

# **WORLD MARXIST REVIEW**

**THE DESTINIES  
OF EUROPE**  
Y. Zhukov  
Page 16



**POWER OF  
COLLECTIVE CREATIVITY**  
PAGE 3

**TROPICAL AFRICA:  
PARTIES AND  
DEMOCRACY**  
R. Domenger, A. Letnev  
PAGE 58

**REFLECTIONS ON  
BRITISH  
GENERAL ELECTIONS**  
J. Gibbons  
PAGE 48

**HEGEL AND  
MARXIST PHILOSOPHY**  
M. Buhr  
PAGE 79

## **PROBLEMS OF PEACE AND SOCIALISM**

**OCTOBER 1970**

**VOLUME 13 / NO. 10 / 35 CENTS**



**PROBLEMS OF  
PEACE AND  
SOCIALISM  
(WORLD MARXIST  
REVIEW)  
FOUNDED  
IN 1958**

●

**NOW APPEARS  
IN 31 EDITIONS  
IN 24  
LANGUAGES**

●

**DISTRIBUTED IN  
140 COUNTRIES  
IT IS READ  
IN EVERY PART  
OF THE WORLD**

●

## **To Our Readers**

The Editors of our journal are working on plans for 1971.

In the new year, as in earlier ones, our authors will be drawn from the leaders of Communist and Workers' Parties, outstanding personalities of the international labor movement, people active in the national liberation struggle, Marxist scholars and publicists of many countries.

We shall continue publishing materials analyzing the development of the world revolutionary process, notably its new features as reflected in the documents of the 1969 International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties.

More space will be allotted to topical problems of Marxist-Leninist theory, the fundamental questions of socialist development, the experience of various detachments of the working class, the strategy and tactics of the revolutionary and anti-imperialist forces.

The journal will report major events in the life of Communist and Workers' Parties and the experience of their work among the masses; more space will be devoted to argued criticism of bourgeois ideology and of opportunist views and conceptions.

As in the past, Problems of Peace and Socialism (World Marxist Review) will sponsor creative discussions of many major problems. An early 1971 issue will discuss the ideological struggle around futurology, notably prognostication of social development in the coming years and decades. Another discussion series will have for its theme the lessons of the Paris Commune, the centenary of which comes in March 1971. The Round Table and Viewpoints forums will be continued.

The bibliographical section is being extended. There will be more detailed information on important international political and scientific conferences and on the work of Marxist research centers.

Our regular supplements will feature facts and statistical data showing the dynamics of socio-political and economic development.

Through its political commentaries and shorter items, the journal will react to problems uppermost in the minds of Communists and progressives generally.

Last but not least, we are allocating more space to readers' letters and replies to readers' questions. And we take this opportunity to thank all readers for suggestions and critical remarks. We look forward to more reader cooperation and would welcome suggestions on the contents and make-up of the journal. They will all be taken into account in finalizing our 1971 plans.

Please address all mail to Problems of Peace and Socialism, Thakurova 3, Praha 6, Czechoslovakia.



**WORKERS OF ALL  
COUNTRIES, UNITE!**

**World Marxist  
Review  
problems of peace  
and socialism**

Theoretical and  
Information Journal  
of Communist and  
Workers' Parties

**OCTOBER, 1970  
VOLUME 13  
NUMBER 10**

Second class mail  
registration number 2352.  
Printed in Canada.

WORLD MARXIST REVIEW  
is the North American  
edition of the monthly  
journal Problems of Peace  
and Socialism published  
in Prague. The North  
American edition is  
published by Progress  
Books, 487 Adelaide St.  
West, Toronto 133, Ont.,  
Canada.

Copyright © 1968 by  
Progress Books, Canada.  
All Rights Reserved.  
Microfilm edition  
available through  
University Microfilms  
Library Service.

**SUBSCRIPTION RATES:**  
\$3.50 a year. Single  
copies 35 cents. Bundle  
of five or more, 25 cents  
per copy. Outside  
Canada, add 15 cents  
exchange.

**PROBLEMS OF PEACE  
AND SOCIALISM** is also  
published in French,  
Russian, Bulgarian,  
Czech, Dutch, German,  
Greek, Hungarian,  
Italian, Japanese,  
Mongolian, Polish,  
Rumanian, Spanish,  
Swedish and Vietnamese.  
Subscriptions to these  
may be obtained through  
Progress Books,  
487 Adelaide St. West,  
Toronto, or in the USA  
from New Outlook  
Publishers, 32 Union Sq.  
East, Rm. 801, New York,  
N.Y. 10003.

Published by  
**PROGRESS BOOKS**  
487 Adelaide St. W.,  
Toronto 133, Ontario,  
Canada.



**WMR**

**CONTENTS**

- |                                                  |           |                                                                                                                                                                                                                               |
|--------------------------------------------------|-----------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| C. UNNI RAJA<br>G. SHAKHNAZAROV<br>L. JUNTILA    | <b>3</b>  | <b>Power of collective creativity</b><br>(10th anniversary of 1960 Meeting of<br>Communist and Workers' Parties)                                                                                                              |
| R. ISCARO                                        | <b>10</b> | <b>Peaceful coexistence and<br/>revolutionary struggle</b>                                                                                                                                                                    |
| Y. ZHUKOV                                        | <b>16</b> | <b>The destinies of Europe</b>                                                                                                                                                                                                |
| M. MOC                                           | <b>22</b> | <b>Czechoslovakia: out of the crisis</b>                                                                                                                                                                                      |
| M. O'RIORDAN<br>A. VIEUGUET<br>A. CARRILLO GILES | <b>29</b> | <b>In the Communist and Workers' Parties</b><br>IRISH NATIONAL LIBERATION STRUGGLE<br>AND THE COMMUNISTS<br>DEMOCRATIC CENTRALISM AND INNER-PARTY<br>DEMOCRACY<br>FOURTH CONGRESS OF GUATEMALAN PARTY OF<br>LABOR<br>IN BRIEF |
| V. SHUNDEYEV                                     | <b>40</b> | <b>Visit to Institute of World Economics<br/>and International Relations (Moscow)</b>                                                                                                                                         |
| I. CARJE<br>J. GIBBONS                           | <b>44</b> | <b>Communications and comment</b><br>IMPORTANT DOCUMENT OF RUMANIAN-SOVIET<br>FRIENDSHIP AND COOPERATION<br>REFLECTIONS ON BRITISH GENERAL<br>ELECTION (Letter from London)                                                   |
| JAN PRAZSKY                                      | <b>52</b> | <b>Political commentary</b><br>ARMIES AGAINST THE PEOPLE AND<br>ARMIES WITH THE PEOPLE                                                                                                                                        |
| R. DOMENGER<br>A. LETNEV                         | <b>58</b> | <b>Viewpoints</b><br>TROPICAL AFRICA: ITS PARTIES AND<br>THE PROBLEM OF DEMOCRACY                                                                                                                                             |
| V. KACHANOV                                      | <b>64</b> | <b>On frontlines of anti-imperialist<br/>struggle.</b><br>HARBINGERS OF FREEDOM                                                                                                                                               |
| P. RAMIRES                                       | <b>70</b> | <b>Against the persecution of democrats</b><br>BRAZIL: TERROR ESCALATION<br>HE MUST BE FREED!                                                                                                                                 |
| J. ANGENFORT<br>A. B.<br>M. BUHR                 | <b>72</b> | <b>Battle of ideologies</b><br>THE NEO-NAZI IDEOLOGY—A<br>PERIL ONLY TOO REAL<br>ANTI-FASCISTS MEET ON THE MAIN                                                                                                               |
| O. BORISOV<br>G. McLENNAN                        | <b>79</b> | <b>Hegel and the Marxist Philosophy</b>                                                                                                                                                                                       |
|                                                  | <b>84</b> | <b>Pages from history</b><br>HISTORIC SIGNIFICANCE OF DEFEAT<br>OF THE JAPANESE MILITARISTS<br>50TH ANNIVERSARY OF<br>THE CP OF BRITAIN                                                                                       |
| P. FEDOSEYEV<br>R. MASS                          | <b>96</b> | <b>Books and journals</b><br>CPSU—TRUE TO ITS INTERNATIONALIST DUTY<br>ADVENTURISM EXPOSED<br>BOOKS IN BRIEF, DIARY.                                                                                                          |





# ***The power of collective creativity***

**10th anniversary of the 1960 Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties**

In this day a decade matches a century of past eras in rates of social development, so quickly do events seemingly important only yesterday recede into the past. The more significant, then, are events that retain their pertinence despite the racing pace of time. The 1960 Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties, the tenth anniversary of which falls in November, is doubtless one of them—a postwar Communist forum that left us a rich ideological legacy and exercised a far-reaching influence on world development.

## **I.**

The past decade was beset by complexities: there was an ebb and flow of revolutionary waves, striking tokens of proletarian solidarity and eruptions of nationalism. While repulsing imperialist attempts to go on the counter-offensive, we have had to fight against an outcrop of "Left" and Right opportunist trends and their disruptive effects. Despite these difficulties, however, the Communist movement not only safeguarded its gains, but reached new, advanced lines in many important directions. That should be put down as the main attainment in the past decade.

The beneficial effects of the 1960 Meeting are seen more distinctly from the vantage point of the 1970's. Reaffirming and extending the ideas of the preceding 1957 international Communist forum, it summed up the new experience of class struggle and answered the main questions facing the revolutionary movement. There

was a free comparing of views and notes, a democratic discussion and collective creativity, with more than 300 amendments and additions put into the original draft of the Meeting's Statement.

Acting on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and on a comprehensive analysis of the facts, the fraternal parties attending the Meeting

a) produced a comprehensive appraisal of the present epoch, the class forces at its pivot, and defined the main trends and perspectives of world development;

b) worked out the strategic trends of the revolutionary struggle, weighing the role and potential of the main revolutionary forces—the world socialist system, the international working class, and the national liberation movement;

c) defined the distinctive features of the third stage in the general crisis of capitalism, setting out the tasks of the struggle against imperialism and the threat of a new world war presented by its aggressive policy, the tasks of reinforcing the united anti-imperialist front;

d) reaffirmed that unity and loyalty to Marxism-Leninism are the main source of the strength and invincibility of the world socialist system and world Communist movement as a whole, finalizing the norms governing relations among fraternal parties in line with the principles of proletarian internationalism, equality and independence.

Certainly, those are only a few of the ideas set out in the documents of the 1960



Meeting. But they are enough to show the magnitude of its contribution to revolutionary theory and practice. As rightly noted by the fraternal parties, its main political conclusions represented a collectively framed general line, which, for the Communist movement, has been the underlying basis of success and the point of departure in defending the principles of Marxist-Leninist theory against various opportunist distortions, helping the fraternal parties in their persevering effort to cement the unity of the Communist ranks.

The experience of the sixties has impelled new theoretical generalizations and political judgments. At their latest international meeting the Communist and Workers' parties defined the present-day tasks of the struggle against imperialism, for united action by Communist and all other revolutionary forces, giving striking expression to the most distinctive traits of Marxist thought—its continuity and consistency, creative dynamism and enterprise in facing up to new problems.

Tackling tasks posed by revolutionary practice in each stage of history, Marxism-Leninism continuously acquires new content. And no one would ever think of suggesting that we should cling to every letter of the documents adopted ten years ago. What concerns us are those important theoretical and political conclusions of the 1960 Meeting that are still valid and relevant, and remain part of the ideological equipment of the Communist movement.

## II.

More than ever, the correct revolutionary strategy and tactics in each country rests on our analysis of factors determining world development as a whole, on our appraisal of the nature of the present epoch and its principal tendencies. Only by weighing the disparities of separate epochs, V. I. Lenin pointed out, "can we correctly evolve our tactics; only a knowledge of the basic features of a given epoch can serve as the foundations for an understanding of the specific features of one country or another" (Vol. 21, p. 145).

"Our time, whose main content is the transition from capitalism to socialism initiated by the Great October Socialist Revolution," the 1960 Statement says, "is a time of struggle between the two opposing social systems, a time of socialist revolutions and national-liberation revolutions, a time of the breakdown of imperial-

ism, of the abolition of the colonial system, a time of transition of more peoples to the socialist path, of the triumph of socialism and communism on a worldwide scale."

The principal characteristic of our time, it stresses, is that *the world socialist system is becoming the decisive factor in the development of society.*

This has been borne out by the facts of history.

The measure of international influence exercised by a country or a social system depends in many ways on its economic potential. By virtue of the high economic development rates in most of the socialist countries, the world socialist system accounts for nearly 40 per cent of the world's industrial output, this economic power obviously and naturally predicating the immense impact of the socialist countries on the course of world events.

More important, however, is how, for what ends, this economic power is used and what interests it serves. Physically and per capita, the developed capitalist countries still put out more goods than the socialist. However, the might of the capitalist world, controlled by a handful of monopolies, is used to prop up outdated exploitative relations and as the material base for suppressing liberation struggles of the peoples and promoting aggressive schemes that create the peril of a new world war. In contrast, the economic might of the Soviet Union and the other countries of the socialist community is used to raise the people's standard of living and resolve the complex tasks of building a new society, and, in the international context, as a material base in efforts to eliminate national and social oppression and safeguard peace and international security.

In recent years the socialist world has made substantial headway in the economic competition with capitalism. The combined annual industrial accretion rate of the socialist countries surpassed that of the capitalist states 50-100 per cent.

The 1957 national income of the Soviet Union was half that of the United States, rising to nearly 64 per cent of the United States in 1968. Accordingly, industrial output was 45 per cent that of the U.S. and then nearly 70 per cent. Over the past 19 years (1951-1969) the average annual industrial accretion in the Soviet Union was 10.2 per cent, while that of the United States was 5.4.

Understandably, dynamic socio-economic



growth requires the strenuous effort and mobilization of all resources. But the more mature the socialist mode of production becomes, the more the vast potentialities implicit in the new social system come into effect. And persistent efforts have been centered in recent years on bringing them into full play. For some time, the Soviet Union and many other socialist countries have been operating new systems of planning and economic stimulation, making the economy more effective. The reforms have been beneficial, but are still in the initial stage. Not until some years hence will the benefits be fully reaped.

Extensive efforts are also made to further improve socialist democracy and enlist increasingly broader sections of people for direct participation in running the economy and all other spheres of life. The CPSU and the fraternal parties of other countries see this not only as one of the principal aims in building the new society, but as a powerful lever in elevating the economy, which, to use Lenin's phrase, will multiply tenfold the vigor of the state by the vigor of popular initiative.

The 1960 Meeting drew attention to the fact that defeating capitalism in the economic competition requires the maximum extension of the socialist international division of labor. Acting on this view, the CMEA countries have carried through important measures in the sixties, coordinating their economic plans and promoting specialization and cooperation in production. The commodity exchange between them has doubled, exchanges of scientific and technical information have expanded, and so have other forms of economic and cultural cooperation.

Economic cooperation is on a voluntary basis and rests on equality, conforming with the interests of each socialist country and the common interests of the world socialist system. The international socialist division of labor is being raised to a new, higher level. For one thing, the CMEA countries are embarking on international socialist integration, with the decisions of the 23rd and 24th CMEA Council sessions envisaging a complex of appropriate measures.

To be sure, growth of the world socialist system into the decisive force in world development is no overnight act, but an intricate and many-sided process hinging on a variety of factors, most notably the policy of the Communist parties that direct the building of the new society. *Cohesion*

*of the socialist states*, their readiness to act in concert on the world scene, is of particular importance.

To begin with, cohesion guarantees the security of the socialist gains, providing a favorable setting for building the new society. "The combined forces of the socialist camp," the 1960 Statement notes, "reliably safeguard every socialist country against encroachments by imperialist reaction. Thus the rallying of the socialist states in one camp and the growing unity and steadily increasing strength of this camp ensure complete victory for socialism within the entire system."

It is no secret that the disruption of unity in recent years has been highly damaging to the socialist cause and has depressed the influence that socialism could have exercised on the international scene if the socialist countries had been properly united.

It is needless to go into the history of the matter, for Communists and the public at large know it all too well. The deplorable consequences of departing from the general line of the Communist movement, scorning friendship and cooperation with fraternal parties and socialist countries and rejecting joint action in the anti-imperialist struggle, are obvious. The sooner lessons are drawn from this sad experience, the better for all concerned.

Hand in hand with the fraternal parties of other socialist countries, the CPSU has worked hard to overcome the difficulties and to cement the unity of the world socialist system. This constructive approach was reaffirmed by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CC CPSU, at the recent Lenin Centenary celebrations in Moscow.

The further development of the world socialist system was examined in detail at the latest international forum of Communist and Workers' parties. Stressing the bearing of the growth and consolidation of the socialist system on the future of the world revolutionary movement, the Meeting said: "Defending socialism is the Communists' prime internationalist duty."

### III.

The 1960 Meeting noted in its comprehensive analysis of the present phase of social development that the general crisis of capitalism had entered a new stage. This was distinguished by the fact that it set in not as the result of a world war,



but against the background of competition and struggle between the two systems, an increasing tilting of the scales in favor of socialism, and an upswing in the mass struggle for democracy, national liberation and socialism. Eager to prolong the life of the capitalist system, present-day capitalists are fusing the power of the monopolies with that of the state into one mechanism. Despite this, capitalism's contradictions in the international, as well as national, contexts are growing more acute.

Analyzing the alignment of class forces, the fraternal parties produced a *strategic line of revolutionary struggle in all the principal directions*, in relation to which it appears proper to enumerate the following points:

First, the question of the peaceful and non-peaceful way of socialist revolution. As the Communist parties see it, opportunities have appeared in present conditions to go over to socialism in some countries by consent of the majority, winning state power in a relatively peaceful way. It was stressed that in any event the proletariat must be ready for every form of struggle and, if the need should arise, for resorting to force against bourgeois violence.

It will be recalled that the thesis of possible peaceful passage to socialism was first put forward by the classics of Marxism-Leninism. Reverting to it, the 1957 and 1960 Meetings proceeded from the new relation of world strength, the greater role of the world socialist system, the spread of Marxist-Leninist ideas and the gravitation to socialism among large strata of modern capitalist society.

It is to be noted, however, that in recent years Right opportunists exploited this thesis to revive sterile reformist ideas about the peaceful growing of capitalism into socialism. While reaffirming that peaceful transition to socialism is possible in some countries, Marxist-Leninists stress that this implies not a parliamentary majority only, but actively militant and massive action by the working class and its allies, aimed at establishing the socialist system under the political guidance of the proletariat and its revolutionary vanguard.

Another salient issue examined by the 1960 Meeting was that of struggle for democracy as part of the struggle for socialism, of broad class alliances and of building up a united front against the monopolies.

The Meeting stressed the imperative of welding the split of the working class in

capitalist countries; it produced a pointed analysis of the situation in the present-day Social-Democratic movement, laying bare the growing contradiction between the leaning toward cooperation with Communists among its rank and file and the policy of its Right-wing leaders, who obstruct cooperation and take an anti-communist posture.

Of late, the differentiation in Social-Democratic parties has become more tangible. An appreciation of the need for co-operating with Communists has begun to sink in among some leaderships, and co-operation has become frequent at different levels in a number of countries, including militant action on the factory floor and joint participation in governments. Yet Right-wing Social-Democratic leaders wishing to divert the labor movement from the revolutionary path, still stand in the way of unity.

The 1960 Statement outlines the ways and means of promoting Communist co-operation with other social groups, such as the intelligentsia, the youth, the progressive trends among Catholics, etc., which, by virtue of their status, are objectively opposed to imperialism and likely to join the struggle on the side of the working class and working peasantry.

These problems were again examined by the latest Communist world conference, which introduced many new elements and reflected the more recent experience in pertinent conclusions and recommendations.

The ideas of the 1960 Meeting concerning the *tasks and perspectives of the national liberation movement* have proved highly relevant.

The 1960 Statement analyzes the situation of the time, enumerating the conditions without which the national revival of liberated countries is unthinkable, such as consolidation of political independence, elimination of the survivals of feudalism, extirpation of the economic roots of imperialist domination, building a national industry and raising living standards, democratization of public life, an independent peaceful foreign policy and, last but not least, economic and cultural cooperation with the socialist countries. Once the patriotic and democratic forces are brought together in a national-democratic front, these objectives may all be successfully attained. The Meeting evaluated the possibilities of the non-capitalist way and advanced the idea of national-democratic



states as a possible political form assuring national and social progress.

In the past decade the liberation movement has advanced. Whereas in 1960 as many as 76 millions were under direct colonial rule, the number has now shrunk to 36,000,000, and the day is not far distant when the last of the colonials will fling off the chains and regain freedom. But recently the stronghold of the colonial empires, Africa has witnessed the constitution of fifteen new independent states in the past decade.

Many newly-liberated countries are striving to speed up the emergence and growth of a national economy, building up a state sector in industry and agriculture and taking initial steps towards planning. Especially substantial has been the progress of those that rejected the capitalist way and initiated radical socio-economic changes.

The socialist countries, particularly the USSR, are extending selfless internationalist aid to advance the national economies of the liberated countries. Suffice it to recall that nearly 2,500 economic projects have been, or are being, built with their assistance.

Yet the national liberation movement has to contend with formidable problems. The clash between progressive forces and local reaction, primarily the big bourgeoisie colluding with imperialism, is becoming sharper. The struggle for national revival goes on against the background of growing imperialist activity. The more freedom from imperialist domination the ex-colonies and semi-colonies gain, the more frantically the imperialists try to retain their influence. Their main accent is on refined neo-colonialist methods, though they do not hesitate to resort either to armed aggression or forcible suppression of the liberation movement.

Having massed a vast force armed to the teeth with the latest weapons and not shrinking from inhuman practices, the U.S. militarists are extending the aggression in Vietnam and have invaded Laos and Cambodia. The people of Cuba have had to repulse interventions by mercenaries sent against them by the imperialist generals. Backed by U.S. imperialism, Israeli expansionists have unleashed aggressive war against the Arab countries. And elsewhere, too, peoples have fallen prey to armed imperialist incursions.

Yet it is the basic feature of the present situation, stemming from the new world relation of strength, that imperialism is, in

the final count, unable to do its will. Its every aggressive act is countered by the forces of liberation aided by the socialist countries, by the solidarity of the international working class and the support of progressive world opinion.

The 1960 Meeting examined the topical problems of the anti-imperialist struggle and emphasized the aim of *preventing a nuclear world war*.

That, it should be stressed, has been the central issue at all international Communist forums. Invariably, the fraternal parties released a special document, calling on the peoples to work for peace.

The 1960 Statement contained the trenchant theoretical conclusion that world war can be prevented in the present era by concerted efforts of the world socialist camp, the international working class, the national liberation movement, the countries opposing war, and all peace-loving forces.

A detailed examination was made of the problem of the *peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems*. The Statement showed that the peaceful coexistence policy, conforming with the basic interests of all peoples, is not a rejection of the class struggle. On the contrary, favorable conditions appear in the setting of peaceful coexistence, itself won in struggle, for building socialism, unfolding the revolutionary movement in the capitalist countries and securing the national liberation of colonial and dependent countries.

The 1960 Statement and the Appeal to The Peoples of All the World called for vigilance in regard to the makers of a new war, pointing to the dangers of the arms drive continuously intensified by the imperialists. Imperialism's aggressive nature, the Statement pointed out, has not changed. "Had the imperialists been able to do what they wanted," it added, "they would already have plunged mankind into the abyss of the calamities and horrors of a new world war."

The facts have borne out the timeliness of this call for vigilance. In recent years, the world has been on the brink of a universal conflagration several times, with the blame for this falling squarely on imperialism, principally U.S. imperialism. The aggressive NATO bloc is still operative and reactionary FRG quarters still imperil European security.

As valid as ever, therefore, are the peace ideas of the Communists, set out at their 1960 Meeting and developed in the program



documents of the latest Communist world conference.

#### IV.

The 1960 Meeting devoted special attention to the *unity of the world Communist movement*. It worked out the norms governing relations among Communist and Workers' parties in line with the traditions set by the founders of our movement. "All the Marxist-Leninist Parties," the Statement said, "are independent, and have equal rights; they shape their policies according to the specific conditions in their respective countries and in keeping with Marxist-Leninist principles, and support each other. The success of the working-class cause in any country is unthinkable without the internationalist solidarity of all Marxist-Leninist Parties. Every Party is responsible to the working class, to the working people of its country, to the international working class and Communist movement as a whole."

Not only does the Statement declare the need for, but spells out the concrete ways of achieving and consolidating Communist unity, and of resolving the problems likely to arise among fraternal parties; among these are meetings and consultations between Party leaderships, exchanges of views and experience, collective enrichment of Marxist-Leninist theory and hammering out of common attitudes in the struggle for common aims. International meetings of Communist and Workers' parties, the 1960 Statement expressly said, are highly effective in cementing the unity of the Communist movement.

It may be of interest to recall the evaluation of these ideas by the late Comrade Palmiro Togliatti, eminent veteran of the Communist movement. "We are a movement," he wrote in an article, *Comments on the 81-Party Conference in Moscow*, "that develops in areas facing very different tasks. At the same time, we are a united force, which must and wants to remain united, because this is in keeping with its principles and essential for our success. It is possible that some misunderstanding may arise. However, the results of the Moscow Meeting show that the positive element, that is, the reaffirmed close solidarity and unity of our movement on an entirely clear basis, is much more consequential than any misunderstanding, whatever it may be" (*Rinascita*, No. 1, 1961).

Cementing the unity of the world Com-

munist movement is still the No. 1 problem bearing on the growth of the revolutionary process. We have made substantial headway in this regard, and the 1969 Meeting showed that the fraternal parties not only can and must, but also wish to, cooperate, to perform their cardinal tasks in common, to come forward with common initiatives and to consolidate the international unity of the revolutionary working class.

It stands to reason that the only basis on which Communists can cement their unity is that of Marxism-Leninism, coupled with resolute *struggle against various opportunist trends*. And in this area, too, the 1960 Meeting made a valuable contribution by showing the harm that Right and "Left" opportunism, bred on petty-bourgeois soil, and nationalism, do to socialist construction and the revolutionary cause in the capitalist countries.

Subsequent events have proved the relevance and timeliness of this warning.

Communists reject the bourgeois propaganda interpretation of the recent outcrop of opportunist views as evidence of a crisis in our movement, let alone as an "incurable disease." On the contrary, close study and objective appraisal show that the outcrop of opportunist trends is no more than an "anomaly" traceable to the precipitous growth of the revolutionary forces.

The main objective factor responsible for the spread of fallacious views, worlds removed from scientific socialism, even hostile to it, is that new social strata are being drawn into the world revolutionary process, which, by reason of their social position and level of consciousness bring into the revolutionary movement their own notions as to the aims and methods of the struggle, and are not always able to find their bearings in the complex contingencies. That is why the Marxist-Leninist parties lay the emphasis on cultivating a genuinely scientific socialist consciousness among new and potential participants in the struggle for socialism, enlisting them for joint anti-imperialist actions in alliance with, and under the leadership of, the working class.

In so doing, Communists have to cope with ideologues expressing in a concentrated form the immature political conceptions of the petty-bourgeois mass, its seesawing from extreme to extreme, its inability and reluctance to submit to stringent organization, without which success in a revolutionary undertaking is inconceivable. The danger of the "Left," which substitutes a



variety of adventurist slogans for our revolutionary theory, loomed large in the early sixties. There were trends aiming to accomplish breath-taking leaps in socialist construction, to by-pass stages of development, to sidestep the imperatives of socialist democracy, to implant the personality cult inimical to the spirit of Marxism-Leninism, to urge export of revolution and its victory on a world scale, even at the price of a destructive world war, and the like. Recently, attempts were made to revive "Left" adventurism in the European labor movement.

No less dangerous is the Right variety of opportunism, the bearers of which, too, endeavored to impose their views on the Communist movement, or, failing this, at least on some of its national contingents. Czechoslovak comrades say that the resurgence of Right opportunism in their country in 1968 could have had tragic consequences.

It should be stressed that the peril emanating from the Right elements is being appreciated more distinctly of late. Communist parties have censured the views of Right opportunist ideologues, such as Fischer, Garaudy, Sik, and their like. These have been expelled not only to deny them the opportunity of corrupting the Party from within, but chiefly because the Communist movement exposes Right opportunism in its new garb and reaffirms its determination to persevere along the only correct Marxist-Leninist path.

Combating distortions of our revolutionary theory, Communists constantly promote its creative development, comparing notes about their activity. Party ties and contacts have expanded greatly. Suffice it to enumerate the many meetings between leaders of Communist and Workers' parties of the socialist world; the consultative meetings of parties in Africa; the Conference of the Communist parties of Mexico, Central America and Panama; the Confer-

ence of 12 Communist parties in Latin America; the Conference of 28 European Communist parties on European security; the meeting of the Communists of Northern Europe, and the conference of Communist parties of the European capitalist countries on solidarity with Indochina. Cooperation on ideological issues is growing, and so is collective discussion and inquiry into topical theoretical problems.

That the trend towards unity and cohesion is gaining ground was evidenced by the preparations for and holding of the Lenin Centenary celebrations. In Moscow, representatives of 78 Communist and Workers' parties were joined by representatives of national-democratic and Left socialist parties and other progressive national and international organizations to mark the occasion.

There is good cause to say, therefore, that favorable developments are under way in the world Communist movement. However, further tireless efforts are required to unite the anti-imperialist forces.

\* \* \*

In analyzing historical experience, Communists invariably draw the due lessons and produce useful conclusions. The experience of the past decade confirms the fact that the measure of influence exercised by the Communist and Workers' parties on world events, their attainment of set aims, depends first and foremost on the loyalty of the revolutionary working-class vanguard to the great Marxist-Leninist teaching, the principles of proletarian internationalism and the propositions of the collectively-framed documents of international Communist forums.

In collective creativity and militant solidarity lies the earnest of new Communist victories.

C. UNNI RAJA  
G. SHAKHNAZAROV  
L. JUNTILA



# Peaceful coexistence and revolutionary struggle

RUBENS ISCARO

Peaceful coexistence as a political and ideological problem has faced the world Communist and working-class movement since the proletarian revolution in Russia.

Lenin's postulate that socialism could at first win in one or several countries, was a challenge to the supremacy of capital. The October Revolution rang in a new era in history—the era of transition from capitalism to socialism. The emergence of the new, socialist system naturally predicated its coexistence for an indefinite time with the capitalist system.

Is it better to avoid armed conflicts between the socialist and capitalist systems and avoid sacrificing million of lives and all that humanity has so laboriously created, or more advisable to be drawn into war on the assumption that the revolutionary process would benefit, putting paid to world capitalism and imperialism, be it even at the price of millions of lives, of devastation, in a nuclear-missile holocaust? These doubts have assailed some, chiefly due to misgivings that avoiding a destructive war could presumably bring about a "convergence" of capitalism and socialism, gradually eliminating the class struggle in the international arena and, as a consequence, in the national context. To some extent, this explains why certain anti-imperialist quarters reject the idea of peaceful coexistence, for all its humaneness.

Our Marxist-Leninist concept of the peaceful coexistence of states rests on the belief that armed collisions between the two systems, highly damaging to socialism and all the peoples, can be avoided, and the struggle can and should proceed as peaceful competition between them.

## LENIN'S CONCEPTION

Elaborating on the peaceful coexistence idea at the Ninth All-Russia Congress of Soviets, Lenin said: "There is a force more powerful than the wishes, the will and the decisions of any of the governments or classes that are hostile to us. That force is world general economic relations, which compel them to make contact with us" (Vol. 33, p. 155).

Soon after the October Revolution, while the war-ravaged economy of the Soviet Republic was being rehabilitated under Communist leadership, Lenin held that economic competition with capitalism had an international, as well as internal, aspect. Socialist success in the competition, he held, would contribute signally to the popular revolutionary struggle elsewhere in the world. While building a new life at home, he held, it was the duty of the socialist state to give every possible support to the revolutionary movement in other countries. To be an internationalist, Lenin said, was to do "the utmost possible in one country for the development, support and awakening of the revolution in all countries" (Vol. 28, p. 292).

Lenin passed censure on bourgeois pacifism for being unscientific and inadequate for delivering mankind from war. Yet in the practical interest of the peace struggle he urged "backing the pacifist wing of the bourgeoisie" and "separating the pacifist camp of the international bourgeoisie from the camp of the grossly bourgeois, aggressively bourgeois, reactionary bourgeois" (*Complete Works*, in Russian, Vol 44, pp. 407-8).

Later international developments bore out the cogency of Lenin's view and its bearing



on the growth of the world revolutionary process. In 1928 the Sixth Congress of the Communist International commended the constructive and principled quality of Lenin's peaceful coexistence policy consistently followed by the Soviet Union, describing it as "only a different, but in the present situation more advantageous, form of struggle against capitalism." The Seventh Comintern Congress, in 1935, came to the conclusion that in the clash of acute inter-imperialist contradictions and the drive of the fascist powers, the USSR could cooperate with all those capitalist states that had a stake in safeguarding peace.

The Soviet state exercised a strong influence on all international affairs, on the future of humanity, ever since its inauguration, helping to activate the potentialities of the anti-imperialist struggle. Yet the balance of strength was still tilted toward capitalism, with imperialist policy determinative in international relations. Invoking the policy of the peaceful coexistence of states, the Soviet Union worked hard to promote cooperation among European countries, to shore up European security and avert a world war. But the arch-aggressive imperialist groups in Germany, encouraged, even abetted by imperialist forces of other bourgeois states, succeeded in unleashing the Second World War. And victory over the aggressor was traceable chiefly to the titanic effort and heroism of the Soviet people.

Naturally, imperialism did not change its spots when the war ended. However, formidable forces emerged on the scene, capable of thwarting its warlike designs. This is noted in the Statement of the 1960 Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties. The only correct and sensible principle of international relations in a world divided into two systems, it said, was that of the peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems, as propounded by Lenin.

The documents of the 1969 International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties elaborated creatively upon the Marxist-Leninist teaching on war, peace and revolution. A deep-going analysis of the present situation and the relationship of world forces showed that the peaceful coexistence policy hinders the imperialists from surmounting the built-in contradictions of their system by stoking up international tension and creating seats of war danger. Peaceful coexistence does not imply "freezing" social and political development any more than it implies relaxation of the ideological struggle. It has nothing in common with sterile pacifism and lays no restraints on the

right of peoples to employ any method they may choose in the class battles. On the contrary, it paves the way for class battles that for their very scale *may bring about fundamental social changes, the power of the working class in alliance with other segments of working people, a socialist revolution.*

The Meeting's documents show that the peaceful coexistence policy in no way impinges on the right of oppressed peoples to use the way they think most suitable—armed or unarmed—to achieve liberation. It does not imply conciliation with reactionary regimes set up and backed by imperialists. On the contrary, it offers the oppressed peoples a favorable background for struggle against colonialism and neo-colonialism, the tyranny of reactionary juntas and the stranglehold of foreign monopolies.

Peaceful coexistence cannot abolish the class struggle, which is objectively historical by its very nature. The two main antagonistic classes—the proletariat and bourgeoisie—continue to exist in the capitalist world, where monopoly dictatorship adds sharpness to their class collisions.

#### **THE FACTS REFUTE "CRITICS" FROM RIGHT AND "LEFT"**

Frequent attempts are made to distort the substance of Lenin's concept of peaceful coexistence—in some cases deliberate, in others due to unclear thinking. For one thing, the notorious contention of labor-capital "reconciliation" in the national framework is often regarded as a logical projection of the peaceful coexistence policy. Others hold that since class struggle is imperative, peaceful coexistence should be rejected, because the two ideas are incompatible.

Some ultra-Leftists in Argentina contend that coexistence goes against the basic interests of working people. Safeguarding peace on earth, they maintain, nourishes the illusion that peace is attainable without destroying imperialism. To work for peaceful coexistence, they say, is to give up revolutionary and anti-imperialist struggle, and to promote general disarmament numbs the vigilance of the masses. Exponents of this view hold that support for coexistence paralyzes the will of the people, robs the national liberation movement of international support and, for the sake of compromise with U.S. imperialism, tends to handcuff the anti-imperialist and all other class struggle.

In Argentina, the foes of peaceful coexistence usually appeal to the notion of "two



imperialisms." Unable to deny that the monopolies, especially the North American, aim at enslaving Latin America and possibly to minimize the monopolies' blame for the adversities of the Latin American nations, they maintain that a "Soviet imperialism" has arisen alongside that of the USA, and that, consequently, coexistence implies collusion between the "two camps of imperialists" to oppress all nations of the world.

That, at least, is what the Right Peronists, exponents of bourgeois nationalism whose influence among the workers is still considerable, harp upon in our country. When asked for specific examples of "Soviet oppression" or challenged to name any Soviet monopolies, to indicate where the USSR exploits workers and where it pockets profits saturated with the sweat of other peoples, they usually reply for lack of a valid answer that the Soviet Union is an exporter of the Communist ideology and that what they mean is chiefly "ideological imperialism." What this really amounts to is an attempt to declare communism a "foreign ideology." Regrettably, quite a few in Argentina, including some trade unionists, accept this figment as gospel, as though ideas have national frontiers and are not a reflection of the social reality.

Bourgeois nationalist propaganda deliberately distorts the essence of Soviet policy. Its syllogism is more than ridiculous: imperialism wants to divide the world among the strongest powers in order to dominate most of the dependent peoples, and since the USSR is one of the two strongest, it is therefore an imperialist state. The conclusion from this is that peaceful coexistence is a Soviet-devised formula to facilitate carving up the world between the USSR and the USA. Relations of production, which determine the character and class content of a society, are deliberately ignored, while purely quantitative factors—degree of economic development, military might, and the like—are given precedence.

The facts, however, disprove both the Right Peronists and ultra-Leftists. To begin with, *peaceful coexistence is itself a special form of class struggle, and, secondly, far from impeding, it tends to reinforce world socialism, promote the class struggle of the proletariat and the national liberation struggle in Asia, Africa and Latin America.*

The policy of peaceful coexistence vis-à-vis the capitalist states has given the socialist countries extensive opportunities for

invigorating their position, and that of the world socialist system as a whole. Their economy, science, culture and education are prospering. The standard of living of their peoples is rising steadily. The growth of the new, socialist society in different parts of the world — a society without exploitation and oppression — exercises an immense and benign influence on the masses in the rest of the world, inspiring hundreds of millions of oppressed, impelling the development of their class consciousness and stimulating the struggle against imperialism.

It is largely the fruits of the labor of the socialist nations that have helped tip the scales in favor of the peace forces, the forces of democracy and socialism. The mightier these countries become, the more effective is their policy of safeguarding the peace and security of nations, hemming in aggressive imperialism and erecting a barrier to nuclear-missile war. When imperialist quarters venture on armed aggression or counter-revolutionary plots against a socialist state, as in the case of Hungary and Czechoslovakia, they are repulsed by the concerted power of the socialist countries.

Expansion of the socialist system's economic, political and military potential is a weakening of imperialist positions, a cut-back on imperialism's capability of holding down the world revolutionary process and national liberation movement. Take Vietnam and the Middle East. Versatile aid furnished by the Soviet Union and other socialist countries to the heroic people of Vietnam and the Arab peoples is enabling them to repulse imperialist attacks and to safeguard their independence and their social and other gains.

The notion that a new world war is necessary or at least "desirable" for the anti-imperialist movement, is untenable in terms of theory and totally sterile politically. To accept it is to stop trying to assure an advantage for the working people, for all peoples, in resolving the main contradiction of our time, that between socialism and capitalism. To take the view that a nuclear-missile war is unavoidable is to deny faith in the capability of the socialist system, the international working class and the national liberation movement. This does not mean that imperialism, being inherently aggressive, is certain to abstain from resort to arms on a world scale. That is something the socialist states are compelled to reckon with, and to keep their powder dry.

The facts show, however, that *the social-*



ist, as well as the democratic revolution can win in a peaceful coexistence setting, given the support of the world socialist system, the international working class and the national liberation movement.

The Cuban revolution has quickened the pulse of the revolutionary process in Latin America. The Sierra Maestra exploit and its impact on developments on the continent is a striking example, showing the kind of era we are living in. The Cuban revolution triumphed when the cold-war ice was thawing throughout the world and the principles of peaceful coexistence were on the upgrade. This it was that helped Cuba cope with the threat of North American intervention and receive the many-sided aid of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. "Yes, it is a socialist revolution," said Fidel Castro concerning developments in Cuba in 1961, adding, "we hold that we are fully entitled to live under a social system that our people considers just and suitable." This shows that in a world of peaceful coexistence nations are able to invoke their sovereign right of opting for the social order that suits them best, and fighting for a most just system.

Fidel Castro repeatedly stressed the eminent role played by the Soviet Union and other socialist countries in helping build the new Cuba. "If the Soviet Union had not existed," he said, "the imperialists would have throttled any revolution by hunger, suppressing it by the sole expedient of economic blockade . . . It was the might of the Soviet Union and the socialist camp that bridled the imperialists' aggression against our Motherland." The aid was not only military; it was economic, technical, scientific, educational, etc., extended continuously, and was especially great at times of acute need. "Every time we were in difficulties, every time we faced a Yankee attack," Castro said, "we could count on the friendly support of the Soviet Union."

Despite all the ultra-Leftist clamor for an armed collision of the two systems "in the name of world revolution," the developments in Cuba bore out Lenin's postulate relating to peaceful coexistence and showed the opportunities coexistence presented for extending the class struggle to the detriment of imperialism.

As recent events show, the workers in capitalist countries are the main driving and mobilizing force of the revolutionary struggle. Understandably, therefore, the working class and its vanguard, the Communist parties, are not indifferent to the circumstances in which that struggle un-

folds. "The proletariat," Lenin writes, "cannot be indifferent to the political, social and cultural conditions of its struggle" (Vol. 15, p. 195), urging the labor movement to work for the best possible conditions in which to mount class battles and to gain more freedom of maneuver. And that depends, among other things, on the foreign policy of the bourgeois state concerned — whether it stokes up international tensions, adding to the war danger, or adheres to some extent to the principles of peaceful coexistence.

War psychosis and tension in relation to the socialist countries is exploited by the arch-reactionary segment of the bourgeoisie to shore up its positions and to weaken the democratic movement. That is the atmosphere in which new "emergency" anti-labor legislation is imposed to suppress the people's struggle for their vital rights and declare strikes acts of anti-government "subversion," producing a situation in which monopoly capital may embark on the road to fascism, creating extremely difficult conditions for the working class and leading up to the loss of all its gains.

Lastly, it should be borne in mind that the corollary to refusal to coexist peacefully with the socialist countries is a still more intensive militarization of the capitalist countries, which, directly or indirectly, is bound to depress the standard of living. Though the war in Indochina is a local one, it, too, has had the effect of depressing the condition of the North American people, for it is they who are footing the bill for it, amounting annually to some \$30,000 million, covered by continuously rising taxes. Hence, the struggle for peace and peaceful coexistence is, in a sense, a projection of the people's struggle for their daily bread and better living conditions.

The working people of Argentina are also affected by the junta's militaristic policy in the framework of the "home front," directed first and foremost against the masses. Militarization in Argentina and elsewhere in Latin America is encouraged by the U.S. ruling quarters and monopolies. They are equipping the armies of many Latin American countries, perhaps less for the profit motive and to get rid of obsolete arms, but rather to enable the national oligarchies to counter popular action.

The example of Argentina, where a fascist-type military dictatorship has been at the helm since the coup d'etat of June 1966, is a typical one. Taxes totalled 443,000 million pesos in 1965, rose to 641,000 million in 1966, as much as 950,700 million in 1967 and to 1,037,500 million pesos in



1968. The bulk is obtained from direct and indirect taxes levied on the people, with some taxes inflated to monstrous proportions, having increased 300 per cent.

