree. This is a development fraught with significant political and social consequences.

Generally, there is a new stage in the monopolization of the capitalist economy. The United States and other industrially



developed countries are in the throes of a frenzy of corporate mergers.

Ordinarily big fish have always swallowed smaller fish in the capitalist process but the present wave of mergers is characterized by three new elements. First, they have become uncontrollable; second, giants are being merged into super-giants. Huge corporations with assets up to a billion dollars are being swallowed up. Finally, monopoly formations are giving rise to "conglomerates."

Mergers and acquisitions are usually distinguished as either "horizontal" or "vertical." Horizontal mergers are those between corporations in the same industrial classifications. Vertical mergers are those between corporations which are related to one another as actual or potential buyer and seller. The new conglomerate mergers are those for which there is no technological production or market rationale. From the point of view of production or marketing such mergers are irrational. They are reaching the outer limits of capitalist anarchy.

The merger movement has spread over the entire economy. Conglomeration is the new, predominant trend, in contrast to horizontal or vertical merging.

The very pinnacle of this lunacy is reached when these conglomerates are, in fact, only irrational aggregates in a galaxy of conglomerates, all financially owned and controlled by a giant bank.

These monstrous anarchistic formations result from the inner laws of monopoly capitalism. They are signs of its deep inner sickness in its final stages of development.

Thus the laws of capitalist development have not changed. Only the degree of their irrationality has been altered.

The rise of conglomerates is not limited to the domestic scene. It is becoming a form and a structure for imperialist acquisitions. Increasingly, the imperialist bank has become the means of imperialist control by developing foreign conglomerates under its control. For this purpose the United States has become the world's largest exporter of banks. These banks are becoming the main controlling centers of U.S. imperialist holdings and conglomerates. For example, Chase Manhattan Bank, a Rockefeller bank, now has over sixteen hundred overseas banking facilities of its own, plus hundreds of other foreign banks it controls. Chase Manhattan is a private imperialist empire. It is one of the big stockholders in the U.S. war industries. It

coordinates its profits from the war industries with the Pentagon and its worldwide network of banks. To Vietnam it has exported both napalm and banks.

Thus with the banks at the control of industrial conglomerates U.S. imperialism has added a new link to its chain of imperialism. Through these banks it dominates industries and governments.

Imperialism remains imperialism. But it is influenced by the new factors shaping this new epoch. It, in turn, further reacts on the processes of the transition.

The forces of anti-imperialism must not only be alert, they must adjust their tactics to this new changing reality.

In a period when the current of history is running against imperialism, a war orientated economy, such as U.S. imperialism has built since the Second World War, becomes a factor in the operation of the law of uneven development between capitalist countries.

It is the overseas expenditures that annually turn the U.S. trade balance against itself. This has an accumulated negative effect on the U.S. economy. U.S. imperialism is caught in the vice of its plans for worldwide aggression.

It now either must retreat or keep spending billions of dollars to maintain the operation of the 3,405 overseas military bases, while its chief imperialist rivals spend relatively small amounts for their military establishments.

For example, this and other factors have drastically changed the position of Japan in the imperialist pyramid.

Thus during the past ten years the U.S. industrial growth rate has been about five and a half per cent per year. During the past fifteen years the growth rate for Japan has been thirteen and a half per cent. In the past eight years it rose to 14.7 per cent and during the last three years Japan's growth rate increased to 16.5 per cent. In 1960 Japan's industrial, manufacturing output was 20 per cent of the U.S. level and 85 per cent of the West German level . . . But in 1968 it rose to 36 per cent of U.S. levels and 157 per cent of West Germany's level. Thus Japan has by-passed West Germany, and has clearly now become the second industrial producing nation in the capitalist world.

This has shifted many of the imperialist rivalries. The contradictions between U.S. and Japanese imperialism have greatly sharpened. The struggle over Okinawa is only symbolic of more far-reaching antagonisms between them.



The growth rate of the capitalist world is closely tied to their relationship with U.S. imperialism. After the Second World War, U.S. capital investments were helpful to the war-ravaged economies of a number of capitalist countries. Many apologists for U.S. imperialism hailed the "benevolence." They boasted that foreign capital investments coming into an industrially developed country would not have the negative effects of colonial "investments." Life has shattered this illusion. U.S. investment has become a dead weight on the industrial growth rate of these industrially developed countries.

Perhaps no other group of defeated capitalists was so thoroughly at the mercy of U.S. imperialism as the Japanese. Yet while the capitalists of Western Europe felt obliged to open the doors wide to penetration by U.S. monopolies, the Japanese held them at arms length. They continue to tightly limit U.S. investments, thereby retaining essential control of all major industries except oil and—to some extent—computers. And they are challenging the U.S. grip even in these areas. The figures on U.S. direct investments in the leading countries of imperialism are indicative (figures in billions of dollars)—Britain, 6.1; West Germany 3.5; France 1.9; Italy 1.2; Japan 0.9; in relation to the huge and soaring Japanese economy, this is a small stake. These figures are reflected in the growth rate of these countries; generally, the larger the investment the slower the growth rate.

The 15 year growth rates are: Japan on one end with a 13.5 per cent rate, then Italy with 8.8 per cent; West Germany 6.4 per cent; France 5.4 per cent, and Great Britain with a 2.9 per cent rate.

The new stage in the process of monopoly mergers and the rise of the irrational conglomerates deeply affects social and class relationships.

It has accelerated the process of polarization of capitalist society. The gap between the parasitic layer and the people has become a chasm.

It has vastly accelerated the process of alienation. It has further shattered illusions in the capitalist "establishment" and exposed its anti-humanist character.

It is giving rise to new problems for the class struggle. The conglomerates are in a position to use their control of one industry to fight the workers in another. They are in a position to liquidate whole industries.

Under these circumstances the unity of

workers in one industry is not enough. Central Trade Union centers will be forced to become centers for coordinating and leading struggles.

This new stage in monopoly development places in a new way the importance of the anti-monopoly movements and struggles.

The conglomerate stage of monopoly is closely related to the development of monopoly state capitalism. The system of superhawks directly controlling galaxies of conglomerates, more directly than ever, dominates government policy, and in alliance with the ever-growing military establishment is a new phase in the development of state monopoly capitalism. In the USA it has made a mockery of anti-trust laws. It is a development that does not result in the strengthening of capitalism. However, it does give rise to new dangers of both war and fascism.

These dangers can be overcome if full advantage is taken of the new opportunities for struggle now opening up. While capitalism develops along its irrational path the forces of socialism continue to grow stronger. The national liberation movement continues its upward curve. The working class in the capitalist countries steadily moves to take the advanced position history has assigned it.

Thus the world revolutionary process is increasingly determining the direction of human affairs.

"The world revolutionary movement," says the Main Document of the Moscow Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties, "continues its offensive despite the difficulties and setbacks of some of its contingents. Notwithstanding the counter-offensives launched by it, imperialism has failed to change the general relationship of forces in its favor."

What has fundamentally and irreversibly changed the world scene is the rise of the three currents making up the world revolutionary process. The powerful world socialist system of states and, in the first place, the Soviet Union, the worldwide national liberation movements and the working-class movement in the capitalist world—these are now the main movers of history.

Of course, the difficulties arising in the revolutionary process must be carefully studied. There have been setbacks in Ghana, in Indonesia and elsewhere. The opportunistic and nationalistic influences on some working-class parties have also weakened the revolutionary process. The Mao-



ists' policies, their anti-Soviet slander along with their efforts to create divisions in the world revolutionary forces have clearly been negative factors.

Such wrong policies adversely affect the balance of world forces. But they do not fundamentally change it. If one takes note of all the factors in the course of the transition, including the downward dips, the thrust of the elevation remains upward.

Is not the defeat of the objectives of U.S. imperialism in Vietnam an important plus factor on the scales of assessment? Is not socialist Cuba's rebuff to every possible kind of U.S. aggression, including the unfreezing of its economic blockade and its successful building of socialism 90 miles off the shores of Yankee imperialism, an important factor of world reality? Is not the continuing unprecedented economic, military and scientific growth of the socialist world a key element in this assessment?

Or consider the continuing growth of the national liberation movement, or the progress along the non-capitalist path of development in a number of countries, or the progressive direction in ex-colonial countries. Are these not important factors on the scales of the epoch?

Has not Israel's military victory turned into a very hollow affair? Because it did

not achieve the special aim of U.S. imperialism, the aim of overthrowing the anti-imperialist Arab governments; it is turning into its opposite. It has given new impetus to the anti-imperialist forces in the Middle East. All this has further exposed how dangerous the present policies of the leaders of Israel are for the world and for Israel itself.

In our own hemisphere, is not the continuing growth of the revolutionary forces in Chile, Venezuela, Argentina, Peru, Brazil, Colombia, Ecuador, Uruguay, and the other South and Central American countries an important factor in assessing world forces?

Lastly, in the United States itself there is a growing mass movement against the government's imperialist policy, the war in Vietnam and exploitation and oppression of national minorities. Assessing the balance of world forces, we must take into account the historic general strike in France, the developments in Italy with its tremendous upsurge of struggle, and the scope of the working-class movement in other capitalist countries.

And the imperialist beast faces ever-intensifying crisis because this is not its epoch.

This is the epoch of revolutionary transition—to socialism and communism.



# ***Against reaction and war***

EZEKIAS PAPAIOANNOU

The Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties held in Moscow in June 1969 has already gone down in history as an outstanding event in world politics. Over 70 Communist and Workers' parties discussed openly and sincerely and agreed on the basic task of the present stage, the task of intensifying struggle against imperialism.

Imperialist hopes that the Conference would "break up in failure" and that it "would prove that there was no longer any monolithic unity in the Communist ranks," were dashed.

The Conference also paid tribute to the role played by the Soviet Union in the fight against imperialism, for national liberation, democracy, peace and socialism. Many delegates expressed their appreciation of the role of the Soviet Union in selflessly supporting and giving generous moral and material aid to all peoples fighting for liberation and social progress.

This is significant, because "anti-Sovietism" has become fashionable with the imperialist mass media, and is now being used in a peculiar way. The bourgeois press and other mass media always prominently display and publish comments from the Communist press that can be interpreted as attacks on the Soviet Union. "Anti-Sovietism" is used by reaction to create bad blood between Communist parties, to split the Communist movement. And they are right, in their way, because anti-Sovietism is anti-communism and nothing could please the imperialists more than anti-communism. This was amply stressed in the speeches of the overwhelming majority of the delegates that spoke at the Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties.

So, contrary to imperialist hopes the Conference proved that the Soviet Union enjoys great prestige in the international Communist movement for its peace policy, its great

sacrifices for the common cause and the consistent way it fulfils its historic tasks.

The Conference and its documents, based on a scientific, Marxist-Leninist analysis of the times, open up new vistas in the struggle against imperialism in all its manifestations. Indeed, the Main Document pillories imperialism and lays bare the exploiting, aggressive and reactionary character of its activities on a world scale.

As stressed in the Document, "the Communist and Workers' parties represented at the Meeting, aware of their historic responsibility, propose united action to all Communists of the world, to all opponents of imperialism, to all who are prepared to fight for peace, freedom and progress." There is no doubt that if the Communists carry this message to the peoples and adopt the right approach to the masses, the anti-imperialist liberation struggle of the peoples all over the world will be immeasurably strengthened.

Inspired by the ideas and documents of the Conference, Communists in various parts of the world, taking advantage of all possibilities and means available and acting with due regard for the local conditions, are trying as hard as they can to carry out the tasks set by the Conference, namely, to mobilize the masses for a new upsurge of the revolutionary and anti-imperialist movement, aptly to combine the fight for the interests of individual nations with the fight for their common international cause, to develop theoretical work in the parties and wage ideological struggle against hostile bourgeois doctrines and against the Right and "Left" opportunism in the working-class movement.

The ideas of the Conference are spreading and becoming more and more popular not only in the international Communist and Workers' movement but also among broad



sections of the working people opposed to monopoly rule and dictatorial regimes, and fighting for civil rights and national independence.

The point made by the Conference that the policy of imperialism "is facing growing resistance in the capitalist countries from the working class, peasantry, young people, students, from the broadest masses irrespective of their political views and ideology," is confirmed by the events now taking place in the world. We are witnessing an unprecedented upsurge and aggravation of the class struggle in all parts of the world. The working-class movement is assuming new positions which is proved by the great number of strikes first and foremost in developed capitalist countries, by the participation in the class struggle of the broadest social strata of bourgeois society, and by the diversity of forms and methods of economic and political struggle. Economic demands are now more and more frequently combined with political demands, with the struggle against the existing political regimes, for democratic rights, for free activities of workers' and other people's organizations. Strikes are frequently accompanied by tremendous demonstrations, mass meetings and direct clashes with the police and troops.

Class struggle is spreading in the United States, the very seat of international reaction. Press reports indicate a growing tide of strikes and activity by trade unions in that country. The struggle of U.S. workers merges with the struggle of the Negroes for their rights. Many American cities have recently become arenas of dramatic demonstrations by those living in the Negro ghettos. Clashes between Negroes and police have taken place there, many Negroes being wounded and hundreds jailed, Anti-war demonstrations have also acquired big proportions in the U.S.

The opposition of the working people in the countries of Western Europe to capitalist rule has grown to unprecedented proportions. A wave of strikes recently swept across West Germany, where scores of thousands of miners, metal workers and machine and ship-building workers stopped work. In September, France experienced a railwaymen's strike, which paralyzed all rail traffic in the country. French working people are stepping up their fight against the financial oppression of the capitalists, for lower taxes and higher wages, for social and democratic demands. The fight of the Italian workers, particularly in the Fiat enterprises, is very acute, especially in Turin,

Milan, Florence and Brescia. Then there was a general strike of metal workers. And over a million took part in the strike of building workers.

The fight of the working class against the monopolies and reactionary regimes is growing also in Latin America. In Peru the reactionary government was overthrown. This action was followed by nationalization of the big monopolies and the launching of an agrarian reform. Argentina has had three general strikes this year, with the overwhelming majority of the workers in the main industrial centers taking part. The last of the three, like the previous ones, was highlighted by a number of political demands, such as the demand to stop government interference in the affairs of the General Confederation of Labor, to end the persecution of workers' leaders, and to release those arrested.

The anti-imperialist struggle is developing on all continents, involving broader social strata and different political forces. In this context, the overthrow of the monarchy in Libya, which was strongly supported by U.S. and British imperialists, is of great importance. The coup resulted in the constitution of the Libyan Arab Republic and the creation of a Revolutionary Council, widely acclaimed by the people. Following the successful revolution in Sudan in May, the Libyan coup testifies to a process of important political transformations in the countries of the African continent. This strengthens the common front of the struggle against imperialism and the Israeli aggression, for a progressive development of the peoples towards an active political life, towards freedom and independence.

The action of the working people guided by Communist parties against dictatorships, is also gaining in intensity. Despite the terror and persecutions, the fight is waged insistently in Greece and in Spain, in Portugal and in South Africa, in Brazil and Paraguay.

The people of Cyprus are also intensifying their opposition to the designs of international imperialism.

The Conference document emphasizes that the countries of the Mediterranean occupy an important position in the imperialist plans: "U.S. imperialism, which has important military bases in Spain, continues to support the Franco regime, thereby helping it to survive in opposition to the struggle of the fighting Spanish people. The U.S. 6th Fleet and the system of military bases which are a threat to the peoples and



to peace in this area, serve as a permanent instrument of political and military pressure in the Mediterranean. The repeated exacerbation of the situation in Cyprus and the fascist coup in Greece are likewise the handiwork of the imperialists, who support the colonels' junta."

Cyprus has always figured in the imperialist designs in the Mediterranean as an unsinkable air and rocket base. Contrary to the will of our people, the British imperialists occupy 99 square miles and 32 other points of Cyprus soil as "sovereign base areas." Further, they retain the use of ports, airfields, roads and the air space of Cyprus for military purposes. And the U.S. imperialists acquired from the British colonialists the right to operate three radio monitoring stations on the island for spying on socialist and Arab countries.

It was revealed recently that British military bases in Cyprus have, since November 1968, come under NATO jurisdiction. This news was printed in *The Christian Science Monitor* with a map of the Eastern Mediterranean, on which the British base at Akrotiri, Cyprus, is marked as a "NATO base." It was also revealed that the U.S. imperialists have set up in Cyprus a computer spying center transmitting information about the whole of the Middle East to Washington and NATO.

Since the overthrow of the monarchy in Libya, the imperialist mass media have stressed with added emphasis the strategic importance of Cyprus. British and U.S. imperialists have been competing in Cyprus, as they have in the whole of the Middle East, despite the fact that they are allies. The turning over to NATO by the British imperialists of their "sovereign base" at Akrotiri shows that they are resigned to playing second fiddle to U.S. imperialism, because they realize that it is the only way they can hang on to their positions.

Since the constitution of Cyprus as an independent Republic in 1960, the U.S. imperialists have allocated \$20,000,000 for anti-communist activity in the country. They have so far published two books on Cyprus, with a third to come out in January 1970. The first, by a CIA agent, Thomas W. Adams, is entitled, *U.S. Army Handbook on Cyprus*. It tells us that in the early part of 1964 the U.S. 6th Fleet would have landed troops on the island if President Makarios had yielded to U.S. pressure and Cyprus had not had the powerful backing of the Soviet Union. The second U.S. book on Cyprus is entitled, *Cyprus Between East and West*, written by the same

Thomas W. Adams and by Alvin Cottrell, another CIA agent. From beginning to end this book is a slander against the Soviet Union and the Progressive Party of the Working People of Cyprus (AKEL). It is an attempt to disrupt the unity of our people. It is reported that the third book is a continuation of the second in the anti-communist drive to split the Cyprus people and weaken their powers of resistance. This the imperialist writers try to do by invoking the communist bogey, saying that Cyprus is on the verge of becoming the Cuba of the Mediterranean and that the imperialist presence is necessary to prevent this. They do their utmost to drive a wedge between AKEL and President Makarios, and between AKEL and the nationalists. It is all part of the imperialist game of "divide and rule."

Cyprus, as we know, was used as a springboard for the attack on the United Arab Republic in 1956 and, later, on the Yemeni Republic. More recently, "British sovereign bases" in Cyprus were used secretly to transfer war material to the Israeli aggressors for their war of conquest against the Arab countries.

It is in this broad context that one should see the "Cyprus problem." But the most serious part of the problem is that between imperialism, on the one hand, which strives to retain Cyprus and turn it into a powerful nuclear rocket and air base for aggressive imperialist war, and the people of Cyprus, on the other, who are fighting to free their land from the imperialist presence and dependence. The basic character of the struggle conducted by the people of Cyprus remains anti-imperialist, for national liberation.

There exist differences between the Greek Cypriot side, which constitutes four-fifths of the population, and the Turkish Cypriot side, which amounts to somewhat less than one-fifth. What are the differences? In the main, they are differences fostered by imperialism. Following the 1958 communal clashes fomented by the British imperialists, the so-called Zurich agreement was forced on the people of Cyprus. This agreement and the constitution enacted by it contained all the elements of a split, making the constitution unworkable and leading finally to renewed clashes and bloodshed between Greek and Turkish Cypriots.

Since 1963 there has been upheaval in Cyprus and tension has led repeatedly to bloodshed. The situation has been calm for some time, but no one can foretell what the morrow may bring. For two years, from 1965 to 1967, a dialogue was carried on



between Greece and Turkey concerning the Cyprus problem, but it ended in failure. Eighteen months ago the talks were resumed between the Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot sides. Progress has been registered, but there still are serious differences, the most serious being the difference over local government.

Here, the demands of the Turkish Cypriot leadership jeopardize the unity of the Cypriot state and create the danger of separation or partition. Although the Turkish Cypriot leadership accepts the principle of a united state, their demands concerning local government, if accepted, would lead to simultaneously three governments: a central one and two local—one Turkish Cypriot and one Greek Cypriot. The trend towards separation plays into the hands of the imperialists and is certainly not in the best interests of the Cypriots.

The population is intermingled. It is not like Switzerland, for example, where a certain part of the country is inhabited only by German Swiss, another by French Swiss and a third by Italian Swiss. Separation either on the basis of cantons or federation is completely unworkable in Cyprus and will create a worse situation than that created by the Zurich agreement. We must heal the wounds, not open them. We have to live in harmony, not in a state of tension and mistrust. And this we can achieve only in the framework of a united state.

It is only right to safeguard the democratic rights and interests of the Turkish Cypriots. Nobody wishes to rob the Turkish Cypriots of their right to direct their educational, religious and cultural affairs. More than this, the Turkish Cypriots will take part in the government of the state and in the state apparatus, on a percentage basis of population. This means democracy, not violation of the Turkish Cypriots' rights and interests.

Therefore, on the question of local government the spirit of a united state must prevail, meaning one government, one parliament, one police force, one judiciary, one system of administration, be it on a local or area basis. Where Turkish Cypriots are in the majority, they will constitute the majority on the local authority, whereas where the Greek Cypriots are in the majority, it is only democratic and fair that they should constitute the majority on the authority.

These are the differences between the Greek and Turkish Cypriots, and it is only through the talks now going on that these differences can be resolved in the interest of the Cypriot people as a whole. And there

is no doubt that these differences would either never have appeared or they would have been resolved long ago had Cyprus not been plagued by the imperialist presence and interference.

Apart from the differences between Greek and Turkish Cypriots there recently broke out the criminal activity of clandestine terrorist organizations camouflaged as ultra-patriotic. One of these, calling itself "National Front," has been carrying on illegal activity for some time, distributing threatening leaflets and exploding bombs. They started with a violent anti-communist campaign, which culminated in throwing bombs into AKEL party premises, the premises of the trade union and other organizations. Bombs were also thrown outside the homes of Party cadres. The aim in this anti-communist drive is two-fold: to split the Cyprus front of resistance to imperialism by driving a wedge between the Left and the nationalists, and to scare people from joining AKEL, curtailing its influence and isolating it from the people.

The terrorists then tried to get control of the mass media by threatening the democratic journalists working on radio, television and nationalist newspapers. The aim was to undermine the line adopted by the overwhelming majority of the Cyprus people in the 1968 Presidential election, which called for a unified, independent, sovereign, democratic, demilitarized Cyprus, with the democratic rights and interests of the Turkish Cypriot minority fully safeguarded.

The imperialists, and more especially the U.S. imperialists, are known to be working behind the scenes for the partition of Cyprus. By such partition they hope to reinforce the Southeastern wing of NATO which has become unstuck over differences concerning Cyprus. Since the declaration of Cyprus independence, the imperialists have tried to pull it out of the camp of positive neutrality, and into the imperialist camp. They have been unsuccessful, however, because our people have a bitter experience of what imperialism means, and will not be taken in by imperialist propaganda.

We have given a very general picture of the situation in Cyprus and the problems facing its people. Externally and internally, the worst enemy is imperialism with its bases and espionage centers functioning on Cyprus soil. The terrorists who by their criminal activity work as a fifth column undermining the National Front of Resistance to imperialism and for full independence, are in fact accomplices of imperialism.



What has been the role of the Progressive Party of the Working People (AKEL) in the face of these difficulties and dangers? AKEL opposed the Zurich agreement on the grounds that it was undemocratic and that many of its provisions would create tension and friction between Greek and Turkish Cypriots. But when the agreement was signed, AKEL worked out a program for full independence and the economic development of Cyprus. That program stressed that as long as the imperialist presence and dependence persisted in Cyprus, the struggle of the Cypriot people would remain basically anti-imperialist, for national liberation. In the economic sphere, the program provided for an agrarian reform and the expropriation of the big estates for the benefit of landless and poor peasants. Also envisaged was the development of industry, especially the type of industry that could use the raw materials available locally, and the transfer to the state of all mines owned by foreign capital.

This broad Party program has become the rallying point of all working people wishing to advance along the road of the anti-imperialist struggle to full independence and a happier life. The program declared that as the character of the struggle remained basically anti-imperialist, it was absolutely essential to unite in this struggle all people, irrespective of class or ideological differences, because everybody has a stake in imperialism being expelled from Cyprus. Only a handful of people who have associated their interests with those of the imperialists, would of necessity remain outside the struggle.

By this broad strategy and tactics, AKEL helped strengthen the unity of the people, preventing the imperialists and their agents from splitting the people and diverting them from their main task of combating imperialism. Two facts have played a crucial part in so far frustrating the imperialist plans of partitioning Cyprus, dividing it between Greece and Turkey, and totally enslaving the Cypriot people to imperialism: our people's resolute resistance made possible by the spirit of unity perseveringly cultivated and strengthened by the AKEL party, and the support of the socialist countries, the Soviet Union above all. The Soviet Union has given political and diplomatic aid to the Cypriot people and their government, enabling our numerically small people to withstand imperialist pressure and blackmail.

As for the criminal activities of the terrorists, President Makarios responded to the

popular demand and delivered them a heavy blow, declaring them out-and-out traitors. The President declared the determination of his government to apply the most severe measures against the terrorists. His determination is hailed by all sections of the population and their organizations. The President has the support of the overwhelming majority of the Cypriot people in his efforts to crush the terrorist fifth column.

The main task of our Party following the Moscow Conference is to maintain and strengthen still further the anti-imperialist unity of the people of Cyprus. This unity is absolutely essential if successful struggle is to be waged against imperialism. We need all forces, however wavering or temporary they may be, in the struggle against imperialism, our implacable enemy.

The AKEL party is fighting against both Right and "Left" opportunism; these are equally dangerous. As the great Lenin taught us, the best revolutionary is not the one who spouts revolutionary phrases, but who carries forward the revolution in actual practice. "Left" and Right opportunists have what are actually common ends, and those ends are alien to the cause of anti-imperialism, to Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. In fighting both Right and "Left" opportunism, AKEL has its eye on the final goal, socialism. It uses flexible tactics, which make it possible to rally masses of people to the anti-imperialist struggle.

It is also important to emphasize that the anti-imperialist struggle of our people merges with the whole struggle conducted by the Arab peoples against Israeli and imperialist aggression and aggrandizement. It is part and parcel of the anti-imperialist struggle of all peoples in the Mediterranean and on a world scale.

Cyprus is only a small country and imperialism would have completely overrun it by now if our people had been alone in their struggle. But on our side stands the great camp of socialism headed by the Soviet Union. On our side stands the working class of the capitalist countries and all the national liberation movements of the world. This mighty array of strength makes it possible for little Cyprus to defy imperialism, because the balance of forces has changed in the world in favor of the forces of socialism, national independence, democracy and social advance.

Imperialist propaganda indulges in speculation about the presence of the Soviet fleet in the Mediterranean. We, for our



part, regard its presence here from the standpoint of international revolutionary solidarity. The presence of the Soviet Fleet contains the aggressive designs of the imperialists with regard to the peoples of the Mediterranean, battling for freedom and independence.

The Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties and its deliberations are of tremendous importance to the people of Cyprus as they are to all peoples of the world. The fraternal support of the world's Communists is an inspiration to us, as it is to all the other peoples fighting for their national liberation, urging them to fight even more resolutely for independence and liberation from every form of imperialist economic and political domination, the dismantling of military bases and for full sovereignty.

The AKEL Party welcomes the profound and comprehensive analysis of the international situation, the tasks at the present stage in the anti-imperialist struggle and the problems of united action by the Commu-

nist and Workers' parties and by all anti-imperialist forces. A comprehensive study is being made by all Party members of the documents adopted at the Conference with the view to getting the maximum benefit out of them.

Never before has unity of Communist and Workers' parties, and likewise the broadest anti-imperialist unity, been more essential if mankind is to be spared the horrors of a thermonuclear war. Never before has the Marxist motto, "Workers of all lands, unite!" contained such deep meaning as it does today.

It is only fitting that the Conference took place in the year of the centenary of the greatest revolutionary of all times, V. I. Lenin. The best tribute Communists and anti-imperialists can pay to the memory of Lenin is to respond to the call for unity, which is also Lenin's call, and to mobilize the greatest possible forces to free mankind from fear, war and want and bring about on a world scale the most just social system, socialism and communism.

## EDITORIAL BOARD MEMBERS VISIT FRANCE

**World Marxist Review delegation**—Chief Editor Zarodov and Editorial Board members Laborde (Argentina) and Hentges (France)—visited France in September to acquaint themselves with the municipal work of the Communist Party. The delegation discussed the subject with Jacques Duclos, Political Bureau member, and Juliette Dubois, CC official. There were visits to Le Havre, Vitry, Noisy-le-Sec, and the Seine Saint-Denis department, interviews with Communist municipal councillors in Paris and with officials of the Epinay-sur-Seine, Stains and Aubervilliers municipal councils.

The talks furnished proof of the Communist Party's leading role in the mass movement for advanced democracy and socialism, and of the work done by Communist councillors. A report on the visit will appear in a forthcoming issue of the journal.

The delegates also had talks with Political Bureau members Francois Billoux, Raymond Guyot and Gaston Plissonnier, and Victor Joannes, a member of the Party Central Committee.



# Perfect forms of anti-imperialist struggle in spirit of Leninism

ERWIN SCHARF

The most important result of the International Meeting in Moscow of Communist and Workers' parties was its unanimity on the basic questions of the anti-imperialist struggle. Communists know that there is no contradiction between the various forms of struggle each Party employs in the concrete conditions of its country, and the united action of all Communists against imperialism. Indeed, a Party can contribute to the common cause only if it takes these concrete conditions into consideration. Lenin emphasized this time and again. For instance, in his controversy with petty-bourgeois "Left-doctrinarism," he pointed to the need to "grasp that which is nationally specific and nationally distinctive in the concrete manner in which each country should tackle a single international task." (*Collected Works*, Vol. 31, p. 92.). Communist principles, he stressed, should be applied in conformity with the national features. In a message to the Communists of Transcaucasia, he urged them "to refrain from copying our tactics, but thoughtfully vary them in adaptation to the differing concrete conditions" (Vol. 32, p. 316).

However, Lenin also emphasized another aspect, viz., the need for international solidarity in face of the danger imperialism offered to socialism and the workers' movement in each country. Thus, in his *Preliminary Draft Theses on the National and the Colonial Questions* (for the Second Congress of the Communist International), explaining the need to unite the socialist republics, he wrote: "... the Soviet Republics, surrounded as they are by the imperialist powers of the whole world—which from the military standpoint are immeasur-

ably stronger—cannot possibly continue to exist without the closest alliance" (Vol. 31, p. 147).

No Communist Party has to deal only with the bourgeoisie of its own country. In working out its perspective, each Communist Party must take into account the international alignment of forces and the danger emanating from world imperialism.

The international conditions for the class struggle are more favorable now than before the war. In the 1930's, for instance, despite international labor solidarity and the active support of the Soviet Union, the people of Spain were unable to repel the offensive of fascism, imperialism's most reactionary striking force. With the new balance of forces in the 1960's, it has proved possible to defend socialist Cuba against U.S. imperialism.

In 1934 Austria was surrounded by Nazi Germany, Horthy Hungary, monarchist Yugoslavia and fascist Italy, and Austrian fascism was able to crush the democratic and workers' movement. Now, after the war, Austria also has socialist neighbors, and this has enabled the Communist Party to chart a perspective of peaceful transition to socialism.

Speaking at the Moscow Meeting, Comrade Gomulka said: "The next turn in the internationalization of the class struggle came after the Second World War with the emergence of the world socialist system in large areas of Europe and Asia. Though antagonistic class conflicts in each capitalist country continue and are becoming more acute, the main theatre of the class struggle has shifted to the world arena, the arena of struggle between the imperialist



system and the system of socialist states, the whole international Communist and anti-imperialist movement. The process of the class struggle is now completely international and universal."

World changes, the achievements of socialism and of the anti-imperialist movement, and sharpening of the class struggle in the capitalist countries, have impelled imperialism to perfect its methods. Imperialism has acquired features it did not have in Lenin's time. They were clearly singled out at the Moscow Meeting, which also, however, stressed the continuing validity of Lenin's general appraisal of imperialism.

Its Document emphasizes that though imperialism, as a world system, has not become stronger, it remains a serious and dangerous enemy, and that the aggressiveness of the chief imperialist power, the USA, is increasing. This aggressiveness is not everywhere manifested in one and the same way. Imperialism employs outright armed intervention in Latin America, Asia and Africa (and many examples of this were cited at the Meeting by delegates from these continents). But it has also learned to employ more subtle methods against the socialist countries and the workers' movement in industrial capitalist countries. Nor should we overlook the fact that imperialism is making wide use of the achievements of the technological revolution for its aggressive purposes.

Comrade Brezhnev said at the Moscow Meeting: "First and foremost, we cannot afford to ignore the fact that the imperialism of our day still has a powerful and highly developed production mechanism. We cannot afford to ignore the fact that modern imperialism makes use also of the possibilities placed before it by the increasing fusion of the monopolies with the state apparatus." Militarism is an intrinsic element of the imperialist system, and in our day it has assumed unparalleled dimensions.

"It is the fault of imperialism," Comrade Brezhnev remarked, "that the labor of many millions of people, the brilliant achievements of the human intellect, of the talent of scientists, researchers and engineers, are used not for the benefit of mankind, for promoting progress and the re-making of life on earth, but for barbarous, reactionary purposes, for the needs of war, the greatest of calamities for the peoples." In the 1960's alone, the USA and other imperialist powers launched armed attacks on

Vietnam, Cuba, Panama, the Dominican Republic and Arab countries.

Despite its inherent contradictions, imperialism, as experience has shown, can combine to maintain its sphere of domination. Proof of this is the existence of military imperialist blocs, of which the most powerful, of course, is NATO which gives the U.S. domination in Europe; key command posts in NATO are held chiefly by U.S. generals; the U.S. has more than 200,000 troops in West Germany alone, and 7,000 nuclear warheads in Europe; NATO forces are deployed over an area stretching from the northern tip of Norway to the eastern boundary of Turkey; there are U.S. military bases in practically every European NATO country. The ideological camouflage for this is the claim that the U.S. is the "leading force of the free world."

U.S. imperialism is using the system of military blocs extending to every part of the world in an attempt to impose its will on the peoples. And to do so it does not stop at outright intervention (Vietnam and the Dominican Republic), or at arming its clients to do its fighting.

Imperialism's attempts to consolidate and extend its rule find expression also in economic integration, though here, too, monopoly contradictions are more clearly coming to the surface. The gigantic market created by the European Economic Community to further the competitive struggle of the big monopolies has altered the political climate in member countries. Within the EEC monopoly power is exercised in the form of binding decisions that often violate national sovereignty and parliamentary autonomy.

EEC Council decisions often disregard the national interests of member-countries in economic, foreign-trade and social matters, and all other problems that come within the framework of so-called "competitive equality."

Imperialism is using more subtle methods of ideological struggle against the forces of socialism, peace and progress. Characteristic in this respect is the fact that the U.S. secret service, in addition to its military intelligence operations, is taking on more and more subversive ideological functions. It is no secret, of course, that the CIA plays a prominent part in directing and financing anti-Communist and anti-Soviet propaganda, and exerts a strong influence on capitalist publishing houses, the press and other mass information media. It also has a hand in organizing the so-called anti-festivals as a counter-weight to the democratic World Youth Festivals. It finances



numerous youth, cultural and trade-union organizations, in order to give their activities a definite ideological orientation. That leading bodies of the Young Socialist International were receiving CIA money became known last year and caused a public outcry.

In the course of the trial, earlier this year, of the former Austrian Interior Minister Olah on charges of misappropriating trade-union funds, it was revealed that in 1950 he had set up a 'special project,' the cover name for a secret armed organization to combat communism in Austria. The organization was active in 1956, during the Hungarian counter-revolution and supplied arms to the Hungarian reactionaries. This "special project" was financed by the CIA: the former "Socialist" Minister of the Interior was, it turned out, a CIA agent.

A very topical example of the refined methods imperialism is using against the socialist countries is provided by the recent events in Czechoslovakia. This is what Comrade Husak told the Moscow Meeting, referring to the post-January policy of the Czechoslovak Communist Party. Beginning with early 1968, he said, "... imperialist pressure from outside was intensified, not only in the context of espionage, but above all along ideological channels. It was aimed at misleading the people in every way, weakening their socialist class consciousness and, especially, stirring nationalist sentiment and prejudice, coupled with anti-Sovietism... In the past imperialism waged an offensive directed against socialism, against the leading role of the Communist Party, against the ideological principles of Marxism-Leninism more or less openly. In contrast, the same offensive in post-January Czechoslovakia was camouflaged with socialist and, what is more, Marxist and Party phraseology. Bourgeois political and ideological centers also addressed themselves to Communists and Party cadres. Ostensibly analyzing inner-Party problems from Marxist positions, they interfered openly in the matter of selecting Party cadres, in questions pertaining to the formulation of the Party Rules, in questions concerning forms of Party work, etc."

Imperialism has no intention of reconciling itself to the existence of socialist states, the changed balance of world forces and the collapse of the colonial system following therefrom. This applies above all to U.S. imperialism, whose aggressiveness has found such lurid expression in the armed intervention in Vietnam.

An aggressive foreign policy goes hand

in hand with a home policy of savage persecution of all peace forces. And yet the mass movement against the Vietnam war, for disarmament and peace, is gaining in momentum, bringing together youth and students, intellectuals and servicemen, blue-collar and white-collar workers, Negroes and whites. Addressing the International Meeting in Moscow, Gus Hall, General Secretary of the U.S. Communist Party, noted that last year there were 53,000 desertions and more than 23,000 draft delinquents. "The most dynamic and potent expression of the new wave of struggle, and the process of radicalization in the United States," he said, "is the rapid growth of organized rank-and-file movements in the shops and trade unions."

The march of events shows that these new opportunities for cooperation of different groups in the battle for peace exist in other countries too. And we in these united front movements take into account the various group interests of our partners.

Cooperation and united action presuppose a dialogue of all participants. And particularly important in this context is a dialogue on ideological issues. For frank discussion of differing positions helps to work out a common anti-imperialist platform and fosters a feeling of trust in our partners.

One example of this is preparation of the European Security and Cooperation Conference which will soon be meeting in Vienna. Last December and in March this year representatives of several international organizations — United Nations Association, the International Confederation for Disarmament and Peace, the World Peace Council, etc. — met in the Austrian capital, and notwithstanding divergent viewpoints representatives of 19 European countries were able to work out a concrete basis for continued consultations.

The national liberation movement in Africa, Asia and Latin America, which has so powerfully developed since World War II, is becoming an increasingly important component of the anti-imperialist struggle, one to which Communists attach special importance. The Communists consider it necessary resolutely to combat both the survivals of colonialism and imperialism's more flexible neo-colonialist tactics not always grasped by many ex-colonial peoples.

The absence of large-scale industry and a seasoned working class is one of the factors that make for ideological disorientation and help to spread reactionary nationalist and separatist ideas. Imperialism



is exploiting this to keep a number of ex-colonial nations within its orbit, to instal Quisling governments and to set up military bases on their territory.

