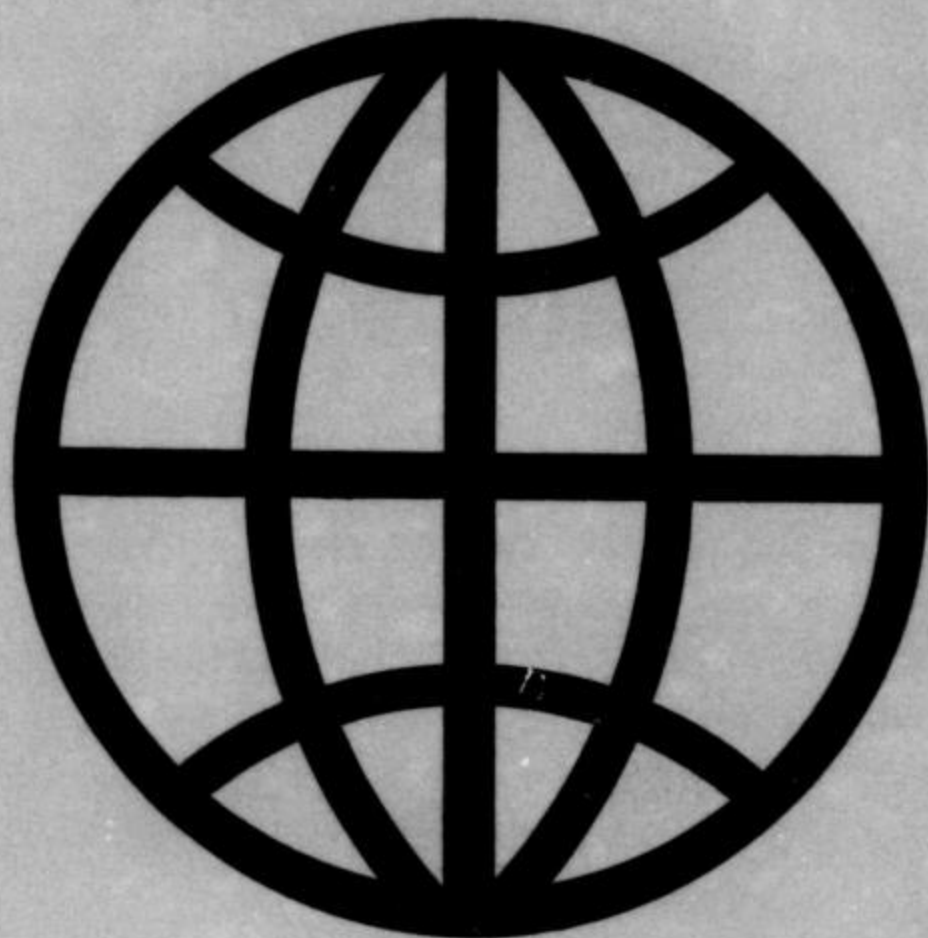


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PROBLEMS OF PEACE AND SOCIALISM

JUNE 1970

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Moscow's Kremlin Palace of Congresses. Festive meeting on the centenary of V. I. Lenin's birth on April 21, 1970.

"Communists regard it as their task firmly to uphold the revolutionary principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism in the struggle against all enemies, steadfastly to make them a living reality, constantly to develop Marxist-Leninist theory and enrich it on the basis of present experience of waging the class struggle and building socialist society. Communists will always be true to the creative spirit of Leninism."

Lenin Centenary Address of the 1969 Moscow Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties.

**WORKERS OF ALL
COUNTRIES, UNITE!**

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Lenin lives on

Never has a birthday been so widely celebrated. And the reason why the 100th birthday of Lenin was celebrated on every continent is that Leninism is a guide for everyone who thinks of the future, and works for it.

In these jubilee days, Moscow, capital of the world's first socialist state, proclaimed by its red flags fluttering against a background of the first green of spring: "Lenin Lives On!"

And on April 22, when the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party and the USSR and RSFSR Supreme Soviets met in the Palace of Congresses, it was not only Lenin's immortal image that towered over the Kremlin: his ideas, which have changed the very image of the world, were central to Comrade L. I. Brezhnev's report and to all the other speeches — of representatives of workers, collective farmers, the Soviet intelligentsia, the Soviet Army, Party veterans and young builders of communism, the messages of greeting brought by delegates from the socialist countries and the young progressive states, from Communist and Workers' parties, Left Socialist parties, national-democratic parties and movements in Asia, Africa and Latin America.

Lenin lives on in the Party he created and developed into a class party, training it in ideological staunchness, irreconcilability of factionalism, arming it with scientific prevision based on materialist dialectics and historical materialism.

Lenin lives on in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics born of the October Revolution performed under his inspired leadership; a revolution that wrought world-wide change and, as L. I. Brezhnev pointed out, asserted the fundamental laws and chief aspects of every socialist revolution, viz., destruction of the exploitive system; establishment, in one or another form, of the dictatorship of the proletariat in alliance with other sections of the working people; socialization of the means of production; socialist relations of production in agriculture; the cultural revolution.

Lenin lives on in a country advancing with sure step to communist society, the grand goal set by the Party's Program and the resolutions of its Congresses and Central Committee plenums. New economic achievements towards that goal were announced on the eve of the jubilee. The Soviet system provides an example of Leninist organization and innovation. L. I. Brezhnev declared in his report: "We must work out an economic policy, economic methods, organization and management forms that accord with the present stage of our country's development."

The principal task here is to raise the effectiveness of social production and substantially increase labor productivity in every sphere. Long-range planning, more rational distribution of industry, concentration on central social and economic problems, promotion of socialist democracy, participation by the millions in the process of economic upbuilding and in the administration of the state — such is the Soviet Union's overall program for accelerating the advance to communism.

Lenin lives on in the workers' struggle in capitalist countries, a struggle, L. I. Brezhnev emphasized, that has "acquired such a scale and intensity in recent years that one can justifiably say that a new political situation is taking shape." Lenin lives on in the liberation movement of peoples fighting imperialism, in the alliance between the socialist countries and the ex-colonial nations that have taken the path of active struggle for economic and social progress. Lenin lives on in the socialist states committed to internationalism, in their actions to foil all imperialist conspiracies.

The path Lenin's followers have chosen is struggle against imperialism — which now more than ever is "reaction all along the line." L. I. Brezhnev said: "Comrades, look what is happening to the U.S. aggression against the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the people of South Vietnam... The Marxist-Leninist parties are the only political force that could arm a fighting

people with such a clear understanding of the aims of the struggle . . . As a result of the heroism of the Vietnamese patriots, multiplied by the might of socialist solidarity and by broad assistance from the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, the U.S. gamble in Vietnam is ending in failure."

The Arab peoples are being helped by the Soviet Union and other socialist countries and by the world Communist and democratic movement in defending their righteous cause.

The Lenin centenary was a demonstration of devotion of Communists and all democrats to the cause of peace. The peoples of the socialist countries want to continue the building of the new life in peace. Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev pointed out that the Soviet Union would do everything to "promote political and economic cooperation among the socialist countries" and "restore good relations between socialist countries wherever they have deteriorated." He emphasized, on the other hand, that "realistically-minded circles in the bourgeois countries, circles that really recognize the principles of peaceful coexistence, may be confident that in the Soviet Union they will have a partner prepared to promote mutually beneficial cooperation."

The hundredth anniversary of the birth of Lenin was an occasion for reviewing the growth of the forces that have overthrown capitalism, or are fighting to overthrow it, establish socialism and build communism.

April 22, 1970 was, figuratively, a flag pin-pointing a new offensive. It was a landmark in the deepening of the general crisis of capitalism. Lenin not only gave a masterly analysis of capitalism—he and his Party did more than anyone else to hasten its demise.

The socialist system is accelerating its advance, and throughout the capitalist world the masses are intensifying their fight for national and social liberation. And this class struggle has clearly demonstrated the importance of Lenin's fight against Right and "Left" deviations and nationalism in the world revolutionary movement. Lenin once said: "The fight against imperialism is a sham and humbug unless it is inseparably bound up with the fight against opportunism" (Vol. 22, p. 302).

Leninism is projected into the future. The jubilee helped to unite the world's Communists. It opened new prospects for all the revolutionary forces whose delegates gathered in Moscow, the city from which Lenin organized the rout of counter-revolution and the rehabilitation of the economy and directed the building of the Soviet state. And they spoke for the widest united anti-imperialist front ever known to history. Never before was the Internationale sung in so many languages, never before was it so symbolic of internationalism and of the hopes associated with the name of Lenin.

Helene BERG, Pierre HENTGES

The triumphant advance of Lenin's ideas

This spring, the spring of 1970, has been a thrilling and unforgettable one for our planet. The 100th anniversary of the birth of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin came as a vivid, impressive festival for all fighters for peace, democracy and socialism, for everyone who wants to see the triumph of the immortal ideals of national and social liberation.

The Lenin jubilee was celebrated in nearly 120 countries by diverse social forces: Communists and members of national-democratic parties of liberated Asia and Africa, Left Socialists, trade unionists and peace supporters of different political and religious persuasions, democratic women's and youth organizations. This by no means complete list shows that the Lenin jubilee was more than a festive occasion. It has its own political significance, which doubtlessly will exert a powerful influence on the world situation.

It should not be difficult to point to the reasons for this. For Vladimir Lenin, who continued the work of Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, is the true symbol of our epoch. His towering figure has dominated the world's ideological and political life for the past half-century.

Nor is that all. On April 22, 1970, mankind did more than pay tribute and express its gratitude to its great son. The Lenin centenary was, in a way, a summing-up of the historic path of Marxism-Leninism.

One might recall the debates in the early 1900s over what path history would follow in the new century. In developing Marxism, Lenin gave his own answer. Today the world can see that it was the correct one. For the 20th century has not become the golden age of capitalism, as its ideologists predicted, but the age of capitalism's collapse and of mankind's transition to the new, socialist system.

Leninism is more than a guide to understanding the modern world. It is, at the same time, a weapon of revolutionary

transformation. By creating the party of the new type and by founding the Communist International, Lenin combined scientific communism with the revolutionary workers' movement. That is the greatest service he rendered the movement. He boldly led the working class in the victorious storming of the Bastille of capital. October 1917 was not only a brilliant victory of Leninism; it was also a new stage in its development, both as a scientific theory and as the revolutionary transformative practice of millions.

In the years since then Leninism has withstood the test of the grim battles of modern history. During these years numberless "doctrines" and "theories" were advanced by men claiming to have made discoveries that opened up new paths for humanity. Few remember these theories and their authors. But Leninism, steeled in hard-fought battles, has acquired greater strength and wider influence.

The centenary celebrations re-affirmed anew that Leninism is the living, most creative and only true doctrine which, by opening up to mankind the vistas of its communist future, was, is and always will be the battle-standard of all true revolutionaries.

Last year's International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties declared in its Centenary Address: "The Communist and Workers' Parties meet the centenary in a situation of increasing revolutionary activity and will mark it by stepping up political and ideological work among the masses and by extending and strengthening their ranks. They are exerting every effort to rouse the working people's revolutionary energies to struggle against imperialism, for the splendid ideals of socialism." In preparing for the jubilee, fraternal parties were guided by this approach, which stems from the very essence of Leninism and is in keeping with its constructive spirit.

In the Soviet Union, the country of Lenin, and in the other socialist lands, the jubilee and its preparations were marked, above all, by rededicated labor effort. The jubilee brought to the fore new forms of mass labor and political activity, new forms of socialist emulation, expressive of the people's will more fully and actively to bring to reality the Leninist principles of economic management, strengthen and develop the Leninist norms of Party and government work and socialist democracy.

In the Soviet Union, this grand labor effort culminated in the nation-wide Lenin Subbotnik of April 11, 1970. Continuing the tradition set by Lenin's Great Beginning, 119 million men and women took up their places in factories, farms and building sites to pay tribute, by their voluntary labor, to the memory of the great leader. They produced goods to the amount of more than 600 million rubles (not counting the output of enterprises with a continuous production process). The results of the centenary emulation drive for the first four months of this year indicate that the five-year plan will be fulfilled ahead of schedule.

In the U.S.S.R. and other socialist countries the jubilee was attended by a wide campaign to encourage deeper study of Marxism-Leninism. Publication of Lenin's works and books about Lenin, hundreds of thousands of public lectures and informal gatherings, Lenin's study courses — they add up to a valuable contribution to the communist education of the masses.

Still another feature of the centenary celebrations in the socialist countries was lectures and articles by prominent Party leaders. They brought out the relevance of Lenin's ideas in our time and showed how they were being translated into living socialist reality. Comrade L. I. Brezhnev's report, *Lenin's Cause Lives On and Triumphs*, at the commemorative meeting of the CC CPSU and the USSR and RSFSR Supreme Soviets, met with wide response throughout the Communist movement.

In the socialist countries the Lenin jubilee vividly demonstrated the triumph of Leninism.

Activities in connection with the Lenin jubilee held a central place in most fraternal parties of non-socialist countries.

Priority was given to the dissemination of Lenin's ideas, with the Parties concentrating on publication and distribution of Lenin's works. In a number of countries (France, Italy, Argentina, Finland) work was completed, or is nearing completion, on the full collection of Lenin's works.

But jubilee activity was not confined to mass circulation of Lenin's works. Much was done to bring home their message to Party members and the working people generally. Theoretical conferences, lectures, newspaper and magazine articles and special literature helped to highlight the topicality of Lenin's ideas. Commemorative albums, booklets and badges proved very popular. These and other new forms of mass work were widely used.

A number of fraternal parties have designated 1970 Lenin Enrolment Year and are carrying out organizational and political measures to increase Party membership and strengthen the Party politically and ideologically. This is already bearing fruit—thousands of new recruits were made during the jubilee months.

Commemorative functions arranged by fraternal parties were held in many countries. In Rome, there was a jubilee meeting of the Communist Party's Central Committee and Central Control Commission. Mass meetings were held in Paris and other French cities, in Britain and Uruguay, Luxembourg and Chile, Finland and India, Denmark and Japan, etc. On Communist initiative, streets and squares were given Lenin's name and memorials and memorial plaques were unveiled in places where Lenin had lived and worked.

All such functions were of a mass character, involving not hundreds and thousands, but hundreds of thousands throughout the capitalist world. This is important, for it convincingly proves that, far from losing interest in ideology, as bourgeois propaganda maintains, people are eager for a scientific explanation of the social process in the world of today. For what is interest in Lenin if not interest in revolutionary theory, in the views of the Marxist-Leninist parties on the problems of our time?

And significant in this respect is the fact that in a number of cases representation of Left socialist and, in some cases, of Social-Democratic, parties joined with the Communists in celebrating the centenary. This applies in particular to the Left Socialist parties of Italy (ISPPU), Chile, San Marino and several more countries. They responded to the Communist appeal for working-class unity around the true revolutionary ideas of our age.

These joint celebrations by representatives of diverse trends in the labor movement suggest that there are now wider opportunities for united action not only on immediate issues, but also for a socialist

perspective. That was vividly evidenced in April at the world trade union and labor movement conference in Ulyanovsk, the city of Lenin's birth, attended by delegates from nearly 100 countries.

The centenary celebrations culminated in the festivities in Moscow on April 21-22, attended by representatives of 70 fraternal parties. The keynote of all the speeches was the effort to extend the influence of Leninism and the fight against imperialism, for peace, democracy, national emancipation and socialism.

On a number of questions, the position of some parties differs from that of others. But in the jubilee celebrations all Communists were united in emphasizing the importance and value of Leninism for the international class struggle and anti-imperialist action in the different countries and regions.

A discordant note was struck in Peking and Tirana. The leadership of the Chinese Communist Party and of the Albanian Party of Labor took advantage of the Lenin centenary to issue pronouncements that had absolutely nothing in common with Leninism and were distinguished solely by hostility towards Lenin's country, the CPSU and other fraternal parties.

On the whole, the jubilee celebrations were indicative of the continued trend towards unity.

The 1969 International Meeting ushered in a new stage in uniting the world's Communists on a platform of anti-imperialist, revolutionary struggle. A fresh step towards closer Marxist-Leninist unity was made during the centenary celebrations. They facilitated creative analysis of the pressing problems of the revolutionary movement, helped intensify the fight against Right and "Left" opportunism, nationalism and other hostile trends.

The centennial provided a reliable gauge of the great attractive power of the Marxist-Leninist ideology for all champions of peace, democracy, national liberation and social progress. This was especially evident in the national liberation movement. Suffice it to say that the Moscow festivities were attended by representatives of 21 national-democratic parties and organizations in South Vietnam and Laos, the United Arab Republic and Syria, Iraq and Sudan, Libya and Somalia, Guinea and Mali, the People's Republic of the Congo, Angola and Mozambique, Guinea (Bissau) and Cape Verde, Tanzania and South Africa and other countries.

No less important is the fact that in

these countries not only revolutionary-democratic parties and popular organizations fighting for liberation, but also government organizations shared in the celebrations. As a rule, they were sponsored by representative committees. In most African countries, public meetings were addressed by heads of state and government.

Of course, it is not merely a matter of government representation, nor even of broad representation of the national-liberation movement.

The main thing is that leaders of the national-liberation forces paid tribute, as a rule, to the strength and significance of the ideas that assured socialism's victory on one-fourth of the globe, contributed to the demolition of the colonial system, and now indicate to liberated nations the path to national renewal and social progress. Expressed in their speeches was recognition of the historic service rendered by Lenin, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the world Communist movement, and a desire to assimilate as much as possible of the rich Marxist-Leninist experience. In a way, this is a sign of the times.

The jubilee reaffirmed that a favorable situation is taking shape for closer friendly ties between Communists and national-democrats, for bringing their positions closer together on the many issues on which they can cooperate.

The jubilee revealed that in the liberated Afro-Asian countries, too, Leftist and "ultra-revolutionary" concepts, and the adventurist elements advocating them, are losing influence, while the forces favoring solidarity with the socialist world system and the world Communist movement are in the ascendancy. This is added confirmation of the conclusions drawn by the 1969 International Meeting that there are considerable opportunities in the ex-colonial countries for more active struggle for social progress.

Though forces opposed to Leninism sought to exploit the centenary for anti-communist propaganda, many bourgeois leaders found themselves obliged to pay tribute to Lenin as the founder of the world's first socialist state, as a leader whose ideas and work have laid an indelible imprint on world development.

The centennial was officially observed by UNESCO and several other United Nations agencies. The UNESCO-sponsored international symposium in Tampere, Finland, on *Lenin and the Development of Science, Culture and Education*, was attended by representatives of 21 countries.

This aspect of the celebrations is significant, though it should not, of course, be exaggerated. Lenin's ideas and the practical work of revolutionary parties in putting them into action, have acquired such importance that they can no longer be ignored by the capitalist world.

Marxism-Leninism has become a crucial

ideological factor of world development. More hard battles lie ahead. But the Communists are fully confident—and their confidence has been fortified by the Lenin centenary — that these battles will end in the triumph of socialism throughout the world.

V. ZAGLADIN

New Lenin documents

The CC CPSU Marxism-Leninism Institute has put out a Centenary Volume (37) of the Lenin Miscellany.

Its more than 500 Lenin documents cover a very wide range of topics. Most of the documents concern the founding of the Communist Party and consolidation of its unity, problems of socialist construction, the Communist International and the world revolutionary movement, the Party and the Soviet state in the fight for world peace.

Many of the documents cast light on Lenin's struggle against opportunism in the international movement. Some concern the 1916 Kienthal Conference, at which Lenin criticized social-chauvinism and social-pacifism.

Documents relating to the founding of the Communist International and its early years are of especial interest today. Among these mention should be made of a rough draft and first version of Lenin's report on the international situation and the basic tasks of the Comintern at the latter's Second Congress; notes for his Congress speech on conditions for affiliation with the Communist International; his speech at a meeting of the Third Comintern Congress German delegation and members of the Russian Communist Party Central Committee.

Lenin conceived the Communist International as an amalgamation of all the scattered revolutionary contingents and groups to form an organized army for a decisive onslaught on imperialism.

This is very clearly formulated in the rough draft of his report to the Second Congress: "... The Communist International is now not a propaganda society, but the

beginning of the practical movement of the working class armies.

"The question is not how soon the revolution will come, but how to *accelerate preparation* of the proletariat; that is the crux of the matter" (p. 224).

This Lenin document touches on a wide range of problems of the world revolutionary process at that period, and contains profound thoughts that have retained all their validity and topicality. Here are a few examples.

Lenin notes, primarily, the "gigantic sharpening of all capitalist contradictions on a world scale"; and further: "ruin — devastation — economic crisis. Discord among the victors." From this follows the need for *revolutionary utilization* of the crisis (p. 222).

And in this context, Lenin dwells on the growth of revolutionary sentiments and of the revolutionary movement throughout the world. But opportunism, the "very essence of the Second International" is the obstacle to decisive action. Hence, the revolutionary parties must be "purged" of these "agents of the bourgeoisie in the workers' movement." And Lenin emphasizes the importance of Russia's experience of 1903—1917—1920 and the experience of Europe and America of 1915—1920 (pp. 223, 227).

At the same time, he points to the need to overcome "Left mistakes."

Many documents are characteristic of Lenin's consistent implementation of proletarian internationalism, his struggle for unity of the world Communist and workers' movement, his emphasis on rectifying the

errors of the then young Communist parties.

The interview with J. Fries, the Norwegian labor leader, is of major theoretical and political significance and is closely related to *"Left"-Wing Communism—an Infantile Disorder*. It deals with the question of Communist tactics and the relation between legal and illegal forms of struggle, the attitude to bourgeois parliaments and parliamentary activity. With the conquest of power by the proletariat now on the world agenda, Lenin told Fries, the struggle for democracy is directly linked with the struggle for socialism. And he criticizes the sectarian, nihilist attitude to parliamentary activity.

Lenin told Fries: "Generally speaking, we have always favored taking part in elections. However, in exceptional circumstances, for instance, in the elections to the First Duma, we called for a boycott. Anti-parliamentarianism is one of those infantile disorders of communism which I have repeatedly had to combat" (p. 212).

A few months later, in October 1920, in an interview with the British Communist William Paul, Lenin explained: "Parliamentary activity not only enables Communists to conduct wide propaganda, but can also put the opposition in a position in which it is forced to demonstrate its insolvency" (p. 249). And Lenin emphasizes the importance of practical, day-to-day Communist activity among all sections of the people to bring them into the common struggle against capitalism.

With his characteristic foresight, Lenin drew attention, in his talk with Fries, to the new processes among Western intellectuals. In Germany, he remarked, we have the growth of an "engineer proletariat," adding that it was very important to win over the technical intelligentsia.