Where did all that money go? Take some of the items in the 1968 and 1969 national budgets:

|                          | 1968            | 1969        |
|--------------------------|-----------------|-------------|
|                          | (million pesos) |             |
| General outlay           | 966,295.5       | 1,040,467.5 |
| for repressive measures  | 150,488.9       | 195,106.1   |
| for socio-economic needs | 623,372.4       | 639,010.6   |

Socio-economic allocations increased a bare 2.5 per cent, whereas outlays for repressive measures climbed 29.6 per cent and are really greater still, because a large portion went under other budget heads, such as allocations for "unforeseen" or "secret" expenses.

With militarization, repressions against workers and all working people were greatly stepped up. Military tribunals tried strike leaders all over the country last year, sentencing them out of hand to 3-10 years' imprisonment, with thousands detained for political reasons and participation in strikes. In May 1969 troops occupied provinces hardest hit by the strike waves, with orders to shoot to kill. There were victims: several workers and students were slain in street demonstrations.

In the setting of peaceful coexistence the working class has better opportunities to combat the onslaught of monopoly capital, militarism and the extreme Right. Peaceful coexistence facilitates differentiation among the social and political forces in bourgeois countries, marshalling the laboring element round the working class, invigorating the class battles and extending their scale.

For Lenin, peaceful coexistence was a principle governing mutual relations between states, and it in no way applies to relationships among classes in a capitalist country. Not surprisingly, therefore, the most consistent exponents of peaceful coexistence and international cooperation are, at the same time, the firmest supporters of the class struggle on the international, as well as national, scale. It is the political trends acclaiming "reconciliation" and "alliance" among antagonistic classes that most vociferously oppose the Soviet Union and the socialist camp as a whole, thus playing into the hands of the imperialists.

## PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE MUST BE WORKED FOR

Though international tensions may still be great, the peoples have been spared a world war for all of a quarter of a century. This has not come about by itself. It is the result of consistent and titanic effort by the socialist countries, the international working class and the national liberation movement.

The balance of strength in the world today is tipping against the capitalist countries. Whether they like it or not, they have to reckon with the peaceful coexistence policy of the socialist states. The forces of socialism and peace are blocking aggressive imperialist attempts to unleash a nuclear-missile war. True, imperialists are lashing out against separate sectors of the anti-imperialist front, starting local wars. One example is Indochina, where U.S. imperialism has for a number of years fought a dirty war against the people of Vietnam, interfered militarily in Laos and more recently committed itself to intervention in Cambodia. So the change of the balance against imperialism is no arrow-straight process, but a determinative tendency.

It is not enough, therefore, to simply acclaim peaceful coexistence. It must be fought for. The policy of the peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems, the 1969 International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties said, must be imposed on the imperialists. And one of the preconditions of peaceful coexistence is united action by all anti-imperialist forces against the war danger, for world peace. World war can be prevented by the concerted effort of the socialist countries, the international working class and the national liberation movement, all peace-loving states, public organizations and mass movements. Lenin pointed out that the fight for peace must be concrete, not merely declarative. Acting on this, the Soviet Union and the fraternal socialist countries follow a foreign policy designed to promote the peaceful coexistence principle. They are helping nations to defend their independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and progressive gains, their efforts centered on blocking imperialist interference in their internal affairs.

The greatest credit in this noble effort goes to the Soviet Union, which is doing its utmost to perform its internationalist revolutionary duty to the peoples and working people of all countries.

The Soviet Union and other socialist



countries are working hard for European peace and security. Their proposal of an All-European Security and Cooperation Conference is winning ever greater support. The attractions of this peace move stem from the fact that it corresponds with the essential interests of the peoples of Europe and the world.

Soviet peace efforts again bore fruit this August, when the Soviet-West German Treaty was signed, shoring up European security and furnishing added evidence of the profound vitality of Lenin's peaceful coexistence principles as the only possible and reasonable basis for relations between states with different social systems.

Important in carrying forward and making more effective the peaceful coexistence policy are *mass actions* against the imperialist policy of nuclear war preparation. The broadest strata of people, irrespective of political, philosophical and religious convictions, as the documents of the 1969 International Meeting rightly note, could be brought together for peace actions.

Our Party is doing its utmost to rally the masses for the anti-imperialist struggle. The working people, including those still somewhat influenced by the Peron myth, are, in effect, opposed to his "third way."

When Peron seized power in 1946 he said his "third way" differed equally from both the capitalist and socialist systems. He said internally this signified labor-capital reconciliation through mediation by the state, and independence in foreign policy. However, the "third way" was nothing but so much talk. Capital continued to dominate the country with the state's support, while in foreign affairs Peron ranged himself with the "free" and "Christian" West, contrasting Argentina in all ways to the socialist system.

"As I see it," he publicly declared in 1952, "all people in the world have one aim in common—to combat the frightful danger of communism. To do so, the peoples must subordinate secondary problems to this all-important aim." And in an article for the newspaper *Democracia*, under the pen-name Descartes, he admitted seeing eye to eye with those U.S. Congressmen who were urging the United States to "resort to atomic war, using all available resources in the attack on the Communists." This was

how far he really went in his "third way," leaning over backwards to please imperialism.

Our people are stepping up the struggle against militarization, against oligarchic and imperialist oppression, and against the repressions let loose by the reactionaries. Of late Peronist workers have joined Communists and other democrats in large-scale class battles. Though exhorted by their leadership to steer clear of the movement for international solidarity, they are doing their share for world peace, backing the heroic people of Vietnam, expressing their admiration for the Cuban revolution, and showing solidarity with the Peruvian patriots who are fighting for their country's independence.

Persevering Communist Party work has helped to impel this awakening, or, as we usually say, the shift to the Left, of the masses. Faithful to Lenin's teaching, our Party has always worked for world peace against the peril of nuclear-missile war, elucidating to the people the peaceful coexistence policy, exposing the failings and contradictions of the moribund capitalist world and expounding the advantages of socialism. Our last two Party congresses, held under the slogan, "For Mass Activity, for the Winning of Power," summed up the lessons of the class struggle and worked out measures to intensify and elevate it to a higher level.

*The peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems and revolutionary struggle are doubtless interrelated concepts, and working for world peace is indubitably an aspect of the class struggle.* We Argentine Communists regard the peaceful competition of the two systems—in which capitalism reveals its weakness, while socialism displays mounting strength—as an important stimulus to the class struggle in our country.

The Communists of Argentina respond wholeheartedly to the titanic labors of the socialist countries in fortifying peace and the security of nations and supporting the revolutionary movement of the masses. We shall do everything we can to reinforce world peace and promote the people's struggle for their vital interests, against the military dictatorship, for social progress, democratic freedoms, and national liberation.



# The destinies of Europe

YURI ZHUKOV

"The European peoples are capable of shaping the peace and security of their continent. Let them take the destinies of Europe into their own hands!"

(Statement of Communist and Workers' Parties' Meeting at Karlovy Vary, April 1967).

Yes, the peoples of Europe *can and should* assure their continent peace and security. That slogan is especially topical today, three and a half years after it was proclaimed by representatives of Europe's Communists. Its reality was demonstrated anew by the treaty the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the Federal Republic of Germany concluded in Moscow on August 12, 1970.

In April 1967, many in Europe did not believe that a breakthrough for the Leninist policy of peaceful coexistence, which paves the way to security for the *whole of Europe*, would be achieved so soon. But now there is a document precisely stating that the strongest power of socialist Europe and one of the strongest of capitalist Europe "express their desire to facilitate normalization of the position in Europe and promote peaceful relations between all its states based on the real situation in the area." This is tantamount to recognizing the realities of postwar Europe.

## POLITICAL REALITIES

Speaking at the jubilee celebrations in Soviet Kazakhstan, L. I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, emphasized: "We regard conclusion of the treaty with the FRG as a very important event. Once it comes into force, it will exert a positive influence not only on relations between our two countries, but also on the present and future situation in Europe."

Both parties have assumed a great responsibility to their peoples and to Europe as a whole. Fidelity to the treaty and its consistent operation are, beyond all doubt, key elements for stability and tranquility in our ancient continent.

That is clearly realized everywhere in Europe. For the Soviet treaty with West Germany is not an isolated act, but one of many efforts by European governments to give the continent a healthier climate and a firm security foundation. In their joint communique published on August 14, the two governments express the confidence that "the treaty will help strengthen security in Europe, solve problems existing there and establish peaceful cooperation between all European states irrespective of differing social systems."

The European peoples approve of the treaty. It has rekindled interest in a top-level all-Europe conference to discuss and resolve the pressing problems of security and cooperation. The idea of such a conference, it will be recalled, was first put forward in July 1966 by the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Pact in its truly historic Declaration on Strengthening European Peace and Security.

The Declaration met with a markedly hostile reaction from NATO. This did not discourage the socialist countries and the progressive forces of Europe that supported their initiative. Gradually, step by step, perseveringly and patiently, they continued to work for a conference, surmounting the obstacles built in the cold war period.



The Karlovy Vary Conference of European Communist Parties, discussions by leaders of the Warsaw Pact nations, conferences of their Foreign Ministers, numerous bilateral contacts with European leaders, peace-movement forums, conferences of trade unions, women's, youth and other organizations—they all helped to build up support for an all-Europe conference.

Its preparation was being assisted by Finland, Austria and other neutral European states. That was a sign of the times—Europe's political climate had changed. And NATO did not risk open opposition to the conference idea; in fact, it has discussed preparations for it. Now, with the USSR-FRG treaty signed, the conference is everywhere seen as a pressing need.

FRG Foreign Minister Scheel told a news conference on August 11 that the treaty could exert a positive influence on the convocation of an all-Europe security conference.

And this Reuter dispatch from NATO headquarters in Brussels: Sources close to NATO believe that the Treaty will accelerate an agreed NATO response to the insistent appeals of Moscow (only Moscow?—Y.Z.) for a conference on European security.

*Newsweek* suggests it is nearly certain that the European security conference will be held.

That being the situation, it is proper to revert to the all important question of the destinies of Europe, raised three and a half years ago at Karlovy Vary, all the more so since the socialist countries suggest the conference discuss matters of priority concern to all Europeans. On October 31, 1969 the socialist countries proposed this agenda:

1. *European security and renunciation of the threat or use of force in relations between European states;*

2. *Expansion of trade, economic, scientific and technological contacts on the principle of equality and aimed at developing political cooperation between European states.*

Eight months later, on June 22, 1970, the socialist countries, after careful analysis of the reactions to their proposals, found that the conditions were ripe for practical preparation of the conference. At the same time, they emphasized the desirability of direct participation of interested states in all stages of preparation.

Considering suggestions from various quarters, it was decided to include another item on the agenda, namely: *organization*

*by the conference of a European security and cooperation organ* that could subsequently discuss reduction of foreign armed forces stationed in European countries.

Besides, it was decided to add to point 2 of the agenda the *environment* problem and, possibly, also expansion of cultural exchanges.

All these proposals are now being discussed and, judging by the response from European political and public circles, they have not aroused any objections. There is no need, therefore, to analyze them in detail.

In this article I propose to deal with only two problems relating to the destinies of Europe. And both, I think, are fundamental: Europe as an integral whole and the significance of boundaries separating its nations and, second, European economic cooperation.

Solution of the European security problem will depend in no small measure on the way these problems are approached.

#### HOW MANY EUROPE IN EUROPE?

The question is not as naive as it may appear. For the Europe of today is a continent of multi-national political, economic and military groupings. There is NATO and the Warsaw Treaty Organization. And dominating above this division is the social, class boundary that divides the continent into the world of socialism and the world of capitalism. In other words, our old continent is not an integral whole. Was it ever? As long as Europe can remember itself it has always been split into mutually-opposed groupings.

For all that, however—and without minimizing the contradictions that divide Europe — its countries have to live side by side. And when the question arises: Where does Europe begin and where does it end? Most reasonable people will say, unhesitatingly, that Europe is the sum total of its nations.

The 1894 Brockhaus and Efron Encyclopaedia has this to say in its entry "Europe" by the Russian historian Kareyev:

"Of all the continents, Europe is the best studied. Its usually accepted boundary with Asia follows the Ural Mountains and Ural River in the East and the Caucasian Range in the South. . . . In the West Europe is washed by the Atlantic. . . . Europe has always been the chief center of human culture. . . . High educational, theoretical and practical standards, a developed artistic taste combined with a wide scope for



public activity, moderate freedom and accumulated wealth to form the special characteristic of European civilization, one that distinguishes it both from the ancient civilizations of Asia and, partly, from the offshoots of European culture in the countries of the New World."

Twenty-three years later the October Revolution shook the old Europe with its "moderate freedom and accumulated wealth." Over a large part of the continent a new, socialist Europe emerged and Lenin, standing at the head of the Russian Communists, blazed new paths in its development. But never, not even in the most dire moments of foreign intervention, did Lenin speak disparagingly of European civilization. Quite the contrary, he always counselled creative use of its finest features. He urged coexistence, even cooperation, with West European countries not only in the economic, but also in the political field. That was central to the instructions he gave the Soviet delegation to the 1922 Genoa Conference, demanding that it take a "merchant's" approach.

Let no one misconstrue these remarks about Europe and its civilization: it is not my purpose to place Europe above other continents. But these remarks had to be made because of the theory, a product of the cold war, that the Soviet Union is *not* part of Europe. Only a short while ago, on August 10, American columnist David Binder, obviously nettled by the Soviet treaty with West Germany, wrote in the *New York Times* that the Germans had been part of the European family ever since the ninth century, and Russia's claim to be a European country was only at times acknowledged by the rest of the continent. And, Binder goes on, even in the last decade, under the Adenauer government, many West Germans considered Russia, in the words of the late Chancellor, as "*belonging to Asia*."

Surely, Mr. Binder must know that the "Adenauer era" is drawing to a close. True, Adenauer's disciples and followers have taken up his idea of a "United States of Europe" from the Atlantic to the Bug and the Black Sea,\* which, in effect, envisaged incorporation of the GDR and a gradual process of bringing the East European socialist countries into the western zone. The idea failed dismally. The defeat of the counter-revolutionary adventure in Czechoslovakia, as that country's Communist Party has noted, clearly showed that the

socialist community will stand up for every one of its members. That is now clear also to the more far-seeing Western politicians.

That is why even this sceptical *New York Times* columnist—who still maintains that the USSR is an Asiatic and not a European country—believes that the dilemma before Europe is: should Europe remain politically divided, with the West relying on a balance of strength to preserve peace, or should division and strength-balance give way to a more complex pattern of common interests and interdependence, so that peace could be maintained through multilateral agreement?

As is usually the case with capitalist press writers who lay claim to objectivity, Mr. Binder mixes the evil with the virtuous. He probably does not believe that Europe's security and cooperation can rest on "political unity" and on "interdependence" of all its countries. The capitalist countries will not accept dependence on the socialist, nor vice versa. But there is no denying that European peace can and should "*be maintained by multilateral* (I would even see common—Y.Z.) agreement." That is the crux of the matter.

For a quarter of a century now, the "Europeists" have been advocating the very opposite. What they want is a political, financial and economic bloc of European capitalist countries as a counterweight to socialist Europe, as the "European wing of NATO," with its own integrated armed forces and "European" nuclear weapons.

And to make that more attractive for West Europeans, the proviso is tacked on that such an "integrated" West Europe would be a new counterbalance to the U.S., a sort of third force, even bastion, between the two super-powers, the USA and the USSR.

The prototype of such a system was set up in the between-the-war years in the shape of the European Steel Cartel. The idea, which surfaced after Germany had lost the war, was given economic form by the Ruhr tycoon Arnold Rechberg and General Hoffman. Later Rechberg was to write that the plan was designed to produce a close alliance of Britain, France and Germany supported by America's financial might *against the Soviet Union*.

The idea was picked up after World War II. It was present at the French Foreign Office on April 18, 1951 when the treaty creating the European Coal and Steel Community was signed, that refurbished version of the European Steel Cartel. And

\*This formula was coined by revanchist Franz Josef Strauss and amplified in his book *Project for Europe*.



that was followed by the West European "military alliance" envisaging the rearmament of West Germany, the Common Market, Euratom. And again there was talk of knocking together an anti-Soviet "United States of Western Europe."

How all these grandiose plans fared is well known: the West European powers gained nothing by banking on anti-Sovietism. They did not weaken the socialist community one iota, but substantially damaged European cooperation and weakened their own position vis-a-vis their trans-Atlantic patron: Western Europe became more dependent on the United States.

On the other hand, the socialist countries' consistent peace policy and concerted action by Europe's progressive forces, primarily its Communist parties, dispelled the assiduously inculcated cold-war myth about the socialist community's "aggressiveness." Today few if any believe the Western Kremlinologists that someone in Moscow is planning a *blitzkrieg* against Western Europe.

These and other developments led sober-minded Western politicians to have second thoughts on *all-European* cooperation, a subject no one would even discuss ten or fifteen years ago. But first in France and then in other parts of Western Europe and finally in Federal Germany, where the long period of ultra-conservative Christian-Democrat rule laid a heavy imprint on foreign policy, the understanding took root that the postwar realities of Europe have to be reckoned with.

### INVIOABILITY OF FRONTIERS

European progressives rightly consider Article Three the very core of the treaty. It reads:

*"In accordance with the aforementioned aims and principles, the Federal Republic of Germany and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics are agreed in the recognition that peace in Europe can only be maintained when no one infringes the present frontiers;*

*"They pledge themselves to respect unreservedly the territorial integrity of all states in Europe in their present frontiers;*

*"They declare that they have no territorial demands against anyone, nor will they have such in the future;*

*"They regard the frontiers of all the states in Europe today and in future as inviolable, as they stand on the day of the signing of this treaty, including the Oder-Neisse line, which forms the western fron-*

*tier of the People's Republic of Poland, and the frontier between the Federal Republic of Germany and the German Democratic Republic."*

It's all set out clearly and understandably, everything in its proper place. The treaty does away with unrealistic claims, old illusions and the old hopes of "rolling back" communism. Inviolability of the frontiers resulting from World War II is a cardinal factor of European security.

The two sides reaffirm that peace in Europe can only be maintained when no one infringes the present frontiers. And history teaches us that the principle of frontier inviolability must be applied to *all* European states, not merely to one of the mutually opposed groupings.

There is also this lesson of history, the very instructive experience of the 1925 Locarno agreements, whereby the Western powers disregarded this fundamental principle of collective security. And the result? By guaranteeing frontier inviolability of a narrow group of West European countries, the Locarno pact, instead of serving as an instrument of peace, helped precipitate another world war.

This is what happened. The West European powers agreed with Germany on a mutual guarantee of their frontiers — *at the expense of the Soviet Union*. In other words, German militarism was given the green light to the East. The Soviet Union, it will be recalled, proposed supplementing the Locarno agreements by a treaty guaranteeing East European boundaries. That was turned down, and we all know the consequences: the German imperialists launched a new world war, but before attacking the USSR they attacked their Locarno partners.

That is why the European peace forces have all along insisted on the inviolability of *all* postwar frontiers without exception. That was proclaimed by the socialist countries in the July 1966 Warsaw States' Declaration on Strengthening European Peace and Security and in the resolutions of the Karlovy Vary Conference held some nine months later.

Both in Karlovy Vary and Bucharest, the socialist countries reaffirmed that an all-Europe collective security system based on peaceful coexistence of states with differing social systems can and should be established, provided all countries accept Europe's postwar realities. Above all, this means, as the Karlovy Vary resolution declared, "*recognition of the inviolability of the existing frontiers in Europe, particular-*



ly on the Oder and the Neisse, and also the frontiers between the two German states."

### END OF A CHAPTER, BEGINNING OF A NEW ONE

The then FRG government lent a deaf ear to all of these proposals—it was still under the spell of the chimerical dream of swallowing the GDR. Now there is a more realistic look at European realities. Chancellor Brandt stated on August 12: "I see the treaty as the end of one chapter and the beginning of another, a chapter that will permit our two countries to look ahead towards a better future. The treaty relieves us of the shades of the past and offers a chance for a fresh start."

That chance could materialize through an *all-Europe* approach to collective security and cooperation between all the continent's nations without any exceptions whatsoever. There are new opportunities for enduring peace and security. The socialist German state, the German Democratic Republic, one of the world's ten leading industrial powers situated in the very heart of the continent, is playing an increasing political role. Speaking on August 3, on the 25th anniversary of the Potsdam Agreement, its Foreign Minister, Otto Winzer, said his country urged immediate and practical preparations for a European security conference which now, 25 years after the end of the war, was necessary to guarantee the security and peaceful cooperation of European nations.

In West Germany itself, the progressive forces are redoubling their effort to assure that the treaty is used to promote European security. In welcoming its conclusion, the German Communist Party Executive called on public opinion to repel the Strauss and Kiesinger conservative forces, who had all along tried to impede the Moscow negotiations and were now trying to prevent ratification.

The German Communist Party statement of August 10 says: "Words must be followed by deeds. There must be an end to the policy of anti-communism and hostility to socialism; the treaty must be signed and ratified, without that there can be no progress in our relations with the socialist countries and towards European security and cooperation. No time must be lost pending ratification. . . ."

Yes, time does not wait. The European peoples have explicitly expressed their determination to live in peace and good neigh-

bor relations and to rebuff all reactionary attempts to prevent this.

"For the Soviet Union, as for all European states," L. I. Brezhnev declared in a speech on July 3, 1968, "it is of the utmost importance to build an effective system of collective security in Europe in which both the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany would be full-fledged and equal participants."

If the coming European conference examines in a constructive spirit the agenda item suggested by the socialist countries, on European security and renunciation of the threat and use of force, that will be an important step forward.

### ECONOMIC COOPERATION

Economic cooperation, the second point on the conference agenda, is of vital importance for the destinies of Europe.

The Europists want an economic bloc confined to capitalist West Europe and directed against the socialist community and, on the other hand, as a counterweight to the mounting economic pressure of the United States. Now this idea is being more and more actively opposed by another, a "Greater Europe," extending from one end of the continent to the other.

The "Atlantic" policy hard-liners do not, of course, take kindly to the idea—they would prefer Western Europe remaining fully and unreservedly subject to the United States. This is their argument: "You stand no chance in competition with the American monopolies." That was bluntly expressed a few years ago by a high-ranking U.S. State Department official, Schaetzel.\* Writing in *Foreign Affairs*, he argued that since the gross national product of Western Europe's biggest country (apparently the FRG.—Y.Z.) was only about 15 per cent of America's, the United States had no cause to fear disobedience by its West European partners.

It is a fact, of course, that, with the condonation of West European leaders, the USA was able to penetrate Western Europe in the forties and fifties through its vaunted Marshall Plan, and the North Atlantic Treaty helped it fortify its positions. Washington has more than 300,000 troops and 7,000 nuclear warheads in the western part of the continent; the U.S. 6th Fleet is in the Mediterranean; U.S. investments have reached astronomical dimensions: Detroit controls over half of Western Eu-

\*Now U.S. representative to the European communities in Brussels.



rope's automobile producing capacities and IBM and General Electric over 70 per cent of its electronics industry.

All that is true. And in these conditions it is indeed unlikely that Little Europe can compete with the U.S. All the more so that in Western Europe itself those who favor the American diktat speak in a loud and authoritative voice. The motivations here are both economic and political.

All that notwithstanding, one should not underrate the strength of those West Europeans who have grave misgivings about this invasion of American capital and are prepared to combat it by extending economic contacts with socialist countries as a means of bolstering the independence of their own. And there are plenty of facts to show that when leading West European concerns have the courage to cast off this little Europe complex in favor of far-reaching *all-European* cooperation, no force can prevent them from following that path.

It should be perfectly obvious that despite Europe's division into two mutually-opposed systems, the socialist and capitalist — an objective result of history — broad mutually advantageous cooperation between its countries is possible and beneficial. Such cooperation will strengthen the West European countries in the face of American monopoly pressure and benefit Europe as a whole.

To appreciate the possible scale of such cooperation, we have only to consider that the socialist countries account for *two-thirds* of Europe's territory, a *good half* of its *population*, have a highly developed industry and agriculture and a powerful scientific and technological potential.

Cooperation between capitalist and socialist countries based on mutual advantage and conducted without hindrance from non-European forces would vastly benefit all the parties concerned. But what is needed for that?

I would draw the reader's attention to a document of nearly half a century ago, the decision of the West European powers taken at Cannes to convene the Genoa Conference. This was early in 1922, when attempts to "stifle socialist Russia in the cradle," Churchill's dream, had failed. And

this sad experience led the West European powers to proclaim:

"Nations cannot arrogate to themselves the right to dictate to other nations the principles on which they should organize their property, their internal economic life and their mode of government. In this respect each country has the right to choose for itself the system it prefers."

Lenin attached much importance to the Cannes statement. On his instructions the then People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs, G. V. Chicherin, stated at the Genoa Conference that the Soviet government shares the idea formulated at Cannes: "While adhering to the principles of Communism, the Russian delegation recognizes that in the present period of history, which makes possible the parallel existence of the old and new social systems, economic cooperation between states belonging to the two systems of property, is an imperative need. . . ."

Much has changed in the world since then. But the principle of equal and mutually-advantageous cooperation between states belonging to the two coexisting social systems in Europe retains all its validity. For Europe has not ceased to be Europe, and the traditional economic, cultural and scientific contacts of its peoples, their interconnected interests, have lost none of their importance.

All-European cooperation can and must become a reality. The persistent attempts of its opponents to divide our continent by a deep moat and to apply the name "Europe" only to its extreme Western part, pretending that Europe has contracted, shrunk to one-third of its former size, and that everything to the east of Sweden, the FRG and Austria, is already Asia — such attempts cannot be taken seriously.

Realism will prevail. The program of all-European cooperation boldly proclaimed by Lenin and developed in our time by the socialist countries and the Communist and Workers' parties of Europe in adaptation to present-day conditions, is steadily hewing a way for itself. The destinies of Europe are in the hands of its peoples. And the more active they are in the effort for all-European security and cooperation, the more quickly will it be achieved.



# Czechoslovakia: out of the crisis

MIROSLAV MOC

The situation in Czechoslovakia, and particularly the 1968 events, which reached culminating point on August 21, continue to be the subject of discussion in certain foreign circles. The complex developments in Czechoslovakia have laid their imprint on the attitudes and views of a number of people.

The Czechoslovak Communist Party is not only exposing the nature of these events and assessing them from principled positions, but, beginning with April 1969, has taken vigorous measures to lead the Party and society out of the state of crisis. And this purposive effort is yielding incontestable results.

Notwithstanding diverse theories and assertions, there is conclusive evidence that in 1968 the joint forces of internal reaction and international imperialism, in alliance with Right opportunist elements, tried to carry out a counter-revolutionary coup; their plan was to disintegrate and gradually liquidate socialism in Czechoslovakia. This could have undermined the socialist system, weakened its defense capacity and, in the end, changed the strength-balance between socialism and imperialism. But there is also this irrefutable fact; the Czechoslovak people have the revolutionary forces needed to suppress counter-revolution, with the help of fraternal peoples of the socialist countries. And this fact: only the Communist Party was able to put an end to a position which left the country without a concept of continued development, to the "hand-to-mouth" policy and endless improvisation. In contrast, the Party has been able purposively and in a planned way, to direct the people and the country in the continued building of socialism.

The purpose of this article is to acquaint the reader with certain fundamental con-

clusions the Czechoslovak Communists have drawn from an analysis of the country's development in the recent past.

\* \* \*

Let us begin with an examination of the position within the Communist Party. Beginning with February 1948, its class and political composition underwent steady change: over a million new members were admitted, among them 300,000 who had belonged to other political parties. Merger with the Social-Democrats brought into the Communist Party 113,000 Left Social-Democrats. An even larger number (over 115,000) former National-Socialists joined the Communist ranks, though there had been no merger agreement with that party.

At one time nearly 20 per cent of the membership had come to us from other political parties. To this should be added that the number who joined before the war and prior to February 1948 was markedly diminishing (chiefly, of course, due to natural causes): in 1957 they made up over 63 per cent of the total and only 33 per cent in 1968. At the close of 1947, workers accounted for half of the membership, but after the 13th Congress the figure was 40 per cent, and only 30 per cent early in 1968, while the share of intelligentsia went up to 34 per cent. But it was not only a matter of violating established principles of building the Party; more important was the fact that rapid membership growth was not matched by intensified ideological work.

The deformations of the fifties, their slow and unprincipled elimination, especially after the Twentieth CPSU Congress, increasing formalism in Party work, departure from class education in the Party—all this fostered the growth of malignant opportunist and revisionist fungi.



The pragmatism and absence of a clear perspective by the Party leadership which, instead of mobilizing all the forces of the Party and society for positive solutions, muted initiative, thereby weakening the movement, later found expression in the way in which Marxist-Leninist theory was applied. It was more and more divorced from practice and the latter deprived of a scientific basis. This opened the way for spontaneity, hollow liberalism, apolitical attitudes in science, culture and ideology, and advocacy of all manner of revisionist theories.

We rejected the theory that the advance of socialism inevitably sharpened the class struggle. But this does not mean that the class struggle in one or another socialist country can become sharper under the influence of specific internal or international circumstances. Long before 1968, many Communists correctly appraised the danger that was taking shape in Czechoslovakia and was aggravated by imperialist ideological sabotage.

In the early sixties, the Czechoslovak economy found itself in a difficult situation. Subjectivism, and the simplistic notion that economic development could be charted without objective account of internal and external factors led to serious miscalculations in the third five-year plan. Its initial year showed that its development tempo and targets were unrealistic. Miscalculations were tardily rectified and did not produce the expected results, inasmuch as the then Party and state leadership failed to take effective long-term measures and simply resorted to the extensive development methods of the second half of the fifties. Several pressing and long-term problems remained unsolved. After the 13th Party Congress (1966) investments were curtailed, chiefly in power development and now, in the seventies, this is a brake on economic progress.

The problems that were to be solved in January 1968 did not appear suddenly. Nor were they brought to the surface by the genius, suddenly revealed, of a group who later called themselves the "men of January"; they matured gradually over a number of years. The crisis situation in the Party and society demanded urgent decisions. The task of the January 1968 plenum of the Party Central Committee was to take a further step in Socialist Czechoslovakia's continued development.

Replacement of the First CC Secretary was the outer expression of the need for change. Most Communists saw January as

a critique of the unhealthy situation in the Party, as a means of rectifying the errors and deformations in socialist construction. January was to have become a critical reassessment of the path we had travelled and a stimulator in charting out a more correct one.

However, for nearly three months after the plenum the new leadership, led by A. Dubcek, a man, as was later revealed, ideologically unstable and with a marked inclination towards philistine views, failed to furnish an answer to any of the vital problems raised in January. Furthermore, the ideological and political unity of the Party were undermined and its members disoriented, with the result that the initiative passed to the Right opportunists. The tone was being set by revisionists and by representatives of the reactionary forces who had been lying low and were now supported and egged on by international imperialism and its intelligence services. These forces, of course, pursued altogether different aims from those of the January plenum. This explains why honest self-criticism and condemnation of the deformations of the fifties became a weapon for the Party's opponents, a weapon directed against the very heart of the Party.

Objectively, the opportunists were helped by the Party's ideological disarmament, by the country's persisting petty-bourgeois traditions and by the strong influence of bourgeois propaganda. The Action Program promised by the January plenum was drawn up in an atmosphere charged with the influence of these elements. Though formally the Action Program was based on the 13th Party Congress policy, in effect it was a revision of that policy. Thanks to O. Sik, J. Spacek, J. Smrkovsky, F. Kriegel, V. Slavik, E. Goldstuecker and their ilk, many sections of the program bore the Right-opportunist stamp. In other words, it reflected the long years of ideological and political crisis within the Party.

In January 1970, the Party Central Committee noted that "explanation of the results of the January 1968 plenum was monopolized by individual Central Committee members, men like J. Smrkovsky, F. Kriegel, F. Vodslon, J. Boruvka, V. Slavik, J. Spacek, V. Prchlik, who paraded as the 'men of January'. In reality they gave a confused Right-wing picture of the plenum. Such was the origin of the revisionist line, with its slogans of 'democracy and freedom' and 'progress and humanism'. All this was veiled by a new model of 'democratic socialism' and 'socialism with a human



face'. Gradually there were built up within the Central Committee, its Presidium, and later in other Party organs, active Right-opportunist nuclei striving to capture the Party and the state apparatus. Consequently, the Presidium was no longer capable of effectively countering the offensive of the Right forces. It did nothing to expose them and could not re-establish ideological unity and cohesion of the Party ranks on the basis of Marxism-Leninism. Its light-hearted attitude, political naivete and helplessness had a ruinous influence on the entire Party and the public at large."

The entire period between January and August 1968 was one of uninterrupted retreat in the face of external pressure, vilification of socialism and the Communist Party and the results of its more than 20-years work. Many of those who still refuse to admit that there was counter-revolution in Czechoslovakia ignore the fact for instance, that already in May 1968 a conference of regional and district Party committee secretaries pointed to the heightened activity of anti-socialist, anti-Soviet and anti-Party forces. Incidentally, that was said by none other than A. Dubcek. But the then Party leadership took no measures against this danger. On the contrary, it steadily yielded to pressure from the Rights and operated in agreement with them. In July 1968, it rejected the letter of the five fraternal parties of the socialist countries giving timely warning to the Czechoslovak Communists of the danger of a counter-revolutionary coup.

Attacks on the Communist Party reached a point where the various clubs and the press publicly demanded banning the Party. Men who professed to subscribe to "socialism with a human face" denounced the entire postwar period as "barracks socialism" which, they affirmed, suppressed the creative activity of the individual. And, naturally, the question was studiously avoided of whence, so suddenly, came this crop of "educated" and "cultured" people who in 1968 laid claim to leadership of Czechoslovakia. At the same time, there was the theory that the working class had long ceased to be a revolutionary force or to play an active part in building socialism which, the theory alleged, had proved incapable of providing more freedom than did bourgeois democracy.

Needless to say, freedom, ideology, the state, justice, democracy and other fundamental concepts were deprived of their class content. The freedoms proclaimed in 1968, notably press freedom, were free-

dom for all and sundry, but not for honest supporters of socialism and the Communist Party. There was freedom to spread all manner of slander against the Party and our socialist allies, and nothing was done to refute these lies and defend socialism. The preceding twenty years were described as a "period of darkness." Distorted or deliberately false stories were being spread, misinformation was intensified, causing more vehement emotional reactions. The Right and anti-socialist forces began to group around various clubs and associations, forming themselves into political parties. It was at this point that the first public demands were made for banning the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia.

The "theoretician" and "spiritual father" of the Club of Committed Non-Party people (KAN), ex-Communist Svitak, demanded the right to speak against the Communist Party in the name of six million non-Party people. Together with some writers and artists he was working to turn KAN into a political party of the intelligentsia elite.

A group of intellectuals meeting at the home of Professor Cerny in Prague decided there would be no difficulty in obtaining money in the West for organizing the Social-Democratic Party. In late spring 1968, KAN and K-231 were fully aware that the process must inevitably end in violence, bloodshed and people hanged from lampposts. "But who will assume responsibility for this?" they asked, and the answer was: "We'll put all the blame on the Communists." To this should be added that the membership of these clubs included holders of Party cards. One of the most active of these was the writer Jan Prochazka, shortly before that a close friend of A. Novotny.

K-231 operated under the signboard of an organization seeking rehabilitation of people unjustly persecuted. But it began to marshal counter-revolutionary elements, even stooping to recruit outright criminals, and officially demanded a ban on the Communist Party and revision of the revolutionary laws enacted in 1945-48. In keeping with the "division of labor" between the various anti-socialist forces, K-231 concentrated on undermining the state apparatus, particularly the security service, the courts and the prosecutor's office. Freedom, especially press freedom, was exploited, in gross violation of the country's laws, for systematic vilification of ordinary citizens and government and public



leaders. There was outright incitement against the political and social system and frenzied attacks on allied socialist countries and their representatives.

Meanwhile, Party and government leaders remained passively silent. One could see in the Prague 1968 May Day demonstration KAN supporters carrying streamers, among which was this one: "Dissolve the state security service in sulphuric acid".\* And the First Central Committee Secretary smiled and waved to them from the reviewing stand.

The Central Committee Presidium denounced the 2,000 Words as a *counter-revolutionary* statement, but A. Dubcek, even after that, refused to take any measures against this counter-revolutionary sally or even come out against it. He assured the Party that re-establishment of the Democratic Party was out of the question, though he knew of the secret instructions circulated to Social-Democrats for fulfillment before August 31, 1968. The instructions were to decree the re-establishment of the Social-Democratic Party and call on the people to join it; request political and economic assistance from countries where the Social-Democrats were an active political force, i.e., Britain, the FRG and also Sweden; proclaim Czechoslovakia's withdrawal from the Warsaw Treaty; *for the time being* refrain from negotiations on Czechoslovakia's possible membership in the European Economic Community and, *for the time being*, refrain from discussing Czechoslovakia's accession to NATO.

This political chaos, the crisis in the Party, disintegration of the state apparatus and of society as a whole, were steadily being aggravated. The question of who is and who is not a real Communist was decided outside the Party and, as a rule, by rabid anti-Communists or persons who, in mentality and political outlook, had long broken with the Party. The slogan "trade unions without Communists" was used to trigger off an offensive in the factories, and soon more than 300 factory union committees were set up without a single Communist being elected to them.

Those who maintained after August 1968 that there had been no counter-revolution in Czechoslovakia and that the tanks of the five socialist countries had been sent in to fight windmills, naturally would not reveal what they had really been cooking up. Organizing anti-socialist forces and pressuring public opinion by a

\*The Czech word "rozpustit" means both "disband" and "dissolve"—Author.

campaign discrediting the Communist Party and the socialist state — all this followed a definite plan. Newspapers and journals conditioned the public for impending changes in the corridors of power. Then came the day when organs of the press declared their independence from their publishers — the newspaper *Prace* from the trade unions, the newspaper *Mlada fronta* from the youth organization, etc. A group of Right opportunists wrote in the *Rude Pravo* that it should cease being the organ of the Central Committee and become the mouthpiece of "the whole Party," or, in effect, its own mouthpiece. Members of the editorial staff of the newspapers *Student* and *Obrana lidu* (organ of the National Defense Ministry) made contact with the Czechoslovak section of Radio Free Europe, and then went to Munich. The interview they published on this score surprised even the Radio Free Europe people.

Modifications were being framed in the country's foreign policy. The stage for this was being set by the wave of anti-Sovietism and by attacks on the allied socialist countries. The Politico-Military Academy drew up an action program for the Czechoslovak Army in anticipation of the repeal of the Warsaw Treaty and the country's "neutralization." The government and the First Secretary of the CC CPC knew of this, but did nothing.

In the summer of 1968 more than 200 army people from Western Europe and more than 300 members of U.S. special service units stationed in West Germany entered Czechoslovakia as tourists. That the purpose of these organized "excursions" was not to see the beauties of our land, but to evaluate the probable consequences of the political crisis, is more than obvious. And this, too, the First Secretary knew perfectly well, though he did not raise the alarm and thereby neglected his duty as Chairman of our Defense Council.

Certain quarters were hastily examining possibilities for the return of FRG Germans expelled under the Potsdam Agreement (with no mention at all of those re-settled in the German Democratic Republic). One of the Czechoslovak publicists who attended "Sudeten-Germans Day" in Stuttgart in the summer of 1968, declared candidly that Prague counted on the initial return of 100-150 thousand Germans. Becher, a spokesman for Sudeten Germans suggested that the best solution would be to "reintegrate" Sudeten-German industrialists and capital. And the *Demokratisch-Konservative Korrespondenz* added that



the "Czech side is itself eager to establish contacts with representatives of the Sudeten-German community and received them for talks in the Prague Ministry of Foreign Affairs."

By the summer of 1968 the political structure and socialist bodies of power had disintegrated and the mass of working people was totally disoriented ideologically and politically. No longer did the Party exercise any influence on developments. The genuinely Marxist cadres were prevented from speaking publicly against opportunism and the counter-revolution. Persons removed from their posts in February 1948 as avowed reactionaries, were gaining influence in other political parties. The government had in effect ceased to function and was incapable of ensuring proper guidance of the state, economy and defense. Enemy agents operated unhampered. The reactionary element campaigned for the dissolution of the People's Militia, the armed section of the working class. The erosion spread to the army. A deep-going dislocation of the socialist principles of management and operation was in train in the economy. We were on the brink of economic disaster. Political leadership was passing increasingly to the second center, ranged round the Prague Party Committee, which coordinated its activity with the Rights in the Central Committee's Presidium.

In the summer of 1968 that center circulated lists of people who, it said, should not be re-elected to the Central Committee. After August 21 all of them were automatically branded as "traitors" and "collaborationists," and the cry resounded for their physical elimination. As a result of the rampant psychological terrorism more than 40 Party activists committed suicide even before August 1968.

Osvald, a member of K-231, called for the defamation not of the Communist Party only, but of the security bodies. Once these were abolished, it was planned to purge the army. That was how the Rights expected to "seize power by peaceful, bloodless means." Early in 1969 Svitek declared that if the process had run its full course, there could have been radical political changes. And F. Pavlicek, a former member of the CC CPC, complained in May 1969 that "August 21 had come prematurely. If it had come somewhat later a number of progressive measures would already have been formalized legislatively." What these men styled as "progressive" was renunciation of the principles of socialism

and Czechoslovakia's dissociation from the socialist community.

In a situation where the Party and state leadership proved impotent in fighting anti-socialism and the counter-revolutionary forces, and the decisive segment of the leadership was reluctant to invoke lawful means to safeguard socialism, entry of the allied troops of the socialist countries was a necessary measure, expressive of the supreme internationalist principle that the defense of socialism is the common cause of all Communists. It frustrated Right opportunist plans for seizing power.

After August 21 the counter-revolutionary forces showed exactly what they had been scheming. Terror and violence became commonplace. The country was on the verge of hysteria. Some incline to the view that if bloodshed had occurred before the allied troops came, this would have proved the existence of counter-revolution. It is proper to ask them, however, whether it would have been more judicious to wait until blood flowed and there was human sacrifice? Besides, who can tell if those same people would not have complained then of the allies' not intervening earlier and preventing bloodshed?

To all who made an honest attempt to understand the events in Czechoslovakia, 1968 provided ample facts. Was it normal, for example, that Western arch-reactionaries like West German Chancellor Kiesinger, who brutally persecuted Communists in his own country, should be delighted with the Czechoslovak developments? Or that the Catholic church permitted mass to be held for Dubcek, while lavishly financing anti-communist activity in the West? Or that the CIA spent money generously on disseminating the views of the Czechoslovak fighters for a "better socialism"? Or that Right Socialists expressed the warmest praise of the "heroes" of the "renovation"?

Something altogether incredible and unprecedented in history occurred after August 21, when the plans of home and foreign reaction had collapsed and the howl arose of the country's "occupation": despite its political bankruptcy, the Party and state leadership remained essentially unchanged. Those who speak of "occupation" should give thought to this. Soviet and other allied troops entered the country to block the threat of counter-revolutionary violence and imperialist intervention, and to extend internationalist support in saving socialism. It was the Communists and



the working people of Czechoslovakia who themselves set out to eliminate the crisis. The more clearly the Right opportunist nature of the leadership of the time revealed itself, playing into the hands of the counter-revolutionary element and impeding consolidation of socialism, the more extensively the political struggle unfolded, culminating in the April 1969 Central Committee meeting.

\* \* \*

The April 1969 CC CPC meeting rang in a radical change: the main aim was set of leading society out of the crisis. Comrade Gustav Husak was elected First Secretary of the CC CPC. The new leadership concentrated its efforts on the main links: the Party and the economy.