The world Communist movement and the Socialist countries deem it their duty to form closer contacts with the national liberation movement in the common struggle against imperialism. The importance of the Communist parties maintaining close ties with revolutionary-democratic parties in the developing countries was emphasized by L. I. Brezhnev: "These parties and organizations are our fellow fighters in the struggle against imperialism, for social progress."

Anti-imperialist policy presupposes agreements and treaties between socialist and non-socialist states, provided the latter's governments do not subscribe to the hegemonic proclivities and aggressive actions of the imperialist powers and are prepared to work for a detente and peace.

Any policy of alliances, whether pursued by the socialist countries or by Communist parties in capitalist countries, requires, on the one hand, ideological clarity and principled firmness and, on the other, readiness to compromise, under certain conditions, on matters of policy. Referring to Engels' remark that the slogan "no compromise" was an empty phrase, Lenin wrote: "The point is through all the compromises which are necessarily imposed by force of circumstances upon even the most revolutionary party of even the most revolutionary class, to be able to preserve, strengthen, steel and develop the revolutionary tactics and organization, the revolutionary consciousness, determination and preparedness of the working class and its organized vanguard, the Communist Party" (Vol. 30, p. 492).

An effective policy of alliances, defense against imperialist aggression, solidarity with countries menaced by imperialism, the defense of Cuba, the Korean People's Democratic Republic, the GDR, extensive assistance to Vietnam, and the creation of a broad anti-imperialist front—all these demand cohesion and coordinated militant action of the Communist and Workers' parties.

Closer unity of all the progressive anti-imperialist forces necessitates discussion of the problems of proletarian internationalism and of the ways and means of creatively developing Marxism-Leninism. It also implies opposition to all nationalistic deviations.

Lenin stressed the link between national problems and internationalist orientation, saying it was an internationalist duty to do "the utmost possible in one country for the

development, support and awakening of the revolution in all countries" (Vol. 28, p. 292).

In quoting those words at the Moscow Meeting, L.I. Brezhnev made the point that "attempts to 'strengthen' the Party's positions by weakening, or even breaking off, its internationalist ties, by rejecting united action with other contingents of the Communist movement, lead to loss of ideological independence from the bourgeoisie and inevitably injure the political prestige of the Party concerned." The interconnection between proletarian internationalism and the national interests of the socialist countries was discussed also by Janos Kadar, Gustav Husak and representatives of many other parties.

All the experience of the Communist movement shows how important it is to take into account the class character of such concepts as sovereignty, autonomy and internationalism.

The International Meeting underscored the need for unity and coordinated action of all the Communist forces. There is no insuperable barrier between the two forms of struggle: the class struggle, which each Party is waging in its own country, and participation in coordinated international actions by the entire movement. Within the confines of its own country, each Party seeks to make use of all aspects and opportunities for struggle and, by participating in the mass organizations, puts forward its policy on various issues. It should do the same on an international scale as part of the world Communist movement. The Document adopted at the Moscow Meeting calls on "all organizations representing workers, peasants, office employees, youth, students, intellectuals, women, on various groups and social strata with different political, philosophical and religious convictions and views, on realistically-minded political leaders of the capitalist countries, on all democratic parties, national and international progressive public organizations to pool their efforts with those of the Communist parties for concerted action in the anti-imperialist struggle for a relaxation of tensions and in defense of peace."

All necessary forms of struggle should be employed. And here the prerequisite of success is unity of the Communist parties as the core of international unity of all progressive and anti-imperialist forces.

We are living in a more complex world.



Imperialism is using all the means at its command, including the apparatus of science, to attain its goals. It is resorting to more refined and insidious methods. The workers' movement is constantly perfecting its forms of struggle in adaptation to the new conditions, endeavoring to provide correct answers to the new, vital and complex questions. In doing so, it relies on the strength of the socialist countries

and on the experience of all the Communist parties. International conferences are valuable for purposes of generalizing that experience. Therein we see the importance of the Moscow Meeting, whose valuable fund of ideas has still to be drawn upon to enable the Communist and Workers' parties more successfully to solve the problems of the present stage of the anti-imperialist struggle.

## ***Lenin and the natural sciences***

BONIFATI KEDROV

Lenin closely followed developments in the natural sciences and related his philosophical interpretation of their achievements to the militant defense of revolutionary Marxism against attacks from Mach and other revisionist and non-materialist philosophical trends. But he also applied the philosophical conclusions stemming from new scientific findings to the enrichment of the doctrine of Marx and Engels, whereas both the revisionists and the avowed opponents of Marxism used these findings to support their arguments.

Lenin's conclusions have retained their validity in our day. For, essentially, the same problems are posed now, in the new conditions, namely, defense of Marxism-Leninism against attack and distortion by its opponents and further development of Marxist theory by philosophical generalization of the latest data of socio-economic and scientific-technological progress. And today as in the early years of the century, this calls for constructive answers to the questions which the revolution in the natural sciences poses for philosophy.

### **STAGES IN THE NATURAL SCIENCES REVOLUTION**

At the turn of the century Lenin analyzed the state of the natural sciences and disclosed the essential features and

general character of their development.

One such feature was the revolution in the natural sciences, begun in the mid-nineties and continuing to our day. The discovery of the X-ray, the electron, radioactivity, and the emergence of quantum physics, the theory of relativity, and other achievements demolished the old, metaphysical notion of the atom as the "ultimate," "indivisible" and absolutely primary particle of matter; demolished too was the idea that the chemical elements were immutable and unchangeable forms of matter. The atom, it was established, was a complex structure, was both destructible and divisible, that the chemical elements were mutable. The old concepts of mechanical mass as the inalterable property of matter, of space and time being external to the motion of matter, of its unchangeable forms, of energy, light and other phenomena all collapsed. This was the prelude to a fundamental revision of the old and the rise of new theories incompatible with the long-established views.

Taking Lenin's analysis of developments in the realm of physics as our starting point, we can single out the stages in the revolution that have virtually transformed the natural sciences since the beginning of the century.

The first of these, covering the years from the end of the last century to the



mid-twenties of this, had as its basic feature, the electron theory of matter, the basis for a new, physical (electromagnetic) picture of the world to replace the old mechanistic one. Inaugurated by the discoveries mentioned above, this stage concluded with Niels Bohr's atom model, based on the classical notion of the discrete particle. In the end, attempts by Bohr and other eminent physicists to resolve the contradiction between his model and reality, overturned the old conception of the electron as the "classical particle." It was established that electrons, like photons, are dialectically contradictory formations possessing, at one and the same time, wave and corpuscle properties.

The second stage relates to the appearance in the mid-twenties of quantum mechanics. Together with the earlier formulated theory of relativity it ushered in a veritable revolution in our understanding of matter and its forms of motion, and of the nature of the laws governing microprocesses. By this time the electromagnetic concept of the world, which had retained the principal features of the 'classical concept,' proved obsolete and gave way to the quantum-mechanical, relativity concept. Although in Lenin's time this new stage had just begun, he was able to show that the natural sciences were, in effect, passing through the revolution he had so searchingly analyzed earlier. In an article, "The Significance of Militant Materialism" (1922), he traced the development of the revolution in science, examining the successive discoveries, beginning with radium and ending with Einstein's theory of relativity. Lenin, it might be added, regarded Einstein as one of the greatest of the natural-science reformers.

The third stage, concerned with nuclear physics, was prepared by the advances made in the thirties, beginning with the discovery of the neutron and ending with the fission of heavy nuclei (uranium, etc.,) shortly before World War II. This was the beginning of the era of nuclear energy. Properly speaking, this stage has yet to be completed, but even now we can discern the outlines of the next stage, when physics will penetrate elementary particles (the proton, neutron, etc.,) and make other contributions to our knowledge of nature.

But for the revolution in science fully to enter this stage, needed are new ideas in physics, new theories and concepts signifying a decisive break with the currently dominant theories, just as in the past the

theory of radioactive disintegration signified complete abandonment of the indivisible-atom concept; just as quantum mechanics and the relativity theory demolished the classical concepts of the nature of microparticles, space time and of the laws of physics.

Shortly before his death, Niels Bohr urged that the prevailing theories of elementary particles be discarded. What we need, he said, was a "mad idea," one that would completely upset the current concepts and would therefore appear fantastic, unacceptable to science, "mad" in terms of common sense.

Lenin had every justification for predicting that the human mind, which had discovered so many strange things in nature, would discover many more, thus increasing our power over nature. But these discoveries would merely be increasingly faithful reflections of objective reality in the human mind. And Lenin's foresight is confirmed with each step in natural science.

#### LENIN'S FORESIGHT CONFIRMED

In his philosophical writings, Lenin advanced a number of remarkable ideas concerning the natural sciences, notably physics. There is, for instance, his widely-known proposition that the electron is just as inexhaustible as the atom, and that nature is infinite. This is of tremendous methodological importance. For with the collapse of the indivisible-atom theory—a theory which held sway for centuries—there could be two diametrically opposed ways of solving the problem of the structure of matter.

One was to endow the electron with the properties previously attributed to the atom, namely, immutability, absolute simplicity, "exhaustibility." In short, the electron rather than the atom was the "ultimate" particle of matter, and once we knew its properties, we knew all about matter and all about the universe. Earlier generations of scientists, the argument ran, had made the mistake of regarding atoms as the "last bricks" of the universe, whereas the appellation rightly belonged to the electron. But that approach was based on the old line of reasoning, on the old theory of the discrete form of matter. And many physicists clung to it after the discovery of the electron and after conclusive evidence that atoms consisted of electrons.

The second approach was predicated on



an entirely different theory: discovery of the electron was proof that the earlier view of discrete particles was wrong. The physical discoveries of the late 1890's and the early 1900's had made it perfectly clear that "ultimate," absolutely unchangeable, "exhaustible" particles were unknown to nature. It was therefore wrong to apply to the electron the unalterable-atom theory, overturned by the revolution in physics; that theory had to be rejected once and for all. That was Lenin's method, the only correct one, the only correct theoretical and methodological conclusion to be drawn from the revolutionary discoveries in physics at that time. Lenin wrote: "Nature is infinite, just as its smallest particle (including the electron) is infinite" (*Collected Works*, Vol. 14, p. 312). And yet at that time, and even many years later, there was no direct evidence to support that view of the electron. Lenin based his conclusion on a dialectical analysis of the general scientific development, and his conclusion was a remarkable example of scientific foresight.

But not everyone was prepared to accept it. Some were inclined to regard the electron as a material point devoid of inner structure and possessing only restricted and, moreover, exhaustible physical properties.

The concept of the "exhaustible" electron was effectively refuted only in the fifties, when experimental physics penetrated the elementary particles. And so, after half a century, Lenin's view was brilliantly confirmed to become the main line of development in elementary-particle physics. Of course, set against the conventional ideas of the structure of matter, these new views, according to which structural elements are not ready-made, but arise and disappear within a complex particle, might appear extravagant, even outlandish. But it is precisely this "outlandishness" that so convincingly corroborates what Lenin wrote about the outlandish discoveries in the natural sciences.

More recently, some scientists have been maintaining that philosophy has made no contribution to our knowledge of nature, and that Lenin's works are outdated and are of no use to the modern researcher. However, the example cited above should make it obvious that such allegations are unfounded—the result either of inadequate knowledge of the subject or of prejudice against philosophy.

Needless to say, Lenin could not indicate the concrete ways and means of solving

specific physical problems — devising a model of the atom, for instance — nor was that his purpose. Not being a physicist he did not deal with these matters. But his principled, methodological approach to the natural sciences from the standpoint of materialist dialectics — the subject of this article — is so solidly and profoundly substantiated that recent breakthroughs in nuclear physics, including the physics of elementary particles, can be summarized in Lenin's own words: the electron is as infinite as the atom; nature is as infinite as its smallest particle.

### **MILESTONES IN THE KNOWLEDGE OF MATTER**

Lenin's idea about milestones in our knowledge of nature is bound up with the idea of the inexhaustibility of the electron. Indeed, with the discovery of the electron there came the knowledge of the existence of discrete forms of matter at varying stages, or levels, of development and forming the milestones in man's knowledge of matter. The electron and atom are two levels of this kind, one growing out of the other (the atom out of electrons, or out of the atom nucleus and electrons as discovered later). In the process of cognition of matter, the two form milestones at which a new stage in our knowledge of matter sets in resulting in a new and higher level of knowledge. Later, a still higher level will be attained, to be elevated again when science probes deeper into matter. And so the process of cognition goes on and on, rising from one level of knowledge to yet another.

Each stage in the advance of science being a relative truth, adds new grains to the sum total of absolute truth, for there is no impassable boundary between relative and absolute truth. "From the standpoint of modern materialism, i.e., Marxism, the limits of approximation of our knowledge to objective, absolute truth are historically conditional, but the existence of such truth is *unconditional*, and the fact that we are approaching nearer to it is also unconditional." (Vol. 14, p. 136.)

When it is said that "matter disappears," Lenin wrote, this means that "the limits within which we have hitherto known matter disappear and that our knowledge is penetrating deeper." (*Ibid.*, p. 260.) Elsewhere he wrote: "The 'essence' of things, or 'substance', is also relative; it expresses only the degree of profundity of man's knowledge of objects;



and while yesterday the profundity of this knowledge did not go beyond the electron and ether,\* dialectical materialism insists on the temporary, relative, approximate character of all these milestones in the knowledge of nature gained by the progressing science of man." (Ibid., p. 262)

The notion of separate discrete forms of matter interlinked in the same way as each element of a system is linked with the system as a whole is based on the idea that they are milestones in the endless progress of knowledge. Hence what we have here is a correlation of the finite (the particular discrete form of matter—the electron, the atom) and the infinite (the whole range of all these discrete forms). This is how Lenin treats the problem in his *Philosophical Notebooks*, in which he formulates the task bearing on the correlation of finite and infinite as follows: "To be applied to atoms versus electrons. In general the infiniteness of matter deep within. . ." (Vol. 38, p. 112.)

The current concept of levels of the structural organization of matter is a specific development of the idea of diverse stages in the development of universal matter (Engels) or of diverse milestones in the unending advance of man's knowledge of matter (Lenin).

Of special importance is the way in which science rises from one level to another. It may happen that the methods of investigating the level already attained have exhausted themselves, while the new methods of investigating the higher level presently being attained have yet to be worked out. In this transitional phase the methods used in describing the new phenomena—the essence of which has yet to be adequately revealed—prove suitable. Agnostics often seize on such situations to advance the idea that this essence is lacking altogether or that it is fundamentally unknowable. To cite an example, formal thermo-dynamics was used to "refute" materialism. This was done by Ostwald, Mach, Duhem and others. Lenin wrote of Hertz that it would never occur to this scientist to consider energy from a non-materialist standpoint. Philosophers found in energetics a pretext to abandon materialism for idealism. The naturalist regards energy as a convenient method of expressing the laws of material motion at a time when physicists have, so to speak, left the atom behind but have not yet reached the electron.

\*The existence of the "ether" mentioned by Lenin could not be confirmed.—Author's note.

Thus Lenin evolved a highly interesting general concept pointing to the various milestones in the advance of knowledge in their interrelation and the nature of this unending advance of knowledge, a concept of the scientific methods of investigating physical objects, methods which arise at various stages in the advance of knowledge from one milestone to another.

### THE MATERIAL SUBSTRATUM OF PROPERTIES

This problem has always featured in inorganic science, and in recent years it has caused controversy also in biology; those who refused to recognize the material substratum of heredity often used arguments alien to science. Lenin answered this question in principle long before the discussion to which it gave rise. We may have, he pointed out, insentient matter and, on the other hand, sentient matter composed, however, of the same atoms (and electrons) as the former.

It follows that the same particles of matter, combining among themselves in different ways (for only this can in the particular case constitute the distinction between the two forms of matter—sentient and insentient), account for the presence of a definite property (capacity) of matter in one instance and for its absence in the other.

According to Lenin, different combinations of the same atoms can give rise to properties of living matter that are lacking in other combinations of the same atoms. Lenin was aware, of course, that this problem had yet to be solved in its concrete form through experimental research, but the important thing is that he posed the problem from the standpoint of principle: we must establish the correlation of matter possessing a given property or capacity, and matter lacking it, that is, when either form of matter is made up of the same atoms or electrons. (See Vol. 14, p. 46.) Thus Lenin indicated the correct method of investigating this problem in general, meaning also the problem of heredity. This method has been used by both physiology and biology, including molecular biology, especially over the past ten or fifteen years.

### THE CRISIS IN NATURAL SCIENCES AND ITS ELIMINATION

At the turn of the century philosophical reaction tried to profit from the advance in science and from the revolutionary re-



shaping of its concepts with the discoveries in physics. When the old metaphysical and mechanistic notions of matter and its particles, of its properties and motion, of the kinds of regularities in nature, began to collapse, the idealists contended that materialism was collapsing along with metaphysics and mechanicism, and that materialism was a failure. The alleged failure of materialism was "demonstrated" by referring to the discoveries in physics, which were supposed to prove that "matter disappears," that there exists "pure," or non-material motion unrelated to any material substratum, and so on.

Reactionary attempts to force materialism out of science and replace it by idealism and agnosticism created a trying situation. They gave rise to methodological difficulties and to contradictions in physics. Relativist changes in mass were interpreted as the disappearance of mass and, with it, the disappearance of matter. The release of what seemed to be unlimited quantities of energy in the process of radioactive decay was regarded as the generation of energy out of nothing. The presence of electrons in the structure of the atom was seen as proof that matter is restricted to electricity. It was hard to build correct physics theories on this false methodological basis, to put forward fruitful hypotheses or theoretically elaborate new physics. As usual, idealism was becoming an obstacle to the search for the right method of approaching, let alone solving, the problems — both the purely philosophical and the general theoretical ones.

Lenin described the difficulties which had set in in physics and on which idealist philosophy speculated as a crisis of physics. He saw the essence of this crisis in the combination of two diametrically opposed facts: first, the revolutionary break-up of old laws and fundamental principles, which was an expression of the rapid advance in science, and second, the use of this break-up by the idealists and agnostics to combat materialism. This was by no means a failure of science itself, nor a halt in its advance. Indeed, idealism exploited the achievements of science, its vital revolutionary discoveries. The crisis was, therefore, a manifestation of the rapid advance of science: new, often rather extravagant notions and discoveries seemed at first sight incompatible with the universally accepted views, and the idealist took advantage of this.

Like the latest revolution in science,

the crisis it precipitated likewise had its stages depending, first, on which philosophical school of idealism took the lead in the offensive against materialism, and second, on which problems, particularly in physics, were set forth in broad philosophical terms by the revolution in science at a given moment.

In the early stage the advances in physics became the subject of speculation, chiefly by the Mach (positivist) school, a variety of muddled subjective idealism. Mach and his followers, and the energists who were close to them, aimed their main blow at the atom and molecule as particles of matter. But in the early century this school had suffered a telling setback, for the reality of the atom, molecule and other discrete particles of matter (electrons, colloidal particles, ions, etc.,) had been proved so conclusively that from then on anyone who questioned their existence was merely laughed at. The early century was marked by a remarkable victory of materialism over empirio-criticism and energetics. The triumph of materialism in physics culminated in the elaboration of a model of the atom based on Mendeleyev's periodic table, interpreted in terms of physics. The prediction and subsequent discovery of the new chemical elements — protactinium and hafnium — made on that basis, were the test and the confirmation that materialism was showing science the right way.

The second phase of the revolution in science was matched by another in the crisis of science in the capitalist world. Idealistically falsified this time was the theory of relativity and quantum mechanics, even though there is, needless to say, nothing idealistic about these theories which confirm the fundamental principles of materialist dialectics. Attempts to draw from these theories conclusions in favor of idealism led to the claim that the principle of causality had miscarried (in reality it was a matter of the restricted nature of the principle of mechanical causality and of its inapplicability to microphenomena). Time and space were interpreted from a subjectively idealist point of view. The interaction of subject and object in investigating microprocesses was explained in terms of their indivisibility, with the result that physics instruments were assigned a gnosiologically misconceived function.

Accordingly, the crisis of physics in its second stage of development (conceived, I repeat, in the methodological sense men-



tioned above) emerged as a result of the new school of subjective idealism (neo-Machism, neo-positivism) exploiting the advance of science in the second quarter of the twentieth century. By the middle of the century this school had been defeated in precisely that branch of physics in which it had held sway for many years, that is, in quantum mechanics. At the beginning of the second half of the century, prominent physicists who had held neo-positivist views broke openly with subjective idealism and adopted a new philosophical standpoint.. Louis de Broglie adopted a materialist stance, Heisenberg leaned, if inconsistently, towards Platonism—objective idealism—while Bohr towards the end of his life virtually abandoned a number of subjectivist standpoints. The offensive of idealism against materialism again defeated idealism in physics.

In the thirties and forties the neo-energeticist school advanced to the fore in nuclear physics in the West due to the nature of the object under investigation and the practical purposes of its utilization. This school claimed that discovery of the technical uses of atomic energy furnished experimental proof of the "transformation" of matter (of mass to be precise) into energy. By the mid-twentieth century this concept had been refuted in its turn, particularly by the Soviet physicist S. Vavilov.

The history of the neutrino hypothesis can be taken as a convincing example of how idealism misleads science whereas materialism shows it the right way. During the beta decay it was discovered that on the average the nucleus emits twice as much energy as the electrons (beta particles) escaping from it. This led at once to the idealist philosophical supposition that the other half of energy is simply destroyed. Had this supposition been accepted there would, of course, have been no incentive to seek any other explanation.

Contrary to this the physicist Pauli advanced what was in effect a purely materialist hypothesis although his standpoint was that of neo-positivism. Pauli assumed that the undiscovered part of the energy lost by the nucleus was taken away by unknown particles, which he called *neutrinos*. The neutrino, he argued, had no electrical charge or mass (or its mass was negligible) and therefore it could not be discovered directly, by experiment. But its existence could, and should, be presumed theoretically.

The neutrino hypothesis played a most important part in atomic physics. Without it the existence of entire branches of contemporary science would have been impossible. The defeat of idealism and the triumph of materialism in this sphere are so manifest that the history of the neutrino illustrates a point made by Lenin: "materialism clearly formulates the as yet unsolved problem and thereby stimulates the attempt to solve it, to undertake further experimental investigation," whereas idealism "befogs the issue and sidetracks it." (Vol. 14, p. 46.)

### UNION OF PHILOSOPHERS AND SCIENTISTS

Scientific progress today calls for union of Marxist philosophers and scientists. The idea of this union is one of the basic ideas, if not the basic idea, of Lenin's paper "On the Significance of Militant Materialism." In it we read: "Modern natural scientists (if they know how to seek, and if we learn to help them) will find in the Hegelian dialectics, materialistically interpreted, a series of answers to the philosophical problems which are being raised by the revolution in natural science and which make the intellectual admirers of bourgeois fashion 'stumble' into reaction." (Vol. 33, p. 234.)

This principle is at the bedrock of the union of philosophers and scientists. One should not mechanically belabor scientists for philosophical errors or accuse them of all kinds of sins in philosophy but should explain things to them—patiently and, above all, in a friendly way—should direct their thinking along correct lines and prevent possible mistakes. After all, it is a matter of a union and not of administrative control over scientists by philosophers.

Lenin set an excellent example of how to do this. A. Timiryazev, son of the famous Russian scientist, K. Timiryazev, published an article on the theory of relativity. This article, incorrect in many respects, was tinged with positivism. The author, who quoted Lenin although he misunderstood him, extolled the naturalists' spontaneous materialism and claimed that this materialism and the experimental method could win materialist positions for natural science and safeguard it against idealist attacks. At the same time he rejected the theory of relativity, which he regarded as dissociation from experiment proving its idealist character.



Lenin welcomed the appearance of the article in the philosophical journal *Pod Znamenem Marxizma*. He saw this as an earnest that the journal would succeed in bringing about an alliance with scientists who leaned towards materialism and did not hesitate to advocate it openly.

Lenin did not directly comment on the author's errors, but he virtually put them right in his article "On the Significance of Militant Materialism." Without a solid philosophical basis, Lenin argued, neither natural science nor materialism could stand their ground against the onslaught of bourgeois ideas, against restoration of the bourgeois world outlook. Still less could this be done by spontaneous, that is, inconsistent and unperceived materialism.

Thus Lenin helped scientists correct their philosophical inaccuracies and mistakes by explaining their meaning and the dangers involved. And he did so in a most discreet way, taking pains not to offend those he wanted to help. That is an attitude well worth emulating.

A considerable effort is being made in the Soviet Union and in the other socialist countries to realize Lenin's recommendation about the union of Marxist philosophers and scientists. Numerous joint works have been written in which scientists and Marxist philosophers together discuss and elaborate particular philosophical and general theoretical problems of contemporary

science bearing not only on its various branches but on its methodological aspect, the logic of its development, on the search for materialist solutions to the philosophical problems arising in the course of the increasingly powerful revolution in science. One of these works is *Dialectical Materialism and Modern Science*, a joint work by Soviet philosophers and scientists. Other works of this nature deal with the philosophical problems of cybernetics, the physics of elementary particles, the science of life, the science of the earth, and so on.

A very useful role in strengthening and extending the union of philosophers and scientists is played by the forums and symposiums held in many countries on the philosophical and methodological problems of natural science as a whole and its various branches. They bring together scientists active in diverse fields.

Fruitful too are the methodological seminars held in many research institutes and higher educational establishments in the Soviet Union and in the other socialist countries. These seminars discuss philosophical problems—sometimes very difficult and complex—concerning the various branches of natural science.

This, then, is how Lenin's recommendation to achieve close and lasting cooperation between Marxist philosophers and scientists should be put into practice.

## **Lenin centenary preparations in fraternal parties**

### **BRITAIN**

Proposals for the Lenin centenary celebrations in Britain were discussed at a meeting of the Executive Committee of the Party in July.

The District Committees of the Party are planning their own centenary programs and branches are arranging for public meetings and lectures on various aspects of Lenin's life and work. Andrew Rothstein, historian and well-known Party publicist, is presently working on a booklet *Lenin in*

*Britain*. Also in preparation for the centenary, the Lawrence and Wishart Publishing House are putting out a new one-volume edition of Lenin's *Selected Works* which in its 900 pages will bring within one cover the basic writings of the great revolutionary. The same publishers are preparing also a reprint of the book *Lenin on Britain* first published in 1934. This book, containing Lenin's views on British imperialism and on the labor movement, is in a way a continuation of the analysis made of British politics



and conditions by Marx and Engels during the later decades of the nineteenth century.

The April 1970 issue of *Marxism Today*, theoretical organ of the Party, will be a special Lenin Centenary issue.

Film shows, including some of the earlier ones like *Lenin in October*, and photo exhibitions will be other features of the centenary celebrations. For those members and sympathizers anxious to see at first hand the country which gave birth to the great leader of the international working-class movement, the Party is planning a special Lenin Centenary Tour to the USSR next August. Two days will be spent in Leningrad—the city so closely associated with Lenin's revolutionary work—two more in Moscow to be followed by a flight to Kazan where the tourists board a Volga steamer that will take them to Ulyanovsk, where Lenin was born, and to historic Stalingrad.

## CZECHOSLOVAKIA

The centenary of this great thinker and revolutionary, this outstanding figure in world politics, science and culture, the centenary statement of the Presidium of the Czechoslovak Communist Party says, will be observed by Communists and workers the world over, by all who cherish the ideals of socialism and communism, democracy and peace.

The experience of Communist and Workers' parties fully corroborates the correctness, topicality and international validity of Lenin's ideas. Lenin enriched and developed the teaching of Marx and Engels in the new conditions of history, in the era of imperialism and proletarian revolution. Lenin's works serve as the basis for resolving the crucial problems of revolutionary struggle and the building of a socialist society.

Capitalist and reformist ideologists argue—contrary to the facts—that Leninism is a purely "Russian" phenomenon and that the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the guiding role of the Party and the principles of its organization and activity, are applicable solely to the specific conditions of Russia and have no validity for the labor movement in developed capitalist countries. This attempt to confine the impact of Leninism to "backward" countries is in crying contradiction to all the experience of the revolutionary movement. Revolutionaries throughout the world correctly regard the struggle of Russia's working class as a component of the world revolutionary process.

Lenin's works are a generalization of the experience of the revolutionary movement not only in Russia, but throughout the world, and more particularly of the movement in the West European capitalist countries, which Lenin had closely studied.

The Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, the statement says, knows that internationalism does not imply negation or disregard of national interests. Quite the contrary, all-round cooperation and class unity with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries and with the entire Communist movement in the fight against the common class adversary, international imperialism, is the guarantee of our genuine sovereignty, national security and socialist development. The post-January 1968 experience has shown that, robbed of its class content, the sovereignty slogan becomes a weapon of the anti-socialist and opportunist forces against the internationalist policy of the Communist Party.

On this hundredth anniversary of the birth of Lenin, we recall the impact Leninism has had on the development of our Party as a party of the Lenin type. We recall, also, the importance Lenin's doctrine had for our working people who associated with that doctrine their hopes for social emancipation. We know what tragic consequences the post-January activity of the counter-revolutionary, anti-socialist and Right-wing opportunist forces had. That is why we turn more than ever before to Lenin and learn from his creative dialectical thinking in order to analyze and resolve the complex and difficult problems of developing socialism and thereby help to consolidate it in Czechoslovakia and on a world scale.

The Presidium anticipates that the centenary celebrations will make for a higher level of ideological and political activity, heighten labor initiative in all fields and **contribute to the solution of the complicated problems of consolidating the political and economic position in the country.** The key task today is re-establishment of the Leninist principles in the work of the Party and full realization of its leading role in society.

In conclusion, the Presidium urges all Communists, members of the National Front, public organizations, all workers, farmers, intellectuals, youth, students, women, fittingly to observe the hundredth anniversary of the birth of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin.



## ITALY

The Italian Communist Party Central Committee is sending to the Party branches next year's membership cards. They will bear a portrait of Lenin and the inscription: "Italian Communist Party—1970." A poster of the new membership card was prominently displayed in Leghorn during the annual festival in support of *Unita*, the Party's daily. The issue of the new cards to members will start in all branches on November 7, the 52nd anniversary of the October Revolution.

## NEPAL

The Lenin Centenary Committee has published the first issue of its bulletin *The Lenin Celebration*. The cover carries a portrait of Lenin, and the bulletin contains a detailed program of centenary activities.

## RUMANIA

The Lenin centenary statement of the Rumanian Communist Party Central Committee says that Lenin's life and work will always stand out as a supreme example of loyal service to the working people, and as a model of revolutionary firmness, political far-sightedness and bold thinking. Lenin has entered history not only as an outstanding personality, but also as a dedicated champion of everything that was new in the social science and thought of his time, as a man of erudition who knew and understood the requirements of social development, progress and civilization.

Lenin's theoretical and practical work is a living example of the creative spirit of the proletariat's revolutionary theory. In his profound study of social and political reality and of the problems posed by the growth of the workers movement, he utilized the most progressive achievements of science and culture. With remarkable perspicacity, he developed Marxism, adapting it to the new stage in history, the stage of imperialism and proletarian revolution. He made a comprehensive study of the general laws of socialist revolution and socialist reconstruction, their application to the specific conditions of each country and the varying economic, social, historical and national factors with which every Communist Party has to reckon. Lenin was keenly con-

cerned for harmoniously merging the national and international tasks of the Communist parties, regarding this as the earnest of victory of the revolution and of the successful building of socialism and communism.

The transforming power of Marxism-Leninism finds striking embodiment in the victory of the proletarian revolution and in the building of socialism in fourteen independent and sovereign countries in Europe, Asia and America. It is embodied also in socialism's growth into a powerful international force resulting from the rise of the socialist world system and in the outstanding achievements of its peoples. Lenin's ideas live and triumph in the success of the international Communist movement which is becoming a mighty political force and the main factor of social progress.

The hundredth anniversary of the birth of Lenin is an occasion for assessing the traditions of revolutionary struggle under the leadership of the Rumanian Communist Party.

The statement concludes by enumerating the measures planned for the centenary. These include a seminar on "Leninism and the Triumph of Socialism in Rumania," sponsored by the Stefan Gheorghiu Academy of Social and Political Sciences, the Party Central Committee's Institute of Historical and Socio-Political Research, and the Academy of the Socialist Republic of Rumania.

Publication of the 55 volumes of Lenin's works will be completed for the occasion. In addition, several books are being published about Lenin, notably his references to Rumania, meetings with Rumanian revolutionaries, Communist Party experience in creatively applying Marxist-Leninist theory in Rumanian conditions.

## URUGUAY

The Communist Party of Uruguay has inaugurated a Lenin Year recruiting campaign, the object being to bring into the Party frontline workers and activists of the democratic movement. The campaign will also mark the Party's 50th anniversary.

The Party increased its membership tenfold in recent years. In 1968 the Party and YCL recruited 11,000 members.



## **AS HIS CONTEMPORARIES KNEW HIM**

We continue publication of reminiscences of Lenin by veterans of the International Communist movement.

The author of the following article is a foundation member of the Italian Communist Party and was one of its delegates to the Fourth Congress of the Communist International.

# ***Guiding power of Lenin's ideas***

CAMILLA RAVERA

The rise and growth of our Party are closely associated with the great name of Lenin. The impact of Lenin's thinking and his work, of the Great October Revolution, was tremendous—it powered the sweeping changes that followed World War I and, in my country, generated a mass movement of workers and peasants. One of its results was widespread resentment among rank-and-file Socialists against their Party's inert reformist leadership, its inconsistent Maximalist Centrist element, and its policy, which was far removed from the aims of a revolutionary working-class party.

In those turbulent days, the heartening example of the Russian socialist revolution led to a mounting urge for a new party based on Marxism, closely-knit organization and consistent leadership. In January 1921, after sharp criticism and a long struggle, the Socialist Left wing decided that it was no longer possible to regenerate the party, or radically to change its leadership and policy. The Left withdrew from the party to form the Italian Communist Party as an affiliate of the Communist International.

The new party was joined by a number of smaller groups. One of these, with branches throughout the country, was led by Bordiga. Another, in Turin, was organized around the magazine *Ordine Nuove* and led by Gramsci. Though differing in organization and political activity, both were guided by the thinking of Lenin and the experience of the October Revolution.

Bordiga published a militant newspaper significantly titled *Il Soviet*. In 1920, he met

Lenin at the Second Congress of the Communist International. His advocacy of boycotting parliamentary elections, which Gramsci vigorously opposed, was, essentially, part of a general trend towards sectarian seclusion and dogmatism, both of which were so characteristic of Bordiga. Lenin rejected that position, and Bordiga, out of respect for Lenin's prestige, did not persist. He had the utmost admiration for Lenin, the utmost regard for his political thinking, will power, skill and energy in shaping and carrying out policy, and his supreme and unswerving devotion to the revolution. Bordiga accepted Lenin's policy principles, but his own abstract and dogmatic thinking tended to turn them into fixed absolute formulas.

Gramsci summarized his fight against reformism and Maximalism in the Socialist Party in a report, "For Regeneration of the Socialist Party," which won Lenin's approval. In theses prepared for the Second Congress of the Communist International Lenin made this reference to the Italian Socialist Party: "... the Second Congress of the Third International considers that the criticism of that party and the practical proposals submitted to the National Council of the Italian Socialist Party in the name of the Party's Turin section, as set forth in *l'Ordine Nuovo* of May 8, 1920, are in the main correct and are fully in keeping with the fundamental principle of the Third International" (*Collected Works*, Vol. 31, p. 199).

And leafing through this journal today,



one cannot but be moved by the eagerness with which we sought and imbibed the thoughts of Lenin. They come to life again in the detailed reports from the young Soviet Republic: the organization and aims of the revolutionary committees of workers, peasants and soldiers returning from the war; the methods used to build up Soviets in the factories, villages and towns, and the gradual and steady strengthening of the Soviet system, as expressed in the nationwide Congresses of Soviets; how the Soviets, the organs of direct representation of the workers and the people generally, were able to concentrate, voice and advance their common interests. We discovered the constructive function and "ultimate aim" of the Soviets: as organs of effective participation by the masses in directing public and state affairs, they were preparing, in keeping with the Marxist perspective, the withering away of the state as an organ of domination over society.

We discovered, too, the full meaning of the new, Soviet democracy. Stemming directly from the masses, it gradually spread to all elements of society, particularly those which even in the most democratic bourgeois republics enjoy nominal equality but actually are denied by all manner of ruses, any share in political life and, of course, any say in administering the state. For Lenin freedom and democracy were not abstract concepts. He was always concerned with the concrete realities of social relationships. In his report to the First Congress of the Communist International, published in *Ordine Nuovo* of August 23, 1919, he said: "The first thing to do to win real equality and genuine democracy for the working people, for the workers and peasants, is to deprive capital of the possibility of hiring writers, buying up publishing houses and bribing newspapers. . . . In capitalist usage, freedom of the press means freedom of the rich, freedom to use their wealth to shape and fabricate so-called public opinion." (Vol. 28, p. 461). And Lenin insisted that the Soviets maintain close contact, always and at every level, with the people as the only guarantee against bureaucratic degeneration of the new social structure.

Re-reading *Ordine Nuovo* reconstructs in one's mind the first steps of the Soviet Republic, the difficulties it had to contend with, the struggle it waged, with its temporary retreats, the realization that it would take a long time to attain then its ultimate aims, for, as Lenin said, the transformations being carried out were part of a

new stage in history and were of epochal importance.

Gramsci did more than absorb Lenin's teaching and bring it to the knowledge of our people through his journal. His purpose was to apply the basic principles of Lenin's theory and tactics in Italian conditions. Through the Turin factory-council movement of which he was the leader, he tried to instil in the workers the idea that they were the builders of the future new economic and social system. For Gramsci knew that the Russian revolution had shown the high road to the triumph of socialism, but that the workers of other countries would have to follow that road in conditions differing from those in Russia. This called for constructive effort and action.

Lenin himself constantly reminded West European Communists that they should realistically assess the concrete conditions in their countries and adapt their policies accordingly. Re-reading *Ordine Nuovo* (August 21, 1920) I came across Lenin's comment to an English journalist. The revolution in England, he told him, would differ greatly from the revolution in other countries, and would not come soon. In his article on the Third International Lenin wrote: ". . . it was easier for the Russians than for the advanced countries to begin the great proletarian revolution, but it will be more difficult for them to continue it and carry it to final victory, in the sense of the complete organization of a socialist society" (Vol. 29, p. 310).

The Communist International had in the Soviet state founded by Lenin its first real nucleus. But Lenin knew, and fully appreciated, the difficulties confronting the European Communist parties. And though in his polemical statements he did not play down the differences and divergencies—in fact he deliberately stressed them to make the issue fully clear—he was always aware of the complexity and diversity of the conditions in the various countries.

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In October 1922 I went to Moscow as a member of our Party's delegation to the Fourth Communist International Congress.

I left a few days before the other delegates to stop over in Berlin for a meeting of women delegates. At that time the Comintern's Women's Secretariat, headed by Clara Zetkin, had its headquarters in Berlin.

I was able to talk to many women Communists from different countries and collect interesting and useful information for our



own work in Italy. After the meeting all women delegates continued the journey to Moscow.