Of much interest in this context are Lenin's letters to the noted American electrical-engineering expert Steinmetz. Lenin learned from Soviet specialists, and later from Steinmetz's letters, that he was amicably disposed towards the young Soviet Republic. Replying to Steinmetz's letter of February 16, 1922, Lenin wrote: "I have learned from Soviet specialists that your sympathies with Soviet Russia have been aroused, on the one hand, by your social and political views. On the other hand, as a representative of electrical engineering and particularly in one of the technically advanced countries, you have become convinced of the necessity and inevitability of the replacement of capitalism by a new

social order, which will establish the planned regulation of economy and ensure the welfare of the entire mass of the people on the basis of the electrification of entire countries. In all the countries of the world there is growing — more slowly than one would like, but irresistibly and unswervingly — the number of representatives of science, technology, art, who are becoming convinced of the necessity of replacing capitalism by a different socio-economic system" (Vol. 35, p. 552).

These words have a topical meaning today, when diverse intellectual groups in the West are joining the common anti-imperialist front.

Many documents relate to the work of the Communist Party, led by Lenin, in the early years of Soviet government, when the Soviet people were locked in titanic struggle against the combined forces of world imperialism and whiteguard counter-revolution. One of the first documents in this section of the *Miscellany* is an interview given a correspondent of the Swedish newspaper *Folkets Dagblad Politiken* (January 20-February 2, 1918), in which Lenin discusses Soviet Russia's domestic and international position. His assessment of the internal situation is markedly optimistic: "On the Don we are masters of the situation. Kiev is in our hands. News has just come that Bolshevik troops have taken Orenburg and General Dutov's Cossacks have suffered a heavy defeat. Forty Cossack regiments have declared war on Kaledin. One fine day he might be brought here as a prisoner.

"Thus, militarily we hold the upper hand everywhere" (p. 66).

And Lenin shows why this was possible. Citing the Third All-Russia Congress of Soviets (held shortly before the interview) he described the alignment of forces in the country: "What is especially important about the Congress is that it showed that the vast majority of the Russian people support the revolution" (p. 67).

And that was not fortuitous, for the Soviets, Lenin says, are the "historically-formed instrument which alone can assure realization of the will of the masses" (p. 250).

Another document in this section is a letter to Fritz Platten, the Swiss Left Social-Democrat who arranged Lenin's journey from Switzerland to Russia in 1917, and was with Lenin when an attempt was made on his life. The letter may appear to be strictly personal, but in a few words, as Lenin was able to do, it gives one

an idea of the complex problems facing the Soviet Republic and of Lenin's deep conviction that it would fight through to victory. It should be noted that the letter was written in August 1918 when the Soviet Republic was virtually a beleaguered fortress.

This is the full text:

"Dear Comrade Platten,

"Of course, it would be very good if you could come here again. I hear that the Swiss climate is having a bad effect on you (it is too petty-bourgeois, too 'calm', too 'cozy')—I permit myself to hope that our climate will have another effect.

"Till we meet,

"Yours, Lenin.

"P.S. All the counter-revolutionary forces have ranged themselves against us. The Kulaks are up in revolt, but I hope, and feel sure, that we will crush them all" (p. 99).

Behind Lenin's optimism was indefatigable political and organizational work, for he knew that victory would not come of itself. It had to be won in a struggle of unparalleled severity. And this required, first and foremost, a strong army and a well-organized rear to keep the army supplied with everything it needed. Lenin dedicated all his efforts, all the efforts of the Party and the people, to solving the complicated problems on which the fate of the Soviet Republic depended. Dozens of documents reproduced in this Miscellany describe that activity. Lenin worked out the principles for the organization of the armed forces of the proletarian dictatorship, the doctrine of the defense of the socialist state, organized the resistance to German imperialism, conceived the brilliant strategic plan that led to the defeat of the armed intervention of the imperialist powers (Britain, U.S.A., France, Japan and others) and whiteguard counter-revolution (Kolchak, Denikin, Wrangel, Yudenich, etc.)

Other documents are illustrative of the Party's leading role in the country and the army, exercised through its Central Committee. Lenin notes: "... There has not been a single meeting of the CC, or of the CC Bureau — not a single one — at which the basic questions of strategy were not discussed" (p. 137).

The practical work of the Party and government in those unforgettable days of early socialist construction can be traced in the documents included in this collection. They bring out the greatness of Lenin as organizer of the working class and working

people in the fight to bring to reality—for the first time in human history—the great ideals of socialism.

A firm and effective alliance of the working class and the peasantry is decisive for building a socialist society. And Lenin emphasizes that the strength of the workers and peasants is the most miraculous strength in the world. Addressing the Fifth Special Congress of the Moscow *Uyezd* Soviet of Workers' and Peasants' Deputies on May 17, 1919, Lenin formulated the Party's policy towards the peasantry as follows (as recorded in the Congress minutes):

— Our first task was to crush the big freebooters—the bankers, factory owners, landowners, and after that came a long and hard struggle against the small freebooters—the kulaks who aspire to become landowners;

— the many millions of middle peasants do not belong with the exploiters and, therefore, can and should become our friends, our comrades in this extremely hard fight for the socialist state;

— only through alliance of the toiling peasants and the workers can we safeguard the gains of the social revolution. "For the peasant it is more profitable to be in alliance with the workers than with anyone else, and the understanding peasant will therefore join an alliance with the workers" (p. 150).

The Party's attitude to non-Party working people is fundamental to Lenin's doctrine of revolutionary refashioning of society. And Lenin taught Communists how to keep in constant touch with the non-Party masses, lead them, unite them in the struggle against capital, draw them into the building of socialism. In one of his speeches, *Non-Party People and Soviet Power*, the record of which has only now been found, Lenin explains that the Soviet government needs and welcomes the assistance of non-Party workers and peasants. "But we must steer clear of the Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries who are fond of parading as non-party while continuing their treasonous activity in helping the whiteguards and landowners" (p. 290).

Lenin paid special attention to the economic problems of socialist construction. In a letter to the Central Statistical Administration (June 6, 1921) he directs it to "serve the practical needs of socialist reorganization" (p. 299).

Lenin especially emphasized the need to raise labor productivity, which he re-

garded as decisive for the triumph of the new social relations. And it is no accident that he constantly urged wider use of scientific and technological achievements and new inventions in the socialist economy.

Under Lenin's leadership the Soviet government tackled the new problems that arose after the Civil War, and worked out legislative measures to assure their effective solution. Indicative in this respect is a decision of the Council of People's Commissars of December 6, 1921 appointing a Supreme Economic Commission to frame "economic legislation relating to industry, agriculture, trade, cooperation, transport and finances" (p. 338).

In numerous letters, notes, minutes, directives, Lenin insists on measures to perfect the machinery of government, stringent observance of revolutionary law, ceaseless struggle against bureaucracy, red tape and slack discipline. In this respect there were no "minor matters" for Lenin—everything in the work of the world's first socialist state was important.

And this state was conceived and shaped by Lenin as a multi-national state based on socialist internationalism. Typical, in this context, are his amendments and addenda to the CC RCP Directives for the representative of the Council of Labor and Defense and the People's Commissariat of Foreign Trade in the Transcaucasian Soviet Republics.

One example. To the section listing the representative's functions, Lenin added: "11. In addition to the functions listed above, the representative shall in every way facilitate local initiative, development of local productive forces in mining and agriculture and realization of the common electrification plan" (p. 295).

This principle of combining the national interests of each constituent republic with their common socialist aims on the basis of a single economic plan is fundamental to all Soviet policy.

Many other documents relate to foreign policy, and all of them are evidence that, though engrossed in directing the war effort, Lenin was always striving for peace. One evidence of this is the interview (in the Swiss *Berner Tagwacht* of July 20, 1920) on the note sent by the then British Foreign Secretary, Lord Curzon. The background of that note is widely known, but the Russian text of the interview is published for the first time. Referring to the alignment of political forces in Britain,

Lenin said: "Perhaps the British proposal is no more than a scrap of paper. . . . British policy is not stable, it is subject to constant fluctuation. On one side we have Lloyd George, on the other Churchill, and between them is Lord Curzon, who wants to see Russia weak. But standing beside them are the British people with whom they must reckon, and we rely mainly on the British people. Peace between Britain and Russia is directly dependent on the strength of our Red Army and on the staunchness of the British proletariat" (p. 228).

The interviewer asked Lenin: "If there is mutual understanding between Russia and Britain, will the Communist International cease its foreign propaganda?" To which Lenin replied: "The very existence of Soviet Russia is the best propaganda of communism in the whole world" (p. 229).

Peaceful coexistence of states with different socio-political systems, the advantages of developing economic relations with the Soviet Republic, were amplified by Lenin in an interview with the American journalist Louise Bryant (October 13, 1920). Lenin told her:

"Early in 1918 I told the Americans, notably Colonel Robbins, that a friendly attitude towards Soviet Russia was in the interests of the United States. Already then I pointed to the desirability of trade relations—both from our and the American point of view. . . .

"The American capitalists know exactly what they need. They know of the imminent war with Japan for supremacy in the Pacific. They realize that America will have to challenge Britain for domination on the world market. Whether they like it or not, Soviet Russia is a great power. After three years of blockade, counter-revolution, armed intervention and the Polish war, Soviet Russia is strong as never before; America stands to gain nothing from Wilson's unctuous policy of refusing to have anything to do with us only because our government is not to his liking" (p. 254).

These new Lenin documents included in the *Miscellany* are an important contribution to the ideological treasure-store of Leninism. They complement and enrich our knowledge of Lenin's multiform activities in guiding the Party and the Soviet state, and of his struggle for the cause of the working class, for the triumph of socialism.

P. FEDOSEYEV

Curb the American aggressors!

U.S. Imperialism's New Crime—Invasion of Cambodia

On May 1, on President Nixon's orders, U.S. and Saigon puppet troops invaded neutral Cambodia. The United States has thus flagrantly violated the 1954 and 1962 Geneva agreements and created a new seat of war in Southeast Asia, jeopardizing international peace and security.

The U.S. synchronized this fresh act of aggression with massive air attacks on populated areas of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. President Nixon has factually cancelled out the decision of his predecessor, President Johnson, to stop the bombing and all other warlike actions against the Democratic Republic of Vietnam.

This new escalation in Indochina is accompanied by hypocritical assurances of Washington's "desire for peace," its concern for the "lives of American soldiers" and demagogic promises to "reestablish peace" and "withdraw" from Vietnam at an early date. But the barbarities perpetrated by America's rule give the lie to all these declarations. Their sole purpose is to divert attention and lull people's vigilance. By violating Cambodia's sovereignty and territorial integrity, the United States again stands condemned by the world as an international bully out to stifle the freedom of nations.

America's leaders have learned nothing. All available evidence suggests that they still hope for an "honorable victory." Their purpose is to use brute force and colonialist oppression to destroy the progressive regimes in Indochina, strangle the national liberation movement there, prevent the social progress of its peoples and tie all

its states to America's strategic interests and objects.

But the deeper U.S. imperialism is involved in military gambles in Indochina, the more ignominious and certain will be its defeat, and the severer will be the judgment of history and the verdict of the peoples.

Imperialist expansion and neo-colonialism are doomed to failure. Vietnamese courage and fortitude have shown the world that while imperialism can launch out on aggression, it stands no chance of success against a people determined to resist it and enjoying the support of all the progressive and peace-loving forces.

This new crime of America's rulers is a sign of their political and moral defeat, but also convincing proof of the reactionary, manhating nature of imperialism. The invasion of Cambodia has, as was only to be expected, aroused a storm of indignation throughout the world. Millions are demonstrating in protest everywhere, from the United States to Japan, from Sweden to the Congo. America's aggression in Cambodia has been sharply condemned by many governments.

A statement of the Soviet government says that "escalation of America's aggression in Indochina makes it even more imperative for all the socialist, anti-imperialist and peace-loving forces to unite and intensify their struggle against aggression."

America's stepped-up aggression in Southeast Asia will doubtlessly meet with more vigorous resistance by the peoples of the area, and with more effective action in their support by everyone who cherishes peace, freedom and security.

May 8, 1945: the turning point

ERICH HONECKER

Victory Day on May 8, 1945, the day of liberation from the fiendish Nazi yoke, was a turning-point in European and world history. The hateful Hitler regime collapsed as a result of the crushing blows struck by the Soviet Union, the land of V. I. Lenin, which bore the main burden of the Second World War, as a result of the heroic and selfless struggle of the Soviet peoples under the leadership of their Communist Party.

The total defeat and unconditional surrender of the "Thousand-Year Reich" was a natural culmination to the criminal campaign of power-thirsty German monopoly capital.

May 8, 1945 was a day of triumph for the victors, those who performed the Great October Socialist Revolution, a triumph for the working class and all working people delivered from exploitation and oppression. It was a triumph, too, for Marxism-Leninism over the imperialist ideology of great-power chauvinism and racial hatred, for socialism as a political and social system, proving its political, economic, moral and military superiority.

The Soviet victory gave the German nation a splendid opportunity to end its reactionary past and begin a new life on a democratic and peaceful basis—an opportunity to end the fatal succession of crises and aggressive wars, to eliminate the roots of the imperialist policy of piracy and conquest and embark on peace, social progress and international friendship.

The people of the German Democratic Republic, led by the united working class and its revolutionary party, removed imperialist and militarist rule in their territory, establishing a worker-peasant state. They drew the practical lessons from history and lived up to the aims willed them by the

heroes of the anti-fascist struggle of liberation.

Their resolve to follow the socialist way and build a new world as Karl Marx, Frederick Engels and Vladimir Ilyich Lenin conceived it, is final and irreversible. In fraternal unity with the Soviet Union, in cooperation with other socialist states and faithful to the principles of the world Communist movement, our Party and state are doing their utmost to prevent a new war from ever emanating from German soil.

The successful growth of the German Democratic Republic is evidence of the universal relevance of Lenin's theoretical postulates, confirmed by social revolutionary practice. We were able to resolve the essential and basic tasks of the transition from capitalism to socialism, because in each phase the Socialist Unity Party applied Leninism and Soviet experience to the concrete conditions of our land and because we acted on Lenin's principles in our strategy and tactics. We never forgot that the community of socialist countries, of which the Soviet Union is the core, is the international fatherland of socialism. The national and international interests of the socialist countries, their political and economic interests, are closely fused. Each success in the competition and struggle against imperialism accords with the vital interests of every socialist state.

The radical changes in the postwar world and the greatly changed face of Europe are evidence of the immense historical significance of the Soviet victory. For the modern revolutionary these changes are a source of profound satisfaction. They provide new impulses and buttress faith in the final triumph of our struggle for the just working class cause under the invincible banner of Marxism-Leninism.

In the past quarter of a century the balance of forces in the world has tilted radically in favor of peace, democracy and socialism. A socialist world system emerged, growing stronger steadily and increasingly determining international development. Imperialism, on the other hand, lost most of its former spheres of influence and rule, and was compelled to go on the defensive. Having lost some strength, it has nevertheless become more aggressive, trying frantically to regain the lost historical initiative.

The facts bear out the scientific analysis of the world situation and the pertinent conclusion made by the 1969 International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties in Moscow, inferring the necessity of stepping up the struggle against imperialism. The immense influence of that Meeting on the unfolding of a new anti-imperialist offensive based on the broadest possible unity of all democratic and progressive forces is now undeniable. It is borne out, among other things, by the scale and militancy of the mass actions by workers and other strata in the capitalist countries, involving tens of millions of people and giving cause to infer that a new political situation is emerging.

Recent events confirm its Marxist-Leninist conclusion that the transition from capitalism to socialism on a world scale is the determinative feature of our epoch and that now nothing can stop the ascendant march of socialism. And decisive for the dynamic growth of this process in all areas against the backdrop of an acute anti-imperialist class struggle, is the growing power and influence of the Soviet Union, its rapid progress as the main political, economic and military pillar of socialism and peace. The working class and the people of the Soviet Union have, under CPSU leadership, achieved imposing successes in building the material basis of communism. They are moulding a communist society and blazing the trail for all mankind, advancing steadily towards a peaceful and happy future.

The Communist and Workers' parties, the countries of the socialist community, the international working class and revolutionaries of all continents are rallied fraternally round the CPSU, the vanguard of the world proletariat, round the Soviet Union. This unshakeable alliance has always been the cornerstone of new victories over imperialism and fresh success in building the socialist society.

The 25 years since fascist Germany's defeat are a chapter in the Soviet epic. The U.S.S.R. has made good the ravages of war and, as a result of rapid advance, has become the world's leading socialist industrial power. No one will ever forget the Soviet achievements and the human sacrifices in the name of liberation. More than 20 million Soviet citizens died in the Great Patriotic War. The material damage and the cost of the war totalled the colossal sum of 2,509,000 million rubles.

The results of economic growth are evidence of the magnitude of the Soviet post-war effort, the grandeur of achievement, the creative powers of the working class and the rest of the Soviet people, socialism's vast potential. A few examples, we hold, show this amply. In 1945 the Soviet Union produced 43,300 million kwh of electric power, or 90 per cent of the output of 1940, the year before the Nazi aggression. By 1965 output went up to 507,000 million kwh, and 690,000 million kwh in 1969. Oil extraction in 1945 was 19,400,000 tons, or 63 per cent of the 1940 figure, going up to 243 million tons in 1965 and 328 million tons in 1969. Pig iron output in 1945 was 8.8 million tons, or 59 per cent of the 1940 output. In 1965 it climbed to 66.2 million, reaching 81.6 millions in 1969. Steel production went up from 12.3 million tons in 1945 (67 per cent of 1940) to 91 million in 1965 and 110 million in 1969.

All speculation, especially in the U.S. and West Germany, that the Soviet Union, weakened by the ravages of war, would not cope with the economic, scientific, research and technological problems on which rests the power of a modern state, proved unfounded. The USSR speedily deprived the U.S. of its nuclear arms monopoly. In decisive areas of science and production it attained a high level. Soviet economic growth is of a rate and quality that fills people with respect and proves the superiority of socialism over the capitalist system.

Soviet achievements exercise a powerful influence on the progressive development of all socialist countries, and hence, on the struggle of the two social systems, on the final outcome of the class struggle. Under pressure of the facts, evidencing a new balance of forces, imperialism is forced to change its strategy and tactics. The political impact of the growing socialist economic and technico-scientific potential, therefore, could not be more obvious.

By virtue of the growth of the socialist world system and the planned extension of

its economic potential, imperialism has also lost its monopoly grip on the world eco-

nomy. The following table gives a good idea of the new pattern.

**Percentage Share of Important Industrial Zones and Countries
in World Industrial Output**

	1937	1968
Countries of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance	16	31
United States	38	27
Western Europe	35	20
West Germany*	12	6
Japan	3	4.5

*In 1937 all Germany.

The trends indicated in the table continued in 1969, with the world share of the CMEA countries passing 33 per cent, showing that despite war's ravages, despite the sustained hostility of the imperialists and despite their counter-revolutionary schemes, the socialist countries are marching forward steadily in the economic area and by so doing furnish evidence of socialism's superiority over imperialism.

At present, their economic potential is great enough to assure stability of the socialist system; it is a dependable basis for their political and military power, opening up hopeful perspectives. Not only is socialism the decisive force in world social progress, but has already become the main vehicle of the technico-scientific revolution. The 1960s are highlighted by the fact that the Soviet Union, the GDR and other socialist countries attained top level in decisive economic areas.

The present day bears out the depth and brilliance of Lenin's postulate that socialism would exercise its chief influence on the world revolution by its economic policy and by building up vast productive forces, securing an advantage over capitalism. Each new success invigorates socialism's political positions and adds to its power of attraction abroad.

* * *

To be sure, when evaluating the relation of world forces one has to reckon with the fact that the United States yields half the total industrial output of the capitalist world. However, due to the successful growth of the Soviet economy and that of the rest of the socialist community, the U.S. share in the world total now is about a quarter and is approximately the same as in 1880. After 1950, West German imperialism succeeded in nearly doubling its share in the capitalist world's industrial output which, however, is but half of its

1937 share. Those are the facts, revealing the growing instability of the economic basis of monopoly capital, whose sphere of operations is shrinking. The uneven economic and political development of modern capitalism is out of harmony with the continuously growing economic power of the socialist community and, among other things, with the increasing share of the socialist countries in the world industrial output.

Doubtless, the struggle of the two social systems will intensify. New conditions will appear to accentuate the unevenness of imperialist development and to sharpen the contradictions between the imperialist countries. In this context attention should be drawn to two opposite tendencies.

On the one hand, imperialism, above all the U.S. monopoly bourgeoisie, is trying in the interests of its global strategy against the socialist countries and world revolutionary forces, to utilize the internationalization of the capitalist countries, their expanding economic integration and the emergence of international super-monopolies on the basis of state-monopoly capitalism. Available estimates show that the annual output of U.S. corporations abroad is approximately \$200,000 million. This exceeds the annual output of Japan and West Germany. A new contradiction has arisen—that between the objective necessity of internationalizing economy and science and the desire of the more powerful monopoly groups to exploit this and enhance their own economic and political power, extending their influence and their domination through the so-called world firms.

On the other hand, the drive accelerates the levelling process, a process evening out the level of development of the various imperialist countries. The favorable economic situation of recent years in Japan, West Germany, France and Italy and in some of the British industries, impelled ap-

proximation in industrial structures, intensive concentration and centralization of production and capital. As a result, competition has grown stronger, the unevenness has become more marked, the leap-like growth of the countries in question is more in evidence, and so is a sharpening of contradictions.

A closer look at the inter-imperialist contradictions, which necessarily influence the degree of the concentration of imperialist forces in the framework of the so-called global strategy, reveals three points of interest, witnessed since the early sixties.

First. U.S. imperialism is making every possible effort to exploit its economic and technico-scientific potential and to further expand its rule. In recent years U.S. corporations have been concentrating on seizing control of the key sectors of the technico-scientific revolution. In Western Europe, for example, they control 15 per cent of radio and TV appliances production, 50 per cent of semi-conductor manufacture, 40 per cent of automobile manufacture, 30-40 per cent of the chemical and oil-processing industry, 80 per cent of computer manufacture and sales and 95 per cent of the latest remote-control or centralized control system sales.

The U.S. capital offensive has been stimulated by certain quarters of monopoly capital in West Germany, those that expect stronger backing from the United States for their revenge-seeking aggressive policy. This explains why U.S. investment grows fastest in West Germany. While direct U.S. investments abroad went up 5-6-fold, they went up 10-fold in Western Europe and 17-fold in the West German Federal Republic.

Second. At the beginning of the seventies the imperialist countries formed two more or less distinct groups. One of them comprises the United States, Great Britain and France. Those are, so to say, "established" imperialist powers, among which there obtain quite definite disparities. The main segment of the imperialist system, they are trying to retain their position not only vis-a-vis the socialist community, but also against rivals in their own camp, primarily West German and Japan, but also Italy.

The latter three comprise the second group of imperialist states. They have grown economically solid, but their weight in the imperialist system is still limited. And they are eager to tilt the balance. That applies particularly to West German imperialism, whose aims are as aggressive as they are hopeless: to eliminate socialism on

German soil, embodied in the GDR; to extend its sphere of influence to other socialist countries and, last but not least, to regain the standing of a great power.