It was essential, first of all, to again organize the disoriented and divided Party, to make it battleworthy, to part ways with those who had discredited and corrupted it, to unite all the sound forces, so it would again become the guiding nucleus of our society. Thanks to patient Party work, steadily increasing sections of the working people saw from experience who really wanted to build socialism and who could offer nothing but dislocation, for which none but the people would ultimately pay the price. The main values of the socialist society are being restored, and out of these is growing a qualitatively new unity of the Communist Party, adding weight to the role of Communists, to their activity and initiative, which are replacing indifference and passivity. The sound Party core, whose strength derives from its ideas and selfless labor, has consolidated and grown substantially.

The interviews relating to the exchange of Party cards are part of the analysis made by the Party, its bodies and organizations. At these individual interviews every member speaks of his activity in the Party and of his attitude. The competence of the interviewing commission is limited to making a grounded suggestion as to re-issuing or denying the Party card to the member in question, with the final decision resting with the general meeting of the Party branch, subject to the approval of the superior Party body. In keeping with the Party Rules, each Communist retains the right of appeal. This has helped to identify the bearers of Right opportunist, anti-Party and anti-Communist postures and practices, to determine the responsibility of each, and to draw the pro-

per conclusions—briefly, to sift the chaff from the grain, the honest Communists from passive ones, from careerists, those who have long forfeited the right of possessing a Party card.

A thorough analysis was made of the activity of Alexander Dubcek, the former First Secretary of the CC CPC. The investigating commission, consisting of Central Committee members, submitted to the Presidium and Central Committee prolific evidence proving that Dubcek had broken Party Rules by, among other things, failing to ensure implementation of the course set by the 13th Party Congress and the decisions of the January (1968) Central Committee Meeting, whose arbitrary interpretation he had failed to oppose. As First Secretary, Dubcek was responsible for the ideological and organizational disruption of the Party and for the Right forces in the Party and anti-socialist elements in society being allowed to freely circulate revisionist and opportunist theories and bourgeois propaganda. Dubcek tolerated the maligning and discrediting of the CPC and its history, especially the period of building socialism. He failed to mobilize the Party and its ideological front against the bloc of anti-socialist and Right opportunist forces, and, on the contrary, opened the way to ideological surrender. It was largely his fault that the Party lost control over the situation in the country; the instruments of working-class power and the socialist state disintegrated and ceased to be effective, and substantial damage was done to the economy.

Dubcek is also directly responsible for the breakdown of friendly relations with the CPSU and the fraternal parties of the socialist countries. During the frontal offensive of the counter-revolutionary forces he adopted nationalist postures and neglected the interests of the working class, the working people of our country. All this prejudiced our international position and harmed the world Communist movement.

Even after the April, May and September (1969) meetings of the CC CPC, Dubcek would not recognize his mistakes and did not dissociate himself from the fact that his name was being exploited by anti-communist forces abroad and by counter-revolutionary elements at home opposing socialism.

These facts conclusively expose the Dubcek myth concocted by anti-communist propagandists.

The Right opportunists and home and foreign reaction were prepared to concede



that the new Party leadership elected by the April (1969) meeting would succeed in consolidating the political sphere, but predicted failure in resolving the complicated economic problems. On this they pinned their hopes.

Yet despite the urgency of political consolidation, the new Party leadership oriented Communists on tackling the economic problems. Already in May the Central Committee examined questions of economic development. All the important elements of socialist planned management, primarily the plan as the comprehensive expression of the Party's economic program and the main instrument of economic guidance, were put back into operation. This yielded a visible boost in production and labor productivity already in the latter half of 1969. Inflationary processes have been checked, wages and prices have been stabilized, enabling us to tackle such social issues as raising minimum pensions, and the like. The supply of commodities is satisfactory and, what is most important, all industrial accretions are attained by the **rising productivity of labor**. Use of working time has improved substantially.

The celebrations of the Lenin Centenary, the First of May and the 25th anniversary of Czechoslovakia's liberation by the Soviet Army provided convincing evidence of a change in our society, a sharp shift in the entire political atmosphere. These were the first test of the results achieved in the Party's immense organizational and political effort of the 12 months since the April (1969) CC CPC meeting. Symptomatic was the May Day in Prague's Wenceslas Square where only recently, a mere nine months ago, counter-revolutionary forces and Right elements attempted to create disorders. The May Day celebrations developed into a mass demonstration of socialist strength, expressive of the working people's support of the Party's policy of surmounting the crisis and bringing society back to normal. At these celebrations our people showed beyond doubt that it cherishes the traditions of the revolutionary working-class movement, and the lasting friendship with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. At the same time, the high degree of consolidation achieved in the Party and in society shows what enormous resources we have at our command.

Today, 18 months after we embarked on the new course, we may note legitimately, as the Central Committee did at its June (1970) meeting, that anarchy and the dis-

ruption of Party and society have been terminated and a cogent turn achieved in the economic, as well as political areas, and that the Party's consolidation and the economic advances are showing ever more people that the Communist Party's policy is correct, prompting them to support it actively.

These are incontrovertible facts, though Right opportunists and outspoken anti-Communists still refuse to acknowledge them.

Knowing that it cannot destroy socialism either by economic pressure or political blackmail, and not even by outright resort to arms (e.g., the failure of the U.S. aggression in Vietnam), imperialist reaction is doing its utmost to weaken the socialist community and disrupt cooperation between the socialist countries and the Soviet Union. In so doing it attaches prime importance to ideological subversion. And it would be foolish to deny that capitalism will still be able to exert an influence in ideology, thinking, psychology, ethics, the way of life, etc., for a relatively long time.

The 1968 and 1969 events in Czechoslovakia set a number of urgent tasks before the Marxist ideological front. We must work out problems such as, say, that of the final victory of socialism and the avenues of imperialist ideological subversion, that of the weakest link in the socialist system (in 1968 Czechoslovakia was doubtlessly the weakest), the mechanics of creeping counter-revolution and the "peaceful way" of capitalist restoration.

The moulding of socialist consciousness is no spontaneous process. The overwhelming majority in our country has been and is in favor of socialism. But belief alone is insufficient. Socialist awareness requires that the masses, especially the Communists, should have a clear idea of the nature of the modern world, of its class divisions and of the purport of the struggle. It implies a clear attitude to the Marxist-Leninist working class party and a consistently internationalist attitude to the Soviet Union and the other socialist states.

The fight for men's minds does not cease under socialism. It is up to us Communists to fight for them by persuasion, and certainly not by implanting any official optimism. The working class will not fulfil its mission, unless it makes full use of its ideology. Our people are assimilating the truth. It is carried to the masses by the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, loyal to the international Marxist-Leninist doctrine.



## ***Irish national liberation struggle and the communists***

MICHAEL O'RIORDAN

An amazing and unprecedented incident took place in the British Parliament on July 23 when a young Irishman flung two cans of C.S. gas amongst the surprised and badly-scared members. The young man's action was in protest against the use of many thousands of cans of such gas against people in Northern Ireland by the British armed forces.

For almost two years there has been a virtual imposition of martial law in certain areas, forcible house searching and ill-treatment. The 11,000 British troops use weapons such as the hovering helicopters and armored cars.

British troops have been in Ireland for eight centuries, and their presence has always been resisted by the Irish people, a fact that compelled British imperialism to grant nominal political independence in 1921 to an area covered by 26 of the 32 counties of Ireland, and the retaining of the remaining six as part of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland. This partition in effect provided for the neo-imperialist continuance of national subjugation and exploitation of all Ireland.

Partition was the form in which the British imperialists were able to apply with maximum effect the old device of "divide and rule." It reinforced the old tactic of dividing the Irish people on the basis of their adherence to either the Protestant or Catholic religion.

The British encouraged the formation of the "Orange Order" which sought to unite Protestants on the basis of obscurantist anti-Catholic prejudices.

The resultant Unionist Party has form-

ed the government of Northern Ireland for the last 50 years. It is representative of the interests of the landlords, capitalists and financial interests who are orientated to Britain. In its 50 years of rule the Unionist Government treated the Catholic minority as inferior citizens. They were discriminated against in jobs and housing; where they were a majority in any election area, such constituencies were gerrymandered so that they received only a minority of council seats.

All the time, and in every way, the Government depicted the one-third minority as a danger to the interests of the two-thirds Protestant population.

The Communist Party of Ireland has a long record of struggle for the unity of the Catholic and Protestant working people. In the 1930's in the North it played an outstanding part against the unleashing of religious sectarianism. It played a leading part in creating the United Unemployed Movement. In recent events when there was once again the attempt to divide the workers, the Party's industrial comrades played a great role in maintaining the cohesion of the workers.

In 1966, a movement called the "Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association" was formed to end the undemocratic practices of the Government.

The Civil Rights Association set out to unite the Protestant and Catholic peoples and all democratic and progressive forces in order to end the police-state conditions in Northern Ireland. It was launched by the Belfast Trades Union Council whose secretary is Betty Sinclair, a well-known



leader of the Communist Party of Ireland.

The various demonstrations for Civil Rights were met with the full rigor of the state forces, and the confrontations developed to the position where London sent in British troops to replace the local armed forces. The battles go on.

It was against this background that there took place, last March, a special Congress to reconstitute the Communist Party of Ireland as a united all-Ireland party.

The Communist Party of Ireland was first formed in June, 1933. It covered both the North and South of the country. When World War II broke out in September, 1939, the 26-county state adopted a position of neutrality which it maintained throughout the war. On the other hand, Northern Ireland as part of Britain became a belligerent. This created a problem for the CPI. The situation was further aggravated by the existence, in the South, of large-scale unemployment which forced many party members to emigrate to Britain. The effect was that it was only in Northern Ireland that the party was able to continue as an open political force. In 1948, the Communists in the South formed the Irish Workers' Party, so for 22 years there existed two Irish Marxist-Leninist parties, one in each of the two states. A united Irish Communist movement was however maintained in the form of the Joint Council of the Irish Workers' Party and the Communist Party of Northern Ireland.

The re-unification of the CPI was a striking, and for that matter a widely appreciated, example of unity. It made the party a unique one, since it is the only all-Ireland political organization of the working people. All other political organizations, including the Labor Party, operate within the strict boundaries of the two separate states. The Communist Party of Ireland is also unique in that unlike the other parties and organizations it draws its members from both Protestant and Catholic backgrounds.

From the Reunification Congress there was issued a Manifesto entitled: "For Unity and Socialism." This pointed out that important political developments were taking place throughout the whole of Ireland. In the North the once all-powerful Unionist Party had been weakened by the mass agitation for Civil Rights and showed signs of being divided at a time when it could be faced by an alliance of Protestant and Catholic workers within the labor

movement along with Communists, Republicans, and wide progressive groupings. In the Republic of Ireland, the government led by Prime Minister Lynch was more and more being exposed as a capitulator to British imperialism and international monopoly capitalism, and it too was facing a growing and more united opposition.

The Manifesto showed that years of imperialist domination had stamped common features on the two parts of the island. In both there is constant unemployment of an abnormal magnitude; heavy emigration of young people and a high ratio of dependent old people to the working population; an economy wide open to penetration and domination by imperialist monopolies.

The Communist Party of Ireland in its analysis of the 50 years of Partition says that a new stage has now been reached in the long struggle of the Irish people for social and national liberation. The features of this new stage are: a new crisis for British imperialist rule in Ireland arising from the need to meet civil rights demands whilst retaining political control and a facade of democratic government in the North; the upsurge of demands for civil rights and a solution to social and economic ills in the whole of Ireland; and the growing recognition of the need for a new type of leadership—political working-class leadership—in the fight against the imperialist monopolies which increasingly dominate the whole of Ireland.

Partition has failed to solve the "Irish Question" for the British imperialists. There are clear signs of another approach to the problem. To the techniques of the past the British are now adding proposals for a form of Anglo-Irish federation which would be the old Act of Union in a new form.

In the present stage they are seeking a form of accommodation with the various capitalist forces, North and South, that will help them to overcome the "disorders" and preserve for the monopolies stable conditions for profit making, as well as create new opportunities for the exploitation of Ireland as a whole.

The Manifesto stresses that it is not in the interest of the Irish people to be part and parcel of the imperialist economic and political system, whose frequent crises have such grave social and economic repercussions in Ireland. Our country has the necessary resources, labor, skill and capital to develop a thriving and independent economy.

A government that is willing to stand up



to British imperialism and fight for the interests of the people, planning the economy and organizing the means of production, distribution and exchange in the people's interest, can build such an economy. The Manifesto charts the way for constituting such a government and for eliminating Ireland's dependence on the monopolies—the way of building a National Democracy as the basis for the winning of a socialist form of society in our country.

The Communist Party holds that powerful popular forces can be won to support such a program. The unity of action of all these forces would be the first step to the final solution of the major national, economic and political problems of the country. With a common program, applied in the conditions of the two States, there would develop a unity in struggle which would move both parts of Ireland in a democratic and anti-imperialist direction.

A condition for such an advance, the Manifesto says, must be the leading role of the working class. "The Communist Party of Ireland," it goes on to state, "bases itself primarily on this consistent revolutionary class. In the building of a united movement against imperialism and monopoly capitalism in our land our Party will make its own specific contribution. It will develop still deeper its roots in the trade unions. . . . It will extend still further its activities of a socialist theoretical and educational nature, thereby giving the working class a clearer revolutionary perspective."

The Party holds that to bring about a fundamental change in society in Ireland the working class and its allies must oust imperialism from the country, politically and economically. It must then press forward to break the state machinery of capitalism altogether and establish a socialist form of society in our country.

The situation in Northern Ireland has

also helped to forge strong links between the Communists of Ireland and of Great Britain. During the course of the events there have been two bi-party meetings in which there have been agreed analysis of the situation and an emphasis on the unity of the workers of Ireland and Britain against the common foe—British imperialism. In Britain itself there have been many demonstrations of solidarity with the people of the North of Ireland.

Compared with the past, infinitely more advantageous conditions now exist for the Irish people to march to national freedom and socialism. Throughout the world powerful allies exist whose interests are identical with those of the Irish people. They are principally:

—The peoples of the 14 countries of Europe, Asia and Latin America who have swept capitalism aside under the leadership of Marxist-Leninist parties and who are building socialism. Together these countries are a powerful force for progress and, with the Soviet Union to the fore among them, they are assisting the peoples of other countries fighting for their freedom.

—The working class in the capitalist countries, who like the Irish people, are fighting for jobs, decent living standards and democratic rights and opposing the attempts of the monopolies to impose wage restraints and anti-trade union legislation.

—The peoples in the battle areas of the fight against imperialism and colonialism who are registering great victories for the cause of national independence; the peoples of the former British colonies who are breaking free of the orbit of imperialist power and whose struggles have contributed to the general crisis of imperialism.

A new stage has indeed been reached in the oldest national-liberation struggle in Europe. The end of British rule in Ireland is approaching.



# Democratic centralism and inner-party democracy

ANDRE VIEUGUET

The 19th Congress of the French Communist Party (Nanterre, February 4-8, 1970) demonstrated the development of democracy in the Party on the basis of Lenin's organizational principles. The Congress resolutions and other documents were framed in the course of a broad and fruitful discussion. This was due primarily to the rich experience the Party had accumulated since its 18th Congress in January 1967.

The powerful upswing of the labor and democratic movement in May and June 1968 produced France's first major clash between the masses and state-monopoly capital. And from it our Central Committee and the entire Party drew valuable lessons for future battles. In December 1968, the Central Committee adopted its Manifesto "For an Advanced Democracy, for a Socialist France." On June 29, 1969, it endorsed the Document of the International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties and called on the membership to study and popularize the ideas contained in the two documents.

The 19th Congress theses, which the Central Committee submitted for discussion by the membership, were thus based on the central ideas following from experience and from collective analysis of French and world developments.

But there were other reasons for the breadth and tensivity of the discussion. Reactionary propaganda was at great pains to disorient our membership by raising a hue and cry about alleged in-fighting in the Party leadership. It also widely publicized the theses of Roger Garaudy, a former Political Bureau member who had taken a

grossly anti-Party stand. The capitalist propaganda and pressure campaign was a clear failure. Party members made a close study of the problems raised in the Central Committee theses.

The Central Committee set an example of political and practical measures, involving all levels of the Party, to provide favorable conditions for a free and serious discussion by all Communists in keeping with the principles they had undertaken to observe in joining the Party. The following facts are indicative. The draft theses, published in *Humanité* on November 15, 1969, were discussed at meetings of 2,560 sections with the participation of 60,000 delegates from Party nuclei. This was followed by 97 federation conferences attended by 17,500 delegates from Party sections. The 19,250 Party nuclei had ample time to arrange several discussion meetings, and many thousands were held in the two and more months preceding the congress. On December 10, 1969, *Humanité* and the *France Nouvelle* weekly opened their pages to discussion contributions. The Central Committee and its theses-drafting commission published a number of articles and letters selected in a way to give expression to diverse views on all important problems.

Addressing the Central Committee meeting of November 13, 1969, at which the theses were approved, General Secretary Waldeck Rochet drew attention to the "need for all Party organizations, all Communists, actively to participate in the struggle and intensify work among the masses, combining this with serious study of the theses and, where necessary, to suggest amendments."

This met with a wide response. Thou-



sands of proposals and amendments came from Party branches. Federation conferences adopted 922 amendments. All proposals were examined by the drafting commission and the amended theses were presented to Congress, which unanimously approved them.

The outstanding feature of this very wide discussion was the ideological and political unity of the Party.

The continued development of inner-Party democracy and closer unity are, beyond all doubt, the result of correct application of the Party Rules adopted by the 17th Congress in May 1964.

It introduced important changes in the Rules adopted by the 10th Congress in June 1945. The purpose was to extend the rights of members and organizations, promote proletarian democracy and heighten the feeling of responsibility and initiative of Party members and organizations to cope with the greater tasks ahead.

The amended Party Rules more closely accord with the new demands of the class struggle.

The 17th Congress political resolution is especially significant in this respect. It stresses the need for more active Party life as a condition for more effective work among, and closer contacts with, all sections of the working people.

"Correct application of democratic centralism, the basis for developing the Party's thought and activity," the resolution says, "requires broader proletarian democracy within the Party. This will make for greater attendance at nuclei meetings, more active membership and nuclei participation in framing and carrying out Party policy, encourage initiative, enable speedy rectification of errors and shortcomings, and help formulate concrete slogans to meet vital demands and specific situations.

"It will also enable the Party more clearly to define collective and individual responsibility, raise the political understanding of all Communists and help the growth of our cadres. The nucleus should be seen as an action center. The work of the existing and the organization of thousands of new industrial, territorial and rural nuclei is a decisive condition for the operation of Party policy."

The 18th Congress noted that the new Rules had made for a higher standard of democracy in Party organizations, and the political resolution called for its "... further development and enrichment so that every member shall feel a personal respon-

sibility for framing and operating Party policy."

The sustained effort over the past few years to perfect inner-Party democracy was one of the factors that made possible the extensive discussion at the 19th Congress and its unanimous and categorical rejection of all opportunist attempts to jeopardize democratic centralism by raising demands which were tantamount to allowing trends and factions within the Party.

Paragraph 45 of the 19th Congress theses contains this serious warning: "To allow trends and factions within the Party, to allow a situation in which comrades who find themselves in a minority after a free discussion do not submit to the majority, defy democratic standards and violate Party discipline by refusing to abide by adopted decisions—to tolerate such procedures would mean splitting the Party."

The same paragraph emphasizes that democratic centralism, by assuring the Party unity of views and action, transforms it into a cardinal weapon of the working class in its fight against capital. Inner-Party democracy, the Congress also stressed, is a fundamental aspect of democratic centralism; it presupposes participation of every Communist in elaborating Party policy, assures every member freedom to express his views in Party organizations and criticize all Party functionaries, guarantees democratic election and accountability of leading bodies at all levels, and observance of the norms of collective leadership.

Democratic centralism—and this was especially stressed at the Congress—encourages extensive exchange of ideas and proposals between primary organizations and the leadership, and this presupposes keeping the membership fully informed of every aspect of Party life.

Accordingly, the Congress called for unremitting effort to develop the Party's democratic principles, particularly in view of its growing role and influence, the high political understanding of its members, the fresh opportunities for multiform activity and the accumulated experience of the labor movement as a whole.

At the end of the year we shall be celebrating the 50th anniversary of the Party's foundation. At the Tours Congress in December 1920 delegates from Socialist Party federations condemned the fatal discrepancy between Second International Congress resolutions and the actions of most Party leaders. By an overwhelming majority the Congress voted for closer adherence



to the principles of socialism, more stringent discipline and more energetic action. This desire to put an end to phrasemongering and lack of discipline was one of the factors that induced the congress to adopt Lenin's principles and affiliate with the Communist International.

In the half-century since then, the relation of democracy to centralism in applying the principles of democratic centralism naturally changed depending on conditions. But centralism and democracy form an integral whole in our Party. Without democracy, the central leadership might lapse into bureaucracy. Without an elected and responsible central leadership, democracy might degenerate into endless discussions producing futile deviations and rival factions.

The revisionists assert that centralism and democracy are incompatible, that democratic centralism hampers intensive democratic Party life. Our Party's half-century experience shows how far this is from the truth. More, it has demonstrated the beneficial inter-action of constantly developing democracy and a central, and increasingly collective, leadership.

The following statement of Maurice

Thorez is as valid today as it was when written ten years ago on the Party's 40th anniversary:

"The restructuring of the Party on the basis of industrial and other nuclei begun in 1924 was of immense importance in building up its strength and action ability. It was not merely an organizational change, but above all, a political one to enable the Party to accomplish tasks which we could not even contemplate in the past. Under the new system, every primary organization was able effectively to work among the masses and firmly consolidate its position in the factories where the working-class struggle is especially tense. Party policy was now discussed in primary organizations. The nucleus was not merely a group of persons operating Party policy with no part in formulating it: it became the center where this policy was worked out."

The resolutions of the 19th Congress have been discussed much more widely than those of any previous congress. And we are confident that the considered judgments of a growing number of Communists and nuclei will assure collective elaboration of Party policy and decisions and will bring all Party members into a united and victorious army acting in voluntary discipline.

## ***Fourth Congress of the Guatemalan Party of Labor***

ANTONIO CARRILLO GILES

The Fourth Congress of the Guatemalan Party of Labor, held in December 1969 against a background of harsh illegality, has a very special importance for the entire Party. The purpose of this article is to inform the reader of its proceedings and decisions, rather than analyze the general political situation in Guatemala.

For eight years now Guatemala has been

the scene of guerrilla warfare and armed actions in the towns. The patriotic forces took up arms to fight back the ferocious terror of the counter-revolutionary gangs encouraged and supported by the top military, the Pentagon and the CIA. They received every assistance from "Constitutional dictator" Mendez Montenegro. His term of office expired on June 30, 1970, but he



has left a long record of repression and terror—8,000 victims, among them half the membership of our Party Central Committee and hundreds of other devoted Communists. The man responsible for the terror in eastern Guatemala, where hundreds of peasants have been the victims, is the present President, Carlos Manuel Aranha Osorio.

The terrorists, who, incidentally, wear military uniform, have of course gone unpunished. There has not been a single judicial investigation of numerous cases of kidnapping and murder, of bodies left on the roadside or dumped into ditches and rivers.

It was in this terror atmosphere that we held our Congress. The very fact that it was convened — the date and place were naturally kept secret — is a success for the Party and further proof of its ability to act and grow.

The Congress attracted much attention in non-Communist revolutionary circles. And that is no more than natural, for it analyzed, generalized and correctly assessed developments since the Third Congress in 1960. This was a period of active ideological and revolutionary struggle and of major developments at home and internationally.

The theses of the Central Committee report, the draft Party Program and proposed changes in the Party Rules were widely discussed long before the Congress in Party branches and at district and regional conferences. This helped towards a more thorough understanding of the problems confronting us and enabled the membership to share in preparing the Congress and formulating its decisions.

The Central Committee report noted that the most vivid expression of mass militancy came in March-April 1962, when the masses first resorted to armed action in reply to the counter-revolutionary repression following the U.S. imperialist intervention and the overthrow of the Jacobo Arbenz revolutionary government in 1954. The 1962 mass movement, which shook the reactionary regime to its very foundations, was cogent evidence of the people's determination to fight through to freedom.

The CC report critically reviewed the development of the armed struggle, its successes and reverses. The 1964-66 upsurge was followed by a series of defeats, and these, the report notes, were partly due to mistakes by the Party, the guerrilla groups and the revolutionary movement as a whole, with resultant differences and divi-

sion in the revolutionary forces. The report also examined the character and forms of enemy strategy and tactics, in particular the Pentagon-recommended methods the army and police have been employing against the revolutionary forces. The report outlined ways and means of countering these methods.

An important chapter of the CC report is the one dealing with the struggle within the Party and the revolutionary movement. The Party had to combat a conservative Right-wing trend powered by middle-class elements, and to a certain extent also by a section of the higher-paid workers who, although they cannot be classed as "labor aristocracy," often come under bourgeois ideological influence.

But the Party also had to combat Leftist adventurism, with its preachment of a new type of dogmatism. The Leftists rely entirely on spontaneity, improvisation and spectacular action, shun painstaking organizational work, underestimate the role of the Party, contact with the masses, political action and so on. In short, they are out of touch with political life and have no realistic idea of the alignment of forces within the country and internationally. The roots of this trend can be traced to the influence of impoverished sections of the urban petty-bourgeoisie, which often merges with the lumpen proletariat and, to one or another degree, reflects the despair and resentment of the peasant poor.

The Party was able to steer a correct course in this two-front fight against Right and "Left" deviations, and managed to overcome liquidationist moods and put an end to Leftist factional activity. Our Party wants a united armed revolutionary movement. However, when the unity slogan was exploited in an effort to liquidate the Party and to impose an adventurist line, we expelled the liquidators and, supported by the movement's majority, organized the *Revolutionary Armed Forces*, whose strategy and tactics differ fundamentally from the group which in 1968 tried to take over the old armed movement, known as the *Insurgent Armed Forces*.

In analyzing the internal situation, the Congress devoted much attention to the crisis of Guatemala's socio-economic structure, as manifested in economic stagnation, chronic agricultural crisis, lop-sided industrial development, deteriorating foreign trade and steady depression of living standards. Though semi-feudal relations are gradually being eliminated, capitalism is



making very slow headway, due to its practically complete dependence on U.S. imperialism which supports the landed interests and the bourgeoisie connected with them. These two groups are adamantly resisting much needed radical reform.

All these contradictions determine the character of the Guatemalan revolution which, our Party believes, will be a continuous process of agrarian, anti-imperialist people's revolution as the prelude to the second stage, socialist revolution.

A thorough analysis of the internal and international situation, the relation of objective and subjective factors in the revolutionary process and of the revolutionary and reactionary forces, led the congress to conclude that the Guatemalan revolution will develop as an armed struggle which, in our specific conditions, is bound to take the form of a people's revolutionary war. This is in keeping with the policy adopted by the former Central Committee and the 1966 National Party Conference.

The Party Program — the Program of People's Revolution — approved by the Congress sets out the strategy and tactics of this revolutionary war. It says:

"The people's revolutionary war is bound to be a long process, for the people must create their own army to win and maintain power. The building of a strong people's army is a feasible goal, but one that will require time, for the army will have to be organized in the course of the war. The need, therefore, is for a concrete plan of consistent action to strengthen the popular armed forces, change the balance of strength in favor of the revolution and fight through to final victory. . . .

"Armed struggle in the form of a people's revolutionary war is the only correct path of the Guatemalan revolution. . . .

"The people's revolutionary war must be waged also on the political, economic, social and ideological fronts and, as its name implies, requires mobilization of the masses, so that the entire people are involved in the battle against the reactionary power structure, which is supported by imperialism and the bourgeois-landowner oligarchy.

"In their revolutionary war, the people will have to use every form of economic, social and ideological struggle—and we are determined to raise them to the level of political struggle—for the simple reason that a *correct combination of armed and political action* is an indispensable factor of victory. Combining the two will help effectively to mobilize the masses to defeat their oppressors."

The Congress stressed the need for organized unity of the people, with due account to the specifics of the various regions, particularly level of economic and political development. The people's war can be successful only if there is active mass participation and support.

The new program analyzes Guatemalan political reality, defines the character and aims of the Guatemalan revolution, both at its first and second stages. It differs from the old program not only in its more thorough examination of the country's problems, also in its examination of the Party's strategic and tactical aims and the realistic opportunities for their attainment. The preamble says: "A bare description of Guatemalan reality would of need be but an abstract exercise setting out essential problems and naming those responsible for their emergence. An explanation of the nature of the Guatemalan revolution would be a theoretical exercise unrelated to our ultimate aim. A general program would meet the requirements of the popular struggle at some of its later stages, but would not be applicable to its initial period. Similarly, a list of immediate demands would tend to restrict the struggle to the narrow framework of reforms without any prospect of their extension and deepening, which could be accomplished only by a revolutionary government of the people. . . . Only by combining these elements can we produce an effective program of the Guatemalan revolution that will illumine the path of the people's struggle and give it correct orientation."

The new Party Program clearly states that the working class of town and country will pay the *leading* role in the revolution. This logically follows from the nature of the working class, which is conscious of its interests as a class, is capable of assimilating Marxism-Leninism and of preparing itself for the role it is destined to play.

The poor and middle peasants will be the *main force* of the revolution, for they make up the vast majority of the population, a majority now doomed to poverty and exploitation and as Indians subjected to race discrimination and kept in a state of backwardness. The Congress devoted much attention to the specific problems of the Indian people, who were represented by a number of delegates.

The Program considers the urban middle strata — white-collar workers, students, professionals, etc. — part of the revolutionary forces. Oppressed by the oligarchy and the foreign monopolies, small busi-



nessmen, farmers and tradesmen might, at a later stage, side with the people and join the revolutionary ranks.

The new Party Rules take into account our organizational experience over the past ten years and lay more emphasis on the Leninist organizational principles, primarily democratic centralism, closer ties with Party branches and more attention to organizational work. The Rules regard the Revolutionary Armed Forces as a Party organization, and provide for a Central Committee commission to supervise the work of the Young Communist League.

After a detailed critical discussion, Congress elected a new Central Committee in which the experience and ability of seasoned fighters is combined with the enthusiasm and innovative spirit of young revolutionary cadres brought to the fore in the political and armed struggle.

Congress sent a message to the Soviet Communist Party and people on the occasion of the Lenin centenary and instructed the Central Committee to make appropriate preparations for the jubilee, especially wider study of Lenin's works with a view to their creative application in building the Party and advancing the revolutionary process in Guatemala. Congress also addressed a message to the heroic people of Vietnam expressing its support for their struggle against U.S. imperialist aggression.

The Central Committee communique

published after the Congress says that 1970 will usher in a decade of intensive struggle. We anticipate a resolute offensive that will bring our people fresh victories. Nothing can halt the process of revolutionary change which will wipe out exploitation of man by man throughout the world. One-third of its population is already building socialism, which is bound to triumph everywhere. Imperialism will suffer inevitable defeat. The struggle of oppressed peoples for national emancipation and social revolution is a difficult one but victory is assured through closer anti-imperialist solidarity of all the peoples and closer unity of the international working class. The Congress was highly appreciative of the solidarity of fraternal peoples, the revolutionary movement and particularly the Communist and Workers' parties. It welcomed the unity efforts of all Parties—and noted that the 1969 Moscow Meeting was an important step towards that goal.

The Congress is of vast importance for the Guatemalan Party of Labor and the country's revolutionary forces. It gave the Party a clear strategy and flexible tactics. It was a long step towards unity of the Party and its development into the vanguard of the Guatemalan revolutionary movement. Preparation of the Congress, its discussions and resolutions provided answers to many of the problems of the revolutionary movement and fortified faith in the ultimate triumph of our great cause.



# In brief

## ARGENTINA

The first issue of the fortnightly *Boletín de informaciones latinoamericanas*, published illegally by the International Relations Commission of the Communist Party of Argentina, which appeared recently, said in its inaugural editorial that mutual information relating to the political line and experience of Latin American Communist and Workers' parties is the main purpose of its editorial policy.

The Bulletin will carry information about the activity of fraternal Communist parties and other anti-imperialist, working-class and popular forces in Latin America, and, among other things, reprint whole or in part documents and decisions, accounts and reports selected from either legal or underground publications, and reflecting the revolutionary process in each of the Latin American countries. Another aim is to expose reactionary and imperialist maneuvers against the popular liberation struggle.

The Bulletin is confined to information and does not intend to comment on published material or to organize polemics.

The inaugural issue contains documents relating to Argentina, Venezuela, Colombia, Nicaragua, Costa Rica and Chile.

\* \* \*

The Communist Party of Argentina has completed its 24th fund-raising campaign, with more than 196 million pesos contributed in factories, residential areas, universities and villages to cover the cost of Party activity and of publishing and disseminating Marxist-Leninist literature and Party materials.

## DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF VIETNAM

The Special Decision of the Central Committee Secretariat of the Working People's Party of Vietnam, published on the 25th anniversary of the August Revolution

and the inauguration of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, set the aim of mobilizing the Party, people and army for a further rise in labor productivity, extension of democracy and of collective administration in agricultural cooperatives, elevating the politico-ideological level of Party members, improving the standard of living, and redoubling resistance to the U.S. aggressors.

The Decision notes that development of agriculture and consumer industries is the most urgent task of the day, in order to expand food and other commodity supplies.

In the propaganda area, public talks are planned on the August Revolution and its traditions and the study of Party documents and the works of Ho Chi Minh. A Party recruitment campaign is being launched to mark the anniversary.

## WEST BERLIN

In December 1969 the Socialist Unity Party of West Berlin began publishing a new theoretical journal, *Konsequent*, to promote Party work in higher educational establishments. The journal is published in Zehlendorf, the seat of Dahlem University (enrolment 15,000), the largest of West Berlin's higher schools.

The Party attaches considerable importance to the expanding democratic student movement. When that movement was still spontaneous and lacked clearly-defined aims, the Party drew up a long-term program, disseminating Marxist-Leninist ideas among its participants and helping apply them creatively to the specific situation in West Berlin, with its contradictory trends in the class struggle. As a result many new members were recruited among students, with strong Party branches active at present in all West Berlin's higher educational establishments.

The new journal examines vital topical questions of theory and practice, with editors and staff determined to build it up as a militant political medium showing the



relevance of Marxism-Leninism and enlisting new strength for the anti-imperialist struggle, the unity of which it will promote in every way.

Its articles are oriented to show the class nature of the student and intellectual movement, elucidating the content and aim of the student "revolt," proving that the students' place is with the working class, success in the struggle hinging on united action with the working-class party.

The journal takes the field against the ideology of Right and "Left" opportunism. In criticizing the "convergence" theory, the idea of "social partnership" and "Left" radicalism, the journal shows the damage they do to the movement by diverting it to a sterile and dangerous path.

Also dealt with are trenchant issues relating to strategy, tactics and organization. The three issues that have appeared so far deal with the role of the Party, its relation to the trade unions, the higher school reform, the relationship between the working class and intelligentsia in the capitalist state-monopoly set-up and other issues that breed fallacious and confused notions among students and intellectuals.

The publishers hope that *Konsequent* will help extend the influence of Marxism-Leninism and of the Party in this important sector of the class struggle.

Editorial Staff of *Konsequent*

## CUBA

The Cuban press gave considerable prominence to the 45th anniversary of the Communist Party of Cuba. A *Granma* editorial marking the occasion stressed that the emergence of the Cuban working-class party, founded on August 16, 1925, was impelled by the 1917 October Revolution in Russia. It relates in detail how a small

nucleus of Party members working underground began propagating Marxism-Leninism among workers and peasants, calling on the people to fight imperialism, for national liberation and socialism.

*Granma* noted that the effort of that group has borne fruit in the victorious revolution and the people's awareness in overcoming backwardness and building a socialist and communist society.

Writing in the journal *Verde Olivo*, Blas Roca, member of the Secretariat, Central Committee of the Communist Party of Cuba, presented a detailed survey of the international situation and Cuba's condition in the middle of 1925. He described the upswing of the anti-imperialist struggle, the growing influence of the October Socialist Revolution and of Lenin's ideas.

Referring to the decisions of the inaugural congress, Blas Roca recalled the resolution calling on the Party to fight imperialism, for national liberation, the vital demands of the people, and socialism. Congress endorsed the Leninist principle of democratic centralism and voted unanimously for affiliation with the Communist International.

Describing how the Party was formed and its early period, Roca notes that its way merged with Fidel Castro's struggle, the July 26 Revolutionary Movement, fusing with the efforts of the new generation of revolutionaries and political organizations.

"The path travelled from August 1925 to January 1959 was not easy," Roca writes, "... However, despite all persecutions . . . and despite mistakes, failings and weaknesses of the long and arduous years of struggle, this Party—whether under its original name, or as the Revolutionary Communist League or People's Socialist Party — has performed its duty."



# ***Visit to the Institute of World Economics and International Relations***

(Moscow)

The Institute of World Economics and International Relations (IWEIR) occupies a prominent place among the Soviet academic institutions studying the outside world (Institute of the Economics of the Socialist World System, Institute of the International Working-Class Movement, Institute of the USA, Institute of Africa, Institute of Latin America, and others). Though a relatively new body itself, founded in 1956, the IWEIR is the successor to the Institute of World Economics and World Politics, 1927-1947, which had been headed by Academician E. S. Varga, eminent scholar and distinguished figure in the world Communist movement.

IWEIR specializes in the economic and socio-political aspects of modern capitalism and the economic, home and foreign policy problems of the imperialist, as well as the developing countries.

Our special correspondent acquainted himself with the plans and works of the Institute, the work of its departments, conversed with its Academic Secretary and heads of sections, and met Academician N. N. Inozemtsev, its Director.

## **RESEARCH TRENDS**

IWEIR research is geared to the practical tasks facing the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Soviet state. The accent is on reaping the maximum practical effects, and contributing usefully to the Party's elaboration of economic policy, the further development of political economy and of the theory of international relations.

Many of the conclusions culminating the research belong among truths born in argument. Extensively employed are such forms of collective creativity as academic discussions, theoretical conferences and topical symposia of academic councils.

What has engaged the academic collective of late and what are the objectives of its research?

The dynamics of present-day world development, the expanding inter-dependence of social processes and the sharp unexpected turns in the development of capi-

talist countries, call for scientific prognostication in economics, science and technology, social processes and the international situation. So in recent years short- and long-term prognostication of the entire range of current problems, pin-pointing the regularities and tendencies in the growth of world economics and politics has been one of the main trends of IWEIR research.

The deep involvement of the CPSU in the development of science and technology and the redoubling effectiveness of the Soviet economy in competition against capitalism, prompts the Institute to concentrating on explorations of the implications of the technico-scientific revolution, probing its character, tendencies and main economic and social consequences. Of practical value is the study of new phenomena in economic control, economic intensification, structural changes in the economy, the connection between production and consumption, the rapid growth of services and agro-industrial complexes in the capi-



talist countries. IWEIR has a department wholly devoted to the perspectives of economic growth in the capitalist countries and the two-system competition, which coordinates research with institutes dedicated to economic problems at home.

The Institute is eager to help Soviet economic and planning agencies in raising production efficiency and consummating the economic reform. A symposium was convened on its initiative, attended by the country's leading scholars, to discuss the theoretical aspects of economic effectiveness. This resulted in criticism of some of the conceptions that act as a brake on the further improvement of the quality indices of the Soviet economy.

The anti-imperialist struggle, the confrontation of the two world systems and their competition in the economic, scientific and technological areas have spurred interest in the problems of modern imperialism, its strong and weak sides, regularities and contradictions. A probe is under way of the capacity and limits of the general strategy of modern imperialism, the relation of centrifugal and centripetal tendencies in the imperialist camp, and the peculiar manifestation of inter-imperialist contradictions in our time. An analysis is in process, too, of the development of various capitalist countries and regions, the structure and activity of international monopolies, the process of imperialist integration, the credit and monetary system of modern capitalism, and the present state of the capitalist economy.

IWEIR investigations of these complicated problems complement the general Marxist studies at home and elsewhere, both in socialist and capitalist countries. The Institute has contributed extensively to the inquiry into the topical problems of the political economy of modern capitalism. Notable is its participation in the study of present-day economic crises and cycles, new aspects in the accumulation of capital and the distinctive features of modern state-monopoly capitalism.

Another research trend centers on new developments in international relations and the efforts to avert a world war. Those are the most crucial political problems of our time—a reflection of the confrontation of the two systems on the international scene, with a strong bearing on the progress and perspectives of the world revolutionary process.

A discussion was held in this connection relating to the theory of international relations, sponsored by the Institute and

its journal, *World Economics and International Relations* (Nos. 9, 11, 1969).

To be sure, that is only a beginning, one that may not be an immediate success and win universal acclaim. Science follows no charted paths; it implies search and experiment. In its quests, the Institute is impelled by a striving to sound out the regularities operative in the modern world by a wide range of means and methods.

Inquiry into the social and political structure of bourgeois society, the class struggle and the activity of Communist parties, is another sector of research, substantial in both scope and importance. The Party expects Soviet Marxist scholars of international relations to produce profound analyses of the main trends in the anti-monopoly struggle, its strategy and tactics, and the state of the working-class and democratic movement in the capitalist countries. This the IWEIR researchers regard as a lofty internationalist duty, as well as an important research objective.

Also within the field of vision are the modifications in the class structure of bourgeois society caused by the current technico-scientific revolution. Jointly with specialized institutes, IWEIR engages in investigations of the national liberation movement and the ways of development of Asian, African and Latin American countries. In this area the main weight of its research is centered chiefly on theoretical investigations of the character and peculiarities of anti-imperialist national-liberation revolutions of the present day, the efforts of young states to achieve economic independence, and the social structure and the class relationships in the developing countries.

Closely followed by IWEIR researchers is the ideological struggle on the international scene. One of their tasks is to produce grounded criticism of bourgeois economic, political and sociological theories and of the present-day Right and "Left" opportunism.

### THE FRUITS OF RESEARCH

Figures are unavoidable in this survey of accomplished work. Between 1966 and 1969 IWEIR published nearly 100 major scientific works totalling tens of thousands of pages.

More important than figures, however, is the nature of the product. IWEIR activity ranges far afield—from academic papers and notes to one-man or collective monographs—and it seems proper to mention at least some of the more weighty of



its dozens of published works: the three-volume "International Relations After World War II," the three-volume "Classes and Class Struggle in the Developing Countries" and the collectively produced monographs, "Socialist Revolution and Modern Capitalism," "The Problems of Present-Day National Liberation Revolutions," "Present-Day Cycles and Crises," and "Topical Problems of the Socio-Political Struggle in the Developed Capitalist Countries." Of interest to Communist and Workers' Parties may be such recent works as "Developing Countries in World Politics," Ed. A. A. Lavrishchev, Moscow, Nauka Publishers, 1970; "Modern Disarmament Problems," Ed. V. Y. Aboltin, Moscow, Mysl Publishers, 1970; N. D. Gauzner, "Technico-Scientific Progress and the U.S. Working Class," Moscow, Nauka Publishers, 1968; G. G. Dilligensky, "The Worker in a Capitalist Enterprise," Moscow, Nauka Publishers, 1969; O. V. Salkovsky, "Bourgeois Social Policy and the Proletariat" (based on the FRG model), Moscow, Nauka Publishers, 1969; L. A. Leontyev, "Lenin's Theory of Imperialism," Moscow, Nauka Publishers, 1969; G. I. Mirsky, "The Army and Politics in Asian and African Countries," Moscow, Nauka Publishers, 1970.

A few words, too, about some of the works still at the printer's.