I travelled with Clara Zetkin and in the train we continued our discussion of the Italian situation.

As we approached the Soviet frontier my thoughts turned to the thrilling moment when we would be on Soviet soil. The scene was of snow-covered expanses interspersed with birch groves. I was thinking of the great land of Russia, which I had learned to love from the works of her writers, of the Russian people, whom the revolutionaries, the Bolsheviks, Lenin, had awakened after centuries of incredible oppression and led to change the country through the October Revolution, which ushered in a new era in human history.

My thoughts were interrupted by Clara Zetkin who, looking through the window, said in a loud voice: "Greetings to the land of Soviets! Soon we shall see the first Red Army men."

And standing out in the seemingly endless snow-covered plain was the Red Flag of the Soviets, denoting the boundary of socialism. I, too, greeted it. For me it was a truly exciting moment.

In Moscow, I found all our delegates with the exception of Bordiga. We grouped around Gramsci—our Party representative on the Comintern Executive Committee. The papers carried the first reports of the fascist March on Rome. Mussolini had marched into the capital at the head of his armed Blackshirts with the open support of Italy's ruling circles. The King entrusted him with the formation of a new government. Naturally, all the talk centered on these events. Gramsci's remarks revealed a profound understanding of the problems and they immediately became the subject of lively discussion.

Bordiga, then Chairman of the Party Executive Committee, arrived in the middle of the discussion. He brought us an eye-witness account, but it seemed that he was surprised by the energy and heat of our debates. The March on Rome, he said, was a noisy theatrical spectacle, a burlesque (as he put it) of changing the government, ending merely in a parliamentary operation that did not go beyond the traditional bourgeois state structure. The Mussolini government might prove more reactionary than its predecessors, but it did not represent a fundamental change and in no way altered the substance of bourgeois dictatorship. Consequently, Bordiga concluded, it did not

pose any special problems for the working class and its party. All we had to do was more securely assure the functioning of the Party's central apparatus, in other words, take all the necessary organizational measures.

The ensuing discussion brought out the sharp difference of views between Gramsci and Bordiga. Gramsci conceded that the March on Rome did not contain an element of civil war, but, he emphasized, its purpose was to change the leadership and machinery of the bourgeois state in a way that would adversely affect the working class and the democratic movement. What direction would these changes take? What would be their repercussions for the political and trade-union organizations of the working class, for the reformist, Catholic and other movements? What new problems had now arisen for the Communist Party and its policy, tactics and activity? These were the questions put by Gramsci.

We were all looking forward to the opening of the Comintern Congress. Lenin was ill and there was much talk and anxiety among the delegates that he might not be able to attend.

Bordiga was saddened by the news of Lenin's illness. He was grieved that Lenin might not be able to receive him to discuss some controversial matters. But one morning Bordiga came to Gramsci's room with the news that he had been allowed a short visit to convey a message of greetings. The doctors would not allow a longer visit, they did not want Lenin to be tired by long discussions. I accompanied Bordiga on this visit to Lenin.

The greatness of Lenin, the magnitude of what he had accomplished, somehow led us to believe that he was physically great too.

We were shown into his study. Smiling, he rose to meet us, greeted us in Italian and the conversation continued in French. His manner immediately put us at ease. To me it seemed I was talking to an old acquaintance, and I felt myself part of his world, part of the great worldwide party of socialism.

Bordiga said there was much anxiety about his health.

"I am well," Lenin answered, "but I must submit to the despotic orders of the doctors so as not to become ill again. That would be unpleasant, there is so much still to be done."

He then told us of developments in Russia. He was satisfied with the slow but sure



rehabilitation of the economy and cited facts and figures to show how things were improving. He spoke with conviction, there was not a shade of doubt in his voice.

After a few questions and remarks about our Party, Lenin asked Bordiga for his views on the latest events in Italy. Bordiga described what had happened and gave his assessment of the situation. Lenin listened attentively and, it seemed to me, was somewhat surprised. What did the workers, the peasants, the people, think of these events, he asked.

Bordiga replied: "The working class stands to gain from the loss of its remaining illusions about the value of bourgeois democracy."

"But what do the workers and peasants think of these events today?" Lenin insisted.

"They are fighting," I said. I was thinking of the workers killed in Turin, of those who were fighting against the fascists in our towns and villages.

"Fighting? That's good."

Bordiga described some of the more militant actions.

"Good," Lenin repeated. And added: "The working class will always fight to win and uphold its democratic rights, even if they are restricted by the bourgeois government, and when the workers lose these rights they fight to regain them . . ."

Our talk was interrupted by Lenin's wife, Nadezhda Krupskaya. She nodded to us as she entered the room and turned to Lenin.

"Well," he said, returning to the jocular tone in which he spoke of his health, "this is the end of our talk—Krupskaya's appearance means just that. I am only allowed a few minutes conversation, and as a disciplined person I submit," he said as he saw us to the door.

As we parted he said, this time in a more serious tone:

"You have a long and difficult task ahead. The main thing is never, under any circumstances, to lose contact with the workers and peasants, to be out of touch with the life of the people."

In his report to the Congress Lenin spoke of the New Economic Policy (NEP) which the Soviet government was then carrying out. He explained why it was necessary, dispelled all doubts and objections, and won the support of the Congress. Foreign comrades, he said, "should assimilate part of the Russian experience. Just how that will

be done, I do not know. The fascists in Italy may, for example, render us a great service by showing the Italians that they are not yet sufficiently enlightened and that their country is not yet ensured against the Black Hundreds." (Vol. 33, p. 431).

But speaking was an effort, and Lenin looked tired when he left the rostrum. There was general anxiety about his health.

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Back in Italy, I had to go underground—I was to be tried in the first anti-Communist trial staged by the fascists. However, I managed to avoid arrest and devoted all my time to work in the underground Party Central Committee and Secretariat.

In the spring of 1928 I was appointed our Party's representative on the Comintern Executive Committee. I arrived in Moscow exhausted by the years of underground work. The Soviet comrades suggested that before taking my new job I should spend a few weeks in Gorki where, in a magnificent birch grove, there were several houses which served as rest homes.

Lenin had spent his last months in one of them. I visited it together with several Soviet comrades. And standing before his desk, piled high with newspapers and books, it seemed that we were in his presence and it brought back to my mind the day I visited him in his Moscow study.

There were sheaves of wheat on the table, gifts from nearby and distant villages, symbols of the labor of the emancipated toilers of the earth.

Even in his last months, when he was seriously ill, Lenin continued to meet workers and peasants, the builders of the new socialist society, was eager to talk to them, learn of their thoughts, hopes and plans and show them the way ahead.

And the workers and peasants, the free toilers of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics continue — in a long and endless line—to come from every part of this vast country to the Mausoleum on Red Square to pay tribute to Lenin. His thoughts, his behests, always alive, always inspiring, continue to help his people on their road of progress and to guide all the peoples on their road to the goal indicated by Marxism-Leninism—complete emancipation from exploitation and oppression, to the building of socialism, to fraternal cooperation of all the peoples, to communism.

Rome.



# **Tenth congress of the Rumanian Communist Party**

BARBU ZAHARESCU

The Tenth Congress of the Rumanian Communist Party, in which 1,915 delegates representing more than 1,900,000 members, took part, was held over August 6-12.

The agenda included reports by the Central Committee and the Central Auditing Commission, the draft directives for the 1971-75 five-year plan and long-term economic trends up to 1968, amendments to the Party Constitution, and election of the General Secretary, Central Committee and Central Auditing Commission.

Apart from the plenary sessions, there were sessions of various sections: Party work in industry; building and transport; agriculture and forestry; government, economic planning and financing; social problems and the living standard; international economic relations; training of manpower, administrative personnel, educational and research workers; development of the social and political system; ideological, cultural and educational activity; Party life; international policy of Party and state.

More than 400 delegates spoke in the seven days of broad and fruitful discussion in the plenary and section meetings, marked by criticism and self-criticism, producing numerous suggestions and proposals ultimately reflected in Congress resolutions. The public discussion of home and foreign policy and the draft of economic development directives, opened on the initiative of the Central Committee two months before Congress, helped make the discussion fruitful, with delegates arriving fully briefed on what the organizations they represent wished and approved.

Representatives of 70 Communist and

Workers' parties, national-liberation movements and Left socialist parties attended as guests. Greetings were received from 14 other fraternal Parties that could not attend for various reasons. The speeches of the fraternal representatives were, in effect, an exchange of opinion on the key issues of international Communist unity, unity of the anti-imperialist forces, the fight against aggressive imperialist groups and the struggle for peace and social progress. They underscored the significance for the unity of the anti-imperialist front of comradely discussion among parties.

## **I.**

The Central Committee Report on Party work between the Ninth and Tenth congresses and the tasks ahead, delivered by Comrade Ceaucescu, outlined the progress made by our people under the leadership of the Party in building socialism. The Report showed that targets set by the Ninth Congress were being approached and would be surpassed before 1970.

Like the report on Party work, the report on directives relating to the 1971-75 plan and economic trends for 1976-80, delivered by Ion Gheorghe Maurer, Chairman of the Council of Ministers, showed that in socialist Rumania industry was the main economic sector, industrial production increasing more than 12.3 per cent annually in the first three years of the present plan (1966-1970) against the planned 10.8 per cent, with aggregate 1968 industrial output 170 per cent higher than in 1960.

Agriculture, too, made rapid strides, de-



spite unfavorable weather in some years. Aggregate 1968 output was 30 per cent up over 1963, surpassing in the first three years the top mark set in the five-year plan, with farm supplies meeting consumer demand and industrial needs.

The 1970-80 development program envisages a no less rapid growth. The main aim is to expand and improve the material and technical base of the economy, build up a harmoniously developed socialist society and thus create the foundation for the gradual advance to communism.

To achieve this the country must secure intensive growth of the productive forces, build an advanced economy, with a modern industry and up-to-date farming that meet the continuously expanding needs of society. Also required is a rapid growth of science and education, without which progress is inconceivable. The welfare of the people must be enhanced through distribution according to socialist principles. Last but not least, it is essential to improve continuously the relations of production and the organization of society, providing organizationally for active participation by each citizen in government, extending the freedoms and developing socialist democracy.

This impressive program will bring Rumania abreast of the economically advanced countries in terms of production and productivity of labor, and also in per capita national income and standard of living. That entails considerable effort, because Rumania, despite her achievements, is still lagging behind economically advanced countries in both the capitalist and socialist worlds.

The main accent is on continued industrialization, based on the latest scientific and technological achievements. For the five years 1971-75 Congress set the annual rate growth of industrial output at 8.5 to 9.5 per cent, with 1975 aggregate industrial output 50-57 per cent higher than that of 1970 and more than 160 per cent higher than in 1965.

Congress directives envisage a further accelerated growth of the key industries; engineering, electric power and chemistry. In 1975 these will account for 54 per cent of total industrial production, as against 40 per cent in 1965.

While aggregate industrial output is to increase 50-57 per cent, output of the engineering industry is to go up 72-76 per cent, covering about 70 per cent of the home demand and meeting the investment plan for the five years.

By 1975 steel will have doubled against 1969, attaining a total of 10-10.5 million tons, aluminum increasing from 107,000 tons to 180 or 200 thousand, as also the production of copper, zinc, lead and other non-ferrous metals.

Envisaged is an 85-92 percent increase in chemicals, involving use of the rich home deposits of methane, oil and salt. The capacity of the power stations is to rise by 5,400-5,800 megawatts before 1975, hydropower stations accounting for about one-third of the increase. Total power output will climb to 55-57 thousand million KWH, as against 34,800 million KWH in 1970.

Congress also envisages expansion of the consumer industries. Goods are to be available in larger quantities and in a greater variety. Quality is to be improved and consumer tastes satisfied. Production will increase 40-45 percent by the end of 1975, with foodstuffs going up 35-40 percent.

For Rumania, agriculture is an important sector by virtue of the fertile soil and favorable climate, with much of the population employed in farming. It was natural, therefore, that Congress concerned itself with the socio-economic aspects of agriculture. The envisaged measures are to produce an aggregate 28-31 percent growth of farm output as against the previous five-year period.

A series of important measures are envisaged to attain this target. The sum of 60,000 million lei will be provided by the treasury for agricultural development in the coming five years, with the suggestion that another 20,000 million come out of the funds of the agricultural production co-operatives. The pool of farming machinery and tractors is to be expanded, especially in branches where mechanization is still insignificant, as, for example, cultivation of industrial crops, fruit and vegetable farming, wine-growing and animal husbandry.

To make agriculture less dependent on weather conditions, an extensive irrigation scheme is planned, with about 2,500,000 hectares of irrigated land to be available by the end of 1975, and as much as 3.5-4 million hectares in 1980. The country's total crop area, it may be recalled, is about 10 million hectares.

Cooperative farming has proved viable as a form of expanding agriculture. Congress examined problems related to further growth of the cooperatives, cultivating the spirit of cooperation and the farmer's socialist consciousness and sense of responsi-



bility for common property and the interests of society.

At the same time, in view of the importance of the state sector in farming, Congress framed further measures for specialization of state farming enterprises, with a view to making them competitive in output, efficiency and production cost with leading farms abroad.

Among the topics discussed was the state's investment policy. A high rate of accumulation, Congress held, was essential for Rumania to become economically, socially and culturally advanced—an imperative in the rapidly unfolding technico-scientific revolution when the productive forces are growing at an unprecedented rate in nearly all states. The accumulation rate for the coming five years was set at 28-30 per cent of the national income, which would not affect the growth of the living standard. Though in the first years the portion of the national income earmarked for consumption would shrink somewhat, expansion of the productive forces should soon eliminate the lag, with individual consumption rising above the mark prevailing with a lower accumulation rate. In the next ten years consumption is expected to total 35-50 thousand million lei more with the 28-30 per cent accumulation rate than if it were 25 per cent.

Three quarters of the accumulation is to go into industry, agriculture and building. Considerable investments are also envisaged for extending and modernizing transport and communications, educational facilities, culture, health and research.

Investments, Congress emphasized, must be made more effective, with allotted funds used mostly to increase output of material values.

Economic growth is closely related to growth of economic ties with other, primarily the socialist, countries. Congress examined Rumania's place in the international division of labor as an objective imperative imposed by the expansion of the productive forces on a world scale.

In the first three of the past five years, Congress indicated, foreign trade increased 12 per cent annually. Structural changes in export during the building of socialism are highly indicative, with manufactured goods gradually taking precedence over raw materials, the main item of export in bourgeois-landlord Rumania. At present, about 80 per cent of the exports are industrial goods, with machinery and equipment accounting for 27.5 per cent of the total. Foreign trade

is expected to grow 40-45 per cent in the five years 1971-75.

Guided by the desire to extend ties with the CMEA member-countries through co-ordination of plans and specialization of production, Congress reaffirmed the policy of promoting economic, scientific and technical cooperation with other socialist countries. Differences of opinion arising over ideological issues and socialist building, the world Communist movement or international affairs, should in no way affect economic, scientific and technical cooperation. Mutually advantageous economic relations should be based on respect for the independence and sovereignty of each socialist state. Better cooperation, the Rumanian Party holds, does not require any supra-national organ extending to the economic planning and independence of economic units in each country.

Nicolae Ceaucescu commended the decisions taken in April by a special CMEA session, saying that they "offered new opportunities for improving and deepening the forms of economic cooperation and cooperation in production among CMEA member-countries, for coordinating their national plans and for specialization."

Participation in the international division of labor requires broader economic and technico-scientific relations with all socialist countries. Rumania also maintains economic and technico-scientific relations with the developed capitalist states and with the developing countries. These are based on mutual advantage, respect for national independence and non-interference in internal affairs.

The supreme aim of the Party's economic policy, as was emphasized in the debate, is to improve the material and spiritual level of the people. The results achieved so far bear this out. In 1968 incomes in terms of wages increased 26 per cent against 1965, farmers' incomes increasing 16.2 per cent. Sums allocated for pensions, social security and insurance are nearly double those of 1965. Pensions are now paid to members of farming cooperatives, and students' monthly allowances have been raised 20 per cent. Annual holidays for factory and office workers have been made longer, and some 500,000 new jobs have been created since the beginning of the five-year plan. Other facts mentioned in Congress to illustrate the steadily rising standard of living, includes housebuilding and more goods in the shops.

A further rise in the standard of living



is envisaged in the coming five years on the basis of the planned 40-50 per cent increase in the national income in 1975 against 1970. Real wages and farmers' real incomes are to go up 15-20 per cent, with pensions totaling 1,300 million lei more and sales in government shops increasing 30-35 per cent. About 500,000 flats will be built by 1975, and more than 13,000 classrooms. The health service is to be improved and facilities in balneological and climatic spas expanded.

## II.

Expansion of the productive forces of socialist society entails corresponding progress in the relations of production, maintaining the balance between these two aspects of production achieved through the socialist revolution. Since the growth of the productive forces is not spontaneous, but organized and directed, improvements in relations of production must similarly be the result of organized work.

Congress designated measures for improving the relations of production. The actual functions of the socialist state are no longer those of the early period, when power passed to the working class and the suppression of the overthrown but not as yet eliminated exploiter classes was the main function of the state. Now, the economic function takes precedence. As the socialist economy develops, the role of the socialist state, too, increases in managing the economy, organizing production, promoting science and guiding cultural growth.

State bodies protecting the revolutionary gains of the working class and people, will continue to combat imperialist agents and all those who would in any way try to jeopardize these gains. At the same time, Party measures to prevent past abuses and ensure direct Party guidance of the armed forces, the state security bodies and the Ministry of Internal Affairs, were reaffirmed.

Congress concerned itself with the country's defenses, the improvement, better organization and equipment of the armed forces who defend the gains of the socialist system, the independence and sovereignty of our country. Defense of the revolutionary gains of socialism is the duty of the whole people. In that sense, the Party and government have taken steps to build up patriotic detachments and to provide military training for young people as a way of carrying forward the old proposition of the Marxist-

Leninist classics that the entire nation should be armed.

"Our country," Ceaucescu said, "will continue to promote cooperation with the armies of the Warsaw Treaty countries, with the armies of other socialist countries, and will always be ready to perform its duty in the event of an aggression by the imperialists."

Congress discussed the tasks of all state bodies—the State Council, National Assembly, Council of Ministers and the local councils. Bureaucratic trends endangering the bond between state and people were severely criticized and the demand made for better public control of government bodies at all levels.

Measures were adopted to ensure a rational organization of the state machinery, to simplify and bring it closer to the people, reduce the apparatus and secure more labor directly for productive activity, and bring the central organs closer to the production units.

In the context of improving the relations of production, Congress discussed measures to secure collective guidance of all economic and public institutions, assuring broader participation by the people in economic management.

Democratic centralism is the basis of the state's economic and social work. But centralism must not be excessive, lest it dampen initiative at lower levels. Congress set the sights on a harmonious combination of centralized guidance with broad autonomy for the subordinate units, with broader functions and responsibilities for enterprises. "The all-round development of socialist society," the Central Committee report said, "requires improvements in the general functioning of the state, of its central and local organs, requires cementing their ties with the people, developing socialist democracy and securing the increasingly active participation of the entire people in public life."

Congress discussed the achievements and growth of socialist democracy and formulated measures for the future. The problem of extending socialist democracy is, in effect, one of securing active participation by the people in governing the country. Stimulating constructive mass criticism of deficiencies in our political, economic and cultural life is particularly important. Congress emphasized that socialist democracy has nothing in common with anarchy, the pose of ignoring the law and the rules of behavior, with neglecting civic duties. On



the contrary, socialist democracy presupposes civic responsibility, a sense of duty in the common interest of our socialist society.

It was recognized as an important result of the Party's leadership that the national question has been resolved in a Marxist-Leninist spirit, with all citizens regardless of nationality winning complete equality. Congress stressed the positive role of the people's councils consisting of all nationalities inhabiting the locality in stimulating participation by citizens of other nationalities in social life and government.

### III.

Examining the Party's work between the 9th and 10th Congresses, the Central Committee report emphasized that the Party has acted as the guiding force in the Socialist Republic of Rumania. As the guiding role of the Party increased, mass participation in public life likewise increased. A symbiosis may be observed between Party members and people outside the Party, working jointly for the fulfilment of Party policy. The Communist Party has acquitted itself well as the leading force, as the only political force capable of leading the people in building socialism and communism, in guiding the struggle of the working class and farmers against the exploiting classes and in directing the people building socialism. The Party's guiding role is also underscored by the fact that Communists work in all economic and public institutions, that they are all guided by the Communist Party and that they are working jointly to complete the building of socialism.

Congress devoted itself also to organizational issues in order to ensure a continuous consolidation of the Party, to secure better methods in its work and to cement its unity. It stressed the necessity of extending the practice of Party organizations discussing all important measures concerning home and foreign policy worked out by the leading Party organs, and of assuring all Party members the freedom to express their views on problems of Party life and to criticize shortcomings in the work of the leading organs. It was also stressed that after a decision is adopted in accordance with Party rules, all members are obliged to work for its implementation.

Training new cadres as a replacement for the old, compelled to retire by dint of the inexorable biological laws, was discussed at length.

In view of changes in the Party's organizational structure, geared to the administrative territorial reorganization of our country, coupled with the need to finalize the functions of Party organs and organizations, Congress adopted amendments to the Party Rules.

Ideological and educational work was discussed in plenary sittings and by the appropriate sections.

Moulding a socialist consciousness is an arduous process involving sound knowledge of the most valuable elements of modern culture, science and technology and knowledge of the Party's conception of the world and society, a knowledge of dialectical and historical materialism. This combines with cultivating the right attitude to the problems facing our country. Cultivating loyalty to country and Party, the socialist cause, the spirit of internationalist solidarity with the peoples of the socialist countries, with the Communist and Workers' parties, the national liberation movement, and the revolutionary and progressive forces throughout the world combines in the Party's ideological and political work with combating alien ideology, reactionary and mystic conceptions and backward views.

### IV.

Congress discussed policy in international relations in the context of the Party and the government. Marxist-Leninist analysis of the prevailing situation reveals that the influence of the socialist forces and the anti-imperialist front is steadily rising and that they increasingly determine the course of international political life.

The Rumanian Party and the government of socialist Rumania conduct an active foreign policy, supporting the anti-imperialist forces, promoting international cooperation and advocating peaceful coexistence with all countries, irrespective of their social systems. The accent is on extending friendly ties and cooperation with the other countries of the world socialist system, consisting of 14 independent socialist states which are gaining stature as an international force, developing on the basis of national sovereignty and organizing their mutual relations on the basis of Marxist-Leninist principles and proletarian internationalism. The socialist world system is not a bloc in which the states fuse into a single whole, relinquishing national sovereignty. Its strength derives precisely from their internationalist solidarity as free and independ-



ent countries whose people are developing the socialist system by their own effort and which will in the event of an imperialist aggression oppose it jointly. The solidarity and mutual aid of the socialist countries will be the stronger and the more enduring, the better they are practised by the free socialist nations, which themselves establish the ways and forms of mutual aid in the event of imperialist aggression on the basis of agreement among the Party leaderships and between the constitutional bodies of each country.

Our Party has always worked for extensive and all-round contacts with all the socialist countries, for the greater unity of the socialist world system. As our Party sees it, divergent opinions and differences among socialist countries can be successfully overcome if the common factors, the supreme interests of the socialist cause and the anti-imperialist struggle, are given precedence, and if the principles of socialist internationalism, national independence and sovereignty, equality, non-interference in internal affairs, mutual advantage and comradely aid, are duly respected.

Comrade Ceaucescu declared:

"I wish to stress here, at this Congress, that in the spirit of our Party's traditional political line, we shall continue to support the development of friendly relations and all-round cooperation with the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, with the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, this being one of the pillars of our country's foreign policy. We also attach special significance to the development of relations with the Communist parties and peoples of the socialist countries of Europe—Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, Hungary, Poland, the German Democratic Republic, Czechoslovakia, Albania. . . .

"The Communist Party of Rumania and the government of the Socialist Republic of Rumania value highly their relations with the Communist Party of China, with the People's Republic of China . . . We shall also develop relations of cooperation and friendship with the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, the Korean People's Democratic Republic, the Mongolian People's Republic and the fraternal parties of these countries.

"An important place is assigned in our international activity to the development of relations with the Communist Party and people of Cuba, the first socialist state on the American continent."

Congress described the final elimination of colonialism and all forms of neo-colonialism as one of the key problems of the mod-

ern world and reaffirmed all-out support of the national liberation movement in countries that are fighting to fling off the imperialist yoke.

A striking demonstration of support for the heroic struggle of the people of Vietnam was evoked by the appearance on the platform of the Congress of the delegations of the Working People's Party of Vietnam and the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam.

The report delivered by Nicolae Ceaucescu elaborated on the Party and government stand on all topical international issues: settlement of the Middle East conflict on the basis of the November 1967 Security Council Resolution, European security and the recognition of the existence of two German states and of the present frontiers, including that along the Oder-Neisse, establishment of good-neighbor relations among all Balkan countries, disarmament, removal of foreign bases from the territories of other states and withdrawal of all foreign troops to within their national frontiers, and dissolution of military blocs, the aggressive North Atlantic bloc and, simultaneously, the Warsaw military treaty.

Congress devoted special attention to the relations between our Party and the other fraternal parties, our Party's ties with the various detachments of the working class and with the revolutionary-democratic and anti-imperialist movements. The present international situation and the variety of conditions in which each working-class Party operates, coupled with the maturity of the world Communist movement, require that relations between states should be based on observance of the Marxist-Leninist principles of inter-Party relations: proletarian internationalism, complete equality in rights, non-interference in internal affairs, and respect for the independence of each Party. The divergent opinions existing among the fraternal parties should be discussed in a comradely and principled way, ruling out suspicion, aspersions, condemnation and rebukes.

Congress recognized that the Moscow International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties in June 1969 had some positive features, although it took place in not altogether favorable conditions, primarily due to the absence of a fairly large number of parties, particularly five parties from socialist countries. Our Party holds that the effectiveness of the Meeting was reduced by the sharp differences and criticisms of other Communist parties. The free exchange



of views, the broad discussion of relations between the parties and of the unity of all the anti-imperialist forces, was a positive feature. As concerns the Document adopted by the Meeting, although it contains what our Party Congress considers vague and confused appraisals and formulations, it represents a broad platform of action likely to play a mobilizing role in the fight against imperialism, for the freedom and independence of the peoples, for socialism. Also positive was the fact that the Document reaffirms the norms and principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism implicit in the relations between parties, and that it contains no criticism and condemnation of any fraternal Party, stressing the desire of all participating parties to cooperate with all Communist parties, regardless of whether or not they attended the Meeting.

## V.

Our Tenth Congress marked a new, qualitatively higher phase in the life of the Party and the development of socialist Rumania. The broad discussions in the spirit of criticism and self-criticism witnessed at the plenary and section sittings, testified to the maturity attained by the Party organizations and membership, to the correctness of the Central Committee line aimed at drawing the largest possible mass of Party members into the discussion of all aspects of Party and state life with a view to making the Party a large collective brain trust. These discussions have added solidity to the indestructible unity and cohesion of our Party and its Central Committee.

A highlight at the Congress was the welcome accorded to the delegation of veterans of Rumania's working-class and revolutionary movement, consisting of participants in the inaugural congress of the Party, partici-

pants in the Great October Socialist Revolution and the civil war in Russia, veterans of the defense of the 1919 Hungarian Soviet Republic, participants in the civil war in Spain and the war in China against Japanese aggression, for the triumph of the Chinese revolution, participants in the Resistance Movement in France, Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia and other countries during the Second World War and in the Korean war against U.S. aggression. Also in the delegation were representatives of the young volunteers and of all those who responded to the call of the Rumanian Communist Party and fought shoulder to shoulder with the Soviet Army on the anti-fascist front. This was a striking demonstration of the internationalist spirit reigning in the Rumanian Communist Party since its founding nearly five decades ago.

Congress unanimously approved the reports on the work of the Central Committee and the Central Auditing Commission, the directives for the 1971-75 five-year plan, the long-term directives on economic trends for 1976-80, and the amendments to the Party Rules.

The new Central Committee, candidates to which were nominated by district conferences, was elected in an atmosphere of enthusiasm. The election of Comrade Ceaucescu as General Secretary, nominated by all the district conferences, was received with an ovation in recognition of his outstanding role in framing and implementing home and foreign policy, guiding the work of Party and government and asserting socialist Rumania as an active force of progress and peace in the international context.

The Tenth Congress of the Rumanian Communist Party was a milestone in the country's progress towards a harmoniously developed socialist society, towards communism.



# ***New stage in consolidation***

On the September Central Committee Meeting,  
Communist Party of Czechoslovakia

PAVEL AUERSPERG, VILEM NOVY

The Central Committee meeting of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia in Prague, September 25-26, was also attended by members of the CPC Central Control and Auditing Commission, top Party and government officials, and representatives of mass organizations.

The decisions of the September meeting continue the line formulated by the April and May meetings, defining the ways and means of overcoming the critical situation in the country and in the Party. In May the Party defined the current main aims as follows:

1. To restore Party unity based on the Marxist-Leninist teaching, on Leninist principles of Party building and Party life, and to enhance the Party's revolutionary capacity for action;

2. To restore the leading role of the Party in society, especially in the public organizations and in the organizations of the National Front, in governmental bodies and in the economic and cultural sectors;

3. To begin without delay effective measures to resolve the crucial economic problems;

4. To invigorate the functions of the socialist state at all levels as the organ of workers' and people's power;

5. To extend in a spirit of enduring friendship our relations with the fraternal Communist parties of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, on which rest the basic principles of our foreign policy.

The September meeting ushered in a new stage in implementing these basic tasks of the current period, a new stage in the consolidation of the sound forces of our society

and in the struggle against Right and anti-socialist forces and for their political isolation.

Speakers discussed developments in the Party and the country during the months since the May Central Committee meeting.

The report of the Central Committee Presidium on the present situation and the further tasks of the Party, like the communication on organizational and personnel measures, was delivered by Comrade Husak, First Secretary of the CC. Twenty-five speakers took part in the debate, and decisions on fundamental political, organization and personnel matters were adopted on the suggestion of the Presidium.

It will be recalled that the decisions of the May meeting were well received by all regional and district Party organizations and by the overwhelming majority of the Party branches. In four months the Party has made considerable progress in all areas and can be said to have completed the first phase of consolidating political and public life. Spontaneity and anarchism are gradually giving way to purposeful Party guidance. The Party, at least its sound nucleus, is regaining its capacity for action.

Personnel changes have facilitated matters considerably. It is safe to say that the Party leadership can now rely on a substantial number of its members working in various areas of Party and public life. And, what is most important, Party influence in the press, radio and television has increased; these powerful educational and political media are now beginning to serve the basic Party aims and the needs of our people.

It was stressed at the meeting that the



consolidation process has only begun and that many deficiencies still remain in all sectors. However, the Central Committee resolution pointed out, "the positive results of the May Central Committee meeting have confirmed that its decisions were correct. These will continue to be the concrete program of action until all problems are solved and the critical situations in our country are completely eliminated."

### **THE MAIN FRONT OF STRUGGLE AND BASIC REASONS FOR PRESENT DIFFICULTIES**

Combating the anti-socialist and Right forces is still the main theatre of struggle, the meeting underscoring its importance. Reactionary forces at home and their bourgeois allies, champions and protectors abroad had for months centered their efforts on organizing in August, in connection with the anniversary of the entry of allied troops, large-scale mass actions aimed at discrediting the policy of Party and state and involving the masses in an open conflict, creating chaos and new tragic situations. Nationalist feeling and anti-communist hatred were being whipped up, and anti-Soviet slogans were brandished. But the provocations ended in defeat for their organizers and participants. "He who rejects advice and puts his hand into the fire," Husak said at the meeting, "must expect to be hurt. Those who incite a political battle must expect to be hit." Last August showed that the Party and our socialist state are equipped to cope with all acts of subversion, to bridle the reactionary counter-revolutionary forces and to assure peace and order.

As noted at the meeting, large sections of the people, above all the working class and the farmers, did not respond to the incitement and slogans of the subversive forces, maintaining order and giving their full support to the Party and government leadership. The same is true in the case of the country-wide celebrations of the 25th anniversary of the Slovak national uprising, when the Party's policy of strengthening friendship with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, of combating home and foreign reaction, also found broad support. A prominent role in suppressing the provocations of the anti-socialist forces was played by the people's militia, the security bodies and units of our army, which did not succumb to the pernicious influences and stood firm guard over our socialist society.

Attention was called to the fact that after their defeat in the open confrontation, the anti-socialist and Right forces are resorting increasingly to illegal and semi-legal methods, calling for passive resistance, sabotage and individual terror. They have gone into hiding, waiting for a propitious occasion, expecting to exploit our mistakes and hoping for changes in the other socialist countries. That is why the Party calls for political struggle against them, exposing their arguments and demagoguery, their ideological and organizational centers and, wherever the law is violated, bringing the offenders to book.

A thorough analysis is needed of the preceding developments, those before and those after January 1968, to explain the crisis in the Party and in society. It has been entrusted to a commission set up by the Central Committee Presidium. To be conclusive, this analysis will take time. However, the September meeting was already able to pinpoint some aspects in the historical development of socialist Czechoslovakia. Among other things, the anti-socialist forces and Right opportunists tried to write off the more than 20 years of building socialist society, ignoring the fact that the exploiting classes and various parasitical strata were removed in that period under the leadership of the Communist Party. The country's industrial potential has increased several times over, and the standard of living and the cultural level have risen. As a result of the reorganization of agriculture on a basis of cooperation, poverty was wiped out in the countryside. Only enemies of the socialist system, of the working class and the people, can be blind to these results. We shall always proceed from the many positive results of the 20 years of building socialism, assuring continuity in our work as regards the good, sound and positive element.

We cannot deny that grave deficiencies existed and mistakes that prejudiced the growth of society and victimized many of our citizens were committed in building socialist society and in the course of the class struggle. But the Party has rejected the gross violations of the law of the fifties and the unwarranted administrative interference. The men responsible for the violations of socialist legality have been removed from public office, and we shall not permit the pernicious methods to recur. The Presidium announced that the results of the work of the rehabilitation commission, and likewise the pertinent proposals and conclu-



sions, will be examined by an early Central Committee meeting.

The Novotny leadership, the meeting noted, failed to respond to the new trends that surfaced in the world Communist movement in 1953-56, reflected in some of the conclusions and initiatives of the 20th Congress of the Soviet Communist Party. It failed to support the sound forces in the Party that sought to rectify the social deformations, and lacked courage to admit publicly, and to analyze along Marxist lines, let alone rectify with due energy, the accumulated deficiencies and mistakes.

It will be recalled that in the years after liberation, especially after February 1948, former members of other political parties and people of other views joined our Party. For this reason, the neglect of ideological and politico-educational work, and the absence of a class approach to problems, had a particularly negative effect. As a result, there appeared the notion that forces hostile to socialism no longer existed in our country, that class antagonisms survived solely on an international scale. The Party's deficient political and ideological work inevitably gives ample room for the influence of bourgeois and petty-bourgeois ideology to flourish.

Ideological and political work was replaced by bureaucratic methods of leadership and administrative interference. The unprincipled opportunism of the Novotny leadership, Husak stressed in his speech, enabled the Right forces to gain a foothold, particularly in the ideological and cultural areas, and to cultivate opportunist revisionist trends and aims inside and outside the Party. The Novotny leadership did not support the sound trend, stemming from a Marxist-Leninist analysis of the situation, which appeared in the Party in 1963 and later, so that it would become the bearer of genuine socialist progress. It did not differentiate between honest Communists eager from Marxist-Leninist positions to rectify mistakes and deformations, and the enemies of the Party or bearers of opportunist tendencies. The sincere desire of many Communists to remedy the critical situation, which gradually developed into a Party crisis and a crisis of our society, was neither understood, supported nor headed by the Party leadership before January 1968. This may explain the unpreparedness of a considerable section of the Party for the political and ideological struggle of the post-January period.

## **THE POST-JANUARY DEVELOPMENTS, THE OFFENSIVE OF THE ANTI-SOCIALIST FORCES**

The majority of our people welcomed the changes of January 1968, the purpose of which was to rectify the mistakes and deficiencies in order to make better use of the objective advantages of the socialist system. This applied to economic problems, as well as to the political and social, to the extension of socialist democracy, national relationships, enlivening political work, and so on. New opportunities appeared, which the meeting described as an historical opportunity for the Party and the people.

In April 1968 the Central Committee attempted to define the new aims in an Action Program, which, however, was already affected by the considerable pressure exerted by opportunist groups.

The basic post-January ideas are still the point of departure in framing our Party program. But in many respects the program must be theoretically substantiated, corrected and made more specific. That is why, the temporary measures taken to restore order and invigorate the state, reverse the economic break-down and, above all, restore the unity and capacity of the Party, Husak pointed out, are a precondition for implementing the positive tasks left unfinished after January 1968, completion of which is necessary for the further growth of our state.

Why was the post-January opportunity missed? Why is that period impregnated with attempts to subvert the socialist system and to sap its foundations? Why did those developments lead to the events of August 1968? The Central Committee meeting listed some of the key factors. To begin with, the anti-socialist forces and Right opportunists had appeared in the Party long before January 1968; their nucleus had organized itself much earlier. After January, leadership in the Prague city organization of the Party was captured by a Rightist group which aspired to be the second center in the Party. Equally grave was the absence of unity in the post-January top leadership. Representatives of the Right opportunist forces installed themselves in the leadership, as a result of which it had no clear concept, did not lean on the working class, and lacked firm and energetic guidance. As a result, it could not cope with the dangerous, partly organized and partly spontaneous social pressures that came into evidence quite distinctly in our political life



shortly after January 1968. For example, under the influence of the Right forces, the Party's leading role was so defined in the Action Program as to negate the singleness of political instruments and levers of power in implementing the leading role.

The mass information media slipped out of the Party's control, became independent and were captured by the Right and anti-socialist forces. In effect, the Party leadership abandoned its hold in that area. The Right and anti-socialist forces took advantage of the mass media to discredit the building of socialism in our country, to discredit people, ideas, causes, the Party as a whole, its home and foreign policy, reviving the petty-bourgeois ideals of the times of the bourgeois republic and mounting an all-out campaign against the Soviet Union and our other close allies.

The propaganda of the Right opportunists cast doubt on, and emasculated, the Leninist norms of Party structure and life, such principles as its guiding role in society, its internationalist character and international relationships, and some key aspects of economic growth in a socialist state. It attacked the theoretical precepts and the practical experience of the world Communist movement from the petty-bourgeois, social-democratic or even anarchist standpoints.

The anti-socialist forces also operated through various clubs (like the K-231, KAN, etc.), legal and illegal societies, penetrated the organizations of the National Front, and were busily resuscitating social-democracy, peddling the theory of "pluralist" democracy, the model of the bourgeois democratic society. KAN candidly claimed the role of an anti-socialist opposition, the main purpose of which was to create a political counterweight to the Communist Party. Its leaders, Ivan Svitak and others, set their sights on fusing all anti-socialist elements, winning a firm position in parliament and in the National Front organizations, thus to exert an anti-socialist influence on the home and foreign policy of the state. Facts now appearing in the press show that the anti-socialist forces created favorable conditions for a considerable expansion of Western intelligence work in Czechoslovakia.