It is needless to prove why the political influence of any imperialist country is an essential factor, a measure of its strength and its role in international affairs, a factor that determines the magnitude of its profits.

As concerns West German imperialism, it is trying to extend its activity in the political and military spheres by a variety of means, employing considerable resources to expand its economic potential through the technico-scientific revolution, by increasing to the maximum the rate of exploitation, by concentrating forces on the attainment of the highest possible economic growth, by the maximum concentration of production and capital and hastening structural changes. Furthermore, it is trying to step up export of capital, with the accent on securing sources of raw material and investing in other industrially developed countries, thus consolidating its positions. It is eager to increase its influence in the Common Market, whereby it hopes to establish itself at the head of Western Europe. Also, it is working perseveringly to attain equality with U.S. imperialism in the NATO framework.

Third. West German and Japan monopolies are colliding more and more sharply, which speaks of the two countries' imperialist drive for more markets and spheres of influence. In 1968 Japan outstripped the FRG in output and is trying especially hard to elbow out West German imperialism from East Asian and American markets. She has become the prime commercial partner of the United States, which cuts the ground from under the West German automobile concerns and the big electro-technical industry.

Consequently, imperialism faces a dilemma. Due to uneven economic and political development, rivalry and competition among the imperialist countries is becoming more acute. Also, despite the contradictions that divide them, they are compelled by the changed balance of forces to concert efforts in fighting socialism in order "to uphold and strengthen the system of exploitation and oppression and regain the positions they have lost." ("International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties. Moscow, 1969", p. 12). As before, their aggressiveness is directed mainly against the socialist countries.

At the present, U.S. imperialism is try-

ing to modify the so-called global strategy and firm up its leading role, and, at once, to appease some of its allies. That, indeed, is the purport of the Nixon doctrine, the basic proposition of which says that "the United States will participate in the defense and development of allies and friends, but that America cannot and will not conceive all the plans, design all the programs, execute all the decisions and undertake all the defense of the free nations of the world. We will help where it makes a real difference and is considered in our interests."

This reveals the plight of the U.S. imperialists and shows the length to which they are ready to go to attain their ends, while adapting themselves to the new conditions of the class struggle against socialism and making concessions to their imperialist rivals. If these latter make the most of their potentials in pursuing the global strategy and assume a larger share of the expenditures and commitments (so far borne by U.S. imperialism), they will gain greater scope for activity. Thus, in the final analysis, the Nixon doctrine will add to the instability of the imperialist system and to the likelihood of new aggressive ventures. It would be a mistake, therefore, to delude oneself about imperialism's nature. It may have changed its methods and techniques, it may be trying to maneuver more flexibly. But that does not alter matters.

In Vietnam, U.S. imperialism is waging a brutal war—a war stigmatized and condemned by all nations—to tighten its grip on power and augment its profits. The West German Federal Republic, the most aggressive imperialist state in Europe, is extending it comfort and aid. The policy of the Chinese Communist Party leadership, with Mao Tse-tung at their head, is, all too distinctly, a favorable factor, too, for it is aimed against the unity of the world Communist movement and shot through with anti-Sovietism and great-power chauvinism.

However, thanks to the consistent solidarity and support of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries faithful to the spirit of proletarian internationalism and thanks to the heroic stand of the Working People's Party, the National Liberation Front and the entire people of Vietnam, the United States is unable to reach its military goals despite the vast expenditure of war material, barbarian extermination and the destruction wreaked on large areas of the country.

In the Middle East, with U.S. and West German capital sparking Israel's aggression against the Arab countries, imperialism has

complicated the situation and created a threat to world peace. Following the precepts of its global strategy, it is trying to impede social progress in the Arab world, overthrow the national-democratic governments and replace them with puppets that would accommodate and safeguard the interests of the U.S. oil companies and large concerns. Quite obviously, Israel's aggression and the related imperialist plans will suffer total defeat. They are hostile to all peace-loving peoples, who have no intention of looking on indifferently while the aggressive imperialist powers, the United States and West Germany, extend their influence in the Arab world with Israeli help.

By virtue of the continuously growing might of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries and the existing alignment of forces, there is good reason to speak of a shrinkage of the imperialist limits of power. However, this calls for redoubled vigilance in face of efforts, while pleading allegiance to peace and detente, to stoke up international tension and spark conflicts, which imperialism is doing to launch new fatal adventures at a propitious moment in a convenient spot. The Soviet Union and the socialist countries, including the GDR, are combating imperialist aggressors and policy. In this they have the support of all progressives. They are applying every effort to prevent a new world war which, in the modern conditions, would inevitably develop into a thermonuclear holocaust.

* * *

In alliance with the Soviet Union, a member of the community of socialist states, conscious of its responsibility to the international working class and the world Communist movement, our German Democratic Republic is doing its utmost to promote peace and obtain genuine guarantees for European security. As we see it, equal relations must be established between the GDR and FRG in the interest of peace, the status quo and the prevention of armed conflicts.

For the peaceful coexistence of the GDR and FRG it is essential to recognize the borders resulting from the Second World War, especially between those two states and the border along the Oder and Neisse. Essential, too, is a treaty of equal relations based on international law, rejection of the use of force and of nuclear weapons, an acknowledgement that the Munich agreement was invalid from its signing, and respect for West Berlin's rights as an independent political entity.

To further these aims the GDR envisages constructive negotiations with the Bonn government of the draft treaty submitted by our government. Regrettably, the Social-Democratic FRG government, which assumed power after October 1969, has not, despite the Erfurt meeting of the GDR and FRG heads of government, which we view as useful, given any positive reply to this initiative. The question of war or peace requires a clear solution and dependable guarantee that imperialist adventurers will not breach the peace a third time in one century.

The establishment of the GDR and its positive, stable and steady development of the past more than 20 years is exercising a visible and profound influence on the struggle for peace and détente in Europe, against imperialism and war, for our socialist state has in substance and purpose always followed the way which the Soviet Union paved for it by defeating German fascism.

The Potsdam Agreement was an international act formalizing the implications of the historic victory of the anti-Hitler coalition. It has put on record the basic principles safeguarding a lasting peace in Europe. According to that agreement, denazification, demilitarization and democratization were to secure a democratic renovation of the German political and social scene. Further, it was meant to undermine the power of the monopolies and big concerns, to eliminate the excessive concentration of their economic power and to **punish severely the culprits of the Hitler aggression and the war criminals.** These provisions created a favorable climate for an anti-fascist democratic revolution, high up on the agenda in 1945.

In the GDR, the Potsdam Agreement was followed in spirit and letter. Under SUPG guidance, the workers and their allies provided the entire population with a new purpose and showed it a new trend of growth. Building the anti-fascist democratic system, building the rudiments of socialism and now the developed socialist society accorded in all phases with the text and spirit of that instrument. May 8, 1945 was, therefore, the turning point in German history, ringing in a new epoch in the life of our people, whose free and sovereign will constituted the GDR.

The Potsdam Agreement is the only international instrument equally obligatory for the leading powers of the anti-Hitler coalition, and for the GDR and FRG. The

fact that it has not so far been honored in West Germany is causing anxiety among the European peoples, who again see a threat of war emanating from its territory. German imperialism and militarism have succeeded in re-establishing themselves in the West German Federal Republic. Hand in hand with the imperialist states and supported by such capitalist parties as the CDU-CSU, and regrettably by the Right-wing leaders of the Social-Democrats, the reactionary forces have split Germany, frustrated democratization in the three Western zones and torn up the Potsdam Agreement. As a sequel to this sell-out of the people's interests, West Germany joined the aggressive NATO bloc subordinated to U.S. imperialist interests, becoming a citadel of revanchism, a breeding-ground for neo-nazism and the "spearhead" of the counter-revolutionary imperialist global strategy against the GDR, the Soviet Union and other socialist countries.

West German ruling quarters have for years followed a policy of "rolling back" the GDR, devised by Konrad Adenauer and John Dulles—a scheme, in effect, to subvert the GDR by all possible means, making it an object of exploitation and plunder. Yet that policy has collapsed.

Recently West German imperialism substituted the "penetration" policy for the abortive head-on attacks, employing chiefly political, ideological and economic forms, and psychological warfare. At the same time, under cover of mellifluous words, it is building military bridgeheads for its old basic aim—that of eliminating the socialist system in the GDR.

West German imperialism calls in question the existing frontiers. Even after having signed the nuclear non-proliferation accord, it is still seeking possession of atomic means of mass annihilation. It is blocking a treaty establishing under international law relations of equality between the GDR and FRG, and maliciously using West Berlin, an independent political entity, for its provocations. Facts and facts alone reveal the special place West German imperialism occupies in the so-called global strategy and what aims it pursues thereby. The words and formulas it uses to camouflage its true intents may sound more respectable than in the years when the Federal Chancellor was not affiliated with the SDP and represented the Demochristian Union.

Many are the people in the Federal Republic who now expect the new SDP-led government to take a realistic view of the

situation and make the necessary turn in West German policy against the conservative forces. Millions of people, as we know, cast their ballots for the SDP, hoping that the Social-Democrats would on assuming government posts end the hopeless and dangerous policies of the "Adenauer era" and chart a new course—and this not in words only, but in deeds.

A quarter of a century after liberation from fascism, the SUPG, the party of the working class, the government and people of the GDR, are devoting all their energies to consolidating our socialist state. By so

doing, we are performing the will of the fallen fighters, who gave their lives in the name of victory over the fascist plague. The lessons of history have not been lost on us. We are resolved never to permit war to start from German soil.

An essential element of all our efforts is to extend our fraternal alliance with the Soviet Union and our friendship with all socialist countries, to perform our duty to the world Communist movement and international working class. This is at once the earnest of fresh success along the socialist way and in the fight against imperialism.

French Communist Party: Theses of the 19th Congress

ETIENNE FAJON

The Theses occupy a prominent place among the documents adopted by the 19th Congress of the French Communist Party.

One should not expect the Theses to contain a comprehensive presentation of our theoretical and organizational principles. These are set out in the works of Marx, Engels and Lenin, and have been elaborated upon over the past five decades in the basic documents of the Party and the world Communist movement on the basis of the progress of human knowledge and the social changes. Nor do the Theses supersede the Champigny Manifesto adopted by the Central Committee in December 1968, which will remain for this historical stage our action program for an advanced democracy and a socialist France.

Adopting the Theses, the 19th Congress set the guidelines for our activity until the next congress in accordance with the Party's theory and program.

It may be useful to recall how the Theses were drafted, for it illustrates our democratic methods.

On October 14, 1969, on resolving to convene the 19th Congress, the Central Committee elected a special committee to draw up a preliminary draft. Meeting again on November 13, the CC discussed 158 amendments to the draft, keeping nearly a hundred of them and publishing in *L'Humanité* the improved draft that was placed before the Congress. At the CC meeting Comrade Waldeck Rochet, our General Secretary, called on all Communists to come forward freely with any comments and proposals.

Barring a few exceptions, which only proved the rule, each Party branch devoted several meetings, some as many as four or five, to studying the document. Thousands of amendments were suggested in

the branches. Section and federation conferences continued the discussion and voted for numerous amendments.

As for the discussion in *L'Humanité* and *France Nouvelle*, the Central Committee and its drafting committee received so many articles and letters that they could print only passages from them. The selection was centered on covering all the important subjects and reflecting the diversity of expressed opinion. All in all, we published 150 individual and collective contributions.

The 19th Congress, a reflection of the democratic life of the whole Party, decided sovereignly on what amendments to accept. Never before had preparations for a Party congress sparked so broad a discussion. No other political organization in France could provide an example for such democracy. To say nothing of the reactionary parties that are appendages of power, like the UDR or the clubs of notables of the independent or centrist type, it should be said that the parties of the Left, excepting our own, conceive their inner life as an interminable confrontation of warring factions. These clashes, which reflect the indeterminate nature of their social basis, expose the parties in question to the influence of bourgeois ideas and often lead to infertility or even to decisions that are contrary to the aspirations of the majority, as in the case of Defferre's nomination by the Socialist Party in the 1969 presidential election.

With us Party policy is hammered out through discussion by all members and organizations, on the understanding that once the sovereign Congress endorses the Theses and resolutions, they become a party law. The Communist Party, the

Champigny Manifesto says, is the great revolutionary party of our time. We may add that it is also the great democratic party of France.

The almost unanimous acceptance of the draft Theses by our membership is evidence of the Party's profound ideological and political unity.

This cohesion, which assures effective activity in the interest of the people causes pretended or genuine surprise among our opponents. In quarters where bourgeois individualism and prattle predominate over struggle, it is fashionable to ridicule Communist monolithism. But in fact, it is a multiplicity of trends in a party that would be laughable, and also disastrous. The main pillars of Party unity are: the nature of the Party, the party of the working class, the preliminary acceptance by all Communists of the common principles and common program, and the integral character of the Party's policy.

Economic, social and political phenomena are complex and changeable. The diverse social strata act in definite material conditions, but with different degrees of awareness, firmness or hesitation. This is why all the problems dealt with in the Theses gave rise to exchanges of views, to comments and, often, to proposals of amendment. The discussion, particularly lively on some topics, enabled us to reaffirm the fundamental principles of the Party called in question by the revisionist sallies we had had to encounter in the preparations for, and during the Congress, and of which more later.

One of the points the Party had to examine, was: Has a new stage begun in the policy of the monopolies in France? The monopoly bourgeoisie's hold on our national life is not novel, but its forms are changing. For a long time it was exercised through the classical parliamentary system. The establishment of the Gaullist regime in 1958 brought about a far-reaching change in this respect. From the outset, our Party described that regime as a direct and accentuated expression of monopoly domination. For 12 years French policy was characterized by a close bond between the government and the big financial and industrial groups, and their fusion into a single mechanism typical of state-monopoly capitalism.

Nowadays the regime has extended its influence in every field so strongly that it

is proper and necessary to speak of a new stage. To cope with the working-class and popular opposition which the events of the spring of 1968 showed to be very extensive, the ruling caste took advantage of the opposition's temporary inability, for lack of unity, to promote a democratic solution, and formed an alliance of reactionary forces. Gaullist power became Gaullist-Centrist power. This new power, unchanged in essence and aims, is accelerating monopoly concentration, intensifying the offensive on the standard of living, disrupting civic and democratic liberties, attempting to integrate the working class in the capitalist system and turning its back on the national interest.

The latter aspect prompted the FCP to examine French foreign policy, the policy of monopolies exploiting our country. While identifying themselves with international imperialism, the monopolies are defending their particular interests against their rivals in the rest of the world. The world capitalist system is not a harmonious entity, but a jungle.

However, due to its own mutations, the uneven development of the various imperialist powers and its dread of the people's opposition, French capitalism is compelled to establish closer links with foreign capitalism. That is the reason behind the principal changes in foreign policy over the past year, behind the "turn" referred to by Pompidou and which was begun with Nixon's visit to Paris when General de Gaulle was still in power. The government is helping foreign companies to tighten their grip on certain key branches of the French economy, such as atomic energy. It is casting about for new forms of cooperating with NATO. At the Hague conference in December 1969 it bowed to the main demands of its partners concerning European integration and Britain's entry into the Common Market. It is trying to delay the calling of a European collective security conference and to reanimate the Paris-Bonn alliance.

While keeping silent about the continued U.S. aggression against Vietnam, the government on November 15, 1969, banned demonstrations of solidarity with the people of Vietnam. In these circumstances, Congress adopted amendments, designed to stress in the Theses the changed orientation of French foreign policy.

Several letters published in the column dealt with the concept of advanced democ-

racy. The Congress stressed that advanced democracy is "a form of transition to socialism," thus reaffirming the definition in the FCP Manifesto.

The Champigny Manifesto recalled that the victory of socialism predicates collective appropriation of all important means of production and exercise of political power by the working class and its allies, that is, a political and social revolution in one form or another.

Since a socialist revolution can be accomplished only by the mass of the people, it implies that the masses must be convinced of its necessity from their own experience. This decisive condition is still lacking in our country.

However, it is possible to convince the vast majority of manual and mental workers, whether wage-earners or independent producers, that they are victims of monopoly policy, and that it is in their common interest to join efforts in order to restrict this domination and to force through far-reaching political changes.

This accounts for the mobilizing force of such slogans as gradual nationalization of monopolies or effective participation of the people in economic management and public life at all levels. Our program for an advanced democracy is based on reforms of this kind, and accords with the present realistic possibilities of uniting the anti-monopoly forces.

Advanced democracy meets the more pressing needs of the working people and the nation. It restricts big capital control of the decisive economic levers, weakens the monopoly bourgeoisie and promotes popular initiative and the struggle whereby the proletariat asserts its leading role. In short, advanced democracy will alter the alignment of forces and create favorable conditions for the socialist revolution. "It would be a radical mistake to think," Lenin wrote in 1916, "that the struggle for democracy was capable of diverting the proletariat from the socialist revolution or of hiding, overshadowing it, etc. On the contrary, in the same way as there can be no victorious socialism that does not practice full democracy, so the proletariat cannot prepare for its victory over the bourgeoisie without an all-round, consistent and revolutionary struggle for democracy. (Vol. 22, p. 144).

The discussion in the Party also touched on the problem of alliance between the working class and the democratic forces.

No one denied that this alliance is the essential means of establishing a democracy leading to socialism. It was only particular aspects that were questioned. Why are special efforts made with regard to the Socialist Party? What should be the stand towards other political organizations of the Left? What are the possibilities of joint action with religious groups? The 19th Congress helped finalize our attitude on this score.

The FCP has always uncompromisingly criticized the Socialist Party's policy of class cooperation, of compromise with reaction and hostility to the united front. And we are not certain that this policy has been abandoned. For all this, while numerous workers regard the Communist Party as their party, others sincerely aspiring to socialism but still under the spell of reformist illusions side with the Socialist Party, which is an important and tenacious trend. Thus, working-class unity presupposes, first of all, winning worker Socialists for united action, which an agreement with the Socialist Party on a clear and stable basis would certainly make easier.

This being so, we declare for accord, not only between the Communist and Socialist Parties, but all democratic organizations, based on a common anti-monopoly program. This accord would, in fact, open up the prospect of uniting forces representing the nation's majority and would at once promote popular unity in the struggle for necessary changes.

At this point arises the question, among others, of the United Socialist Party (USP). Its ultra-Leftist phrasemongering, coupled with surrender to the technocratic ideology of the big bourgeoisie, constantly covering up reformist practices, its contempt for the struggle for partial demands, its refusal to take account of the connection between the struggle for democracy and the struggle for socialism, its anti-Communist and anti-unity attitude and its tendency to interfere in the democratic life of trade union organizations—all this reflects the impatience, instability and individualism of the intermediate and petty-bourgeois strata that are its backbone. The difficulties in our relations with the USP are partly indicative of the difficulty of an alliance between the working class and these strata in the fight against monopoly capital. However, we invite representatives of the USP to meet with us within the framework of this fight.

As regards united action with Christian workers, this has been part of our policy since 1936. Although coinciding views of a philosophical nature are out of the question, agreement between Communists and Catholics is propitiated not only by common immediate demands, but by opposition to the abominations of capitalism that is increasingly motivating the militancy of very many Christians. The evolution of these groups, reflected in the controversies and contradictions rending the Catholic Church of today, adds importance to the problem and requires sustained activity by our Party for a rapprochement between Communists and Catholics.

Another question, that of the events in Czechoslovakia, was discussed during the preparations for the Congress.

We are amazed at the stupidity of the bourgeois elements who had hoped our stand would be the beginning of a split. On the contrary, we announced in the resolution of August 22, 1968, that our Party would intensify its efforts to strengthen world Communist unity and, first of all, in the name of cementing the relations of fraternal friendship that have always linked us with the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

On October 21, 1968, the Central Committee reprimanded Roger Garaudy who had grossly violated the resolution by publishing anti-Soviet statements. Early in November talks between our delegation and that of the CPSU ended in a broad agreement on problems of the fight against imperialism, for peace and socialism. Subsequently, we assisted to the best of our ability in the preparations for, and success of the International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties, which took place in Moscow in June 1969. Lastly, in November a delegation of our Party had fraternal talks in Prague with representatives of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia. They informed us exhaustively of the situation in their country and of how they planned to solve their problems. We support their efforts to overcome difficulties so as to carry on and extend socialist construction. Our common enemies mourned over this. The 19th Congress, an outstanding manifestation of proletarian internationalism, contributed to the closer unity of the world Communist movement and to our indestructible friendship with the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

Another feature of the discussion preceding the Congress was that it revealed to all Communists the existence of a revisionist attempt to alter Party attitudes—the Party's theoretical foundations, its evaluation of the present epoch, its strategy and tactics, the principles of its organization or its position in the world Communist movement.

It was only to be expected that the May June 1968 movement, described in the Theses as the first great confrontation of a period marked by accelerated monopoly concentration, would add impulse to the struggle in the ideological field, all the more since new social strata, more vulnerable to bourgeois ideology than the working class, were joining the actions beside the workers.

The bourgeoisie uses and supports various perversions of Marxism-Leninism to check or slow down the spread of our ideas. In the circumstances the ideological battle gains extreme importance.

Congress called on all Communists to be on their guard against all signs of "Left" and Right opportunism in the Party, which, incidentally, merge in practice, feed each other and draw on the same ideological sources. To fight on these two fronts is the Party's permanent task.

Taking another step along the road leading away from scientific socialism, Roger Garaudy, who was not re-elected to the Central Committee,* chose the eve of Congress to set out a line opposed to that of the Party on all important points in a book which the bourgeois press, radio and television gave widespread publicity with the author's assistance.

Contrary to the expectations of the bourgeoisie, the whole Party responded by deepening its analysis of the cardinal problems of our time. Congress, in effect, raised all the basic problems, and their examination resulted in an emphatic rejection of the line advanced by Garaudy.

Garaudy wrote in his book: "If the Party wants to be not a sect of doctrinaires, but the ferment of all those forces in France that want to build socialism, it cannot have an 'official philosophy', cannot in principle be either idealist or materialist, either religious or atheist."

Congress indicated that each Communist Party bases its analyses and activity on the

*Before the 19th Congress he was a member of the FCP Political Bureau.—Ed.

scientific conception of the world, society and their movement, on dialectical and historical materialism.

Philosophical materialism synthesizes the results and infers the principle of the scientific cognition of nature and history. It expresses faith in man's ability to know and transform the world. Applied to the study of society, it enables us to ascertain the real objectives of the classes engaged in struggle and work out a strategy and tactics based on an exact estimation of realities. Not surprisingly, the ruling classes have always attacked materialism. In his *Materialism and Empirio-Criticism*, Lenin stresses that the struggle of parties in philosophy "in the last analysis reflects the tendencies and ideology of the antagonistic classes in modern society" (Vol. 14, p. 358).