To begin with, the two-volume study, "The Political Economy of Modern Monopoly Capitalism," prepared by a large group of researchers, which endeavors to pinpoint the new trends in the development of modern capitalism, to sum up the growth of the world economy in recent decades and to define in it the place of the capitalist economy. A novel approach is seen to the trends evinced in bourgeois political economy and their link with the policy of capitalist states in the book, "Bourgeois Political Economy and the Economic Policy of Capitalist Countries." A collectively prepared work, "Prognostication of Capitalist Economics (Problems of Method)," is the first attempt in Soviet literature to explore the principles of macro-economic forecasting and probe its various methods, illustrating them with concrete economic growth forecasts for the principal capitalist countries. The economic activity of the United Nations and UN specialized agencies through 1945-1970 is reviewed in another collective work, "The UN and International Economic Cooperation." Industrialization as a comprehensive process of economic reconstruction is the

topic of "The Problems of Industrialization in the Developing Countries," a treatise recently prepared by the Institute. Also recently completed is a cycle of researches into the U.S. capitalist economy.

The Institute publishes a number of periodicals: "The International Annual. Politics and Economics," the biannual review, "Economic Situation in the Capitalist and Developing Countries," the quarterly "Economic-Statistical Bulletin" and the review, "Current Problems of World Politics." The Institute's monthly, "World Economics and International Relations," is well known at home and abroad.

### INTERNATIONAL ACADEMIC CONTACTS

Joint research in the topical processes of world development by scholars of different countries has a big future. The IWEIR strives to contribute to joint Marxist investigation of world economics and international relations. Participation in international conferences at home and abroad, in capitalist as well as socialist countries, is, therefore, an essential area in the Institute's activity. During the preparations for the Lenin centenary, IWEIR took part in an international theoretical conference, "Leninism's Increasing Role in Our Time and Criticism of Anti-Communism."

The Institute cooperates with many academic institutions in other socialist countries and with various centers of Marxist thought in the capitalist world, notably the Maurice Thorez Institute in France and the Gramsci Institute in Italy. Close contacts are also maintained with our journal, *Problems of Peace and Socialism*.

In recent years the Institute helped prepare and conduct a number of important symposia of scholars and public leaders, such as the international Karl Marx and Our Time conference, (GDR); the World Conference on Vietnam (Sweden); the symposium on the problems of peace (Austria); the International Symposium on the 150th Anniversary of the Birth of Marx (France); a conference relating to the Pugwash movement; the International Conference on European Security, etc.

Cooperation with institutes and research centers of the Academies of Science of other socialist countries is expanding in various forms: exchange of academic information and printed matter, participation in symposia and academic sessions, joint publications, and exchanges of lec-



turers and scholars. That IWEIR scientific contacts follow an orderly plan is assured by the Institute's participation in the commission of multilateral cooperation by Academies of Science of socialist countries on problems of modern imperialism, and in the standing commission of multilateral cooperation by science institutions of socialist countries on European security.

The Institute has also developed extensive contacts with science centers in the capitalist countries—Austria, the FRG,

Britain, Belgium, Switzerland, India, the USA, etc.

The Institute of World Economics and International Relations is an important seat of scientific thought, engaged creatively in a wide range of relevant topics, which it studies on the sound basis of Marxist-Leninist theory. May it go from success to success.

Moscow-Prague

V. SHUNDEYEV



## ***Important document of Rumanian-Soviet friendship and cooperation***

ION CARJE

The New Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance between the Socialist Republic of Rumania and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics is an important development in the fraternal alliance between the two countries and peoples and a contribution to the unity of the socialist countries.

The Rumanian Communist Party and Government highly appreciate their friendship and all-round cooperation with the Soviet Union. That tradition goes back to the struggle for freedom and social progress waged, often in close cooperation, by the progressive revolutionary forces of our two countries. Rumanian-Soviet friendship was sealed by the blood of Rumanian and Soviet soldiers in the war against Nazism. And this friendship acquired a new content, was raised to a higher plane, in the socialist years. It rests on a firm basis: the socialist system, the Marxist-Leninist ideology, our common aims in building socialism and communism, in combating imperialism and working for peace and international security. Friendship, alliance and cooperation with the Soviet peoples, and with the peoples of all the socialist countries, has, from the very outset of popular rule, been the dominant feature of Rumania's foreign policy and international relations. And in this context, the 1948 Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance played a very significant part in promoting closer relations between our two countries.

The bilateral talks held during the recent visit to Rumania of a Soviet Party and Government delegation led by A. N. Kosygin, its meetings with workers in Bucharest and Ploesti, and the Rumanian-Soviet friendship rally, were indicative of the deep feeling of respect our peoples have for each other; indicative, also, of the close ties of friendship, cooperation and fraternal mutual assistance between the two countries, and of our Party's and government's resolve, shared by our entire people, to extend and strengthen these ties.

A Rumanian Party delegation led by N. Ceausescu visited Moscow in May and had talks with a Soviet Party delegation led by L. Brezhnev. It was agreed to work for continued extension of relations between our Parties and countries in a spirit of socialist internationalism and comradely mutual assistance in the interests of our peoples and the cause of socialism and communism. Rumanian-Soviet cooperation, which has steadily increased with the development of the two countries' economies, has proved beneficial in many different fields.

Reciprocal deliveries are increasing by approximately 30 per cent under the 1966-70 long-term trade agreement. The Soviet Union holds first place in Rumania's foreign trade, and there have been more economic, scientific, technical and cultural exchanges.

The same applies to relations between





**Signing of the USSR-Rumanian Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance in Bucharest, July 7, 1970.**

our Communist parties, with numerous delegation visits, exchange of experience and participation in discussion forums on ideological and political problems.

"We are convinced," N. Ceausescu has said, "that closer solidarity and friendship between the Socialist Republic of Rumania and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, between the Rumanian Communist Party and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, accord with the interests of both our countries and, at the same time, the interests of strengthening the socialist world system and of promoting the cause of socialism, progress and world peace. The Rumanian Communist Party and Government will continue to work for closer friendship between our Parties, states and peoples on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism."

The Treaty signed in Bucharest on July 7 opens up new vistas for such friendship and cooperation.

Speaking at the signing ceremony, Ion Maurer, Chairman of the Rumanian Council of Ministers, said: "I wish to reaffirm the conviction of our Party and Government and of the entire Rumanian people that the new Treaty will serve to deepen friendship and extend all-round cooperation between our countries and peoples. It will contribute to the unity of the social-

ist countries and the international working class and will help towards peace, security and social progress throughout the world."

Speaking on the same occasion, A. N. Kosygin, Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, emphasized that the Soviet people highly prize friendship with the Rumanian people: "It is gratifying to know that this Treaty is expressive of our countries' determination to strengthen their friendship and maximize cooperation in the political, economic, defense, scientific, technical and cultural fields."

The Treaty provides for continuation of the eternal and indestructible friendship between Rumania and the Soviet Union, for closer cooperation in the political, economic, scientific, technical and cultural fields and for an expanding exchange of experience on various aspects of socialist and communist construction. The Treaty reasserts the fundamental principles of our relations, principles that follow from the very nature of socialism. Socialist Rumania and the Soviet Union will promote cooperation "... on the basis of fraternal assistance, mutual advantage, respect for sovereignty and national independence, equality and non-interference in each other's internal affairs."

Consistent application of these princi-



ples is a precondition for closer cooperation, friendship and alliance between socialist countries and for enduring and genuine unity of the socialist world system. Accordingly, Rumania and the Soviet Union will—and this is expressly stated in Article 2 of the Treaty—extend and deepen mutually-advantageous economic, scientific and technical cooperation and joint production and technological undertakings. They will facilitate economic contacts within the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance and also with other socialist countries.

The Treaty strengthens the alliance between Rumania and the USSR. It provides that in the event of one of them being subject to armed attack by any state or group of states, the other will immediately come to its assistance with all the means at its command, including military assistance needed to repel armed attack. This is in conformity with the inalienable right to individual and collective defense under Article 51 of the UN Charter.

The new Treaty, that effective instrument of friendship and fraternal cooperation between Socialist Rumania and the Soviet Union, is also of vast international importance, since it defines the position of the two countries on a number of important international issues.

It reaffirms that "unity and cohesion of the socialist states is the chief source of the strength and invincibility of the socialist world system, the decisive force in the development of modern society." And the Treaty proclaims the resolve of the two countries to work for "closer friendship and cooperation between the socialist states and their closer unity in the interests of socialism and peace."

Unity of the socialist states is a basic factor in strengthening the socialist world system. The Rumanian Communist Party and Government have consistently and unswervingly worked to overcome existing differences and assure closer unity and cohesion. What unites the socialist countries is much stronger than their differences. The objective conditions exist for relations of friendship and cooperation between all the socialist countries. Rumania is promoting economic cooperation and mutual assistance with members of the CMEA as well as with other socialist countries in an effort to facilitate the growth of each and to strengthen the socialist world system as a whole. At the same time, Rumania is determined to discharge its obligations under the Warsaw defense treaty.

That is a component part of our policy of developing relations with all countries of the socialist world system. Friendship and cooperation with them is the central principle, the very cornerstone, of Socialist Rumania's foreign policy and our Party and government leaders have repeatedly declared that Rumania will do everything to promote relations with all socialist countries in a spirit of internationalism, complete equality and mutual respect. And we are convinced that this accords with the basic interests of the Rumanian people, their progress as a socialist nation, and with the interests of internationalism, of strengthening the socialist world system and the world unity of the socialist forces.

While regarding cooperation with the socialist countries as the pivot of its international activity, Rumania is extending relations with other countries, irrespective of their social system, on a basis of international law, and is actively participating in international cooperation. The establishment and maintenance of such relations in a spirit of peaceful coexistence is a basic demand of our age. For with the present technological revolution and the intensive exchange of material and cultural values, in which every country is interested, normal and multiform contacts among all nations of the world is an essential factor of progress; it is the material basis, in fact, of a climate of trust, cooperation and international security.

The Treaty is expressive of the overwhelming importance both countries attach to a better European climate, to peace, cooperation and good-neighborly relations and an effective European security system. Rumania is persistently working for healthy relations in Europe, for adjustment of all European issues in the interests of European and world peace and security.

In analyzing trends in European political life, our Party and Government feel that the conditions are ripe for a successful approach to the security problem and for the preparation and holding of an all-Europe conference to pave the road to security and the solution of all controversial questions. The recent Budapest memorandum of the socialist countries has stimulated interest in a security conference and has opened up new opportunities for agreement to hold it.

In the view of our Party and government, European security can be achieved through integrated measures to assure every country's security and preclude the threat or use of force, thereby enabling every na-



tion to devote its material and human resources to economic, scientific and cultural progress and the attainment of higher material and cultural standards. What is needed is for all interested states, regardless of social system, to share equally in every phase of preparing the conference. Ensuring European security is a highly complex process. It involves promoting better relations among all the countries of the continent, maintaining a climate of detente and cooperation, accepting existing boundaries, dismantling military blocs and foreign military bases and withdrawing all armed forces to national territory. These ideas, we know, enjoy wide support and are winning an ever broader segment of authoritative public opinion.

The international implications of the new Treaty reside, among other things, in the undertaking the signatory powers have given to take measures "to safeguard international peace and security against encroachment by the aggressive forces of imperialism and reaction, secure settlement of controversial issues by peaceful means, achieve general and complete disarmament, final abolition of colonialism in all its forms and manifestations, support countries that have broken out of colonial domination and are working to strengthen their national independence and sovereignty."

Rumania emphatically and actively opposes the imperialist policy of diktat and interference in internal affairs and encroachment on the freedom and security of nations. Rumania stands for stringent respect of every nation's sacred right to shape its own future. In actively campaigning for liquidation of tension and conflict centers, Socialist Rumania has consistently supported the fight of the heroic Vietnamese and other Indochina peoples against U.S. aggression, for an end to the war in this area, for withdrawal of all U.S. and U.S. satellite troops, so that the peoples of Indo-

china shall be able to solve their problems without interference.

Rumania wants to see a political settlement in the Middle East based on the November 1967 Security Council resolution, with Israeli troops withdrawn from occupied Arab territories and with due respect for the sovereignty, territorial integrity and security of all the states of the area. Our country has repeatedly expressed its convictions that the Middle East war benefits only the imperialists, and that durable peace corresponds with the interests not only of all the peoples of the Middle East, but of the entire world.

The new Rumanian-Soviet Treaty comes at a time when the anti-imperialist forces are gaining in strength, with the world strength-balance steadily changing in favor of socialism, peace and progress. The socialist countries, the working class, the Communist and Workers' movement, the peasantry, intellectuals, the young generation, women's organizations, peoples fighting to wipe out the last vestiges of colonialism and for independent development, broad sections of progressive public opinion—they all are part of the gigantic worldwide anti-imperialist democratic front capable of foiling all the aggressive plans of imperialism and of assuring the peoples peace and security. The new Treaty will help towards unity of these forces. It is expressive of the determination of both our countries to combat imperialist aggression and to work for peace and social progress.

Communists, workers, indeed the entire Rumanian people, warmly welcome the new Treaty as an instrument of friendship and fraternal mutual assistance between Socialist Rumania and the Soviet Union and of extending all-round cooperation between our Communist Parties and countries in the interests of socialism, progress and world peace.



# Reflections on British general election

(Letter from London)

JOHN GIBBONS

Perhaps the most surprising event in political life in Britain during the first half of 1970 was the wholly unexpected defeat of the Labor Party in the general election.

The Conservative Party—the party of Big Business—polled a total of 13,106,965 votes compared with 12,141,676 for the Labor Party which enjoys considerable working class and, especially, trade union support. This narrow majority yielded the Conservatives 330 seats compared with 287 for Labor. The smaller parties—Liberal, Communist, Scottish and Welsh nationalists—polled considerably fewer votes this time compared with previous elections. With the combined Labor and smaller parties vote adding up to 15,151,367 it will be seen that the country is saddled with a Conservative Government which the majority of the electorate—53.6 per cent—did not want.

Also needed if democracy is to benefit not merely the two giant Parties is greater and fairer access to television for the smaller Parties. Morning, noon and night the millions of viewers saw and heard Mr. Wilson, watched and listened to Mr. Heath, but saw relatively little of the Liberal statesmen, still less of the Scottish and Welsh nationalist candidates, and only a bare five-minutes appearance by John Gollan, the principal spokesman for the Communist Party.

While for the Conservatives their electoral success came as a surprise, indeed as a big surprise to their leaders, for Mr. Wil-

son his totally unexpected defeat was a shattering blow. The timing of the election was Wilson's. As Prime Minister and with his substantial majority in the House he could have waited until the expiry of his term of office in 1971. But with the ingrained habits of the professional politician, of the man in power, and anxious to keep his grip on power, he kept his eye on the economic and political barometers, and sure enough the day came in early summer when what for Wilson was the omen of omens emerged from the murky economic clouds that have enveloped Britain almost continuously throughout the post-war. His Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Jenkins, brought him the glad tidings of a substantial surplus on the balance of payments to the amount of £600 million.

This achievement in the national book-keeping convinced the Labor Prime Minister that with this loudly publicized achievement to his credit now was the hour to consult the electors and obtain from them the renewed vote of confidence that would give him another five years residence at No. 10 Downing Street.

No doubt his resolve to test the feeling of the electorate at this particular moment was heightened also by the favorable soundings of those oracular people who conduct the ever-proliferating Public Opinion Polls. Gallup Poll, Harris Poll, Daily Telegraph Poll and a host of other pollsters all competed in predicting a resounding victory for the Labor Party.



There can be no doubt whatever that few if any of the present generation of voters in Britain will ever again repose the slightest confidence in the Public Polls. For the error was of truly gargantuan dimensions.

The two main Parties—Labor and Conservative—fought the election on purely economic issues. And here, and understandably, Mr. Wilson played up his success in the 1969-70 financial year. True, Mr. Wilson did not relate this success to the devaluation of sterling two years earlier, and without which it could hardly have been achieved. In explaining at the time the reasons for his devaluation Mr. Wilson went out of his way to assure the worried British housewife that devaluation did not mean that the pound in her purse would lose a penny of its value. That rash statement of November 1967 was to lose the Labor Party untold numbers of housewife votes in June 1970. For long before Wilson announced the date of the election the working-class woman with the shopping basket was most painfully aware that the pound in her purse did not buy nearly as much as it did before; in fact her life nowadays is plagued with the constantly rising prices of practically every article needed in the household. And together with the ever rising prices, rents, taxes, bus fares to and from work are soaring at a phenomenal rate.

Another stain on the Government's record was its failure to reduce or wipe out the unemployment figure of 600,000—the highest unemployment since prewar days. The loudly advertised "full employment" slogan became muted during Mr. Wilson's tenure of office.

The housing famine in the country persists, yet the Government, although its record in this respect was much better than that of the Conservatives, nevertheless failed to fulfil its pre-election promise to build annually 500,000 housing units.

Judged from a strictly working class standpoint Wilson's biggest blunder was his crude Tory-like attempt to penalize the trade unions with his notorious anti-strike bill—In Place of Strife. On the face of it his effort to shackle the trade unions seemed to be tinged with a kind of madness, for without the financial and voting support of the unions the Labor Party could never contest all the constituencies.

The cherished but unrealizable dream of the British ruling class has always been to render the unions harmless by shackling them with anti-strike legislation so that

nothing should interfere with capitalist profits. The Conservatives of 1970 know only too well that any attempt on their part to cripple the unions as their fathers did in the mid-nineteenth century and again at the beginning of this century would involve them in a head-on collision with the working class. For this reason, wise with the wisdom of experience, they, most reluctantly it is true, have held back from extreme measures.

Judge then of their astonishment and of the delight in the ranks of the Conservative Party and in the Employers' Confederation of British Industry when in 1968 a Labor Government essayed to do the dirty work of "union bashing" for them. A Parliamentary Bill—In Place of Strife—a British imitation of the American Taft-Hartley Act, which envisaged penal sanctions against strikers, was proclaimed with much fanfare. But this crass action, which so warmed the hearts of the extremists in the ruling class, roused people in the unions, in the Labor Party and throughout the entire working class movement. And though the Government reversed its stand, both Wilson's advancement of In Place of Strife and his subsequent retreat from it had tarnished his reputation as statesman and labor leader. On the one hand he had lost the confidence of many in the trade unions and, on the other hand, he had come under heavy fire from the Tories who charged him with cowardice for running away from his own Bill.

One of Wilson's gambits in vote-seeking among the middle strata is his boasting that he found Marx so dull that he could never get "beyond page one of *Capital*." Certainly any stumbling by Wilson at page one of *Capital* is his affair, what is much more to the point is that in trying to get his anti-strike Bill enacted he conveyed the impression that he has yet to get beyond page one of the history of his own Labor Party. For this history tells us how the Conservatives in the early 1900's so badly burned their fingers with an anti-strike measure that by their blunder they, by accident, helped to bring into existence the Parliamentary Labor Party as we know it today. Worried by the growth of trade unionism in those days, the House of Lords, the highest appeal court in the country, confirmed a decision of a lower court, known as the Taff Vale decision, which outlawed strike action by workers to secure higher wages or to prevent the employers from lowering wages. Against this de-



cision the unions and the incipient Labor organizations contested the 1906 general election and emerged from the contest with Labor's strength in Parliament being raised from two members to thirty. And ever since that great and historic working class fight against an anti-strike measure, Labor has advanced step by step to the stage where it has been able to form Governments.

Lenin, who from his exile in Switzerland closely followed the fight around the Taff Vale decision and who rejoiced in the subsequent first big Parliamentary victory for the working people, writing in 1908 characterized this new political expression of British trade unionism as the first step towards a conscious class policy and a Socialist Workers' Party.

Wilson in June 1970 reversed the lesson of Taff Vale. Instead of safeguarding trade union rights and reinforcing thereby the Labor Party's voting strength, he, chasing the will-o-the-wisp of the floating voter, initiated anti-strike legislation and weakened his working class base and enabled the Conservative Party to come in from the wilderness for another five years of power. The Conservatives, too, are thinking in terms of "bashing the unions." Since the end of the Second World War a new feature in trade union life in the factories is the spread of works committees of shop-stewards. These committees, recognized in most cases by the national trade union bodies, act as a unifying center, especially in the multi-union big enterprises. They head the numerous brief strikes that break out daily in factories up and down the country. According to the Ministry of Labor, the number of these strikes has risen from a yearly average of 1,400 in 1946-50 to 2,700 yearly in 1962-66. In the first three months of 1970 over one thousand strikes were recorded.

It would seem that the days when a Right-wing trade union leader like a Bevin or a Deakin could denounce strikes as unofficial and do nothing to help the strikers have vanished never to return; the shop stewards, the men on the spot, men fully conversant with the complexities of wage rates and local conditions, in direct daily contact with the union membership and with the employers and their officials—these are the men fast becoming increasingly influential in providing leadership in the factories and in making union affairs more democratic. A striking example of

this extension of democracy in union life and in the closer contact between leaders and members was furnished in the national strike of Britain's dockers in July.

It is this new development in British trade unionism that impelled Mrs. Barbara Castle, who acted as Mr. Wilson's lieutenant in the futile effort to brow-beat trade unionists into accepting the ill-starred anti-strike Bill, ruefully to acknowledge that, due to the phenomenal growth of the shop stewards in numbers and influence, power in the trade union movement had now passed to the factory floor.

This development is anathema above all to the Conservative Party. And the question is: Will this new, growing and highly effective form of trade union organization at the point of production fall within the category of Mr. Heath's unconstitutional or unofficial action, or will he and his Government learn from Mr. Wilson's ghastly blunder? We shall soon know. The new Conservative Government is a Government of and for Big Business. Most of the Ministers are big shareholders in banking and industrial firms and up to the time of ministerial appointment were on varying Boards of Directors. When getting their Cabinet appointments they resigned their directorships, this being compulsory, but they retain their shareholding. Prime Minister Heath, for instance, is an ex-director of a firm of merchant bankers; Home Secretary Maudling held a number of directorships; Foreign Minister Sir Alec Douglas-Home is one of the biggest landowners in the country; Chancellor of the Exchequer Ian Macleod was at one time on the Board of Directors of Lombard Banking Co.; and so the list could be continued—bankers, industrialists, company directors and landowners, men at the top levels of the British ruling class have moved from the banks and boardrooms of the City of London to more conspicuous offices in Whitehall.

For the Communist Party, which contested 58 seats, the results of the election were disappointing. It polled just over 33,000 votes, which was much lower than in the previous election. In its election program—People Before Profits—it pointed to the real issues before the electorate. But it encountered incredible difficulties. Voters who had no great liking for the two giants—Labor and Conservative—hesitated to vote for the smaller Parties, knowing that their candidates had little chance of being elected. To vote for any one of these candidates, they held, might be a vote wasted,



and so the votes went to one of the two big Parties.

Given a system of proportional representation, instead of the present one-member constituency, the voter would have a choice of candidates and could vote in the knowledge that his vote was not being wasted. Such a system would show, much more correctly, the true feeling of the electorate and the true voting strength also of the smaller Parties and would ensure for them representation in Parliament. But a truly representative system of this kind does not suit the book of the two-Party monopoly, hence their resolute opposition to any change in the present system of voting.

In all other constituencies where there were no Communist candidates, the Party urged the electorate to vote Labor. Then there is this consideration. There are still several million working class voters in Britain who to this day still vote Conservative, that is, for the men of the big monopolies.

During his lifetime Engels frequently complained, sometimes caustically and with impatience, about this to him strange phenomenon of the British working man who at election time voted for the candidate of his exploiters. In those days the workers had little choice for the Conservative and Liberal parties monopolized Parliamentary representation. But great advances have been made since then. The British workers laid the foundations of the present Labor Party which, as they envisaged it, would act with the same militancy in the political arena as they themselves in the trade union struggle. And in 1918 they saw their Party inscribe on its banner "common ownership of the means of production, distribution and exchange." But then people came along who began to agitate for the removal of this "dangerous" call from the Party's constitution, which they regarded as a vote loser.

Now, however, local organizations of the Labor Party, shocked by the election defeat of June, are pressing the central leadership for a return to a "genuinely socialist" policy.

But the problem of several million working-class people consistently voting for the Party of their exploiters remains. How to explain the persistence of this problem?

The founding fathers, as we know, offered two explanations—one: the relatively high standard of living accruing from Britain's position as the pioneer of the in-

dustrial revolution and as the world's greatest colonial power. To this they added the British dislike of theory which, in the absence of a political party of their own, left the workers a prey to bourgeois ideological influence. And despite the vast changes that have taken place in the world the hangovers of those days are still felt. Britain is still a great trading nation, and the general growth of world trade and her economic stake in her ex-colonies, and the existence nowadays of more powerful working-class organizations have combined to maintain and improve the earlier high standard of living.

So that in this country where political life for the bulk of the population is expressed almost solely in voting in Parliamentary elections—once every four or five years—the division in voting loyalties lives on. The early leaders of the Labor Party eschewed extra-Parliamentary struggle and concentrated solely on Parliamentary action. As the years passed the Party became more and more respectable and, with the decline of the once-powerful Liberal Party, Labor attracted men, mostly middle class, whose ambition was to make a Parliamentary career. At the same time men with names famous in British working-class history—Tom Mann, Harry Pollit, William Gallacher, to mention but a few—were ruthlessly excluded from Labor Party membership. The proscription extended to the Communist Party as a whole, and to all militants generally.

This signifies that even when the workers had at long-last built their own Party, the bans imposed by its Right-wing leadership kept it immune to Marxist influence. The Labor leaders concerned themselves more with the interests of the bourgeoisie rather than those of the workers. The examples were many.

The blame for the unexpected return to power of the Conservatives does not rest with the misguided working-class voters who voted Tory. It rests with the Labor Government whose performance after six years of office belied its promises to the working people.

The failure of the Labor Party is not something peculiar to Britain. It is in line with the postwar malaise affecting practically all the Social-Democratic Parties in Western Europe. In West Germany the Social-Democrats, having abandoned socialism, are trying to prove that they, too, given office, either as part of a coalition or



independently, will "be seen to govern" the capitalists and the workers alike. And, no doubt, with the same lack of success.

After 35 years of Social-Democratic government in Sweden, Socialism is as far away as ever. In Norway, Denmark, Holland and Belgium there are splits in some Social-Democratic Parties and confusion in others as to where to go from here. In Italy and France, where the Communist Parties are now seen as the main Parties of the working class, the Socialist Parties

no longer command any great following. Throughout Western Europe the Conservative forces, now that the working people are on the march, are being forced into the position of being reformists, while the Right-wing Labor and Social-Democratic forces, having eschewed a clear working-class standpoint, find themselves competing with the Conservatives on their ground for leadership of the nation. The situation is at once a challenge to the Communists, and their opportunity.

---



# ***Armies against the people and armies with the people***

At midnight April 21, 1967, the population of Athens was awakened by the rumble of tanks and troop carriers. A few hours later government and public buildings were seized by the military. Truckloads of arrested were heading for the prisons. In one of them was Prime Minister Canellopoulos and many members of his cabinet. Early in the morning Athens radio announced that the army had seized power to "save the fatherland" (!?) and create "a state based on justice." Later that day the military junta dissolved parliament, suspended several articles of the constitution, banned all political parties and organizations and imposed a stage of siege. That was how the moderate bourgeois government, which was not to the liking of the monarchy and the reactionaries, was overthrown.

Eighteen months later, on the night of October 2, 1968, about a dozen Sherman tanks surrounded the presidential palace in Lima, the Peruvian capital. President Belaunde Terry was arrested, taken to the airport, put on a plane and flown to Argentina. In the morning the Peruvians learned that a military junta led by General Velazco Alvarado had taken over power. Its purpose, it announced, was to "set Peru on the path of national progress," wipe out "poverty, ignorance, exploitation, inequality, social injustice" and put an end to foreign tutelage.

And so, two coups d'etat following similar patterns, but with dissimilar aims. However, these can be discussed later; at the moment let us turn to statistics.

## **THE TREND**

The past decade has set a record for military coups. The list includes Algeria, Congo (Kinshasa), Nigeria, Ghana, Mali, Sudan, Libya, Somalia, Congo (Brazzaville), Syria, Iraq, Indonesia, Greece, Argentina, Brazil, Peru, Bolivia, and several

more. All told, there were more than 30 military coups over the past ten years in some thirty Afro-Asian and Latin American countries.

In Latin America, military coups are no great rarity. The continent's political history bristles with recurrent *pronunciamentos*—there were more than 500 in the past 150 years. Military intervention in politics has been more or less a tradition. Yet never before have there been so many simultaneous coups, and never before have the military acted as such a closely organized political force.

Such are the facts, and they show that what we have is not a collection of isolated fortuitous phenomena, but a definite trend: in Latin America and in the Afro-Asian countries there is a perceptible process of "politicization" of the armed forces, notably the officer corps; the army actively intervenes in politics and has often proved the decisive factor.

Understandably this is causing a good deal of disquiet. The public wants to know

## **WHAT DO THE MILITARY WANT?**

In most cases they want power. Strong men, these "little Napoleons," use the forces under their command to carry out their own "18th Brumaire." As a rule, these coups do not lead to political or socio-economic change, being confined simply to replacement of civilian power by military dictatorships using Bonapartist methods of government.

But latterly there have been more military coups expressly aimed at political change. This brings us to the substantial difference between Greece and Peru. The coups in these two countries differ radically in political orientation. How radical can be judged by comparing the record of the military regimes in Greece and Argentina, Brazil and Indonesia with those of



the military governments of Peru, Bolivia, Sudan, Libya, Somalia and Congo (Brazzaville).

Having captured power with the encouragement and support of the U.S. imperialist aggressive element, the Athens "Black Colonels" made short shrift of civil rights and freedoms, launched out on a relentless terror against democrats, banished thousands to prison and concentration camp and, of course, the first to share that fate were Communists, the most consistent fighters against tyranny. Most foreign news commentators agree that this reign of terror was meant to prevent free expression of the people's will at the polls and the advent of a government led by Papandreu and committed to a more independent foreign policy.

In Indonesia, the massacre perpetrated by the reactionary generals probably has no parallel in modern history.

Even the capitalist press, whose assessments are colored by class interests, admit that many of the military regimes are avowedly reactionary. For instance, *Newsweek* magazine notes that the military regime in Argentina has banned all political parties, dissolved parliament, restricted trade union activity and placed the country under a reign of terror.

A British paper, the *Guardian*, says developments in Brazil have been even more "fantastic." And this from the French magazine *Le Monde diplomatique*: "Like Greece and Cambodia, Brazil has become a country where human rights and democratic freedoms are being trampled upon with a contempt and cynicism one is not likely to find anywhere else in the world."

To all practical purposes, these military regimes have adopted the fascist corporate structure. They have done nothing to improve their countries' social and economic position. In Brazil, for instance, the Chilean magazine *Ercilla* writes, agrarian reform and all plans which in any way infringe on the interests of the foreign monopolies are consigned to the archives. All the evils of the old social system have been retained in Indonesia, where the parasitic stratum of the bureaucratic bourgeoisie runs the country to suit its interests, while the people continue to live in poverty. In both countries, and also in Argentina and Greece, pressing social and economic reforms have been shelved, while foreign capital is given a free hand. This naturally makes the economy more dependent on the imperialist monopolies. It is no accident that the reactionary faction in the

U.S. and other Western powers is banking on reactionary military leaders to help it save and strengthen its Third World positions in the face of a rising national-liberation movement.

The military and military-civilian governments of Peru, Sudan, Libya, Congo (Brazzaville) and a number of other countries are steering a different course and working towards goals that accord with the national interest and the hopes of the people.

Take, for example, the record of Peru's military government. It has nationalized the U.S.-owned International Petroleum Company, established diplomatic and trade relations with socialist countries, introduced agrarian reform, is placing industry under government control, concentrating on output of producer goods, limiting the flow of foreign capital, giving workers a share in management and profits, organizing a state monopoly in mining and fishing, and instituting control over currency operations and the press. These and other social and economic reforms show that the new government is combating imperialism and the U.S. subservient oligarchical elite, which impedes the country's development. "Our aim is to build a new society in which every citizen will feel himself free," President Velazco Alvarado declared, emphasizing that it was not a matter of "modernizing the old structure, but of replacing it by another, qualitatively different structure as a foundation of a new socio-economic order."

Of course, it is too early to say how this socio-economic structure will shape up. But even at this stage the policy of the Peruvian military government in many respects accords with the needs and interests of the masses. That explains why its reforms are supported by the country's progressives, indeed by the whole people. They are approved by the Communist Party, inasmuch as the government is passing from partial nationalist measures to profound structural changes of an anti-imperialist and revolutionary nature. But the Communists criticize government actions that are not in the national interests, its hesitation, and its concessions to the reactionary forces.

There has been popular support also for the anti-imperialist and democratic measures instituted by the military regimes in Bolivia, Sudan, Libya, Somalia and Congo (Brazzaville). Having realized that the capitalist path holds out no positive prospects, and complying with the



wide demand for fundamental social reform, the military governments of Sudan, Libya and Congo (Brazzaville) have set out on the non-capitalist path of development.

To this should be added that coups d'état with similar aims had been attempted by the army in several other developing countries but were unsuccessful.

And so, the facts show that in some cases the generals and colonels use the army to maintain or re-impose domination of the exploiting classes and suppress the forces of progress and democracy, while in other cases the aim is to combat imperialism and its close partner, local reaction, safeguard national interests and accelerate socio-economic progress. In other words, a class approach in assessing the social and political substance of army take-overs leads to this inescapable conclusion: some army coups are reactionary and pro-imperialist, others are democratic and progressive, to a certain extent even revolutionary.

But to say that the armies of developing countries have "bad" and "good" commanders, or reactionaries and democrats, is to say practically nothing.

### THE CAUSES

Most military coups come as a sequel to the crisis of a country's political and socio-economic structure, bankruptcy of corrupt monarchial or discredited bourgeois-democratic regimes, degradation of the ruling exploiter classes. It is no mere accident that the most used catchwords are "revolution," "reform," "social renewal," "social justice," "democracy."

This is typified by the situation in Latin America: "The characteristic feature of the present period is that all values and all the old pillars of society have been shaken. Everywhere the existing system is the target of criticism, distrust and attack."

That eloquent admission, from Agustin Edwards, president of the Inter-American Press Association, is indicative of the critical situation in many parts of Latin America. Aggravation of social, economic and political contradictions finds expression in aggravated class struggles that highlight the inability of the ruling classes and their political parties to resolve social problems and assure political stability through bourgeois reform.

Similar processes are at work in many parts of Asia and Africa, where post-independence civilian governments have failed to cope with the evil heritage of colonial

rule, break out of economic dependence on the former colonial powers, ameliorate pressing social problems, advise constructive solutions for ethnical problems and put an end to corruption in the administration.

- In these conditions of social stress and political instability there might be a certain equilibrium of class forces. And this raises the all-important question: can the progressive forces, in such situations, take over state power, or will it remain in the hands of the ruling classes? At such crucial moments the army is bound to play the part of arbiter.

The role of the army as an "instrument for maintaining the old system" (Lenin), as a weapon for suppressing democratic, and even more so revolutionary, movements, can be traced throughout the long history of exploitive societies. Cases of the army siding with the people are few and far between. That lends great importance, in our view, to the fact that military coups with progressive aims are becoming a more frequent occurrence. This is a new development and its underlying causes should be sought in the far-reaching social changes taking place in many emergent countries.

Capitalist development in Latin America and reorganization of the armed forces, the emergence of national armies in many Afro-Asian states—these and other factors have led to the rise of a new military generation which sees its mission not in maintaining the status quo, but rather in eliminating archaic structures and imperialist dependence to clear the way for social and economic progress.

Primarily this is the result of a definite change in the social composition of the senior and intermediate officer corps, which now contains men with labor backgrounds. General Velazco Alvarado belongs to that category—his childhood was one of poverty. Many young officers of the Sudanese, Libyan and Somali armies came from the people and are keenly aware of the social problems their countries have still to solve.

The rise of the anti-imperialist, democratic and liberation struggle has deeply influenced the political outlook of army officers. The more patriotic-minded have taken an anti-imperialist stand, for they have come to see that as long as imperialist dependence and reaction remain, there can be no question of effective social and economic progress.

Still another factor is the higher educa-



tional level. In this context it might be mentioned that nearly all Peruvian officers have gone through a study course at the Higher Military Research Center in Lima. Its object is to give officers closer knowledge of economic, social and political problems, since raising the country's economic potential is essential to its effective defense. It was probably with that aim in view that Peruvian officers founded the National Planning Institute in the early sixties. Higher professional skills and educational standards give servicemen a broader world outlook and make them more receptive to new ideas and to the changes in their own country and the world.

There is a process of differentiation within the officer corps. The Argentine Communist paper *Nuestra palabra* says that "every day brings out more clearly the line of division in Latin America's armies: on the one hand, there are those who want to see their countries developing independently and therefore side with the people, on the other, there are those who side with Standard Oil, with an eye to lucrative jobs in North American companies, and sanction repressions against the people."

It will thus be seen that armies siding with the people are not an accidental phenomenon or an inexplicable paradox, as bourgeois propagandists try to make out. What we have is a logical result of the process of history—new social groups and political forces are being drawn into the anti-imperialist struggle. And this is attributable to the experience of class struggle and to the work of revolutionary and democratic parties and organizations in exposing imperialism's neo-colonialist policies and the reactionary role of the oligarchical elite.

It is doubtlessly too early to draw far-reaching conclusions about the "revolutionization" of the armies. There are many facts to show that in most of them things have not gone beyond political differentiation. Furthermore, democratic trends are not always strong enough to bring the army to support progressive aims. Besides, these democratic groups are still isolated from other contingents of the anti-imperialist and democratic forces and from the general mass struggle. Lastly, even where patriotic officers do seize power, their anti-imperialist policies and socio-economic reforms are not always consistent, nor always in keeping with the vital interests of the working class and the working people as a whole.

## MARXISTS AND THE ARMY

The founders of our revolutionary theory always attached great importance to the army, noting that, in a definite conjuncture of circumstances, it can play a decisive role. Marx and Engels demonstrated that, in an exploitive society, when the state power, and consequently the army, one of its main weapons, find themselves faced by exceptional circumstances, they are inclined to set themselves apart from society, rule over it, and, Marx remarks, the state can even impair the "interests of the ruling classes."

Drawing on the experience of the class struggle, the Marxists single out as a priority task winning over the army from the bourgeoisie. In his article "The Army and the People," Lenin wrote: "The vulgar, hypocritical and false doctrine that 'the army must be 'kept out of politics' is particularly convenient for concealing the true designs of the bourgeoisie in this field" (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 11, p. 86). And in another article, "The Armed Forces and the Revolution," he wrote: "The armed forces cannot and should not be neutral. Not to drag them into politics is the slogan of the hypocritical servants of the bourgeoisie and of tsarism, who in fact have always dragged the forces into reactionary politics. . ." (Vol. 10, p. 56).

At the same time, Lenin emphasized that "discontent in the armed forces is not in itself enough to achieve success for the movement; there is also a need for direct agreement with the organized revolutionary-democratic elements in the armed forces. . ." (*Ibid.*, p. 153). And it was the persevering political work of the Russian Bolsheviks in the tsarist army and the revolutionary program they presented to the soldiers, that led to a considerable part of the army siding with the people, which in no small degree determined the victorious outcome of the proletarian revolution in Russia.

It stands to reason that the Communists are not indifferent to what side the armed forces take at the decisive moment of the liberation struggle. That is why they consider it a priority task to win over the patriotic and democratic elements in the army and bring them into the popular front of national liberation. This is how the task is seen by the Communist Party of Argentina: "Communists and other democratic and patriotic forces must help representatives of democratic and patriotic



trends in the armed forces to realize that by standing apart from the people they will come to counter-revolution, that acting behind the backs of the people they will achieve nothing useful for Argentina. . . ." And there is this statement by Abdel Khalek Mahgoub, General Secretary of the Sudanese Communist Party: "The problem is to bring the government close to the people and win dependable support for its policy among broad sections of Sudan's population." Rodney Arismendi, First Secretary of the Communist Party of Uruguay, has rightly remarked that an army without the people's support cannot attain its revolutionary aims, nor can a people that does not strive to win over and bring into its ranks patriotic elements in the army.

A detailed analysis of the motive forces

of the anti-imperialist movement in Asia, Africa and Latin America led last year's International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties to emphasize that "patriotic and democratic trends are gaining ground in the armed forces of some countries."

This article lays no claim to an exhaustive analysis of the problem, which is now attracting keen public attention. Its only purpose is to illustrate certain manifestations of progressive trends in the armed forces of Third World countries. And this is a significant development, a new characteristic feature of the national liberation movement. And, to quote Engels, ". . . if a new dawn is rising in the army, then the end of the old world should not be too far away."

Jan PRAZSKY



# ***Tropical Africa: its parties and the problem of democracy***

R. DOMENGER, A. LETNEV

Complicated and far-reaching changes generated by deep-going socio-economic flux are under way in Tropical Africa, with progressive reconstruction reaching far out into the economic and political life of society.

The diversity of economic patterns in countries of Tropical Africa determines the diversity of existing political arrangements. The distinguishing feature of the ruling political parties, which differs in many ways from the traditional bourgeois parties in European and American capitalist states, is an intertwining of diverse political philosophies. The conflicting elements in their activity are numerous. Yet they represent the political energy of peoples delivered but yesterday from the colonial yoke, and it is, hence, anything but a matter of indifference for progressives where these parties will head, where they will direct the vigor and energy of the peoples they represent. Neither can we overlook the fact that the imperialists and their ideologues are redoubling their efforts to divert them from the progressive path, to undermine their confidence in opposing neo-colonialism and reaction. Among the gambits used are "digressions" into past history. To what and to whom the African parties owe their existence is, therefore, a question of the utmost relevance—and not for historians only.

## **EMERGENCE OF PARTIES IN TROPICAL AFRICA**

Parties in the developing countries are the focus of an acute ideological struggle between the friends and foes of progress

and independence. Bourgeois writing on this score betrays a curious detail. Almost all authors feel constrained to recall that in Africa parties burgeoned on the soil of bourgeois parliamentarism, ostensibly transplanted to the colonies on the initiative of the metropolitan countries and assimilating satisfactorily in the "tropical climate." That, for one, is the view of J. Coleman and F. G. Snyder, two U.S. sociologists, and the French sociologists Professor L. Hamon and A. Blanchet. Their approach leads to the conclusion that Africa owes her parties to the capitalist West and that for them success is inconceivable unless they abide by the principles of bourgeois democracy.

It is foolish to deny out of hand the link between the present-day African parties and bourgeois parliamentary institutions. Bourgeois parliamentarism evidently did accelerate the birth of parties in the colonies. Accelerate, but not originate. The crux is that far-reaching socio-economic flux set in in Africa during the inter-war period and especially after the Second World War, producing a fundamentally new setting for the anti-colonial struggle and enabling progressive elements to league together in political organizations.

Marxism and Marxists in Africa and the metropolitan countries played a prominent part in fashioning the outlook of many an African leader working for his country's liberation. Bourgeois propagandists can hardly deny, and even find it difficult to gloss over, the hard work performed by metropolitan Communists and democrats in fashioning advanced views in the colonies.



Quite undeniable, for one, is the influence of the French Communist Party and the General Confederation of Labor of France on the maturation of progressive national forces in Francophonic Tropical Africa and Madagascar. The experience of the international working-class movement and the successes of socialist states prompted many African intellectuals to study Marxism-Leninism — individually in some cases and collectively in others. Marxist study groups formed under the auspices of the French Communist Party after the Second World War proved a fruitful form of collective study, with French Marxists and African democrats jointly examining the key African problems in the light of Marxist-Leninist theory. Subsequently, with the groups fusing with other progressive organizations, there emerged forward-looking political parties, such as the Democratic Party of Guinea, the Sudanese Union of Mali, the Democratic Movement for Malagasi Renovation, etc. Just as undeniable is the influence of the Communist Party of Great Britain on the activists of the West African Students' Union (founded in London in 1925), some of whom have played a distinguished role in the political life of countries such as Ghana and Nigeria.