Campaigns against the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism on the demagogic plea of abstract freedoms, fanning nationalism and anti-Sovietism, created a grave danger to the Party, to the socialist system. Instead of taking determined measures

against these tendencies, the Party leadership failed to act on the decision of the May 1968 Central Committee meeting, which called attention to the dangers created by the anti-socialist forces. The Right and anti-socialist forces took advantage of the situation created by the preparations for the 14th Party Congress. "The question of bringing closer the date of the Congress," Husak said, "coupled with the unpreparedness of the Party leadership and the increasing aggressiveness of the Right forces, who were straining to seize control of the Party, redoubled the dangers to socialism in our country and deepened the critical aspects in our relations with fraternal parties."

What all this amounted to, therefore, was an attempt to wipe out our revolutionary gains. "Sometimes," Husak said, "we were reluctant to use the term 'counter-revolutionary forces', thinking that counter-revolutionary always implied direct armed struggle against the revolutionary forces of the working class, that is connoted shooting, killing, and the like. However, if we regard the working-class movement guided by Marxist-Leninist principles and led by the Communist Party as the main revolutionary trend of modern society, then the forces antagonistically opposed to this movement, to the main aims of the revolutionary movement, are always—and objectively this was so in our case—counter-revolutionary forces, regardless of the stage their actions have attained and what actions were permitted them."

The examination of the post-January development by the September Central Committee meeting showed that the internal political conflicts could not but affect our Party's relations with the CPSU and the fraternal parties of the other Warsaw Treaty countries. These parties publicly welcomed the changes in Czechoslovakia after January 1968; but the farther matters went, the more apprehensive they became of the threat to the socialist gains in Czechoslovakia, the threat to the entire socialist camp. Important secret documents were read at the September meeting concerning the negotiations conducted between the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the other fraternal parties. Regrettably, as we have now learned, neither the Party nor the public, and not even all members of the Central Committee Presidium, were told about the results of these talks and about the promises made by our



Party leaders. The conduct of the leadership could not but influence the entire Party, its more than 1,600,000 members, who were gradually led astray.

Comrade Husak told the meeting in detail how the former leadership, above all Alexander Dubcek, on various pretexts avoided meeting representatives of the CPSU and the four other fraternal parties in Warsaw. By so doing, Husak pointed out, the Party leadership paraded before the world its break with the leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the four other fraternal parties, accentuating its isolation from its closest allies. After this, the Right and anti-socialist forces whipped up through the mass media nationalist and anti-Soviet sentiment still more vehemently, endeavoring to create a spurious "nationwide unity"; and the former Party leadership sided with this "unity".

Now, we regard the warnings and advice given by the fraternal parties in Dresden and Moscow, and contained in the letter sent by the Warsaw meeting as comradely aid to our leadership. If the latter had been willing and capable of leaning on the sound forces in the Party, the working class and among other sections of the people, and to draw on the help of the fraternal parties, events would have taken an entirely different course.

The Central Committee has fully annulled the decision of July 19, 1968, concerning the CPC refusal to participate in the Warsaw Conference adopted under intensive Rightist psychological, moral and public pressure. The resolution of the September meeting pointed out that it "was a serious political mistake, an act contrary to the interests of socialism in our country and to internationalist traditions."

The documents of the bilateral negotiations in Cierna-nad-Tissou and of the six-Party meeting in Bratislava, which we have at last had a chance to see, reveal that the former CPC leadership—and this applies first and foremost to Alexander Dubcek—made light of its obligations, flowing from the principles of proletarian internationalism, of the relations between Communist parties, and from the alliance between Czechoslovakia, the Soviet Union and the other fraternal countries. Alexander Dubcek, whose duty it had been to concern himself with the security of the country and the tranquil life of the people, did not live up to his responsibilities in that situation.

## **DEFENSE OF SOCIALISM AND THE NEW ASSAULT OF THE RIGHT, ANTI-SOCIALIST FORCES AFTER AUGUST**

It was pointed out at the September meeting that the entry of troops into our territory in August 1968, with all the political, psychological, internal and international complications and consequences, could have been averted, given a more responsible approach to the conduct of our Party policy.

Having exhausted all political means of controlling the dangerous situation, the leaders of the allied parties and governments with heavy hearts adopted the emergency decision to send their troops into our territory. Alarmed for the future of socialism in Czechoslovakia in face of the threat of political power passing to the Right forces at the approaching extraordinary Party congress, and fearing the consequences of this to the security of the socialist camp and the postwar arrangement in Europe, they saw no other way out.

The entry of allied troops meant saving the socialist system in our country and repulsing a new attack of the class enemy against the positions of socialism.

However, the well-known statement of the CC CPC Presidium of August 21, 1968, viewed the entry of the troops of the five Warsaw Treaty countries from an entirely different, non-class, nationalist angle. It contradicted the Bratislava declaration, signed by the leaders of our Party and, specifically, by Alexander Dubcek, which said that support, consolidation and protection of the socialist gains achieved at the price of heroic effort and the selfless labor of each people, was the common internationalist duty of all socialist countries.

After the Central Committee Presidium statement, the Party membership and our people, politically unprepared and kept in the dark about the development of relations between the socialist countries, uninformed about our undertakings, incited by the chauvinist wave fanned by the mass media, were misguided and deceived, could not find their bearings, or work out an objective standpoint. "It is scarcely right to blame them for it in such a situation," Husak said at the September Central Committee meeting. "A chauvinist anti-Soviet wave had been whipped up in the country, portrayed as supreme patriotism, while every other opinion was branded as treachery and collaboration. The hate campaign



conducted by the mass media, having begun long before, reached its peak in those days. A group of people outside the country, particularly Ota Sik and company, abused the occasion to take action abroad and in the UN Security Council." This campaign was aimed at achieving a break with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, at calumniating the USSR and the other socialist states on a world scale.

The May Central Committee meeting declared that the Party intended to take an honest stand before our people and the international Communist movement. Party branches, public and other bodies, had already, before the Central Committee meeting, annulled their decisions based on the August 21, 1968 statement of the CC Presidium. Seeing that its very essence is incorrect, the Central Committee meeting annulled that statement, noting in its resolution that it had been "non-class, non-Marxist and altogether incorrect. In the situation that arose in the summer of 1968, the entry of the allied troops was motivated by the interests of defending socialism in Czechoslovakia against the Right, anti-socialist and counter-revolutionary forces, by the common interest in the security of the socialist camp, the class interest of the working class and Communist movement. On no account was it an act of aggression against the people or an occupation of Czechoslovak territory, suppression of freedom or of the socialist system in our country."

By this the Central Committee rectified before the Party, the people, and the world Communist movement, one of the main mistakes, and created for a large number of upright Party members and citizens a chance, after familiarizing themselves with the facts, to assess correctly and objectively what happened in August 1968.

Going back to the August 1968 events, the meeting stressed the importance of the talks then conducted in Moscow by our delegation headed by Comrade Ludvik Svoboda, President of the Republic. The Moscow Protocol signed as a result of these negotiations, the meeting stressed, was a continuation of the Bratislava statement. It served as the basis for the return to normal in the country, for the resumption of work by our Party and government, and the revival of public life. Among others, the Moscow Protocol contained the stipulation annulling the so-called Vysocany congress. However, the previous CPC leadership did not state its attitude on that score at all clearly. The September meeting rejected

and invalidated the "Vysocany congress," its documents and results. The resolution adopted by the meeting said: "The illegal so-called Vysocany congress was the result of the intolerable factional activity of some members of the CC, the Prague City Committee and other Right opportunist forces; its organization contrary to the Rules was an abuse of the delegates of the Extraordinary 14th Congress of the CPC."

The action of the initiators and organizers in calling the "Vysocany congress" was described by the meeting as "an illegal usurpation of the rights and competence of the Central Committee and an attempt to take control of the whole Party in order to impel the Party and the state towards detaching the CSR from the socialist community and wiping out the socialist gains of the people."

"Considering the specific atmosphere created by the pressure of the Right forces in which the delegates to the 14th Congress were elected, the Central Committee of the Party has cancelled their credentials. Delegates to the coming 14th Congress will be elected in the framework of a pre-congress campaign by methods to be determined by the CC on the basis of the Party Rules."

By virtue of verified facts, Gustav Husak pointed out at the meeting, we want to help settle the so-called Czechoslovak question in the world Communist movement and extend our relations with the Soviet Union and other allied socialist countries.

The Meeting analyzed the situation in the Party and country from August 1968 to April 1969. Regrettably, those were months of chaos and crisis. The Right forces in the Party, as well as the anti-Soviet forces in society, continued to be active. The student strike in November 1968, the campaign in connection with the election of the Federal Assembly chairman, the trade union congresses in December 1968, the crises in January-February and, particularly, at the end of March 1969, all amounted to an offensive by the anti-socialist and Right forces.

In those difficult conditions, the leadership continued its contradictory, hesitant and opportunist policy. The right decisions were taken, it is true, but their implementation was, in effect, obstructed by representatives of the Right-wing in the Party leadership. The resolution of the November 1968 Central Committee meeting, which tried to create a basis for uniting the Party, so that it would carry forward its guiding role, and to consolidate the situation in the Party and country, was torpedoed and



frustrated by an offensive of the anti-socialist and Right forces. Some members of the former leadership and the then First Secretary could not summon the courage to take effective action against these forces, while Right and anti-socialist elements seized positions of prominence in many economic areas and government bodies, public organizations, the trade unions, the youth movement, and the government apparatus. The meeting noted that a detailed analysis of developments in those eight months has still to be made and would reveal the guilt of the political and other leaders for the tragic situations that arose in our Party and country.

### DECISIVE TURN IN PARTY POLICY

It was not until April that a Central Committee meeting achieved a fundamental turn in Party policy. Five months after that meeting we have the resources to accelerate the measures aimed at consolidating the political and economic spheres. Our aim is to create normal tranquil conditions for tackling our problems, especially those in the economy. To resolve issues of vital importance for the people is the essence of the Party's work. But at present, the leadership is working in a difficult climate. Past legacies weigh heavily on the present. This means that, first and foremost, we must be more demanding of our people, especially the Communists, in all sectors. As the meeting pointed out, the Party must be cleared of people who cling to an incorrect political and ideological posture.

The meeting adopted a special decision on personnel and organizational matters. It relieved Alexander Dubcek of his duties as member of the Presidium and instructed the Communist deputies in the Federal Assembly to recall him from his post, occupied as a deputy of the Communist Party. Josef Smrkovsky was relieved of membership in the Central Committee, and Communist Assembly deputies were instructed to relieve him of his functions in the Federal Assembly and in the People's Chamber. A number of other persons who had departed from Marxist-Leninist positions and compromised the Party, were also relieved of their Central Committee membership, while another nineteen were at their own request relieved of their duties as Central Committee members. A correct personnel policy is of crucial importance. "How the Party's policy is carried forward depends on the people whom the Party puts in responsible

positions in all spheres of our life. In our work we must rely on politically mature people, unshakable and capable specialists, on people of good character, able to cope with their work and win prestige and respect among their associates. Each Party branch must devote special attention to this," Husak stressed.

A single discipline, equally obligatory for all Party members, is imperative to restore Party unity. This means that we must combat the old sectarian tendencies, still in evidence here and there, which impede our consistent struggle against Right opportunism as the main danger.

The meeting stressed the special significance of Party branches in the enterprises, in all areas of work. Work in these branches is at present still a weak link. Many members take no active part in Party life, do not even attend the branch meetings; yet it is at branch level that the main front of the struggle with Right opportunist influences is deployed. Enhancing the vanguard role of all upright Communists is one of the most important tasks, devolving from the decisions of the September meeting of the Central Committee. At present, the Presidium is working out the procedure for an exchange of membership cards. We have no intention, Husak said on this score, to issue new membership cards to dishonest people who have compromised themselves, or those who fail to give up views hostile to our teaching.

Important tasks are ahead in the field of ideological education. Party propaganda must concentrate on the current tasks of the Party in the various sectors of socialist construction. Mention was made at the meeting of the need for action against the influences of Western bourgeois propaganda, drawing a lesson from the causes and overcoming the consequences of the activity of Right-opportunist and counter-revolutionary forces. It is essential to revive an effective system of Party education, especially study of the Marxist-Leninist classics and questions of current Party policy. Educating Party activists, above all in the industrial enterprises, is a matter of special importance.

A political offensive against opportunist influence is to be mounted in all the mass organizations, primarily in the trade unions and in the youth organizations. Of late, the meeting noted, the trade-union movement has given us little help in resolving economic and production problems. The Party calls on the unions to go over from fruit-



less political talk, especially from organizing various protest actions, to an active, positive and fruitful activity. All Party committees will devote special attention to the organizations of the National Front. Hard work lies ahead on the cultural front, in the spheres of public education, science and art. "We are greatly interested in winning the cooperation of the vast majority of intellectuals of all trends," Husak said at the meeting. The meeting called for the cooperation of everybody not indifferent to the future of our people.

In May, the government took action to stabilize the economic situation. The earliest possible framing of an exhaustive concept of planned economic guidance is needed in order to resolve the economic problems. "We shall consistently revive the leading role of the Party in full measure in the economy, firming up Party and government discipline and giving the initiative of the people every possible support," Husak said. The meeting adopted an appeal, calling on the people to display labor initiative in tribute to the 25th anniversary of Czechoslovakia's liberation by the Soviet Army.

We, the appeal says, call on the Communists, on trade union members, members of

the organizations of the National Front and the National Committees, on workers, cooperative farmers, the intelligentsia, the women, the older generation and the youth, that by their attitude and labor they should secure what our country needs most these days—calm and conscientious work. Everybody must give concrete and thorough thought at every bench, how the economic situation can be most effectively and rapidly improved. The result of this effort will benefit our economy and satisfy the requirements of our people.

The Central Committee called on all Communists to take the lead in the nationwide initiatives and expressed its trust that each citizen will in the jubilee year of the Republic back up the gains of socialism, proving his true socialist patriotism.

The decisions of the September Central Committee meeting were received with unanimous approval by all district and regional Party branches and Party branches in the big enterprises. Their resolutions express full support for the Party leadership. The Central Committee appeal for labor initiative is materializing in production pledges and undertakings.

## ***Treasured mementos***

Although nearly six months have passed since the International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties was held in Moscow, lectures and talks on the subject invariably draw capacity audiences in Leningrad, as elsewhere in the Soviet Union.

The Leningrad Party organization is popularizing the materials of the international forum of Communists in many other interesting ways, such as exhibitions. In this item we shall tell our readers of one such exhibition which is very popular not only with the people of Leningrad but also with the many visitors to the city.

Not far from the Neva where the now legendary cruiser "Aurora" rides at anchor, stands the former Kshesinskaya Palace from the balcony of which Lenin in April 1917 addressed the Petrograd workers, sail-

ors and soldiers. Today the Palace houses the museum of the October Revolution.

Shortly after the Moscow Meeting a special exhibition was opened in the museum devoted to that gathering. Before the delegations to the Meeting were due to leave for home, the Museum sent one of its staff to the capital to enlist their cooperation in arranging this exhibition. The foreign comrades gladly responded to the request, with the result that four new stands with unique exhibits are now open to the public.

One of the exhibits is a disc of songs by the Paraguayan composer Jose Flores, who was a member of his Party's delegation. For the cover of this disc—reproduced at the request of the Paraguayan comrades—the Soviet artist Irakli Toidze has drawn a



vivid poster: "Freedom for the political prisoners in Paraguay!" The record, which was an immediate success, was presented to all the delegations as a gift, and one was sent to Leningrad autographed by the Paraguayan delegation.

Another exhibit is a miniature badge with red flags in the center. The miniature is the badge of the Republic of Haiti, made when the country gained its independence.

When the dictator Duvalier came to power, the red color of the revolution on the banners of the republic was replaced by black. Many who continued to wear the badge of freedom were murdered on the spot by Duvalier's strong-arm men. But terror, no matter how grim, cannot break the people's will for freedom. When presenting this treasured relic to the museum, Comrade Dorcilier, head of the United Party of Haitian Communists, said that the Communists in his country always carry this badge on them.

On the stands are manuscripts, the drafts of the speeches made by representatives of fraternal parties to the Meeting, and of the documents and resolutions adopted by the Meeting; Party publications presented to the Museum, Party newspapers and journals, a medal in honor of the 50th anniversary of the Communist Party of Argentine. Other exhibits include photographs, the personal effects of revolutionaries such as the hand-woven peasant bag

and flash-light with which the Nicaraguan representative to the Meeting crossed the frontier, the manuscript of the poem about Lenin written by Eduardo Gallegos Mansera, member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Venezuela, which he presented to the Museum.

At the International Meeting Lenin's name, which has become the banner of struggle for man's most lofty ideals, was heard again and again in the speeches of the delegates.

A few weeks ago the Museum held one of its regular Lenin readings devoted, on this occasion, to Lenin's teaching on proletarian internationalism, friendship between nations and fraternal solidarity of working people. In their contributions K. Ilyin, a geologist, told of the joint research by scientists of the socialist countries, G. Zabrodskeya, a wartime prisoner in a fascist concentration camp, and A. Gurevich, a participant in the Spanish civil war, recalled many instances of proletarian internationalism. After viewing the new exhibits, V. Vinogradov, member of the Party since 1915, commented as follows on them:

"When you study the documents of the Meeting, see the exhibits, you cannot but rejoice at how fast the seeds sown by Marx, Engels and Lenin are sending out shoots in all parts of the world."

Y.Z.

## ***In brief***

### **CUBA**

A national conference has been held of the Revolution Defense Committees, set up nine years ago to combat counter-revolution. With a membership of about 1,500,000, they play an important part in safeguarding public property, help the Interior Ministry to combat counter-revolutionary activity and violation of public order, and the Communist Party and government to organize the masses for fulfilment of economic plans.

### **CHILE**

The Communist Party has published the Main Document of the International Meet-

ing of Communist and Workers' parties. The 45,000 copies were distributed as a supplement to the Party's central newspaper, *El Siglo*. The August issue of the Party's theoretical journal, *Principios*, is devoted to the Moscow Meeting. Conferences are being held at regional committee level, and all branches are being informed of the conference and of the relevance of its decisions to the situation in Chile.

The Communist Party is working towards broad unity of the popular forces. Its General Secretary, Luis Corvalan, said in a recent interview to the journal *Cuadernos Universitarios* that unity must be more monolithic than a simple electoral coalition of parties. The Communist Party considers



the conquest of power a paramount task of the class struggle and will work for a government representing the interests of all sections of the people. In present conditions the Party does not consider armed struggle a suitable means, for it believes there are ample opportunities of winning power through elections and development of the class struggle. However, this should not be taken to mean that the Communist Party rejects armed struggle in general. The situation can abruptly change and make armed struggle a pressing issue. Nor should the possibility be precluded of the reactionary forces resorting to a coup in their drive for power. It is therefore only natural that in such circumstances the people and, needless to say, the Communists, will not remain passive, but will effectively repel reaction.

## EL SALVADOR

A statement issued by the Communist Party says that from the very start it denounced the war against Honduras and called for peace negotiations. The war enabled the people of the two countries to form a clear picture of their real enemy and see the way to liberation. The Communist Party has shown the people, the statement says, that U.S. imperialism instigated and fanned the conflict through its military missions in the two countries, and as a result of the war anti-American sentiment has spread both in El Salvador and in Honduras.

## FRANCE

The annual *Humanité* festival in Paris was as in previous years, an outstanding success.

It culminated in a mass meeting attended by hundreds of thousands and was addressed by Waldeck Rochet.

Speaking about the situation in France, Waldeck Rochet noted that the capitalist monopolies and their regime were trying to force the workers into new sacrifices. But they were oblivious to the fact that the working class had grown in strength and had drawn valuable lessons from the recent struggles.

Waldeck Rochet described the Party's program of immediate demands and explained how France could be liberated from Big Business domination. A genuine demo-

cratic government, he said, could carry out its program only if it relied on a militant alliance of democratic and labor forces. That was a crucial condition.

The French Communist Party, Waldeck Rochet emphasized, is now more than ever the spokesman of the working class, the chief force of democratic renewal, the great party of socialism. This year it has been joined by some 40,000 people, including thousands of young people. Comrade Rochet also stressed the part played by *Humanité* in the fight for democracy and socialism.

## NORTHERN IRELAND

A statement of the Communist Party published in Belfast says the reactionary government held back much needed reforms until it was compelled by public pressure, necessitating British interference, to submit these reforms to Parliament. The statement adds that this is not enough: those responsible for the outrageous attacks on part of the population must be called to account. The Communist Party insists on immediate reform of the security services, including reorganization of the Ulster Constabulary to make it a genuine civilian police force. The Party also demands amnesty for all those who during the recent disturbance fought to defend their homes.

## SAN MARINO

The Communist Party polled 2,952 votes (22.76 per cent) in the elections to the republic's Grand General Council (parliament), in which it now holds 14 seats.

## SOUTH AFRICA

The South Africa Communist Party's theoretical journal, *African Communist*, devotes its editorial to the International Meeting. It describes the Meeting as an historic landmark in the century-long struggle for the emancipation of mankind, and the Main Document as an outstanding Marxist-Leninist analysis that should be carefully studied and translated into practice by every Communist and revolutionary. The very convocation of the Meeting, the magazine says, came as a shattering blow to imperialism and proved that the greatest revolutionary movement known to human history is closing its ranks in preparation for new battles and is purging itself of every species of opportunism.



## ***Space: science, technology and Man***

Man's venture into outer space is a natural step in world scientific and technical progress. Considering the wide interest in recent space developments, **World Marxist Review** asked Academician Petrov of the Soviet Academy of Science, to answer a few questions. Academician Petrov's replies follow.

**Question:** What is the interconnection between the following events: launching of the first artificial earth satellite, the first manned space flight, man's first walk in space, dispatch of the first automatic devices to the planets, the first experimental orbital station and man's first landing on the Moon? What does all this hold out for the future?

**Answer:** The Soviet Union's launching of the world's first artificial satellite aroused wide interest and thrilled people everywhere. That is understandable, for Sputnik I ushered in a new era in human history, the space age.

Man's penetration of outer space is a natural and logical step in world progress. Having conquered his own planet, its land mass, waters and air, he turned his attention to outer space, the hitherto unknown and enigmatic environment of his planet. Together with its numerous celestial bodies it plays no less an important part in the life of the human race than the huge land, sea and air expanses. Exploring the space beyond our planet has always been the dream of philosophers and science-fiction writers.

All this seemed a thing of the distant future. The first Sputnik, which came as a complete surprise to most people, revealed the high level science and technology had attained in the more developed countries. For it involved the design and construction of a powerful booster rocket, jet engines and piloting systems. For the first time in history a man-made vehicle was travelling at the first space velocity, circling the earth as its artificial satellite. This was the first step in planned exploration and mastery of the cosmos.

No one believed that only three and a

half years later man would himself fly into space, but accelerated technological progress, complemented by the daring of the pioneering cosmonauts, made this possible.

April 12, 1961, is a memorable date in history. It was on that day that Yuri Gagarin, the Soviet aviator, made his famous orbital voyage.

Gagarin's flight was an historic breakthrough, a leap into the unknown. But before the leap could be made, tremendous technical difficulties had to be surmounted in designing and building the powerful booster rocket, the spacecraft and its life-sustaining system. Another problem was how to overcome the psychological barrier that has always stood in the way of attempts to subdue nature. The flight of Gagarin required supreme courage, the utmost dedication to science and progress, to his country and mankind. And Yuri Gagarin possessed these qualities. Everyone remembers his famous words: "I'm off!" as the Vostok tore away from the planet.

A dream had become reality. And only now, years after this and other, much more complex and longer flights, only after the new discoveries, can we properly assess the implications of Gagarin's exploit.

Man's first walk in space was another landmark, or should we say spacemark. And not only because of its daring, but also because of its practical implications. For many problems of space flight necessitate working outside the space ship, to assemble orbital stations, inspect and repair the space ship, carry out technical experiments and landings on the moon and on other planets.

Lunar expeditions could be undertaken only after space-walk techniques had been fully mastered and all the necessary sophisticated gadgets tested. Here again, techni-



cal and psychological difficulties had to be overcome.

The first step into open space, a man orbiting outside the ship, becoming, as it were, a living earth satellite, called for exceptional heroism.

Soviet cosmonaut Alexei Leonov, the first to perform the feat, proved that man could live and work outside his spaceship. Leonov paved the way for other cosmonauts and dispelled all doubts about the possibility of working in such conditions.

In space, more perhaps than in any other field of human endeavor, automatic devices blaze the trail for man. This applies to near-terrestrial space and more particularly to the planets. Automatic devices are our explorers of the universe. They can accomplish—in fact are already accomplishing—tasks of increasing complexity in providing scientific data about outer space, the moon and the solar system. And their usefulness and effectiveness increase with every passing year. They are our only means of direct exploration of the planets, and will remain so for the immediate future.

They are equally valuable for scientific and technical experimentation in designing new spacecraft and the instruments needed for unmanned and manned flights and for probing the conditions in which such flights take place.

Unmanned probes played no mean part in preparing the Apollo lunar projects. Much valuable data was obtained from the automatic spaceships aimed at the moon and from the photographs they sent back, from lunar landings, around-the-moon flights, and the Luna, Ranger, Surveyor, Luna-Orbiter, and Zond artificial moon satellites.

Steady progress in space technology and comprehensive space research programs prepared the conditions for man's first flight to the moon. The landing of the first American expedition on the moon's surface, just as the earlier American manned around-the-moon flights, were a big contribution to cosmonautics. Astronauts Armstrong, Aldrin and Collins performed a truly heroic exploit, an exploit calling for immense courage, experience and skill.

Armstrong, and then Aldrin, were the first men to set foot on the surface of our natural satellite. We witnessed the opening of a new era in lunar exploration, an era in which man will have a direct part in fathoming the moon's secrets.

Much has been accomplished in the 12 years since the inauguration of the space age. Technical achievement and scientific

discoveries are now yielding practical results. Communication and television satellites, weather forecasting, navigation-guiding, study of ice areas—these are only part of a much larger list of the practical uses of artificial earth satellites.

Space research is one of the highways of modern science and technology, for it employs all the latest achievements of both and is, in fact, the synthesis of everything man has accomplished. The complexity of the problems involved in space exploration is probably without parallel and their solution demands mobilization of all our potentialities and abilities.

On the other hand, space research is a powerful factor of technological progress, providing rich experimental material for all the sciences that study the earth and the universe, the origin of the planets and the structure of matter, and exerts a tremendous influence on economic and cultural development.

What has already been accomplished in space exploration indicates that we can look forward to new impressive achievements.

The prospect is for large orbital stations operating for a long time with alternating crews and the use of automatic devices. This should take us a long way in our study of outer space and solar-earth reaction, provide us with still better knowledge of our own planet and its environment, make possible systematic observation of the atmosphere, clouds, snow and ice formations, meteorological events and raise extra-atmospheric astronomy to a higher level. Building large orbital stations involves considerable preparatory work and complex experiments in space-sited assembly, and simultaneous maneuver and control of several spaceships. Some successful experiments have been made in the Soviet Union. Twice in 1967-68 Cosmos satellites linked up in orbit, and in January 1969 two Soyuz spaceships were manually docked, forming the first experimental station manned by four cosmonauts. Two cosmonauts transferred from one ship to the other through open space for the first time.

The October group flight of Soyuz spaceships with seven cosmonauts on board involved experiments in maneuver and control of three ships, verifying automatic navigation and orientation methods, conducting observations of the Earth's surface and the surrounding atmosphere simultaneously from different ships and the initial trials of different metal-welding methods in weightlessness and space vacuum.



These experiments were important for the future development of large long-operating orbital stations with alternating crews.

This opens up immense vistas to science, and will, moreover, have its impact on the economy. It will pay off in tangible practical results beneficial to the people both of developed and underdeveloped countries.

For more accurate weather forecasts, early warning of typhoons and hurricanes, observation of snow and ice conditions, flood prevention, crop control, detection of forest fires, even prospecting for mineral and other deposits, will present new opportunities for developing agriculture and forestry, geology, navigation and many of the other things that make for economic progress. Spaceships and transport rockets will reduce the distance between continents. Television relays from artificial satellites and, in the near future, direct to people's homes, a global system of satellite telephone and telegraph communication — all will immeasurably enlarge the opportunities for disseminating scientific, medical, agricultural and other knowledge, bringing it to the most inaccessible parts of our planet, thereby raising educational and skill levels and the general cultural standards of the world's population.

Future manned and automatic-station flights to the moon, the organization on its surface of scientific bases and observatories will vastly widen our knowledge of the moon and its origin, and enable us systematically to study, without atmospheric interference, the processes at work on celestial bodies.

Automatic stations to our nearest planetary neighbors and, in the longer range, flights and expeditions to them, will disclose many secrets of the universe and provide fresh material for a comprehensive theory of the origin of the solar-system planets.

These and many other peaceful uses of space will act as a spur to scientific, technological and social progress.

**Question:** What importance do you attach to Soviet and American flights to other planets? What is the motive for travel to other worlds—man's age-old urge to explore the unknown, or the objective development of productive forces? How would you compare the impact on science of the recent space flight with the contribution of space pioneers, beginning with Tsiolkovsky?

**Answer:** The Soviet and American automatic stations dispatched to Venus and Mars are a vital part of the general program

of space exploration. Earth-based instruments have so far failed to disclose many of the secrets of these two planets. The space age enables us directly to investigate, with the help of automatic devices, planets, near-terrestrial and interplanetary space.

The Soviet Venus and the American Mariner probes were carried out by unique vehicles equipped with the latest technical devices.

We can speak of major achievements in exploring the nearest of our planetary neighbors with the use of automatic stations. The smooth descent of the three Soviet Venus ships, 4, 5 and 6, into the Venusian atmosphere, made it possible directly to measure the atmosphere—pressure, temperature, composition — and the space around Venus. The American Mariner photographed Mars and relayed back measurements made at a relatively short distance from the planet.

These first direct measurements of the atmosphere of Venus and the photographs of Mars from a relatively close distance are valuable material for further study of the origin and evolution of planets.

Man is constantly launching out on new ventures, never content with what he has achieved. He uses every opportunity, and all the advances in technology to extend his knowledge and to chart new paths of development. Not all discoveries produce immediate practical results, but that does not daunt the scientists. The history of science furnishes numerous examples of some seemingly abstract theory or some new physical phenomenon being put to practical use years later.

Penetration of outer space is a logical process which is bound to gain momentum. Its practical uses will, of course, lag behind scientific findings, but this will not in any way decelerate the process. For, as I have said, man is always moving ahead, aided by the power of modern technology.

In this context, it is fitting, I think, to quote the words of Tsiolkovsky: "The earth is the cradle of man, but he cannot stay in the cradle all the time."

Every step in space exploration, as in scientific progress generally, is a result of tremendous effort, of the concentrated knowledge, will power and energy of the pioneers and of the large collectives working in space technology. And each step is yet another link in the long chain of achievements that add to and multiply our knowledge and mastery of space.

The first link in the chain, doubtlessly,



was the work of the Russian scientist Tsiolkovsky, who provided us with the basic principles of space travel. There are, of course, other links without which the lunar flights would have been inconceivable. I refer to Sputnik I, the first manned flight, the first walk in space, the first automatic devices despatched to the moon and the planets Venus and Mars, the first orbiting of the moon by automatic vehicles and their return to earth, the first manned lunar landing and, lastly, assembly in orbit of the first manned experimental orbital station. Each of these events is an historic landmark in the conquest of outer space; each is a definite contribution to science.

*Question:* How do you envisage the prospects for further exploration of the universe and the planets? Are there realistic opportunities in your view for early progress in this respect? And which sciences are most closely related to this?

*Answer:* The prospects are many-fold. In fact, scientists are advancing more problems than we are in a position to solve today, even in the event of the leading countries pooling their efforts. In the next few years investigation of near-earth space, the earth's upper atmosphere and outer-space observation of the earth will doubtlessly be pursued with the aid of automatic artificial earth satellites and periodic manned flights and large long-operating orbital stations with alternating crews. But use will also be made of geophysical rockets for vertical probes of the atmosphere. These methods, evidently, will be combined with observations from the earth and with synchronized experiments.

Lunar study, apparently, will continue with the use of automatic means and manned flights. Astronomical observatories and bases on the moon, something scientists have long dreamed of, is still another objective.

Study of the solar-system planets will, of course, hold an important place in all space programs. Continued investigation of the atmosphere and surface of Venus by automatic stations is another promising field.

Of great interest, too, is exploration of Mars, particularly its polar caps, atmosphere and surface. And one of the next projects in this context will be the dispatch of automatic stations to Mars. These stations, operating from a short distance in the satellite's orbit or even from its surface, could relay back a fund of scientific data. Sooner or later man will set foot on Mars,

but before that valuable data can be obtained by automatic devices.

At the moment there is a very real prospect of automatic stations being sent out to Mercury and Jupiter. But before this can be done we shall have to construct the necessary instruments and devices.

The study of interplanetary space, solar wind, cosmic rays, radio-astronomy effects and verification of the theory of relativity are all subjects of the greatest interest to the scientist. But again, this requires more sophisticated technology and special space vehicles.

The peaceful Soviet space exploration program is wide-ranging and versatile, envisaging a comprehensive study of space physics, extension of space meteorology and aeronomy, investigations of the moon and the planets, probes into problems of space biology and medicine, and the creation of a space communications and television system involving artificial earth satellites. Automatic devices, whose great range is growing yearly, occupy a prominent place in the program, which also provides for manned flights. The latter are most effective in exploring space in the Earth's proximity and in observation programs of economic value, but this too, will be combined with the use of automatic devices. Priority in the Soviet program goes to investigations with the greatest yield for science and the economy, the sights being set on a phased and planned solution of the principal scientific and practical problems. It also provides for cooperation with other countries.

A program of space cooperation with the other socialist countries, with France and some other states, was begun some years ago, with joint research under way in space physics, space communications, meteorology, aeronomy, space medicine and biology. The launching in the Soviet Union in October this year of "Inter-cosmos-1," an earth satellite carrying scientific apparatus designed by specialists in the German Democratic Republic, in Czechoslovakia and in the Soviet Union, was the most recent and prominent outcome of this cooperation, making possible a joint experiment which in addition to the orbital space laboratory involves the astronomic, geophysical and radio-astronomic observatories in Bulgaria, Hungary, the GDR, Poland, Rumania, the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia. The purpose: to study the sun's short-wave, ultraviolet and X-ray radiation and its effects on the upper layers of the earth's atmosphere and ionosphere.



The program envisages the launching of further space vehicles with research apparatus developed by scientists in different countries.

Cosmic physics, cosmic biology, astronomy and radio-astronomy, cosmology and the general science of the universe and the structure of matter—all these disciplines will receive a powerful impetus from the space programs in the different countries, and we can look forward to further discoveries. Cosmic meteorology, aeronomy,

geophysics, study of solar-terrestrial reactions, and radio physics are bound to develop at a fast rate.

Space research is powerfully stimulating those branches of science associated with rocket technology, i.e., the mechanics of space flight, space pilotage, space engines, space material, rocket dynamics, radio technology and many more.

The space age is another age of discovery, an age of scientific advance on an unprecedented scale.



## ***Latin America: economic integration and the working class***

This was the subject of an exchange of views sponsored by **World Marxist Review** in June this year. The discussion rounded off the series of articles on the subject printed in earlier issues. Among those present at the discussion were representatives of a number of Communist Parties in Latin America and of research institutes in the socialist countries: **R. Iglesias** (Argentina), **A. Pereira** (Brazil), **O. Araujo** (Venezuela), **T. Varela** (Colombia), **J. Gomez** and **E. Semo** (Mexico), **G. Colman** (Paraguay), **J. Cademartori** and **W. Atias** (Chile), **T. L. Schmidt** and **A. Dessau** (GDR), **Z. Romanova** and **B. Gvozdarov** (USSR), **L. Dvorak** (Czechoslovakia). The discussion was opened by **P. Naumov**, Executive Secretary of the journal.

Economic integration, said **P. Naumov**, is being debated not only in government committees and business circles. Political parties and economists, trade union, youth, student and other public organizations in different parts of the world, too, are giving it their attention.

We also, **Naumov** said, are interested in the subject. The task of Marxist theoretical thought is to lay bare the essence of capitalist integration as an instrument used by imperialism to combine its efforts on an international scale, to buttress its positions to meet the challenge of socialism. At the same time it is important to show the specific features of the integration process in different parts of the world, in Latin America, particularly.

### **INTEGRATION AND THE MONOPOLIES**

Before turning to the integration in Latin America, said **R. Iglesias** (Argentina), I should like to stress that as we Communists see it, the solution to Latin America's problems is not through integration but through a democratic, anti-imperialist and agrarian revolution, leading to socialism, for the main content of our time is the transition from capitalism to socialism.

According to the UN Economic Commission for Latin America, total exports dropped by 21 per cent between 1950 and 1962, losing the continent \$7,300,000,000. The

annual growth rate of gross output per capita, which was 2.7 per cent in 1951-55, also dropped in the next five years. Faced with this sombre picture the Commission began to advocate integration.

By the end of the fifties the integration idea began to take tangible shape. It was supported by some intellectuals who were dazzled by the figure of 200 million people moving towards the establishment of a single great power. The national bourgeoisie, who approached the question more soberly, thought that the establishment of a zonal market would compensate for the narrowness of national markets that were restricting the potential of their light industries. Although North American and European monopolies, and groups of the Latin American big bourgeoisie and even landowners had invested in the industries working for the home market, its narrowness limited their operations. They therefore sought to expand their activities. It was approximately at that time that the Alliance for Progress and new forms of neo-colonialism made their appearance, with U.S. capital seeking to entrench itself more firmly in the new Latin American industries by relying not only on its traditional allies, but also on the new strata of the big bourgeoisie. The end result was the Latin American Free Trade Association (LAFTA), formed in 1960.

However, the establishment of LAFTA



under the Montevideo Treaty did not yield the desired results. By 1967 the crisis in LAFTA, which was at the same time a crisis of the entire integration policy, became clear. The volume of zonal trade began to shrink (in 1967 it was \$45 million less than in the previous year). All attempts at agreement to reduce tariffs failed and it became obvious that it would be impossible to achieve a 100 per cent reduction in tariffs by 1973 as envisaged in the Montevideo Treaty. Despite this critical situation, in April 1967 the presidents of the Latin American states agreed, with the blessing of Washington, to form a Common Market of the countries of Central and South America, which would be fully operative 15 years hence.

We should avoid drawing the hasty conclusion, R. Iglesias said, that Latin American integration is inevitable and irreversible, or that it has already ended in a fiasco.