An article on the 40th anniversary of this Lenin book, which appeared in *Cahiers du Communisme* twenty years ago, showed the relationship between the philosophical and class struggle: "All compromise on materialism," the journal said, "weakens the class struggle of the proletariat. Historical materialism is the only revolutionary philosophy, for, drawing freely on reality, it alone lays it open to us, enabling us to transform it. All other philosophies play the part of a brake. This is why all abandonment of materialism is an ideological expression of a lack of confidence in the working class."

The amusing thing is that the article was written by Roger Garaudy.

Now about the evaluation of the character of our epoch.

Marxist theory, constantly tested by history and social practice, considers that the evolution of mankind is essentially determined by the struggle between antagonistic classes. In this context, the world of today is characterized by a growing struggle which opposes the socialist system, the international working class and the national liberation movement to imperialism and reaction.

The socialist revolution is objectively necessary to establish relations of production corresponding to the present level of the productive forces. At the same time the conditions are becoming more favorable for successful struggle for socialism as the fundamental contradiction between capital and the working class is aggravated by the deepening gulf between the interests of the monopoly bourgeoisie and all working strata.

These rudimentary ideas have been amplified and illustrated in the Theses of our Congress.

Roger Garaudy's judgements follow an entirely different direction. What he emphasizes is not the essential contradiction between capitalism and socialism, but the present stormy growth of science and technology, the nature, pace and implications of which, moreover, he describes inaccurately.

To base the progress of society on changes in the productive forces, divorcing it more or less from property relations and the need to transform them, is to depart from Marxism and gravitate towards the technocratic conception, which rejects the imperatives of the struggle between classes and social systems. And as concerns the modifications brought about in the alignment of classes by the changes in the productive forces, it is hardly worth recalling that our Party did not wait for Roger Garaudy's prompting to analyze them.

In the Central Committee report to the 15th Party Congress in 1959, Maurice Thorez spoke of the growth of the numbers of engineers, technicians and other trained personnel sparked by scientific and technological progress. In 1963, during Marxist Thought Week, he read a paper on the concept of class and the historic role of the working class, stressing that from the Marxist standpoint the proletariat, the main producer of value, is the core of the working class, and named factory technicians among the other groups belonging to the working class. Speaking of engineers, he observed that economically they were part of wage labor, but that their function, living standard and origin place many of them closer to the bourgeoisie or petty bourgeoisie.

Thorez described the working class as the natural leader of all anti-capitalist forces. Subsequently, the Champigny Manifesto, the FCP national seminar in January 1969, which discussed the situation of engineers, technicians and other experts, and now the 19th Congress Theses enriched the analysis by taking into account new elements, such as the growing importance of scientific knowledge in the production process, the new ties between the two, the structural changes in industry and the relationship between the monopolies and the state. Insisting—as Maurice Thorez did at the time—on the growing importance of

the alliance between the working class and the intellectuals, we consider that he was right in saying that neither the peasants, the petty bourgeoisie in general, the creative genius of scientists and engineers, nor the intellectual elite in general can constitute the social force that would stand at the head in the remaking of the world. The substance of Marx's doctrine, Lenin wrote, is that it elucidated the historic role of the proletariat as the builder of socialist society.

It is wrong to identify all wage workers with the working class. The working class is the class of wage workers, which, using the material means of production, directly creates surplus value and capital. It comprises all working people who own no instruments of production whatever, but are engaged in the sphere of material production (which in large-scale modern production implies manual operations but also, in increasing degree, intellectual activity). In other words, the working class comprises, in addition to the industrial or rural proletariat, which makes up its essential nucleus, a body of working people whose labor produces surplus value, because they either participate in servicing industrial labor (production technicians) or contribute to the completion of the production process (transport and communications workers). In this structure the working class continues to grow and represents the decisive force in all social change.

Alongside it are other groups of wage workers whose numbers have grown considerably in the past 30 years and among whom intellectuals are becoming more and more numerous. The class condition of wage workers not engaged in material production is a complicated one. For all the diversity of occupations, these workers have the one important feature in common that they are exploited individually and collectively by big capital and the state. This accentuates their community of interests with the working class and creates favorable conditions for joint action.

What do these clear Marxist ideas have in common with the version of Roger Garaudy? His latest book conceives the working class successively as "the totality of manual and intellectual workers," then as "the compound of 'white-collar' and 'blue-collar workers,'" and finally as "the working class and its intellectuals," who constitute a "new historical bloc."

All this is based on the idea that the

fusion of physical and mental labor typical of the higher phase of classless communist society has already been or is about to be accomplished. This puts paid to the leading role of the working class together with the concept of class as defined in the Marxist analysis of the capitalist mode of production. Roger Garaudy's thinking becomes clearer when he says at the end of his book that scientists and researchers "today embody the decisive force transforming the world."

Needless to say, the policy of our Party is aligned to the distribution of social and political forces in modern France. As the Theses put it, "in fighting for a socialist France, the French Communist Party, which bases itself on the universal laws of the socialist revolution and on the experience of the peoples that have already built socialism, takes most careful account of the concrete conditions and historical traditions of our country."

Chapters III and IV of the Theses, respectively, state the objectives of the advanced democracy we are fighting for and of the socialist power for which it will pave the way, and then the policy of working-class alliance with the democratic forces, the essential method of achieving these objectives.

Roger Garaudy does not confine himself to obscuring the Party's political objectives. In his book of 300 pages, for example, he makes no mention whatever of advanced democracy. He holds that the struggle for the united action of democratic parties is an outdated notion, that the framework of parties has been broken up, that the alliance of Left forces should be turned over to the Popular Front museum and that one can now envision a direct democracy of an entirely new kind in which computers would take the place of political organizations.

Let us now go over to the organizational principles of the Party. These are formulated in Chapter VI of the Theses, namely in paragraph 45, which concerns democratic centralism. Surely there is no need to stress that democratic centralism does not exist in several varieties. Recorded in our Rules, are the organizational principles characteristic of the working-class party of the new type, stipulating the unity of thought and action that gives our Party its strength.

According to these principles, every Communist takes part in shaping Party

policy, as is seen in the preparations and deliberations of our Congress. Every Communist has the right to express his opinions and offer his criticisms within the Party, whose leading organs at all levels are elected by democratic procedure. After discussion, the adopted decisions are carried out by all, an eventual minority submitting to the majority.

Roger Garaudy holds that it is time to give up this concept, the product of the tenacious struggle fought for by Lenin and with which we have continued to build up the revolutionary working-class party distinct from the Social-Democratic type of organization.

By means of vague talk to the effect that democratic centralism was conceived "according to a mechanical model" and that it was time to conceive it "according to the cybernetic model," Garaudy expresses the wish that the Party organizations should at any moment discuss dissenting ideas formulated by anyone. This would amount to turning our great militant Party into a permanent club of discordant jabber, giving the working people every reason to turn their backs on us. Incidentally, what could be more mechanistic than a concept which deduces the organizational type of the working-class party from the state of industrial technology at a given moment.

Taking issue with what he calls "the Party apparatus," as Lenin's opponents did over 60 years ago, Garaudy contends that most of the federation or national Party leaders should not be permanent and salaried functionaries. In our society, which compels the workers to be continuously in attendance in their enterprises, this would prevent them from fulfilling important work requiring time and the opportunity of travel in the department, the country or the world.

Lastly, Garaudy suggests that we should change the methods and style of Party work by furnishing, through our functioning, "a prototype of socialist democracy." However, as the Theses say, we consider it possible and desirable for all democratic parties and organizations to cooperate in building a socialist France. The plurality of parties commits none of them to renouncing its organizational principles. To demand—in the name of modernism or cybernetics—that the working-class party should evolve the prototype of a democracy based on plurality is tantamount to re-

placing the Lenin type of organization with the old, Social-Democratic type of organization with its mosaic of factions, the impotence of which was disclosed 55 years ago by the First World War, and brought on its collapse.

A party badgered by interminable discussions, a party devoid of proletarian leadership and divided into rival factions—that in effect, is the kind of organization we are told is consistent with the exigencies of our time.

That the Theses and Garaudy's ideas are incompatible is revealed in the approach to the world Communist movement, and particularly to the nature of our relations with the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

The immense majority of Communists have no doubts on this score.

It was the Communist Party of the Soviet Union that paved the way for the first socialist revolution in history. The world Communist movement and our own Party came into being as a response to the ideas of the October Revolution and developed in accordance with principles which that revolution proved to be correct and fruitful.

However, our solidarity with the CPSU is not just a thing of the glorious past.

The French Communist Party, the party of the French working class, is committed to the world-wide struggle of the peoples against imperialism, and the Soviet Union is the main force in that struggle. For long the only socialist state to face up to the hostile and aggressive world, and the greatest difficulties, a country that inherited a backward economy, the Soviet Union built socialism on one-sixth of the earth's surface, delivered the world from Hitler barbarity and provided by its achievements favorable conditions for overthrowing the capitalist system in other countries, for the emergence and progress of the world socialist system and for the collapse of colonial empires. If the threat of a third world war has been checked and if the peoples once in bondage are now able to consolidate their independence and advance to progress, this goes chiefly to the credit of the Soviet Union, to its might and the power of attraction exercised by socialism, the disinterested efforts of its people and the policy of its great Communist Party.

That is the basis of the solidarity that links our Party and other fraternal parties

with the CPSU in the spirit of proletarian internationalism and respect for each other's independence. For all divergences that may arise over particular questions, this solidarity is a constant feature of our glorious history. No pressures or persecutions could make us repudiate it; not even in the difficult days of 1939 and 1940.

Roger Garaudy is trying assiduously to misrepresent reality. His recent writings reduce the prodigious achievements of the Soviet Union to an agglomeration of mistakes. Only the October Revolution is spared, while solidarity with the CPSU he replaces with attacks on that party and with sustained and often insulting criticism of its leaders. Against the Soviet Union and other socialist countries he borrows and exploits the slander peddled by reaction. All he sees are mistakes rather than the successful and continuous effort to overcome difficulties.

Garaudy pretends to believe that we want to transplant to France mechanistically all the features of an experience—partly traceable to the distinctive situation—typical of the Soviet Union, and this at a time when its existence and victories enable us by having modified the relation of world forces to define and blaze the distinctive path leading our country to the common goal.

He calls on us to dissociate ourselves from the CPSU on the pretext of wanting to win the confidence of non-Communist democrats who would allegedly agree, as a result of this disavowal, to join hands with us in order to build socialism in France.

To accept an invitation of this kind—if I may make an absurd supposition—would mean cutting off the French revolutionary movement from the main force of world socialism and undermining in this way the possibilities of transition to socialism in our country.

On the contrary, our Party will continue vigorously to denounce all anti-Sovietism. It will work harder than ever to cement the unity and promote joint action of Communist and Workers' parties.

From this point of view our Party regards the Meeting of brother parties in Moscow in June 1969 as an important success. It is happy to have contributed effectively to the preparations for the Meeting and its deliberations.

Garaudy is critical of the Meeting. He goes to the length of disputing the representa-

tive character of many brother parties that took part in it, arguing that the Main Document doomed the movement to impotence, because its fundamental analysis differs radically from his own.

This position again betrays ignorance of the present-day class struggle on the international scale, the nature of Marxist-Leninist parties and the bonds connecting them, whatever their national situation or the differences that may affect their approach to this or that problem.

This becomes clear when Garaudy replaces the universal principles of the socialist revolution by his ambiguous notion of different "models" of socialism. His concept leaves the door open for every kind of interpretation and overlooks the existence of any general laws of social development used differently in each country, depending on the historical conditions and national experience. Add to this that Garaudy was successively seduced by most diverse "models." In this neo-utopian round-the-world cruise he rejects only the experience of the socialist Soviet Union, the country that blazed the trail into the future for all nations, and the Champigny Manifesto, which analyzes the conditions for transition to socialism in our own country.

Adoption of the Theses by the 19th Congress, which amended and enriched the Central Committee draft, was tantamount to a total rejection of Garaudy's platform which, in just so many words, was their antithesis on every point.

The Theses are not a collection of prescriptions that automatically solve all the new problems that are bound to arise between this and the next congress. To think so is un-Marxist. But they will help our organizations in gaining a better knowledge of impending events, in finding solutions to the new problems and influencing reality more effectively..

They express the Party's opinion on the situation and the ways and means it suggests to alter it, and arouse interest among working people and the men and women of France at a time when more and more of them are searching for answers to important questions. If the main ideas of the document take hold of the masses and materialize in actions and struggles, we shall before long, with the people of France and in their present and future interests, achieve the true aims set by the 19th Congress.

Lenin's theory of imperialism and new phenomena in the capitalist economy

ABRAM MILEIKOVSKY

Extensive research by Communist and Workers' parties in connection with the Lenin centenary provides a closer insight into the new economic and political phenomena of modern capitalism. Lenin's analysis of imperialism is the theoretical and methodological basis for their study and understanding. It provides a clear example, also, of the importance for revolutionary strategy and tactics of bold theoretical generalization of new facts.

THE LENIN METHODOLOGY

Lenin's theory of imperialism was shaped in sharp controversy over the interpretation of new capitalist economic phenomena. By 1916, when Lenin began work on his fundamental theoretical study of imperialism, there was a mass of literature on the subject. The then dominant ideas were best summarized by the Social-Democrat theorist Hillferding, and Hobson, the British Liberal economist (who later joined the Labor Party). But neither Hillferding nor Hobson, whose work, on the whole, Lenin regarded as a positive contribution, were able to reveal the deep roots of imperialism and the interconnection of its various elements. No Social-Democratic ideologist has produced a theory of the qualitatively new phenomena in capitalism that retains and continues the doctrine Marx and Engels formulated in the era of free competition. Lenin accomplished just that: basing himself on the scientific

achievements of Marxism, he showed how the laws of social development are modified by the transition from free-competition capitalism to monopoly.

In analyzing the new trends in capitalist economics and politics, Lenin continued from where Marx and Engels had left off. They had established that the emergence of the joint stock company, that powerful propellant of concentration and centralization, led to the abolition of capital as private property within the framework of the capitalist mode of production. They established that the rise of monopoly, the result of production concentration, necessitated state interference in the economy. In analyzing monopoly, Engels concluded that its growth spelled the end of vaunted *laissez-faire*. But he also pointed out that the preconditions for planned production were latent in monopoly.

In its logic, structure and method, Lenin's *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism* continues the analysis of capitalism given in Marx's *Capital*. But whereas Marx took as the basic unit of his analysis of free-competition capitalism its primary cell, commodity, Lenin took as his basic unit monopoly.

The opportunists and revisionists considered monopoly the forerunner of "organized capitalism" and predicted the rise of a "United States of Europe." In contrast, Lenin, on the basis of a theoretical and concrete investigation of the laws governing imperialism, showed how it led to the

First World War and predicted that the imperialist chain would be broken at its weakest links, one of which would be Russia. The secret of this remarkably accurate prognosis should be sought in profound theoretical analysis which, casting aside fortuitous factors, clearly discloses the long-range trend.

While emphasizing the need for a high degree of abstraction to reveal the essence of imperialism, Lenin also repeatedly pointed out that its economic substance was monopoly. But he warned against scholastic abstraction unrelated to reality. Monopoly, he maintained, was a superstructure on the old free-competition capitalism. And the existence of these two contradictory elements, monopoly and competition, gives imperialism its distinctive character. Lastly, to preclude dogmatic interpretation of the objective economic laws of monopoly capitalism and attempts to fit them into the "theory" of the automatic collapse of capitalism, or its evolutionary transformation into socialism via reforms, Lenin always stressed that monopoly greatly increases the role of the state and its extra-economic coercion. In other words, enhances the subjective factor and raises the class struggle to a higher plane. Imperialism is reaction all along the line, and it inevitably evokes resistance from the masses fighting for democracy.

The power of Lenin's criticism of bourgeois and reformist theories lies in its analytical exposure of how these theories distort facts and new phenomena, without, however, disregarding the correct observations they contain. Lenin set an example of how creative theoretical analysis of new phenomena can become a deadly weapon against Marxism's critics and opponents.

In laying the scientific foundations of revolutionary strategy and tactics in imperialist conditions, Lenin gave priority to analysis of imperialist economics. His proposition that monopoly is the most salient economic expression of imperialism retains all its validity as a key to understanding the laws of imperialism. And it is by no means fortuitous that imperialism's apologists are at such pains to prove that monopoly has lost its viability, now that it is controlled from "above" by the state and from "below" by the shareholders and trade unions which, we are asked to believe, have a say in management.

History has confirmed the vast theoretical implications of Lenin's criticism of the metaphysical "ultra-imperialism" theory.

Monopoly, Lenin shows, cannot transform the whole of capitalism. Consequently, there is no such thing as "pure imperialism." This is fully brought out by two major distinctive features of present-day imperialism.

First, monopoly capitalism, based as it is on highly concentrated industrial production, extends to only 30 percent of the area, and approximately 19 percent of the population, of the non-socialist world accounting for more than 90 percent of its industrial output. In the rest of the non-socialist world imperialism has helped to retain archaic, precapitalist forms of production, thereby hampering development of the more progressive capitalist economy.

Second, even in the most developed imperialist countries, the monopolies have not fully restructured all branches of the economy. More, they are anxious to retain control of small and middle enterprises which they need as suppliers and retail trade outlets. In this way, they exploit the competition between these smaller businesses.

Experience has shown that state-monopoly capitalism cannot reconstruct the capitalist economy on the basis of purely bourgeois socialization of production. Even in industries where they have practically complete control, the monopolies cannot eliminate competition. In fact, we have new forms of monopoly competition that are a far cry from "organized capitalism." Monopoly continues to exist parallel with competition. Large-scale production continues side by side with small-scale, and enterprises whose workers enjoy more or less decent conditions with a multitude of enterprises where ruthless exploitation is the rule.

New forms of state-monopoly capitalism designed to stimulate scientific and technological progress through state interference, have also stimulated a new mythology: capitalism is growing into a new social system and, in the end, the two systems will converge.

All such myths coined by imperialism's supporters are effectively refuted by the fact primarily, that the bulk of scientific research in developed capitalist countries is geared to military aims and requirements. The new forms of state-monopoly capitalism have produced the ramified military-industrial complex, that clear embodiment of the parasitism and decay Lenin described as inherent features of monopoly

capitalism, and part of the criminal essence of imperialism.

Lenin did not absolutize objective economic laws. He proceeded from Marx's proposition that they are modified by numerous factors, and like Marx he did not minimize their importance. Various factors modify them, but do not repeal them as long as the material conditions that gave rise to them exist. Only the revolutionary overthrow of monopoly power by the working class and abolition of monopoly ownership of the means of production can eliminate the intrinsic laws of monopoly capitalism. That is evident from more than half a century of Social-Democratic government: nowhere have its reforms changed the nature of imperialism.

The most important modifying factor, and one that makes possible reforms beneficial for the workers, is the class struggle. Many of the reforms in capitalist countries are but a side product of the world revolutionary process, which has developed with especial force since the Great October Socialist Revolution and is steadily contracting the sphere in which the objective laws of monopoly capitalism operate. At the same time, the very logic of the class struggle is forcing the monopolies to maximize and strengthen their economic base, make wider use of the machinery of government. Their efforts to consolidate their economic and political domination by extending state-monopoly capitalism are clearly characterized by development of the five basic features of imperialism formulated by Lenin.

ECONOMIC FEATURES OF MODERN IMPERIALISM

Lenin's definition of imperialism is just as valid today as it was when first formulated more than half a century ago. Despite the vast diversity of concrete phenomena, the emergence of new and important trends in the economic, social and political life of developed capitalist countries, Lenin's five basic features of imperialism and their evolution disclose the axial tendency of capitalism's last phase. An analysis of each of these features will reveal how new monopoly structures are rising in every branch of the modern capitalist economy.

The transition to state-monopoly capitalism modifies the five economic features, converting them into inherent laws of state-monopoly capitalism. At the same time, their dynamics represent a cardinal

factor in deepening the general crisis of capitalism. Let us examine these processes and their implications.

Production concentration in conditions of the technological revolution has given rise to super-monopolies built with the direct or indirect support of the state. The latter plays an increasing role also in building new industries requiring large risks, which the monopolies are not prepared to run.

The structure of finance capital, too, is undergoing change in developed capitalist countries. In Lenin's day, the growth of finance capital was characterized by the coalescence of industry and banking. In present-day conditions, a big corporation will bring into its orbit not only industries and banks, but also the retail trade network, now closely linked with service industries. Monopolies producing durable consumer goods requiring periodical servicing find it much more convenient and profitable to dispense with independent commercial middlemen. Their own servicing and retail outlets give them closer contact with the consumer and an assurance of a more or less monopoly market.

Before the war, the monopolies expanded in their own particular branch. The post-war drive for new investment spheres and new-product markets has brought to life a new form of monopoly structure—the conglomerate, embracing industries often unrelated horizontally or vertically.

Inter-industry and intra-industry competition requires vast capital investments and makes not only small firms, but also relatively big monopolies, vulnerable targets in the battle for markets. The mid-fifties triggered off a powerful state-encouraged merger boom, of which even major monopolies are the victims.

The financial oligarchy is also strengthened by the fact that the banks are tapping new sources for mobilizing and centralizing the funds needed by the monopolies. When Lenin described the process of coalescence of bank and industrial capital, the commercial banks catered mainly to big capital. Now practically all of them, in developed capitalist countries, cater to the small depositor as well. The cheque-book is no longer a status symbol—in the U.S. there are more cheque-books than families and most blue-collar and white-collar workers are paid by cheque. The banks are also the custodians of company pension funds made up of employee contributions, and of trade-unions funds. All this enables them

to offer the monopolies more short-term and medium-term credit. In other words, the working people's incomes are being transformed into capital. This drive for small savings has enhanced the role also of insurance companies as purveyors of credit. Thanks to the relative stability of their deposits, they can specialize in long-term credits to industry.

These new forms of financially exploiting the working people have considerably increased the surplus value at the disposal of the financial oligarchy.

The third basic feature of imperialism, export of capital, that major form of economic ties within the world capitalist economy, has likewise been modified with the rise of state-monopoly capitalism.

Much has been said and written to whitewash imperialism, exonerate it for all the crimes connected with the colonial system and prove that capital exports are an unmitigated blessing. The persistent argument here is that private capital exports are being replaced by government subsidies and credits in the form of "aid" to underdeveloped nations.

The fact is that the former colonial powers have been compelled to make this shift largely because of the competition with the socialist world system. Government capital exports and economic aid are a means of implanting capitalism and capitalist institutions in Asia, Africa and Latin America. True, part of the aid goes into economic development, thereby playing a progressive role in accelerating social development on the capitalist world's periphery.