### **BASIC FEATURES OF PRESENT-DAY AFRICAN PARTIES**

Reverting from past history to the present, Western bourgeois observers endeavor to classify the parties. For this, they break them down—as bourgeois sociology is wont to do—into mass and professional (elite) parties (Thomas Hodgkin, R. Shachter-Morgenthau, and others). By the former they mean those striving to enlist a large following, formulate a program, fashion a strong organizational structure and build up a nucleus of activists whereas the latter have no program, no organizational pillars, are amorphous bodies with a backbone comprising members of the traditional “elite” (spiritual and lay aristocrats, chiefs and elders). This approach over-accentuates secondary criteria (size of membership, method of organization) and obscures the class criterion, the crucible of any scientific classification.

To obscure the class criterion is, indeed, the purpose of applying the concept of mass and elite parties to the African political scene. In Tropical Africa many still deny the existence (even the possibility)

of classes, and scorn the idea of political parties having a class basis. These deniers of classes fall into two unequal categories. The first, negligible in number but influential in parties and governments, know perfectly well that society is no longer classless, but refuse to give up their idealized notion of Africa, since acknowledgement of classes is acknowledgement of the demands to abolish privileges which they so often unblushingly enjoy, is acknowledgement of historical materialism.

The second category (numerically preponderant) are people honestly unaware that the parties of which they are members have ceased or are ceasing to reflect the interests of the anti-imperialist front as a whole and have either become the handmaidens of a burgherized bureaucratic upper crust or, conversely, are groping for a scientific understanding and advancement of the interests of the working majority.

Western bourgeois sociology goes out of its way to equip the first category ideologically and to disarm the second. And the contention of mass and elite parties serves this dual aim to a tee, furnishing arguments for demagogues and diverting the honestly misled from the substance of the matter — the class basis of political struggle.

However, the soil is slipping from under the feet of the makers of rigged classifications. Class differentiation is in process throughout Tropical Africa. The lines are drawn more clearly. Admittedly, with but a few exceptions, it is still too early to regard African parties as representing the interests of some specific class. It is more proper to say that they express the interests of one or another coalition of class forces. The combinations differ. A party might serve the national bourgeoisie and the non-comprador segment, or the national bourgeoisie and feudal elements, or the peasants and the urban petty bourgeoisie and feudal elements, or the peasants and the urban petty bourgeoisie, etc. None but the parties and organizations of the working class, the role of which in economic and political matters is swiftly expanding, have clear-cut, consistently class positions.

### **“INDIGENOUS FORMS” OF DEMOCRACY**

The student of social processes in present-day Tropical Africa is bound to spot the tendency toward “thought autonomy”



among many of the ideologues and politicians of the liberated countries. It derives from the long material and spiritual colonial and racial oppression, an important factor of a historico-psychological order. One appreciates the African ideologues' wanting to destroy the survivals of the racist myth about the "mental insufficiency of the Negroid race" and contribute to man's spiritual civilization. Not always, it is true, does this striving manifest itself in genuinely scientific terms. All too often it exaggerates the African identity, combining with an arbitrary interpretation of the historical experience of non-African peoples.

Bourgeois ideologists are quick to seize upon, and to encourage, everything smacking of African peculiarity and self-identity. But far be it from us to ascribe this to genuine encouragement of African nationalism. To exaggerate uniqueness is profitable, because, in a way, it provides a theoretical basis for the idea that class struggle and revolutionary development are inapplicable to the African scene.

By encouraging the appropriate concepts, bourgeois scholars and propagandists also hope to kill two birds with one stone — parading as "selfless" friends of the New Africa.

For one thing, they take a favorable view of the "dominant party" concept that gained currency in Senegal in the early sixties, championed, among others, in the works of G. d'Arboussier. As he sees it, to view a party as a political organization with a necessarily firm ideological foundation and expressive of the interest of some class, is utter fallacy. For Africa, he holds, parties that dominate and do not guide society on behalf of one class, are more suitable.

What, in his view, is a dominant party, what is its role in society? D'Arboussier maintains that the difference between a dominant and unitarian party is that the latter, the membership of which comprises but a fraction of the population, dominates all spheres of life, whereas a dominant party represents the bulk of the population and submits to the operation of a system wrought by the people as a whole and expressed through the constitution.

Opting for the "dominant party" concept, Senegal theorists justify their choice by the wish to assure democracy. But what democracy? The concept in question is, in effect, an abortive attempt to "synthetize"

elements of bourgeois democracy and socialist democracy.

West European anti-Marxist commentators are undeterred by this contradiction. For them it is important to back the African ideologues' search for a "third way," which, they reckon, will lead deviously back to capitalism. In practice, the dominant party concept justifies, or could justify, suppression of any opposition to capitalism. (The "dominant party," as d'Arboussier sees it, naturally dominates all other parties). Eliciting his approval, French publicist E. Milcent avers, for example, that it is closer to the Western rather than the Marxist standpoint, because, ostensibly, it is moved by concern for "democratic order." In the final count all bourgeois speculation relating to the "African identity" boils down to outspoken anti-communism. Marxists are portrayed as scholasts and dogmatists incapable of understanding Africa.

#### ONE-PARTY SYSTEM — TARGET OF WESTERN CRITICISM

Little remains of the bourgeois West's patronizing attitude to the "African identity," however, once matters touch on the one-party system. The earliest signs of displeasure came at the end of the fifties and the early sixties, when young African politicians displayed their aversion to some of the inescapable attributes of bourgeois democracy, among them political pluralism.

The emergence of unitarian systems in some countries of Tropical Africa was predicated by home and foreign conditions. The peril of imperialist expansion and neo-colonialism made it imperative to unite all classes and strata, and the coinciding interests of all segments of the still insufficiently differentiated society in consolidating political and working for economic independence spurred the emergence of one-party regimes. And that seems to be the case until the proletariat and the national bourgeoisie step on to the political scene with their own, distinctive slogans.

How do the African capitals justify the one-party system? Usually, they point out that no ex-colony can wipe out backwardness, unless it concentrates the nation's efforts, mobilizes all its energy, on grand constructive projects. There is one thing the leaders of many countries in Tropical Africa have learned from their acquaint-



ance with the multi-party systems in the capitalist states: these are incapable either of generating rapid economic and social growth or of facilitating national consolidation.

It is quite true, too, that no examples exist of any country with numerous rival parties, preoccupied chiefly with fighting for mandates, ever rapidly eliminating economic and cultural backwardness. Hence, the reasons for rejecting the multi-party bourgeois model are more than weighty—in some cases for pragmatic considerations (absence of a constructive aspect; poor, if not totally non-existent, efficiency of the bourgeois parties in the economic sphere), in others for considerations of principle (capitalism being unacceptable as a system), and in some a combination of both.

It is naive to think a stereotype exists for the political organization of a society to be followed in any circumstances. Choice of concrete political forms and mechanisms depends on the specific situation. In some cases the one-party system is a good thing, in others unjustified. Marxist scholars of Africa base their conclusions on the class criterion. The one-party regimes, they point out, differ in class content from country to country. In some, the one party has become the vehicle of a broad coalition of democratic and patriotic forces oriented against imperialism and, what is more, capitalism. In others, the one-party slogan is demagogically exploited, while the party is, in effect, a tool of the local bourgeoisie and feudals.

Past experience shows that in the developing African countries the one-party regime is bound to impose certain restrictions on democracy in the initial phase. The neo-colonialist peril, resistance of home reactionaries, ethnic conflict, the low cultural level and general political ignorance, coupled with communal, religious and caste prejudice—all these factors objectively retard democratization. To some extent this explains the gravitation towards excess centralization, not short of national leaders being proclaimed life chairmen of the party, and the like.

In the perspective of history, restrictions on democracy may act as serious obstacles to social progress, unless the unitarian governing party anticipates the danger. Where this danger was overlooked in the past, serious consequences regrettably ensued. Some regimes have paid dearly for the seeming singleness of the party and its consequent drift away from the masses.

Suffice it to recall the lessons of the Convention People's Party of Ghana and Mali's Sudanese Union. Of interest in this connection, we feel, is the analysis of the Ghana events in T. Otegbeye's article in a previous issue of this journal (No. 8, 1970). Paying due tribute to the devoted struggle of these progressive parties against imperialism and neo-colonialism, we should also pinpoint their weaknesses. It will be recalled that a military coup occurred in Ghana in February 1966, and in Mali in November 1968. In both cases, the progressive regimes were overthrown, evoking jubilation in imperialist quarters that had extended direct support. Both examples lead to the following conclusion: the stability of progressive one-party regimes, their capability in socio-economic reconstruction, depend largely on the support of the masses and the democratic initiative of working people. Failing this, imperialists make the most of their weaknesses and plot their downfall.

Bourgeois exponents of political pluralism charge exponents of the one-party system with totalitarianism, dictatorial proclivities, suppression of democratic freedoms, and the like. At best, they accuse the African one-party systems of being authoritarian or oligarchic. Despite the sham impartiality of this criticism, it is easily seen to be aimed primarily against the progressive one-party states for having departed from the "time-hallowed" bourgeois canons, for turning their backs on the bourgeois absolutization of the concept of democracy, and for interpreting it as freedom from exploitation and a powerful instrument of marshalling the people's energy against imperialism. The champions of "absolute" and "pure" democracy in the newly-liberated countries have, it is true, on occasion also taken a swipe at the pro-Western one-party regimes, but in a much more subdued way.

A more cautious Western approach to the one-party system in Africa came into evidence in the mid-sixties. This, because calling African leaders to order and imposing bourgeois criteria of democracy yielded none of the expected results. The tactics had to be changed—a fact, by the way, also associated with political considerations: the imperialists' eagerness to keep intact inter-state relations with the one-party regimes, no matter what their orientation.

As a result, bourgeois historians and sociologists are no longer inclined to make



a fetish of the traditional criteria of bourgeois democracy. U.S. researcher D. Dodge, for example, says she failed to find in the African one-party states some of the typical features often ascribed to authoritarian or totalitarian party systems, while the French bourgeois writer, J. Alibert, concedes the existence of a "unitarian non-totalitarian democracy" in Tropical Africa. A few years ago these views would have been rank heresy in the West.

It may be interesting to compare two international congresses of students of Africa. At the first (Accra 1962) Western delegates did not disguise their aversion to unitarianism, while at the second (Dakar 1967) they nimbly glossed over the matter.

Developing their concept of African democracy, bourgeois ideologists criticize pro-capitalist, as well as revolutionary African parties. In the case of the former, they want to speed their "political maturation" so they will be able to defend the capitalist way on their own. The latter are attacked with the object of disarming them ideologically and isolating them from world socialism. In both cases the aim is to transform the parties along the classical bourgeois lines with all the implications this entails. In other words, bourgeois scholars invite African parties and the countries they lead to take the capitalist way, though how they go about it is anything but direct.

For years, capitalist Europe and America have had to deal with national parties in the dependent countries. But it is novel for them to have to shape strategy and tactics to suit the exigency of dealing with parties headed by revolutionary democrats and representing the interests chiefly of laboring elements. The leaders of these parties accept and try to apply some of the propositions of scientific socialism to their practice and to learn from the world experience of socialist construction. The main efforts of bourgeois science and propaganda, therefore, are centered on ideological indoctrination of progressive parties. The various political constructions are addressed chiefly to revolutionary democrats, to divert them at all costs from the socialist orientation.

Laying the foundations of a new society, revolutionary democrats are naturally prone to ideological evolution. Their Left wing espouses Marxist-Leninist views, and the interest they show in Marxism-Leninism, the steps they take to use it in prac-

tice, speak of far-reaching changes in the liberation movement.

The entire continent heeds the voice of the revolutionary democrats. The peoples in newly-liberated countries, progressives the world over, fondly follow the radical social reconstruction in the progressive states, welcoming their eagerness to extend ties of friendship with the socialist countries and to move to the forefront in the struggle against imperialism, neo-colonialism and racialism, for an independent, progressive Africa.

### PROBLEMS OF PARTY STRUCTURE

It may be too early to answer many of the questions arising in the life of the African people, but not too early to draw some more general conclusions.

The economic diversity, the as yet uncompleted process of class differentiation, the variety and relative breadth of the social basis in the political life and the parties of Tropical Africa, result in the fact that "party" and class limits mostly fail to coincide. Most parties have no distinctive class allegiances. Their composition is volatile. Alongside veterans of the anti-colonial struggle, the true patriots, they have people who had once "fought shy of politics," people even who had been the darlings of the former colonial administration. Political heterogeneity is, in fact, one of the main weaknesses of the African parties, including the progressive ones.

Ethnic and caste factors, too, leave an imprint. Formation of nationalities, to say nothing of nations, is still under way in many countries. And the impact of pre-bourgeois, frequently still tribal, forms of nationalism, is still great. As a rule, the parties rest on a definite ethnic foundation. And despite official objections, favoritism or, conversely, discrimination, still arise for ethnic reasons.

In the case of many parties, the ideological platform is eclectic. The outlook of party ideologues, who often monopolize the right of interpreting social processes, frequently presents an intricate jumble of communal egalitarianism and the petty-bourgeois notion of the primacy of distribution over production. Christian dogma mingles with that of the Sharia, and Right-Socialist doctrine with elements of scientific socialism. Views publicly set out by leaders sometimes replace party programs. And by reason of cultural backwardness and only an embryonic civic awareness, the mass



often backs the person of the leader, rather than his political platform. This can be exploited by reactionary leaders, and often is, to abuse the people's trust.

In Western countries the national bourgeoisie did not begin to storm the fortresses of political power until it was economically strong enough. In Tropical Africa, the governmental, party and parliamentary bureaucracy frequently uses political power to attain economic strength. Hence the striving of the rising bourgeois class in Africa to hang on to offices in government and party machinery at any price. The social support of the parties that have degenerated into obedient tools of the burgherized bureaucrats, is extremely unstable, as evidenced by the indifference displayed by the party rank-and-file to the overthrow of governments by military coups d'etat.

The one-party systems in Tropical Africa, as we see it, require a differentiated approach. Beyond question, independent parties will emerge in countries where the class differentiation process has run its course, with a full-fledged bourgeoisie, a working-class and a class of peasants, a petty bourgeoisie and progressive strata, with struggle in train for deep-going anti-capitalist reconstruction. Not to be ruled

out, however, in the case of these countries, are progressive anti-imperialist, anti-capitalist one-party regimes. In the final count, the number and diversity of parties does not matter; what matters more is the interests they promote and how they go about it. The essence of democracy does not hinge on the number of parties. Democracy depends on how fully the party or parties reflect the interests of the majority of working people, leaning on them, fighting actively against imperialism and carrying forward progressive socio-economic reconstruction.

The peoples of Africa are building a new life. They face complicated problems in their economic, social and cultural advancement. These will not be solved overnight. Organized effort, a purposeful planned approach and political guidance of the masses are all imperative. Yet the trust of the masses, which guarantees political success and hence the success of the cause, will not be earned unless the party in question has an effective program and fights for it in the interest of the people, rallying them for participation in the life of the state and moulding them into increasingly conscious architects of their own future.



## ***Harbingers of freedom***

The stillness of the savannah is broken by the drone of helicopters—made in West Germany and bearing Portuguese markings—slowly circling over the village as they choose their target. American made napalm bombs crash into the huts, burning their inhabitants, and spreading the flames across the savannah to the nearby wood . . .

That has become a way of death in areas where the people are striving to break out of colonial bondage. And one of these areas is Portuguese-held Africa, the scene of a popular fight for national independence.

Dozens of African countries have won independence since the war. But Angola (population 5.3 million), Mozambique (7.1 million), Guinea-Bissau (600,000), the Cape Verde Islands (200,000), St. Thomas and Principe (about 70,000) are still under Portuguese domination. Though the UN Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples was adopted 10 years ago, all these areas are still subjected to colonial oppression, and the imperialists are doing everything they can to keep it that way. They grossly ignore the numerous General Assembly and other UN resolutions condemning Portugal for denying their peoples the right to self-determination. This is the answer of Portugal's new dictator, Marcelo Caetano: "Self-determination cannot be expressed by scraps of paper (ballots) put into the hands of savannah savages." And his answer to the justified demand for freedom is to spend most of Portugal's budgetary appropriations on maintaining a force of 122,000 in what the fascist regime has designated as Portugal's "overseas provinces." They are administered from Lisbon which appoints all the officials, and the results of that administration and of ruthless exploitation, are spelled out in these facts and figures:

- in Angola, the white settler averages 60 times more land, and of better quality, than the African;
- an unskilled worker earns about one-tenth of the family cost of living minimum, and death from starvation is no rarity;
- Mozambique farm workers earn an average of 18 cents a day;
- in Angola, the most developed of the colonies, every third infant dies at birth;
- the average life span in Angola is 28-35 years;
- more than 90 per cent of the native population are illiterate.

### **NATO ASSISTANCE**

Portugal, Western Europe's most backward country, is still fully dependent on foreign capital. Why, then, has it been able to hold onto its extensive colonial territories while its stronger



**Liberation fighter giving the V for Victory sign.**



**Liberation fighters on the march.**



**Outpost**



brethren, the British, French, Belgian and other colonialists, have been ejected from Africa? The answer, paradoxical as it may seem, is that Portugal's economic weakness does not allow it to shift to new forms of colonial exploitation. The fascist regime is straining every ounce of energy to win the colonial war, and in this has the unreserved support of its NATO allies.

Last year's International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties noted that imperialism had become more active in a number of African countries in an attempt to halt the liberation movement and to shore up its colonial positions. Backed by NATO, the Portuguese colonialists are trying to retain their possessions by force of arms.

There need be no doubt that Lisbon would long since have lost its colonies, were it not for the all-round support its fascist regime is receiving from the leading imperialist powers. Far from carrying out the UN General Assembly decision urging all member states to exert pressure on Portugal by breaking off diplomatic relations, instituting a tight trade boycott, etc., the NATO nations are steadily and consistently increasing their contact with Portugal and have a direct part in its war against the people of Angola, Guinea-Bissau and Mozambique.

Portugal was admitted to NATO on United States' proposal. What motivated the U.S. and the other Western powers is clearly explained by an American author, Olive Holmes, in the journal *American Perspective*: "The strategic location and the overseas possessions constitute for the Western Powers Portugal's admission card to the North Atlantic Treaty. The Azores, island pinpoints in the Mid-Atlantic, provide an important fueling, repair and communications base for American civil and military aircraft . . . The harbors and African territories of Portugal, especially Mozambique, the principal outlet for the strategic minerals of the Rhodesian hinterland, constitute a vital concern of British strategy and colonial economy."

The West German *Die Welt* points to another advantage for NATO: "Portugal's strategic position and *confidence in a stable political climate* make the Atlantic coast an important base for the United States" (italics added). In short, the fascist regime in Lisbon was no obstacle to Portugal's NATO membership. If anything, the Western powers consider it a valuable positive factor.

From the very start of its war against the African people, Portugal equipped its army with weapons supplied by its NATO allies. The list is a long one—F-84 and F-86, Fiat G-91, Lockheed, Dornier and many other makes of aircraft, napalm and phosphorous bombs labelled "Made in USA," a naval flotilla made up partly of ships contributed by NATO.

The Western powers, of course, deny any military involvement in the war against the national liberation movement. Every consignment of arms to Portugal carries the proviso that they will be used only on Portuguese soil, only for defensive purposes and only within the framework of the North Atlantic Treaty. But Lisbon has made no great secret of the fact that these armaments are being used in Africa for, the Portuguese leaders argue, Angola, Mozambique and Guinea-Bissau are "overseas provinces" where Portugal is defending NATO interests against the "Communist menace." This piece of cynical casuistry suits both sides and creates a semblance of NATO non-involvement.

There is this example: In 1968, West German Minister Hans-Juergen Wischnewski told Amilcar Cabral, leader of the Guinea-Bissau national liberation movement, that West Germany would not supply arms for Portugal's colonial war. The facts point the other way: West Germany is building three warships for Portugal, whose spokesmen have said that they will be used for "anti-insurgency" operations in Africa. In June 1969 a Portuguese magazine, *Revista da Marinha*, wrote: "These corvettes will be provided with helicopters and will be equipped for prolonged duty overseas in order to support our fleet units of patrol and landing craft, as well as to fulfil various patrol tasks over there."

Besides supplying Portugal with weapons, the Western powers are training its officers, giving them the benefit of their rich experience in fighting popular liberation movements. Portuguese general de Oliveira is engagingly frank on the subject: "The Portuguese General Staff has worked out a modern system of fighting the guerrillas which American, French and British military critics regard as highly efficient. It has transformed our entire strategy. We are drawing not only on the strong points of French experience in Indochina and North Africa, but also on the methods the German Abwehr employed against the French and Russian Resistance" (italics added). The cannibalistic methods



of Hitler's Abwehr are now, a quarter of a century after Hitler's defeat, being revived and employed by the Portuguese colonialists with the blessing of the Western "democracies."

Some high-ranking NATO spokesmen have sought to dissociate the organization from the Portuguese colonial war and all its crimes. But no one is being fooled. For there are ample facts to show that the aggressive North Atlantic Alliance is giving Lisbon direct assistance. Portugal's NATO membership is being used as a screen to conceal this and all the unsavory things it entails.

### MONEY FROM THE MONOPOLIES

U.S. spokesmen have repeatedly expressed their concern for retaining Portugal's domination over these territories. And with good reason: the Azores are one of the biggest U.S. Atlantic war bases; copper from the Portuguese colonies goes into the weapons used against the Vietnamese, and oil means huge profits for the U.S. monopolies.

The biggest of these operating in Portuguese Africa, Gulf Oil, began prospecting in Angola in the mid-fifties, when the rise of the liberation movement in Asia and Latin America endangered America's traditional sources. Since then large deposits have been discovered in the Cabinda enclave, and by the end of this year output will be running at 150,000 barrels a day.

It did not take the U.S. monopolies long to rig up a deal with the Portuguese colonial overlords. The Gulf Oil contract gives Portugal an option on an unspecified amount of Cabinda oil, which means that it will no longer have to import Middle East oil for its war machine. In fact, it can export oil to racist South Africa, its supporter in suppressing African liberation. Besides, Portugal is being paid handsome royalties; about \$20 million a year, about half the Angolan budget allocation for the anti-liberation war.

But it's a two-way deal. The Gulf contract stipulates that the Portuguese government "agrees to undertake such measures as may be necessary to ensure that the company may carry out its operations freely and efficiently, including measures to permit the company the use of and free access to public land and such measures as may be necessary to prevent third parties (meaning the insurgent people) from interfering with the company's free exercise of its contractual rights." Accordingly, the

Portuguese authorities have agreed "to provide military guards to protect the oil fields." The oil camps are surrounded by eight-foot barbed wire and spotlights; machine guns guard the oil against its real owner, the Angolan people.

The Gulf operation is not confined to producing oil in Angola. In Mozambique, it exploits the huge butane deposits and is building a pipeline to South Africa. A full list of other U.S. concerns coining profits from this colonial goldmine would take up too much space. But mention should be made of some of the bigger ones: Allis Chalmers with nine subsidiaries producing ore concentrates; Singer, which has practically cornered the market for sewing machines and other appliances; Anglo-American Corporation (fishing, groundnuts, minerals); Standard Oil of New Jersey (60-year oil concession in Guinea-Bissau); Diversa of Dallas (20,000 sq. mile oil and diamond concession). There is an American representative on the board of directors of the Angola Diamond Company, whose net profit is four times greater than the total wages of its 25,000 workers.

Leading West German concerns have large investments too. Trade between West Germany and Angola increased by as much as one-third last year, largely through expansion of Krupp's mining interests.

Other countries with sizable investments are Britain, France, Belgium and Japan. Western monopolies invested \$800 million in Angola and Mozambique over the past eight years and intend to put in another \$500 million in the next few years.

The ambitious Cabora Bassa hydropower project is symbolic of the imperialists' effort to harden their position in Portuguese Africa. This huge complex at the Cabora Bassa gorge on the Zambesi River in Tete province, Mozambique, will have a 303-metre-long and 155-metre-high dam across the Zambesi to feed five generating units producing 45 billion kwh a year. How will the electricity be used? First, it will be exported to South Africa and Rhodesia and this, doubtlessly, will shore up their reactionary regimes. Second, it will be used for more intensive exploitation of Mozambique's iron ore and other deposits. Third, the sprawling reservoir will irrigate more than 1,500,000 hectares, all of which will be farmed by white settlers. Fourth, the Zambesi will become navigable, providing racist Rhodesia with a convenient waterway to the sea. And Rhodesia is reciprocating by supplying much of the needed ma-



terial and labor power, which, incidentally, will strengthen its economic position.

In short, the Cabora Bassa project, which could be immensely beneficial to the country and its people, will only serve to heighten exploitation of the Africans and strengthen the economic and political positions of the imperialist powers and the African racist regimes. Little surprise, then, that the Mozambique people and progressive organizations in other countries are vehemently protesting against this colonialist scheme. And the protest is bearing fruit: yielding to public pressure, the Italian, Swedish and British companies have withdrawn from the consortium.

Mozambique patriots are fighting in Tete province, and there need be no doubt that their voice will carry the most weight in deciding the fate of the Cabora Bassa venture.

### ARMED STRUGGLE

The movement for independence and sovereignty arose shortly after World War II. Of course, the Portuguese colonialists have no intention of granting any of the people's demands. Their tactic has been one of outright repression: 49 striking dockers were shot in Mozambique in 1956; 50 dockers were shot in Guinea-Bissau in 1959; in 1960 Angolan police opened fire on a peaceful demonstration protesting against the arrest of the regime's opponents — 30 were killed, 200 wounded, two villages razed to the ground; in the same year the police attacked 500 unarmed protesters in Mueda, Mozambique.

These and similar terror actions have not checked the spread of the national liberation movement. For, as the Paris *Le Monde* remarked, "armed struggle is the only possible means open to them after several years of vain attempts at legal protest."

The first to take up arms were the Angolans, and the first battles occurred in 1961. Since then armed units led by the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) have liberated one-third of the country. The MPLA slogan *A vitoria e certa* (Victory is certain) has become the battle-cry for final elimination of colonial rule.

The armed struggle in Guinea-Bissau began a year later. Led by the African Party for the Independence of Guinea and the Cape Verde Islands (PAIGC), it has scored major victories and PAIGC now controls about two-thirds of the country.

In Mozambique, the Mozambique Libera-

tion Front (FRELIMO) began operations in 1964 and has liberated the two northern provinces which account for one-fifth of total area.

"At first the struggle was confined to small guerrilla detachments," Armando Panguene, leader of the Mozambique revolutionary youth told the *World Marxist Review* correspondent. "Groups of five or six would ambush the enemy on the roads or carry out lightning attacks on Portuguese military posts. The method was to send in a hail of bullets and grenades and then withdraw to the jungle. In those days we had only 250 fighters. Things are different today, we have an army of over 20,000 and friendly socialist countries supply us arms, including artillery. Our operations are on a bigger scale and more effective. We are liberating new areas, capturing prisoners and arms and other supplies."

"What are FRELIMO's immediate aims?"

"The main task now is to increase the size of our armed forces, carry the war into every part of occupied territory, consolidate the political and economic structure of liberated districts, where we are making a special effort to heighten the people's political understanding and improve their conditions."

The patriotic armed forces have the unqualified support of the masses who see in them devoted champions of their interests. In the freed areas of Mozambique, Angola and Guinea-Bissau, the army looks after the people—it starts publicly-owned industries to produce needed goods, schools for both children and adults many of whom enter a classroom for the first time; medical centers, something unknown here; helps the peasants in the fields, teaches them to handle fire-arms and the tactics of guerrilla warfare. And peasants join the liberation army to defend the land drenched with the sweat and blood of their fathers and



Work on rice paddies in liberated area of Guinea-Bissau.



grandfathers. Youngsters learn to read and write and to become active fighters for freedom.

The situation is described in this despatch in *Le Monde* of June 27: "What is now taking place in the liberated areas is virtually changing the very image of Africa: children learning to read and write (99.7 per cent illiterate in Guinea in 1950; 250 schools in the liberated areas in 1970); emancipated women working in the village committees; soldiers of one nationality fighting for the interests of other nationalities; peasants joining the struggle; more crops being planted; no racialism towards whites, the best proof of which is treatment of prisoners, who are shipped off to Portugal through the Red Cross (this is also evidence of a high level of political consciousness, the result of painstaking education). What we are witnessing is the birth of three new countries, which, by rebuilding the devastated villages, are learning to wage this unavoidable war and to prepare for independence."

The Portuguese colonialists know that the patriotic forces have the full support of the people. That is why they are maneuvering in an effort to maintain themselves in power. In April 1969, during a short visit to Bissau, the capital of Guinea, dictator Caetano appealed for reconciliation, offering an "honorable peace" to all who want a "better Guinea under the Portuguese flag." There were no takers: no patriot had any respect for the Portuguese flag. Nor does the dictator feel safe under its folds—he did not venture out of the city, for the Portuguese command could not guarantee his security. In fact, he was told that "only a miracle can change the situation."

No miracle will help — the Portuguese overlords are faced by the irreversible reality of a fighting people, of condemnation by world democratic opinion and fraternal solidarity with the national liberation movement.

"We are going through crucial times," Marsellino dos Santos, deputy chairman of FRELIMO told *World Marxist Review* correspondent. "We are committed to the great aim of liberating our people. There are many difficulties on the road to that goal, but we are surmounting them. We consider our struggle part of the worldwide popular movement against imperialism and for freedom. The peoples of the world are with us, and that is the earnest of our victory."

## SOLIDARITY



Marcelino dos Santos at the Rome Conference.

For three days the Rome Palace of Congresses was decorated with the flags of Angola, Guinea-Bissau and Mozambique in honor of the International Conference for Freedom and Independence of the Portuguese Colonies. It brought together delegates from 64 countries, repre-

senting 177 international and national organizations. There were leaders of the national liberation movements and guerrilla commanders from Portuguese Africa, Ministers of African countries, public personalities from Europe and Asia, trade-union officials, delegates from youth organizations and Catholic centers. Men and women of diverse political and religious beliefs were united in the fight against colonialism.

The conference's concluding declaration condemns the Portuguese colonialists and notes that exemplary heroism and "active solidarity and assistance from African and socialist countries, from all the democratic progressive forces of the world," are enabling the peoples of Portuguese Africa successfully to pursue their fight for independence. The nature and scope of this assistance was revealed, among others, by the head of the Soviet delegation V. Solodovnikov. In addition to moral and political support, he said, the Soviet Union was supplying the patriotic forces of Angola, Guinea-Bissau and Mozambique with large quantities of arms and ammunition, vehicles, communications equipment, clothing, etc. It was also providing the population of the liberated areas with food and industrial goods, school and hospital equipment, medical supplies and much more. Students from the three territories were studying in Soviet military and other schools.

The delegates pledged an all-out effort to isolate Portugal politically, economically and militarily. The Western powers, the conference declared, must stop all supplies of arms to Portugal and all cooperation with its armed forces. And since Portugal has consistently ignored numerous UN resolutions on colonial freedom, it should be expelled from all international



organizations and subjected to economic sanctions. The conference welcomed UNESCO's decision not to invite Portugal to international forums.

"The international conference in support of the peoples of the Portuguese colonies," Amilcar Cabral, General Secretary of PAIGC, said, "has given us inspiration and new strength for our peoples' armed struggle against the Portuguese colonialists."

The Rome conference had wide reverberations and enhanced the prestige and authority of the organizations directing the national-liberation movement in Portuguese Africa. The very fact that it was held in the capital of a NATO country is indicative of the way Lisbon's prestige is declining even among its own allies. The discussions in Rome highlighted the growing solidarity with the peoples of Angola, Guinea-Bissau and Mozambique; that is the chief result of the conference.

The 1969 International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties declared in its

Document: "Of great importance for the future of Africa and the cause of peace is the liberation of southern Africa, one of the last areas of colonial domination. The armed struggle which is being waged in this area by the peoples of Angola, Mozambique, Guinea-Bissau, Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa is inflicting heavy blows on the coalition of fascist and racist regimes, which are supported by the imperialists, and is opening up prospects for fresh big victories of the African revolution."

The peoples of southern Africa are in the frontline of the battle against imperialism. And the time is not far off when their heroic effort, augmented by the moral and material support of democrats throughout the world, will destroy the fetters of colonialism and bring freedom to their countries.

*A vitoria e certa!* Victory is certain.

Rome-Prague

V. KACHANOV



## Brazil: terror escalation

The April 1, 1964, military coup that toppled the bourgeois-liberal government of President Goulart, replacing it by the military dictatorship of Castelo Branco, has been rightly assessed by public opinion as a move to abolish all civil rights and freedoms and to bolster oligarchial rule.

Repressions began the very next day after the coup, Communists, labor and peasant leaders being the first of the many thousands arrested and clapped in jail.

U.S. Senator Edward Kennedy estimates that there are 12,000 political prisoners in Brazil. To this should be added the many, including Communist Party General Secretary Luis Carlos Prestes, and former State Governor Leonel Brizola, sentenced to 10 years' imprisonment in absentia.

This is how the Uruguayan newspaper *El Popular* describes the working of Brazilian "justice": "Defense lawyers in political trials are pressured, harassed and threatened. In fact, many have been arrested and some tried. Their crime: fulfillment of professional duties."

A pamphlet published abroad by Brazilian patriots says: "Thousands upon thousands—men and women, young and old, even children—are being kept behind prison bars on purely political grounds. The prison has become an attribute of the everyday life of the Brazilian worker, student, intellectual, housewife. . . ." And legalized violence, the pamphlet says, follows the fascist methods that produced Dachau, Buchenwald and the island prisons off the Italian coast.

At first, official Brazilian propaganda put out the story, eagerly seized upon by the capitalist press in other countries, that the military dictatorship was simply trying to wipe out the corruption of the Goulart days and the anarchy and disorder instigated by subversive elements. Political prisoners? There are none. . . .

But murder will out. Neither the arrant demagoguery of the Brazilian gorillas, nor

the editorial dexterity of the venal press, can hide from the world public the heinous crimes of the present regime. Ever since October 1969, when General Garrasazu Medici took over, the world press has been full of reports of violence, terror and torture. Two French lawyers reported after a visit to Brazil that "systematic torture is practised everywhere" as "a political means of inducing an atmosphere of terror." Detainees are subjected to electric shock, are beaten, hung by their feet, their fingers are crushed in an iron vice—the list could be continued. An international jurists' commission says in its report that since January army doctors are present at torture sessions to give the victims injections when they lose consciousness so that the torture can continue. And it continues for hours, and there have been cases, the report says, of the "session" lasting 24 hours.

"The purpose of this terror escalation is to bully the population into submission in the hope that this will check the mounting movement against the dictatorship," Gregorio Bezerra, who had himself been tortured, told the Paris newspaper *Humanité*.

The Brazilian authorities have no intention of stopping the torture. "We live in a constant state of war," the Chief of Military Police declared in March.

The foreign capitalist press has drawn some significant conclusions from the torture reports. There is, for instance, this article by Alexander Craig in the *Guardian* (March 25, 1970): "The repression is basically fear—of what the military call 'communism,' their useful shorthand for popular revolution. Fear breeds uncertainty and indecision. . . . Brazil is not just a country of immense potential (it might very possibly be one day wealthier than the U.S.) but is of very great importance today. It is half a continent, with almost 100 million people, with all the typical problems of countries of the Third World. . . . If



the situation in Brazil is not to grow even more dangerous, international opinion must impress upon the military government the need for profound change and reform, otherwise violent revolution will come."

So that's behind it all! And let it be said, parenthetically, that the "one day" when Brazil becomes wealthier than the U.S. will dawn only when the Brazilians throw off the Made in USA label. What worries the *Guardian*, apparently, is not the cruelty of the dictatorship, but the fact that it cannot prevent a popular revolution, which this staid paper that speaks for the imperialist monopolies, fears so much.

The Brazilian Communist Party Central Committee says in its resolution, *Bar the Way to Fascism in Brazil*, that while escalated repression gives the regime some short-term gains, it increases its isolation from the people and creates the conditions for even deeper crises that will weaken it still more. Continued fascization of the authoritarian and militarized state will sap

its potential strength as a result of mass resistance, middle-class opposition and growing contradictions in the armed forces.

The resistance movement is spreading to widely different social strata. For instance, only 15 of the country's 245 Catholic bishops support the government. The rest demand reestablishment of civil rights, agrarian reform and guarantees to the political opposition.

"The experience of six years of resistance," the Communist Party resolution says, "shows that the strengthening of the dictatorship is not a fatal inevitability. On the contrary, there is the proof of experience that the regime is vulnerable, that its restricted social base will not last long. And despite the fact that the present alignment of forces provides no hope for an early overthrow of the dictatorship, a realistic reading of the situation will show that there are potentially powerful socio-political forces capable of defeating and destroying the dictatorship."

Pedro RAMIRES

## ***He must be freed!***

For more than a year now, Mani Singh, a prominent political personality and veteran of the Indian and Pakistani national liberation movement, has been kept in prison without trial. A recent report from Eastern Pakistan says his health—Mani Singh is 70—has sharply deteriorated and that he is not receiving medical assistance. Instead, the authorities have transferred him from Dacca to Jessore, where he is being kept in solitary confinement and denied visits by relatives and the defense lawyer.

Despite an inquiry by the Dacca Supreme Court, the authorities have so far failed to give any reason for his arrest. Progressives in Eastern Pakistan fear for his life. Reports in the *Pakistan Observer* and *Sambad* say that demands for his re-

lease have come from the General Secretary of the Eastern Pakistan National People's Party, Said Altaf Hussain, and other prominent public and political figures. Pakistani progressives point out that his release is all the more necessary now that the country is preparing for its first general election.

Many are surprised that, despite repeated promises of political freedom, there are still political prisoners in Pakistan and the ban on the Communist Party has not been lifted.

Democratic opinion in Pakistan and other countries is deeply concerned over the fate of Mani Singh, a devoted fighter for the rights of the exploited masses and a true patriot of his country, and demands his immediate release.



## ***The neo-Nazi ideology— a peril only too real***

JUPP ANGENFORT

The Second World War ended in total defeat for Hitler's brand of fascism all of 25 years ago. But Bundestag deputy Stuecklen, Chairman of the CSU parliamentary party, had this to say: "For our people, May 8 is a sad day, a day of the deepest humiliation."

In other words, he ranged himself with those who had lost the war in 1945, the Nazis and war criminals. For him and his likes May 8 is a day of surrender, not of liberation from fascism—an attitude symptomatic of neo-Nazi tendencies on the FRG political scene. A new Nazi party—the National-Democratic Party of Germany (NPD)—exists legally and operates in the open, while the unconstitutional ban on the Communist Party of Germany, which sacrificed so many and so much in the fight against fascism, persists as a means of pressure on all democratic forces.

The documents of the 1969 International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties note that revanchist neo-Nazi forces are raising their heads again in West Germany and stepping up criminal activity, the main reason being that the property and power of big capital was revived in West Germany in violation of the Potsdam Agreement. Social forces that had helped fascism to power and precipitated the Second World War are again in control. Anti-communism is once more the principal ideology. Former Nazis who had served Hitler until his final hour, hold responsible jobs in government, police and Bundeswehr.

Mass information media, notably the Springer newspapers, are trying to prevail on people that since NDP candidates had not made it to the Bundestag, no neo-Nazi peril really exists. Yet the fact remains

that factors nourishing neo-Nazism have not been removed. Nothing has been modified in the political system. The big concerns are still run by monopoly capital. The banks are still all-powerful. The political aims of big capital are naturally still the same. As before, the accent is on revising the results of the Second World War (though the planning is more long term and flexible). The persistent refusals to extend formal recognition to the German Democratic Republic under international law betray the ultimate intent of absorbing and integrating the GDR in the orbit of West German big capital when times become more opportune and the situation seems more favorable. Added evidence is that monopoly-backed Right extremist forces went out of their way to impede the negotiations of the Soviet-West German Treaty. When it was finally concluded, they raised a howl, mounting a far-flung campaign against its ratification by the Bundestag and running down the realistic aspects in the policy of the present FRG government. This only serves to confirm that their plans have not changed and they still aim to repattern by violent means the frontiers that resulted from the defeat of Hitler Germany, included the GDR-FRG and Oder-Neisse borders, and that they are reluctant to recognize the Munich agreement as invalid from the moment it was concluded.

The monopoly policy is based on the ideological concept of a so-called formative society, implying subjugation of all parties and organizations, principally the trade unions, to the interests of the monopolies and their revenge-seeking foreign policy and reaction at home. Neo-Nazism is seen



as an important lever in bringing the monopoly designs to fruition. The substance of neo-Nazism is most distinctly and candidly represented in the ideology and policy of the NDP, borrowed from the old Nazi party.

It will be recalled that the essential features of Hitler fascist ideology were: intensive war preparations spurred by the reactionary theory of "a nation without living space" and all-out revanchist propaganda; racial hatred to divert working people from the class struggle, with Germans told that they were born to rule the world, encouraging arrogance, scorn of other peoples, primarily Slav, and anti-Semitism; bellicose anti-communism and anti-Sovietism, and terrorist brutality against Communists, Socialists, democrats and democratic working-class organizations, especially trade unions.

In substance, they coincide with the essential aspects of the NPD ideology. True, it would be vulgarizing the issue to maintain that the NDP is a mere carbon copy of the National-Socialist Party. As Georgi Dimitrov pointed out at the Seventh World Congress of the Communist International, fascism is apt to assume "different forms, depending on the historical, social and economic conditions, and on the national peculiarities and international situation of the country concerned." But there is ample evidence that NPD activity is, in effect, the modern equivalent of the defunct Nazi party, continuing and projecting to our times the ideology and policy of its forerunner.

At one time the fascists, too, prattled at length about "peace," as the NPD leaders are inclined to do today. At the end of 1969, von Thadden, for one, went to the point of styling the NPD a "peace party." However, it is well worth removing the shroud of lies and demagoguery and scrutinizing the actual NDP aims, and the ways of attaining them.

In its 1920 program the Nazi party said: "We demand land to supply food to our people and for settling our population surpluses." And in 1965 the NDP manifesto proclaimed: "Germany claims territories on which lived for millennia." This was amplified somewhat later by Herr Pleyer, member of the NDP leadership, with the following tirade: "The time will come when disastrously over-populated West Germany, deprived of its economic miracle, will have to look around for living space."

The prime NDP aim is to restore the German Reich, to which, apart from territory

in the 1937 borders, the neo-Nazis attribute the Sudetenland, Danzig, East Prussia and the former Memelgebiet. Speaking on West German TV in October 1965, the same Pleyer also claimed Alsace, Austria and South Tirol.

How, we might ask, would they attain these revanchist aims? One can hardly hope to achieve these territorial claims, affecting the fundamental interests of seven states, by peaceful means. The way recommended by the NDP is to build up military power and launch a war of aggression. *Deutsche Nachrichten*, the NDP central organ, pleads for a "military build-up," because "might has always, logically and historically, had an edge over right." In another article, of a programmatic nature (1966), the paper called for the "liberation" of the German Democratic Republic. And on April 8, 1966, it maintained that "the military action against Poland" (that is, the 1939 attack on that country) was neither unlawful nor punishable.

All too obviously, therefore, the NDP objective is to prime the West German population for aggressive war by devices similar to Hitler's.

In his earlier-quoted speech of November 21, 1969, von Thadden contended that "NDP policy has no biologically-racial basis and nourishes no hatred of other peoples." Demagogical professions of this kind could be cited by the dozen. But they are belied by the facts.

*The NDP Political Dictionary* says under the head of "Racial Policy" that the race question is the key to world history and that race implies blood, not language or religion. And in a *Die Welt* interview von Thadden said accordingly that "the call of the blood proved stronger than all ideologies known so far."