Concerning the attitude of U.S. ruling circles to the integration, Iglesias said that their policy on this score was obviously a double-faced one. Washington took political decisions of a general character favoring integration—as the results of the Punta del Este meeting (Uruguay) in April 1967 showed—regarding the integration as a transitional stage to integration of the entire hemisphere under its hegemony. The Pentagon, for its part, links integration with the idea of “continental security,” envisaging coordination of preventive actions against popular and liberation movements and opposing Latin America to Cuba and the entire socialist world. According to this concept our continent is the “Western world’s” last reserve. This explains why the U.S. links the idea of integration with the new stage in its policy of neo-colonization of the continent, why it regards integration as a continuation of the Alliance for Progress.

However, because of its intentions to exercise absolute control over the continent the United States wants to avoid complete integration since it fears that this might strengthen those inter-Latin American institutions possessing certain executive powers. It fears that these institutions might become a hindrance to its plans. It does not want to lose the possibility of maneuvering which it has when dealing with each government separately.

Iglesias then spoke of the effects of LAFTA on Argentina. In his view the experience accumulated so far shows that this organ-

ization while it has benefited the bigger industrial enterprises—mostly those belonging to foreign capitalists, or in which the local big bourgeoisie participates—it has done little to solve the problems besetting the country’s economy. The working class cannot remain indifferent to the integration manipulations which aim at creating conditions for securing the utmost surplus value and reducing the working class share in the national income. Integration is aimed at equalizing wages in Latin America, and at the lowest level at that, and swelling the reserve army of labor in this area.

The foreign monopolies are “internationalists” in respect to Latin America in the sense that it is immaterial to them in which country they operate. They are interested in the continent’s market as a single entity and they build their factories where production costs are lowest and income highest. The working class must counter this “internationalism” of the monopolies with their proletarian internationalism.

The integration drive offers wide possibilities for the working class to unite around it the broadest sections of the people and to direct their actions which will ultimately lead to a democratic, anti-imperialist agrarian revolution. The middle sections and the intelligentsia are gradually beginning to realize that the “development theories” and integration are not the answers to the continent’s problems. In our policy of alliances we should bear in mind that considerable groups of the national bourgeoisie have already felt the effects of monopoly integration and could, therefore, in certain cases and in certain circumstances, make their contribution to the popular movement.

Concerning the contradictions surfacing in the process of integration the speaker stressed that the differences in the bourgeois camp can and should be used in the interests of the liberation movement. Experience shows that the attempts at integration aggravate the old contradictions and create new ones between the bourgeoisie of the different Latin American countries, as well as between different sections of the bourgeoisie in each country.

The job of the Communists of Latin America is to explain to the peoples the meaning of monopoly integration, to show them that only fundamental structural changes can solve our problems, that economic cooperation between our countries can benefit our peoples only if it is carried out by governments of a new type, brought



into office as a result of a democratic, anti-imperialist agrarian revolution. Such cooperation would be the result of a process towards a better international division of labor which, in turn, would contribute to economic development and the well-being of the working people of this part of the world.

One of the urgent tasks of the Latin American peoples is to smash the chains of imperialist domination in the sphere of foreign trade and to exercise their right to trade with all countries of the world and with the socialist world, in particular. Because of the nature of their socio-economic system the socialist countries do not pursue aims of plunder and oppression of other peoples; on the contrary, they effectively help to promote economic independence and political sovereignty.

Concluding, Iglesias said: U.S. imperialism has always hampered cooperation and friendship between the Latin American countries. The Communist Party of Argentina is working for closer ties between the peoples of the continent, as it has demonstrated by its unfailing solidarity with the fraternal peoples fighting for their liberation. Our Party is inspired by the sacred principles of proletarian internationalism.

### NEO-COLONIALIST INTEGRATION

In his contribution O. Araujo (Venezuela) examined the reasons for the so-called policy of "replacing imports with local production," a policy which has not helped to resolve the continent's socio-economic problems. Economic integration in its varied aspects (Central American Common Market, free-trade zone and sub-regional pacts) is seen as a formula which, without changing the backward relations of production, could take the place of the bankrupt economic policy of replacing imports with local production. In the first half of the current decade this was the general formula of the industrial bourgeoisie of the more developed Latin American countries.

Today they are less keen about it, with the exception of those industrialists who, obviously benefiting somewhat from their collaboration with foreign concerns, have for over a decade been implementing a new model of domination and oppression, participating with greater or lesser success in "mixed" enterprises and in "industrial cooperation" plans, plans carried out under the aegis of North American capital. U.S. imperialism began to advocate integration

particularly strongly in 1967 when the U.S. government succeeded at the Punta del Este conference in April 1967 in securing the adoption of the Declaration of the Presidents of the Americas. According to this Declaration, Latin American integration is interpreted in the spirit of the aims and tasks of the unsuccessful Alliance for Progress. The Inter-American Development Bank became the integration bank. Ex-President Johnson expressed his full support for this promising Latin American initiative.

Today nobody any longer doubts, said Araujo, that neo-colonial integration is dictated by the interests of the North American monopolists. The opposition of certain groups and sections of the bourgeoisie is of little importance for it is beginning to give way under the economic and political pressure which the U.S. government and the big monopolies are exerting on the governments and bourgeoisie of our countries through diplomatic, military and other channels.

We therefore consider that the "Venezuela example," viz., the present government's resistance to signing the Andes Pact should be assessed from the economic aspect. Unlike the countries already integrated, in Venezuela the "mixed" enterprises established with an eye to the "Common Market," were organized exclusively on the basis of associations between the foreign concerns and the state. The industrial bourgeoisie in Venezuela did not participate in this. Venezuela's industrialization is associated with considerable cost and is artificially maintained by a restricted market and a price level that cannot compare with that existing in Colombia, Chile and other Andes Pact countries. An industrial oligarchy has taken shape in Venezuela which zealously defends its privileges, possesses considerable means of pressure and has its representatives in most of the ministries.

This Venezuelan bourgeoisie is heavily dependent on U.S. capital. This dependence is both direct, through the interlocking of capital, delivery of industrial plant and technical aid and indirect, through participation in income from oil output and U.S. control over the country's banks. Thus we have every reason to believe that it is a question of a transient pressure game: on the one hand that exerted by imperialism to enable it to use its investments in the basic industries in such a way as to benefit from liberalization in trade and the national economy; on the other, the pressure exerted



by the national bourgeoisie to be given a chance to participate in a profitable business, that is, to turn the whole of Latin America into a sort of Puerto Rico.

We are, therefore, said Araujo, exposing integration ideas such as LAFTA, which have as their purpose to protect the interest of U.S. imperialism. We consider that our task right now is to prevent the state from handing over the national enterprise to foreign capital. For us it is an issue of direct struggle.

### FORMATION OF SUB-REGIONAL GROUPS

T. Varela (Colombia) spoke about the LAFTA sub-regional groups, and the Andes Pact, in particular. In May 1969, he said, the governments of Bolivia, Colombia, Chile, Ecuador and Peru signed an agreement in Bogota forming a sub-regional Andes group. This document seeks to improve on the Montevideo Treaty, especially as regards the dates for abolishing tariffs and the attitude to foreign investments. As regards the latter it is planned to adopt by 1970 "a common regime in respect to foreign capital as well as to patents, licenses and all kinds of privileges." The Andes Pact is by no means in full operation yet, for it still has to be endorsed by LAFTA's leading bodies and by the parliaments of the respective countries.

Speaking of the interconnection between the integration and the working-class movement, Varela said that important in this respect was the statement made by the meeting of representatives of the trade union centers of Chile, Colombia, Ecuador, Peru and Venezuela in Bogota on April 5, 1969, regarding the economic situation on the continent. It said: "The way in which the economic integration is being carried out, without due regard for the interests of the working people, will not change the dependent structure of the Latin American countries, will not be able to uproot the feudal survivals in agriculture. In effect, this integration will benefit the U.S. monopolies and the big enterprises belonging to the local industrialists."

The statement urged exposing the present process of integration as continued penetration of our countries and their colonization by U.S. imperialism, only in a new form. It stressed that this integration would also buttress the positions of the continent's big bourgeoisie and be a form of counter-acting the offensive of the Latin-American

peoples who want to wage a united struggle for their liberation. The document recommended opposing the establishment of supra-national bodies (in the present conditions they would be instruments of the big bourgeoisie); demanding that the decisive role in integration belong to the state-owned enterprises, and securing the highest possible fixed minimum wage. The meeting urged a fight against unemployment and the expulsion of the imperialist monopolies, the establishment of zonal vocational training centres and the elaboration of a labor code guaranteeing the rights of the working people, participation by workers and their unions in all bodies and conferences connected with integration.

Varela stated that the Communist Party of Colombia fully subscribes to these demands since they reflect the interests of the workers in the present integration process. Furthermore, it is necessary to underscore the need to fight for working-class unity on a regional and sub-regional scale, and against the offensive of the employers and government bodies. Although it is true that integration will make for a certain growth of the productive forces, it is no less true that in conditions of capitalism it presupposes socio-economic conflicts, increased unemployment, and the consequences of the structural crisis, inflation and devaluation being shifted onto the shoulders of the working people. The statement of the trade-union centers of the Andes group reads: "A blind opposition to the integration would run counter to the interests of the masses. Latin American integration expressed the aspirations of our liberators and is a necessity for the people fighting for their liberation, for independent development and the right to use their wealth as a basis for the future planned development of production which, in turn, will make possible the international division of labor and mutual support and solidarity among nations."

The facts are such, said the speaker, that the process of economic integration is developing, despite the difficulties it is encountering. However, we should not lose sight of the following factors which the Communists of Colombia have already pin-pointed: genuine integration can be achieved only within the framework of the liberation, anti-imperialist and patriotic struggle. Besides the demands advanced by the leaders of the aforementioned trade-union centres on this issue it is also essential steadfastly to develop the anti-imperialist consciousness of the Latin American



people, imparting to it an increasingly more consistent and less spontaneous character.

Concluding, the speaker expressed the view that it would be most useful if the participants in the discussion elaborated some methodological precepts that would enable political and trade union activists, all specialists, better to grasp the different aspects of the integration. The outline should deal with such aspects as the scale of the integration, the role of the various social classes in it, integration and foreign investments, integration and customs tariffs in respect to third countries, integration and the time limits for abolishing tariffs, devaluation and the International Monetary Fund. In this somewhat schematic survey, Varela said, we have aimed to give an assessment rather than figures and to focus attention on what we consider to be new. We hope that this exchange of views will prove useful and serve further to strengthen our parties ideologically, and elucidate the tasks of the struggle for fundamental structural reforms and for socialism on our continent.

### **COORDINATING THE WORKING-CLASS STRUGGLE**

J. Cademartori (Chile) noted that objective factors sparked the integration process in Latin America. Integration is, of course, a common phenomenon, a universal one that corresponds to the present stage of capitalist development. This phenomenon can be characterized as the internationalization of economic development.

The bourgeoisie is anxious also to gain a hold over the working-class movement through the integration. The latter is designed as an instrument to restrain the working-class movement, to deprive it of its gains, to suppress its struggle for its demands. And the more widespread the working-class and popular movement, the more the bourgeoisie tries to achieve its subordination. In government and business circles there is talk about the need to cut "expensive" social security appropriations. Devaluation, the introduction of more taxes, granting new privileges for the integrated industries are justified in the name of national interests, of defeating other Common Market countries.

It is clear, said Cademartori, that it is the North American monopolies who stand to gain most from the present forms of the economic integration of the continent. U.S. imperialism is quite obviously adapting itself to the new conditions. Many of its mon-

opolies which operated mainly in foreign trade are now gradually gearing themselves to operate inside Latin America with a view to multiplying the profits they hope to pocket as a result of integration.

The U.S. imperialist monopolies regard Latin American integration not only as a means of improving their positions vis-a-vis the West European monopolies or other capitalist groups anxious to invest their capital on the continent. They also see integration as a means of erecting new barriers to trade with the socialist countries. Discriminatory tariffs are already being applied in a number of cases to this end.

Integration also suits the local bourgeoisie associated with the U.S. monopolies, even though the lion's share of the profits are appropriated by the North American partners.

Concerning the working class the speaker said all were agreed that the primary task was to combat the negative effects of integration on the living standards of the working people.

However, the working class attitude to integration should be flexible, in the speaker's view. It should proceed from the fact that it is not a question of combating any aspect of the integration. Our task at the present stage of the continent's socio-economic development is to resist North American imperialism. Hence our attitude to concrete aspects of integration should be determined by this struggle.

Supra-national institutions are being established by Latin American governments who for the most part are pro-imperialist. It goes without saying that in the circumstances, they will hardly use their powers to protect the interests of the working class and the people. Consequently, another paramount task is to wage an unceasing struggle against establishing supra-national bodies such as the Andes Development Corporation, the recently signed Andes Pact, and others. As regards the latter, it should be used as a platform for upholding the interests of the working class and the anti-imperialist movement generally.

The Chilean representatives, for example, helped to draw up the Charter of the Latin American Parliament which has still to be approved by the national parliaments. At all international meetings we spoke against the Latin American Parliament being vested with legislative authority. The position of the Communist Party of Chile coincided with that of other groups which had taken part in drawing up the Charter. As a result,



the Latin American Parliament has to date not been given any legislative powers.

Cadematori stressed the need to coordinate the struggle of the working class, popular anti-imperialist movements and the Communist parties so as to tackle the tasks connected with integration jointly. This coordination should take into account not only the general character of the integration process on the continent but also the specific national features, the differing positions of the working class and the bourgeoisie in each of the Latin American countries. The working class will thus be able to influence, to a lesser or greater degree, depending on the balance of class forces, common plans against imperialist integration.

### **LAFTA REINFORCES POSITIONS OF MONOPOLY CAPITAL**

The concept of "integration," J. Gomez (Mexico) said, is understood in different ways in Latin America and we should therefore define the aspect we plan to study.

Economic integration, he went on, is a complex process. Hasty generalizations should be avoided. In order to define our attitude to it, it is essential first to determine its general trend, paying due attention to the contradictions that develop at every stage of this process.

In recent years there has been a whole shoal of books of a bourgeois nature which view LAFTA solely as one of the new trends in trade or capital investment. Such an approach is an extremely narrow one. The formation of LAFTA has had far-reaching effects. It has above all strengthened the economic role of the continent's big bourgeoisie and that of the foreign monopolies.

The crisis observed in recent years showed that things had reached an impasse. The revolutionary forces posed the question of fundamental structural changes to clear the way for socio-economic advance. The big bourgeoisie, however, being in collusion with imperialism, was ready to make only some limited reforms rather than forego so-called dependent capitalism. The establishment of LAFTA was one such reform.

Economists supporting this idea maintained that those of the big countries which subsequently joined LAFTA had already in the fifties replaced the import of durables with local production and started the production of "intermediate" goods such as chemicals, electrical items, etc., that the countries of average development had al-

ready made some progress in replacing imports with local production, and that the economically backward countries had begun this process. For all the countries it was essential to normalize foreign trade.

As a result of this uneven development it was assumed that integration would spur expansion of inter-zonal trade, which would compensate for the decline in trade on other markets and encourage new investments, which would help to end the stagnation in the countries of this zone.

Another factor that speeded conclusion of the Montevideo Treaty were the actions of the masses in the second half of the fifties. To a large extent they were sparked by the economic straits in which Latin America found itself during that period. The formation in 1956 of the Popular Action Front in Chile, the downfall in that same year of the Odria dictatorship in Peru, of Rojas Pinelli in Colombia in 1957 and Perez Jimenez in Venezuela in 1958, the widespread mass actions in Mexico in 1958-60 are some of many examples indicative of the scope of the popular struggle in Latin America, which culminated in the victory of the Cuban revolution in January 1959.

Gomez expressed the view that Latin America's ruling circles see integration as the answer to the continent's profound economic and social crisis. The Montevideo Treaty is a creation of the reactionary bourgeoisie which is looking for a way of resolving the current economic problems without losing its privileges.

It has been noted that the foreign monopolies—the investors of capital—are not over anxious to edge out the strong local bourgeoisie right now, since this might give rise to serious problems. Instead, by joining with local capital the foreign monopolies have gained official protection and access to the markets of the national capitalists.

Integration has outlasted the Alliance for Progress. In some of his recent statements President Nixon has spoken about the failure of the Alliance. It is therefore quite probable that in Washington's strategy, economic integration of the continent will take the place of the Alliance and be used as a means of giving the big imperialist enterprises a stronger foothold in this part of the world.

Speaking of the Mexican bourgeoisie's attitude to LAFTA, Gomez noted that participation in this organization will enable it to exploit a market with which it practically had no contact formerly, to sell a diverse



range of goods elsewhere in Latin America, goods which were glutting the home market.

In the light of the aforesaid, Gomez held that:

—The process of integration in Latin America was started mainly on the initiative of the big bourgeoisie which has set its sights on continued capitalist development, and on reinforcing the positions of the big monopolies. At first U.S. capital opposed the plan to form LAFTA, but afterwards included it in its strategy with a view to making maximum use of it for its own ends. These two forces—the local bourgeoisie and foreign monopolies—are acting in ever closer association which does not mean, however, that there is complete harmony between them.

—LAFTA reinforces the position of big monopoly capital—both foreign, national and mixed—makes our countries economically more dependent, and facilitates penetration of foreign capital.

—At the present time only foreign-capital investors or Latin American big capital, associated with foreign investors, can make the big investments needed by the new industries. As a consequence new monopolies are making their appearance, and in the best of cases the new items are produced by three or four companies who share the market between themselves.

—The process of ruination of the small and middle enterprises, of their being swallowed up by the bigger enterprises, is intensifying. As to the big local enterprises the likely way out for them is to join up with the foreign investors. At the same time the conditions are being created for expanding the network of branches of the foreign enterprises in Latin America.

Each country will produce only those goods which will be most profitable, both as a result of lower production costs, and of finding a market in other countries of the zone.

Gomez noted that LAFTA is accentuating the continent's uneven development: the economically less developed countries are encountering greater difficulties in building up important industries, as a consequence of foreign and national enterprises in Argentina, Brazil, and Mexico, for example, flooding other countries with goods which do not come under protectionist measures.

### **SOCIO-ECONOMIC PROBLEMS REMAIN**

In Latin America, said E. Semo (Mexico), certain factors have contributed to the integration process, specifically those related

to production relations. In other words, the present system of production relations characteristic of a dependent capitalism is unable to ensure the development of the productive forces without expanding the market and the enterprises, and raising their technical level. And the circles concerned want to achieve this not by changing production relations but through integration which, as envisaged by its architects, should help to avoid changing production relations in one or another country, carrying out an agrarian reform, involving more groups of the population in market relations, achieving economic independence, in short, evade all structural reforms.

Economic integration in Latin America differs from that in other developing countries both as regards the nature of the forces effecting this integration, and the degree of class contradictions. In some of the Arab countries, for example, the process of integration is directed by forces who want their countries to develop along non-capitalist lines. In Latin America, on the contrary, it has from the very beginning been a question of a plan master-minded by the big bourgeoisie closely allied with imperialism. Moreover, it is a question of a process imperialism joined after some hesitation. One cannot, therefore, entirely agree with the idea that Latin American integration originated and developed despite pan-Americanism. It is more a question of two sources of this process: the resistance of the Latin American bourgeoisie to the extent such resistance really exists, and the continuation of pan-Americanism, that is, the use of integration by U.S. imperialism as a means of exercising its control over the Latin American countries.

The various bodies established in the process of the economic integration have never actually been fully Latin American. From the very beginning U.S. imperialism and the Latin American big bourgeoisie became partners in them. And it is of no consequence that the United States is not directly participating in these bodies for this is being done by its allied enterprises, its banks, etc.

Semo expressed the view that with the exception of some programs which really might stimulate a certain growth of the Latin American economy (in this instance one cannot speak of economic development), Latin American integration has no future. Even if fully carried out, integration by itself cannot materially improve the continent's economy. It is therefore important that the progressive forces of the continent



explain to the masses that integration will not spell the end of the economic stagnation, of the crisis in most of the countries.

Latin American integration is one of the most restricted programs so far; it holds out the least possibilities for meeting the demands of the people or expanding the productive forces. Participants in the discussion have spoken about the attitude of the national and petty bourgeoisie to the integration. I should like to say that at least in two or three of the leading countries of the continent the national bourgeoisie as a definite political force has disappeared from the scene, or is on its way out. It would therefore be an illusion to think that this bourgeoisie could offer any significant resistance to the integration program, or offer any alternative. What is more, Semo continued, the middle and petty bourgeoisie as a whole are focussing on certain structural reform programs which go much farther than the plans for economic integration.

Of course, we should be flexible in our approach to the integration: while subjecting its general program to principled criticism we should at the same time adapt our tactics, determine our attitude to every development that might benefit the working class, the working masses, in their struggle.

There is yet another question, that of the role of state capitalism. Semo expressed the view that the big changes it has undergone on the continent should not be overlooked. In many areas it originated in the thirties or somewhat later as an anti-imperialist development. Its character changed in accordance with the changes of the class in power, and the methods of imperialist penetration. For example, in Mexico 40 per cent of the national investments are state investments. This has been the case for 30 years and may be more. But whereas formerly these investments were mostly of a national character, now they are of mixed character, that is, one part of them is made by the state and the other by foreign capital (in the form of direct investments or loans). But this foreign capital retains, with the aid of all kinds of mechanisms, control over investments as a whole and even compels state capital to act in the interests of foreign capital in one or another enterprise.

All these features of integration lead one to conclude, said Semo, that it is practically impossible to elaborate a continental strategy for the working class on all questions, including that of economic integration. The elaboration of a strategy and the use of different forms of struggle—violent or peace-

ful, parliamentary or extra-parliamentary—depend on the extent to which revolutionary conditions have matured in the respective countries and on the strength of the motive forces of the revolution. In some countries it might be advisable to take a more positive approach to some aspects of the integration, in others, on the contrary, the integration plans should perhaps be rejected as a reactionary alternative to revolution. In short, it depends on the concrete political and economic situation in the countries concerned. Semo expressed the view that it would be incorrect to speak of a common strategy for the entire Latin American continent on this question.

However, this does not preclude unity of action on particular issues, for example, on one or another aspect of the economic integration.

The exchange of views was, in his opinion, useful and timely, for this is a period when it is essential for the revolutionary forces of the continent to elaborate a more profound concept of Latin American reality.

#### THE IMPERATIVE: STRUCTURAL CHANGE

The Brazil Communist Party, A. Pereira (Brazil) said, defined its attitude to LAFTA before the Montevideo Treaty, the Party leadership arriving at clear conclusions concerning the implications of integration, which imperialist propaganda acclaimed as a wonder-working solution for all the economic and social ills afflicting the developing countries.

The first conclusion we arrived at was that the projected Common Market—a partial or total lifting of customs barriers and the granting of privileges in trade and investment for either a short or a longer term—would benefit chiefly (and in some cases exclusively) imperialist, especially U.S. monopoly, concerns. This follows from the obvious fact that our traditional industries, owned largely by our own bourgeoisie, are unable to compete with the monopoly enterprises in foreign trade. LAFTA would inevitably become another neo-colonialist instrument for the big international concerns, whose main purpose is to establish and expand branches and affiliated companies in each country where they have influence enough to do so. Naturally, these companies need bigger markets to obtain bigger profits.

The postwar imperialist penetration, as distinct from its earlier forms, adopted the



strategy of replacing imports with local production, i.e., seizing markets not from *outside* but from *inside* the respective countries. Most developing countries were compelled to accept this strategy not only because of imperialist pressures, but also because it corresponded to a definite stage in their development. Integration was part of this strategy.

However, replacing the imports trend is a less important aspect of the case, the chief one being the expansion of the home market. Imperialist ideologists could not care less for a substantial expansion (which for us is the essence of the matter), because expansion inevitably gives rise to demands for a radical reshaping of structures and, first and foremost, for agrarian reform.

The integration "solution" is part of the conservative concept of our economic growth. The home market cannot grow at the desired pace and to the desired extent without reform of the archaic structures. That is why an external solution is sought in free trade associations or common markets.

A feature of the replacing of imports strategy is that it is sponsored by international, chiefly United States, monopolies. It can, therefore, be nothing but a move to promote monopoly interests, a prelude to integration of an exclusively monopolist complexion.

Most Latin American countries, Pereira pointed out, are in the throes of a crisis **sparked by replacing the imports policy**, a crisis accompanied by a crisis of inter-continental trade. The contradictions between the Latin American countries and imperialism and those between the people and the ruling classes are, therefore, approaching peak, a situation that cannot continue unchanged much longer.

In Brazil, for one, the LAFTA crisis, like that of the replacing of imports policy, can no longer be concealed. The ruling classes have passed from solemn declarations to a deep-rooted pessimism no longer camouflaged by official statistics.

Brazil's trade with the other LAFTA countries, which has more than doubled since LAFTA was founded, is stagnant or declining. Furthermore, trade in the LAFTA framework amounts to less than 10 per cent of the country's total export, with the European Common Market accounting for nearly 26 per cent and the United States for one-third. Some export commodities were disposed of in the world market, but not before reducing wages, which shifted the

burden of "successful trade" onto the wage-earners. Between 1964 and 1968 the decline of real wages ranged from 19 to 40 per cent. Yet, though exports climbed at the expense of the worker, export revenue became increasingly insufficient to cover foreign debts, for on the evidence of the Foreign Minister \$645 million, or about one-third of what we collected from our exports, was spent under that head in 1968.

Most Latin American countries agree that LAFTA is in the throes of a crisis. It is proper, therefore, to outline the opportunities of the Latin American working-class movement in fighting for unity of the anti-imperialist forces. Large sections of the people with a stake in progress and independence could, and should, be drawn into that fight.

As we see it, Pereira added, three important tasks are in order:

—to support all integration enterprise that promotes closer relations between the Latin American peoples and action against imperialism;

—to support integration of state enterprises, especially in power engineering and transport;

—to promote periodical consultations among Latin American Communist parties, to hammer out a common platform of anti-imperialist struggle, including integration and related problems.

## LAFTA PROBLEMS AND THE WORKING CLASS

A trend towards regional economic integration appeared in many developing countries in the early sixties, said I. L. Schmidt (German Democratic Republic). However, he pointed out, wherever foreign monopolies have branches in the developing countries party to an integrationist organization, the common markets or free trade zones begin to serve the interests of these monopolies.

The Latin American Free Trade Association has not achieved the aims envisaged in the Montevideo Treaty and, in all probability, will never achieve them.

That the Association is in a profound crisis is indicated by the emergence in it of two independent blocs of LAFTA countries with different structures—the Andes group and the La Plata basin group. Although operating along parallel lines, each is directed against the other. One more fact illustrating the grave LAFTA crisis is that Brazil, a LAFTA country of the La Plata basin group, imports wheat from the United



States rather than from Argentina, another LAFTA member of the same group.

Schmidt concentrated in his analysis on the causes of the grave crisis of integration. The different levels of economic development from country to country, he pointed out, were a salient factor. He also noted that the countries in question were mainly suppliers of raw material, with 88 per cent of their revenue deriving from exports of primary goods and only 12 per cent from manufactured and semi-processed commodities.

The sharp contradictions among the LAFTA countries impede a fuller economic integration, one of the most glaring being that between Bolivia and Chile, with the former demanding an outlet to the Pacific. Venezuela is at loggerheads with Colombia, and Ecuador with Peru. No less grave are the antagonisms between Argentina and Chile, and between Brazil and Argentina. Some of these countries spend a substantial part of their budget on armaments, arming against each other.

*Most of the Latin American countries are economically dominated by U.S. capital, with the U.S. monopolies benefitting more from the Free Trade Associations than the home capitalists, because they operate daughter companies and branches in the Latin American countries and in some cases exercise total control over entire branches of industry.*

The most important task facing the Marxist-Leninists is that of formulating the attitude of the workers and their parties to LAFTA. With most of the Communist parties having defined their stand, Schmidt listed a few conclusions:

—the trend towards economic integration is an objective process in nearly all developing regions;

—the Latin American Free Trade Association in its present form serves the interests of the foreign monopolies, particularly those of the United States, obstructing the industrialization of the more backward states;

—with all other progressive forces, the workers of Latin America must prevent these monopolies from using LAFTA to tighten their grip on the continent; they must combat moves likely to retard the industrial development of the less developed Latin American countries through integration;

—these efforts will not succeed unless the national-liberation movement headed by the

working class reshapes the economic and social structures in Latin America;

—it should be borne in mind that regional associations of *state-owned* companies can play a progressive role, provided imperialist enterprises and monopolies are not allowed to participate in the integration. This applies to ARPEL (the Mutual Aid Association for the Development of State-Owned Oil Companies), ALAMAR (Shipowners' Association), Railway Association, and others.

It follows that the fight to prevent imperialism from exploiting Latin American integration and for progressive integration is part of the national-liberation movement. Marxist economists should, therefore, devote more attention than heretofore to the problems of economic integration.

### **POLARIZATION OF CLASS FORCES**

A realistic appraisal of the integration of developing countries, said Z. Romanova (USSR), has a practical, as well as a theoretical bearing on the revolutionary movement, clearing up the new complex phenomena and trends observed in the "developing world," important for a deeper appreciation of the current revolutionary process and, moreover, for working out concrete scientific tactics for Communist and Workers' parties.

The integration movement in Latin America began a long time ago. The continent has accumulated considerable experience, instructive for the Latin American countries and for other developing states intending to combine their efforts in economy and politics.

The unique situation of the Latin American countries in the capitalist world as economically underdeveloped capitalist states largely dependent on foreign imperialism, is evident in many branches of their economy, including integration. Integration is part of the general drive for economic independence and a position of equality in the capitalist world economy. Closer economic ties among the Latin American countries, fairly heterogeneous in socio-economic and political terms, would tend to "elevate" the less developed and introduce modern production relations to the "economic backwoods." However, the current integration has a capitalist basis. As a part of the capitalist world economy the Latin American countries are subject to its economic laws and their integration is therefore exposed to its internal and external contradictions.



Romanova examined the attitude to economic integration of the different classes and strata. The middle and petty bourgeoisie, above all that of the "smaller" countries, especially the middle strata in the towns, regard the integration as a stepping-stone to economic independence, reinforcing the economic and political positions in face of the Western industrial powers and modifying the unequal status of the Latin American countries in the capitalist world economy. However, these people play no definitive role in the integration process.

To some extent integration is benefiting the big bourgeoisie, for the expansion of markets enables it to expand production. The more powerful Latin American exporters are converting some of what were foreign markets into essential home markets. The big capitalists are becoming increasingly cosmopolitan and indifferent to where they invest their capital. They are prompted to enter into deals with the U.S. monopolies, expecting to benefit from the latter's technological know-how and financial support and to exploit the market jointly.

In most of the mixed enterprises involving foreign capital, the Latin American partner is invariably of the big bourgeoisie. The number of these companies, in which home and U.S. capitalists "cooperate," is steadily growing. Foreign capital owns or controls the biggest enterprises. The lifting of internal customs restrictions favors the foreign companies, because integration provides them with new marketing outlets.

The bulk of U.S. investment has now been diverted from the export-oriented extractive industries to the home-oriented manufacturing industry. Hence the intense interest in integrational projects. Involvement in integration helps U.S. enterprise to control the Latin American home market and guide production in its own interest.

In the context of integration, the aggregate U.S. sister companies are gradually gaining ascendancy as the prime "industrial power" in Latin America, having become a component of the continent's economic body. In the circumstances, fighting for a democratic integration means fighting against the U.S. monopolies.

Since many of the big Latin American enterprises are foreign-controlled, the national enterprises are gradually elbowed out of the picture. The national bourgeoisie dreads the mounting integration-spurred offensive of the foreign monopolies. This means that economic integration is objectively deepening the contradictions between

the national bourgeoisie and foreign capital and helping to intensify the anti-imperialist struggle.

The Latin American bourgeoisie is breaking up into distinct groups. Clashes between the big bourgeoisie, on the one hand, and the middle and petty bourgeoisie, on the other, occur more frequently. Conflicts also arise between the separate groups of the big bourgeoisie in the scramble for markets. The socio-economic differentiation intensified by integration weakens the bourgeoisie in the context of the class struggle in one country, with the counter-tendency that it closes ranks and unites on the continental scale.

Speaking of the consequences of the integration for the people, Romanova stressed that greater concentration of production and the more intensive transfusion of capital, coupled with the emergence of industrial alliances, pave the way to consolidation of the capitalist class and its offensive against the workers. The free movement of manpower offers the capitalist fresh opportunities to depress the condition of people migrating in search of work. In that respect, integration acts against the people, against working-class interests. Yet the conditions appear for the peoples' struggle to overflow the national frontiers.

In the new set-up, the struggle unfolds against the capitalist class as a whole, for the working class, too, becomes a united national and international force.

The objective changes in the social make-up of the modern Latin American society touched off by industrial growth and commerce and, as a consequence, by the growth of the working class, tend to augment the revolutionary energy of the workers. Integration intensifies the polarization of the class forces, adding to the pressures exerted by the large-scale local and foreign capital on the working people, the worker, farmer, the urban petty-bourgeois, the office worker and the intellectual. This broadens the social basis of the revolutionary movement, creating objective opportunities for a democratic coalition against the big capitalists.

A profound and comprehensive analysis of the problems of Latin American integration is, therefore, of the utmost significance for the working-class and for the Communist movement. Pinpointing the objective trends in industrial cooperation and specialization, the internationalization of commerce and the growing interdependence of the various national economies (underlying integration), coupled with a study of the



internationalization of the class struggle, helps the working-class movement in shaping its strategic line.

"Other conditions being equal," Lenin said, "the class-conscious proletariat will always . . . welcome the closest possible economic amalgamation of large territories in which the proletariat's struggle against the bourgeoisie can develop on a broad basis" (*Collected Works*, Vol. 20, p. 45).

The trend towards economic internationalization is stimulated by the growth of the productive forces, of which the international division of labor, specialization of production, industrial cooperation and expansion of international trade, are by-products. That is why it may be progressive. However, in the capitalist environment—particularly in Latin America, where foreign capital is strongly entrenched—internationalization processes often assume perverse forms.

### THE WORKERS' MOVEMENT AND INTEGRATION

The integration process may be observed in politics, culture and in other spheres, as well as in the economy, A. Dessau (German Democratic Republic) said. U.S. imperialism shows a keen interest in all aspects of Latin American integration. Hence the need for the working class to determine what integration implies in the socio-political sense and what attitude the worker should take.

Latin American integration proceeds against a backdrop of class antagonisms and class struggles typical of our time, the time of the passage from capitalism to socialism on a world scale, marked by an acute intensification of the main contradiction, that between imperialism and socialism. As a consequence, Latin American integration depends not only on internal factors of a continental origin and its effects are felt not only by Latin American countries.

In the beginning of the third stage of the general crisis of capitalism, particularly after the revolution in Cuba, the industrial groups of the big Latin American bourgeoisie decided to establish LAFTA. The strategy and tactics were marked by profuse compromises, both with the opponents with whom the bourgeoisie shared power in some countries, and with imperialism. The main purpose was to broaden the markets and, avoiding open clashes with the home and foreign adversaries, prevent radical changes in the socio-economic structure.

Apart from the opportunist character of

the basic concept of LAFTA, that association is, in effect, a particular measure as compared with the broad reformist strategy of the Alliance for Progress initiated by the U.S. imperialists at the beginning of the sixties, after they grasped the implications of the Cuban revolution. Still, the plan produced many reformist and idyllic ideas.

However, whereas in 1960 U.S. imperialism was but an indirect factor spurring on integration in Latin America, it has now begun to act directly. In the basic sense of the word, economic integration is taking place in the third stage of capitalism's general crisis, but its origins, conditioned by imperialism, are traceable to the 1889 Pan-American Conference. The "Pan-American integration" of that distant day was part of the inter-imperialist struggle for a redivision of the world. The trend became more tangible after the first world war and still more so after the second, with the United States imperialists using the Rio de Janeiro treaty (on defense of the Western Hemisphere) and the Organization of American States as a means of integrating the Latin American countries in the framework of their global strategy.

U.S. imperialism continues to "integrate" the Latin American countries, particularly in the following main spheres:

- political integration in the OAS aimed at redoubling U.S. imperialist influence in Latin America and using the Latin American countries as a strategic and tactical reserve in the global struggle against socialism;

- military integration, aimed at complementing the Rio de Janeiro treaty. After the bid for the so-called inter-American peace force failed, this integration is based chiefly on bilateral agreements and, in the long term, on the so-called integration of the infrastructures;

- integration of university education, exploiting the integrationist traditions and forms initiated by progressive bourgeois forces in the past. This is aimed at neutralizing the universities politically, turning them into propaganda centers for reformist theories and training grounds for technocrats serving the new strategy of the imperialists and their local supporters;

- lastly, integration in culture, carried forward in a variety of forms to cultivate a cosmopolitan "modernistic" culture dissociated from the national milieu and the people.

So far as economic integration, so prominent in U.S. imperialism's general plans, is



concerned, the following could be stressed:

—LAFTA is in a state of crisis, because it cannot surmount the obstacles created by the contradictions among its member-countries. Intra-zonal trade has been shrinking of late, while its avowed aims are as distant as ever;

—the structure of intra-zonal LAFTA trade is still predominantly traditional, creating the impression that the limits of the natural and spontaneous "mutually complementary" commerce have been reached.

Latin American integration is on no account a secondary factor. On the contrary, it is becoming an increasingly important instrument of U.S. imperialist policy. For this reason, any consistent anti-imperialist struggle must build on an analysis of the integration and its various trends, opposing the integrationist program of the imperialists and their local allies with a democratic, anti-imperialist alternative.

The appropriate alternative can be offered by the revolutionary forces. Anti-imperialist economic integration is a suitable way in the new stage of the revolutionary process. However, it will not be practicable until the Latin American peoples are liberated and revolutionary structural change is effected.

The most important strategic objective is to consolidate united action by the workers and their allies on a continental scale. Trade-union unity has been emerging of late. A Latin American trade-union center is functioning well in Santiago, Chile, promoting cooperation among the independent trade-union movements as a necessary foundation for united working-class actions. In April 1969 trade unionists of the Andes group gathered in Bogota to examine the problems of regional integration from the standpoint of the working class.

The attitude of labor to the imperialist integration is based on two conclusions: (a) the present kind of integration is against the people and must be combated and (b) integration stems from objective causes and should not, therefore, be rejected out of hand. What is needed is a well-reasoned concept of anti-imperialist and democratic integration.

### ECONOMIC TIES WITH SOCIALIST COUNTRIES

For Latin America, L. Dvorak (Czechoslovakia) said, closer diplomatic, economic, cultural and other ties with the socialist countries are a topical matter. No political

leader worth his salt can sidestep the issue of economic contacts with the rest of the world, including contacts with the socialist countries. Economic, political and other co-operation with the socialist countries has, in the case of some Latin American states, substantially strengthened their hand with relation to the West European countries and the United States.

For some decades, new processes have surfaced on the continent and on a world scale, exerting a strong influence on the economic relationship of the Latin American countries with the outside world, such as the technico-scientific revolution, the new features in the worldwide division of labor, industrialization, the trend towards integration, etc.