All that notwithstanding, Lenin's proposition that export of capital is essentially a reactionary weapon for shoring up monopoly domination, has by no means been invalidated. For all the loans and subsidies to finance infra-structures and war bases are merely a means of assuring a "favorable climate" for private investments. There is also this: private capital is only too glad to shift on to the government investments that do not promise quick returns. And often enough capital exports go hand in hand with the export of counter-revolution, the financing of "minor wars," sabotage and provocation. All this is part of a policy designed to guarantee private investments a high profit level. Government "aid" to developing countries therefore stimulates the flow of private investments. Here are the figures: credits and subsidies to Third World nations by member states of the

Organization of Economic Cooperation and Development increased from \$5 billion in 1960 to \$7 billion in 1967, and export of private capital to these countries from \$3 billion to \$4 billion.

But capital is flowing not only into underdeveloped countries. A good deal of it goes into old capitalist countries as a means of boosting commodity exports. Again the figures: the share of developed capitalist countries in direct American investments rose from 48.3 percent in 1950 to 67.2 per cent in 1967, and the share of developing countries fell from 51.7 to 32.8 percent, with Latin America showing a drop from 38.8 to 20.1 percent.

Behind this migration of capital is not only sharper monopoly rivalry, but also a clear trend towards international intertwining of capital to finance industrial, transport and other projects far beyond the means of one country.

Capital exports to industrial and developing countries, regulated by state-monopoly capitalism, largely determine the specific manifestation of the fourth basic feature of present-day imperialism, namely, the rise of international monopoly alliances and their rivalry for economic division and re-division of the world.

The dominant postwar form of international monopoly alliances is imperialist integration, i.e., deals between monopolies through intra-government agreements operated by supra-national institutions. It would be wrong to ascribe the rise of this new monopoly structure to the specific characteristics of modern production, which necessitates broader international division of labor and cooperation, or to intensified imperialist market rivalry. Competition of the two systems plays a definite part by modifying the laws of monopoly capitalism. This is borne out by the record of imperialist integration.

The first practical steps towards an integrated Western Europe were taken by the U.S. government after the war. The Marshall Plan was backed by the U.S.-sponsored Organization of European Economic Cooperation. It was assigned the dual task of uniting capitalist Europe to fight socialism, the workers' and the national liberation movements, but also to liberalize trade and gradually demolish customs barriers. This would give American capital more leeway in penetrating Europe and turning the continent into an element of a Washington-directed Atlantic community. This imperialist strategy determines the U.S.

attitude towards European integration and has a direct impact on its export policy.

However, the plan was foiled by intra-imperialist contradictions, clearly discernible in the trend towards regional integration. At first the OEEC was the only integration agency, but in the second half of the fifties capitalist Europe split into two regional groups, the European Economic Community and the European Free Trade Association. The present moves to bring them together are not only the result of U.S. pressure—Washington has not abandoned its integration plans based on the Atlantic community—but also of the West-European monopolies' desire to marshal their economic resources for effective competition with the American corporate giants.

Uneven economic development and the fight to divide up the world, both built-in features of imperialism, find expression in sharp policy conflicts. Military blocs and unequal treaties, the British and U.S. drive for influence in what was once the British Empire, U.S.-French differences, the deepening antagonism between Japan and the U.S.A., the French withdrawal from the NATO military command, the political struggle around the future of the Common Market, and Bonn's expansionist proclivities—all of them are reflections of the old tendency to consolidate spheres of political influence in the new, changed conditions; direct colonial conquest has given way to neo-colonialism, war as the continuation of imperialist politics is much more difficult due to the confrontation of the two world systems and the weaponry revolution. In our day, America's aggressive imperialist policy is the concentrated expression of the imperialist drive for political and territorial expansion. And U.S. imperialism is determined to keep the other capitalist countries under its influence, become the hegemon of the non-socialist world and the organizer of its collective effort, including armed action, to arrest the world revolutionary process.

Fortunately for mankind, this sinister policy is now countered by the powerful front of revolutionary forces. Imperialism finds itself obliged to reckon with the changed world balance of strength, the Soviet Union's nuclear potential and the possible consequences of a nuclear-missile war. And imperialism is finding it increasingly difficult, and increasingly perilous, to bank on another world war, though it would be dangerous to underestimate its

aggressiveness and the rash adventurist propensities of its extreme elements.

PROBLEMS OF THEORETICAL ANALYSIS

The new phenomena in capitalist economics are now the subject of intense theoretical study and discussion by Marxist researchers.* The appearance of conglomerates is one of the outstanding characteristics of present-day imperialism. If we are to follow up Lenin's analysis of imperialism, which regards monopoly as the root element of its development, it is important to make a searching study of the substance of the conglomerate.

And the most interesting discussion point, I think, is this: are the conglomerates a step forward in capitalist socialization of production, necessitated by the scientific-technological revolution, or are they an irrational form of capitalist concentration stemming from the specifics of market rivalry and stock-exchange speculation? There are facts to substantiate both views. In Western Europe and Japan, the state encourages conglomerates. The aim is to create bigger, more concentrated units able to employ the new technology and computer techniques for more effective competition on the world market.

The picture in the U.S. is different. There is no purposive policy of stimulating conglomerates. In fact, what we have is a number of super-monopolies with a chaotic conglomeration of unrelated industries. The motive behind this is to keep share prices at a high level. Such conglomerates doubtlessly represent an irrational structure from the standpoint of the material prerequisites of socialism. But if we take the central characteristics of the present merger boom encompassing all capitalist countries, it must be said that the prevailing trend, one that stimulates organization of conglomerates, is towards a higher level of industrial socialization to meet the huge investments the new technology requires. That, in fact, is the earnest of successful competition. The rise of conglomerates must be seen in context with the technological revolution and its objectively progressive tendencies. The very possibility

*See articles by Communist and Workers' party leaders in *World Marxist Review*: Gus Hall: "The Turning Point of History" (No. 11, 1969); Victor Perlo: "The Monopoly Offensive"; Hyman Lumer: "The Problems of Inflation in the United States"; James West: "The Scientific-Technological Revolution" (No. 1, 1970); John Gollan: "Lenin's Analysis of Imperialism and Some Developments of Monopoly" (No. 3, 1970)—Ed.

of creating giant economic complexes of unrelated industries is the result of developments in such fields as cybernetics and modern information systems, which make for higher productivity.

The present merger boom reflects the substantial changes in the economic balance of developed capitalist countries. A distinguishing feature of the conglomerates is that, having originated in the producer goods industries, they are extending their operations to the consumer goods and service industries oriented on unproductive consumption. Another, more recent feature, is closer growth rates in producer and consumer goods industries. Marx once remarked that the profit motive led to "production for the sake of consumption." In this case, however, consumption is not designed to meet real needs, but rather the needs of capitalist reproduction. Such is the substance of the "consumer society," that child of rapidly growing monopoly closely tied in with the state. The objective basis for this change in the producer-consumer goods ratio is, of course, the technological revolution. It has made it possible to reduce the amount of capital and materials involved in production and increase productivity, unprecedentedly, through more efficient use of available resources, a higher standard of labor power, and more effective management systems. In present-day conditions monopoly capital cannot expand production without increasing the purchasing power of society. But opportunities for heightening prosperity levels cannot be fully utilized in countries where state-monopoly capitalism subordinates expansion of the productive forces to maintaining the obsolete system of private-monopoly ownership of the means of production.

The Keynesian methods of promoting "effective demand," even when they are not used to finance the arms drive, but help, to one or another extent, to boost popular consumption, cannot eliminate the deep-seated contradictions of capitalist reproduction; they actually tend to aggravate them. For the worker, inflationary stimulation of demand, depressing real wages by constantly raising prices, means more tension, more instability and more fear of the morrow, and dispels all his illusions of "consumer sovereignty." The structure and scale of production is increasingly dictated by the giant monopolies, which use psychological advertising techniques to stimulate consumption of goods and ser-

vices that yield a high profit. And vast resources are squandered to satisfy this artificially created consumption, while the more vital needs of the population, in health, education and culture, for instance, are totally disregarded.

It is becoming increasingly clear that state-monopoly capitalism can stimulate production only through inflation. Excessive inflation, of course, militates against it, and its only method of curbing it is to depress consumption and create mass unemployment. The sunshine theory of "full employment" goes hand in hand with cynical measures to maintain a "normal" level of unemployment. Such is the reverse side of the "consumer society" and of neo-Keynesian "growth" policies.

A new addition to neo-Keynesian economic adjustment theories is the "incomes policy" designed to integrate the trade unions into the system of state-monopoly capitalism and bring the labor movement under government control. The contradictions this produces are at the root of the sharp socio-political crises that shake the "consumer society" even in periods of high business activity.

These new economic and political processes in developed capitalist countries refute the view that the deepening of the general crisis of capitalism is due entirely to profound cyclical overproduction crises and mass unemployment. Experience has shown that, with the two-system competition, the technological revolution and more stringent state-monopoly economic adjustment, the general crisis of capitalism can deepen even in peak periods of the economic cycle.

The growth of monopoly, as expressed in the rise of conglomerates, leads to new trends in state-monopoly capitalism. For one thing, top monopoly groups are anxious to limit direct state intervention in resolving social problems. The monopolies want to solve them themselves, through their paternalist policies. What we have here is a dexterous strategy of state-monopoly capitalism: the state uses every available opportunity to strengthen the private-monopoly base of capitalism, for increased etatization would weaken its very foundations. Little surprise, then, that the merger boom is accompanied by a policy of "reprivatizing" the economy in countries where postwar pressure by the workers and democratic movement forced nationalization of various industries to form a

strong public sector. Also significant in this context are attempts by Right-wing Social-Democrat leaders to curtail, even annul, earlier plans for nationalization of key branches of the economy.

The emergence of conglomerates embracing far-flung industrial complexes in every area of the national economy leads to closer ties between planning by big firms and state macro-economic medium-range and long-range programming. This gives the top monopolies a bigger say in shaping the economic and political strategy of state-monopoly capitalism. As a rule, company planning and long-range state programs are complemented by models of socio-political development based on wishful-thinking prognostication of capitalism's development to achieve the ideals of "post-

industrial society" in which, we are told, all class contradictions will vanish.

That being the situation, it is especially important for the Communist movement creatively to analyze the real prospects of capitalist development, using the basic principles of Lenin's theory of imperialism. While properly assessing all the changes in modern capitalism, and investigating its qualitatively new economic processes we must see their link with the fundamental laws of imperialism discovered by Lenin, which show that it is moribund capitalism, and reveal the factors that make socialist revolution inevitable. For Lenin's methodology of analyzing new phenomena retains its validity and topicality in this crucial area of theoretical activity of fraternal parties.

Discussions

AUSTRIA

The Communist Party of Austria held a conference on the centenary of V. I. Lenin's birthday, attended by representatives of fraternal parties, at which Comrade Erwin Scharf, Member of the CPA Political Bureau, presented the main paper, entitled "What Does the Participation of Social-Democratic Parties in Bourgeois Governments Mean from the Standpoint of the Struggle for Socialism?" Comrade Max Schaefer, representing the German Communist Party and Comrade J. Gacon, of the French Communist Party, also presented contributions.

Comrade Hans Kalt, Central Committee Secretary of the CPA, stressed in an opening address that the Party hoped to profit from the conference in the struggle for socialism in Austria.

During the two-day discussion, the conference examined various aspects in the activity of Social-Democratic parties in power or in opposition for considerable periods. Speakers noted the theoretical and practical importance of Lenin's criticism of the opportunism of Social-Democratic leaders, the international importance of the experience

of the October Revolution and the building of socialism in the USSR. The activity of the Socialist Party of Austria since the end of the past century was closely examined, speakers tracing the evolution of its ideological principles. A close study of Social-Democratic program documents of various times was supplemented by a survey of considerable factual material.

In its evolution, the SPA leadership drifted away from class positions to the posture of ideological coexistence with the bourgeoisie. As a result, its leaders today offer an action program based on the notion of a class peace, a so-called democracy without dictatorship, without struggle for power and without negating private capitalist ownership of the means of production. Words like "capitalism," "exploitation" and "class struggle" have vanished from the Right Socialists' vocabulary, being replaced with the less troublesome concepts of "industrial society," "social partnership" and "social peace." The antagonistic classes of bourgeois society, too, have been replaced with the terms "employers" and "employed." As a result of gradual evolution the

political vocabularies of the SPA and Austrian People's Party bear a striking resemblance. More points of contact, the conference noted, have appeared between the "new socialism" of the present-day Social-Democrats and "people's capitalism," the theoretical cornerstone of bourgeois propaganda.

Speakers analyzed the economic pillars of opportunism in the working-class movement. SPA efforts to integrate the workers in the present system, it was noted, have resulted in the Party's own integration in state-monopoly capitalism, for objectively it reflects the interests of big national and international capital. "As an ideology and a practice," Scharf said, "social partnership has become a component of the methods of domination used by big capital at a time when socialism is proving its superiority and capacity for dynamic growth." The class purpose of the social partnership policy, a means of manipulating public opinion, is to create and spread among the workers the illusion of their participation in economic guidance. Yet as a practical result of the cooperation between Social-Democratic leaders and big capital, as the result of the alliance of politician and manager, economic solutions are increasingly adopted by narrow groups.

The conference levelled sharp criticism at the Right Social-Democrats' cooperation in stabilizing state-monopoly capitalism. To undermine the omnipotence of capital it is not enough to work in the parliamentary framework. Extra-parliamentary activity must be stepped up. At the same time some speakers warned against underrating

the influence of the SPA among the people, underrating the force of attraction of reformist illusions among definite segments of society, underrating the subtlety and refinement of social demagoguery.

The Communist Party has been working for contacts with the SPA since 1945. CPA program documents and Party congresses criticized thoroughly the views and activity of Social-Democratic leaders, exposing their conciliatory conduct vis-à-vis the ruling class and their inconsistency in representing the people's interests. At the same time, the Communist Party reckoned with the fact that united working-class action did not necessarily imply complete ideological unity of all contingents. The working class, the conference noted, has a stake in utilizing the socio-economic activity of the ruling Social-Democracy in satisfying its interests and encouraging the positive aspects of that activity. It is not enough to say that capitalism is bad and Social-Democracy inept. A concrete democratic alternative is required to bourgeois policy, one that is comprehensible and appealing to the workers. What is necessary, is to build up a mass movement against the power of capital and to enliven labor action.

The worker, the immediate and ultimate aims of his struggle, should always be the focal aim in policy. That is the angle, speakers said at the conference, from which to approach Social-Democratic activity in government and the aspects of the struggle for socialism.

G.S.

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

A congress, "Lenin and Marxist Philosophy in Our Time," on the centenary of V. I. Lenin's birth, was held in Leipzig April 2-3 under the auspices of the Marxist-Leninist Philosophy faculty of the Institute of Social Science (CC SUPG), the Central Institute of Philosophy of the German Academy of Science and the Association of Philosophical Institutions of the GDR. Attending were nearly 800 GDR philosophers, sociologists, historians and economists and delegations of scientists and researchers from Bulgaria, Hungary, the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, Poland, Rumania, the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia, Marxist philosophers from the German Federal Republic and representatives of our journal.

The congress opened with a brief intro-

duction by W. Eichhorn. Apart from full-scale sittings, at which Comrades A. Kozing, H. Steininger, G. Heyden, K. Kroeber (GDR), G. Glezerman (USSR), Le Thanh Khiet Khanh (DRV), V. Ruml (Czechoslovakia) and C. Nowinski (Poland) presented papers, there were sections on specific themes: "Science and Socialism," "Development and Guidance of Socialist Consciousness," "Development of the Collective and the Individual Under Socialism," "Lenin's Principles of Combating Bourgeois and Revisionist Ideology" and "The Development by Lenin of Marxist Philosophy."

The keynote was formulated in his paper by Comrade Kurt Hager, Member of the Political Bureau and Central Committee, Secretary of the Socialist Unity Party.

"Leninism," he said, "has become a formidable force accelerating the world revolutionary process and facilitating the struggle for peace, democracy and socialism. Lenin's teaching is the theoretical equipment of the Communist and Workers' parties, and for us, the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, the working class and all working people of the GDR, it is the lodestar and compass in building the developed socialist system and fighting to safeguard peace."

In the contemporary historical situation the impact of philosophical ideas depends on their social function. Elaborating on the dialectical and historical materialism of Marx and Engels, Lenin consistently affirmed the partisanship of Marxist philosophy, combating all attempts at distorting its basic principles. That, it was stressed, is still a relevant task. And the challenge will be met the more successfully, the more boldly Marxist philosophy generalizes the problems of modernity and creativity enriches Marxism-Leninism.

The unity of philosophy and politics is a fundamental Marxist-Leninist principle and tradition. Speakers noted that the extension of the leading role of the Communist Party in building the developed social system of socialism presupposes a Party policy based on the scientific theory of social development continuously aligned with reality. This approach helps pinpoint the problems arising with the growth of socialism, basing their solution on the objective social laws and precluding subjectivism and voluntarism.

In the socialist countries, guided by the Marxist-Leninist party, scientists and researchers participate in framing and carrying forward scientifically-grounded policy. Philosophy invades the life of society. No such thing as an "autonomous philosophy," dissociated from real policy, exists. Those who assume that the role of Marxist philosophy amounts to merely criticizing, it was noted, and those who refuse to participate in the creative constructive work of determining and using the laws of socialism on the pretext that such work is ostensibly an "apology" for the existing system are thereby, whether they like it or not, betraying the social function and spirit of Marxist philosophy.

Among the topics discussed the accent was on problems pushed to the fore by the theory and practice of socialism. The object of the discussion was to philosophically apprehend the new processes and phenomena, and to apply in practice those ex-

tensive opportunities offered by the socialist system.

Speakers pointed to the qualitatively new role of science and technology in the socialist environment. Much attention was devoted to the place of science in guiding and organizing society; the forecasting of social growth; cooperation of natural and social sciences; complex research in allied fields; the ideological aspect in the work of science centers, and the like.

It was stressed that the aspects of the scientific organization of socialist society were not purely technical, that is, confined to structural organization; above all, they are socio-political in substance, and the solutions, therefore, should not be regarded as expressive of a "science policy indifferent to classes" — an idea actively propagated by bourgeois theorists and reformists. Far from removing the socio-political and ideological aspects of administration, the congress noted, the scientifico-technological revolution of our time in fact redoubled them.

A close examination was made of the laws governing the growth of socialist consciousness and the possibilities of controlling it. Speakers looked into the relationships under socialism between public institutions, the collective and the individual. Refuting the bourgeois-revisionist concept of the state as an institution by its nature opposed to man as an alien and hostile force, many speakers showed that in socialist society government and humanity form an indivisible unity, because state policy is aimed at promoting the harmonious development of the personality.

Imperialism, the congress noted, has mounted a new ideological offensive against Marxism-Leninism, the socialist countries and all other forces of the world revolutionary process. In the theoretical context, the accent is on attacking Lenin's ideas. Anti-Leninism, it was noted, is the common denominator of the imperialist, reformist and revisionist ideologies.

The other distinctive feature is that refined forms and methods of ideological struggle aimed at "eroding socialism" are gaining prominence alongside the candidly anti-communist concepts. By this token, speakers examined the role of Social-Democracy, especially that of West Germany, in the present-day confrontation of the two social systems. Making use of the Right Social-Democratic leaders and the latter's conception of a "third way," it was

noted, imperialism is trying to carry forward its ideological and political expansion inside the world revolutionary movement and subjugate the working class.

Combating Social-Democratic ideology and policy is now doubly important. We must analyze the role and functions of modern revisionism and level Marxist-Leninist criticism at the revisionist theories of "philosophical anthropology," alienation and the "philosophy of practice." The ideological source of these theories is traceable to the bourgeois interpretation of Marx and his teaching in the spirit of modern bourgeois philosophies, especially the "philosophy of life."

Speakers showed that for Marx and Engels, and equally so for Lenin, ideological struggle was one of the main forms of the class struggle of the proletariat. Lenin held that the class roots of any ideology should be exposed and evaluated by the Party, that

no compromises were tolerable, and that the ideological struggle should be continuously tied in with the basic tasks of the proletarian party.

Socialism, the congress pointed out, should solve the theoretical problems of its growth on the basis of Marxism-Leninism. Revisionist attempts at advancing theories borrowed from the arsenal of bourgeois ideology and Social-Democracy, tend to disarm the Marxist-Leninist party ideologically, to erode socialist society and weaken it politically.

The Leipzig congress reaffirmed that Marxism-Leninism was on the offensive, that the world socialist system held the historical initiative and that in the confrontation of the two opposite social systems Marxist-Leninist philosophy was an ideological weapon of the working class and its party.

O. JUNS

NORWAY

"Topical Problems of Leninism" was the theme of an international seminar held by the Communist Party of Norway on the centenary of Lenin's birth. Apart from Communists and the Norwegian Communist youth organization, the seminar was attended by representatives of other Left forces in the country's labor and trade-union movement, and by delegations from the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, the Italian Communist Party, the Rumanian Communist Party and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

The seminar examined the following topics: Lenin's teaching on the Party, Lenin's teaching on the state, Lenin on imperialism and peaceful coexistence and Lenin on internationalism and the right of nations to self-determination.

Speakers stressed the relevance of Lenin's teaching on the party as the leading force in the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat and the revolutionary reconstruction of society, and the importance of the principles of democratic centralism for successful activity by any genuine proletarian party. The study of the Marxist-Leninist teaching on the state and the dictatorship of the proletariat centered on the embodiment of that teaching in the practice of building socialism, and on its significance for the contemporary struggle of the working class and its allies in the capitalist countries. Lenin's analysis of state-mono-

poly capitalism and continuous awareness of new features in its development provide a powerful weapon in the struggle against imperialism and the bourgeois policy of "social partnership" and class cooperation.

Imperialism, primarily U.S. imperialism, is the common enemy of all truly revolutionary forces. This must be taken into account in examining the strategy and tactics of the world Communist movement. Stressing the importance of a broad movement against the policy of the ruling circles in the NATO countries, speakers examined the various forms of struggle against imperialism, for European security. They supported the idea of a congress of the peoples of Europe.

Questions of internationalism, united action by the international working class and the Communist and Workers' parties, their equality and independence, and the struggle against nationalism and chauvinism, were also dealt with at length. Speakers said that unity of the Communist and Workers' parties on the basis of Leninist principles was the earnest of the success of the international working class.

Despite some disparities in their assessment of separate aspects, speakers displayed the same approach to questions of principle. It was noted that continuous exchanges of opinion were necessary to cement the unity of the world Communist movement on the basis of Marxism-Leninism.

The seminar was highly important for the

Communist Party of Norway, for it elucidated important points of Marxist-Leninist theory and the ideological struggle. Its materials, which it is planned to publish in book form, will no doubt contribute to a

more profound knowledge of Marxism-Leninism and its application in the Party's practical activity.

Arne PETTERSEN

Lenin in Prague

Prague is one of the European cities closely associated with Lenin's revolutionary activity. In January 1912 it was the venue of the Bolshevik Party Conference, directed by Lenin, which played an important part in promoting the revolutionary process in Russia and strongly influenced the international workers' movement.

But this was not Lenin's first visit to Prague. He had been there in September 1900, and his stay in the city is mentioned in letters to the family and in the reminiscences of his wife, Nadezhda Krupskaya.