That is only a stone's throw from racial discrimination. An NDP directive says, for example, that citizens of the "young Negro states of Africa . . . at best possess a sense of allegiance to their tribe and, as a rule, use their freedom to kill each other."

Under the head of "Apartheid," the *NDP Political Dictionary* extols the racism of the South African government.

The NDP ventures to issue all but undisguised calls for genocide. In a paper to the Karlsruhe Congress (published as a supplement to *Deutsche Nachrichten* and sent to members and followers of the NDP), Dr. H. Oberth said: "If the Americans only had a better grasp of racial bio-



logy and racial policy . . . they would tell Negroes who want to learn that mental cases among Negro university students outnumber those among whites eleven to one, and that they should desist from needlessly bothering their heads with things for which these heads are not cut out. . . . Hence, as I see it, it is appropriate to establish a corresponding mode of life and a population limit of one or two million for races and peoples of whom no one can tell now whether they will ever be good for anything, thus preventing them from harming the rest of mankind."

Statements like that reveal the beastly visage of fascism, which exterminated millions on the sole excuse of alleged racial inferiority.

Some hold that unlike the Nazi party, the NDP nurses no anti-Semitic sentiment. That is a fallacy. Admittedly, its leaders make fewer declarations to that effect than once did the Nazis. Presumably, for a variety of reasons they want for the time being to avoid everything that smacks too frankly of anti-Semitism. But the continuity of tradition, though veiled, is there for all to see.

To begin with, take the attempts to vindicate the crimes of the Nazi state. Nazi anti-Semitism is so portrayed as to evoke understanding among readers ignorant of history. The item on "Anti-Semitism" in the earlier-mentioned *Dictionary*, says: "In the National-Socialist era anti-Semitism derived from the suspicion that the Russian Jews and the Jewish banks in the United States had played the decisive role in the inception of Bolshevism." And *Deutsche Nachrichten* avers, in effect, that Jewish leaders are entirely to blame for Hitler's crimes against Jews (December 24, 1965).

Needless to say, neo-Nazis are especially zealous in following the "traditions" of their forerunners in expounding anti-communism. The Soviet Union they proclaim a "criminal state." And, during the recent meeting between Willi Stoph, Chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers, and FRG Chancellor Willy Brandt, NDP thugs brandished slogans urging the former's assassination.

Take just the following two examples of the NDP terror policy against Communists and Democrats: a) last April the neo-Nazis raided the district bureau of the German Communist Party in Duesseldorf, inflicting considerable damage, but

escaped unpunished; b) in May it was learned that 20 NDP members, including former Bundeswehr servicemen, had formed a terrorist organization armed with submachine-guns and pistols, with a shooting range in a nearby forest and another in a house basement, its avowed purpose being to assassinate "undesirable" politicians. This evokes the shades of the Nazi terrorist organizations of the Weimar Republic days. Symptomatically, the thugs were released by the West German judiciary after a short detention.

Social demagoguery apart — which the Hitlerites, too, heaped on generously — the NDP attitude to the trade unions is, in substance, similar to that of the Nazis.

Hitler agreed demagogically to the existence of unions "as a means of safeguarding the general social rights of factory and clerical workers in winning better living conditions for each." This was accompanied by a rejection of the unions "as an instrument . . . of political class struggle." The NDP presents its stand in similar terms. "However," it says, "the trade unions can never be an instrument of class struggle of any party" (*Deutsche Nachrichten*, June 2, 1967).

On February 1, 1933, the Nazi government declared: "We members of this government consider ourselves responsible before German history for restoring orderly national unity and, by this token, for the final elimination of the class madness and class struggle." And thirty-five years later the NDP program chimed in: "The final elimination of the class struggle and the moulding of a constructive communion of all working people—that is the task of a mass production society."

What the NDP leaders really imply by "class peace" and "elimination of the class struggle" is a Nazi-style political system brought up to date. The *Dictionary* says of "National-Socialism" that it "eliminated class struggle" and "instituted a class peace, leading to prosperity and professional pride." Not accidentally is Kurt Knuepfer, a stormtrooper in 1927 and a Nazi party member since 1930, in charge of NDP social policy.

Anti-communism and hostility to the labor movement are coupled with apologetics for Hitler's aggressive foreign policy, including the act of starting the Second World War. Referring to the attack on Poland, Walendy, member of the NDP leadership, says in his book *The Truth for Germany*: "The fact that it be-



came necessary for the Reich to protect Germans residing in Poland and Danzig due to Poland flinging down the gauntlet, must be admitted by every impartial observer. Every other government, not only the German, would have been compelled to repulse such provocations."

In his book, *What We Veterans Think of Rearmament*, Hans-Ulbricht Rudel, a former top-ranking Nazi officer often quoted in the central NDP mouthpiece, says: "The attack on Russia was an act of self-defense required not only by Germany but by the entire Western world. It was not simply a war of self-defense, but at once a crusade."

This shows incontrovertibly that the NDP has adopted the ideology and policy of the Nazi party, despite some distinctions traceable to disparities in the present situation and the days of the Weimar Republic. It performs a specific function in the West German state-monopoly set-up. As noted in the German Communist Party program statement, the NDP is designed to be a kind of reservation for elements who have become disenchanted and have turned their backs on the other big capital parties. It holds the lead in disseminating the neo-Nazi ideology and conducting reactionary political campaigns. And all the FRG governments so far have balked at dissolving or outlawing it as a neo-Nazi body.

The big capitalists at the helm of power want the nucleus of the neo-fascist Party to be at hand in the event of a war situation or a possible leftward swing of the masses under the impact of an economic crisis. They have also drawn up plans for the contingency of the NDP falling apart (which may happen, as evidenced by the latest elections in three lands this June) before it lives up to their expectations or of their having to ban it under pressure of the democratic public. Branches of the Society of the Friends of the CSU, a nationalist party associated with the CDU, have sprung up in all FRG lands of late. Their founders are mostly members or followers of the NDP. Whenever monopoly capital considers it opportune, these can swiftly fuse into an extremist nationalist party, complementing or replacing the NDP.

As noted in GCP program statement, the NDP is not the sole source of the neo-Nazi peril. It stems from the state-monopoly system and the bellicose revenge-seeking aims of the monopolists. There are influential exponents of the

neo-Nazi ideology in the leadership of the CDU/CSU, the various leagues of industrialists, the top Bundeswehr command, the government apparatus and the propaganda media.

The so-called Landsmannschaften, in the governing bodies of which CDU/CSU and NDP representatives collaborate, are fanning revanchism and anti-communism to morally condition Germans for "revising" the results of the German imperialists' defeat in the Second World War and "pushing back" socialism from its present frontiers. Becher, for example, a man who had worked in the Nazi party press in Czechoslovakia until 1945 and is now a spokesman of the Sudeten Germans and a CDU/CSU deputy in the Bundestag, coined the expression that Czechoslovakia would sooner cease to exist as a sovereign state than "Karlsbad" retained the name of Karlovy Vary. The Landsmannschaften receive financial support from the Federal and the Laender governments, betokening the fact that neo-Nazi forces of various shades are of like mind and cooperate heartily in disseminating the neo-Nazi ideology.

Mutual understanding prevails on many fundamental points among representatives of the neo-Nazi NDP and those of the CDU/CSU. For one thing, they are in perfect accord in extolling the Israeli aggression against the Arab countries. The *Demokratisch-Konservative Korrespondenz*, a paper close to the CDU/CSU, wrote on June 9, 1967: "Israeli's staggering military success, military experts hold, is a lesson of fundamental significance, especially for the Federal Republic. The only way to assert one's rights is to achieve military success through defense by lightning warfare along out-thrusting lines. This means that both the Bundeswehr and NATO's General Headquarters must appropriately reappraise their strategic conception."

It is impossible to cover all the aspects of the neo-Nazi ideological drive in the FRG within the confines of an article. Let us only add, therefore, that Nazi Wehrmacht traditions are being implanted in the Bundeswehr, that its soldiers are being indoctrinated in the spirit of anti-communism and revanchism, and that its officers extol and justify the crimes of the Hitler Wehrmacht. Ross, captain of the Bundeswehr Landtag, told that body that the education he was given in his five years of Bundeswehr service enabled him to become a member of the NDP.



The documents of the 1969 International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties stress the compelling need to intensify the fight against the fascist peril and to repulse pro-fascist actions. This has a special bearing on the case of the FRG.

Spread of the neo-Nazi ideology and other Right extremist trends calls for vigorous counteraction. It is high time to outlaw and dissolve the neo-Nazi NDP and to repeal the anti-democratic ban on the Communist Party of Germany. The causes for the growth of neo-Nazism must be extirpated. Neo-Nazi and revanchist personnel in the government apparatus, the police and the Bundeswehr must be removed. The power of big capital must be restricted and ultimately rooted out. And a democratic renovation of state and society must be achieved by determined struggle, fashioning the FRG as a truly democratic state.

Some Left forces in West Germany hold that fascism is an inevitable product of capitalist development. We Communists disagree. Capitalism, it is true, may bring forth fascism, but whether or not that tendency surfaces, depends on the scale and strength of the people's resistance.

The GCP is working for joint action by

Communist, Social-Democratic and Christian forces in the labor movement. It is working for joint action by all democratic forces against the growth of neo-Nazism, against Right extremist elements, for the maintenance and extension of democratic rights and freedoms. As the Communists see it, all should follow the example of the working people of Nuremberg, where on the eve of the Bundestag election 3,000 signed a declaration urging resistance to neo-Nazism, and 20,000 — Communists, Social-Democrats, trade unionists and other democrats — suppressed a large-scale demonstration of the NDP and thereby contributed to the loss of half its former votes in the election.

Speaking at the Seventh World Congress of the Comintern on the growth of fascism prior to 1933 and on the lessons Communists should draw therefrom, Georgi Dimitrov said among other things: "We must not let fascism catch us unawares, to assume the initiative; we must strike decisively before it rallies its forces, prevent it from consolidating, repulse it wherever it appears and not let it win new positions." For the FRG these words have never been more relevant.

## ***Anti-fascists meet on the Main***

The World Peace Council seminar on "Fascism, Neo-Fascism and Neo-Nazism," held in May in Frankfurt-on-Main, was attended by delegates from 19 countries, representing several international organizations, including the WORLD MARXIST REVIEW.

It is only natural that the diversity of political views determined the nature of the discussions and the widely different approach to, and political evaluation of, key problems and socio-economic phenomena.

Much attention was paid to problems posed by the activity of the neo-Nazis and the NDP—Hitlerism's spiritual successor. The main reports were delivered by S. SERQUEIRA (Portugal), A. GALKIN (USSR) and R. KUEHNL (FRG). Many of the speakers pointed out that the forces of

neo-fascism were a serious threat to the internal development of the FRG and to European peace. However, some underestimated the danger, arguing that the NDP defeat in last year's Bundestag elections indicated that the neo-Nazi party had lost its positions and would die a natural death.

This was countered by Dr. R. KUEHNL, political sciences instructor at Marburg University. There are no grounds to foresee a "natural death" of the NDP, he said. As an organized force of neo-Nazism, it cannot just "die," though it can change its signboard, while remaining an extremely reactionary, nationalistic group. The rise of the NDP is directly connected with the expansion of the West German monopolies. In a capitalist society, the ruling class needs groups advocating authoritarian rule.



What are the potential possibilities of the neo-fascist forces in the FRG? They depended, Dr. Kuehn said, on future social and economic conditions which would be determined by many factors. The interests of Big Business are most comprehensively reflected by the CDU/CSU and most of the bourgeoisie is not yet too interested in allowing the NDP more political leeway. But the neo-fascist groups could be widely used should the political situation become acute.

The head of the Hesse Communist Party organization, S. MAIER, noted that it is not only members of the NDP who are exponents of neo-fascist ideas. They are also spread by many leaders of Right-wing bourgeois parties. The CSU Congress in Munich, for instance, showed that the demands and policy formulas proposed by Strauss's party differ very little from those of the NDP.

Other speakers noted that the NDP fulfills several important and, from the standpoint of the reactionary circles, "useful" socio-political functions: it incites anti-communist hysteria, nationalism, pan-Germanism and revanchism.

Neo-Nazi activity is meeting with increasing resistance from democratic organizations and trade unions. There is a tense struggle between the ruling class's drive for political reaction in all spheres of life and the striving of the working people for democracy and a curb on the extreme Right-wing forces.

Another point made was that in last year's election campaign many rank-and-file Social-Democrats and trade unionists demanded effective measures against the NDP and a ban on neo-Nazi propaganda.

The WORLD MARXIST REVIEW correspondent asked several of the West German participants what was being done in order to carry out such measures.

MAX OPPENHEIMER (editor of the *Stimme des Widerstandes*, which speaks for Resistance fighters and victims of Nazism): "Though the SDPG is now the majority party, it has obviously shelved its belief that the NDP should be banned."

W. BREUER (instructor at the university of Cologne): "More and more reactionary organizations have come on the scene to spread neo-fascist and revanchist ideas. Their numerous publications preach war and enmity between nations. These organizations include not only representatives of the NDP and the CDU/CSU, but also members of the extreme Right wing of the SDP. And also this revealing fact:

neo-fascist and revanchist propaganda has been largely financed out of the national budget. . ."

W. BARTEL (professor of history in the GDR, a staunch anti-fascist who spent six years in Buchenwald): "During the Erfurt meeting with GDR representatives, Chancellor Brandt visited Buchenwald where he bowed before the graves of 56,000 Europeans done to death there. He also visited the place where Ernst Thaelmann was brutally murdered by the SS. And I, as a former inmate of Buchenwald, would like to ask Herr Brandt: What was he thinking of as he stood in front of the spot where Thaelmann was executed? Did it occur to him that the CPG, of which Ernst Thaelmann was chairman, is banned in the FRG, while the party to which his killers belonged, the NDP, is officially allowed?"

However, some of the seminar participants spoke in support of FRG policy towards the neo-Nazi forces and revanchist organizations. Their argument, essentially, was this: the position of the present government coalition is weak because it is opposed by the powerful forces concentrated mainly around the CDU/CSU. Besides there is a comparatively strong Right wing in the Social-Democratic and the Free Democratic parties, which could topple the coalition, should the government turn too far to the Left. Hence, it is forced to maneuver and its possibilities should not be overestimated. The Social-Democrat-led cabinet should be prodded to the Left, but in a way to enable it to stay in power until 1973. Otherwise, it is quite possible that the CDU/CSU will come to power, and for a long time. If this happens all the positive elements in the policy of the present government — for instance, its realistic steps towards better relations with the socialist countries, its negotiations and contacts with the GDR—would be cancelled out. But if the coalition cabinet achieves certain successes before 1973 then a truly strong Social-Democratic government would certainly come to power and there would be cardinal changes in foreign and home policy . . .

Democrats must not criticize the present FRG government, but do everything possible to support it, said H. RASPINI (Director of the West German Metal Worker's Trade Union school).

However, this point of view was opposed by many. A journalist from Hesse, INGRID SCHUSTER, noted that despite the more realistic foreign policy approach, and certain other positive developments, the Left



must continue to pressure the government. The CDU/CSU leadership is fully aware of the government's weak position and is attempting to force it into a corner. That is why pressure from the democratic forces could help the government implement a more constructive and positive home and foreign policy. It could, to a great extent, counter imperialist and reactionary pressure on the cabinet headed by the Social Democrats.

The growing activity of neo-fascist forces in Italy was another problem discussed. Organizationally, there is greater variety and less unity in the Italian movement: together with rather large parties such as the Movimento Sociale Italiano (MSI) and the Fronte Nazionale, there are such smaller groups as the Avanguardia Nazionale, Giovane Italia, Ordine Nuovo and others. The political platform of the Italian neo-fascists is not based on revanchist demands to such a great extent as in the FRG. The Italian neo-fascists, said LUIGI CAVALIERI, member of the Italian Peace Committee, want to liquidate democratic freedoms and place the country under authoritarian rule in order to crush the Communist and workers' movement. Most dangerous in this respect is the MSI, which is led by old-time fascists. In the 1970 regional, provincial and municipal elections it won over 1,400,000 votes.

Imperialism not only gives rise to fascism, but uses its methods in an attempt to prolong its own domination, said ROMESH CHANDRA, General Secretary of the World Peace Council. The crimes of U.S. imperialism in Indochina, he said, can be compared with those of the Nazis

against mankind. Romesh Chandra pointed out that the present-day racists who suppress the African population of South Africa or persecute Negroes in the United States, subscribe to one and the same doctrine—Hitler's doctrine—of "racial supremacy." This shows that the struggle against fascism and neo-fascism cannot be separated from the struggle against imperialism and racism, for national independence and peace.

The peace effort was central to the Frankfurt discussions. Many delegates supported convocation of a Congress of European Peoples for far-reaching social and political unity in solving the key problems of European security. Pastor MARTIN NIEMOLLER, holder of an International Lenin Peace Prize, said in a short interview: "I support the proposal to convene a Congress of European Peoples because I believe that on many problems the governments could negotiate more successfully if they were in closer touch with European public opinion. At any rate, the Congress would help to create a better atmosphere for a summit meeting on European security—governments cannot afford to ignore public opinion in their own countries."

The Frankfurt meeting echoed the appeal of the 1969 International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties for united action of all anti-fascist forces. Communists, Socialists, Catholics, spokesmen for trade union organizations were agreed that it was the sacred duty of all true democrats irrespective of their political outlook and positions to combat the fascist threat.

A.B.



# Hegel and the Marxist philosophy

MANFRED BUHR

Hegelian philosophy is a theoretical source of Marxism because of what Engels described as its "historical intuition," which later prompted Lenin to say there is "much that is magnificent in the formulation of the question" by Hegel (Vol. 38, p. 314). "The whole world, natural, historical and intellectual," Engels said, "is represented as a process, i.e., as in constant motion, change, transformation, development," clearing the way for the concept that the history of mankind is a "process of evolution of man himself" (Engels, *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific*).

## GERMAN CLASSICAL PHILOSOPHY AND THE DIALECTICAL VIEW OF HISTORY

Hegel's philosophy is the summit of progressive bourgeois thought, impelled by the conviction—inferred by Francis Bacon and René Descartes—that by virtue of man's cognitive faculties he can master nature and subordinate it to his purposes. The implication, assumed though not articulated, was that man could also, in one way or another, influence society, that is, impose his will upon the process of history, guiding it in the desired direction.

To substantiate this, the classical bourgeois philosophers resorted to the "rule of reason" formula, for the theoretical and practical materialization of which they strove. The culmination was attained in the idea of man's intelligent domination over nature and society, as summed up by Hegel: "The only thought introduced by philosophy is the simple thought of reason, the thought that reason rules the world."

The idea that man is the maker of history was for Kant, Fichte and Hegel the main object of philosophical excogitation,

coinciding with the emergence of dialectics, which Lenin described as "the most comprehensive and profound doctrine of development, and the richest in content" (Vol. 21, p. 53).

When we say Hegelian philosophy was one of the sources of Marxist theory, we mean, firstly, that Hegel is the culminant in classical German philosophy or, in other words, that Marxism absorbed the progressive content of the doctrines of Kant and Fichte, as well as that of Hegel, and, secondly, that the dialectics of German philosophy ultimately made it a theoretical source of Marxism. In dialectics we should primarily single out the idea that man is active as the subject of the process of history; the idea of transition to "real and living people," as Engels put it, the idea that people must be seen in the context of "historical action," contributed saliently to the emergence of Marxism.

The classical German philosophers witnessed the passage from feudalism to capitalism in the latter decades of the 18th and the beginning of the 19th century. This was the setting in which dialectics originated (Kant). The great French Revolution was the test of the uselessness of the bourgeois subject for the dialectically conceived course of history (Fichte), the revolutionary break-up of feudal relationships, coupled with the consolidation of the bourgeoisie as the dominant class, being the decisive factor in the actual birth of dialectics (Hegel).

Marx and Engels apprehended the worth and effectiveness of the dialectical-historical method propounded by Hegel very early in their lives. In one of his early works, appearing in "Deutsch-franzoesische Jahrbuecher", Engels wrote: "It never enters our heads to cast doubt or scorn the 'revelation of history'; for us, history is every-



thing. We hold it . . . even higher than Hegel, for whom, in the final analysis, it served merely as a verification of his logical construction . . . We demand that history be given back its content. However, in history we see the revelation not of 'God', but of man and man only" (*The Situation in England. "Past and Present"* by Thomas Carlyle).

What Engels said then is still valid, and not simply due to the genesis of Marxism and Hegel's role in it. It is valid, because its view of history conflicts with the spirit of modern bourgeois philosophy, which has for the most part eschewed historicism. What Engels said rejects both the positivist (and speaking of the present day, the structuralist) and existentialist, phenomenological and theological approach to history. Which fact points to the validity of Hegel's legacy in the present-day ideological confrontation, for all modern bourgeois philosophy trails far behind Hegel in its conception of history.

#### HISTORICAL MATERIALISM AND HEGEL'S PHILOSOPHY OF HISTORY

Yet Hegel was consistent in his dialectical approach to history only insofar as this did not upset his idealistic philosophical system. Furthermore, his conception of the process of history was naturally colored by his bourgeois class standpoint.

Baring the limitations and idealism of the Hegelian doctrine, Marx and Engels formulated two most important principles, producing a fundamentally new conception of social development.

First, Hegel's philosophy of history divorced man and history. With Hegel it was history, not people, that was the main-spring of historical development. People, Hegel held, were but the tool of history, not its conscious makers. For Hegel history was itself the active subject of history. As he saw it, the historical process unfolded behind the backs of men, whom he cast in the role of mere pawns.

Second, though Hegel recognized nature as the premise of history, he overlooked man's theoretical and practical relation to nature. Despite his perfectly sensible reasoning as to the dialectical nature of the historical process, he stopped short of inferring the material premises of history, for which reason we can legitimately refer to him the arguments Marx and Engels invoked against Young Hegelians in their "Holy Family." They said: "Or perhaps Critical Criticism believes that it has got

even to a *beginning* of the knowledge of historical reality while it still excludes from the historical movement the theoretical and practical relations of man to nature, natural science and industry? . . . Just as it separates thinking from the senses, the soul from the body and itself from the world, it also separates history from natural science and industry and sees the origin of history not in coarse material production on the earth, but in vaporous clouds in the heavens" (*The Holy Family*, Chapter VII, 2a).

As we see, Marx and Engels take exception to two points in Hegel's philosophy of history: for one thing, they repugn his idealistic approach to history that elevates it above man, its true maker. As distinct from Hegel, they conceive people as the makers of history, as its subject. Furthermore, they censure Hegel for neglecting man's theoretical and practical relation to nature. For Marx and Engels history was always a comprehensive process of man's theoretical and practical assimilation (cognition and alteration) of nature and society. People doing productive labor, they held, were the "solution to the sphinxian riddle" known as history (Engels, *The Situation in England* . . .).

Here is how Marx put it: "Men make their own history, but they do not make it just as they please; they do not make it under circumstances chosen by themselves, but under circumstances directly encountered, given and transmitted from the past" (*The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*).

It follows that the laws of history operate objectively regardless of man's volition and consciousness, though it is people who shape the historical process. In all history their conscious activity is a necessary factor.

Marx and Engels set out their views in the polemics against the Young Hegelian interpretation of Hegel's philosophy of history: "History does *nothing*, for it 'possesses no incalculable wealth'; it 'participates in no battles'! Not 'history', but *man*—the real, living man—does all this, possessing everything and fighting for everything. 'History' is not some special personality that uses man as a means to its ends. History is *nothing but* the activity of man pursuing his aim" (Marx, "Editorial in *Koelnische Zeitung*, No. 179").

The laws of history operate through, and by virtue of, man's conscious activity. That is why this activity is the necessary, and equally, unlike processes in nature, the



specific factor in the effectuation of the laws of historical development.

It follows, furthermore, that the aims which people set themselves in the process of history are neither arbitrary nor spontaneous. What people do and what their capacity is to influence history, depends on "the social form which exists before they do, which they did not create, which is the product of the preceding generation" (Letters, Marx to Annenkov, Dec. 28, 1846).

Knowledge of the objective dialectics of history led Marx and Engels to a conclusion that elevated a point of theory to an action realizable through social practice, which at the same time resolved the contradiction in Hegel's philosophy of history. The reference is to the historical role of the proletariat and the necessity of socialist revolution, the premise, as Engels put it, for people to make history "acting on the common will, according to a single common plan" (Letters, Engels to Borgius, Jan. 25, 1894).

#### WHAT HAS HAPPENED TO HEGEL'S PHILOSOPHY OF HISTORY?

Bourgeois and revisionist critics allege that dialectical and historical materialism is contradictory in its relation to history. On the one hand, they say, Marxism accentuates the objective and necessary character of the laws of historical development, while, on the other, it accentuates the revolutionary activity of the masses, principally the proletariat. They maintain further that according to Marx, Engels and Lenin, socialist society emerges by virtue of dialectical necessity out of the contradictions of the capitalist social system and should, therefore, materialize independently of man's knowledge and the social activity based on that knowledge. By so doing, they identify the dialectical necessity of historical development with the necessity of nature, professing this to be the Marxist-Leninist conception of history.

Bourgeois ideologues have exploited this manner of arguing for more than 70 years or at least since neo-Kantian times and Rudolf Stammler's outbursts against historical materialism.

It was certainly not Stammler's purpose to collate historical materialism with the course of actual history. His aim was to extol the "accomplishments" of neo-Kantian philosophy. This, in so many words, is how he went about it: "There are two ways of accentuating the necessary in mo-

tion. We have causal necessity and final necessity. One relates to causes and effects, the other to aims and means, but the third singular variety of necessity, which would be 'dialectical', lacks sense and meaning (Stammler, *Die materialistische Geschichtsauffassung*, Guetersloh, 1921, S. 58).

What this reveals, among other things, is that Stammler disparaged historical materialism without knowing, or at best faintly divining, one of the basic propositions of Marxist-Leninist philosophy. He did not understand that after Fichte elaborated upon Kant, and especially after Hegel produced his critique of Kant, no grounds remained to contrast theoretical to practical reason. Hence, his sliding back to pre-Kantian thinking was inevitable. The same applies to those exponents of modern bourgeois and revisionist ideology, such as K. Popper, E. Topitsch, J. Habermas, Jean-Paul Sartre, G. Hyppolite, J. Wahl and R. Dahrendorf, who in effect follow in Stammler's footsteps in their attacks on historical materialism. Their arguments may not be as straightforward as his, but they obviously rest on the same premises. Yet recognition of the unity of theoretical and practical reason is an essential precondition for adequately approaching and examining the problems relating to the cognition of the socio-historical process.

G. V. Plekhanov—recalled here deliberately, because bourgeois and revisionist ideologists portray him, like Engels, as a "vulgarizer" of Marx — rightly described Stammler's arguments against historical materialism as "wretched and ridiculous sophistry," stressing, along with Marx and Engels, that conscious human activity is the "necessary link in the chain of necessary conditions," the aggregate of which represents the entire process of history (see Plekhanov, *Izbranniye filosofskkiye proizvedeniya*, Vol. 3, Moscow, 1957, p. 54).

The ideological standpoint of the critics of dialectical and historical materialism is clear. As they see it, there can be no question of regularity in history; as a corollary, knowledge of the laws of history and social forecasting based on that knowledge is impossible. Scorning classical German philosophy (Kant, Fichte, Hegel), modern bourgeois ideology proclaims chance the goddess of history and conceives the process of history as lacking in intrinsic connections, incognizable, or subject solely to God's will.

Present-day positivism repeats Stammler's nonsense almost word for word,



but, of course, without any direct reference to the source. Ernst Topitsch, for one, its more zealous exponent, says: "If Engels maintained that natural necessity would bring about capitalism's collapse just as surely as that the earth will one day drop upon the sun, then those who say that in this case the existence of the socialist party is as justified as the existence of a league proclaiming, 'May humanity revolve round the sun together with the earth' are perfectly right. But if the emergence of socialist society is conceived as dependent on the activity of men, the motives of which must be defined by Marxist theory only, then forecasting is no longer incontrovertible and effecting the forecast falls to the people to whom this theory appeals for action" (Topitsch, *Sozialphilosophie zwischen Ideologie und Wissenschaft*, Neuwied, 1961, S. 144).

Sociologist Ralf Dahrendorf says: "If it is a dialectical necessity that communist society grows out of the contradictions of bourgeois society, this means that it must emerge quite independently of human reason" (Dahrendorf, *Marx in Perspektive*, Stuttgart, 1952, S. 127).

That this obtuse and fallacious approach to the historical process is not an attribute only of the positivists, that it is typical of modern bourgeois ideology as a whole, is evidenced by Jean Wahl, who belongs among the existentialists. "History," he maintains, "cannot simultaneously create itself and be created by someone else" (Wahl, *Quel avenir attend l'homme*, Colloque de Rovaumont, 1961).

Bourgeois theorists construe an impregnable problem where none exists. Marx, Engels and Lenin, the revolutionary working class and its Marxist-Leninist party are neither apostles of automatic historical necessity nor anarchist dreamers and adventurers. They regard the conscious activity of men in the process of history—particularly that of the working class in preparing and carrying through the socialist revolution and then in building the socialist system — as part of historical necessity, a necessary condition for the existence of history and its cognizability. Marx, as we know, said in his *Theses on Feuerbach* that man exerts a conscious influence on the course of history through revolutionary practice. He wrote: "The materialist doctrine that men are products of circumstances and upbringing and that, therefore, changed men are products of other circumstances and changed upbringing, forgets that it is men that change cir-

cumstances and that the educator himself needs educating. Hence, this doctrine necessarily arrives at dividing society into two parts, of which one is superior to society . . . The coincidence of changing circumstances and of human activity can be conceived and rationally understood only as *revolutionary practice*."

In substance, even the simplest process of labor bears out the postulate of dialectical and historical materialism that history is governed by objective laws. All human activity that is not idle play is aimed at a desired result and is preceded by the ideal mental image of that result. Besides, the individual must clearly visualize the conditions and ways of achieving that result.

Marx, Engels and Lenin summed up latter-day bourgeois philosophico-historical thought, which attained its apex in Hegel's doctrine. But dialectical and historical materialism is something much more than a mere culminant of this philosophical tradition, and much more than a conclusion inferred from Hegel's philosophy of history. The basic idea of that tradition—"history is cognizable because 'made' by people"—is essentially different in Marxism-Leninism by virtue of the teaching on socialist society: people make history consciously because they have learned its laws.

Marx, Engels and Lenin are in accord with Kant's and Hegel's conclusion that the laws of history operate, as it were, behind the backs of people. For Kant and Hegel no other formula was conceivable, whereas for Marx, Engels and Lenin socialism rang in an era in which the cognized laws of history become the basis for men's social action, with people setting conscious aims for themselves in building socialist society.

Whereas Hegel held history as not cognizable until after it had transpired, for Marx the true history of man began when man's conscious moulding of the present and future became the content of the process of history. For historical materialism the "present" and "future" are categories equally as legitimate as, say, "fact," "past," "tradition" and "process." It is from this that historical materialism derives its superiority over the Hegelian philosophy of history.

Nowhere but in socialist society is history moulded consciously, because, with class antagonisms abolished, the social results of people's actions are the principal impellent of their activity in the interest of a society they cherish as their own. The



social role of the individual increases to the extent to which his activity increases in contributing to the development of society.

From Bacon and Descartes to Hegel and Feuerbach, classical bourgeois thought rested on the precept of man's progressive development. French materialism and German classical philosophy, the principal sources of Marxist-Leninist philosophy, articulated the idea of the ascendant growth of human society and its continuous elevation to a higher level. Many present-day bourgeois ideologists, on the other hand, proceed from the notion that capitalist relationships are essentially immutable, because, they argue, man's nature is ostensibly immutable too. Thus, economic and historical categories essential in any philosophical analysis of social relations are reduced to anthropological notions.

Turning their backs on the scientific principle of historicism, modern bourgeois ideologists are ill equipped to investigate the complex dynamics of the modern so-

cial structures. Unlike the exponents of classical bourgeois thought, they try to sidestep the actual facts of history. Karl Loewith, for one, declares: "To try and find one's bearings in history while one is in the midst of it is like trying to keep one's head above water after a shipwreck."

Nothing could show more conclusively that modern bourgeois ideology eschews history, thereby showing and admitting that capitalist relations are historically doomed, though trying, at the same time, to perpetuate them.

Hegel's concept of history, his view of the rational moulding of society as a process sets his doctrine apart from the theorizing of modern bourgeois philosophy and makes it a theoretical source of Marxism-Leninism. The main aspects of Hegel's doctrine should, therefore, be closely examined from the vantage point of a higher stage in the development of history, the standpoint of the proletariat's role in history, for the critical tendencies implicit in it live on in the ideology of the working class and its Marxist-Leninist party.



## ***Historic significance of defeat of Japanese imperialists***

Recently, the world marked the 25th anniversary of the victory over Nazi Germany. Early in May 1945, crowning the heroic war effort of the anti-fascist forces, principally the Soviet Union, the guns fell silent in Europe. Humanity was delivered from the horrors of Hitlerism and realistic opportunities appeared for lasting peace. But the Second World War was not over. Blood still flowed in Asia. Imperialist Japan, Germany's ally, fought on.

Not until the Soviet Union entered the war against Japan and crushed the more than a million-strong Kwangtung Army in Manchuria, did Japan surrender unconditionally, signing an instrument to that effect on September 2, 1945.

Thus ended the Second World War — earlier than Western statesmen had estimated, saving hundreds of thousands of people from certain death.

Not only did the Soviet victory crush Japanese imperialism; it was also a setback for international reaction. It was historic in this sense, because it strengthened the hand of the democratic forces throughout the world and especially in liberated East and Southeast Asian countries, creating an extremely favorable situation for the national liberation movements in China, Korea and the Southeast Asian countries.

For the people of Japan, too, the defeat of militarism produced a new situation, in which they could go about renovating their country, wiping out the vestiges of militarism and carrying forward democratic reform.

Elimination of the Kwangtung Army deprived Japanese imperialism of war bases and staging areas against the Soviet Union, strengthening international security in the region.

### **I.**

The militarism cultivated by the Japanese imperialists had been uniquely aggressive over the inter-war decades. Japan's rulers were among the first to intervene in force against the newly-established Soviet Republic. For nearly five years (1918-1922) their intervention forces plundered and tormented Siberia and the Far East. And not until 1925 did Japanese troops abandon North Sakhalin.

Like fascist Germany, imperialist Japan was obsessed with the vision of world supremacy. Early in the 1920's far-reaching plans of conquest and enslavement were circulated. Arch-militarist Prime Minister General Tanaka set out a program of extensive political and military expansion in his notorious 1927 memorandum, which viewed Northeast China and Mongolia as staging areas for subsequent aggression against China proper, India and other Asian countries. With the resources of the conquered lands at their command, the militarists would then make war on the Soviet Union.

In 1928, the Tanaka government campaigned against the liberation movement in China. In 1931 the Japanese captured China's rich Northeastern Provinces. In 1937 they began still more ambitious operations against China. To subjugate all Asia and the South Seas, Japan's ruler came to terms with fascist Germany and Italy, first under the so-called anti-Comintern Pact (1936) and then the Berlin Tripartite Treaty (1940), which was an outright politico-military alliance of aggression. "Japan recognizes and respects the leadership of Germany and Italy in erecting a new order in Europe," the Pact read, whereas "Ger-



many and Italy recognize and respect the leadership of Japan in erecting a new order in the great East Asian sphere."

Time and again, sneak attacks were made on Soviet territory and the Mongolian People's Republic: a major one at Lake Khasan in 1938 and another at Halkhin Gol the following year. Both were repulsed by Soviet and Mongolian troops, frustrating Tokyo's plan of overrunning Soviet Far Eastern territories and the MPR.

In December 1941 Japan attacked U.S. and British possessions in the Pacific, extending the Second World War to the Far East. She captured Burma, Malaya, Indochina, Indonesia and the Philippines, and was creeping up on India and Australia.

Yet the plan of invading the Soviet Union was not scrapped. The powerful Kwangtung Army, Japan's strike force in Manchuria, was poised to lunge across the Soviet frontier, compelling the USSR to station in the Far East some 40 divisions sorely needed in the West, where the Soviet Union bore the main burden of the war against Hitler Germany and her satellites.

In the meantime, Kwangtung Army "death factories" built on secret orders of the Emperor and War Ministry, were churning out tons of disease-carrying microbes for the mass extermination of the populations of the USSR, China, Mongolia, the United States, and other countries.

However, this lunatic plan was not destined to materialize. Acting on provisions in the Yalta Agreement, the Soviet Union denounced the Soviet-Japanese Neutrality Treaty on April 5, 1945, declaring war on Japan on August 8. The pertinent statement said that the Soviet Government "holds its policy to be the only means bringing closer the day of peace and deliverance of the peoples from further sacrifice and suffering, and the means that will bring the people of Japan relief from the danger and destruction experienced by Germany after refusing to surrender unconditionally."

On August 9, the Soviet Army moved into Manchuria, advancing across difficult terrain. Soviet soldiers displayed exemplary bravery and stamina, many laying down their lives.

In less than a week the main Kwangtung Army force was crushed. Once more, the Soviet Armed Forces showed their power, their art of military maneuver, tenacity, and courage beyond compare.

The Mongolian Army, too, contributed to the defeat of the Japanese militarists. Co-

operating closely with the Soviet forces, it crossed extremely difficult terrain in a drive to the Gulf of Liaotung, clearing large sections of Inner Mongolia.

On August 14, an imperial rescript informed the Big Four governments that Japan was prepared to accept the terms of the Potsdam Declaration and to order her forces to lay down arms. But the Kwangtung Army defied the surrender, and even tried to mount a counter-offensive, compelling the Soviet armies to press on. They crushed the enemy's obdurate resistance, liberating Manchuria, North Korea, South Sakhalin and other territories, and finally forcing the Kwangtung Army to cease resistance. Nearly 600,000 Japanese, including 148 generals, were taken prisoner.

Falsifiers of history endeavor to minimize the Soviet role in crushing Japanese imperialism, extolling the atom bombing of civilians in Hiroshima and Nagasaki, an act rightly condemned by the nations as a crime against humanity, militarily unnecessary, though some still portray it as the decisive contributing factor to Japan's defeat.

The facts, and admissions by U.S., British and Japanese quarters, completely repudiate this false contention. In an interview to the *New York Times* of August 15, 1945, U.S. Air Force General Claire Chennault, for one, said: "Russia's entry into the Japanese war was the decisive factor in speeding its end and would have been so even if no atomic bombs had been dropped." Chennault, who had fathered an American volunteer air unit in China and commanded the Chinese air force, added that the swift Soviet advance brought about Japan's collapse and clinched the victory.

Inoue Kiyoshi and the other writers of the collective "History of Modern Japan" reveal that Japanese commanders had declared after the second atom bomb, dropped on Nagasaki on August 9, that they did not fear the new bomb and were taking counter-measures. This, the Japanese historians note, shows that the militarists' determination to continue resistance was not shaken by the atomic weapon. It was when the Soviet Union entered the war at dawn on August 9, its troops swiftly smothering Kwangtung Army defenses, that the militarists panicked. The Supreme War Council was urgently convened, at which Prime Minister Suzuki articulated the general opinion that "the Soviet Union's entry into the war this morning creates a more than desperate situation. It is impossible to continue the war."



## II.

The Soviet victory in Manchuria had a direct bearing on the progress of the Chinese revolution. Kwangtung Army weapons and Manchuria's military-industrial facilities were turned over to the Chinese revolutionary forces. No less important for the victory of the national liberation movement in China was that Soviet political and diplomatic actions frustrated U.S. imperialist and Kuomintang intentions of crushing the revolution.

In autumn 1945 the Soviet Command in Manchuria denied Kuomintang troops landing facilities in Dairen (Port Dalny). Neither was the Kuomintang allowed to violate Point 4 of the agreement on Port Arthur, according to which defense of that naval fortress was entrusted to the USSR. This precluded U.S. and Kuomintang designs of using Liaotung Peninsula for hitting the revolutionary forces in Manchuria in the back. Dairen and Port Arthur, controlled by the Soviet Command, were support bases for the Chinese revolutionary forces. So much so that U.S. Admiral F. Sherman said in August 1945 that if the two ports had been open for American and Chiang Kai-shek troops, developments in post-war China would have taken an entirely different course.

Manchuria and China's northern regions were the strategic area from which People's Liberation Army regulars ultimately mounted their swift offensive south, liberating the country, forcing the Kuomintang regime to flee, and compelling its imperialist patrons to withdraw. And none but a regular army could have crushed the Kuomintang troops, for the militia was no more than auxiliary in this effort, a reserve force that secured the PLA rear.

It was by virtue of the Manchurian military-industrial potential, the worker-peasant army, the active support of international socialism, above all that of the Soviet Union, and the far-flung popular movement in the rest of the country, that the Communist Party of China was able to consummate the revolution in 1949.

The alliance of China's revolutionary forces with the Soviet Union and the world Communist movement contributed decisively to the victory of the Chinese revolution. It made up for the relative weakness and dispersal of the Chinese working class, helped consolidate internal revolutionary forces, provided protection from outside counter-revolutionary interference,

and created a favorable international situation for building a new society in China.

China's example bore out Lenin's idea that "the revolutionary movement of the peoples of the East can now develop effectively, can reach a successful issue, only in direct association with the revolutionary struggle of our Soviet Republic against international imperialism" (Vol. 30, p. 151).

## III.

When the Soviet Manchurian offensive began, Korean partisans, first formed back in the thirties, redoubled their effort in Northeast China and Northern Korea, destroying strategic objectives and sabotaging Japanese war plants, and thereby bringing closer Korean independence. In a statement on August 15, 1945, the Soviet Command in Korea said: "Citizens of Korea, remember that your happiness depends on yourselves. You have regained your freedom. Now everything is up to you. The Soviet Army has created the conditions in which Koreans can resume free constructive labor. You must be the makers of your own happiness."

Koreans gave the Soviet Army, the army of liberation, a rousing welcome. The almost 40 years of bloodstained Japanese imperialist police rule ended. A mass movement unfolded for the democratic restoration of Korean statehood. People's Committees, which were new democratic bodies of power, sprang up all over the country, consisting of workers, peasants, petty and middle bourgeois, and intellectuals. Democratic organizations were formed in the South, as well as the North.

In October 1945 an Organizational Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of North Korea was formed in Pyongyang to found a mass party, which became the leader of the country's democratic forces, its swift expansion testifying to its popularity and prestige. There were only 6,000 Communists in North Korea in December 1945, with membership climbing to 134,000 by August 1946. Subsequently, the Communist Party amalgamated with the New People's Party to form the Korean Party of Labor.

The Japanese colonial administration was at once removed from power in the northern part of the country, where Soviet troops were stationed. The Soviet Command recognized and cooperated with the people's committees; factories and other



possessions of Japanese capitalists were turned over to the people.

The Korean People's Democratic Republic (KPDR) was constituted in September 1948. Comrade Kim Il Sung, General Secretary of the Korean Party of Labor and Chairman of the KPDR Council of Ministers, said: "If there had been no Soviet Union, the great offspring of the October Revolution, and if the Soviet Union had not achieved its historic victory over German fascism and Japanese militarism, Korea would still be languishing under the Japanese colonial yoke; we would have no independent state, the Korean People's Democratic Republic, and none of the major advances in democratic construction that have firmed up the foundations of our statehood."

Recently, the people of Korea celebrated the 25th anniversary of their country's liberation from Japanese conquest.

For the peoples of Southeast Asia, too, the Soviet entry into the war against Japan was a call to the final battle. In Vietnam the Communist Party of Indochina planned an armed rising early in August, which the All-Vietnam Congress of People's Representatives, convening on August 16, fully endorsed. A National Liberation Committee was elected, and on August 19 the popular revolution triumphed in Hanoi; on August 25 it triumphed in Hué, and with Emperor Bao Dai, the Japanese puppet, abdicating, in Saigon as well.