Economic integration in its present form, as guided by the forces now dominant in Latin America, Dvorak stressed, creates opportunities chiefly for the big bourgeoisie and the foreign monopolies. *Favorable conditions have appeared for the home capitalists, who benefit greatly from the "common market" thus evolved, solving the question of markets for a certain type of merchandise. Besides, it tends to divert the attention of the public from the acute internal socio-economic problems and from the crying need for deep-going reconstruction.*

To reduce production costs and make their manufactured goods more competitive, the big capitalists have mounted an offensive on wages. Pleading industrialization, Latin American capital invokes the economic and political support of the respective governments in attacking the rights and living standards of the people. This means in so many words that *integration as conceived by the big bourgeoisie is to be carried forward at the expense of the masses.* Also, it means that the economic integration will strengthen big capital, on the one hand, and ruin the small and middle-sized industrialists unable to withstand the mounting competition, on the other. Wage-earners are losing jobs and the unemployment problem is becoming graver.

Economic integration creates *favorable conditions for foreign capital*, that is, for the branches of foreign monopolies, and for mixed companies. These command the necessary technical and commercial personnel, production know-how, the essential trading contacts and considerable financial means. Furthermore, to expand production they can count on financial support from



powerful metropolitan companies, support naturally denied to the Latin American industrialists.

It should be borne in mind, Dvorak pointed out, that the integration embraces countries at different levels of development. *The more backward of them are unable to use the resultant opportunities of growth to the same extent as the more developed ones*, such as Argentina, Brazil, Chile and a few others. The more backward are unable to penetrate the markets of the more developed countries on a more competitive basis, on the one hand, while their own market is imperilled by their competitors, on the other. As a result, the more backward countries, those in greatest need of economic growth, are exposed by integration to the greatest risks. Raoul Prebisch, Argentine economist, stressed in a report to the 1964 Geneva International Trade and Development Conference that "in the framework of a regional group, especially if its scale is restricted, small countries are in danger of becoming excessively dependent on the bigger ones." In sum, this process, observed on the scale of the capitalist world economy, appears likely also in the context of the Latin American continent, resulting in a *greater imbalance of the economic growth of individual countries*, emergence of developed Latin American "metropolitan" countries and dependent "peripheral" countries serving as a kind of "Latin American village square" in what is by and large an underdeveloped continent.

## PAN-AMERICANISM AND INTEGRATION

B. Gvozdarov (USSR) examined some political and ideological aspects of Latin American integration. In the third stage of capitalism's general crisis, he said, economic integration has spread to the developing, as well as to the industrially developed states, though the motive forces and factors of the integration process in different parts of the world vary in aim and specifics.

The Latin American republics were the first among the developing countries to embark on integration, and it is no exaggeration to say that at present the integration problem is one of the most acute in the economic and political life of the Latin American society, exerting a distinct influence on the forms and methods of the workers' struggle. Analyzing and assessing the integrationist processes on that continent is for Marxists not merely an acade-

mic pursuit, but a practical undertaking, because it helps define the orientation of progressive action.

Attempts are made to *complement and buttress economic integration by political integration*, which is taking real shape. Political integration proceeds in different forms, depending on the alignment of political forces. While the Latin American Parliament (LAP) is, to some extent, anti-U.S. and may be used by the progressive forces to combat Yankee imperialism, the political Organization of the Central American countries (OCAS) is, conversely, an instrument for combating the liberation movement, suppressing popular patriotic actions and promoting Washington's anti-Cuba designs.

The genesis and evolution of union trends, the Pan-American ideology, the U.S. bid for Latin American integration in the framework of the "inter-American system," the theory and practice of "continental nationalism" and the purposes of regional political alignments, are all factors to be considered in assessing the Latin American integration.

The economic integration of the Latin American countries, it will be recalled, began in the mid-twentieth century, though the problem of closer economic and political ties was keenly discussed in much earlier times, at the beginning of the 19th century, during the inception of Latin American statehood. From this standpoint, considerable traditions have accumulated. Union ideas, the product of past political thought associated with the names of the heroes of the Latin American wars of independence, have doubtless exerted a psychological influence on the national sentiment of the Latin Americans as they set out to organize the present-day integration. Indicatively, capitalist historians, sociologists and jurists have deliberately distorted history, identifying the union notions of the leaders of the national-liberation struggle with Pan-Americanism, the Washington doctrine serving as the "theoretical" justification for U.S. imperialist expansion on the continent.

At the end of the fifties and in the early sixties the ideological arsenal of the exponents of "Pan-American solidarity" was augmented with a new theory. In a bid to extend imperialism's social basis in Latin America and win over the people, U.S. ideologists beat the drums of a "regulated peaceful revolution." By means of this "peaceful revolution," fully controlled by Washington, they hoped to prevent the im-



minent social explosions. The substance of this North American theory thus boils down to a revolution "from above" in order to avert a revolution "from below" and prevent the Latin American peoples from following the example of the heroic Cubans.

To bolster the United States positions, imperialist ideologists endeavor to prove the kinship of two entirely different historical trends—the Latin American urge for union to stave off aggression and to defeat attempts at restoring colonialism, on the one hand, and the U.S. drive for an inter-American organization that would, for one, oppose the outside world and, furthermore, grant the United States special rights and privileges, on the other.

The growth of the second trend based on the "Pan-American solidarity" concept led to the creation of the "inter-American system," an all-important instrument of U.S. policy.

After the Cuban revolution, with anti-U.S. sentiment running high in Latin America, the U.S. rulers focussed on the Organization of American States (OAS), through which they endeavored to effect their principal actions, with two political lines surfacing distinctly: that of U.S. imperialism, aimed at invigorating the OAS and its bodies for further use in Washington's interests, and that of a number of Latin American countries striving to convert that organization from an instrument of domination into an alliance of equal partners.

The "integration" of the Latin American countries and the United States in the "inter-American system," founded on the Pan-American ideology, amounts in substance to a guarantee that U.S. monopoly interests enjoy priority.

In the fifties a new ideological movement known as "continental nationalism" appeared among the ruling element in the Latin American countries. This reflected the trend towards consolidating the forces of the ruling classes to retard growth of the national-liberation movement, on the one hand, and, exploiting a situation unfavorable to Washington, obtain economic and political concessions from the U.S. rulers.

Recent events show that the "continental nationalism" ideology, whereby the

Latin American bourgeoisie seeks to substantiate economic integration, is out of context with relation to the "inter-American system" and the doctrine of "Pan-American solidarity," and, on the contrary, is crystallizing against a backdrop of considerable and fairly bitter contradictions.

The "theory of development" formulated by Prebisch and the leading experts of the U.N. Economic Commission for Latin America, Gvozdev pointed out, is an important component of "continental nationalism." The experts hold that the continent's socio-economic problems can be resolved by purely economic measures, such as industrialization, diversified exports, restructuring of foreign trade, etc., rather than radical structural reforms. Ascribing priority first to greater investments, then to industrialization (involving foreign capital), then again to boosting and restructuring foreign trade, they proclaim economic integration as the surest way of solving the problems of Latin America. What they are really after, however, is to avert a revolutionary explosion by socio-economic means, blocking the liberation movement and steering the Latin American countries onto the path of an "evolutionary" capitalist development.

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The chairman of the symposium, *Waldo Atias*, who represents the Communist Party of Chile on our journal, said in his summing up:

The exchange of views on Latin American integration revealed the keen interest of all in the subject discussed. The contributions have been of great help in examining the highly complex problem of integration.

The speakers, naturally, did not cover all the ground, but a task of such proportions was never set. We hope that the symposium has been useful and will stimulate further research by the Communist parties in Latin America and by research institutions in the socialist countries.

It is gratifying to note that the views on the main aspects of the problem were largely similar, though some differences of opinion emphasize the need for further, profound study.



# ***Economic motive forces of socialist society***

**WERNER KALWEIT**

One of the most interesting and important problems of the political economy of socialism is that of the economic motive forces of an advanced socialist society. The scientific answer to the problem is decisive for the present and future of socialism. For its solution will greatly accelerate the rate of extended socialist reproduction designed to meet the growing social and personal needs of the public. In the contest with capitalism the ultimate superiority of socialism can be achieved only if all the advantages and motive forces of socialist society are fully developed.

## **DECISIVE ADVANTAGES OF SOCIALISM**

The Main Document of the International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties, held in Moscow, June 1969—"Tasks at the Present Stage of the Struggle Against Imperialism and United Action of the Communist and Workers' Parties and All Anti-Imperialist Forces"—had every reason for stating that "the socialist world has now entered a stage of its development when the possibility arises of utilizing on a scale far greater than ever before the tremendous potentialities inherent in the new system. This is furthered by evolving and applying better economic and political forms corresponding to the requirements of mature socialist society, which already rests on the new social structure. The building of socialism and its further development rest on the support, participation and initiative of the broadest masses inspired and led by the working class."

Proper utilization of the tremendous

potentialities inherent in the new social system, depends, first and foremost, on the ability of the ruling Communist and Workers' parties to solve the problems of socialist development in a Marxist-Leninist way. Basically this is a question of making the fullest use of the indisputable socio-economic advantages of the socialist system, resulting from the political power of the working class and its allies, from public ownership of the means of production which calls for planned development of the economy, the wide use of science, and the working people's stake, their social and material interest, in consolidating the socialist state economically. Let us recall Lenin's words at the First Congress of Economic Councils in 1918: "If we reread the works of those socialists who have observed the development of capitalism during the last half-century, and who have again and again come to the conclusion that socialism is inevitable, we shall find that all of them without exception have pointed out that socialism alone will liberate science from its bourgeois fetters, from its enslavement to capital, from its slavery to the interests of dirty capitalist greed. Socialism alone will make possible the wide expansion of social production and distribution on scientific lines and their actual subordination to the aim of easing the lives of the working people and of improving their welfare as much as possible. Socialism alone can achieve this. And we know that it must achieve this, and in the understanding of this truth lies the whole complexity and the whole strength of Marxism." (*Collected Works*, Vol. 27, p. 411.)



## ANTI-SOCIAL CHARACTER OF MOTIVE FORCES OF CAPITALISM

In capitalist society, as we know, economic development is stimulated by the drive for profit and competition. And in the capitalism of today with its technically highly developed industry, lauded by bourgeois ideologists as the "affluent society," the needs of society are satisfied only to the extent this serves the profits drive, that is to say, only to the extent they suit the interests of the capitalists. It is this, in the final analysis, that determines the structure and development of capitalist production. Furthermore, private appropriation of public wealth under capitalism leads to spontaneity in the economic process, to social labor being allocated largely without the participation of the producer, while profits are secured through the mechanism of anarchic competition. Spontaneity under capitalism continues even at its highest form — state-monopoly capitalism — when state-monopoly regulation of the economy is intensified. This distorted capitalist planning is simply an expression of the reactionary efforts of the monopoly bourgeoisie to secure maximum profits in conditions of a high degree of socialized production, while retaining private ownership of the means of production.

Capitalism's principal economic motive power—the drive for maximum profit—obscures the social character of production. In their struggle against the working class and in the course of their intra-class competition the capitalists initiate economic, social and political processes which they are incapable of directing effectively and to many of whose consequences they prefer, for class reasons, to turn a blind eye. The drive for profits is organized by the minority in society—the capitalists, their managers, and the like. To withstand competition in the present conditions of rapid scientific and technological advance, the ruling class needs the active assistance of experts in science, technology and economics. It uses the social status of this category of working people to isolate them from the manual working class and to use the results of their labor to swell profits. As for the workers, while they may be encouraged to make minor rationalization proposals, their opportunity of enhancing their skills is limited by the narrow nature of the jobs they perform. What is more, insurmountable barriers are put in the way of the worker's natural desire to regard his labor

as the basic element of his life and to achieve creative results. Although the capitalist would like to exploit this desire of the worker and although in the present conditions of the scientific and technological revolution the ability of his enterprise to stay in the market depends, more and more, on the performance of all employed, the capitalist division of labor, the relations of domination and subordination and social injustice cripple the worker's natural desire to participate in creative labor. While the capitalist is able to buy labor power as a commodity, he is unable to appropriate the worker's initiative. Motivated by their class and political interests, the bourgeoisie hamper active participation by the working people in factory management. For participation would project two basic questions of the social system, namely, the question of political power and of the urgent need to do away with private capitalist ownership of the means of production. Since the capitalists do not want to and cannot, for that matter, guarantee the working people social safeguards against many of the consequences of the scientific and technological revolution, the working people, even though they participate in social progress, are, in effect, deprived of the possibility of displaying their initiative in the production process. Critically-minded bourgeois analysts see it in this way: "As . . . automation develops, the individual is debarred from the activity of the machinery of civilization. From its master he becomes, more and more, its slave. But in this process his interests and his living conditions are eroded . . ." (E. H. Lauer. "Technische Rundschau," 1968. No. 7, p. 2.)

The inability of capitalist society to cope with the problems of its economic and social development is reflected also in bourgeois philosophy. Thus, for example, Weischedel, author of the work *A Glance into the Future*, describing our epoch as "the epoch of man's greatest strength, manifested in his power over nature, over space and time and in planning power over man," at the same time believes that "it is the epoch of man's greatest impotence. Strength and impotence determine the basis of his being." (*Ausblick auf die Zukunft*.) Bertelsmann Sachbuchverlag, Kuetersloh, 1968, pp. 144-147.) To disguise the fact that capitalist society has no future, man's impotence is depicted as a law of social development, the purpose being to stifle the people's desire for a revolutionary reconstruction of the capitalist relations of exploita-



tion. But it will become increasingly difficult to do so, for both in the economic and political spheres the example of the socialist world system, which combines socialism and the scientific and technological revolution, releases new social motive forces of economic development, is becoming more effective.

### **QUALITATIVELY NEW BASE OF THE MOTIVE FORCES OF SOCIALIST PRODUCTION**

Socialist production relations engender qualitatively new motive forces of development. The key to understanding this new quality of the motive forces is that the initiative in economic progress passes from the minority—the exploiters and their underlings—to the majority of the people—the working class and their allies. Socialism is a system which originates and develops on the principles of the socialized mode of production, that is, a system under which social production and public ownership of the means of production and consumption are harmonized. In capitalist society the individual's labor is harnessed to profit; social relationships inevitably engender internal antagonisms. Under socialism, on the contrary, productive labor, released from the fetters of exploitation, is from the very beginning social labor serving the interests of the working people, the satisfaction of their personal and social needs. The individual's new status in production and in society, the new character of his labor makes it possible to achieve a higher productivity of labor, which is impossible under private ownership. The advantages of the socialist mode of production are not something that are manifested spontaneously. On the contrary, they should be used effectively through the conscious socialist organization of labor. The community of interests of the whole of society and of its individual members—predicated on the socialist ownership of the means of production—socialist collective labor, harmonious coordination of all spheres of the advanced social system of socialism, planned rational organization of the process of reproduction based on democratic centralism and division of labor in accordance with the needs of the scientific and technological revolution—these are the potentialities of socialist society. However, these can be realized in a higher productivity of labor, more effective economically, only if they are used more purposefully.

The specific feature of the economic laws of socialism is that their basic content is the scientifically directed and organized activity of people in all spheres of social production. These laws are based on the fact that, as distinct from all previous modes of production, people in socialist society *enter into production relations consciously and these depend upon their will*. Under socialism the relations between needs and production are established directly, without the interference of private-property interests, let alone social spontaneity.

Low productivity of labor, indifference to economic losses, poor quality of goods, inadequate use of existing material and spiritual production capacities, stagnation in production and in designing new items—all have always adversely affected the level and rate of satisfying needs, since they sap the economic effectiveness of social labor. If society is to maintain and further consolidate the socialist system in the fight against the capitalist world system, and especially if it is to maintain and expand the material base of the socialist way of life, it must constantly increase the economic effectiveness of its labor. It logically follows, therefore, that it must raise productivity of labor and quality of production at a rapid rate, constantly reduce, through more rational organization, cost of production and all public expenditure in the process of reproduction. Society must not only make the fullest use of all existing material and spiritual production capacities; it must also constantly expand volume of production, its capacities and thereby ensure high rates for the social production as a whole. The best way to achieve this is by using the advantages and motive forces of the socialist system with maximum effectiveness, by accelerating the scientific and technological revolution and applying its results, adding thereby to the effectiveness of the national economy.

### **WORKING FOR SOCIETY IS WORKING FOR YOURSELF**

Thus, the working people as producers and collective owners of the means of production determine, by the effectiveness of their labor effort, the level of their well-being, the level and rate of development of socialist society as a whole and the standard of living of its members. This is the way consciously taken by the working class of the GDR together with all the working people during the past 20 years of the Re-



public's existence. In these 20 years the national income has increased substantially—from 29,100 million Marks in 1950 to more than 100,000 million in 1969, in other words, from 1,500 to nearly 6,000 Marks per capita. This increase has made possible substantial capital investment in the economy and a steady rise in consumption. In 1960, the monthly budgetary expenditure of factory and office workers averaged 824 Marks, in 1966—993 Marks. But the standard of living is defined not only by earnings. At present nearly a third of our workers' real income derives from public funds. In the last 15 years, for example, budgetary appropriations for education, public health and welfare have increased from 410 Marks per capita to approximately 1,370.\*

Socialism is a system which the working people have themselves established and which guarantees them all-round education and harmonious development. It gives the opportunities for the free development of man's abilities, for building a world in which human ideals will be realized. This calls for high growth rates of the national income and its optimal distribution for personal consumption, accumulation and reserves if the requirements of society are to accord with the personal interests of the citizen. This harmony of basic social interests, which only socialism and communism can establish, is the principal motive power of economic development under socialism. It stems directly from public ownership of the means of production.

What determines the essence of socialist ownership of the means of production is that the working people as owners of the means of production put these to use in the most effective way.

Under socialism the working man is simultaneously master of the publicly-owned means of production and producer of material values, that is, producer and owner. Hence his vital interest in expanding production; the working class as the economically dominant class and its allies become the vehicle of economic initiative. Under socialism there is no longer a class that could appropriate the fruits of the labor of others. As a member of society every working person can use the means of production belonging to this society; nobody is deprived of ownership of them. This completely changes the nature of human labor: "For the first time after centuries of working for others, of forced labor for the exploit-

er," wrote Lenin, "it has become possible to work *for oneself* and moreover, to employ all the achievements of modern technology and culture in one's work." (Vol. 26, p. 417). This combination of producer and owner in one person, made possible by the socialist production relations, signifies that the labor of the individual is no longer expended as private labor in isolation from society, but as direct social labor.

As the socialist owner of the means of production, the worker begins to see beyond his own bench and factory, he begins to think in terms of the economy as a whole and to act accordingly. The labor of the individual, like that of the collective, is planned as part of the aggregate social labor. The process of reproduction under socialism is for the first time in substance the process of the appropriation of the means of production and the social product by the whole of society. To guarantee this the working people must be organized into a state, the economic functions of which are essential. Socialist ownership of the means of production rules out for all time exploitation of man by man; it unites the producers through relationships of mutual aid and comradely cooperation. Socialist collective labor and cooperation take the place of exploitation and competition. In keeping with the essence of the socialist relations of production are relations of associated producers who, being freed from exploitation and working for themselves, enter into economic relations as producers, owners and consumers. Socialist ownership projects new criteria in evaluating labor and the individual. The individual's social status is no longer determined by the amount of property owned or shares held, but by his intelligence, ability and work performance. Man and his needs are central in all spheres of public life. The same applies to personal property, satisfying personal needs. The social contradictions characteristic of individual consumption in conditions of capitalist exploitation, have been eliminated. The working people are also freed from the deformed mode of consumption endemic in capitalism.

The social basis for parasitic consumption is done away with. The socialist mode of consumption is determined by the material and spiritual needs of the highly educated and developed socialist personality. The forms and the amount of social requirements and also the ways and means of meeting them reflect the way of life in a socialist society, a highly developed society

\*From 1950 up to the present, real earnings of factory workers and office employees in the GDR have increased 3.5-fold.—Ed.



in all respects and rationally organized. It goes without saying that we are speaking of the process of development in a socialist society, the process of enhancing the maturity of its social relationships, of overcoming the existing contradictions. In this process socialist society enters the lists against petty-bourgeois custom and eradicates the survivals of the old capitalist system.

### **CENTRAL STATE PLANNING—THE PREREQUISITE OF SOCIALIST OWNERSHIP**

Public ownership is an expression of the complete socialization of production and makes for a process of appropriation that is totally different from that under capitalism. In this new process the boundaries of capitalist ownership crumble, in the process of reproduction first of all. Public ownership unites the various enterprises and branches of the economy into a single whole.

As masters of the socialized means of production, the working peoples themselves carry out the process of appropriation. With the expansion of the social division of labor the concentration of production and science reaches the degree where no enterprise can by itself, on its own, ensure a high level of production. In view of the ever closer intertwining of different phases and areas of the process of reproduction, of different spheres and branches of the economy and the social system of socialism as a whole, of international cooperation and the international division of labor—in view of this, the functioning of the enterprise depends on central government decisions whose implementation in the interests of the working people is inconceivable under group or state-capitalist ownership. What is needed, as Lenin wrote, is "the positive or constructive work of setting up an extremely intricate and delicate system of new organizational relationships extending to the planned production and distribution of the goods required for the existence of tens of millions of people." What is needed is "socializing production in practice." (Vol. 27, p. 241.)

Without central state planning and management it is impossible to set up such a system of new organizational relationships, and socialist ownership of the means of production would be lacking the necessary conditions for its existence. If the enterprises are autonomous, they cannot be the

property of the entire people. Demands for self-management, that publicly-owned property be made group property, the demand to abolish centralized state planning and economic management are, therefore, tantamount to a demand to abolish the political and economic power of the working class. Acceptance of such demands would undermine the motive forces of socialism.

Along with central state planning and management, the existence of independent economic units and local representations likewise correspond to the essence of socialist ownership of the means of production, for due to the concrete structure of the productive forces, the working people use the means of production and multiply them in a particular sector of the economy: in the factory or the cooperative, that is, where the process of reproduction is actually carried out. They meet their varied needs within a definite community or city. Hence, the Leninist principle of democratic centralism is the only possible way of moulding the economic relations of the working people as the collective owners of the means of production. By giving expression to the indissoluble connection between central planned management by the socialist state and maximum development of the activity and personal responsibility of the working people and their collectives, this principle ensures the identity of producer and owner on a social scale. At the same time it is predicated on the fact that the worker uses the means of production and multiplies them essentially at his place of work. The advantages of socialism and its motive forces fully come into play only if central state planning and management of the basic aspects of social development are combined with the personal responsibility of the socialist commodity producer and the local authorities.

This is not something that can be accomplished at once. It is a process that is tied in with the dynamics of the scientific and technological revolution and the further development of socialist production relations. It takes the following form:

1. The character of socialist ownership becomes more pronounced as aggregate public ownership, cooperative property is more and more closely aligned with the social organization of the socialist economy;
2. The responsibility of each enterprise in fixing and realizing production targets increases; at the same time the expansion of economic relationships between the socialist enterprises through socialist cooper-



ation makes for further concentration of production to meet the growing needs of the scientific and technological revolution;

3. As a result of the growing technical equipment of labor and worker participation in planning production, the responsibility of the individual worker increases. This means that the development of the motive forces of socialism is incompatible with the bureaucratic centralism of a state-monopoly system and with the spontaneity resulting from private ownership.

### COINCIDENCE OF INTERESTS AND EMULATION

The economic system of socialism is truly democratic, because the basic economic interests of society, the stake which its classes and the working man have in the progress of the economy and society, are coordinated and given expression in the central state plans. Closely related to this are socialist collective labor and socialist emulation as vital sources of economic progress. Under socialism collective labor and emulation acquire an incomparably higher quality. They became the socially conscious activity of the people. Socialist collective labor unites and gives full scope to the initiative and creative efforts of the working people directed towards building the economic and social system of socialism. As motive forces of economic development, socialist emulation and collective labor greatly help to promote the ability of the worker to think in economic terms and act accordingly, they influence the development of the socialist way of life and the socialist ideology, mould his sense of responsibility for the whole, help to narrow the gap between manual and mental labor and to promote the activity of the workers and involve them in planning and factory management.

Public ownership of the means of production determines the common goal and common quality of the continuously increasing diversity of interests of society as a whole and of its individual members. However, such coincidence of interests does not take shape automatically. Coincidence of interests as a basic economic motive force can become effective only if it corresponds in each given case to the changing conditions, only if it becomes something tangible to the worker. If coincidence of interests is to operate as a basic economic motive force, ideological and political work must be expanded, the worker, the collective, the factory must be made aware of

the essence of their social interests and their initiative stimulated with an eye to the public interest. Walter Ulbricht expressed this idea, central to the economic system of socialism, in the following words: "Economic planning should be closely tied in with the financial accountability and profitability of enterprises, that is, with the use of money-commodity relations by the socialist commodity producer so as to more strongly stimulate the initiative of enterprises and of workers and develop this initiative along lines corresponding to the interests of society, the interests of the enterprises and the personal interests of the workers, that is, to produce goods of a high scientific and technological standard, at low production costs and thus achieve the best results in the enterprises and a big increase in national income." (W. Ulbricht, "Die weitere Gestaltung des gesellschaftlichen Systems des Sozialismus," Dietz Verlag, Berlin, 1966, S. 39.)

In this process the worker becomes increasingly aware of the coincidence in one person of producer and master of the means of production. He acquires to an increasing extent the ability to perform his functions as master of the means of production both in his own enterprise and in the framework of state-organized society as a whole. Thus under socialism the owners of the means of production have a keen sense of responsibility for the entire national economy. This is expressed in the responsibility shown by enterprises for the process of reproduction, prompted primarily by their realization of economic requirements. This responsibility is connected with the greater demands made on the worker. He is best able to assess these demands once he looks beyond his work bench, once he grasps the scientific, technological and economic situation in the enterprise as a whole, once he fully realizes what are its perspectives in the light of the political and economic situation. Thus a new labor atmosphere is created in the enterprise, an atmosphere totally unknown to capitalism. It corresponds to the status of the working class as the economically dominant class and is characterized by their broad participation in economic management, in production matters through comradesly cooperation and mutual aid. However, because of the public nature of the socialist ownership of the means of production these relationships are not confined to any individual enterprise; they determine also the cooperation between the socialist enterprises. Capitalist exploitation



and competition with its heavy economic losses and consequent social insecurity lead to the alienation of people. Their seeming freedom and independence are, in effect, a system of total dependence. Engels noted that only the conscious organization of social production, with planned production and planned distribution, can raise man above other animals socially, just as production generally raised him in the specifically biological sense

It is therefore simply ridiculous when bourgeois ideologists represent the capitalist economy, based on profit and competition, as a freely competing economy, and see in it the best possible stimulus to economic development. No matter how hard bourgeois society tries to embellish its economic motive forces, capitalist competition is carried out at the expense of the worker and rests on the success of some and the enslavement of others. Under socialism, on the contrary, socialist emulation between enterprises to achieve the aims of socialist production, serves the good of society as a whole. It is essentially a mass movement in which success implies help to others, thus augmenting the social effectiveness of all members of society and accelerating social progress.

### **GROWING ROLE OF THE MARXIST-LENINIST PARTY IN ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT**

Whatever aspect of the economic motive forces of socialism we examine, we always see that their effectiveness is based on a conscious, scientific approach. The socialist economic system is based on a conscious application by the state of the economic laws, enlisting the conscious participation of all working people in moulding their social being. The economic motive forces do not operate automatically. This also applies to the material incentive, which does not of itself lead to a conscious understanding of the inter-connection between social needs and the personal interests of the worker. That is why the Party in its consistent economic policy to achieve the maximum effectiveness of the national economy, in its struggle against imperialism, always gives the utmost attention to the inter-connection between the material incentive and ideological-educational work. The economic motive forces of socialism become fully effective only if there is complete unity of purposeful planning, incentive and ideological work. Therefore, when

analyzing the motive forces of economic development we must not overlook the leading role of the Marxist-Leninist party. Its guiding, political activity is essential to the development of socialism. The Party also plays an increasingly bigger role in the economy. Thanks to its understanding and conscious application of the objective laws of social development, its scientifically-grounded foresight, the Marxist-Leninist party is able to show all classes and social strata the goals ahead, and the way to socialism. In socialist society it is the main force determining the requirements and tasks in building the social system, evolving from the rapid development of the productive forces and socialist society as a whole. By charting a social forecast covering the basic trends in the international class struggle, the social process of reproduction, science and technology, education and culture, social relations and socialist consciousness, the Party thereby creates the essential ideological condition for the scientific guidance of society. But it not only fixes the social and economic goals. As the organized vanguard of the working class, the Party is, at the same time, the main social force organizing and rallying the working people to attain the goals. It is also the main force stimulating growth of the socialist consciousness of the working people, promoting their initiative so as to accelerate the building of a mature socialist society, relying on the intelligence and activity of all citizens. The fact that it will be necessary also in the foreseeable future for the working class and its Marxist-Leninist party to be the leading force in society is explained by the circumstance that socialist society is developing in conditions of a worldwide class struggle between socialism and imperialism.

In world imperialism the socialist world system is confronted by a dangerous adversary whose aggressive, predatory plans constantly threaten peace, whose efforts are directed at "softening up" and undermining the socialist system. One of its proclaimed aims is to include the GDR and other socialist countries in its sphere of domination. The imperialist states use the economic potentialities of the scientific and technological revolution to further their aggressive political aims. Hence the need to accelerate economic growth which is a kind of political motive power spurring on the socialist states in the class struggle of the two social systems to achieve higher growth rates in production, to reinforce economical-



ly the socialist states individually, and the socialist community as a whole.

As it carries out its leading role, the party of the working class advances tasks evolving from the aggregate social interests, from the objective requirements. By its ideological and political work it helps people to become cognizant of these requirements which increasingly determine their active work. It is here that the leading role of the Party manifests itself as the guarantee that the objective requirements of social development will be realized and, consequently, of the social process of reproduction, too.

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To summarize. The motive forces of economic development under socialism are objectively based on socialist production relations, on relations of ownership ensuring harmony of the class and economic interests of society, its collectives and members, a harmony established in a planned way thanks to the scientific guidance by the Party and the state. Used consciously by the masses, these motive forces become a material force greatly transcending the stimuli of capitalist economic development.

## ***Tribes, classes and nations in Tropical Africa***

JEAN SURET-CANALE

In Tropical Africa problems arising from the social and ethnic differentiation are coming to the fore. No single aspect of the life of the African peoples, liberated or still battling for independence, can be either comprehended or explained without taking into consideration the specifics of the formation of nations there at the present time.

In Europe the triumph of the bourgeoisie over the previously dominant classes coincided with the end phase of the rise of the nation state. The gradual shaping of the national reality, coinciding with the rise of the bourgeoisie, was a matter of centuries. And in its struggle for power the bourgeoisie largely exploited national sentiment, confronting the feudal aristocracy as the champion of the national interest. Even where it compromised with the outgoing ruling classes, this was done under the signboard of the nation. The process ended with the rise of the national capitalist states, constituted either in the framework of the former feudal states (as in the case of Britain and France) or with the national

idea triumphing over feudal disjunction (as in the case of Germany and Italy), or, lastly, through the dismemberment of those feudal states that lacked national cohesion (as was the case with the Austro-Hungarian empire).

Throughout Asia and the Arab East, including Africa north of the Sahara, colonial rule was established in areas where, with few exceptions, there existed states on large tracts of territory, with a common language,\* an ancient culture, the original features of which took shape over the centuries in some cases, in the framework of these states, and with definite elements of a national market. True, they were not nations in the modern sense of the word, but most of the essential elements were already at hand. The fight against colonialism naturally took the form of a struggle for national existence and, after winning independence, brought about the formation of national states. This is also true of Madagascar which with its monarchy was an internationally recognized state at the beginning of the 19th century. It was in the fight against colonialism that the nation-

\*From this point of view, India is a particular case meriting special attention.



states emerged in the area.

Their heritage, naturally, was impregnated with tribal and feudal survivals and the problem of linguistic and religious conflict. Colonialism made the most of this against the national movement, supporting home reaction resigned to its dominance. French colonialism, for example, tried to exploit the "Kabyle" particularism in Algeria and the "Berber" in Morocco, falling back for support on population groups still speaking Berber dialects, whereas the majority had begun to speak Arabic. In Vietnam and Laos, too, French colonialism, followed by U.S. neo-colonialism, tried to use for its ends the distinctive features of the Montagnard minorities.

However, these antagonisms were confined to a limited section of the population, and for the new nation states (excluding specific cases, such as the Kurd question), they do not, as a rule, pose anything like the problems created in Europe by regional particularism and national minorities.

The situation in Tropical Africa south of the Sahara was substantially different. Large states and empires existed there in the Middle Ages (Ghana, Mali and Western Sudan). However, the colonialism of the mercantilist epoch had a profound effect on the social and political development of the African continent. The slave trade, the main and nearly the sole activity connecting Tropical Africa with the emerging capitalist world, dwarfed the growth of the productive forces and favored the break-up into minor tribal states and unstable military tyrannies. This helped the imperialists considerably to conquer the segmented countries at the end of the 19th century.

During the colonial conquest, the countries of Tropical Africa were at different stages of development and had a diversity of internal structures. Alongside patriarchal clans and village communities (sometimes, but not always, including slaves), some peoples were still in tribal organizations, in which family and community groups were blood relations, spoke the same language or dialect and, as a rule, inhabited a strictly delimited territory. This was especially the case in Central Africa and in the forest regions in the west.

So long as class antagonisms in the tribes were still only nascent and slavery unknown, or merely accessory, no state superstructure emerged and nothing embodied the unity of the tribe except blood

solidarity and, sometimes, common religious or military institutions.

But wherever class antagonisms developed, accompanied by slavery and the emergence of a tribal aristocracy, different types of states appeared on the map, attaining different levels of maturity. We may cite the examples of the kingdom of the Congo, discovered by the Portuguese in the 15th century, the city-states of the Yorubas in Nigeria, the kingdom of Dahomey and the Ashanti kingdom in what is now Ghana.

When the formation of these states caused the subjugation and incorporation of other tribal groups and the emergence in the framework of the state of a new cultural and linguistic unity, the tribal survivals began to disappear, resulting in the formation of nationalities. This process continued into the 19th century, ending shortly before the colonial conquests with the rise of the Zulu state. Sometimes the division into classes assumed the appearance of a tribal confrontation, as in the case of the monarchies of the East African inter-lake zone (Ruanda, Burundi, etc.), where the livestock-raising Tutsi tribe constituted the aristocracy dominating the indigenous Hutu peasants. Generally speaking, however, fusion into an ethnic whole caused tribal opposition to disappear more or less rapidly, giving place ultimately to a class differentiation. Thus, the formation of nationalities continued right up until the beginning of the colonial seizures.

Colonial conquest acted as a brake, or totally stopped, the development leading to the final formation of nationalities and the eventual emergence of nations. The imperialist powers cut up the African territories heedless of the geographical realities and the linguistic or ethnic attributes. This is borne out by the "geometrical" lines of some of the frontiers drawn across densely populated areas when the imperialists were dividing the spoils, even before they had penetrated into or conquered the particular areas. As a result, an ethnic group could be divided between several colonies or territories, as the Yorubas were between Nigeria and Dahomey, the Malinkes between "French" Sudan (presently Mali), Senegal, Guinea and the Ivory Coast, etc.

Economically, the colonial system retarded the emergence of national markets even within limits of the colonial demarcation: the African producer supplied the market essentially with products for export; the solidarity of the African producers rested



on their common exploitation by foreign capital, a kind of pump, the motive power of which was outside the country. Colonialism retarded or distorted the normal growth of the economy and society and, consequently, the class structure.

The onset of capitalism was accompanied by the emergence of a proletariat. This was the case in countries where capitalist plantations and mines were widespread, as in South and East Africa, and in Congo-Kinshasa. To stave off the growth of class consciousness among these workers, the colonialists tried to keep them in the "tribal" or "traditional" structures. This approach was most extensively developed in South Africa, where the native population was confined in reservations. Unable to make a living in the fenced off and infertile land, the people were compelled to move from time to time, seeking employment outside in agriculture and mining, where they were under constraints preventing the growth of class consciousness and class struggle (labor camps, and the like).

Elsewhere, particularly in West Africa, colonial exploitation was effected principally through the commercial sector, with the small peasant producer of export crops compelled to sell at low prices. None of this exerted any visible influence on the "traditional" social structures. Monopoly of trade and capitalist production (farming and mining) by the colonialists slowed down, or restricted, the formation of an African bourgeoisie.

The traditional structures of the pre-capitalist society, retained in form, were in fact greatly distorted. The "traditional" aristocracy, bereft of its role and even replaced by *parvenus*, turned into an administrative chieftdom which, exploiting custom, actually became the instrument, the transmission belt, of colonial rule.

Culturally, colonial policy was aimed at negating, sometimes even destroying, the elements of the national culture, which were deliberately ignored or scorned as "barbarian" and "uncivilized." In the name of "civilization," the culture and language of the imperialist nation, adapted and winnowed out for use by "natives," was imposed primarily as a means of depersonalizing and enslaving them culturally.

Sometimes, as in the case of the French colonies, the written and the use in schools of the local language was officially prohibited. And wherever tolerated, as in the British and Belgian colonies, it was done to keep alive the ethnic antagonisms and pre-

vent the spread of "dangerous" knowledge and "subversive" literature. The only books printed in local languages were the Bible, catechisms and some "moral" works. Access to a real culture was ruled out; so was the revival of the cultural heritage, as, for instance, the publication of the masterpieces of the oral and written African literature.

While destroying or impeding the growth of the cultural legacy, the colonial authorities, acting on the "divide and rule" principle, supported and cultivated racial and ethnic prejudice.

They created large administrative units, such as French West Africa, Nigeria, the Belgian Congo, each with a common legislature and institutions to which minor officials were recruited from among the local population. This built up a unity within colonial frontiers in the framework of large territories. However, this sense of unity or identity with a whole, was felt only by an "elite" insignificant in size and trained in the colonial schools as minor officials and clergy. Only in the British colonies were members of the burgeoning bourgeois class able to send their children to these schools.

Most of the African countries won independence not as the result of the so-called decolonization "generously" granted by the colonial powers. For them it was the crowning point of a long and arduous struggle against the colonial regime, against economic, political and cultural oppression, a fight expressive of the determination to end the unendurable state of subservience, to live differently.

The socialist revolution in Russia gave hope to the colonial peoples, showing them the way to liberation. The victory over fascism, especially the role played by the Soviet Union in the anti-fascist war, coupled with the achievements of world socialism, acted as a powerful stimulus on the peoples yearning for liberation. The relation of forces changed on a world scale in favor of democracy and socialism, in favor of the national liberation movement. The right of nations to determine their own destiny, proclaimed by the Allies, enabled the African peoples to demand effective implementation of the principles for which the Allies had fought in the anti-fascist war. Inside the political frontiers created by the colonialists, joint struggles against oppression gave birth to solidarity and patriotism, known as "national."