Some details of this visit were revealed by the late Frantisek Modracek. One day, Modracek relates, he was asked to see Antonin Nemec, editor of the Social-Democratic newspaper *Pravo lidu*. Nemec introduced him to a foreigner with the words: "This comrade is from Russia. . . . He wants someone in Prague to handle mail to and from Russia. I suggest you take on the job.

"After a few questions (Modracek writes) I said I would help the Russian comrade. Then we retired to a near-by cafe where I learned exactly what was expected of me. . . .

"My job would be to act as go-between in this comrade's communication with Russia. I would receive letters from Russia and other countries, open them, put them into new envelopes and mail them to an address he would later send me. . . . I would re-address literature parcels to Cracow, from where they would be sent to Russia. All expenses, I was told, would be defrayed. The Russian comrade was very outspoken, from which I concluded that I had been favorably recommended. But he was careful not to give me his real name, saying simply that he was known abroad as Meyer. I said I would follow his instructions and he took down my Prague address. Contact was thus established."

The address Modracek gave Lenin was of the Social-Democratic Cooperative Printing Society, Ve Smeckach 27.

Shortly after that, there was a letter giving this address for mail and money orders:

Dr. Med. Karl Lehmann,
Gabelsbergerstrasse 20 a/II,
Munchen (fur Meyer).

Modracek recalls having received from Meyer pamphlets, copies of *Iskra* and of *Zarya* magazine, which he forwarded to an address in Cracow.

The Cooperative Printing Society was a convenient cover address: every day it received parcels and letters from various parts of Austria-Hungary and other countries, so that letters with Russian or German postmarks would not arouse suspicion. Early in 1901 the Society moved to another building and Modracek sent Lenin his home address. On March 2, 1901, Lenin wrote his mother:

"Mother dearest,

"This is to tell you of a change in my address. I have moved together with my landlord:

Herrn Franz Modracek, Vrsovice bei Prag, No. 384. Oesterreich.

"I am going to Vienna now. It seems that there is no Russian consul here (!) and I must have my signature witnessed on my application for Nadya's passport. I hope to be able to write something to you from Vienna.

"I am sorry I have not studied Czech. It is interesting that it is very much like Polish and contains many old Russian words. I recently went away for a time and when I returned to Prague its Slav character struck me very forcibly—names ending in *-cik*, *-cek*, etc., words like *lze*, *lekarna*, and so on and so forth. The weather is now warm and spring-like and I shall probably have a nice trip to Vienna.

"Are you all well at home? How are Mitya's affairs? I embrace you fondly, my dear, and send regards to all.

"Yours,
'V.U.'"

The letter suggested that Lenin was staying with Modracek in Vrsovice. Very probably it was so couched to create the impression and mislead the tsarist secret police, who were keeping close watch on his family and correspondence.

Lenin did everything for Krupskaya to join him. She left Russia in 1901, and this is what she relates in her reminiscences:

"I went to Prague in the belief that Vladimir Ilyich was living there under the name of Modracek.

"I sent him a telegram. And in Prague no one met me. I waited as long as I could, then, greatly embarrassed, I hailed a top-hatted cabby, piled my baskets into his cab and rode off. We arrived in a working-class quarter, and stopped outside a great tenement house in a narrow turning. A multitude of featherbeds were being aired in the open windows of the building.

"I flew up to the fourth floor. A fair-haired little Czech woman answered the door. All I could say was: 'Modracek, Herr Modracek'. A workman came out. 'I am Modracek,' he said. Bewildered, I stammered, 'No it's my husband.' At last Modracek understood. 'Ah, you must be the wife of Herr Rittmeyer. He lives in Munich, but sent books and letters to you in Ufa through me.' Modracek spent the whole day with me. I told him about the Russian movement, and he told me about the Austrian movement. His wife showed me her needlework and treated me to a meal of Czech dumplings."

And this is Modracek's description of the incident:

"Early one morning, a cab drew up in front of our house on Kollarova Street in Vrsovice. A modestly dressed, pleasant looking woman of about thirty stepped out. She was Meyer's wife and had come straight from Moscow, believing that her husband was living in Prague under the name of Modracek. She spoke fluent German and when I explained things to her she decided to go on to Munich and locate Meyer. She was very tired and remained with us till evening."

Lenin sent large parcels of newspapers and leaflets to Russia via Prague. Modracek repacked them, for forwarding to Russia, in the Social-Democratic Party press office. But this did not continue for long. In Dec-

ember 1901, the Prague police intercepted a parcel containing copies of the *Communist Manifesto* and the No. 9 issue of *Iskra*. There was an inquiry: who had posted the parcel, why had it been posted in Prague, who was the addressee, and so on. True, the police were not too keen about the whole business, for, obviously, the contents of the parcel did not affect the security of the Hapsburg monarchy. But Modracek was alarmed. He described the affair in a letter to Meyer, after which no more mail was addressed to Prague.

For a very long time Modracek was unaware that his Munich correspondent was Lenin. He writes in his reminiscences: "Only when the Russian revolution brought Lenin to such prominence . . . when his picture appeared in all the papers, it occurred to me that this might be the Russian revolutionary who used to send me letters more than ten years ago. The newspaper pictures seemed to confirm that. But certainty came only when I studied what remained of Meyer's letters. Then I was sure that Meyer and Lenin were one and the same man. Unfortunately, none of his letters remain — Meyer insisted I destroy them immediately after reading. . . . But I have post-office receipts, one of which in particular is positive proof that I was handling Lenin's correspondence to his family in Moscow. The receipt, from the Vrsovice post office dated May 3, 1901, is for a registered letter addressed to Madame Ulianoff, Moskau, Lenin's mother or sister."

* * *

Lenin never forgot Prague. In a way, his contact with the city was never broken, though Modracek now had no part in it.

In the summer of 1911 Lenin was preparing a Party Conference. The practical preparations were in the hands of one of his closest aides, Osip Pyatnitsky, and this is what he writes in his *Notes of a Bolshevik*: "Early in November, I received an urgent letter from Lenin instructing me immediately to go to Prague to make arrangements for the Party conference. Lenin enclosed a note to the Czech Social-Democrat Nemec. In Prague Nemec introduced me to two Czech Social-Democrats." These were Emanuel Skatula and Jachym Havlena.

The Prague Conference was organized in strict secrecy. One of its participants, N. A. Semashko, recalls the difficulties that had to be overcome: "In travelling to

Prague, delegates took every precaution not to fall into the hands of the tsarist police. In fact, some were arrested on the way to Prague. Even we, living abroad, observed every precaution so as not to bring along a tsarist spy from Paris."

The Conference date was set for January 18, 1912. Some of the delegates came a few days earlier and Havlena, Skatula and other Social-Democrats put them up in some of the smaller hotels, Belvedere, Tichy, Myska and a few more.

The Conference was held at the People's House on Hybernaska Street, where the editorial offices and printshop of *Pravo lidu* were located. One of the delegates was the Petersburg worker E. P. Onufriev (Party name Stepan). At first he stayed at the Belvedere and later shared a room with Lenin in the home of a Social-Democrat worker. Onufriev recalls: "We were put up in the home of a Czech worker. There were two rooms, the family occupied the smaller one and Lenin and I the bigger one, furnished with two beds, a commode, a table and a few chairs. Everything was spick and span.

"Lenin usually returned later than I. Not to disturb me, he would walk in quietly, on tiptoe, undress and go to bed. When he came earlier he would have a cup of tea and a sandwich, rest for a quarter of an hour or so by walking back and forth, his thumbs in the armlets of his waistcoat. But Vladimir Ilyich treasured every minute. I can still hear him saying: 'Now, Stepan, you go on reading and I'll get down to work.'

"And he would sit down at the table covered with magazines, manuscripts, newspaper clippings. He was a fast reader and made many marginal notes. His face lighted up the moment he took up his pen." This is how Onufriev describes the Lenin he came to know in Prague: "He was a very gentle man, always attentive and courteous. All delegates were conscious of his solicitude. During the short time of the Conference, he came to know all of us and had a different approach to each." Lenin was kind and attentive to the hostess's little daughter, he liked to stroke her head, take her on his knee, always laughing and joking.

Out of security considerations, Lenin and the other delegates did not mix with the local population. And yet, Onufriev writes, "all of us were keenly interested in the life and revolutionary struggle of the Czech people. Personally, I had many talks with

our host, a frame maker . . . and although we spoke different languages, gestures and my very modest knowledge of Czech helped us understand each other. . . . In general the Czech people were very kind and friendly towards us Russians."

Lenin, naturally, was eager to learn more about the life of the Czech workers. To quote Onufriev again: "He had several meetings with Antonin Nemec, one of the Czech Social-Democratic leaders. Nemec would come to the restaurant where we had our meals and sit next to Lenin, who always sat at one and the same table near the window, and always reading a newspaper. Nemec, who had a great respect for Lenin, closely followed the work of the Conference. Lenin, for his part, was grateful to Nemec for having made all the arrangements for the Conference. He was fond of talking to him, telling him about the Conference and asking about the Czech revolutionary movement.

He showed the greatest attention for the delegates of the Conference, which he so ably guided.

Onufriev has vivid memories of Lenin's part in the Conference debate: "He spoke with great conviction. Noticing some erroneous remark in the speech of another delegate he would get up to discuss the matter. He was with the delegates during intervals between sittings, engaging in long conversations, eager for all the information he could get about Russia.

"He was especially attentive when the Conference heard reports from local Party organizations. He would put his hand to his ear to hear better."

* * *

The Prague Conference coincided with the beginning of a new revolutionary upsurge in Russia. The task before the Party, and one that brooked no delay, was to activate mass organizational and ideological work in preparation for a fresh attack on the tsarist autocracy. But the Liquidators, Trotskyists and conciliators were hampering the work of uniting all democratic and revolutionary forces under working-class leadership. The formal unity of Bolsheviks and Mensheviks in the Russian Social-Democratic Labor Party meant that the Bolsheviks had to fight to purge the Party of opportunist elements, which were impelling it towards reformism and abandonment of the proletariat's leading role in the revolution. The task was to strengthen the Party as the revolutionary vanguard to the working class.

That was performed by the Prague Conference under Lenin's leadership. It adopted his resolution on the "Constitution of the Conference," which reads in part: "Whereas . . . at the present moment, due to the revival of the working-class movement . . . most local organizations of the RSDLP have displayed tremendous and vigorous initiative in re-establishing the Party and convening a general Party conference . . . and despite a number of arrests made by the police, all the Party organizations functioning in Russia, with very few exceptions, are represented at the present Conference, . . . and all organizations having been invited to attend, . . . the Conference constitutes itself the general Party Conference of the RSDLP, which is the supreme Party authority."

Speaking on the subject, Lenin emphasized that only those were absent who did not want to help the Party. Actually, the Conference was equivalent to a general Party Congress.

The resolution on Lenin's report on "The Party's Tasks in the Present Situation" points to the growing mass revolutionary opposition to the tsarist regime and emphasizes that "the task of winning power by the proletariat, carrying with it the peasantry, remains as before the task of a democratic revolution in Russia."

The Conference adopted Lenin's resolution on Liquidationism and the group of Liquidators. It sums up the Bolshevik struggle against Menshevik opportunism and reaffirms its earlier definition of Liquidationism as a manifestation of bourgeois influence on the proletariat. The Conference declares, the resolution says, that the chief Liquidationist publications, *Nasha Zarya* and *Dyelo Zhizni*, and the group for which they speak by openly renouncing the illegal Party, "have definitely placed themselves outside the Party." The Conference called upon all Party members "to combat Liquidationism, explain its great harmfulness to the cause of the emancipation of the working class. . . ." In this way the Liquidators were expelled from the RSDLP.

By adopting this resolution, the Party purged itself of opportunists and took a long step forward in strengthening its unity, discipline and combat ability and its leading role in this new rise of the mass revolutionary struggle.

The Prague Conference elected an authoritative Central Committee headed by Lenin.

The importance of the Conference lies

in the fact that it consummated a crucial period in building the new-type Party, increased its role in the revolutionary struggle and consolidated the victory of the Bolsheviks. Its decisions had international reverberations, for reformism was then widespread in many Social-Democrat parties, and the need to combat it was steadily gaining realization in the West. For all revolutionary elements the Prague Conference was an example of sustained struggle against opportunism right up to an organizational break with its proponents.

* * *

Though engrossed in the work of the Conference, Lenin found time for long walks in Prague, especially on Sundays, when the Conference was not meeting. Onufriev recalls: "Lenin liked Prague. Sometimes he would invite me to 'see the sights.' These walks were always an occasion for conversation and discussion. Lenin told me much about Prague, its historical monuments and other places of interest. I never hesitated to task him about some of the places we visited.

"Vladimir Ilyich, why is this square called Knights of the Cross?"

"And Lenin told me about the crusades, their purpose and results. Another time, when we were on St. Laurents Hill, Lenin explained why the wall there was called Wall of the Hungry. And so, with every walk I learned more about Prague and about the history of the Czech people."

Another indication of Lenin's keen interest in Prague and its history is provided by the reminiscences of Dr. Popper, one of the Social-Democrats appointed to help the Conference delegates. "They wanted to see everything and we would walk through the city, six of us, three abreast, from the Gunpowder Gates to the Tyn Cathedral, where I showed them the grave of the astronomer Tycho Brahe. Lenin remarked he had believed all along that Tycho had been buried in Copenhagen. . . . Lenin knew, of course, that the astronomer had lived in Prague during the reign of Rudolf II, but he had read somewhere that the Danish government was planning to remove the remains to Copenhagen. He surprised us all by his knowledge of Brahe's life and work. He told us about his discoveries, especially of the Cassiopeia constellation, and of his discoveries in mathematics and chemistry, his inventions, and so on. Learning that two of us knew Latin, he recited in Latin the opening of Brahe's manual on astronomy,

published in Prague. On leaving the grave, Lenin said: 'What a pity that his unique collection of mathematical and astronomical instruments was destroyed during the Thirty Years' War . . .'

At a reception for the delegates arranged by their Czech hosts, Nemec jokingly remarked: "The Russians are fond of lengthy discussions," to which Lenin, who was translating his speech into Russian, immediately replied: "No, no, that is not so! The Russians talk little, very little, but in our conditions we can come together only rarely, and there is so much that needs to be discussed."

Shortly after the Conference, Skatula received a parcel from France. It contained a copy of the pamphlet "All-Russia Conference of the RSDLP," and on the title page the author's name — V. Ulyanov. Skatula had the main resolutions published in *Pravolidu* in March 1912.

Lenin spent only a short time in Prague. But the memory of his stay is firmly engraved in the minds of the Czechoslovak people. Some still remember Lenin's encounters in the Czechoslovak capital. The first to take up the story was the Communist journalist (and after 1945 Prague's first proletarian mayor) Vaclav Vacek. His in-

teresting account appeared in *Rudy Vecer-nik* in 1929. Another well-known Czech newspaperman, Egon Ervin Kisch, made a detailed study of Lenin's stay in Prague, interviewing people who had met him. His account was published in *Rude Pravo*. The late Zdenek Nejedly, the Czech historian, mentions Lenin's visits in his book "Lenin."

More details of Lenin's association with the city were brought to light after 1945. The sole survivor of the Conference, Onufriev, came to Prague in 1957 and helped to fill in some of the blanks. However, the house where he stayed with Lenin has still not been identified.

All places connected with Lenin now bear commemorative plaques. The list includes the building of the Cooperative Printing Society, through which copies of *Iskra* were sent to Russia, and the Belvedere Hotel, where Lenin met the delegates from Russia. There is a permanent monument to Lenin, the Lenin Museum in the former People's House, which in 1912 was the venue of a conference that has gone down in international working-class history as a landmark in the battle against opportunism, a conference that did so much to strengthen the Bolshevik Party.

Cestmir AMORT

AS HIS CONTEMPORARIES KNEW HIM

This is another in the series of articles about Vladimir Ilyich Lenin by veterans of the world Communist movement.

The writer, Alfred Kurella, is member of the Central Committee, Socialist Unity Party of Germany, a writer and publicist, professor and at one time Secretary of the Executive Committee, Young Communist International.

Humane in all things

ALFRED KURELLA

When you first stand before Lenin or first see or hear him you instantly sense yourself in the presence of a great man. But the timidity that seized me that first instant when in April 1919 Lenin invited me, a young German in Moscow as ordinary courier of the Communist Party of Germany, for a talk, vanished quickly. Lenin always treated his collocutor as equal to equal, helping overcome the distance that quite obviously existed between him and his guest, at once creating an atmosphere of trust and confidence,

What was it that in substance revealed the greatness of this man? Not his figure in any case. Externally, he did not stand out. Neither was there that aloofness which "greatness" so easily adopts. Nor did "greatness" display itself in pretentious gestures. In all those respects Lenin was not "great" at all.

Anyone who has read Lenin attentively and, certainly, anyone who has had personal contacts with him, or has seen him in action, knows that the extraordinary in his personality came from greatness of character and the depth of thought compounded in his character: his wide "horizons" instantly perceived, and perceived today, too, when reading him, though not at once perhaps; his grasp of many things and relationships; his bold thinking, great, among other things, due to the "insigni-

ficance" of his arguments, the wealth of minor but absolutely concrete detail.

In this wealth, this concreteness, and the starkness of detail, on which rest Lenin's thoughts, are the roots—or so it seems to me—of Lenin's great humanity.

Speaking of the humanity of a great man, people usually imply that he was great but also human. Underlying this is a more or less distinct context—"much too human." Nothing of the kind was ever said of Lenin. Yet often one observes the tendency to illustrate his humanity with the many known examples of his friendly, sensitive and understanding attitude to individuals, to their affairs, requests and cares. All this is true, of course, and fills out his portrait. Working on a fairly long introduction to a collection of Lenin's letters to his relatives, I had a splendid opportunity of acquainting myself with this facet of his personality—his attitude to people close to him for many years. His relationship with his wife and companion, Nadezhda Konstantinovna Krupskaya, a picture of which one obtains from their letters and from Krupskaya's memoirs, was cloudless from the day of their acquaintanceship until death, a thing rarely encountered in the biographies of other great men.

But, as I see it, this was not all that made his character, his thoughts, his activity, so consummately humane. Astoundingly

human, and that which impressed me most of all, was the concreteness of his thinking, concentrated on man, on humanity. What I mean is that his thoughts, even when purely theoretical or literally abstract, were always centered, expressed and directed not on people in general, but on definite groups or individuals.

I should imagine that reading the Decree on Peace issued in October 1917 and Lenin's speeches and works on the same subject, many of his contemporaries and even the succeeding generations of his readers obtain a very distinct image of the Russian peasant with all the wants that a totally senseless war heaped on top of all the suffering caused him by the rule of the tsars, the landowners and kulaks.

The image of that peasant reappears in the judgements and arguments which Lenin invoked to substantiate his stand on the Brest Peace. Again, quite tangibly, we see before us not only the peasants, but also the workers who quite consciously went back to the trenches to defend the revolution but lacked enough arms and simply the strength to stand up to the German divisions.

At times, this entirely concrete picture of people who, in the final analysis, are the main subjects, arises quite unexpectedly. I recall the train of Lenin's thinking which at the time (soon after my arrival in Moscow in 1919) completely overwhelmed me and later played a distinct part in my theoretical reflections on the strategy and tactics of the socialist cultural revolution. I have in mind Lenin's supplementary remarks on his theory of imperialism at the 8th Congress of the Russian Communist Party in reference to the new Bolshevik program. He pointed out that "imperialism is a superstructure of capitalism," meaning that imperialism had not refashioned the entire economic and social system of the old capitalism. The implication was that when imperialism crumbles, the erosion of the superstructure leaves bare the basis, that is, old capitalism. Lenin speaks of the mosaic and mostly unattractive reality inherited by the victorious proletariat. This profound theoretical analysis, hardly ever recalled in the usual renderings of Lenin's theory of imperialism, ends with what is at first glance a strange conclusion: all this should be known and understood, Lenin says, to determine our attitude to the middle peas-

ant. By saying so, Lenin shows that the core of his theoretical thinking is based not on abstract social categories, but on concrete people with specific interests, cares and demands. He lays special stress on the fact that this reality, comprised of heterogeneous details, "cannot be overlooked" in tackling the building of socialism.

As clearly as he understood the role and problems of these people, Lenin also appreciated the immense creative power of the proletariat. For more than 20 years he studied in every detail the sentiments and thoughts of the workers, gave them guidance and, in 1919, joined them in their first *subbotniks*.

Theoretical reflections of an epoch-making impact blended with observations and a knowledge of concrete human lives. I was privileged to see—and for me this was a great revelation—how at the 10th Party Congress in 1921, Lenin examined the petty-bourgeois roots of the various trends inside the Party, and trends that surfaced under pseudo-revolutionary slogans during the Kronstadt rebellion. The counter-revolutionaries in the West and the Kronstadt rebels howled about his "betrayal of the revolution" when the mutiny was suppressed with armed force. How dared Lenin, people wrote abroad, go against these sailors, the forward echelon of the Petrograd Red Guard and later the Red Army vanguard in the civil war? But Lenin knew a simple truth: the magnificently heroic Red sailors of Kronstadt had mostly given their lives in the battles of the revolution, while those who had survived were still the mainstay of many a Red Army unit. On the other hand, those wearing sailors' uniforms during the Kronstadt rebellion were recruits, sons of peasants who had joined the navy but recently. They knew how heavily the burden of the civil war weighed on the middle peasants, and letters from home constantly reminded them of it. Mistrust of Soviet power, above all of the Bolshevik Party, was aroused among them, among these peasants, by the requisitioning of grain necessitated by the civil war. Lenin portrayed them for us (for I had the privilege of attending that Congress), portrayed these peasants and their sons in the striped naval singlets, who, with all their cares and doubts, fell prey to professional counter-revolutionary agitators and agents.

Entirely different, but also imbued with

a deep understanding of the problems of the concrete man, was Lenin's attitude to various representatives of the then young Communist parties in conversations which I, in those early '20s, had the opportunity to attend. The parties had sprung up from heterogeneous groups in the labor movement, including in part also exponents of non-Marxist trends. The arguments presented by delegates revealed distinctly their varied social and spiritual background. In all the basic theoretical issues Lenin combined strict adherence to principle, expressed sarcastically, and at times even in sharp terms, with a deep insight of the essence of their views, an insight based on complete understanding. He displayed extraordinary intuition with respect to the human side of politics manifested in the features and spiritual qualities of individual leaders or theorists of the labor movement. To me, for example, it has been a life-long lesson to hear Lenin speak of the burning, vitally urgent problems of the Communist Party of Germany. I was deeply involved. He denounced sharply the partly anarcho-syndicalist and partly ultra-Left views of the "workers' opposition" in the CPG as dangerous and, ultimately, counter-revolutionary, on the one hand, and, on the other, no less firmly denounced the policy of Paul Levi, who, abusing Lenin's description of the theoretical and political exponents of errant views, was not content to expel these people from the CPG leadership but, in effect, also insisted on expelling from the Party revolutionary workers who, for lack of understanding the situation, accepted ultra-Left theories as revolutionary.