On September 2, 1945, at a mass meeting in Hanoi, Ho Chi Minh announced the constitution of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam (DRV), the first People's Democracy in Asia, born on the last day of the Second World War.

The victory of the August revolution in Vietnam ended the more than 80-year-old rule of foreign imperialism and centuries of feudal oppression.

"Twenty-eight years after the October Revolution," Ho Chi Minh wrote later, "the victory of the Soviet Army over the Japanese imperialists considerably facilitated the success of the August 1945 revolution, which liberated Vietnam." He stressed that the Soviet Union had delivered the world from the fascist plague and struck the final blow against the main forces of the Japanese imperialists, earning the undying gratitude of all nations, especially those of the East.

This year the heroic people of Vietnam, the peoples of socialist countries and all progressives, marked the 25th anniversary

of the August revolution and the constitution of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. For a quarter of a century, united by the Patriotic Front and led by the Working People's Party of Vietnam, the nation has fought heroically, scoring important victories in driving out the French colonialists, repulsing the U.S. intervention, and building socialism.

In Indonesia word of the Soviet drive into Manchuria sparked fresh popular action. Patriotic demonstrations erupted across the country. Armed units were formed to disarm the demoralized Japanese. And on August 17, a declaration signed by Sukarno was published, constituting the Indonesian Republic.

A new upswing of the national liberation struggle was witnessed in Burma, Malaya and the Philippines. And India benefited substantially from the impact of the historic events of that time.

#### IV.

Preparing for war, Japan's rulers denied their people democratic rights and finally established what was in effect a fascist regime. At first, only Communists, progressive workers and peasants were subjected to unlawful arrest, torture and execution. After 1933, however, the repressions involved ever larger segments of democrats and liberals. Freedom of speech and assembly was abolished, and all progressive mass organizations outlawed. Jingoist propaganda harped on Japan's "exclusiveness," "invincibility" and "divine origin," and her right to "conquer living space" in Asia.

Preparing the ground for intervening against the world's first worker-peasant state, the Japanese fascists portrayed the Soviet Union as an imperialist country, while the Japanese Communists worked courageously among the people, despite brutal persecution, to counter the lie campaign.

The militarists caused the people of Japan nothing but suffering. The nation learned from bitter experience the price of being the tool of aggression. It learned, too, that its welfare is incompatible with any policy of conquest and inconceivable without friendly relations with the neighboring peoples.

The defeat of the Japanese militarists changed the political situation in Japan. It breathed life into the country's democratic forces. Restoring their trade unions in 1945,



the workers fought vigorously for their rights and for democratic reform. By 1949 the trade-union membership approached seven million, surpassing prewar 15-fold.

Red banners flew outside Futyu prison in Tokyo on October 19, 1945. When its iron gates opened, Kyuiti Tokuda and other Communists, who had spent 18 years in the prison, carrying on their brave struggle within its walls, emerged into the street. The Communist Party was able to resume legal work. In January 1946 twenty thousand came to Hibiya Park in Tokyo to welcome back Sano Nosaka, who had returned from exile. Addressing the meeting, Nosaka called on all patriots, Communists and non-Communists alike, to form a united democratic front and work for a people's, not a bourgeois, democracy.

The devotion of the Communists won them extensive support among workers and other segments of the nation. By 1949 the Party had 150,000 members (in 1945 its membership was only 1,180), and more than three million cast their votes for its candidates in the 1949 parliamentary election, with 35 Communists winning seats in the Diet.

But soon genuine democratization was blocked by the ruling element, backed all down the line by the U.S. occupation authorities. Communists and the working people became a target of repressions, marking the re-emergence of Japanese imperialism. Seeking a revision of the Second World War results, the reactionary forces are trying to set Japan back on her old militarist course, gradually impinging on the democratic rights won by the working people in persevering struggles. Japanese militarism is regaining strength. The firing power of the new army, camouflaged as a "self-defense" force, is eight-fold that of the prewar imperial army. And the ruling element is speeding up expansion of the war industry, capable of producing modern weapons in large quantities. The dan-

ger of a return to imperialist expansion in Asia still exists, with the Japanese-American military alliance a highly pertinent factor. The "security treaty" is invoked extensively to make Japan an accomplice in the Vietnam aggression and elsewhere, with immense danger for the Japanese people, whom such involvement may plunge into the vortex of a new war.

Revival of militarist ideology and attempts to put the country on a militarist footing are firmly resisted by the working class and all progressives. Led by the Communist and Socialist parties, the working people are battling bravely in defense of their rights, pressing for a peaceful and neutral Japan, protesting vigorously against militarization and involvement in the Asian adventures of the United States, demanding evacuation of U.S. war bases and campaigning for a policy of peace.

The Soviet people, like all progressive forces in the world, show deep solidarity with the popular struggle in Japan. The USSR is working for broader Soviet-Japanese inter-governmental relations and for greater economic and cultural links on a mutually beneficial basis, for stronger friendship and closer cooperation between the Soviet and Japanese peoples.

The USSR has what it takes to repulse all aggressions, and is working perseveringly for a collective security system in Asia the essential first step to which is ending the imperialist interference in Asia and withdrawing U.S. troops from that region.

\* \* \*

Memories have a way of fading. Yet the peoples who suffered the Japanese militarist oppression will never forget the heroism of the Soviet soldiers and their comrades-in-arms—those who fell in battle for the freedom of China, Korea, Japan, Vietnam and other Asian countries.

O. BORISOV



# **50th anniversary of Communist Party of Great Britain**

GORDON McLENNAN

British Communists celebrate their 50th anniversary this year. It was on July 31, 1920, that the Unity Convention gathered in London to found the Party, declaring its adherence to the Third International. This had been preceded by many discussions and negotiations between various Socialist parties and groupings.

The two main groups involved in the negotiations were the British Socialist Party (BSP) and the Communist Unity Group whose members had broken away from the Socialist Labor Party (SLP) during the period of the negotiations. This group included many of the SLPs best-known leaders and most effective spokesmen. As the discussions progressed serious divergences arose between the various groups on tactical questions. The Workers' Socialist Federation (WSF) led by Sylvia Pankhurst opposed participation in Parliament, which was at complete variance with the advice given by Lenin.

The delegates decided overwhelmingly to repudiate the reformist conception that socialism can be won by purely parliamentary activity and successive parliamentary elections, but proclaimed that electoral and parliamentary activity provided a valuable means of propaganda and agitation for socialism.

The second major tactical debate at the Unity Convention was on whether or not the new Communist Party should affiliate to the Labor Party. The final vote was 100 to 85 in favor of applying for affiliation. So again the majority of the delegates took the same tactical position as Lenin, for in his letter of July 8, 1920, to the Joint Provisional Committee, he declared that he was in favor of "... adherence to

the Labor Party on conditions of free and independent Communist activity."

From immediately after the Unity Convention the aim of affiliation to the Labor Party was pursued by our Party over many years. These approaches met with ever-increasing hostility from the Right-wing labor leaders, who finally persuaded delegates at the 1946 Labor Party Conference to include in their Constitution a new paragraph, departing from the original intention of its founders to make it an all-embracing body of the labor movement, incorporating its various sections in a loose federation.

## **STRENGTH AND WEAKNESSES**

While the practical negotiations for the formation of the Communist Party of Great Britain had only spanned fifteen months, the roots of the Party go back over a century to the revolutionary radicals of the 1790s; through the Chartists of the mid-nineteenth century and the first British Marxist working class organization of the 1880's, to the many socialist and revolutionary forces impelled into thought and action by the bitter experiences of World War I, and the inspiration of the October 1917 revolution in Russia.

From these parents, the Communist Party assimilated all that was best in the British working class and radical movement, as well as some of its weaknesses. The majority of members who came into the Party in its early days had received little, if any, education in Marxism, and many tended to see the collapse of capitalism and the building of socialism as an inevitable process. Much still needed to be done to



apply Marxism to the special conditions of Britain. Yet this latter task was vitally important, demanding a deep understanding of the working class movement, as well as of British imperialism.

Such a task could only be fulfilled by a revolutionary party equipped with Marxist-Leninist theory. But to build and develop such a party in the heart of world imperialism, with reformism deeply entrenched in the labor movement, was going to demand not only unshakable socialist conviction, but also the qualities of courage, patience and resilience which spring from it.

The Unity Convention took the first vital step towards providing the British labor movement with such a party, but the party then founded was not in any sense a centralized or disciplined organization.

This was soon to be remedied. At the 4th Congress in 1922, a Commission was elected to examine the whole organizational position of the Party and make proposals to the Fifth Congress for major changes. When the Fifth Congress took place in October 1922, the Report and Proposals of the Commission were enthusiastically adopted, and Britain had for the first time a political party with revolutionary aims and the form of revolutionary organization needed to make these aims a reality.

The years since have shown two things:

One, that the difficulties that were to be overcome to transform the small Communist Party of Great Britain into a decisive force for revolutionary change were very much greater than was envisaged in the early 1920s.

Two, that in founding the Party the men and women who had gathered together in London on July 31, 1920, had taken an essential step for the success of socialist revolution in Britain.

### WHY A COMMUNIST PARTY?

This latter proposition remains one of contention today, even on the Left, in the British labor and working class movement. It is argued that with a mass trade union membership of such enormous potential strength, a strong cooperative movement and socialist elements within the Labor Party, there are sufficient forces existing, without the Communist Party, to turn Britain to the left and open up the road to socialism.

The foundation members of our Party disagreed with this proposition, and we

who proudly belong to the Communist Party of Great Britain in its 50th anniversary year, do likewise.

The trades union were formed to defend and improve the conditions of the workers within capitalism and this remains their main function. The fact that they organize within their ranks workers of differing political views, makes it impossible for them to play the leading role in the socialist transformation of society.

The Cooperative Movement is similar. Its main concern is to provide a service to the community, mainly in the field of distribution, in opposition to the great privately owned monopolies.

The Labor Party Constitution adopted in 1918, has socialist aims clearly established in Clause 4 of the Party Objects, which reads:

"To secure for the producers by hand or by brain the full fruits of their industry and the most equitable distribution thereof that might be possible upon the common ownership of the means of production and the best obtainable system of popular administration and control of each industry or service."

The right-wing leaders have never fought for the implementation of this clause of the Party Objects, and indeed, in 1959 under the leadership of Hugh Gaitskell they launched a campaign to have it removed from the Constitution. This failed before the united forces of Socialists, Communists and other militants in the labor movement. So constitutionally, the aim remains, but for the Right-wing leaders socialism is a dirty word to be mentioned as little as possible, and practiced not at all.

Some socialists in the Labor Party will agree with all this, but argue that the Right-wing will not always dominate the labor movement, that the new forces who will eventually replace them in the leadership will seek to implement the constitutional aim. With this perspective Communists agree. Until this happens the Right-wing will remain in control, the labor movement condemned to impotence in terms of radically changing the structure of society and the continuation of capitalism guaranteed.

One of the principal tactics of the British ruling class throughout this century has been to use a proportion, albeit tiny, of the fruits of the conquest, oppression and exploitation of the countries within the orbit of British imperialism to undermine and weaken the revolutionary socialist struggle of the British working class.



This includes the corruption in the many and various ways open to them, of a section of the top leadership of the labor movement. Britain is no longer the dominant world imperialist power it was, and as its power has waned, so has the basis for opportunism and reformism narrowed. As this objective political process has developed, so has the subjective battle within the labor movement, with the Communists leading those within the movement who reject the Right-wing ideas of class-collaboration and their support for the policies of imperialism.

### COMMUNIST DAILY PAPER

So today the Right-wing is less able than previously to impose its will on the movement, but old ideas live on and have to be smashed in ideological struggle, not left to impede and confuse working people. This the Communist Party continues to do as it has done since 1920. Without this sustained ideological offensive by the Communist Party over these years the balance of power in the labor movement would be very different, and there is no doubt that the work of the Communist Party in fighting for socialist theory and perspective has been absolutely vital to the development of our working class movement. In writing to Tom Bell, first National Organizer of the Communist Party of Great Britain, in 1921, Lenin said:

"What is important is to create a very good, really proletarian, really mass Communist Party. . . ." and "To start a daily paper of the working class . . . as an economic and political tool of the masses in their struggle."

The point about the daily newspaper was of exceptional importance. It was a further nine years before it could be implemented, but in the forty years since 1930, the *Daily Worker* and its successor the *Morning Star* have given inspiration and outstanding leadership to the struggles of our working people. Such a paper could never have lasted one year, never mind forty, without the existence of the Communist Party. Other papers of the labor movement have succumbed to the frightful financial problems facing a newspaper, independent of the British ruling class. But the *Daily Worker* and *Morning Star* continued to publish, and as the Editor, George Matthews said at the *Morning Star* 40th Anniversary Rally this year, "The readers and supporters of the paper overcame obstacles which they were told it was impossible to

overcome. They did so to challenge an unjust, inhuman, destructive and bankrupt system of society and replace it by socialism."

The *Morning Star* and the Communist Party fight for the understanding that only socialism can guarantee the ending of exploitation of man by man and make it possible for men and women to rise to their full stature as individual human beings in a world at peace.

### STRUGGLE ON LIVING STANDARDS

Power, Communists insist, must reside in the hands of the working class. This demands that there exist within the labor movement a force which will relate present reality to future perspective, simultaneously fashioning the weapons the working class will need in the bitter and prolonged battle to win political power in Britain.

The Communist Party is this force in Britain today, and the struggle within the labor movement for socialist theory has only been one side of its work in the past fifty years.

The other has been continuous and active involvement in all the mass issues affecting the wellbeing of the British working people, rooting the Party firmly in their lives, sharing their hopes and aspirations for the future.

"The chief thing for a Communist Party such as in Britain," wrote Lenin in 1919, "is indissoluble connection with the mass of the workers, the ability to agitate increasingly among them, to participate in every strike, to respond to every demand of the masses."

In 1921 an employers' offensive developed with the lock-out of the miners throughout the country, and the bitter struggles that ensued from this action had hardly abated when the engineering workers became, in 1922, the main section of the working class to bear the brunt of ruling class blows.

The reformist leaders of the trade union and labor movement failed to give the necessary leadership in this period of bitter class struggle, and those who wanted to organize militant, collective resistance to the capitalist attack formed the national Minority Movement. Through the 1920s this movement, in which communists played a leading role, gave magnificent service to workers in struggle. The high point of this decade of action was the nine glorious days of the General Strike in 1926.



That the political lessons of the general strike and its aftermath were widely understood was clearly shown in the General Election of 1929. Labor's vote advanced from 5½ million to nearly 8½ million and a Labor Government was returned. What followed was to prove, however, that to return a Labor Government is no guarantee that capitalism and its political representatives, the Tories, will be seriously undermined.

The role of British Communists in the Unemployed Workers' movement of the 1930s is legendary. Throughout the length and breadth of Britain, but particularly in the great industrial cities and mining areas, Communists gave devoted service to the people. Not only did they force more money, food and clothing from reluctant authorities for those in the greatest need, but along with others on the left, they drew the attention of the entire nation to the plight of the unemployed and their families by a series of courageous and colorful actions. Outstanding among these were the National Hunger Marches. From Wales, Scotland, the North and Midlands of England unemployed workers marched hundreds of miles to London. Given hospitality and shelter on the way by working people who were themselves in poverty, they arrived in the capital and in mighty demonstrations demanded new policies from the Government to meet the needs of working people. It is a commentary on the rotten system of capitalism that millions of these workers never got jobs or adequate food for themselves and their families until the eve of the Second World War when military service and armaments production demanded their labor power.

The years since the end of the Second World War have not been disfigured by the mass unemployment and poverty that was prevalent in the 1920s and 1930s. The post-war economic boom provided work, and the power and strength of the trade union movement forced higher wages and better conditions from the employers. Now, however, unemployment is growing and working class gains are increasingly under attack.

### IN DEFENSE OF THE TRADE UNIONS

A major obstacle now as in the past obstructing the ability of the ruling class to fully resolve economic crises at the expense of the working people is the trade union movement, and particularly the militancy of its rank and file members. Suc-

cessive post-war governments have therefore sought to limit and restrict the power of the unions and their shop stewards in the factories. But it was a Labor government led by Harold Wilson that finally initiated decisive steps that, if they had been able to carry them through, would have set the trade union movement back very many years. In a government White Paper—*In Place of Strife*—issued in January 1969, the Right-wing labor leaders' proposals for anti-trade union legislation were set out. The Communist Party sprang into action. Its January 1969 Executive Committee called for a great national campaign, including a 24-hour general strike to force the Government to retreat and throw the White Paper in the dustbin. That this finally happened in June 1969 was a great tribute to the work of the Party, for undoubtedly the Communists and the *Morning Star* played a vital role in this historic victory of the mass movement over the employers and the Right-wing labor leaders heading the government. The mass movement did not stop there. It opened up a new offensive for higher wages, winning in the first few months of 1970 unprecedented wage advances for millions of workers.

These victories won by the mass movement not only defeated anti-trade union legislation, but also smashed the Labor government's Incomes Policy.

The new Conservative government, elected in the British General Election of June 18th, has now made it clear it will press ahead with anti-trade union legislation and encourage employers to resist wage increases. So a new round of the struggle to defend the unions, safeguard jobs and increase wages has opened up. British Communists will be to the fore in this struggle, working with others on the left to rally the whole labor movement, to smash the Tory attacks and in the process will strive to raise general socialist understanding so that the fight is conducted against Right-wing leadership in the labor movement as well as against the Conservatives and the employers.

### PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM

The consciousness of our international responsibilities, carried over into the Communist Party when it was formed by the best elements of the labor movement remains a central part of our thinking and action today. It was first reflected in the telegram sent from the Unity Convention to the Russian Communist Party:



"The Communist Party in Conference assembled sends its greetings to the Russian Communist Party and to the victorious Russian proletariat; demands immediate recognition of the Soviet Government and peace with Russia to be concluded at a general peace conference held in full publicity; and calls upon the organized workers in their forthcoming ballot to show that they are prepared to compel the fulfilment of these demands by direct action."

Subsequent events showed that this was not an empty declaration. On August 5, four days after the Unity Convention concluded its business, the first ever letter to Branch Secretaries from the Party leadership stated:

"Comrades; The Government must be told in plain terms that the workers will not have war against Soviet Russia. It is our duty deliberately to advise the workers not only to refuse all service for that purpose, but to actively oppose it. The Communist Party, in the first days of its existence, must be worthy of its mission. Let use rise to the height of a great occasion."

Party members, other Socialist and progressive forces, rose to great heights in making the government abandon its plans of escalating the armed intervention against Soviet Russia.

A dramatic episode in this record was that of the famous Meerut Trial in India. Lasting four years, from 1929 to 1932, there were in the dock not only Indian leaders of the people's struggle against British imperialism, but two well-known members of our Party—Ben Bradley and Philip Spratt. Along with George Allison and Percy Glading they had been sent from Britain to assist in the development of the trade unions and Workers' and Peasants' Party and made an outstanding contribution to the anti-imperialist movement in India that finally burst asunder the oppressors' chains and opened up the possibilities of a new life for the Indian people.

At the time of the Spanish Civil War a mighty movement came into being in Britain to supply aid to Republican Spain, and Communists were in the forefront of it, giving inspiring leadership. Not only did this movement send enormous quantities of food and equipment to Spain, it actively exposed the shameful non-intervention policy of the Tory government which was supported by the Right-wing of the Labor Party and trade unions. When it was clear that even more than political,

moral and financial aid was needed to defend Spain from fascism, the British Battalion of the International Brigade was formed. One thousand five hundred men served in the ranks of the British Battalion, of whom 553 were killed and many more injured. About one half of those who served, died or were wounded in this heroic anti-fascist force, were members of our Party.

"Bombs on Madrid Today — Bombs on London Tomorrow" was one of the slogans of the Aid Republican Spain movement during the Spanish Civil War. It was later to be proved to have been an accurate assessment of what could happen. The policy of appeasement of fascism pursued by the Chamberlain government and continually denounced in the House of Commons by William Gallacher, Communist MP, helped to open up the way to the Second World War in which London and other major cities of Britain were mercilessly bombed by the Nazi Air Force.

Throughout the early period of the war when the British ruling class strove desperately to find a common anti-Soviet platform with Hitler and Mussolini, our Party fearlessly exposed the real aims of Chamberlain and his associates, combated the anti-Soviet lies and hysteria, and worked to keep the way open to understanding and cooperation with the Soviet Union.

But even in the most desperate days of that war, the black, anti-Soviet elements in British political life continued to dispense their poison and in the early post-war years launched the icy blast of the cold war with Churchill's infamous speech at Fulton in the United States of America in 1946. If the cold war has somewhat receded since then and new possibilities exist for peaceful coexistence, Britain's contribution to that owes nothing to the ruling class and Right-wing labor leaders. This honor belongs to the peace movement in which the Communist Party and other progressive forces have ceaselessly struggled for measures of international security and disarmament.

The Communist Party, apart from its general contribution as part of the peace movement, has made the particular contribution of exposing the war aims of American imperialism and the danger of British complicity in these aims. We have especially sought to mobilize the British people in recent years for militant opposition to America's brutal war of aggression against the people of Indochina. The powerful protest movement condemning the inva-



sion of Cambodia and the increasing pressure on the government to dissociate from American policy on South East Asia, is a measure of the important successes being achieved.

### UNITY OF LEFT AND PROGRESSIVE FORCES

No one who has studied and understands the British working class movement doubts its great potential strength. Beside this the power of the ruling class is less impressive. The enemies of the workers recognize this and throughout history have worked to try and ensure that that strength is never fully exercised. The iron grip of the Right-wing leaders which has throttled the working class movement for decades is being gradually but consistently prised open through determined struggle by Communists and others on the left, making it possible for John Gollan to say in his report to our 31st National Congress in November 1969:

"The biggest development since our last Congress has been the advance of the left. Since our 27th Congress in 1961, this has been the key point to our strategy for the labor movement, and every development has proved the soundness of that strategy. Today we can record considerable success."

A vital part of this left advance has been the left changes in the trade unions, particularly in the two biggest unions in the country—the Transport and General Workers Union and the Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers, both with around 1½ million members. These and other important unions in which Communists and others on the left have been elected to key positions, have fought and won battles in the Trades Union Congress for policies which represent a socialist alternative to that of the Right-wing leaders, not only on anti-trade union legislation and incomes policy, but on wider economic, social and political questions, including foreign policy.

Some of the trade union leaders are now giving official support and substantial financial aid to the British trades union delegation which is going to North Vietnam this autumn to witness for themselves the conditions under which the heroic people of Vietnam conduct their struggle against American imperialism, and to discuss with their Vietnamese trade union brothers how the British trade union movement could do more to help them win final victory.

Such important initiatives by the British

trade union movement in spheres of national political life, outside their usual and main fields of activity, are of enormous encouragement to other progressive forces in Britain.

Tenants campaigning on housing questions; women agitating for equal pay and equal opportunities, those active in the movement demanding improvements in education, pensions and the social services; the organizations combating racialism; the peace movement, and above all the youth and students who have made such a tremendous impact on the social and political scene in Britain by the passionate and militant advocacy of progressive causes—all these and others receive new strength and inspiration when the mighty trade union battalions move into action on these questions.

So the great issue for all on the Left in Britain is to carry forward the left advance in the labor movement and unite the ever growing sections of young people and other progressive forces with the labor movement, with these latter recognizing clearly the leading role of the working class and its organizations in the mass struggle and in the socialist transformation of society.

### THE BRITISH ROAD TO SOCIALISM

The Program of the Communist Party of Great Britain, *The British Road to Socialism*, based on deep study of British political, social and economic conditions and history, gives all on the Left in Britain perspective and leadership.

"If our people," it says in the Introduction, "are to enjoy a life of opportunity and prosperity, and Britain play a progressive role in the world, a new system is needed, for the present one is increasingly failing. The working people will have to make a revolutionary change, end capitalism and build a socialist society. Only then, when the people own the means of production and decide their own destiny, will the miracles of modern science perform miracles for the welfare of the great majority."

It then goes on to show in a lucid and compelling way how socialism can be won in Britain. It makes clear that the opening up of the road to socialism in our country depends on mass action by the people, led by their socialist and democratic organizations, in which the Communist Party has a vital role to play.

"Socialism," the Program says, "has



never been won in any country except under the democratic, disciplined, organized leadership of parties with a clear aim and a clear understanding of the means to attain it.

"The Communist Party is such a party, firmly based on a Marxist, Socialist ideology and outlook.

"Its features are distinctive, not possessed by any other section of the labor movement. They enable it to make an essential contribution to the growth of socialist understanding, to the ability of the Left to win majority support."

The Program describes how new political alignments will emerge in the course of the struggle to take and then proceed along the socialist road, how the labor movement will finally throw off its Right-wing leadership, and illustrates the conditions in which the election of a parliamentary majority and government pledged to a socialist program can be won.

It clearly warns about the resistance the ruling class will organize in opposition to the measures a socialist government would introduce, and notes the danger of reactionary elements resorting to force to try and retain the old way of life. But it estimates that the working people can develop the necessary strength to deal with the class enemy without armed struggle, and puts this as the aim to be worked for.

*The British Road to Socialism* proceeds on the Marxist-Leninist understanding that the socialist revolution which it charts depends on the relationship of class forces, nationally and internationally. It makes clear that the perspective envisaged necessitates the preservation of world peace and this in turn demands that imperialist aggression be halted.

It confidently declares:

"The combined forces of the socialist countries, the developing countries and the labor and peace movements in the capitalist countries are strong enough to achieve this, provided they act in a resolute way."

\* \* \*

The fact that we now have a Conservative government in Britain does not alter this basic assessment of the international relation of class forces. The new govern-

ment will pursue policies in foreign and domestic affairs similar to those of the former Labor government, but these reactionary policies will be actively combated from within Britain by an ever more powerful mass movement of action led by the working class and its organizations.

As John Gollan said in his report to our Executive Committee on June 28, "The forces are there to challenge and ultimately defeat the Conservatives on the big issues."

That is why in the great mass struggle now called for by our Party there must be strong emphasis on showing the relationship between the present immediate fight and the struggle for socialism and the need to finally break the grip of the Right-wing in the labor movement.

We must end the blurring of the class struggle and the lowering of class consciousness which the Right-wing labor approach produces as they abandon any pretext they ever had of commitment to socialism.

Such an approach inevitably leads, as recent as well as previous history has shown, to the continuation of a mass base amongst the people for reactionary politicians from which they can counter-attack and in British conditions win electoral victory. This powerful base will only be destroyed by the pursuit of class, socialist policies which lead to changes in the social structure and a higher level of socialist understanding amongst the people.

The Communist Party and *Morning Star* have an indispensable role to play in the fight for these changes.

This is why the decision of our Party Executive of January 1970, to make "1970—The Year of the *Morning Star*" and that of the May Executive meeting to make "October 1970—the Month of Celebration of our 50th Anniversary," including the winning of 1,000 new members in that month, are now even more important.

In the new political situation in Britain following the General Election the British people need a stronger Communist Party and *Morning Star* to help lead the class struggle and continue into the 1970s on an even wider scale the important contribution the Party has made to the British and international working class movement since it was founded in 1920.



## ***CPSU—true to its internationalist duty***

A two-volume collection of speeches and articles by L. I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, has recently been published. Titled *On Lenin's Course*, and covering the period 1964-70, it contains the Central Committee report to the 23rd Party Congress, speeches at Central Committee plenums, Party conferences, fraternal Communist Party congresses, reports on the 50th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, the 20th anniversary of the Soviet people's victory over nazi Germany, the Lenin centenary, speeches at congresses of the Young Communists, schoolteachers, collective farmers, at the June 1969 International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties in Moscow, two articles in *Problems of Peace and Socialism*, "Towards New Victories for Communism," and "Fresh Up-surge of the Communist Movement," and also other items.

Taken together, they add up to a comprehensive picture of the vast, complex and successful path travelled by the Party and the Soviet people over these years. They also show the multiform activity of the CPSU, its joint effort with fraternal Parties to strengthen the socialist community and cement international Communist unity. Clearly expressed also is the Soviet Communist Party's stand on the fundamental issues of our time.

The two volumes cover a cardinal period of Soviet society, which developed under the beneficial influence of the decisions of the October and November 1964 and the March and September 1965 Central Committee plenums, the 23rd Party Congress and subsequent Central Committee plenums, all of which continued the policy of the 20th Party Congress. Concentrating on fuller and more effective utilization of all the latent advantages of socialism, the

Soviet people, led by the CPSU and its Central Committee, made significant headway in economic, scientific and cultural development, raised prosperity standards and strengthened the Soviet Union's economic and defense capacity. The country was carried a long way towards its main goals, as defined by the new Party Program and the 23rd Congress. The Party played a bigger organizing and directing role in all areas of economic, socio-political and cultural life, strengthening its ties with the masses and the monolithic unity of its ranks.

Internationally, the 1964-70 period was one of continued growth of the forces of socialism and of their part in solving the vital problems of our time. Together with fraternal parties, the CPSU did much to strengthen the socialist world system and unite the international Communist and workers' movement on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism for more active effort by all the progressive anti-imperialist forces for peace, democracy, national independence and socialism.

L. I. Brezhnev's speeches and articles furnish a precise and vivid picture of Soviet and world developments. They generalize accumulated CPSU experience in directing the building of communism and the Party's international activities. The CPSU General Secretary discusses the Party's organizational and ideological work in present conditions and the pressing problems of Marxist-Leninist theory.

The reader will find in these two volumes a profound analysis of the following:

- the new economic development stage in the USSR, the main conditions and means of intensifying economic growth and accelerating scientific and technological progress;

- the problem of more efficient organiza-



tion and direction of the Soviet economy;

—development of socialist democracy and of the functions of the Soviet state in the period of building communism; the leading role of the working class, the fundamental social force in the development of Soviet society;

—the growing role of the Party in present-day conditions and the problems of Party leadership of the masses; the Party's effort to develop and secure unswerving application of the Leninist norms of Party life and leadership;

—Communist education of the people and intensified struggle against bourgeois ideology;

—the laws and specificities of the development of the socialist world system and its multiform impact on the world revolutionary process;

—new phenomena in capitalist society; specific features of imperialist development in our time;

—the present stage of the anti-imperialist struggle, the role and significance of the three great revolutionary forces of our time, i.e., the socialist world system, the international working class, and the national liberation movement;

—CPSU foreign-policy activity; the strategy and tactics of the international Communist movement.

Of this wide range of problems we select those that have a bearing on the CPSU's fulfilment of its internationalist duty to the world working class, and its effort for closer unity of the international Communist movement and mobilization of all the anti-imperialist forces.

From its very inception, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union has been guided by Lenin's understanding of proletarian internationalism. It has done everything within its power to support and promote the world wide revolutionary struggle. The author emphasizes the validity and topicality of Lenin's words: "We are now exercising our main influence on the international revolution through our economic policy" (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 32, p. 437).

And the accent in Soviet economic policy today is on intensive rather than extensive growth and the attainment of higher efficiency standards. This process, made possible by expansion of the country's socialist production forces, is in keeping with the requirements of the technological revolution. "Fully aware of the importance of maintaining high economic growth rates," the author says, "we at the same time aim

at the world's most progressive economy, both in terms of effectiveness and scientific and technological level" (Vol. 2, p. 405).

The two volumes contain a wealth of material on how the CPSU directs the economy, shapes economic policy, management methods and forms of economic organization that accord with the requirements of the present development stage. The correctness of the Party's economic policy is convincingly confirmed by practice, by the results obtained in the first four years of the current five-year plan. Speaking at the Kharkov Tractor Works in April, L. I. Brezhnev cited these figures: national income rose 31 per cent in 1966-69; investments in the economy amounted to nearly 260 billion rubles, about 24 billion more than for the preceding five years; production facilities, the determining factor of the entire economic structure, increased 32.8 per cent; average annual gross agricultural output was up 18 per cent on the previous four-year period. Successful economic development has substantially narrowed down the margin between the USSR and capitalism's richest and most powerful country, the U.S. Soviet industrial output rose from 45 per cent of the U.S. figure in 1960 to 70 per cent in 1968.

The author emphasizes that the CPSU fully accepts the proposition advanced by last year's Meeting of Communist and Workers' parties that the scientific and technological revolution has become a major sector of the epochal competition between socialism and capitalism. And convincing facts are cited to show that the USSR holds a top place in scientific and technological progress. But while noting Soviet advance in the economic, scientific and technical fields, the CPSU—and this is emphasized by the author—does not under-rate the capabilities of its rivals. It foresees a long and difficult struggle, and the Party and Soviet people are determined to wage it with all vigor and prove the superiority of socialism in this field too. This will help communist construction in the USSR, world socialism and the international revolutionary and liberation movement.

When we discuss the positive impact of the new social system, it is only natural that the first question that arises is the position of the working man. The point and purpose of CPSU policy is to give the men of labor, whether workers, collective farmers or professionals, the most favorable conditions of life and work, maximum op-



portunities to develop and apply their abilities. And there is cogent evidence in these two volumes that the Soviet Union has achieved significant results in this respect too. Prosperity standards are being raised; real per-capita income rose 26 per cent in the past four years alone; material standards of low-and medium-paid categories in town and country have risen; housing conditions are improving; more general and professional education and cultural facilities are being provided.

L. I. Brezhnev places great emphasis on the problem of developing Soviet socialist democracy, with its prime purpose of drawing millions into the making of history and the administration of society and the state. "Ours is democracy in action," the author says. "It assures the right of every citizen, every collective, every republic to share in solving the problems facing society, combating deviations from socialist norms and principles, criticizing shortcomings and actively helping to eliminate them. To enable Soviet citizens to make full use of their rights, the Party is steadily working to perfect the forms of public representation and public control over elective and administrative bodies" (Vol. 2, p. 578).

The leading role of the CPSU and its growing importance in present-day conditions are comprehensively discussed. The facts show that the strength of the Party lies in its fidelity to the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, in the monolithic unity of its ranks, its unbreakable bond with the working class and the masses generally, its revolutionary spirit, its ability critically to assess and profoundly generalize the results of its work. L. I. Brezhnev emphasizes that the CPSU "boldly and openly criticized, and continues to criticize, mistakes and shortcomings. It trenchantly condemned the personality cult and consequent violations of the Leninist norms of Party and state activity, socialist legality and democracy. It resolutely rejected subjectivism which replaced a scientific approach to social phenomena by ill-considered improvisation. The Party tells the people the truth no matter how grim it may be" (Vol. 2, p. 582). But, at the same time, it rejects all attempts to use criticism of shortcomings against the interests of socialism, in order to discredit the revolutionary gains of the Soviet people and revise Marxism-Leninism.

Soviet foreign policy, which defends the socialist gains of the Soviet and other peo-

ples of the socialist world system and the common cause of the workers of all lands, plays a very important part in the CPSU's fulfillment of its internationalist duty to the world Communist and workers' movement. And that policy rests on friendship and alliance with countries committed to anti-imperialism and peoples battling for freedom and against imperialist aggression. Promotion of mutually advantageous cooperation, on the principle of peaceful co-existence with countries of other social systems is central to Soviet foreign policy. The Soviet Union is consistently and actively working for an end to the ruinous arms race, for disarmament and negotiated settlement of all controversial issues.

Many pages in these two volumes are devoted to the problem of strengthening the unity and all-round cooperation of the socialist lands. The advance of world socialism, and the progress of individual socialist countries, are inseparable from their concerted action and mutual assistance. Their fraternal relations are based on the principles of socialist internationalism, which "implies supreme responsibility for the destinies of socialism not only in one's own country, but throughout the world. Socialist internationalism implies respect for the national and historical features of each country and determination to render each other maximum support. It implies a profound understanding of the socialist countries' historic role in the world revolutionary process and in supporting the anti-imperialist liberation struggle of the peoples" (Vol. 2, p. 424). Relations between socialist countries combine genuine equality, respect for independence and sovereignty, with comradely mutual assistance, solidarity and joint struggle for common aims and ideals.

Experience has shown that to promote and develop such relations and overcome difficulties and contradictions as they arise, the socialist countries and their ruling parties must pursue a principled internationalist policy. But there have been serious infringements of socialist cooperation, and L. I. Brezhnev declared in his report of April 21, 1970: "The Soviet Union resolutely stands for socialist internationalism, for re-establishment of good relations between socialist countries wherever they have been disturbed. We shall not be wanting in this respect. The CPSU Central Committee and the Soviet government will continue actively and persistently, in a Leninist manner, to work towards that goal" (Vol. 2, p. 592).

The book shows how the CPSU, draw-



ing on its rich experience and on that of fraternal countries, and guided by Marxist-Leninist methodology, is constructively contributing to the development of world socialism. The present situation, with its diversity of local conditions and differing—some less and some more successful—approaches to certain problems of socialist construction, determines the specific features of the various countries' advance to socialism. However, as L. I. Brezhnev emphasizes, these features come within the framework of a general process subject to the same laws. "The main thing," the author points out, "is that the road to socialism, and socialism as a system, is characterized, as fraternal parties have emphasized, by a number of fundamental laws operative in the socialist society in any country" (Vol. 2, p. 590).

Taking Marxist theory and the experience of socialist countries as his starting point, the author defines the determinative features of socialism: power in the hands of the working people with the working class as their vanguard, and with social development directed by the Marxist-Leninist Party; public ownership of the means of production and, on this basis, planned development of the entire economy at a high technical level to raise the people's prosperity standards; operation of the principle "from each according to his abilities, to each according to his work"; ideological education of the people in the spirit of scientific communism and friendship with the peoples of fraternal socialist lands and working folk the world over; a foreign policy based on proletarian, socialist internationalism. Such are the decisive intrinsic features and qualities of socialism, but by no means the only ones.

Clearly formulated in this collection are the principal factors that guarantee the durability and irreversibility of socialist gains. "Experience has shown that, in present-day conditions, the triumph of socialism in one or another country can be considered final, and the restoration of capitalism precluded, only if the Communist Party, the directing force of society, firmly pursues a Marxist-Leninist policy in all areas of public life; only if it systematically strengthens the country's defenses, safeguards its revolutionary gains, exercises, and inculcates in the people, vigilance with regard to the class enemy and irreconcilability towards bourgeois ideology; only if it faithfully observes the principles of socialist internationalism and strengthens its unity and fraternal solidar-

ity with other socialist countries" (Vol. 2, pp. 329-330).

L. I. Brezhnev comprehensively analyzes the lessons of the present stage of the two-system struggle. Socialism is being built against a background of continuous imperialist pressure and class struggle, which at times assumes sharp forms. Imperialist action against the socialist countries can (and on many occasions did) develop into outright armed aggression.

In this situation of fierce class struggle on the international scene and imperialist ideological sabotage, the CPSU arms the builders of the new society with a clear understanding of the need to combat bourgeois ideology, expose its corrupting influence and prevent any manifestation of complacency and indifference on ideological and political issues. The need is for a class approach to all social phenomena; our attitude, in all circumstances, can only be that of the working class, and one that accords with the interests of communism.

In capitalist countries, anti-communism has been made government policy. The imperialist bourgeoisie has mustered all its strength, and is using every available means, to fight communism, in which it sees a danger to its domination.

And in this unsavory work it is being assisted by the anti-communist infected Social-Democrat leaders, "who now, and as many times in the past, hold government posts in a number of countries. But working-class power is the last thing they want, and in these countries the socialist cause is making no progress whatever. Little surprise, then, that these Right Social-Democrat leaders have sought to discredit the real socialism built or being built by the peoples of a large group of countries under Communist leadership" (Vol. 2, p. 403).

Another subject extensively dealt with, and one central to our time, is the fight against imperialism, that inveterate foe of peace, freedom, independence and social progress. The irrefutable facts of international politics fully corroborate the conclusion drawn by the Communist parties that in our time U.S. imperialism is the chief force of war and aggression. "America's ruling circles are the bulwark of world reaction. They grossly interfere in the internal affairs of other countries and peoples, oppose an international detente and ignite new centres of conflict" (Vol. 1, p. 150).

Attention is drawn to the CPSU's effort for unity of the international Communist movement and of all anti-imperialist for-



ces. The CPSU is working on the premise that the Communists can successfully attain their aims only if they act as a united international force. In this respect, last year's International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties in the preparation and conduct of which the CPSU delegation played an active part, is an important landmark in uniting the fraternal parties on the basis of Marxism-Leninism. And L. I. Brezhnev emphasizes that the ideas enunciated at the Meeting enrich the entire Communist movement and give the Communist parties Marxist-Leninist guidelines in the battle against imperialism, against Right and "Left" opportunism, and for Marxist-Leninist unity of the Communist ranks.

The author analyzes in detail the main direction Marxist-Leninists should follow to achieve the aims set by the Meeting, overcome differences within the Communist movement, and further strengthen its unity.

First, this means active struggle against imperialism that will power a new upsurge of the anti-imperialist and revolutionary movement. And in this context, it is vitally important for each Party fully to utilize all opportunities to promote the interests of its people and, at the same time, the struggle for our common international cause. The course of the struggle will show which views accord with the common interests of the Communist movement and which conflict with these interests and which prejudice, even harm, our common cause. The experience of joint anti-imperialist struggle is the most reliable criterion of the correctness of one or another view.

Experience has also proved that a higher level of the Parties' theoretical work, their defense and creative development of Marxist-Leninist theory, yields important and valuable results. Some outstanding examples are creative elaboration of such problems as dove-tailing the democratic and socialist tasks of the revolutionary struggle, correct combination of peaceful and non-peaceful paths, the possibility of non-capitalist development for ex-colonial countries. Better ways and means of joint theoretical work, improvement of information, study of each other's experience and systematic exchange of views all contribute to Marxist thought, but only if the discussions are conducted on a principled basis and in a Party spirit.

L. I. Brezhnev deals with certain weak-

nesses and difficulties in the growth of the Communist movement which hamper full utilization by the Communist parties of available opportunities for revolutionary struggle. This concerns the policy of the "Left" adventurers, including the Trotskyites, and manifestations of Right-wing opportunism, which in many cases merges with nationalistic tendencies. "The struggle against Right and 'Left' opportunism and nationalism cannot, therefore, be considered a short-term campaign. Opportunism of every variety must be rebuffed; that has always been an immutable rule for Marxist-Leninist parties' (Vol. 2, p. 602).

The author substantiates the need for continued activization of all anti-imperialist forces and reveals the many opportunities for this. In characterizing the present stage of the national liberation movement, its place in the revolutionary process, L. I. Brezhnev notes that the newly-liberated countries' advance towards national independence is bound to clash with imperialist policy and is bound to bring these countries into opposition to imperialism. Today, the main element in the development of the once-colonial world is the struggle not only for national, but also for social emancipation. Alliance of the socialist world with peoples awakened to active political struggle is now a living reality. The CPSU is unfailing in supporting the popular national liberation in Africa, Asia and Latin America, a struggle that is a component part of the world revolutionary process.

On the whole, these two volumes are vivid evidence of the CPSU's scientifically grounded and consistent policy. They show that the Party is approaching its 24th Congress united around its Central Committee. The CPSU's long-range optimism rests on knowledge of the scientific principles of Marxism-Leninism and on boundless faith in the creative and revolutionary potential of the working people.

Publication of these speeches and articles by the General Secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union will help towards a deeper study of major problems of Marxist-Leninist theory and of the policy of the CPSU, its experience in directing the building of communism and the fight for the triumph of peace, democracy and socialism throughout the world.

P. FEDOSEYEV



# Adventurism exposed

## New books on the critique of Trotskyism

From time to time, Trotskyism, and the man who gave the trend its name, are brought into prominence in the capitalist world. New editions of Trotsky's writings are put out. He is often referred to as an authoritative critic of the past and present of the Communist movement. His followers hold him up as a martyr, "the misunderstood genius of the revolution," and use him in attacking Leninism and slandering socialism.