However, in many of these states certain elements of the national reality in the



modern sense of the word, were absent, such as economic cohesion and a national market, while the ethnic, linguistic and cultural diversity was only too real. In contrast to Europe, where the gradual shaping of the national reality was crowned by the rise of national states, this occurred in Africa chiefly as a sequel to independence, which preceded the formation of nations and, in effect, had made it possible, because precisely the colonial regime had been the main obstacle.

It was this that enabled the imperialists to play on the ethnic and economic (regional) particularity in obstructing the consolidation of independence and enfeebling or breaking up the new states.

To keep the juridically independent countries economically and also politically dependent on the great powers and to prevent genuine independence from replacing colonialism, to establish diverse forms of neo-colonialism, the imperialists took advantage of the fact that they were dealing with small, feeble, internally divided states. The British colonialists, for example, who had originally set up a centralized regime for Nigeria, Kenya and Uganda, imposed a federal constitution on these countries on grounds of their ethnic diversity, but not before independence had become imminent. The French colonialists, too, invoked emergency laws in 1957 and constitutional acts in 1958 to dissolve the federations of West Africa and Equatorial Africa, which they had themselves constituted at the beginning of the colonial era. And the Belgian colonialists gave the full weight of their support to "federalism" in Congo-Kinshasa, backing the secession of Katanga.

In all these enterprises, imperialism was farthest from the thought of respecting the emergent national reality, the contemporary national sentiment, generated largely by the desire for liberation from imperialist dependence. Imperialism was bent on reviving the old regional, tribal and ethnic particularism carefully nursed during the colonial period. The "solutions" imposed were in no way intended to eliminate the difficulties resulting from the ethnic and linguistic diversity. On the contrary, they were meant to sustain or aggravate them. The most glaring example is the division of Nigeria into three units, each with an ethnic group dominating other ethnic groups, reduced to the condition of minorities. In a word, the purpose was not to create the conditions for harmonious union, but to instil an element of weakness, if not disintegration, in

the new states. Naturally, the existence of ethnic and linguistic diversity, a historical heritage, is not to be denied any more than the right of each people to determine its own destiny. Yet that right is precisely what colonialism had always denied and rejected.

However, it should be noted that ethnic or linguistic particularism is much less of a problem than the colonialists make out. In Senegal, where at least a dozen ethnic groups officially exist, two-thirds of the population speak Ouolof (Wolof) as their mother tongue, the common language for communication. Swahili, which Tanzania has declared official, is spoken and understood by the vast majority throughout East Africa.

Respect for the cultural identity of each individual and the cultural patrimony of each people, respect for its right to run its own affairs, is not always necessarily guaranteed through the constitution of each people into a separate and isolated state, especially if that state is not viable, to say nothing of the cases where the profuse mingling of ethnic groups in one and the same territory renders their disengagement practically impossible. The solution of the nationality problem in the Soviet Union proves that absolute respect for the right of each people or nation to determine its own fate and run its own affairs, and absolute respect for the cultural identity of each people, big or small, can be secured in the framework of a common homeland under the socialist system.

Outside the socialist sphere, the example of India shows that the existence of a state or a homeland on a multinational basis is perfectly feasible, although, to be sure, nationality problems there are still far from having been settled.

In fact, if one examines the circumstances in which "tribal" or "ethnic" conflicts broke out in the independent African states in the past ten years, one easily perceives that these are not due solely to tribal, ethnic or regional particularities. Nor can they be comprehended, unless one takes into account the specific situation of the classes in the societies in which these conflicts arise.

As we have seen, colonialism went out of its way to maintain the pre-capitalist structures of the African society, the patriarchal and "feudal" structures, deforming them through the creation of "chiefdoms" often lacking historical roots to suit its needs of rule and exploitation. It erected



all possible obstacles to the emergence of an indigenous bourgeoisie, but was compelled to create an administrative "elite" of functionaries serving its interests. But the beginnings of direct capitalist methods of exploitation gave birth to a proletariat.

In the course of ten years, the advance of capitalism and the necessities of neo-colonialism led, on the one hand, to a numerical growth of this working class and, concomitantly, to a no less rapid growth of a local bourgeoisie. Only rarely is this bourgeoisie a national one in the true sense of the word, associated with production for the national market. Its resources, even when relatively ample, cannot measure up to those of the international imperialist monopolies. In relation to the latter, it occupies the position of a subordinate intermediary, drawing its revenues from economic activity directly or indirectly subordinated (even where theoretically "associated") to the imperialist monopolies. This creates grounds for continuous conflict between, say, the Nigerian bourgeoisie and the Western imperialist monopolies, with a considerable part of the revenue frequently used for the exercise of political or administrative power ("bureaucratic bourgeoisie"). This indigenous bourgeoisie constitutes the privileged social basis for neo-colonialism, associated, where necessary, with the remnants of the pre-capitalist aristocracy or the colonial chiefs.

Despite the numerical growth of the working class, it is still young, barely weaned from village life and the traditional society. Even where it constitutes an important part of the active population, as, for instance, in Congo-Kinshasa and in South Africa, its class consciousness is still undeveloped.

In many countries where modern industry is almost non-existent, the working class, identified in the broad sense with all wage-earners, is still an insignificant part of the population. In Upper Volta, for example, out of a population of 5,000,000 in which 2,600,000 are active, there are but 43,000 wage-earners in the private sector and 14,000 in the state sector, of whom 6,300 are officials. A similar situation prevails in Nigeria, Mali and Chad.

The inexperienced and numerically small proletariat could play no decisive role in the national movement. Yet in Africa, as elsewhere in the world, it represents the only social force that can be revolutionary to the end. Also, its strength derives from its being part of the international working

class, benefiting by its experience and solidarity.

Among the peasant masses the rapid decay of the pre-capitalist structure impels growth of small private farming. In the present stage of world capitalist development, the vast majority of peasants has no other outlook but the one of a continuously increasing misery and of proletarianization.

Their future, like that of the working class, lies with socialism. However, the condition of the small independent producer and the intensive social differentiation taking place among peasants, accelerated after independence, are not always conducive to their understanding this. The illusion of a possible private "success" in the framework of the market economy, of capitalism, is deliberately cultivated by neo-colonialism. His isolation and cultural backwardness often prompt the small private producer to accept the political hegemony of the neo-colonialist "elite."

In those circumstances, "tribalism" and ethnic particularism are a potent weapon in the hands of the imperialists and their supporters—the indigenous ruling classes—for diverting the working class and the peasants from the struggle against exploitation, against imperialism, and even for utilizing certain sections of the exploited by using them on behalf of their home and foreign exploiters. True, these maneuvers are not always successful. Take the case of the secession of Katanga engineered by the Belgian colonialists with, as the figurehead, the odious Tshombe, nicknamed "Monsieur Tiroir-caisse." The same is true of Uganda, where the British colonialists tried in vain to use the "feudals" in an assault on the country's integrity.

Before independence, the French colonialists in Guinea, taking advantage of the "feudal" and slave structure retained in Fouta Djallon, tried to turn the Peuls inhabiting that area against the people in the rest of the country. To counter the Democratic Party of Guinea, the colonial administration preserved Peul "regionalism" with the willing assistance of the chiefs of the tribe, who played a dominant role as auxiliaries of colonialism throughout the territory. However, the bulk of the Peuls rallied to the Democratic Party. In the 1956 elections when universal suffrage was first introduced, the Democratic Party won 45 per cent of the votes in the Labe area, the most densely populated part of Fouta Djallon, and this despite the terrorist pressures of the administration and the chiefs. And



in the first genuinely free elections to the Territorial Assembly in 1957, the Democratic Party won an absolute majority in all parts of Fouta-Djalou. Thus, although advocated by the chiefs and slave-owners, the "regionalism" for which the Peuls were noted failed to get support even in its own hunting-ground.

In some cases, however, regionalist policy has been more successful. In Nigeria, for instance, against the setting of the triple division by the British colonialists before they left, political power in the First Republic of Nnamdi Azikiwe and Abubakar Tafawa Balewa was an alliance of the northern feudals (Peul emirs) and the big Ibo bourgeoisie, represented by the Northern People's Congress Party and the National Council of Nigeria and the Cameroons, respectively. The former controlled the Northern province and the latter controlled the Eastern, while the Action Group, the third party, influential chiefly in the Western provinces inhabited primarily by the Yorubas, was outlawed.

The military coup which put an end to the First Republic on January 15, 1966, was expressive of the popular indignation against a regime notorious for corruption, oppression, and nepotism. The old coalition could no longer govern. However, in the absence of an organized political force with a democratic alternative, power fell into the hands of the Army.

The Ibo bourgeoisie, removed from power and from directing Nigeria's affairs by the 1966 events, deprived of the hope of regaining power because its politicians had thoroughly discredited themselves and because of the downfall of the northern feudals—their allies in the First Republic—would like to capitalize on the reflex of ethnic solidarity among the Ibos to preserve its authority at least in part of the country, even at the price of Nigeria's dismemberment. It should be noted that Ojukwu, the rebel colonel, has forcibly incorporated into his Biafra Republic the two and a half million non-Ibos inhabiting the seaboard and the eastern frontier, who in the last free elections voted chiefly for the Action Group, not for the National Council, the Ibo bourgeois party. This casts a particular light on Colonel Ojukwu's declaration about "the right of peoples to shape their own destiny."

Not surprisingly, Biafra's secession was supported by the imperialist powers, who had a stake in enfeebling the Nigerian state and wanted to fish in troubled waters.

The examples are many. In most "tribal" and ethnic conflicts, the source is the exploiting bourgeois or feudal minority and imperialism which seize on popular sentiment to further their class interests.

How to eliminate these conflicts? What is the future of the peoples, states and nations of Africa? Understandably, the reply must come, first and foremost, from the Africans themselves.

However, we may register certain facts and attitudes traceable to the majority of the political representatives of the African peoples and governments in favor of consolidating independence, in favor of the status quo with regard to frontiers, no matter how dubious, inherited from colonialism, for they correspond to the political realities of common living under common institutions. Contesting these frontiers can only lead to endless conflict, prejudicial to all the peoples concerned. The vast majority of political parties and governments reject, and condemn tribalism, regionalism, and any Balkanization of Africa.

However, all too obviously, the risk of internal strife, it seems, cannot be avoided until genuine equality of all inhabitants is secured and all discrimination, all forms of privilege on regional or ethnic grounds, are eliminated. It is made easier for the exploiting minorities and foreign imperialists to utilize the internal conflicts if some people feel humiliated, and doubly so if they are in fact victims of discrimination or persecution.

As regards the political forms that could resolve the ethnic and tribal problems, experience suggests two principal types. One of these follows from the experience of the Republic of Guinea, where the population consists of four ethnic groups of more or less equal importance. Guinea adopted the form of a unitary republic on a multinational basis, whose constitution prohibits and the law punishes any form of racial discrimination and all propaganda of a racist or regionalist nature. All mention of ethnic or religious identity in official documents is strictly prohibited. The cultural patrimony of the various regions and ethnic groups has been rehabilitated and reviewed. To combat illiteracy, all the eight principal languages spoken in Guinea are used on a basis of equality, and since April 1, 1968 all official inscriptions in French are accompanied by translations in the language or languages most widely used in the area concerned.

The second type of solution is suggested



by the experience of the Republic of Nigeria. The form adopted there is that of a federal multinational republic in which each ethnic group constitutes a state (of which there are twelve) party to the federation. Regionalization is aimed here at preventing, as happened during the previous division into three parts and in the case of the so-called Biafra Republic, the absorption of the larger minorities by a state in which another people is dominant.

The matter will not be entirely clear unless we mention the vigor of the aspirations for African unity. To overcome the weaknesses created by division into small or sparsely populated states, African opinion aspires to broader regional or political formations, substituting for the present Balkanization states with larger populations and with resources indispensable to assure a viable economy and adequate international weight.

However, the difficulties are many. To begin with, there is the hostility of the im-

perialists, the organizers of the division and disunity. Furthermore, to be practicable, unity presupposes identity in economic and social orientation among countries that opted for the non-capitalist way and neo-colonialist countries, with the implication that the former must give up their independence. Lastly, unity presupposes that genuine equality, ruling out all claims to hegemony or a special role by any state, is established among the participants.

However, whatever the difficulties, it is quite possible that unity, which corresponds to the economic imperatives and the profound aspirations of the African patriots, will take shape in the future.

In Africa as elsewhere, the solution of ethnic and national problems encounters an obstacle in the existence of class exploitation both on the national and international scale. The solution hinges therefore on the elimination of the exploitation of man by man after the victory of socialism.



# "Time's" Vision of Marxism

For the ideological hothouses of imperialism the June Meeting of the world Communist and Workers' parties served as the occasion for yet another "debunking" of Marxism. And typical of this latest spate of anti-communist output was an article in one of the June issues of the American magazine *Time* under the headline, "Marxism: The Persistent Vision."

*Time*, with a circulation of well over two million, appears in four international editions, for Europe, Latin America and Canada, Asia and Oceania, and the Middle East.

In setting out our views on the approach and methods of the *Time* author and of other likeminded opponents of Marxism, we at the same time give the reader the opportunity to acquaint himself with the full text of the *Time* article.\*

And the reader will readily see that *Time's* case against Marxism is anything but original. Many of its arguments can be found in other capitalist propaganda publications. There is no need, therefore, to deal with every point the article raises, or to engage in petty argument with its author, especially where he resorts to coarse expressions and superficial judgments. Besides, the reader can draw his own conclusions after reading the *Time* article.

However, it merits attention inasmuch as it is characteristic of the current wave of anti-communism. There is the attempt, for instance, at a semblance of objectivity, of a supra-class approach. Hence, the careful balancing of pro and con arguments and a readiness to accept certain propositions of Marxism, to grant even that it does influence people; some of the evils of capitalist society are acknowledged, and so are some of its persisting difficulties, and so on.

No great acumen is needed to realize that this parading of "objectivity" is, in effect, an admission of the realities of the

world we live in, and these, it hardly needs saying, do little credit to imperialism; they are, rather, a condemnation of the whole system of imperialism.

Let us consider some of the points made by *Time*:

"The opaque future . . . regimes calling themselves Marxist rule a third of mankind and their future expansion is by no means impossible. . . . The computer has resurrected all the old animosities. . . . 'Yankee go home' combines rising nationalism with class hostility. . . . There is uproar in the ghettos. . . . Black Panther leaders call for a class struggle against the exploiters. . . . The intellectual often feels irrelevant. . . . Never was a society so opaque to its young. . . . Students burn with the anarchist passion against 'society'; they proclaim 'do not bend, fold or mutilate.' . . . Youth is moved by Marx's call to action. . . . As the U.S. enters the 'post-industrial age', the bitter questions about the future, the nostalgia for the past, seem to be returning."

These random quotes, and the *Time* article is replete with them, betoken a sick society beset by mounting protest and discontent. And such being the reality, the author, in order to retain the reader's attention, could hardly ignore it.

These quotes, however, are but the accompaniment to *Time's* somewhat peculiar vision of Marxism.

What methods does it employ to achieve its purpose?

1. *Playing down Marxist influence on the working class.*

Since outright disregard or repudiation of Marxism and its influence hardly make sense today, the author, while granting the influence of Marxism in the world, argues that the range of this influence is confined to the socialist and Third World countries. In the highly developed capitalist countries, we are told, Marxist influence extends only to members of the disinherited

\*Full text from *Time* follows.



national minorities and to part of the intellectuals and students.

What is true, and what is not true in that?

It is true, of course, that Marxism, the prevailing ideology in the socialist countries, is gathering growing support among the revolutionary-democratic forces in the developing countries. And it is equally true that nowadays Marxism exerts a powerful and growing attraction for the intellectual and student in the imperialist countries. For in the impersonal and ruthless world of capital, the intellectual (including the future intellectual, the student) feels himself helpless and alienated. The author admits that the intellectual is most sensitive to the gaping contradiction between the vast potentialities of the scientific and technological revolution and the obstacles raised by imperialism to their use in the interests of society. But there is more to it than that. The *Time* author does not deal with other major reasons for the intellectual's critical attitude to capitalist reality. He cannot reconcile himself to such of its unpleasant aspects as the ever-present menace of thermonuclear destruction, racial discrimination, militarization and the squandering of national wealth which it involves, the imperialist aggression against the people of Vietnam, etc. Then, there is the fact that growing numbers of Western intellectuals are reduced virtually to the status of specialized wage-workers, with an exceedingly dim prospect of being able fully to apply their capabilities in a society dominated by state-monopoly capital. It is only natural, therefore, that they should be seeking a way out, a way to a better future. Hence their growing interest in Marxism.

But the reader with even only an elementary knowledge of Marxism will ask: What about the working class in the capitalist countries? The *Time* article ignores it as if it didn't exist. A chance accident? Hardly. The omission is typical of the methods of anti-communist propaganda.

Marxism, as well known, is the ideology of the working class, its guide to action in the revolutionary struggle to overthrow the capitalist system and replace it by a classless society. And the capitalist ideologists, understandably, have always been at pains to steer the working class away from Marxism.

Marx and Engels dedicated their lives and their teaching to the working class and its

emancipation from capitalist exploitation. They saw in the working class, already in the last century, the grave-digger of capitalism. The thesis that the working class is the main revolutionary force destined, under the leadership of its vanguard, the Communist Party, to overthrow the old system of exploitation and build a classless society, was brilliantly substantiated by Marx and Engels in the famous *Communist Manifesto* and in other works. To this day the concluding words of the Manifesto: Workers of All Lands, Unite!, ring out as the central slogan of the Communist and workers' movement. Marxism lives on and undergoes creative development precisely because it accords with the needs of the workers' struggle against exploitation, unemployment, poverty, militarization, war, and for socialism and communism.

This is borne out by the widening scale of the class struggle in every capitalist country, the leading imperialist powers included.

Take the example of France. The months May and June of last year witnessed a gigantic clash between the working people and state-monopoly capitalism. Some nine million workers came out on strike, and not only for wage increases and other economic demands, but in vigorous opposition to the domination of national life by the giant monopolies and their government. This, manifestly, was an indication that socialist ideas, Marxism-Leninism, had gripped large masses of working people in such a highly developed capitalist country as France.

And in neighboring Italy, Marxist influence can be gauged by Communist voting power—8,600,000 in the last general election. Italy's strike statistics for 1968-69 are the highest in the capitalist world. The class struggle, in all its diverse forms, is on the rise also in other highly developed capitalist countries, including the United States—the citadel of present-day capitalism. There, too, Marxism exerts a growing influence on the scale and orientation of the class struggle of the U.S. workers.

Nationwide strikes are now a more frequent feature: from 80 in 1958-62 the figure rose to 163 in 1963-67, and the number of strikers in the main capitalist countries rose from 13.5 million in 1958 to 44 million in 1968.

And so, in the countries of the imperialist system, Marxism not only remains a guide to revolutionary action, its social base is constantly being widened.

This explains all the efforts to convince



the working class in the imperialist countries that its ideological armory has become "obsolete," that it has lost its uses, or that it has been taken over by others. In fact, the point and purpose of anti-communist propaganda is to disarm the working class.

## 2. *Time questions the method of Marxism*

Philosophy, it would seem, is not home territory for the *Time* author. His approach to his problem is simplicity itself—the bland statement that Marxism simplifies and exaggerates everything, hence its popularity with intellectuals who are attracted by the simple and the exaggerated.

Marx, we are told, "had a fatal limitation"; he maintained that *all* history and *all* human motivations could be reduced to materialist factors. The least that can be said about that is that it is a gross vulgarization of Marxist materialism, the essence of which was so lucidly explained by Engels:

"... According to the materialist conception of history, the *ultimately* determining element in history is the production and reproduction of real life. More than this neither Marx nor I have ever asserted. Hence, if somebody twists this into saying that the economic element is the *only* determining one, he transforms that proposition into a meaningless, abstract, senseless phrase. The economic situation is the basis, but the various elements of the superstructure: political forms of the class struggle and its results, to wit: constitutions established by the victorious class after a successful battle, etc., juridical forms, and then even the reflexes of all these actual struggles in the brains of the participants, political, juristic, philosophical theories, religious views and their further development into systems of dogmas, also exercise their influence upon the course of the historical struggles and in many cases preponderate in determining their form."

As we see, it is *Time*, not Marxism, that is "oversimplifying." For neither Marx, Engels nor Lenin ever attributed *all* social and individual motivation *solely* to material factors. That vulgarization is entirely alien to Marxism-Leninism. Marxism has always attached importance to man's spiritual life, to its powerful influence on his material condition.

For the *Time* author Marxism is a "faith," a kind of mystique, belonging more to poetics than to science or politics. Thus Marx-

ism is accused first of an excessive materialism, and a moment later of a poetic retreat from reality—a contradiction resulting in oversimplification and exaggeration.

## 3. *Refusing the unity of Marxism*

Marxism holds that theory is a generalization of practice and that practice is the criterion of truth, of the soundness or unsoundness of a given theory. But *Time* sets out to demonstrate that as a theory of social development Marxism has proved ineffectual, though as a political movement it prospers, is influential and widespread. The author is probably unaware of this logical contradiction. For could Marxism prosper as a mass political movement if its theory were ineffectual? No one has yet performed the miracle, either in the realm of science or in public life, of building something really impressive and enduring by relying on an ineffectual theory.

"Much Marxist influence," we read, "is indirect and fragmentary. In some minds, fragments of the Marxist vision coexist—illogically—with Christianity or Freudianism." True, there are people who combine Marxism with idealism, but those who do so are not Marxists. It is also true that it is not easy to assimilate Marxism as an integral doctrine in all its components. *Time* may not have solved this problem, but there are millions who have, and they are successfully applying Marxism in their practical activity.

In criticizing various facets of Marxism, the author fails to grasp that Marxism is both a science and a policy, the poetics of revolutionary struggle, the enthusiasm that goes into the building of the new society, inseparately fused.

## 4. *Ignoring the principal aspects of Marxism, distorting its essence and some of its propositions*

*Time's* refutation of Marxism as a theory rests on two arguments: "the increasing prosperity of the workers," and "the near-disappearance of cyclical economic crisis."

But the reader conversant with Marxism will ask: does the size of the wage packet or the depth and regularity of the cyclical crisis comprise the sole and principal theoretical basis of Marxism? What about the labor theory of value, the theory of surplus value, which Lenin so aptly described as the cornerstone of Marxism? Why is there no mention of Marx's theory of ownership of



the means of production as the basis of production relations, his theory of the historical mission of the working class and of the dictatorship of the proletariat?

The "prosperity" and "disappearance of crises" arguments have been used for many years by exponents of "people's capitalism," and of the "welfare state." True, in a number of capitalist countries the conditions of some categories of workers have improved since the war.

That higher wages could be won at different times and in different countries was never denied either by Marx or Lenin. On the contrary, they emphasized that by means of class struggle the worker can and does secure better working conditions and higher wages.

The recent wage rises in developed capitalist countries are, in fact, the result of intensive class struggles. But they should also be seen in the context of the technological revolution and the resultant marked increase in productivity. Nor should the fact be overlooked that higher wages are often attended by a higher rate of exploitation.

There is no denying, of course, that the mechanism of capitalism's cyclical development has undergone substantial alterations since the war. Thus, we have relatively less profound and shorter crises, less frequent and not always simultaneous in the different countries.

However, these "softer" and shorter over-production crises, are accompanied by more feverish monetary and socio-political crises. This should be attributed to the peculiar features of the reproduction of fixed capital in conditions of the technological revolution, the growth of state-monopoly capital, a bigger share of state ownership and investment, increased military spending, and militarization of the economy. The latter, incidentally, vividly highlights the anti-human, decaying and irrational nature of present-day capitalism. Yet, militarization plays an ever bigger part in the economics and politics of the imperialist countries.

As for crises and crisis developments, it should be noted that the U.S. experienced two cyclical overproduction crises, in 1948-49 and in 1957-58. Industrial production dropped 14 per cent between the autumn of 1957 and the summer of 1958. There were also the production declines and sharp deceleration of growth rates in Western Europe in 1951-52 and 1957-58. And this apart from the 1953-54 and 1960-61 reces-

sions and the crises in some industries. The cyclical nature of capitalist reproduction is still there, as is the general law of capitalist accumulation discovered by Marx, in accordance with which capitalist society is in a constant process of polarization, with growing social inequality, constant renewal of the reserve army of unemployed, etc. The June Meeting of Communist and Workers' parties recorded that "the rise in wages lags far behind the growth rates of labor productivity and the intensification of labor, behind the social needs and even more so behind the growth of monopoly profits." And facts were cited at the Meeting to prove the point. In France, for instance, the purchasing power of wages remained practically unchanged in May 1968, despite the substantial rise in output and productivity over the past 10 years; four million French workers were not earning enough to meet essential needs.

The American economist Victor Perlo estimates that real wages in American manufacturing industries increased 18 per cent in 1958-65, whereas productivity was up all of 53 per cent, signifying a much higher rate of exploitation. To this should be added that 40 per cent of wages in the U.S. go in direct or indirect taxes. And higher taxes mean that for three consecutive years real wages have been gradually declining. In fact, U.S. Presidents have admitted that millions of Americans are living in poverty. There are areas where adults and children are on the borderline of starvation, living in slums where many die for lack of elementary medical care.

A huge reserve army of unemployed is a built-in feature of capitalism. The technological revolution, which provides the material preconditions for universal prosperity, has, under capitalism, doomed millions to full or partial unemployment. Even in boom periods the number of wholly unemployed in Britain, France and Federal Germany is between half a million and 600,000; the figures for Italy and the USA are 1,000,000 and 3,000,000 respectively. What about the future? According to some estimates, in Canada, for instance, continued automation will wipe out two million more jobs by 1974.

And this is the picture at the other social pole of capitalist society. America's multimillionaires are becoming richer. The Morgan family has trebled its wealth in the past 40 years; Fords have multiplied theirs 7-fold, the Rockefellers and Mellons 8-fold, and the duPonts about 15-fold. In 1929, America's millionaires, comprising one per



cent of the population, owned 65.6 per cent of all share capital; the figure today is 77.5 per cent of individually-owned stocks. Here, surely we have a pretty clear picture of the operation of the general law of capitalist accumulation, and of capitalist production relations.

True, by dint of unrelenting pressure, strike action and other forms of class struggle, the working class has been able to wrest from the capitalists part of their soaring profits. But these partial victories have not abolished the towering injustice of capitalism, namely, private ownership of the means of production and exploitation, its inevitable concomitant.

And so, even a cursory glance at present-day capitalist reality provides no grounds for the contention that the workers are "prospering," or that economic crises are disappearing. We can only speak of—and even then with significant reservations—a relative improvement of the workers' material conditions in a number of highly developed capitalist countries, and of alteration of the capitalist economic cycle.

And it might be usefully added that the existence of the socialist world system and the influence exerted by it have played their part in forcing state-monopoly capitalism to tackle the problem of unemployment and to raise wages. Hence, the arguments designed to demolish Marxism have in no small measure originated in the achievements of socialism, in the theory and practice of Marxism-Leninism.

#### 5. *Misconstruing the origins of Marxism*

Marxism is not the result of a fortuitous conjuncture of historical circumstances, but the logical result of social development. It originated in the 1840's under the influence of the growing class contradictions of the then young industrial-capitalist society and with the appearance of a class of wage-workers. In performing a revolution in the social sciences, Marxism assimilated and developed all that was valuable in the works of such great German thinkers as Hegel and Feuerbach; the British economists Adam Smith and David Ricardo; the famous Utopian socialists Saint-Simon, Fourier and Robert Owen. Marxism was forged in implacable ideological combat with bourgeois, Utopian and anarchist schools of thought.

Yet here is the picture of Marxism we get from the capitalist propagandist:

Dr. Marx (*Time* speaks of him as "the

bearded prophet") concocted a "total" theory, a consistent set of symbols, to explain the course of history. The social structure of the 1840's was crumbling and this led to a struggle between conservatives and liberals. And together with the latter, we are told, Marx stood for science, industrialization, the nation-state, against capitalism, which he regarded (wrongly, *Time* thinks) as a transient phase. The basic element of Marxism (again according to *Time*) was the effort to channel the anarchistic spirit so that it would be in favor of industrialism but opposed to the capitalists. However, in this Marx failed because of his "fatal limitation" and so on, and on.

Here we get a primitive and vulgarized exposition of Marxist theory, and there is hardly any point in arguing with *Time* on the subject. Though it should be said that if Marx were the doctrinaire and abstract humanist that *Time* makes him out to be, he would have been forgotten long ago, and there would be no need for the anti-Communists, past and present, to invest so much zeal in "refuting" his theory.

#### 6. *Marxism depicted as a collection of dead dogmas*

In bourgeois propaganda this statement of the origins of Marxism finds logical continuation in a metaphysical interpretation of the very substance of Marxism.

The author carries over to our day his own vulgarized and garbled version of the fundamentals of Marxism worked out in the mid-19th century. The reader is expected to believe that everything in this world of ours changes with the sole exception of Marxism. For the *Time* author Marxism is merely a collection of ossified dogmas and pronouncements by the young Marx, dutifully repeated but never properly scrutinized or complemented. Indeed, we are supposed to regard Marxism as being akin to the dogmas of Christianity or Islam. And our persistent author tries to implant the idea that Marxism never underwent change or enrichment even in the lifetime of its founder. Clearly the inference is that the theoretical concepts of the author of *Capital* were not developed or deepened in his lifetime; or that his lifelong colleague Engels, who sacrificed much of his own work to complete *Capital*, played no part. (Some bourgeois ideologists make a point of contrasting Marx's early works to his later ones.) And strange as it may seem (to the Marxist but not to



the bourgeois propagandist) there is absolutely no mention of Leninism, the qualitatively new stage of Marxism.

In short, Marxism is treated in total disregard of Leninism. The words "Lenin" and "Leninism" do not figure in the article. This, of course, is typical of latter-day capitalist propaganda which delights in contrasting Marxism to Leninism and Marx to Lenin. And there is the propaganda contention that we should look to men like Herbert Marcuse, and not to Lenin and to the Communist and Workers' parties for the creative development of Marxism. Evidently the studied ignoring of Leninism is designed to suggest the idea that Marxism and Leninism have nothing in common. And by so reasoning one can simply bypass the supreme triumph of Marxism-Leninism, the Great October Socialist Revolution, and the emergence of the socialist world system.

But he who has studied the Marxist-Leninist classics, the history of the world Communist movement, the Congresses of the Communist International, the international Communist and Workers parties' conferences, and the documents of the various Communist parties, will readily grant that Marxism-Leninism is being constantly enriched and developed. More, he will be able to trace the path of that development, by no means an easy one—there have been zigzags, difficulties and errors. At the present stage, too, the development of our theory is not always abreast of rapidly changing practice. Besides, measured in terms of history, socialism is still young—it became a living reality a bare fifty years ago, whereas the evolution from feudalism to capitalism took three centuries.

*Time* began by drawing attention to the absence at the Moscow Meeting of a number of Communist parties. Attention is drawn also to differences on certain questions of Marxism. But no attention is drawn to the main result of the June meeting—complete identity of views on the pressing basic problems of our time. As to controversy, is that evidence of stagnation? Hardly. If anything, it shows that Marxism develops through principled discussion and unity in the struggle against the common adversary, imperialism, and that the world Communist movement is a young and growing organism.

And so Marxism-Leninism is not and never has been a collection of set symbols, but a source of creation, a key to understanding reality, a guide to action.

*Time* concludes by saying that it might take a very long time for modern society to find a more effective way of explaining itself and its direction. Evidently it thinks that this effective, non-Marxist theory will eventually be discovered. Well, let capitalism carry on with concocting "refutations" of Marxism. Marxism did not hesitate to enter the lists against bourgeois ideology 100 years ago; nor does it hesitate to do so today. Modern capitalist society is heading slowly but surely towards deep-going social upheavals. Capitalist propaganda and propagandists dread that prospect, for they by their very nature are conservative, backward looking and have no revolutionary ideas to offer. Hence the endeavor to depict Marxism as a conservative and metaphysical doctrine. If that is *Time's* purpose, it is undertaking a pretty hopeless job.

7. *The contention that imperialism is not the main enemy of social progress*

Marxism did not invent capitalism, the workers' class enemy: what it did was to strip the mask from capitalism and show the workers how it could be vanquished.

But, *Time* contends, Marxism has contributed to the invention of a new class enemy, the "military-industrial complex." But is this reactionary alliance of aggressive militarism, the bureaucracy of the imperialist state and the financial oligarchy a myth, a figment of the imagination?

The existence of the military-industrial complex—and of imperialism for that matter—does not alter the class nature of capitalism, nor the substance of capitalist exploitation, though it does alter its forms and methods. Actually there is no need to invent a new enemy—the enemy is still there, only in a new, imperialist and militarist image. Marxist-Leninists call on all workers, all progressive and democratic forces, to unite in the struggle against it.

*Time* complains that Marxism has found a very receptive soil in the developing countries where conditions, it contends, resemble those of Europe of the 1840's. There is no point in discussing the similarities and dissimilarities of the developing countries and the Europe of the mid-nineteenth century. There are similarities, it is true, but then there are important differences. This is a complex question that merits more than *Time's* superficial treatment. In these countries—for reasons unknown to the *Time* author—capitalism (especially its U.S. variety) is highly unpopular. But the reasons surely are obvious, they are right



there on the surface. It is a fact that capitalism is responsible for the plunder, backwardness and hunger in developing countries. It is a fact that capitalism is an ever-present source of war and international tension. And isn't it true that for years now U.S. militarism has been, and still is, sowing death and destruction in Vietnam? *Time* avoids such uncomfortable things, for its purpose is to depict capitalism in an attractive light, as a society that has gone a long way toward "abolishing class."

The latter point, made *en passant*, shows up the evolution of bourgeois social science and propaganda. For not so very long ago both were at pains to prove that the class structure of capitalist society was just and eternal. Now, drawing on Marxist terminology, the talk is of a classless society (thereby admitting, although obliquely, the injustice of class society).

However, what evidence does *Time* adduce in proof of its contention that classes are on their way out in the imperialist countries? Are we to take it that the millionaires and the multi-millionaires are vanishing? Or that industrial workers and working farmers predominate in Congress, or that their representative occupies the White House? Or that the principle of private ownership is less sacrosanct than it was a century ago? Or, lastly, that the military-industrial complex is an element of a classless society? *Time* sidesteps these questions.

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The International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties reaffirmed that imperialism remains the main enemy of mankind. The participants called for a stronger alliance of the socialist system and of the worker and national-liberation movements, for coordinated anti-imperialist action by all progressives, by all the forces of peace.

And *Time* in its own way has reacted to that call. In taking the Moscow Meeting of 75 Communist and Workers' parties as the starting point, its author reveals the point and purpose of his story.

Capitalist propaganda has stunted neither money nor effort to minimize the importance of the Moscow Meeting. That, in fact, is the purpose of the *Time* essay too. Those who own *Time*, like all capitalists, fear Marxism-Leninism and the worldwide Communist movement; they fear the unity of its forces under the banner of Marx and Lenin in the combat against imperialism. And with good reason. For that banner has

brought together millions of Communists. On page 28 of the same issue there is a table showing the membership of the various Communist and Workers' parties. Even from *Time's* estimate, one can judge the constant growth of Marxism's influence, which *Time* seems so anxious to minimize. It would appear that Marxism offers not only "slogans" and a "system of symbols," but something much more real. For the Communists inspire and unite millions of working people and all the progressive sections of society. The Communist movement now extends to every continent and, as the *Time* article shows, it can neither be ignored nor discounted. There it stands, triumphantly advancing throughout the length and breadth of the world.

What does Marxism do, how strong is its influence, what accounts for its ability to renew its appeal? In his opening paragraph the *Time* author asks these questions but fails to provide the answers. They are, however, provided by a simple comparison of the world of today with the world of 50 or even 25 years ago. And the comparison discloses the material forces in which the ideas of Marxism have found embodiment. For instance, the rapid industrial and cultural strides made by the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries. Yet before the revolution, some of the peoples in the old Russia were nomad shepherds. One example is Kirghizia, once a backward outland of the tsarist empire. In the 50 Soviet years industrial output in Kirghizia has multiplied more than a hundredfold and agriculture has registered a more than five-fold increase. Per capita power production in Soviet Kirghizia is double the figure for Portugal, Greece or Brazil, and dozens of times higher than in most Afro-Asian countries, though half a century ago Kirghizia was every bit as backward as they are now. Today its factories turn out machine-tools, electric motors, a wide range of textiles, footwear and washing machines. Pre-revolutionary Kirghizia was a land of almost complete illiteracy; now nearly a third of its population are studying: 150 students per 10,000 of the population, compared with 65 in Italy, 63 in Britain, 49 in Federal Germany, 28 in India and 14 in Iran.

But socialism is responsible also for vast changes in Europe: in the past 10 years the European socialist countries have nearly doubled their national income, compared with a 60 per cent increase in the advanced capitalist countries.

These examples are a measure of what Marxism-Leninism has accomplished in



countries freed from capitalist exploitation. And they are clear evidence that Marxism is "moving towards a society as it ought to be." Most people know of the Soviet Union's decisive role in defeating Hitler fascism, the socialist world's decisive role in the anti-imperialist struggle, in the development of the national liberation movement and the disintegration of imperialism's colonial system. Every unbiased person will appreciate the struggle waged by the Marxist-Leninist parties against capitalist exploitation, against monopoly omnipotence, against militarism and racial discrimination, for social justice, genuine democracy and peace, for the ideals of

socialism and communism. These, then, are the things that explain the power of attraction exerted by Marxism, which *Time* cannot understand and which it fears.

The entire June 13 issue of this American weekly, beginning with the cover, is yet another attempt to discredit the world Communist movement, and notably the Moscow Meeting of the 75 parties. On page 15, it describes, in glowing terms, how the issue was prepared, how energetic and knowledgeable correspondents were assigned to the job. Yes, it certainly needed effort and, no doubt, a lot of money, but has *Time* achieved its purpose?

Jan PRAZSKY

## Marxism: The persistent vision

Leaders of the 75 Communist parties meeting in Moscow—and those conspicuously absent—often argue bitterly about what their faith, Marxism, means. More interesting is the question of what Marxism does. How strong is its influence today? What accounts for its ability to renew its appeal? Who needs it?

As a theory of society, Marxism's "laws" have been mocked by events, such as the increasing prosperity of the workers and the near disappearance of cyclical economic crisis. As a political movement and myth, it has been far more successful. Regimes calling themselves Marxist (and who has a right to say they are not?) rule a third of mankind. Their future expansion, while not as likely as it seemed 20 years ago, is by no means impossible. But neither failed Marxist theory nor entrenched Marxist power explains why Marxism can today provide slogans for the uproar in U.S. colleges and ghettos, courage for guerrillas in Viet Nam, flickers of hope for anxious intellectuals and bewildered peasants.