Again, his profound knowledge of human nature was brought home to me when hearing Lenin at the 11th Party Congress

in March 1922 dwell on the perils for Communist cadres in Moscow and elsewhere of associating with the bourgeois specialists enlisted by virtue of the New Economic Policy to cooperate in economic management and social development. Lenin pulled no punches in portraying the situation in sharp and incisive terms. He probed the reasons for those concretely known cases when loyal Party and economic functionaries were led astray by gifts, bribes for intervening on someone's behalf, by various additional emoluments, relationships with pretty dancing girls, and the like. Lenin rounded out his analysis with a digression into history. He spoke about the fate of those conquerors who were rapidly assimilated by the conquered, weaker than the conquerors militarily but superior culturally. One could not help sensing that Lenin, using this historical fact as an example, understood perfectly the frailty of these old comrades and the human—here perhaps much too human—problem they had to face.

I have listed but a few examples, a few facts that brought home to me that, which, in the deepest sense, one may describe as Lenin's humanity—to see the people concerned when reflecting, when making a decision, to evaluate them and, for this reason, to treat them with affection and, at once, to place on them high, perhaps the highest, demands; and in this, the period of transition from capitalism to socialism, never to forget the legacy—the bad as well as the good—which socialism inherits from imperialist capitalism. Therein lay the key to the consummate skill and art of Lenin.

Following in his footsteps, we were enabled by Lenin's humanity in political thinking to see in politics the greatest of all the varieties of human art.

Imperialism's fifth column

Several areas in Asia, Africa and Latin America have been the scene of reactionary plots in the first half of 1970. One of them, in Cambodia, culminated in a coup d'état. Information filtering into the press suggests that all the plots can be traced to the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency headquarters at Langley.

Of course, the State Department consistently denies American complicity, and CIA guilt cannot always be pinpointed. In fact, it may well be that not all these conspiracies were directly instigated and organized by imperialist secret services — in some cases they may have joined at a later stage. But this much is certain: everywhere the cloak-and-dagger operators have been at work.

SUPPORTING ISRAELI AGGRESSION

The first three months of 1970 saw plots in Iraq, Sudan, Lebanon and Cyprus. Some of the details have come to light. The Lebanese Interior Minister, for instance, announced that U.S. Intelligence had a hand in provoking armed clashes between the ultra-Right Kataeb party and the Palestinian commandos. The Lebanese army and security forces were involved in the fighting. The Sudanese press points to the link between the CIA and the latest unsuccessful coup of the Ansar religious sect and the Al-Umma party, which speaks for Sudan's capitalist and landed interests. In Cyprus, the pro-fascist National Front which, the press says, operates with the encouragement of the Greek and US secret services, engineered an attempt on the life of President Markarios. The Iraqi authorities arrested a group of army officers and civilians charged with preparing a coup d'état. The press says they had the assistance of CIA and Zionist agents.

Each of these attempted coups had its own distinctive features. But all of them had one and the same political aim—to install pro-imperialist regimes and thereby strengthen the imperialist positions in the Middle East and, more specifically, in the Eastern Mediterranean.

That aim, doubtlessly, follows from the alignment of forces in this strategic area. The imperialists banked on the Israeli Blitzkrieg. They thought it would write finis to the progressive regimes in the United Arab Republic and Syria. That hope did not materialize. Nor have Israel's subsequent aggressive actions produced the desired results. They have not weakened the progressive regimes of these two countries. On the contrary, both in the UAR and Syria the government has been strengthened by the patriotism of the people, the assistance of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries and the support of the world Communist, workers' and national liberation movements.

While giving the Israeli aggressors every assistance—modern armaments, generous loans—the U.S. and other imperialists are relying more and more on their espionage and subversion machine. The events in Iraq, Sudan and Lebanon show that they are using it to hamper the growing unity of the Arab states in the fight to liquidate the consequences of the Israeli aggression. The idea, obviously, is to generate more friction, distrust and antagonism. That was the purpose of the CIA in Lebanon: armed conflicts were to provoke a major political crisis that would isolate the country from the progressive Arab states, place it under a police regime and impede, if not halt altogether, Palestinian commando action.

The aim was very much the same in Iraq and Sudan. But the imperialists were also out to undermine the rear areas of the Arab

states directly confronting Israel. Coups in Baghdad and Khartoum would greatly complicate the UAR's and Syria's strategic and political position. To a certain extent the same aim was pursued in the Nicosia plot. There have been many press reports that the imperialists are anxious to overthrow the Makarios government as part of their plan to divide the country and turn it into a NATO war base spearheaded against the Arab states and serving the Israeli aggressor.

BEHIND THE CAMBODIAN COUP

Thousands of kilometers separate Phnom Penh from Khartoum and Beirut, but in Cambodia too, the aim was to support the aggressive forces. It was to be achieved by use of the CIA technique.

Bogged down in Vietnam, U.S. imperialism has long been encroaching on Cambodia's independence and sovereignty, trying to bring it under its influence and drag it into its Indochina gamble. One pressure technique was constant harassment by U.S. forces operating from neighboring South Vietnam. They bombed and shelled Cambodian border regions and several times CIA agents tried to overthrow Prince Sihanouk and set up a reactionary regime that would abandon the country's traditional neutrality and its solidarity with the Vietnamese in their fight to repel the aggressor.

With the U.S. army facing increasing difficulties in Vietnam, the Pentagon decided to set up its activities in Cambodia. The plan, according to press reports, was to use Cambodian territory for operations against the South Vietnam National Liberation Front in what was conceived as a gigantic pincer maneuver. Apparently, the US military command began to press for action in Cambodia when it found that the Vietnamization plan was not working out the way it had been expected. And apparently Sihanouk's diplomatic tour abroad was chosen as the opportune moment for the CIA's "quiet Americans" to put through the plan.

Power in Phnom Penh is now in the hands of men who have joined forces with the imperialists to halt the country's progressive development and suppress the Indochina liberation movement. The first steps in that direction were made immediately after the coup. General Lon Nol's conservative regime has agreed to cooperate with the US and accept military "aid" from it. With the consent and approval of that re-

gime, Saigon forces, supported by American aircraft, have invaded Cambodia in an attempt to outflank the NFL forces and suppress popular support for Prince Sihanouk, whose followers are fighting to overthrow the conservative government and keep Cambodia a peaceable and neutral state.

The world was shocked by the news of America's outright intervention in Cambodia where, as in South Vietnam and Laos, U.S. troops are applying scorched earth tactics against the peaceful population. This aggression by Washington brings out even more saliently the link between the coup d'etat in Phnom Penh and imperialism's far-reaching neo-colonialist plans in Southeast Asia. To all practical purposes, Cambodia is being turned into a "third Vietnam", the second being Laos, where more than 12,000 American military "advisors" are involved in the war against the patriotic forces.

It can be safely said that neither the Saigon puppets nor the Laos and Cambodian reactionaries provide America with anything like a firm support base for its reactionary war in Indochina. And certainly they cannot fight that war with their own armies, even if given the latest American weapons. Consequently, the neo-colonialists will have to rely mainly on their own troops and extend their operations to the whole of Indochina. But the experience of heroic Vietnam has shown that half a million interventionist troops, armed to the teeth, cannot impose imperialism's will on a people determined to uphold its independence, sovereignty and freedom; a people, moreover, that enjoys wide international support.

NEW TACTICAL ELEMENTS

Has anything substantially new been added to the technology of imperialist plots and their political orientation, compared with, say, the 1950s? There is not enough information—the bulk of it, naturally, is kept secret—for a categorical affirmative answer. We can only judge by the tip of the imperialist subversion iceberg. But we can discern certain new trends.

In the '50s, the CIA and its counterparts in other imperialist countries had only one purpose in overthrowing one or another government in Asia, Africa or Latin America—to shore up the position of the foreign monopolies. Two examples that come to hand are Guatemala and Iran.

Needless to say, that aim has not been abandoned, as evidenced by CIA attempts to overthrow the governments of Bolivia

and Peru, which had the temerity to challenge American monopoly domination in an effort to build up their own, national economies.

In contrast, most of the plots exposed in the first half of this year pursued mainly political and military purposes. This applies to the coup in Cambodia and the attempted coups in Iraq, Lebanon, Sudan and Cyprus.

One thing that stands out is the more careful camouflage: there appears to be less cynicism than in Guatemala. That has its explanation. The peoples are more experienced in combating imperialist plots; the democratic forces are more mature and more vigilant (it is no accident that of these eight plots only the Cambodian culminated in a successful coup d'etat). Then there is the mounting influence of the socialist countries, their consistent policy of defending Afro-Asian and Latin-American independence and sovereignty. Even capitalist publications admit that Soviet diplomatic action was instrumental in thwarting the coup in Lebanon and preventing U.S. military intervention there earlier this year.

The very nature of imperialism's fifth column has to a certain extent changed. For there has been a change in the social strata upon which imperialist subversion relies. Ten or fifteen years ago the operational formula was simplicity itself: reactionary army officers overthrow the civilian parliamentary-based regime and install one of their own. Nowadays that does not always work.

To be sure, the officer corps, drawn largely from the capitalist and landowner class, is still a willing tool of imperialism. The recent plot in Iraq and the abortive army putsch in Chile are evidence of that. On the other hand, the developments in Peru, Bolivia and Libya suggest that army officers can act against imperialism, or at least not in its interests. This, too, has its explanation: the revolutionary process, the activity of Marxist-Leninist parties, the spread of the progressive movement and its growing influence on patriotic and democratic-minded servicemen.

But the following should also be taken into account: changes over the past ten years in Asia, Africa and Latin America have somewhat broadened the social base upon which the imperialist secret services rely. Socio-economic change in some countries tangibly impairs the interests of the exploitive classes and to retain their positions they are prepared to betray the national interest. Naturally, this is exploited by subversion agencies for counter-revolu-

tionary plots. One example is the People's Republic of the Congo, where the plotters, encouraged by the CIA, made an unsuccessful attempt to abolish the people's revolutionary gains.

Mention should be made also of other trends which, to one or another degree, have altered the subversive tactics of imperialism. But whatever the tactics, the point and purpose of imperialist activity remains the same, to change the balance of strength in its favor.

"Imperialism can neither regain its lost historical initiative nor reverse world development," last year's International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties declared. But it also emphasized that imperialism remains a serious and dangerous foe. Its aggressive policy is meant to weaken, by every available means, the positions of socialism, suppress the national liberation movement, impede the workers' struggle in capitalist countries and hold back the irreversible process of capitalist decline. And in furtherance of these ends, imperialism resorts to counter-revolutionary plots, reactionary and fascist coups, political assassination, provocation and blackmail.

Progressive opinion and the democratic press have repeatedly pointed to the need to draw definite lessons from the exposure of imperialist plots.

The usual target of imperialist subversion are developing countries whose progressive regimes are not yet fully consolidated, have no clear-cut program of socio-economic reforms, are not always consistent in combating reaction, do not fully rely on the masses, do not trust them and do not allow workers' organizations an active share in political life.

The CIA and its opposite numbers in other imperialist countries are quick to seize upon every error made by these newly-independent countries in the complex process of social transformation. Plots are carefully prepared, the time for their execution is carefully chosen, and such factors as inconsistency in foreign policy, weakening solidarity with other contingents of the revolutionary and liberation movement, are taken into account.

Many believe that imperialist plots stand a better chance in countries where the patriotic forces fail to take decisive preventive measures against counter-revolutionary groups. The progressive press notes, for instance, that influential Cambodian circles favoring national independence and neutrality looked on placidly as

key government posts were taken over by avowed accomplices of U.S. imperialism, men like General Lon Nol and Prince Matak. And these men used their position to influence the army and the security services. Nothing was done, even days before the coup, to weaken the reactionary forces; instead, restrictions were instituted against democratic and patriotic elements.

There is ample evidence that the imperialists are especially active in countries that do not have a developed, well organized and united working class, nor a stable

social structure, nor have made their final choice of orientation.

The anti-imperialist forces draw the necessary lessons from all this. In that lies the earnest of their future victories. Vigilance, consistency and resolution in defending the vital interests of the people, solidarity with all the revolutionary forces ranged against imperialism — that is the reliable guarantee of repelling reaction and of success in the fight for national and social liberation.

Jan PRAZSKY

Problems of "Northern unity"

IB NORLUND

For a variety of reasons public attention is focused on developments in Northern Europe.

The NATO statement that "the flanks should claim more attention" stimulated a strategic interest in the so-called northern flank—Scandinavia and the Baltic. A discussion is under way of the Northern countries' joining the Common Market, accompanied—less overtly, it is true—by a rapid penetration of international finance capital.

Northern initiatives are invoked to counter the imperialist aspirations. Finland's President, for example, suggested making the North an "atom-free" zone and neutralizing the northern part of Scandinavia. Sweden recognized the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, all the Northern countries publicly condemned the fascist junta in Greece, Finland suggested holding the European Security Conference in her capital, and there are acts of defiance against foreign attempts to seize commanding heights in the Northern economies. All that stems from the northern peoples' opposition to imperialist policy.

This is why the question of "unity," even of "alliance," is being so forcefully pushed of late. Foreign observers, often inclined to regard the northern countries as a single

unit and to overlook the disparities between them, are easily tempted to simplify the problems of "Northern unity." This tends to obscure salient political issues. It may be proper, therefore, to accentuate the fact that this "unity" is an extremely complicated and conflicting problem.

Contemporary Nordicism infers the affinity of the northern countries from their being "a relatively homogenous group among the European nations from the standpoint of language, culture and social institutions" and their "common national, political, organizational institutions" and traditions" (from *Across the North into Europe and the World*, a collection put out by Scandinavian Social-Democrats).

The basis for close bonds certainly exists. That no northern people will deny. Nonetheless, it would be wrong to magnify "homogeneity."

Linguistically, it is true, the Swedish, Danish and Norwegian peoples are, indeed, related. But the Finnish drop out. National histories were for long closely interwoven. Norway, for example, was Denmark's vassal until 1814, and then, until 1905, a vassal of Sweden. Yet Finland's affinity is limited to the fact that for several centuries it had been dominated by the Swed-

ish aristocracy, as a result of which it still has a Swedish-speaking minority. The political traditions, however, are divergent. And disparities obtain in the economic structures. In Finland capitalism is less developed than in the other countries. This applies to agriculture, as well as industry. Per-capita income is officially estimated at 30 percent lower than Sweden's and 10-15 percent lower than Denmark's and Norway's. Other differences exist. Industrially and technically, Sweden ranks among the highly-developed European countries. Her capitalist monopolies are the most powerful in Scandinavia. Denmark, on the other hand, though it has grown industrially in recent decades, is having difficulties in marketing the surpluses of her highly productive agriculture. Norway's economic structure is based chiefly on the revenues of her merchant fleet, one of the largest in the world, while her industries and farming are relatively backward.

These differences show, by and large, that geographical affinity is actually the uppermost factor behind the North European "unity" scheme, the realization of which largely depends on other—primarily international—economic, political and military factors. This is borne out by earlier attempts at unifying the North, though in our time the drive for unity is spurred chiefly by the imperialist bloc-making policy.

Furthermore, the reaction to northern problems differs greatly in the countries concerned. Denmark and Norway are NATO members. Sweden and Finland are neutral. Denmark and Norway wanted to join the Common Market. Sweden showed restraint, unwilling to prejudice her neutrality. And Finland's stand, official statements reveal, is motivated by her aversion to dependence on any economic alignment.

Northern cooperation has flourished in many areas after the war. There are joint government-level conferences from time to time, and the Northern Council (with consultative powers), on which the parliaments of the four northern countries and Iceland are represented, has been active for some time. Denmark, Norway and Sweden have joined EFTA, and Finland is an associated member.

The appeal to northern affinity is part of the ideological and political effort shaping the home and foreign policies of the northern countries. The idea has strong emotional roots among the peoples of at least three Scandinavian countries (to a lesser

degree in Finland), and this is a political factor to be reckoned with. National feeling may be used rightly, but may also be abused. At certain times it was a progressive, democratic factor (for example, in the drive for anti-Nazi unity before the Second World War), but there have also been examples of the contrary.

It should be remembered, therefore, that Nordicism is also being exploited to prop up the present social relationships. The Social-Democratic collection mentioned earlier contains typical examples of how this is done. Approvingly, it quotes passages from a 1949 book on "northern democracy" by professors of a capitalist orientation. Their basic postulate is that "between New York and Moscow lies a northern region with political and social forms . . . with better and more human conditions of life than those in most other regions of the world." They infer a "middle-of-the-road democracy" that ostensibly combines Western respect for personal and political freedoms with the eastern ideal of economic freedom and social equalization. The North, they say, has "a definite common basis, possibly hard to define, but most closely linked with all our West European culture." Elsewhere in the collection, the same idea is put as follows: "The northern countries represent a sensible compromise between the opposing doctrines."

Once that sort of thing is associated with the concept of "northern democracy," it can easily be exploited to counter the striving for social progress. The demand to destroy monopoly rule and advance to socialism is thus contested by the contention that "we live in the best of all societies," and the appeal of drawing the proper lessons from the upsurge impelled by public ownership and planned economic development in the socialist countries, is countered by references to "our affinity to Western culture". In effect, complacent talk of a "golden mean" is a formidable instrument of the northern bourgeois ideology.

Certainly, all this merits the closest consideration in evaluating the present drive for "northern unity."

AIMS OF "NORTHERN UNITY" VARY

Last year, summit-level negotiations opened for a northern economic alliance (Nordek), with a joint commission appointed to draft an appropriate treaty,

which some see as the first step towards federation.

As we already noted, "Northern unity," or a northern alliance, must be examined in its concrete relation to the international situation, not in isolation, as a "thing in itself." That will determine it as a progressive or, conversely, reactionary undertaking.

The worth of "northern unity" depends first and foremost on its relation to the present aggressively expansionist imperialist designs. If "unification" should stand for the integration of the entire North in imperialist economic or military blocs, then, surely, it is harmful to the northern countries and the international situation in general.

The imperialist approach to "Nordicism" is not novel. The German Nazis exploited propaganda eulogies of the "Nordic type" to gain a foothold in Scandinavia, and Western political adventurers used frantic appeals to "Nordicism" during the 1939-1940 Finnish campaign in their effort to stampede the northern countries into an armed conflict with the Soviet Union, nurturing the wild plan of "reversing the war" and fanning it into a general imperialist crusade against the world's first socialist state. Similar pressures were in evidence during the preparatory stage of erecting the aggressive NATO bloc, designed to drag in all the northern countries. This was to be engineered through the proposal for a northern defensive alliance (compromising Denmark, Norway and Sweden), which, as the Danish Social-Democrats said at the time, "would in principle and purpose largely conform with the Western Union and Atlantic Pact," amplifying: "For the Atlantic powers the problem would amount to exploiting that alliance in the most expedient manner." However, U.S. pressure was so strong, that the political device was abandoned in favor of Denmark's and Norway's joining NATO.

At present, imperialism wants to buttress and extend its bloc-making policy in Europe chiefly by means of economic alliances, which, it hopes, will yield the desired political and military dividends, and sees Nordik as a way of placing the entire North under its control.

Some quarters (in the northern countries, as well as in the imperialist), however, are uneasy over the possible consequences of closer northern cooperation. They know, for one, that the interest in cooperation among the northern peoples,

especially in Denmark and Norway, is stimulated by the wish to end the dependence on, and influence of, other NATO countries, primarily the United States and West Germany. In this context there could arise pressures by the projected northern community for a new policy — which would complicate or prevent exploitation of the North for imperialist ends and redouble demands that the Northern community be used to reinforce peace and the economic, political and military independence of the northern peoples.

NATO policy is quite distinctly out of line with the basic national interests of Denmark and Norway. It is the main cause of the tension that certain quarters are trying to stoke up in relation to Sweden and Finland. Penetration of U.S. and West German capital is intense; it is showing a predilection for the more modern industries, domestic trade and advertising (with ideological implications). This may provoke counter-action even from capitalist quarters. The former economic policy is running into difficulties, because it is largely based on the general favorable post-war situation now giving way to instability in the capitalist world. Cumulatively, all this could evoke popular resistance in the northern countries to imperialist policies.

Besides, an integration process has surfaced of late in northern economic relations. Mutual trade is expanding more rapidly than foreign commerce as a whole. While foreign trade in general doubled in 1959-1967, mutual trade among the northern countries increased three-fold, heightening their stake in a common trade policy vis-à-vis other capitalist states or groups of states. Alongside France, the northern countries are at the top of the list in trade with West Germany, with a considerable passive balance (nearly 3,000 million marks yearly). "There are grounds," says the collection to which we have earlier referred, "for the northern countries to follow a much more rational common trade policy than heretofore with regard to (West) Germany."

Sales difficulties are an objective impellent to extend trade and technico-scientific cooperation with the socialist countries. Finland is making use of these opportunities, and Sweden, too, has of late been more active, taking advantage of the freedom of maneuver that comes with her neutrality. Some quarters in the two countries are working for the dissolution of European economic blocs in favor of an all-con-

tinental solution, but the ruling element in Denmark and Norway, set on their pro-NATO course, are far from the thought of capitalizing on this opportunity.

Many other economic and science-research problems could be resolved through northern cooperation, provided it were patterned to safeguard independence from international monopolies.

Hence, the imperialist groups that hope to dominate the North through "northern unity" have good reason to be uneasy. In fact, the EEC has a document which requires the northern countries to stop their efforts for unity as a stipulation for admission to, or cooperation with, the Common Market.

Yet there is an objective basis for northern cooperation that would reinforce peace and the independence and economic growth of the countries concerned.

Viewed from that angle, the question of "northern unity" is a question of struggle, the outcome of which depends almost completely on the working class and other democratic forces. Hence, full specification of the proposals for northern cooperation is highly important. Let us, therefore, examine the trends of that struggle at greater length.

FIGHT FOR ORIENTATION OF "NORTHERN UNITY"

The policy of procrastination, negotiation and maneuver over Nordek and its orientation is several years old. The controversy, which involves every variety of political camouflage, is, in effect, a clash of divergent interests.

In Denmark, the bourgeois government described Nordek and other ways of consolidating northern economic cooperation as "the way to the Common Market". In a Tentative Expert Report on Extending Northern Economic Cooperation, drawn up jointly by the northern countries, the Danes inserted a particular point, saying: "It is essential to envisage such possible solutions as would facilitate access of the northern countries in a form suitable for them to a broader European market. Flexible forms of cooperation should be envisaged in order to achieve the best possible adaptation to that market. This concerns the character of cooperation and procedural solutions, the aim of which is to facilitate conversion to a broader European cooperation" (our italics).