That the bourgeoisie encourages the dissemination of ideas designed to harm the revolutionary movement is not surprising. Nor is there anything surprising about the zeal the Trotskyists themselves show in this respect. But there is a very definite purpose behind the attempts to galvanize Trotskyism. With Big Business increasing its pressure on the petty bourgeoisie, more middle-class elements are joining the anti-imperialist struggle. This is a complex process: ingrained petty-bourgeois illusions do not easily give way to consistent proletarian policy. Hence, the spread of ultra-revolutionary and anarchist moods. And hence, too, attempts, in definite circumstances, to resuscitate Trotskyism.

But there is another aspect. Some of the young entrants into the anti-imperialist movement lack both theoretical training and practical experience. They fall for seemingly radical slogans, little aware that they are being offered shop-worn goods in new packaging. Nor are they aware that the romantic "revolutionary" phrase has long been exposed and discarded by the revolutionary movement. Seen in this light, Lenin's words have a very topical relevance: "The old participants in the Marxist movement in Russia know Trotsky very well, and there is no need to discuss him for their benefit. But the younger generation of workers do not know him, and it

is therefore necessary to discuss him. . . . The younger generation of workers should know exactly whom they are dealing with. . . ." (*Collected Works*, Vol. 20, pp. 346-47).

That precisely is the task the authors of these books\* have set themselves. They show how the CPSU and fraternal parties fought Trotsky and his followers and reveal the harm Trotskyism does to the workers' and Communist movement.

### THE PATH OF AN OPPORTUNIST

Trotsky's record will show that his was the logical evolution of an unprincipled careerist and adventurist never squeamish in his methods and never hesitating to go against the interests of the working class.

The books under review adduce a wealth of documented facts on Trotsky's political biography. There is no need to recount all of them, a few will suffice.

In the heated debate on cardinal issues of Party organization at the Second Congress of the Russian Social-Democratic Labor Party (1903), Trotsky attacked Lenin's view of the Party as the working-class vanguard. On all vital questions of the Party Program and Rules he sided with the Mensheviks, though trying to steer a "middle" course between the revolutionaries and opportunists.

During and after the first Russian revo-

\*"Trotskyism — Enemy of Leninism," Moscow, 1968; "Lenin ueber Trozki," Frankfurt/Main, 1969; "The Bolshevik Party's Struggle Against Trotskyism (1903 - Feb. 1917)," Moscow 1968; "The Bolshevik Party's Fight Against Trotskyism After the October Revolution," edited by V. L. Ignatyev, Moscow, 1969; F. D. Ryzhenko and A. L. Ugryumov, "The Leninist Party in Battle Against Trotskyism (1903-1927)," Moscow, 1969; Léo Figuères, "Le trotskisme, cet antiléninisme," Paris, 1969. The struggle against Trotskyism is dealt with also by the Polish author W. Namiotkiewicz in his book "Mysl polityczna marksizmu a rewizjonizm," Warsaw, 1969.



lution, Trotsky came out with what Lenin described as the "absurdly Leftist" theory of permanent revolution.

Lenin, it will be recalled, formulated the theory of bourgeois-democratic growing into socialist revolution, emphasizing the need to use the revolutionary potentialities of the peasants and form a firm worker-peasant alliance. Trotsky, in contrast, disregarding the bourgeois-democratic stage of the revolution, called for immediate transition to socialist revolution — and this in conditions of tsarist Russia! He maintained that the peasants would not side with the proletariat and, in the end, would come out against socialism. And Trotsky rejected the very idea, even after the October Revolution, of the peasantry becoming an ally of the proletariat. In fact, he argued that, in the absence of a victorious revolution in the West and assistance from European workers governments, a workers' revolution Russia was doomed to failure. The authors of the books reviewed here effectively refute the legend, coined by Trotsky, that Lenin's theory of socialist revolution was no more than a "reformulation" of Trotsky's theory of "permanent revolution."

In the years of reaction, when the Bolsheviks were fighting two varieties of opportunism, Otzovism and Liquidationism, Trotsky took a centrist position, which Lenin characterized as more pernicious than any Liquidator. . . . The Trotskyists *deceive the workers, cover up the evil, and make it impossible to expose the evil and to remedy it*" (Vol. 17, p. 243).

Numerous examples are cited to show what a sorry theorist Trotsky was. In 1907-12, and later during World War I, he extolled spontaneity, emphasizing his contempt for revolutionary theory. His complete misunderstanding of the nature of imperialism led him to advance the slogan of a "United States of Europe."

There is no denying that Trotsky was "active," a feature his admirers are fond of parading. But his activity was powered by false ideas and manifested in a political adventurism which more than once gravely damaged the revolutionary cause. And it is by no means fortuitous that the authors devote so much attention to Trotsky's role in the 1918 Brest-Litovsk peace negotiations.

In charge of the negotiations with Germany in his capacity of People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs, Trotsky treacherously violated Lenin's instructions and refused to sign the Brest treaty. He was

alone responsible for much more onerous terms being imposed on the young Soviet Republic. His position of "neither peace nor war" played into the hands of the German imperialists.

During the Civil War, as chairman of the Revolutionary Military Council of the Republic, he violated the principle of the class composition of the Red Army, was against Party leadership of the army, hostile to the military commissars, and obsequious to the military specialists, without regard to their politics.

After the Civil War, when Soviet Russia launched out on peaceful socialist construction, Trotsky called for a bureaucratic-military system of command over the masses. What he wanted was the workers to be treated "exactly like soldiers" and factories to be placed under a military-type management. This militarization of labor and other facets of the country's life went hand in hand with preachment of an avowedly bureaucratic system of administration.

The authors of these critical studies convincingly expose Trotsky's attempts to destroy the proletarian party as the militant organization of the working class. He wanted to set it on an adventurist path that would lead to certain defeat. In those difficult days for the Soviet Republic, the Trotskyite and other opportunist groups joined in a factional struggle against the Party. Meeting in January 1925, the Party Central Committee declared that all the enemies of the Bolshevik Party and the Soviet state, ". . . especially the ideologists of the more well-to-do petty bourgeoisie, want to see in Trotsky the man who will shake the iron dictatorship of the proletariat, split the Party, set Soviet power on another path, etc."

The Bolshevik Party and the Communist International waged a principled struggle against the Trotskyite bloc, culminating in the ideological and political defeat of Trotskyism. The April 1925 enlarged Plenum of the Comintern Executive Committee denounced Trotskyism as "a variety of Menshevism in which European opportunism is combined with Left radical phraseology." The 1927 discussion preceding the 15th Party Congress showed that out of 730,862 Soviet Communists taking part, 724,066 voted for the Central Committee line and only 4,120, that is, 0.5 per cent of those taking part in the discussion, voted against.

The finale is well known: refusing to submit to the majority and persisting in



their factional activity, the Trotskyites were expelled from the Party at the 15th Congress. Trotsky was expelled from the USSR in 1929 for attempting to set up an illegal anti-Party counter-revolutionary organization, and for his anti-Soviet activities. Living abroad, he took an active part in the bourgeois slander campaign against the Soviet Union and the Communist movement.

### LENIN ON TROTSKY

The bourgeois press keeps on repeating—it was especially zealous in the months preceding the Lenin centenary—that no one had done more than Trotsky to promote and develop Leninism.

However, these books clearly show how Lenin regarded Trotsky and the latter's role in the history of the Bolshevik Party. The facts are that Trotsky never accepted the Bolshevik view and that, at various stages, Trotskyism was always opposed to Leninism.

Lenin's remarks add up to a political portrait of Trotsky. Long before the October Revolution, in 1914, he gave a social characterization of Trotsky, a generalized image of a petty-bourgeois politician—and demagogue whose dominant trait was individualism. "Such types," Lenin wrote, "are characteristic of the flotsam of past historical formations, of the time when the mass working-class movement in Russia was still dormant and when every group had 'ample room' in which to pose as a trend, group or faction, in short, as a 'power' . . ." (Vol. 20, p. 347). These words are very pertinent today, when a small group of Letists somehow knocked together in one or another capitalist country sets itself up as a political "trend."

It would be useless to try to bring together into anything resembling a theory the various statements, ideas and slogans of the latter-day Trotskyites—we would only get an eclectic and contradictory hodgepodge. But that, in fact, applies to the views of the founder of this so-called trend, for Trotsky was consistent in his inconsistent thinking and understanding of the world, a characteristic of many petty-bourgeois politicians. "It is impossible to argue with Trotsky on the merits of the issue, because Trotsky holds no views whatever." "Trotsky has never yet held a firm opinion on any important question of Marxism. . . ." His ingrained eclecticism led to "intolerable phrasemongering." The result was always "a mere empty phrase,

mere 'Trotskyism'." "There is much glitter and sound in Trotsky's phrases, but they are meaningless." This lack of content and artificiality of thought impelled Trotsky towards adventurism, "Khlestakovism," endless vacillation, wavering and change of mind ("you cannot trust him in the slightest"). Such are Lenin's remarks about Trotsky (Vols. 17, p. 362; 20, pp. 447, 332; 18, p. 121; 35, p. 176).

Subjectivism and one-dimensional thinking had a fatal effect on Trotsky's political attitudes. If reality did not fit in with his ideas, it was simply ignored. And if he wanted to canonize petty-bourgeois impatience, he would simply declare: "It's nonsense to think that you can't jump over stages of development." For Trotsky thought in terms of world cataclysms, a thought-pattern anything but Marxist.

Inflated ambition, vanity, unprincipledness, adventurism, perfidy (Lenin called him a Judas), all these were part of Trotsky's political make-up. And intertwined, and accentuated by a penchant for intrigue, they caused much harm to the Soviet Communist Party and the international Communist movement. Lenin wrote: "That's Trotsky for you! Always true to himself—twists, swindles, poses as a Left, helps the Right, so long as he can . . ." Vol. 35, p. 288).

How these opportunist traits affected the movement is described in the books under review. Unprincipledness: this Trotsky demonstrated early in his career. Lenin wrote of him: "Trotsky unites all to whom ideological decay is dear, all who are not concerned with the defense of Marxism; all philistines who do not understand the reasons for the struggle and who do not wish to learn, think and discover the ideological roots of the divergence of views. . . . It is easy for Trotsky to become the 'hero of the hour' and gather all the shabby elements around himself" (Vol. 17, p. 21).

In 1920-21, Trotsky advocated the militarization and virtual abolition of democracy. But a few years later he criticized the Party for allegedly doing just that. Or another example: he urged super-industrialization only to reverse his views some time later and maintain that industrialization was a burden the country could not possibly bear.

Trotsky was all criticism for the Party apparatus, demanding legalization of factions within the Party. Actually, he was not against the Party apparatus as such—as his admirers and followers claim—but against



the then existing apparatus, because it did not suit his plans. Lenin said of the Trotsky-type factionalists who were so vocal in their demands for inner-Party democracy that they "recognize the will of the majority of the class-conscious workers, *not* in the present, but in the future, only in the future event of the workers agreeing with them. . ." (Vol. 20, p. 483).

Bourgeois propagandists often trot out what they think is the crucial question: "If Trotsky was the kind of man the Communists make him out to be, why did he work side by side with Lenin in the leadership of the Bolshevik Party and the Soviet state?"

The first and simplest answer, apparently, is that Lenin, with his innate objectivity, recognized Trotsky's ability, while relentlessly criticizing him for his opportunism (Vol. 36, p. 595).

Trotsky had the support of some petty-bourgeois strata, petty-bourgeois intellectuals, even of the more backward part of the working class, and exploited their political instability and immaturity. Lenin and the Bolshevik Party were anxious to win over, through *struggle*, these vacillating but revolutionary-minded sections of the intelligentsia and bring them into revolutionary work. For instance, when the development of the revolution left no doubt about the correctness of Bolshevik policy, and when the masses had accepted Party leadership, the group of so-called *Mezhraiontsi*, to which Trotsky belonged, applied for Party membership and were admitted by the 6th Party Congress in 1917 and given the opportunity to take an active and constructive part in the revolution.

Lenin worked with Trotsky after the October Revolution, but at the same time was uncompromising in opposing his distortion of Party policy. Lenin did not consider it necessary to single out Trotsky as the sole bearer of non-Bolshevik views: he regarded the struggle against opposition sentiments within the Party as part of the class struggle in post-revolutionary Russia, part of the Party's task of bringing the waverers into the work of building socialism, a task the Party successfully accomplished. That, in the end, Trotsky found himself outside the Party was the logical consummation of his political career.

#### IN THE SERVICE OF ANTI-COMMUNISM

By the close of the twenties, Trotskyism had been ideologically exposed and organi-

zationally defeated in the USSR, but not internationally. Trotsky had managed to recruit and organize supporters in various countries and now, under his direction, they launched out on anti-Communist activity.

Trotsky continued his frenzied campaign against the Communist parties up to his last days. In the thirties, he maintained that the Soviet Union would be defeated in the impending war. This defeat, he said, would be only a "brief episode," followed by "victory of the proletariat" in other countries. But, he alleged, no military victory could save the heritage of the October Revolution as long as the rest of the world remained under imperialist rule.

Trotsky's Fourth International has not lived up to the expectations of its founder: it is in a state of paralysis, split into quarrelling groups whose only common denominator is anti-communism and anti-Sovietism. Knowing that they stand no chance as an organization, the Trotskyites have adopted the so-called "entrism" tactic, that is, penetrating Communist Parties and mass workers' organizations in order to break them up "at the decisive moment." The harm this can, and does, do is spelled out in the books here reviewed.

In Germany, the "ultra-Left" Ruth Fischer-Maslow group, which in 1924 wormed itself into the leadership of the Communist Party, followed the Trotskyite line on many issues: rejected united action with Social-Democrat workers, forbade Communists to work in mass organizations, with the result that the German Communist Party lost some of its positions, especially in the trade unions.

In recent years there has been an upsurge of Trotskyite activity in West Germany. Here their line is that conditions in the FRG favor a victorious socialist revolution, the only obstacle being—of all things—the Communist Party. Hence, "genuine" revolutionaries are urged to fight the Communists and destroy their organizations. Trotskyites operating within the Social-Democrat Party, trade union and youth organizations concentrate on attacking the Left forces prepared to cooperate with the Communists. Here, as in other countries, the Trotskyites try to cash in on differences, however slight, between Communist parties and socialist countries.

In France, the Trotskyites opposed the Communist-initiated Popular Front formed in 1935, contrasting to it their own adventurist slogan of "Socialism now — everything is possible."



In Spain, in the thirties, the Trotskyites active in the POUM (so-called Marxist Workers' Party) and groups working in contact with Trotsky, opposed the Popular Front, depicted the Republican government as a bourgeois government and bent all their efforts to overthrow it. At the height of the civil war when the fascists were being helped by German and Italian armed intervention, the POUM and the anarchists engineered splits and armed clashes, thereby weakening the Republic and playing into the hands of its enemies. And this at a time when the imperative task was to strengthen the united front of all the democratic forces.

After World War II, the Trotskyites penetrated socialist youth organizations in several countries, captured the leadership and factually paralyzed their activity.

The views of the Trotskyite groups and grouplets are anything if not contradictory. Their neo-Trotskyite ideology has little to distinguish it from the old Trotskyism. Of course, they try to adapt themselves to the new conditions—the existence of the socialist world system, more intensive class struggle in the capitalist world, the rise of the national liberation movement, the scientific and technological revolution, etc. But neo-Trotskyism, like the old variety, is wholly subjective, grossly ignoring objective opportunities which the working class must always take into account in its struggle. The Trotskyites show a haughty contempt for the democratic aims of this struggle, underestimate the role of the laboring peasantry and, in general, of class alliances. Always they try to exploit the youth, counterposing it to the older generation of Communist workers. They completely reject the idea of a united, disciplined mass proletarian party. To this should be added that the neo-Trotskyites have no compunction about reversing their slogans. Suffice it to recall the argument of some Latin American Trotskyite groups that the peasantry is "the only revolutionary force," that the proletariat has "degenerated" and, hence, the only form of revolutionary struggle is an all-out peasant guerrilla war.

As part of the anti-communist crusade, the Trotskyites are violating the interests of the working class. For a time, it is true, these political adventurers can, as they have done in the past, mislead the revolutionary masses, misdirect the energy of the labor movement, impede its fight for democratic and socialist aims.

All the evidence, the authors conclude, shows the vital need politically and ideo-

logically to defeat neo-Trotskyism as a special form of anti-communism and anti-Sovietism.

### POISONED WEAPON

Trotskyite and neo-Trotskyite ideas find a more or less receptive soil among different sections of the population and different organizations — Western youth movements, intellectual groups, petty-bourgeois trends in developing countries, small break-away groups from the workers' movement and Communist parties.

If the penetration of Trotskyite and neo-Trotskyite ideas in the anti-imperialist movement is to be effectively combatted, we must first establish why they attract the petty-bourgeois "rebel."

First of all, Trotskyism, though the sworn enemy of Marxism-Leninism, began its criticism of scientific communism within the Communist movement. This in itself enables our ideological opponents to present Trotsky to the politically uninitiated as a genuine Communist ostracized by "bureaucratic and dogmatic" elements in the various Communist parties.

Trotskyism is also dangerous because of its high-sounding, "revolutionary" phraseology and its ultra-revolutionary posture, both of which impress new recruits to the class struggle, impelling them towards a reactionary path.

In the present ideological battle, Trotskyism still supplies the Leftist forces arguments against the Communist movement. The arguments differ, but closer examination will show that, as often as not, they contradict each other. With time, people come to see Trotskyite ideas as reactionary and Trotskyism as a poisoned weapon.

A few examples. Trotskyism affirms that in the imperialist age socialism cannot triumph in one separate country. Now that "theory" has been transformed into bald denial that socialism exists and that it would take "hundreds, even thousands of years" to build a socialist society.

Similarly, the Trotskyite allegation about the inevitable bureaucratization of the Party apparatus has become one of the most common ideological arguments against the Communist parties and proletarian dictatorship. The "rebel youth" in the West want a society without centralization, indeed without any leadership whatever. And this in an age of continuous industrial concentration and the technological revolution! Young people in another, far-off country, taken in by ultra-revolutionary slogans, are



used as a pliant weapon against the Communist Party. Trotsky's ideas of a "shake-up" and "tightening the screws" have in that country been elevated to government policy.

The Trotskyites have no use for immediate democratic demands, or for preparing the transition to socialism, which entails accumulating political experience by the masses. Of course, it is much simpler and more alluring to proclaim the demise of capitalist power than to conduct sustained, difficult and painstaking revolutionary work to create the prerequisites for the abolition of capitalist rule. The Communists are taking measures to prevent sundry pro-Trotskyite groups from exploiting the impatience and immaturity of certain sections of the youth.

Many more facts could be cited to show the reactionary nature of Trotskyite and neo-Trotskyite ideas, now that new elements, especially among the petty-bourgeoisie, are beginning to resist capitalist pressure.

The bourgeoisie is skillful in utilizing these "ultra-revolutionary" groups to further its class aims: it needs "revolutionaries" who appear more "Left" than the Communists to fight the Communist parties, the real champions of the working people's interests. Furthermore, there are times when the ruling classes are interested in provoking a situation that helps their fight against the workers' and democratic

movements. By their actions, as adventurist as they are futile, these "Left" opportunists can create such situations, deliberately or unwittingly.

And this lays a greater responsibility on the Communist parties to protect the mass movement against the lure of pseudo-revolutionary slogans. In particular, the Communist parties should pay much more attention to the youth. "The Communists highly appreciate the rise of the youth movement and take an active part in it. They spread within its ranks the ideas of scientific socialism, explain the danger of all manner of pseudo-revolutionary ideas," the Document of the International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties emphasizes.

These books about the struggle Lenin, the CPSU and the international Communist movement waged against Trotskyism will help to expose this dangerous variety of opportunism. But, naturally, we must go beyond that: we must more closely examine the experience of the fight against Trotskyism and consistently expose the socio-economic roots of petty-bourgeois ideology, its concrete forms and manifestations in various countries. And this will be all the more convincing, the fuller it is combined with solution of the new, complex problems confronting the working class and its Party in reconstructing society.

Rupert MASS

## Books in brief

REISBERG, A. *Lenins Beziehungen zur deutschen Arbeiterbewegung*. Berlin, Dietz Verlag, 1970, 623 pp.

*Lenin's Ties with the German Working Class Movement*, released by the Marxism-Leninism Institute, CC SUPG, by Arnold Reisberg, member of the Institute staff and student of the German labor movement, is a substantial new contribution to Marxist literature on Lenin's activity as leader of the international proletariat.

Basing his work on documents, eyewitness accounts and an analysis of Lenin's works, the author shows Lenin's contribu-

tion, on the basis of proletarian internationalism, to the development of the international workers' movement and his help to the German revolutionary Marxists in combating opportunism and building a party of the new type. "The song of songs of internationalism," is how German Communists describe Lenin's ties with the German working class.

The book makes a sound study of the cooperation between German and Russian revolutionaries and their national vanguards in Lenin's lifetime. The example of Germany shows how Lenin studied the experience of the workers' struggle in dif-



ferent countries, carefully selecting the best models of revolutionary tactics in order to make them available to the international workers' movement. The author also shows the vitality of the ideas of proletarian internationalism, the traditions of fraternal mutual aid and the undying relevance of Lenin's experience in the struggle for the unity of the Communist and working-class movement on the basis of scientific socialism.

E. GEORGIEV

*Ho Chi Minh, notre camarade.* Paris, Editions Sociales, 1970. 272 pp.

"Our Comrade Ho Chi Minh" is a collection of remembrances by French Communists published on the 80th birthday of Ho Chi Minh.

The book opens with a biography of Ho Chi Minh by Charles Fourniau. It contains a contribution by Jacques Duclos, who met Ho Chi Minh in 1920, when he was known as Nguyen Ai Quoc. At that time both were members of a committee working for the French Socialists' affiliation with the Third International. After the Socialist Party split, Ho Chi Minh joined the French Communist Party founded in 1920. Among the contributors are Francois Billoux, Marie-Claude Vaillant Couturier, Leo Figueres, Henri Martin, Raymond Dien, Jeannette Thorez-Vermeersh, Madeleine Riffaud and other French Communists who had known Ho Chi Minh over several decades.

The book contains photographs, many appearing for the first time, of Ho Chi Minh in different periods of his life, from 1920 to 1969.

This is an interesting book about one of the outstanding figures of the world Communist movement, whose life is closely associated with the history of the Vietnamese people's struggle for independence and socialism.

I. LUMIER

WACLAWEK, J. *Socjalistyczne stosunki w zakładzie pracy.* Warszawa, KiW, 1970. 300 pp.

Acting on the decisions of the 5th Party Congress, PUWP branches and committees are working to develop and invigorate socialist relations on the factory floor and enhance the sense of responsibility of individual workers. Experience shows that this is not easy, and depends on a variety of inter-related psychological, sociological, organizational and moral factors.

Several books on this subject have come off the presses in Poland recently, among them J. Wacławek's "Socialist Relationships in Enterprises." Analyzing the situation in his country, the author describes the aims, trends and methods of developing socialist relations in enterprises, recommendations of sociologists and labor psychologists, and interesting experiments in Polish enterprises.

The seven chapters are: "The Concept and Model of Socialist Social Relations"; "Labor as the Basis for Cementing a Collective"; "Division of Labor in Plants and Factories"; "Structure and Dynamics of a Collective"; "Training the Labor Force and Adapting Labor Conditions to Man's Needs"; "Executives and Subordinates and Problems of Social Education"; "The Role of Socio-Political Organizations in Enterprises."

Describing socialist relations in keeping with the Marxist-Leninist concept of socialism, the author comes to grips with revisionist and technocratic views and refutes the idea that alienation of labor cannot be overcome. Wacławek makes a thorough sociological analysis of certain problems relating to the labor milieu. He raises some controversial issues and produces an interesting generalization of Polish experience in resolving the problems of work relationships.

C.G.

*Literaturnoye nasledstvo K. Marksa i F. Engelsa* (Literary Legacy of Marx and Engels). Publication and Study in the USSR. Moscow, Politizdat, 1969. 512 pp.

The literary legacy of the founders of scientific communism is collected, studied and published by Marxists in many countries. The contribution to this of Russian and Soviet Marxists is described in a book compiled by the Institute of Marxism-Leninism, CC CPSU.

Researchers studying the work of Marx and Engels will undoubtedly benefit from the objective information concerning the merits of various editions of the classics of Marxism in the USSR, and notably those of the second edition of the Collected Works of Marx and Engels in Russian. Of special interest are chapters about the work of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism, which with the aid of fraternal parties has built up a valuable and unique collection of various editions of the classics of Marxism, numerous manuscripts, letters, documents, etc.



The book goes into the history of Soviet research into the life and work of Marx and Engels and their ideological heritage. The authors provide short references to the more significant Soviet papers on Marx's life and works. These should be of interest to all scholars of the history of Marxism. The book also helps in appraising Soviet Marxist studies, their tendencies, achievements and problems.

An acute ideological struggle is in process over the works of Marx and Engels. Bourgeois and revisionist literature expounds various "Marxological" concepts built on distortions of the teaching of the founders of scientific communism. Scientific arguments will enable the readers to counter these concepts and evaluate the significance of the works of Soviet researchers described in the book. The struggle against ideological enemies and falsifiers of Marxism necessitates a further detailed study of the most acute problems of the history of Marxism and one agrees heartily with the authors of the book that cooperation among Marxists of various countries to this end is imperative.

E. JORGEN

BORATAV, K. *100 soruda gelir dagilimi (kapitalist sistemde, Turkiye'de, sosyalist sistemde)*. Istanbul, Gercek Yayınevi, 1969. 264 pp.

The development of capitalism in Turkey, imperialist monopoly penetration into the country's economy and Turkey's participation in the arms race are accompanied by a sharpening of social contradictions and impoverishment of the working people, on the one hand, and the growing wealth of the capitalists and landowners, on the other. This has sparked a controversy between progressives and reactionaries concerning the national income and its distribution. The official press and apologists of capitalism extol the "social achievements" of Turkey's economic growth, manipulating 'average' national income figures.

Yet even bourgeois economic studies show that the greater part of the national income is appropriated by the exploiting classes. The Turkish press reports, for one, that a mere two per cent of the population is the recipient of at least 45 per cent of

the national income. Many Turkish scientists have tried to find the reason for this. In his book, "100 Questions on the Distribution of the National Income (under capitalism, in Turkey, under socialism)" Dr. Korkut Boratav, social science instructor at Istanbul University sets forth Turkey's main socio-economic problems. The author shows that Turkey, though late and in its own way, is passing through socio-economic development stages typical for a capitalist country. This is undoubtedly progressive, because most Turkish scientists deny the present capitalist nature of the country's development or portray it as "intermediate" between capitalism and socialism and typical of the "specifically Turkish mixed economy."

Dr. Boratav cites interesting facts concerning large land holdings, small-scale capitalist land tenure and the peculiarities of capitalist development in Turkey's agriculture.

Boratav deals with the formation of Turkey's industrial bourgeoisie and proletariat, showing the irreconcilable nature of their contradictions. Quoting concrete figures on the class composition of Turkish society (also novel in Turkish economic literature, which usually denies the existence of classes in the country), the author answers several questions on the distribution of the national income. He estimates that 80 per cent of the families account for only 39 per cent of the income, with 'average' per capita figures concealing the class nature of the distribution as the national income.

Highly topical are the chapters showing the decline in workers' real incomes, especially wages, as a result of inflation and rising prices. The 40 per cent devaluation of the Turkish lira this August and the ensuing increase in consumer prices support Boratav's conclusion that the bourgeois methods of distributing the national income are detrimental to the working people.

Despite a tendency to simplify some of the problems and avoid Marxist terminology, the author presents a convincing picture of mass poverty in present-day Turkey and sets out the reasons for the plight of the working people.

S. ORTAK



## DIARY: MEETINGS AND TALKS

It has become a tradition for prominent figures of the world Communist movement visiting Prague to meet with the editorial board of **WORLD MARXIST REVIEW**. Recently the journal was visited by Comrade William Kashtan, General Secretary of the Communist Party of Canada, and Comrade Ezekias Papaioannou, General Secretary of the Progressive Party of the Working People of Cyprus (Akel).

Comrade Kashtan spoke of the economic and political situation in Canada and the problems facing Canadian Communists. Despite various economic schemes, the government has failed to stem inflation and unemployment, and ruin of small and middle farmers (counting concealed unemployment, the jobless total is one million).

The monopoly offensive is increasingly resisted by the masses. Workers' strikes for better material and working conditions are more frequent, farmers have founded a national union to put up organized resistance to the monopolies, and the youth movement is on the upgrade, with the younger generation showing a growing

interest in Marxism-Leninism (a Young Communist League was recently founded in Canada).

The Party, Kashtan said, is striving to extend and strengthen its positions in the labor movement, combining the workers' economic struggle with political demands and welding the alliance of workers and farmers. The Party is also set on winning more influence among intellectuals and students and uniting progressives in the fight against the monopolies, U.S. imperialist penetration, and for democratic reconstruction.

Comrade Papaioannou described the political tensions in Cyprus resulting from the aggressive actions of U.S. and British imperialists, Greek and Turkish reactionary forces and Israel's war against the Arab countries. He described the struggle of Cypriots and AKEL against imperialist aggressive schemes, for national independence.

Comrades Kashtan and Papaioannou wished the journal success and expressed their trust in continued cooperation.



Books listed here are in the language of the country of publication

HO CHI MINH. O. *Lenine, leninizme i nerushimoi sovetsko-vietnamskoi druzhbe* (Lenin, Leninism and Indestructible Soviet-Vietnamese Friendship). Moscow, Politizdat, 1970, 328 pp.

*Vigencia del leninismo hoy y en la Argentina* (Leninism's Relevance in the Modern World and Argentina). Buenos Aires, Editorial Anteo, 1970. 269 pp.

JOSHI P. C., CHATTOPADHYAY G., KAUSHIK D. *Lenin in the Contemporary Indian*. New Delhi, People's Publishing House, 1970. 132 pp.

*Lenin and India*. New Delhi, People's Publishing House, 1970. 236 pp.

V. I. *Lenin i istoriya klassov i politicheskikh partii v Rossii* (Lenin and the History of Classes and Political Parties in Russia). Moscow, Mysl, 1970. 519 pp.

*Lenin i natsionalno-osvoboditelnoye dvizheniye v stranakh Vostoka* (Lenin and the National Liberation Movement in the East). Moscow, Nauka, 1970. 504 pp.

BAGDASH, Kh. *Izbranniye statyi* (Selected Articles). Moscow, Nauka, 1970. 123 pp.

BIRO, J. *A Magyar kulkereskedelmi politika* (Hungary's Foreign Trade Policy). Budapest, Kossuth Konyvkiado, 1970. 291 pp.

CASANOVA A., PREVOST C., METZGER J. *Les Intellectuels et les luttes de classes* (The Intelligentsia and the Class Struggle). Paris, Editions sociales, 1970. 169 pp.

*Europa, incotro?* (Whither Europe?). A historico-political study of European Security. Bucharest, Editura politica, 1970. 225 pp.

*Geschichtsbewusstsein und sozialistische Gesellschaft* (Socialist Society: Its Historical Perception). Berlin, Dietz Verlag, 1970. 232 pp.

GOMULKA, W. *Przemowienia 1968 r.* (1968 Speeches). Warsaw, KiW, 1970. 488 pp.

HAVLICEK, F. *Novi "pratele lidu"* (The New "Friends of the People"). Prague, Prace, 1970. 89 pp.

*Istoriya Kommunisticheskoi partii Sovetskogo Soyuza* (History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union). Vol. 4. The Communist Party in the Fight for the Building of Socialism in the USSR. 1921-37. Book 1 (1921-29). Moscow, Politizdat, 1970. 663 pp.

*Istoriya na Bylgarskata Komunistitseska partiya* (History of the Bulgarian Communist Party). Sofia, BCP, 1969. 707 pp.

KLUGMANN, J. *History of the Communist Party of Great Britain*. Vol. II: The General Strike, 1925-1926. London, Lawrence and Wishart, 1969. 373 pp.

KOSUKHIN, N. D. *Vostochnaya Africa: borba protiv kolonializma i ego posledstviy* (East Africa: the Struggle Against Colonialism and Its Aftermath). Moscow, Nauka, 1970. 224 pp.

KOZMA, F. A. *"ket Europa" gazdasagi kapcsolatai es a szocialista nemzetkozi egyuttmukodes* (Economic Ties of the "Two Europes" and International Cooperation of the Socialist Countries). Budapest, Kossuth Konyvkiado, 1970. 350 pp.

KROL, H. *Postep techniczny i kwalifikacje* (Technical Progress and Skill Levels). Warsaw, KiW, 1970. 360 pp.

TOGLIATTI, P. *Lezioni sul fascismo* (Lectures on Fascism). Rome, Editori Riuniti, 1970. 200 pp.



---

## **books and pamphlets by Frederick Engels...**

---

**COMMUNIST MANIFESTO** / pamphlet 35 cents.

**THE GERMAN IDEOLOGY** / cloth \$3.75

**SELECTED WORKS** (Marx and Engels) / cloth editions, 3 vol. set \$8.50. 1 vol. edition \$5.00

**SELECTED CORRESPONDENCE** (Marx and Engels) / cloth \$3.50

**ANTI-DUEHRING** / cloth \$2.50

**ORIGIN OF THE FAMILY, PRIVATE PROPERTY AND THE STATE** / cloth \$1.50

**THE PART PLAYED BY LABOR IN THE TRANSITION FROM APE TO MAN** / pamphlet 35 cents

**THE PEASANT WAR IN GERMANY** / cloth \$1.50

**DIALECTICS OF NATURE** / cloth \$1.50

**SOCIALISM, UTOPIAN AND SCIENTIFIC** / pamphlet 35 cents

**ARTICLES FROM THE LABOR STANDARD** / pamphlet 35 cents

**THE CIVIL WAR IN FRANCE** / pamphlet 55 cents

**LUDWIG FEUERBACH** / pamphlet 35 cents

**ON RELIGION** (Marx and Engels) / cloth \$2.00

**ON COLONIALISM** (Marx and Engels) / cloth \$1.50

**ON BRITAIN** (Marx and Engels) / cloth \$2.50

---

**order from**

**PROGRESS BOOKS**

**487 Adelaide St. West, Toronto 133, Ontario, Canada.**

**Phone 416 - 368-5336**

---



## Special offer...

### ► TO NEW SUBSCRIBERS

50% off (Reg. \$3.50 per year) **NOW \$1.75**

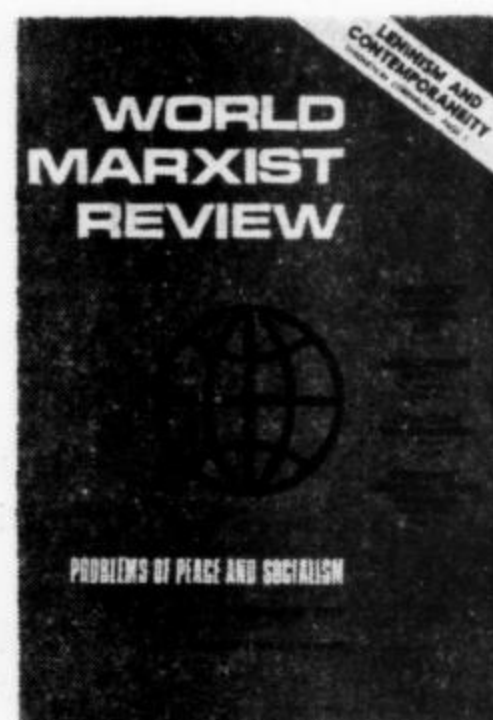
### ► WITH RENEWALS

**FREE COPY** cloth bound 679-page  
International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties  
Moscow 1969. Reg. price of book \$5.00

Please indicate choice below

**WORLD MARXIST REVIEW** is the monthly forum of the Communist movement covering international affairs, economic and political issues, the world peace and national liberation movements and the socialist community. All subscribers receive as bonus **INFORMATION BULLETIN**, as a supplement.

**THIS OFFER GOOD ONLY TILL DECEMBER 31, 1970.**



Fill out and mail to: **PROGRESS SUBSCRIPTION SERVICE**

**487 Adelaide St. West, Toronto 133, Ont., Canada**

|                                                |
|------------------------------------------------|
| NAME.....                                      |
| ADDRESS.....                                   |
| CITY..... ZONE..... PROV. or STATE .....       |
| Enc. \$..... New..... Renewal (Send book)..... |

|                                                |
|------------------------------------------------|
| NAME.....                                      |
| ADDRESS.....                                   |
| CITY..... ZONE..... PROV. or STATE .....       |
| Enc. \$..... New..... Renewal (Send book)..... |



# Periodicals from the USSR

- |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                            |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                             |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li><input type="checkbox"/> SOVIET FILM (English, French, Spanish, German) Illustrated monthly, Features about Soviet and foreign films, actors, producers, \$3.50 (12 issues).</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> SPORTS IN THE USSR (English, French, Spanish, German) Photos, drawings, diagrams in monthly edition, highlighting sports world in Soviet Union, systems of training, records etc. \$1.00 a year (12 issues).</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> IZVESTIA (Russian only) Daily, organ of deputies of Supreme Soviet of the USSR. \$4.80 a year, airmail.</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> CULTURE AND LIFE (English, French, Spanish, German). Illustrated monthly, with news of Soviet theatre, music, art, film, sports. \$2.50 a year (12 issues).</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> FOREIGN TRADE (English, French, Spanish) Monthly. Deals with various aspects of the foreign trade of the Soviet Union. \$12.00 a year (12 issues)</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> SOVIET UNION (English, French, Spanish or German). Pictorial monthly. Photo-series on Soviet life. \$2.50 a year.</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> NEW TIMES (English, French, Spanish or German.) Weekly analysis of world affairs. Carries supplements with government documents. Airmailed direct. \$3.50 a year.</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> SOVIET WOMAN (English, Spanish or German). Illustrated monthly about the life and work of Soviet women. \$2.50 a year.</li> </ul> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li><input type="checkbox"/> SOVIET LITERATURE (English, Spanish or German). Contemporary Soviet authors, literary criticism. \$2.50 a year.</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> FEMME DE NOS JOURS (French only) Monthly featuring women, children. \$2.50 a year.</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> MOSCOW NEWS (English, French, Spanish). Weekly tabloid on Soviet events. Free supplements. Airmailed. \$5.00 a year.</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> PRAVDA (Russian only). Daily newspaper of Soviet Union's Communist Party. Airmailed. \$5.40/yr</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> KROKODIL (Russian only Soviet humor magazine. Cartoons, short stories, satire, 36 issues a year. \$6.00 a year.</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS (English or French) Monthly journal on world economic and political affairs. \$3.50 a year.</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> SOVIET MILITARY REVIEW (English or French). Monthly illustrated military-political journal on theory and practice of modern military science. \$6.00 a year.</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> OEUVRES ET OPINIONS (French only). Illustrated monthly, new works by Soviet writers. \$2.50/yr</li> </ul> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li><input type="checkbox"/> RUSSIAN ABROAD (in Russian). Quarterly for teachers and students of Russian. Long-playing record included containing phonetic exercises, texts, etc. \$3.60 a year.</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> SPUTNIK (English, French, Russian). New monthly pocket-size digest of the best articles, photo-stories, etc., from the Soviet press. \$5.00 per year.</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> NEWS FROM THE UKRAINE (English). Articles and news items dealing with Soviet Ukraine's progress in fields of economy, culture, education, science, and sport. 24 issues, \$2.00 per year.</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> SOVIET CHESS (Russian only). All the masters—a unique journal. 12 issues per year, \$3.60.</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> SOVIET HOMELAND (Yiddish only). A literary journal of contemporary Soviet authors writing in the Yiddish language. 12 issues per year, \$3.00.</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> SOVIET INDUSTRIAL DESIGNS. Three times a month the latest on Soviet production and engineering techniques. \$170 a year.</li> </ul> |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
- \*All English editions listed above available in Russian except for Moscow News.
- PROGRESS SUBSCRIPTION SERVICE**  
**487 Adelaide St. West, Toronto 2B, Ont.**

Enclosed is the sum of \$..... Please send magazine(s) indicated to:

NAME.....

ADDRESS.....

Please include 15c for bank charges.

## Progress Subscription Service

487 Adelaide St. West, Toronto 133, Ontario, Canada



## Editions of the journal

# "PROBLEMS OF PEACE AND SOCIALISM" 1970

### EDITIONS IN ENGLISH

#### (World Marxist Review):

Central Books Ltd.,  
37 Grays Inn Road,  
London, W.C. 1, England

Progress Books,  
487 Adelaide St. West,  
Toronto 2B, Ontario,  
Canada

### FRENCH EDITIONS

#### (La Nouvelle Revue Internationale)

Societe d'Edition et  
d'Information 9, Boulevard des  
Italiens  
Paris (2e) France

Editions Progressives  
C.P. 175, Sta. E  
Montreal, Canada

Librarie Du Monde Entier,  
5, Place St-Jean,  
Bruxelles

Librairie Rousseau,  
36. rue J.-J. Rousseau,  
Geneve

### RUSSIAN EDITION

Stredisko pro rozsirovani tisku,  
Praha 6, Thakurova 3  
Czechoslovakia

### BULGARIAN EDITION

"Russki" 6,  
Sofia

### CYPRUS EDITION

(in Greek)  
Laikon Praktorion,  
Tricoupi Street, 53 r. Nicosia

### CZECH EDITION

Artia, Praha 2,  
Nove Mesto, Ve smeckach 30

### DANISH EDITION

Förlaget Tiden  
Dr. Tvaergade 3,  
1302 Kobenhavn K.

### GERMAN EDITIONS

Deutscher Buch-Export und  
Import GmbH,  
Leipzig 701, Leninstrasse 16

#### "Globus"

Vertrieb ausländischer  
Zeitschriften, Wien XX,  
Höchstädtplatz 3,  
Austria

#### Genossenschaft

Literaturvertrieb Zürich,  
Zürich 4, Feldstrasse 46,  
Switzerland

### GREEK EDITION

Akadimias 57 (Siné Opera)  
1 etage Athènes 143

### HUNGARIAN EDITION

Kossuth Kiado, Budapest, V,  
Steindl u. 6

### ITALIAN EDITION

Libreria Rinascita,  
Via delle Botteghe  
Oscure 4, Roma

### MONGOLIAN EDITION

Mongolgosknigotorg,  
ul. Lenina 41, Ulan-Bator

### NORWEGIAN EDITION

Boks 3715  
Oslo 1

### POLISH EDITION

P. K. W. Z. "RUCH",  
Warszawa, Wilcza 46

### RUMANIAN EDITION

Directia Difuzarii Presei,  
Palatul administrativ C.F.R.,  
Bd. Dinicu Golescu, Intrarea G.  
Bucuresti

### EDITIONS IN SPANISH

Agencia de Distribucion  
de Prensa  
Praha 6, Thakurova 3

Ediciones Paz y Socialismo,  
Apt. Nacional 1253,  
Bogota, Colombia

Ediciones Pueblos Unidos,  
Casilla Correo 589,  
Montevideo, Uruguay

Fondo de Cultura Popular  
Apdo. postal 2352  
Mexico I, D.F.

Empresa Editora Austral  
San Francisco 36,  
Casilla 13201  
Santiago, Chile

Editorial "Anteo,"  
Entre Rios 1033,  
Buenos Aires,  
Argentina

### SWEDISH EDITION

Förlagsaktiebolaget  
Internationell Revy,  
Kungsgatan 84,  
112 #27 Stockholm

### VIETNAMESE EDITION

So'o xuất nhập khẩu  
sach bao 32,  
Hai Ba trung, Hà-noi