Functionally, Marxism is a vision, belonging more to poetics than to science or politics. It began as a sensitive man's response to an early stage of a fundamental transformation in the human condition. The great change that had set in by the middle of the 19th century still rolls on, gathering speed and extending its breadth. Today, as in Marx's time, men feel the change as both a threat and a promise. It evokes fear and hope simultaneously. The Marxist vision is a peculiar, sometimes deadly—but for many

men an effective—way of perceiving the moving society and relating themselves to it.

Dr. Marx concocted a "total" theory, a consistent set of symbols, to explain the course of history, and he intended his theory to be swallowed whole. The vision derives much of its poetic force from its unity, although few modern men gulp down the whole brew. Outside the Communist countries, formal conversion to Marxism is now rarer than it was a generation ago. Much Marxist influence is indirect and fragmentary. In some minds, fragments of the Marxist vision coexist — illogically — with Christianity or Freudianism. For most, it provides a rationale for criticizing society as it is, rather than a plan for moving toward society as it ought to be.

### ALIENATION AND ANARCHISM

Nevertheless, Marxist influence is still potent, especially where men find themselves in situations somehow analogous to those that surrounded Marx in the Europe of five generations ago. Leaving aside the uses of Marxism within the Communist-ruled countries, groups especially susceptible to the vision today include the peoples of less advanced countries now experiencing early stages of modernization, and certain unassimilated groups (for example, radical U.S. blacks) in advanced countries. Equally susceptible are intellectuals and youth.

Why and how the Marxist vision attracts many members of this mixed bag may be explained by a quick look back at Marx's Europe of the 1840s, which in today's parlance would be called a "developing area". Its social structure was crumbling under the

\*Time, June 13, 1969. Reprinted by permission from Time, the weekly newsmagazine. Copyright Time Inc., 1969.



impact of science and industrialization. Three attitudes toward change were fairly clearly defined: 1) conservative, 2) progressive or, as it was called, "liberal", and 3) revolutionary. Then, as now, thoroughgoing reactionaries were hard to find; nobody seriously tried to restore the pre-industrial Europe. But there were many clingers, people who fought rear-guard actions, defending for reasons of interest or sentiment one or another bastion of the pre-industrial past. Against them, the liberals, mainly middle-class and including many intellectuals, carried the fight for science, industrialization, education and the nation-state, promising (recklessly) a tomorrow of peace and enlightenment.

Between those two groups there was no doubt where Marx stood: for science against religion, for industrialism against "the idiocy of rural life", for the new nation-state against the remnants of the old political order. But he regarded the new order, capitalism, as a transient phase that would soon destroy itself and be replaced by a wave that he saw expressed in the third attitude toward the new order, revolution. The liberals, eyes on the future, tended to be insensitive to the suffering, material and psychological, caused by the march of the new order. Marx was not. He believed, incorrectly, as it turned out, that the material condition of the workers must worsen as capitalism developed. But his observations about psychological "alienation" in a changing society have proved much more durable.

### APPEALING AMBIVALENCE

The revolutionary spirit in Marx's Europe was essentially anarchistic. It was the revolt of men alienated by industrializing change from the land, from their tools, from a sense of their status — however humble — in a society that they understood. Although Marx sympathized with the emotions, that called forth this revolt, he recognized anarchism's impotence and fought it bitterly. In his view, nothing could or should stop the march of industrialization and its political and social consequences.

Thus, a key element in the Marxist vision was his effort to channel the anarchistic spirit so that it would be in favor of industrialism but opposed to the capitalists. His intellectual support of the new order fused with his passionate sense of justice to shape a way of being that was simultaneously on the side of progress and in revolt against its present villains who controlled both government and the means of production. This ambivalent way of dealing with the stress of rapid social change retains its appeal for many men today.

This appeal arises from the fact that many countries are now in situations resembling the Europe of the 1840s. Those who wish to

lead must notice the resentments of men displaced by progress from the land and from the certainties of traditional society. In developing countries, for example, a leader can put himself on the side of industrialization and modernization while at the same time blaming the capitalists (in practice, this often means the US) for the suffering and alienation. "Yankee go home" descends from the Marxist vision, combining rising nationalism with class hostility.

Many advanced nations, including the U.S., contain "underdeveloped countries", groups experiencing their first intensive contact with industrialism. Formal Marxism has not achieved a substantial following among American Negroes, but Marx would not be surprised at the rise of black militancy in recent years. As Southern Negroes move from the land to the cities, their rising material expectations collide with the frustrations of impersonal urban life. In many ways, the ghetto riots are recurrences of the blind old anarchist reaction that the Marxist vision tries to channel into another kind of political expression. Black Panther slogans have undergone an evolution typical of Marxist influence. The Panthers began with a program of ethnic separation, resisting assimilation by the national state with anarchistic verve. In effect, their leaders express Marxist concepts, calling for a class struggle joining blacks and whites against "exploiters".

Less obvious but no less real is the analogy between 19th century Europe and the situation of modern intellectuals. Today intellectuals are prospering, and their susceptibility to Marxist concepts can hardly be explained on grounds of material "immiserization" (growing poverty). But there are other reasons for alienation among intellectuals. The specialization of the sciences tends to dissociate the academic intellectual from the decisions, almost invariably multidisciplinary in nature, that actually shape the course of society. The intellectual often feels irrelevant. As a scientist, he pursues work that does not include concern for the moral or esthetic content of progress, but as a man he has not forgotten the intellectual's traditional responsibility for the good, the beautiful and the unity between kinds of truth. Many intellectuals draw symbols from the Marxist vision to explain what is wrong and to suggest how their lives might regain a sense of relevance.

Sir Isaiah Berlin, non-Marxist biographer of Marx, in a recent interview made this appraisal of Marxism's influence upon intellectuals: "Marx has entered the texture of thought of all sorts of intellectuals without their being conscious of it. Anyone who ignores Marx is a kind of primitive, a pre-scientific." Sir Isaiah is quite conscious of Marx's mistakes, but "most important thinkers have violently exaggerated. If they don't



they're not listened to. Plato, Descartes, the writers of the Gospels, Kant, Hegel, Bertrand Russell, exaggerated. Exaggeration breaks the crust of accepted opinion. Freudianism would have been an eclectic mess if Freud hadn't exaggerated".

Marx's exaggeration — or simplification — is often especially appealing to university students in the advanced countries, who are cruelly confronted with the modern problem of "identity". Never was a society so opaque to its young. Unlike the peasant's son, or even the merchant's son, today's young may be unable to grasp precisely what their fathers do. What is it like to be a corporation executive, an advertising copywriter, a designer of computers?

### THE OPAQUE FUTURE

The inscrutable face that a complex society presents to its young makes them vulnerable to simplistic explanations of it. To them, as to 19th century anarchists, individual man appears good and society appears corrupt. "I am a human being. Do not bend, fold or mutilate", was the slogan raised on the Berkeley campus in 1964 and repeated many times since. The computer, symbol of advancing technology, has resurrected all the old Luddite animosity toward the machine. The French student rioters of a year ago burned with the old anarchist passion against "society" — the passion that Marxism is designed to harness.

So far, rebellious youth in the advanced countries shows little sign of swallowing Marxism whole, but the Marxist vision does have its strong appeal to the alienated young. An Italian observer, the critic Nicola Chiaromonte, believes that Marxist influence has grown among Italian youth, even though the Communist Party has been losing young members. "Marx isn't very highly regarded as a thinker," Chiaromonte says, "but as a father image he is very much present. The older generation of Marxists remains influenced by Marxist thought, the last philosophy with a consistent system. But youth is moved by Marx's call to action. Castro's Cuba and Che Guevara conjure up a romantic image."

In a rapidly changing world, men apparently need a clear image of the "enemy" responsible for their anxiety and frustration. Hence the recent discovery of something called "the Establishment". A more recent American variant is "the military-industrial complex", familiarly known as MIC. The idea descends from Marx's "ruling class" of capitalists, with their grip on government and the cultural "superstructure". Neither "the Establishment" nor "the MIC" was coined by a Marxist, but the eager way in which these names, twisted from their original meaning, were embraced indicates the desperate psychological need of many Americans for "a class enemy" in a society that has gone a

long way toward abolishing class.

### WILL THE VISION GO AWAY?

Marxism today is more effective as a source of symbols directed against society's defects than as a guide to political action or serious thought. In countries dominated by Marxist parties, the faith is largely cant, the conventional wisdom, though it would be wrong to assume that such a role has no significance.

As a student of society, Marx had a fatal limitation: his central insistence that all history and all human motivation could be reduced to materialist factors. Modern sociology, psychology and history have a more sophisticated view. Indeed, Marx's theory of man-as-economic-animal is regularly disproved by countless eruptions of nationalism, tribalism and just plain human cussedness that can hardly be explained through economic motives. It is a striking irony that the New Left, which often uses Marxist sticks to belabor capitalist society, tries to reach beyond Marx for spiritual values and a kind of community (neo-tribalism) that Marx, the materialist, would have considered sentimental and atavistic.

Despite these limitations, the Marxist vision remains pervasive. It has already drawn into its influence some who started as New Leftists and have gradually become Marxists. In addition, Marxism's most interesting area of opportunity lies among highly educated people in advanced countries, notably the U.S. The slogans of their rebellion against various social evils assert that they wish to change society. But underneath the surface, what is being resisted is often change itself, change that has no obvious meaning and no clearly understood direction. As the U.S. enters the "post-industrial age", the bitter questions about the future, the nostalgia for the past—all the 19th century symptoms seem to be returning. Perhaps tomorrow will see men longing for the rigidities of the industrial century, as previous generations clung to the stabilities of their rural past. Extreme alienation from tomorrow's more complex society may well provoke the anarchist syndrome.

In any age, the anarchist thrust — though it can be destructively powerful — leads nowhere. Some rebels sensing this, will look around for a more constructive vision. When they look, there will be the bearded prophet with his peculiar mix of scientism and moral passion, his peculiar way of linking yesterday-today-tomorrow, his peculiar kind of oversimplification and exaggeration, his peculiar kind of hope.

So the attraction of the Marxist vision may persist until modern society finds a more effective way of explaining itself and its direction. And that could be a long, long time.



## ***Third world: friends true and false***

Readers, especially in Third World countries, have written to us about the economic cooperation between socialist and developing countries, about the nature, purposes and forms of the cooperation. They refer also to capitalist propaganda attempts to discredit economic relations with the socialist countries and ask our journal for its views on this propaganda.

The reply below, prepared by our Department for the Socialist Countries, is based on the materials of the International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties in Moscow, on official statistics, the monograph, "World Socialism and the Developing Countries," the joint work of researchers from Bulgaria, Hungary, the German Democratic Republic, Poland, the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia (recently published in the Soviet Union), and other sources.

### **"COMMUNIST EXPANSION" OR JOINT ACTION AGAINST IMPERIALISM?**

Capitalist propaganda contends that the growth of economic relations between the socialist and developing countries has no objective foundation and amounts to "communist economic penetration," "communist expansion," and so on.

Is that true? Is the rapid growth of trade between the socialist and developing countries (between 1950 and 1967 the CMEA countries' trade with the developing states increased but 5.5-fold) and the growth of scientific and technical cooperation a sign of "communist expansion"? And are the 41-fold rise in Soviet exports to Asian, African and Latin American states in the past 16 years, the growth of Soviet credits and aid and the presence of tens of thousands of Soviet specialists there signs of "Soviet imperialism"? Hardly. On the contrary, they are proof of a profound mutual interest in cooperation, and not only in the economic and cultural spheres, but also in the political domain.

The socialist community and the developing countries have a common adversary—world imperialism, the main cause of hunger and poverty in the Third World countries and the main obstacle to their economic, political and cultural advancement. That the imperialists are now providing credits on easier terms and more aid in

terms of food, that they are willing, in the framework of their neo-colonialist policy, to pay higher taxes on oil profits, and the like, is not due to any change in the nature of modern capitalism, but to the intensity of the national liberation movement, relying for support on the socialist world system and cooperation with the socialist states.

Imperialist propaganda says the socialist countries derive unilateral advantages from cooperation with the Third World countries, seeking to dominate them in place of their former masters. But that is putting the shoe on the wrong foot. Is it the socialist countries that appropriate the natural resources of Asia, Africa and Latin America, pocketing fantastic profits? Is it the socialist countries that obstruct industrialization in the Third World, especially the development of manufacturing industries? Is it the socialist countries that ensnare the developing states in the mesh of unequal economic and political agreements? Anyone conversant with the facts knows that all this is done by the imperialists, who interfere grossly in the internal affairs of the Third World countries.

True, the countries of the socialist community are interested in the state of the developing countries. But what prompts their interest? Is it an urge for maximum profit? Certainly not. No socio-political forces, no capitalists and no monopolies



exist in the socialist countries, striving to exploit the people of other states. As far as the peoples of the socialist countries are concerned, led by the Communists they have an objective stake primarily in liberating the peoples of the developing states from all forms of colonial and semi-colonial dependence. Their stake is in genuine socio-economic progress and in joint anti-imperialist struggle for the revolutionary reconstruction of the world. This was declared emphatically at the aforementioned International Meeting in Moscow and is illustrated by the entire history of the relationship between the socialist and developing states.

The interest of the socialist countries in cooperation with the Third World is not one-sided. The Asian, African and Latin American countries have a stake in it, too. Their drive for political and economic independence brings them into collision with the imperialist powers, the monopolies of which are reluctant to let the rich sources of raw material and advantageous investment areas slip out of their hands. What the imperialists are after in Asia, Africa and Latin America, wresting various political and economic concessions from the Third World countries, is cheap oil, copper, iron ore, cocoa beans and other primary goods and foodstuffs, plus billions of dollars in annual profit. And if persuasion is powerless, the imperialists shed their benevolence and resort to political, all too often armed, intervention. It was not until the socialist community came into being that the developing countries gained an alternative in their economic and political orientation. Now they have someone with whom they can consult, someone on whom they can rely, someone to aid them. It is sinking in from experience that the socialist world system is the decisive force combating imperialism and that the liberation struggle is reliably supported by the socialist states, particularly the Soviet Union.

It will be recalled that the 23rd Congress of the Soviet Communist Party instructed the Central Committee to continue aiding peoples fighting against colonial oppression and neo-colonialism and to extend the all-round cooperation with the newly-independent countries. Provisions for this are contained in the long-term economic development plans of the USSR and, particularly, in the plan for 1966-70, proving that the CPSU is faithful to the Leninist principles of internationalist solidarity with the oppressed peoples.

Speakers at the International Meeting, including Communist representatives of the developing countries, paid tribute to the Soviet people for their sacrifice in supporting all peoples fighting imperialism and for their political, moral, economic and military aid.

#### **WHAT DOES THIS AID AMOUNT TO?**

The socialist countries' aid is not confined to machinery and equipment, easy long-term credits, capital building and large projects, provision of technical and scientific know-how, and training national personnel. Certain material aid, though with a different purpose and on exploitative terms, is also made available by the developed capitalist states. What matters most is the socialist countries' aid in the search for the more effective way of economic development.

Success in resolving the principal economic problems depends largely on the choice of the economic mechanism best suited to socio-economic growth. The two main economic mechanisms these days are the capitalist and the socialist. Which of these will the developing countries opt for? Obviously, the right choice has a decisive bearing on their further growth. Capitalist propaganda beats the drums of the capitalist way under the aegis of the international monopolies, and quite a few developing countries have swallowed the bait. However, as noted in the Main Document of the International Meeting in Moscow, "countries which have taken the capitalist road have been unable to solve any of the basic problems facing them."

Hence the profound interest in the socialist experience. The socialist countries provided and tested the economic mechanism for effective solutions of the many problems now weighing heavily on the developing states. The socialist organization of the economy is geared to rapid growth, assuring the requisites for the maximum mobilization of society's material resources and manpower. It facilitates rapid solutions for the key problems of industrialization, reconstruction of farming on a cooperative basis, abolishing unemployment (about one-third of the working population in the developing countries, i.e., about 250 million out of 800 million, can find no useful application), large-scale training of personnel and a higher standard of living.

The achievements in the socialist countries have been so convincing that by now



more than 50 developing states base their economic development on national planning. The possibilities of planning are naturally dependent on the nature of ownership and the level of the productive forces. But even the earliest attempts at planning reinforce the developing states in the fight against imperialism, in which the experience of the socialist countries is of incalculable assistance.

### **RESEMBLANCE IN FORM. DIFFERENCE IN ESSENCE**

Making the most of the outward resemblance of the forms of the economic relationship between the developing and socialist countries and between the former and the capitalist world, imperialist propaganda endeavors to prove that ties with the socialist states yield nothing fundamentally novel and that the developing countries would benefit more from integrating in the imperialist system.

Is that true? Take trade, the most widespread inter-state economic relationship. What kind of goods do the socialist countries sell to the developing countries? Primarily the machines and industrial equipment essential for their economic growth, which account for more than 50 per cent of what the USSR, Czechoslovakia, the German Democratic Republic, Hungary and Yugoslavia export to the developing countries.

What kind of goods do socialist countries buy from them? Primarily the traditional merchandise, with manufactured goods gradually gaining ascendancy. This latter fact is highly important for the progressive reorganization of the structure of production and foreign trade. The percentage of manufactured and semi-processed goods in Soviet imports from India under existing agreements has risen from 30 in 1964 to 40 in 1970. The Soviet Union and Poland are buying Indian lathes, ferrous metals, textile machinery and electric motors; Hungary has ordered 500 freight cars from India, and is buying large quantities of refrigerators from the United Arab Republic. Examples of this kind are plentiful.

In the socialist countries manufactured goods from the developing countries encounter none of the restrictions or discriminations existing in the developed capitalist countries. The Soviet Union, for one, was the first to declare at the 1964 Geneva Conference that it would abolish all duties on merchandise from the developing countries,

whereas average duty imposed by the Common Market countries is five per cent on cocoa beans, 136 per cent on cocoa butter and powder, 28 per cent on tobacco and 180 on cigarettes. Most of the highly developed capitalist states impose no duty on imported iron ore, but slap a 30 to 100 per cent tariff on steel and pig iron. Obviously, this is aimed at keeping the developing countries as agrarian and raw material appendages to the imperialist system.

The imperialist powers saddle them with unequal trade terms, depressing the prices of primary goods and inflating prices of ready-made merchandise, thus continuing the plunder of the newly-free peoples. According to UN estimates, for example, the developing countries registered a loss of \$16,700 million from adverse price fluctuations in 1950-62.

### **INDUSTRIALIZATION AID NOT IN WORD, BUT IN DEED**

Unlike the capitalist states, the socialist countries encourage the drive of the developing countries for a powerful national industry, helping them build factories and other industrial projects. Some 2,500 projects have been, or are being, built there with the aid of the socialist community.

Estimates show that when these enterprises are started up, the productive capacity of the recipient countries will more than double against 1960 in steel, increasing nearly by one-fifth in cement and by one-third in sugar. Capacity of oil refineries will go up 130 per cent, that of power stations more than 38 per cent. The steel plants in Bhilai and Bokaro, India, and the Aswan power station in the UAR are refashioning the economic structures in the two countries, offering new perspectives for rapid industrial growth. Indira Gandhi, India's Prime Minister, said in 1966 that the metallurgical center in Bokaro, going up with Soviet aid, is the focal project in the country's advance to economic independence.

Financial aid granted by the socialist countries through credits has passed the mark of 6,000 million convertible rubles. As a rule, credits are granted for terms ranging between ten and twelve years at 2.5 per cent annual interest, while interest exacted by capitalist countries is, as a rule, four to six per cent yearly.

Training national personnel is an essential factor in industrialization. In recent years, Soviet specialists have helped train more than 100,000 technicians and skilled



workers locally, with many more thousands from nearly 100 developing countries, of whom nearly half are learning to be engineers and technicians, trained in the higher and specialized secondary educational establishments in the CMEA countries.

### **IS SOVEREIGNTY AFFECTED?**

The socialist countries attach no political strings to their aid and impose no controls over the recipient economy on the pretext of assuring the right use of granted credits. They make no claim on any portion of the profits nor on participating in running the projects, on concessions or on the right to build their own enterprises. They make none of the kind of unilateral demands taken for granted in the case of the imperialist powers. The item of remitting profits and dividends in foreign exchange, typical of settlements with the imperialist powers, is conspicuous by its absence in dealings between developing and socialist states. According to some estimates the profits shipped out exceed the inflow of fresh capital by some \$2,000 million annually. That is the price of Western "aid" in a year. This example of exploitation illustrates the "equality" between imperialist and developing countries, showing how illusory the economic independence and sovereignty is of countries where monopolies exercise their power.

Then there is this other aspect: while the capitalist countries seek primarily to reinforce the private sector, the economic aid of the socialist countries helps stimulate the state sector, which, in the appropriate circumstances, can provide for the interests of the working people and of the nation. And for this reason it is the state sector, rather than private enterprise, that lays the foundation for genuine economic independence and sovereignty of the developing states.

### **SOURCE OF FUNDS FOR ECONOMIC AID**

Capitalist propaganda does not reveal the true sources of the aid afforded by the imperialist countries to the developing states. And the reason for the reticence is simple. Imperialist aid amounts to but a tiny fraction of the wealth shipped out of the former colonies and dependent countries over the centuries.

Aid coming from the socialist countries is entirely different. Funds made available

for it are part of the material values created by the people, who, living up to their internationalist duty, selflessly provide the developing states with part of their labor. It is proper to recall that most socialist states were themselves recently economically backward and lacked the developed industrial base built up in short order by their own effort. So far, the socialist countries have but limited material resources, and face tasks of further economic growth, tasks of raising their standards of living. But that makes their aid to the developing countries all the more significant.

### **WHAT ABOUT THE FUTURE?**

Some specialists in the socialist countries expect trade with the developing states to grow several times over, reaching \$15,000-20,000 million by 1980, that is, in the next ten years.

What is needed at present is to shape and deepen the division of labor between the socialist and developing countries to suit the principles and character of their relationship, their productive capacity, and to make it equally advantageous for all concerned. Cooperation in production, that is, cooperation between socialist and developing countries in producing goods of common interest, is already a topical proposition.

True, streamlining the forms and methods of the international division of labor is a long and arduous process entailing considerable effort and time. Yet it is irreversible. Economic cooperation between the socialist and developing countries will add to the material preconditions of consistent social reconstruction, putting the developing countries on the road to rapid economic progress. Expansion of this cooperation is, therefore, a realistic alternative to neo-colonialism.

To meet the most acute needs of their economic development, the Third World countries require much more foreign aid than they have been getting so far. However, in view of the balance of payments difficulties afflicting nearly all the industrially-developed states, that target will be hard to reach. For one thing, however, it could be facilitated by general disarmament, for at present the military spending of the industrial powers is almost equal to the total national income of the Third World countries. Militarization of the economy, says the Appeal in Defense of Peace adopted by the International Meeting of



Communist and Workers' Parties, "devours huge material resources, presses down the standard of living and places a heavy burden on the shoulders of working people." That is why the fight for peace and disarmament, in which the socialist as well as the developing countries have a stake, is a most important component of the anti-

imperialist struggle.

The ultimate solution of the national and social problems facing the developing countries is to be sought in the socialist orientation, in extended cooperation with the socialist world system and the world Communist and workers' movement.

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## **INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCES**

# ***Labor historians meet in Linz***

Historians of the working-class movement from Austria, Bulgaria, Hungary, the GDR, Holland, Rumania, USSR, FRG, France, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia and other countries gathered in Linz (Austria), over September 16-19 for an international conference.

The theme of the Conference was the international labor movement during World War I, on which there were three reports. There were also reports on Lenin's stand in the early days of the 1914-18 war, and on the Zimmerwald movement. The influence Lenin's ideas exerted on the international workers' movement of the time was discussed by speakers from the USSR, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia. A paper on another item, The Role of Memoirs in the Study of Labor History, was submitted by the Amsterdam International Social Research Institute.

Though speakers differed on some aspects of the subjects discussed, there was general agreement that instructive lessons could be drawn from the 1914-18 phase of the history of the working class movement in Europe and the world.

The debate demonstrated the growing

interest in Lenin's views on many problems of working-class theory and history and in his analysis of the two basic trends—revolutionary and reformist—in the international labor movement. Some speakers, however, tended to minimize Lenin's impact on the international labor movement and to play down his struggle against opportunism.

The attitude of the workers' organizations to the overall issue of war and peace has an important bearing on labor's effort for social progress. Lenin emphasized how important it was for the working class to see through the secrecy in which wars are prepared. Nor should we forget the harm done by the leaders of the Second International in the fateful summer of 1914. And it was not simply a matter of their having been "caught unawares" (as suggested by Prof. Mattias of West Germany). The point is that they were motivated by a wrong, opportunist and essentially chauvinistic policy. As several speakers (R. Neck, T. Erenyi and others) pointed out, we should differentiate between the sentiment of the masses in August 1914 and the actions of the leaders of the Social-Democratic parties.



Speakers from the socialist countries expressed disagreement with views current in some reformist circles in the West, namely, that the strike-breaking policy of the Second International leaders in 1914 had the support of the masses. The facts, they averred, show that a very considerable part of the working class in most countries opposed the war.

Researchers from the USSR, the GDR, Bulgaria, Hungary and other countries strongly contested the view that while the erroneous policy of the Second International leaders in 1914 should be condemned, we should refrain from using such terms as "betrayal" which belong in the "ethical" or "emotional" category. Many objected to this on the grounds that it would obscure the political essence of the policy and actions of men like Suedekum, Bissolati, Kautsky and others.

The policy pursued by the Second International leaders in those days was consistently countered by the internationalist and revolutionary stand taken by Lenin and the Bolshevik Party. This was the subject of the paper: "Lenin and the West European Labor Movement in the Early Years of the War," read by T. Timofeyev, Corresponding Member of the USSR Academy of Sciences. Lenin deeply analyzed the process at work in the European movement, Timofeyev said. In his writings we find solutions to the problems facing not only the Russian sector, but also the international labor movement as a whole. These writings, Timofeyev went on, retain their validity. Particularly relevant today for all class-conscious workers is the Lenin proposition that the revolutionary working-class organizations should fight consistently on two fronts, against the Right opportunist menace and Left sectarianism, against petty-bourgeois extremism in all its diverse forms and manifestations.

Contributions to the discussion by researchers from the USSR, Bulgaria and other countries stressed the importance today of this passage in one of Lenin's articles: "Certain people who were inattentive to the conditions for preparing and developing the mass struggle were driven to despair and to anarchism by the lengthy delays in the decisive struggle against capitalism in Europe. We can now see how short-sighted and faint-hearted this anarchist despair is" (*Collected Works*, Vol. 18, p. 584). When those words were written it seemed that opportunism would hold sway for a long time. But Lenin, who sensed the

growth of the revolutionary forces, who envisaged the future and the opportunities it offered, denounced this pessimistic view of the movement.

In an attempt to belittle the significance of Lenin's ideas, some bourgeois and Right-wing socialist ideologists have claimed that Lenin, being a practical revolutionary, made no conspicuous contribution to our understanding of new theoretical problems. To a degree this viewpoint was expressed by some speakers in Linz (including participants from West Germany and France). It was not Lenin, but Kautsky and Hilferding, they argued, who elaborated the methodological basis of the theory of imperialism and the problems of the labor movement following therefrom. Klein (GDR), Dr. Iskenderov (USSR) and other Marxists convincingly demonstrated that Lenin's theoretical heritage, notably his theory of imperialism, are central to a correct understanding of the problems involved in the various stages of the struggle against aggressive imperialist policy. Lenin's theoretical works before and during World War I are inseparable from his insistence on a revolutionary policy in the international workers' movement. The first official Bolshevik statement on the war, written by Lenin, stated that capitalism had reached its highest, imperialist stage. In preparation for the Zimmerwald conference Lenin posed and elucidated the basic problems then facing the international working class and democratic anti-war movement.

Marxist researchers drew attention to these facts, emphasizing that mere recognition of the imperialist nature of World War I (to which the West-German historian Mommsen confined himself at the conference) did not bring out the nature of imperialism and the preconditions for proletarian revolution. Lenin considered one of his main tasks to be elaboration of the theoretical and tactical problems posed by the era of imperialism and the crisis of the Second International. In his writings of this period we have a comprehensive critique of Kautsky and his theory of ultra-imperialism, an analysis of the basic features of imperialism, and further development of the theory of state-monopoly capitalism.

In formulating his theory of imperialism Lenin criticized the unsound views on the economics and politics of monopoly capital then current among West European Social-Democrats and Russian Social-Democrat emigrés. Many of these ideas had been



culled from Hilferding's *Finance Capital*.

And though Lenin had a high opinion of Hilferding's book, he criticized some of its methodological principles and conclusions. His approach to the central problems of imperialism, its essence and the question of revolution, differed fundamentally from Hilferding's and, unlike the latter, was always closely linked with the work to rally all the anti-war, revolutionary forces. Lenin's theory of imperialism was and remains the methodological basis for understanding the capitalist economic and socio-

political development trends and helps us form a clear picture of the distinctive features of the present-day class struggle.

The Linz conference reaffirmed that the attitude to the Lenin heritage and to the role of Leninism is central to the current ideological struggle. It also showed that more and more Western researchers are coming to realize that Lenin's works must be fully taken into account in any scientific study of the history of the working class movement.

I.T.

## **BOOKS AND JOURNALS**

# ***Lenin in crucial years 1914-17***

August 1914. The war, though long predicted, came as a shock and threw many into a state of confusion.

In the working-class parties and trade unions, too, there was dismay, loss of perspective and vacillation. Nor could it have been otherwise: the Social-Democratic parties and the Second International, which for years seemed strong, solid and unshakable, now, with the first breath of war, crumbled like a house of cards.

This was a difficult time for the movement—the official leaders of the main Social-Democratic parties, forgetting their Stuttgart, Copenhagen and Basle Congress resolutions, openly sided with “their” governments and “their” imperialist bourgeoisie. The masses, disoriented by the betrayal, were seeking a way out. At this time of crisis only Lenin and the Bolshevik Party remained true to their internationalist duty and were not caught up in the disarray. From the very start they indicated the only way out of the crisis.

This fundamental study by Soviet historian Y. G. Tyomkin\* begins with a

description of those critical days in the history of the international labor movement. The opening chapter analyzes the organizational and ideological collapse of the Second International and the policy of its national affiliates. In parliament the Social-Democrats supported the war policy of the bourgeois governments, which, in fact, some Socialists had joined. It was not easy to understand, let alone properly assess, why and how this happened. For the guiding minds of the Second International, from Kautsky to Plekhanov, were doing their best to justify, indeed “theoretically substantiate,” this abrupt change of policy. And though the arguments adduced by the Socialists of the Central Powers and those of the Allied Powers contradicted each other, this did not prevent them from citing, and misconstruing, Marx and Engels in their attempts to justify their chauvinist stand.

In September 1914 Lenin wrote Inessa Armand: “I fear that the present crisis has led many, too many, Socialists to lose their heads (if that expression is appropriate). In the final analysis, opportunism is to blame for this outrageous ‘disgrace’ of European socialism . . .” And further: “We

\*Y. G. Tyomkin, *Lenin and International Social-Democracy (1914-17)*. Nauka Publishers, Moscow, 1963, 622 pp.



must, one way or another, make our views known, though that is very difficult, extremely difficult at such time."

And the difficulties were not only of a practical nature, though, of course, getting the international Social-Democratic press to publicize ideas and views that contradicted official policy was no simple matter. But there were even greater difficulties of a moral and psychological order. For it required tremendous conviction that one's ideas were fully in the interests of the international proletariat to stand up alone, or practically alone, against the majority of the socialist leaders and counter their sophistry—which was widely applauded—with the correct, principled policy of revolutionary struggle against the imperialist war and all its supporters. Lenin never hesitated to go against the stream.

In those crisis days of 1914 there were Socialists in the Bulgarian, Serbian, German, Italian, Swiss parties and, of course, in the Russian Bolshevik Party, who did not succumb to jingo hysteria and remained faithful to internationalism. In doing so they rendered a great service to the principles and traditions of international proletarian solidarity. But the most important task, namely, that of correctly assessing the new situation created by the imperialist war and charting a correct course for the working class—that momentous task required the genius of Lenin. And in those crucial years the role of Lenin as leader and theorist of the revolutionary emancipation struggle of the working class stood out in all its grandeur.

It is not fortuitous that Lenin's work in these years has been described and analyzed by his associates and by Marxist researchers using a wealth of documentary evidence to produce a detailed picture of that titanic struggle.

The first attempt at a scientific analysis of the struggle was made in 1929, in connection with the tenth anniversary of the Communist International. The Lenin Institute of the CPSU Central Committee set up a research group under the Hungarian Marxist Bela Kun to collect material and compile a two-volume history of the Communist International. Volume I was to be devoted entirely to the struggle waged by Lenin and the Left Socialists for the Third International during the first world war. The group included prominent personalities of the international Communist movement, Vasil Kolarov, Khristo Kabakchiev, Fritz Platten, Alexandra Kollontai, Anatoli Luna-

charsky, Ganiecki and others. Much preparatory work was accomplished, and though for a number of reasons the project was not carried to completion, the scientific study of Lenin's struggle in the international movement during World War I began with the Bela Kun group.

Much research has been done since then. There have been studies of partial and more general aspects of the period. The present book by Y. G. Tyomkin continues research in this important field. And he draws off massive documentary evidence, most of it in the Central Party archives of the CPSU Marxism-Leninism Institute, and has checked with documents in the archives of the Amsterdam International Social Research Institute, particularly those of Robert Grimm, and numerous other sources.

Lenin's writings have, in the main, been collected. These and the wealth of documentary material mentioned above have been studied by the author, and the result is an authentic and detailed reproduction of the heroic struggle Lenin and his associates waged during the war.

The author describes how Lenin, analyzing in depth the specific features of the period, demonstrated that the war was imperialist on both sides, showed its impact on the masses and its beneath-the-surface currents, was able to foresee the way things were tending and, on that basis, work out the strategy of the working-class revolutionary struggle.

Lenin's statements shortly after the outbreak of the war and the decisions of the Bolshevik Party gave the movement its central political slogan: "Turn the imperialist war into civil war." The slogan was indignantly rejected and ridiculed by the social-chauvinists tacitly supported by the Centrists. But though openly opposed by some and misunderstood by others, Lenin's slogan provided the only correct strategy, one moreover based on a deep understanding of the objective processes of social development. Three years later—a short span measured in terms of history—life fully confirmed its soundness. The October 1917 Socialist Revolution in Russia was later followed by revolution in Austria-Hungary, Germany, Bulgaria, Turkey, Hungary and a revolutionary upsurge in western Europe. Imperialist war had been turned into civil war. And it is no exaggeration to say that history knows of no other example of such rapid and complete confirmation of a theoretical prognosis and the political slogan based on it.



But that did not come automatically. The slogan had to be translated into practice, and Lenin and his comrades performed an immeasurable amount of political, organizational and propaganda work in preparing the revolution.

The author describes in detail the methods and means used in pursuing that aim. One of the chapters is headed: "The Bolsheviks in the Struggle to Unite the Internationalist Socialists." The bankruptcy of the International Socialist leaders, Lenin stressed, confronted the movement with a new task. Before the war Lenin had consistently combated opportunism in the Second International. Now, the imperialist war and the collapse of the Second International called for a complete ideological and organizational break with the opportunists and the organization of a new, Third International.

The slogan for a Third International was closely linked with the slogan of turning the imperialist war into civil war. The socialist revolution could be successfully prepared only in consistent struggle against the opportunists who were working to split the movement in the interests of the imperialist bourgeoisie. International unity could be restored only in open combat against social chauvinism. The Third Inter-

national slogan implied an ideological and organizational break with social-chauvinism and unity of the Left Socialists who remained true to internationalism.

But that, too, was neither simple nor easy. And the author traces, step by step, the long and tortuous road that led to the founding of the Communist International. The first step was the preparation and convocation of the Zimmerwald Conference and the emergence of the Zimmerwald Left which, led by Lenin, combated the Right-wing and Centrist Zimmerwald majority. This was, at the same time, a struggle for the ideological purity of the new, proletarian, international, a struggle against "vacillating thinking" and Left sectarian distortions of Marxism.

The book deals with one of the most difficult periods in the history of the Bolshevik Party and of the international socialist movement—a period when the genius of Lenin and the combined efforts of front-rank workers in many countries made it possible to alter the course of history and turn an initial defeat for the international working class into a momentous victory.

It is thus a valuable contribution to an understanding of this crucial period.

A. MANFRED

## ***The "Pax Americana" ideology***

In the year 1850 a New Orleans newspaper boasted that the eagle of the Republic would proudly soar over the field of Waterloo after flying across the gorges of the Himalayas and the Urals, and Washington's successor would ascend the throne of a world empire.

Such was the 19th century dream of American capitalism.

At the turn of this century, one of the disciples of American capitalism's Messianic mission, Senator Beveridge, deciding that the Deluge had not delivered man from his original sin, announced that God had chosen the Americans to refashion the world.

Nowadays, advocates of the "American empire" concept, like R. Flanders, author of

the book, *The American Century*, extol the American way of life and try to substantiate the view that the United States, and it alone, should "lead" the world. For these dreamers of empire historical development is governed by a law according to which "world domination" passes in turn from one country to another. Thus, we had Pax Romana, then Pax Britannica, and now it is the turn of Pax Americana.

This is the title of a book recently published in the Soviet Union.\* In it, the author, A. N. Yakovlev, Dr. Hist., traces the basic foreign policy concepts of U.S.

\*A. N. Yakovlev, *Pax Americana. Imperskaya ideologiya: istoki, doktriny* (Pax Americana. The Ideology of Empire: Its Sources and Doctrines). Moscow, Molodaya Gvardia, 1969, 367 pp.



imperialism, the role of bourgeois political science and bourgeois propaganda in the context of U.S. foreign policy doctrines. The U.S. monopoly bourgeoisie pins its hopes on ideological struggle, hoping, alongside with military methods to settle the confrontation with socialism, envisages ideological, psychological and emotional pressures; this is, of course according to the rule: from ideological subversion to political, and then to socio-economic changes. Author Yakovlev exposes the social purpose of these new-fangled concepts. Their appearance, he writes, is dictated by the need to safeguard the bourgeois system and its positions on the international arena.

*Pax Americana* is based on a critical study of postwar American political literature, on a comprehensive analysis of works by the contemporary ideologists of U.S. imperialism. Combining scientific conciseness, logical argumentation with a

lively style, the author addresses himself to the youth, first and foremost. He writes: "Every new generation, like the old one, undertakes its share, and not a minor one, of responsibility for the future of civilization. But conscious responsibility calls for a profound understanding of the processes in world politics, of the aims of the opposing social forces, their alignment and methods of struggle." *Pax Americana* will undoubtedly help the reader to get a better insight into the ideological struggle in the world of today, to see through bourgeois propaganda which seeks to befuddle the young generation, to impart to it a non-critical attitude to capitalism, to denigrate the ideas of the class struggle and social progress, to render young people apolitical, infect them with nihilism and greed and thus deprive them of true values.

V.S.



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