Ambiguous reference to "broader Euro-

pean cooperation", frequent government statements reveal, implies the Common Market, broadened by the possible entry of Britain. Prime Minister Hilmar Baunsgaard gave to understand that he hopes Sweden would join the EEC ("Actually, it is very difficult to imagine any extension of the Common Market without the inclusion, in one way or another, of Sweden" *Politiken*, Aug. 31, 1969). Certain industrial quarters, and Denmark's landowners as well, oppose "northern solutions" and want the country to enter the Common Market, causing a deep rift in the bourgeois coalition government.

The Norwegian government's standpoint is the same as Denmark's. However, of late it has displayed signs of uncertainty. Leading industrial spokesmen warned strongly of the dangers of relaxing the "Atlantic" course, which is likely once "northern cooperation" gets under way. An official "study" has been launched to determine whether or not "northern unity" would prejudice Norway's "security policy," the euphemism for her pro-NATO line.

In Sweden, the Social-Democratic government declared it could not accept any system contrary to the country's neutral policy. However, its view of northern cooperation is distinctly positive. And it finds support in the more influential capitalist quarters, which, banking on their power, expect to gain dominance in the eventual northern economic community. The Right parties support "northern unity," but with the proviso that the country join the Common Market.

Finland's Left and Centre coalition government said it could adopt no decision committing the country to Common Market policies or affecting its ties with the USSR. The standpoint of the Right parties coincides with that of the Swedish Rights.

Clearly, the attitude to the Common Market is the focal issue. If the plan of associating one or several countries with the Common Market is not abandoned, Nordek will be a Common Market "arm". Yet this goes counter to the avowed policy of the neutral northern countries, while closer economic cooperation would, in effect, work against the imperialist bloc-making policy.

The Gordian knot was to have been kept out of sight by subtle political maneuvers. In January 1970 the four Prime Ministers agreed that Nordek could be put into effect, provided this is stretched out over several years. They pointed out that if any

northern country enters the Common Market, Nordek would at once be scrapped.

Though altering nothing, the maneuver was a good pretext to declare (especially in Denmark and Norway) that "northern unity has become a fact." Under the hallmark of this assumed unity the Northern Council convened in Reikjavik in February. The key is simple: politicians championing NATO and Common Market interests in Denmark and Norway wanted to clothe their demands in a "northern" garb.

However, their dodge was too far removed from the reality. As soon as it became clear that the Danish government continued to seek admission to the Common Market, the Finns announced they would not sign the Nordek agreement, calling for greater economic cooperation in definite sectors. This would shore up the independence of the northern countries and work against the imperialists. Yet a number of complicated problems arises: How free is the movement of capital to be under such cooperation? Considering Sweden's dominant position and export of capital, absence of investment restrictions would give it a considerable advantage. Finland, doubtless, would be exposed to incursions. The consequences for Denmark and Norway would also be negative.

Certain quarters, it is true, say that this invasion of capital would not be a tragedy, because Swedish capital comes from a "neutral capitalism." However, this view ignores the close ties between the Swedish monopolies and the big imperialist countries. Any anti-imperialist northern cooperation must rest on the equality of all the countries concerned and assure each people an opportunity to democratically restrict monopoly power. On no account must it give a free hand to the "neutral" Swedish capital.

The Social-Democratic parties have been particularly active. Friendly to Nordek, they are also friendly to other nordic plans. Much ambiguity persists, however, in regard to the central issue. The collection notes that "close cooperation between the northern countries" is the only way to "consolidate the politico-commercial position in relation to the Common Market," the only way, even, of "coming to grips with the big countries." Elsewhere it says, however, that in certain circumstances, as a source of fresh strength, "northern unity could combine with the broader European cooperation" governed by Common Market norms and principles.

Similar ambiguity prevails in the conclusions drawn concerning northern security. The official line of the Danish and Norwegian Social-Democrats opposes neutrality, including that of Sweden and Finland, despite objections within the parties. On behalf of the Norwegian side, the collection says that "economic problems must not be divorced from political and military problems arising over developments in Europe and requiring adaptation by the northern countries." It is pointed out, however, that despite northern economic unity, "this does not mean that a general interest exists in the northern countries for a common security policy."

The Social-Democrats' "Nordicism" treats as purely "technical" the problems of general northern planning (as though power in the countries concerned is already in the hands of the people), ignoring the questions of class struggle. This approach encourages cooperation with big capital, a policy pursued by the Social-Democrats on a capitalist basis by means of certain regulation. It is closely connected with earlier statements to the effect that "northern democracy" must become a higher social form than socialism. The "nordic" delusion, lacking realism, will lead people away from the actual problems of northern cooperation that could block imperialist designs.

After Finland refused to put its signatures to the Nordek instrument, the Social-Democratic parties in other countries demanded the repeal of that decision. As before, they advocated Denmark's and Norway's admission to the Common Market. Everything they do reveals their lack of understanding that true cooperation can proceed solely on an anti-imperialist foundation.

COMMUNIST STANDPOINT

The Communist parties in the northern countries are in full accord that the opportunities offered by northern cooperation should be used to the fullest to consolidate independence and reinforce peace. For this end, they are prepared to coordinate efforts.

Representatives of the Danish, Finnish and Norwegian Communist parties and of Sweden's Left Party—Communists gathered in Oslo on April 28-29, 1969, to discuss the matter. They issued a communique, saying:

"The parties have expressed the com-

mon desire to promote mutually advantageous cooperation among the northern countries. The purpose of this cooperation should be to strengthen the economic development of the northern countries and safeguard their independence in face of military blocs and imperialist economic expansion. The Communist parties stress their common desire to frustrate all attempts at dragging the northern countries into the European Common Market."

This statement is expressive of the political fact that in the circumstances Norddek or any other kind of "northern unity" is inconceivable if it involves the North in the bloc-making policy. Thus the Communist parties indicated the preconditions making northern cooperation consistent with the interests and desires of the peoples concerned.

It should surprise no one that the Communist parties were the ones to underscore and reveal the potentialities of "northern unity" based on the principles of independence to develop new, mutually advantageous relationships with the socialist world. They are of the opinion that

greater northern cooperation must work for the common good, must weigh what is beneficial and acceptable for the peoples of the North. That is why they treat northern cooperation not as something necessarily solvable "as a whole" or as a "forced solution." Positive solutions should be sought in each separate area.

At their Oslo meeting the Communists stressed again that "a North comprising neutral states pursuing an active policy of peace, will yield the best guarantee of peace for our countries." They regard this logical and consistent perspective as their most useful contribution to the common striving for a European security system. That is why they demanded in Oslo that the governments should forthwith declare their "unambiguous support of the proposal for a European security conference." The Finnish government, it will be recalled, suggested Helsinki as a possible site.

The Communist contribution to the growth of democratic anti-imperialist cooperation among the peoples of Northern Europe is, therefore, part of the internationalist efforts of our fraternal parties.

Finland: towards party unity

VILLE PESSI

The differences that had arisen in recent years in the Communist Party of Finland came to a head at its 15th Congress in April 1969—nearly half of the delegates walked out of the Congress. The differences became more acute after the Congress, and there were moves towards an organizational break. If the process were to continue, we might have had to face the emergence of a second Communist party. To prevent that and to reunite the Party, negotiations were started in May 1969 between the Central Committee elected at the 15th Congress and delegates from district organizations who had walked out of the Congress. At the end of the year agreement was reached on what had to be done to restore Party unity.

An emergency Party Congress met on February 14, 1970 and, in pursuance of the recommendations agreed upon earlier, adopted a Political Statement setting out the Party's immediate tasks. The commission conducting the negotiations recommended adoption of directives on organization and publishing activity and presented nominations for the Central Committee and other leading bodies. All these recommendations were carefully discussed by district organizations and many Party branches. They were unanimously approved at all levels and by the Emergency Congress.

The discussion showed that the membership was deeply aware of the dangerous situation that had arisen and of the need to reestablish unity. For a split in the Party's ranks would have grave repercussions indeed, and not only for the Party, but also for the entire labor movement, Finland's democratic and peace policy and Finnish-

Soviet relations. In a broader sense, it would impair the international Communist movement. The only ones to benefit from a split would have been the reactionary forces at home and abroad. Having weighed all these factors, the Finnish Communists decided to take all the necessary measures to reestablish unity. The Emergency Congress, preceded by careful preparations, was a decisive step towards that goal. None of us believed that all the differences would be composed by Congress resolutions, which, of course, would be binding on all Party organizations and members. The Congress could only lay the foundations of unity.

The differences concerned certain ideological issues that had come to the surface before the 14th Party Congress and after it developed into a controversy over the draft Party Program and Constitution. There were also divergences on economic policy, particularly collective bargaining agreements and taxation, agricultural policy and some international issues.

A careful examination of the situation within the Party led us to conclude that there was no point in taking up all these issues. We concentrated on the Party's immediate tasks, setting them out in a guide-line document the Congress unanimously endorsed.

The position in Finland is, in a way, unique. It differs from other capitalist countries inasmuch as in the past four years the Communists were part of the government coalition, which included also the Social-Democrats, the Center Party and other groups. But this in itself was not the cause of the difficulties the Party

now has to face, and which have been so persistently publicized by the bourgeoisie. It might be that our part in carrying out government policy helped to articulate the differences. As a result, the Party was not united on its attitude towards government policy, which in recent years has been very much in the forefront. This is what the Political Statement has to say on the subject:

"The Party did not initiate effective mass action in support of its and the popular democratic movement's political aims as part of the government coalition. This was partly due to inadequate contact with various sections of the working population. In parliament and in the government, we were at times inclined to show excessive readiness to yield to the demands of other government parties, without properly explaining the negative aspects of their policy.

"The fact that the Communists and Popular Democrats in the government and in parliament opposed certain negative decisions was not sufficiently publicized. This is one of the reasons why public opinion equates our policy with the overall policy of the government. Another factor is that the bourgeoisie has a ramified information apparatus, while our Party's information service leaves much to be desired.

"These facts and differences with regard to government policy led to a situation in which the Party was unable to mount a broad campaign for more effective government policy."

The Statement further emphasizes that

"the Party's work in the government over the past few years enabled it to achieve certain results favorable for the workers, though they do not restrict monopoly power." This refers to expansion of the public sector in industry, a considerable increase in housing appropriations, extension of social legislation, enactment of the collective bargaining law, a more active peace policy and closer friendly relations with the Soviet Union.

All government parties, with the sole exception of the Swedish People's Party, lost votes in the March 15-16 general election.

Our Party polled less votes and has less seats in the new parliament. The Central Committee believes that all Party organizations should carefully analyze the election results. It can confidently be said that, on the basis of this analysis, the Party will activate its work and score new victories.

The conditions for that exist. We are one of Finland's biggest parties, despite the serious setbacks of recent years (in the March elections, the Democratic Alliance of the Finnish People, which includes the Communists, obtained 36 seats.*) The unification process now begun is an impetus to more efficient Party activity. The most important factor in increasing its influence and combat ability is deeper knowledge and creative application of Marxism-Leninism, more energetic ideological struggle against all distortions of scientific socialism, no matter from what quarter.

*Compared with 42 seats out of 200, in the last parliament—Ed.

The working class is the leading force of social renovation

Fifth Conference of Italy's Worker Communists

Like the four preceding national conferences of worker Communists convened by the Italian Communist Party in 1957, 1961, 1965 and 1967, the latest, held in Milan, February 28-March 1, 1970, attended by 6,512 delegates (directly elected by Communists of 2,127 enterprises at 5,000 special meetings) and 2,500 guests, was manifestly a review of Communist strength and influence among Italy's working class.

The Conference surveyed the results of the special period in the working-class struggle. The past two decades saw a rapid growth of the productive forces, changes in the class structure and in the production relations of modern state-monopoly capitalism. The working class and social groups directly associated with the basic production apparatus of the highly-developed capitalist society, such as engineers, technicians, researchers and administrators, have grown considerably.

Yet the development of state-monopoly capitalism, the growth of production and the country's national wealth have not, as bourgeois and Social-Democratic propagandists and ideologues had hoped and predicted, removed the contradictions in the social pattern. Quite the reverse. Having preserved the basis of the old capitalist and even pre-capitalist relationships, state-monopoly capitalism is piling new class contradictions on top of the old, and, what is more, adding to their sharpness. The main social contradiction, that between the working class and the bourgeoisie, is particularly acute. The effects on the social scene of the contradiction between the state-monopoly complex and the mass of wage-earners and non-monopoly social groups, too, have become more pronounced.

The different development levels of the various parts of the country (e.g., the in-

dustrial North and the backward, poverty-stricken South) are more distinct and disproportions in the distribution of social wealth between classes and social strata much more marked. Urban over-population, the shortage and high cost of housing, sub-standard health facilities, deficient city transport, the backward education system, deteriorating conditions of life and environmental factors, all of which are concomitants of modern capitalism, are problems that have grown to critical proportions.

While impairing the interests of all wage-earners, these contradictions of modern Italian capitalism hit the working class hardest of all. The previous conference (in December 1967), the slogan of which was, "Change the Workers' Situation in the Enterprise, in Society and in the State," recorded the lack of public awareness of the true plight of the working mass. The main target in the fight for immediate demands under trade-union guidance and for general political aims under Party leadership, it said, should be to improve radically the situation of the working class with a view to winning for the workers the leading role in the nation's political life and administration of the state.

Subsequent events and the evolution of social relationships in the succeeding years reaffirmed this orientation.

The intensification of the class struggle witnessed in 1968 and 1969, continues unabated and provides concrete evidence of the specific contradiction of state-monopoly capitalism (between the monopolies and the state, on the one hand, and the vast majority of the people, primarily the working class, on the other), with the forms of the workers' struggle and demands taking shape under the impact of this contradic-

tion, solidifying the workers' alliance with other anti-monopoly forces.

Comrade Fernando Di Giulio, a member of the ICP Leadership, who delivered the report to the Conference, enumerated the difficulties encountered by the Italian labor movement in 1964-1967, a period of decline in the workers' struggle. Not until the end of 1967, he pointed out, did workers' manifestations in factories increase in number. And in the following year the struggle spread rapidly to many more enterprises, involving most of the large and medium-sized ones in the autumn.

Apart from the public discontent and workers' militancy, the strike movement was stimulated by Communist and Left successes in the May 1968 parliamentary elections and the powerful May-June mass actions in France.

In Autumn 1968 factory strikes merged with struggles for national demands — a pensions reform and repeal of the zonal wage scale.

Workers' pensions (retirement age of 60 for men and 55 for women) had been legislated soon after World War II and were too low to provide a decent living in old age. Before 1967-1968, pensioners had fought the issue alone, and without success until the workers joined in. Under the new pensions scheme introduced early in 1969, benefits amount to 60 per cent of the average income during the pre-retirement year. The present target in the pensions battle is for benefits equalling 90 per cent of income.

That wage-earners' unity is a potent force was borne out by the outcome of the battle against zonal wage scaling. Actively supported by Milan and Turin workers, whose wages are in the highest bracket, concerted working-class action won out, with the zonal wage scale repealed in the beginning of 1969.

Nor did the working class rest content. In the spring of 1969 more enterprises became involved, the workers' demands centering on important issues, such as the right to hold general meetings on factory grounds, elect workers' delegates at shop-floor level and form factory councils. Those were new instruments, whereby the workers could influence the state of affairs in factories.

In contributions at the conference, delegates spoke of how these newly-won gains are being used. Comrade Perini of Petrochimico (Porto Marghera) described the growing wish of wage-earners to collectively influence the choice of trends and to

define the demands of the struggle. Sabiem (Bologna) delegate Panieri pointed out that the right to hold general meetings produced a trend towards a new unity transcending the unitarian process in the trade unions and enabling the working class to develop a capacity for leadership.

Nowadays, demands are formulated on the shopfloor, by the workers, expressive of the workers' claim to participation in the organization of production, heretofore the exclusive privilege of capitalists.

The year before saw many workers' mass actions, sparked by the conclusion of new collective agreements in enterprises and for entire industries. Fearing open conflicts, some industrialists (including the owners of Fiat, the automobile giant) came forward with offers of considerable concessions, but the working class stood firm, insisting on demands jointly formulated by the country's three largest trade union centres. In the first six months, new contracts were concluded in some 3,000 enterprises, and by autumn large-scale class battles erupted over collective agreements for branches of industry. These were on so great a scale that more than 300 million working hours were struck off in the September-November strikes. As a result, the conference noted, gains were made in three main areas—wages, gradual conversion to a 40-hour week and greater workers' rights in factories.

The new collective agreement in the iron-and-steel and metal-working industry, for example, envisages a 65 lire per hour wage increase for factory workers, a 13,500 lire monthly increase for clerical workers, conversion to a 40-hour week in 1971-1972 and the right to hold general meetings to discuss trade union problems and labor-management relations. Ten paid hours per year are made available for this purpose, provided the meetings are called jointly by the various unions.

Official management recognition of the right for unions to function in the enterprises is a highly important gain. What it means to the Italian workers is seen from the fact that in the case of the Fiat Works, union representatives were allowed to enter the factory grounds openly for the first time in 20 years.

The weighty gains in the "hot autumn" of 1969 represent an important advance in the class struggle and the workers' class consciousness. Large segments of the working class have shed their paternalistic and reformist illusions, and have ceased fearing administrative repressions (the

attempts to invoke which were repeatedly frustrated by workers' concerted action). The force of proletarian unity, which the masses learned from experience, impelled far-reaching changes in relations among the various trade union centres, creating mutual understanding and encouraging contacts at all levels. The General Italian Confederation of Labor, the Italian Confederation of Working People's Unions and the Italian Working People's League have been acting in unison, agreeing on demands and actions. The Communist unity policy and pressure from below have generated a process that may in the long term repair the split and unite the trade-union movement.

The struggle against authoritarian management, for democratic rights and workers' control and participation in factory affairs merges with the workers' struggle for the leading role in Italy's reconstruction, for more democracy and reforms opening up the socialist perspective.

The labor movement is invading the sphere of politics and state administration, and is advocating radical changes in the social role of the state. The slogans of the Fifth Conference of Worker Communists were: "The working class is the leading force in the democratic and socialist renovation of the country," and "More authority for working people in enterprises and the country."

Delegates stigmatized the modern bourgeois state as, in effect, the champion of monopoly interests. Lanerossi delegate Antonietta Marcante (Schio-Vicenza) said: "Ours is the most up-to-date textile factory in Italy, and the way we are exploited is also the most up-to-date." With state-owned industry relinquishing its autonomy and falling under monopoly control, she noted, a further deterioration is observed in the workers' situation. Comrade Marcante maintained that the parliamentary battle for amending legislation governing the textile industry should merge with the textile workers' battle for unity.

Comrade Angiolini, representing the workers of Italsider (Piombino), a government enterprise, said: "The new policy of state participation in industry has always been one of our most pressing demands; now, it is doubly necessary, because Fiat (a private monopoly) is trying to invade decisive spheres of the Italian economy." What it wants is its "own" iron-and-steel industry and is pressing for the de-socialization of state-owned Italsider. Retaliating, the Communists demand a democratic dis-

cussion of the iron and steel development plan on a national scale.

Communist slogans are winning increasing support among non-proletarian strata. As noted by their delegates at the Conference, concerted action by the different anti-monopoly forces is gaining in scale, because it is increasingly evident that the working class is championing the vital interests of the vast majority. By raising problems of public interest (housing, high cost of living, excessive taxes, backwardness of education and public health), the working class is asserting itself as a power capable of uniting all anti-monopoly forces against the monopolies and the state. That, Comrade Sabbadini, the Italcantieri delegate (Monfalcone) said, is winning extensive public esteem for the workers' struggle, a struggle of a new and higher order for immediate demands and demands of structural reform essential to consolidate and extend the economic and political gains of the working class, of all wage-earners.

Lenin taught us that the movement of the masses cannot be artificially generated. However, it depends to a decisive degree on the Communist Party how the class struggle develops and how closely its aims conform with the objectively available possibilities and resources.

Speakers commended the Party for looking for trends and slogans that would give the right perspective to the giant eruption of mass discontent, assuring a continuous positive development of the struggle and its projection to radical revolutionary reconstruction. For this, they noted, it is important to learn from the experience of the Communists and working-class movement in other countries, particularly from the 1968 May-June events in France.

Study and dissemination of the heritage of Lenin, founder of the CPSU and the world's first socialist state and moving spirit of the international revolutionary movement, has become livelier, especially in connection with the recent centenary of his birth.

The intensification of the working-class struggle has affected all political parties, paving the way for a leftward shift in all areas. Communists are working hard for a new Left majority in Parliament and local legislatures in order to introduce a policy distinct from that of the "Centre-Left," which has been at the helm for the past eight years. Forming a Left-oriented government is, therefore, an immediate demand.

The Fifth Conference looked into organi-

zational Party work at enterprise level. Local delegates spoke of the increasing trust in the ICP among the working people and referred to the rising tendency among workers, especially young ones, to seek admission to the Party. In 1969 the Party succeeded in stemming the outflow of Communists (a process of some years), while in 1970 the exchange of Party cards on the occasion of the Lenin centenary stimulated a fresh influx. Comrade Giuliano Pajetta, a member of the ICP Central Committee heading Party work at enterprises, told the conference that nearly 47,000 of the new members, that is, three-quarters of the total, that joined the Party early in 1970, are of the working class.

The upswing of the workers' movement has yielded new organizational forms of Party guidance. In Lombardy and its capital Milan, councils of worker Communists have sprung up in larger enterprises, elected at Party meetings or composed of Party activists. And these much broader bodies closely associated with the workers' mass, have taken over the direction of Party work from the bureau or the narrow committees appointed for this purpose by the provincial ICP committees. They help the elective provincial Party bodies to deal more thoroughly with working-class problems.

Delegates criticized shortcomings in Party work. They pointed out that important problems were often neglected for too long and appealed for better organizational activity on the shopfloor. What is particularly intolerable in the conditions of the acute class struggle and the growing potentialities of the Party, they said, are departures from Party strategy and tactics, Party discipline and proletarian internationalism. They strongly condemned the political adventurism of the "Manifesto" group expelled from the Party by the November Central Committee plenum.

In the brief interval between the fourth and fifth conferences, the working-class movement has travelled far. As noted by Comrade Enrico Berlinguer, Deputy General Secretary of the ICP, "the workers have served notice by their struggle that the present system and the present type of economic and social development needs changing. That is the crux of the matter and that is why the struggle was, and still is, so bitter."

Large-scale strikes, spreading from province to province, keep on breaking out. The irresistible extension of workers' demands is evidence of their determination to fight on for far-reaching reforms in all spheres, to fight on for socialism.

A.D.

The peoples' struggle against the dictatorship and party tasks

HUGO CAMPOS and GUSTAVO KOLMAN

Despite considerable power and mineral resources and millions of hectares of fertile land, Paraguay is one of the most backward Latin American countries, the population of which languishes in extreme poverty. Unemployment and the police regime of nearly 30 years have, moreover, compelled 600,000 of Paraguay's 2,800,000 population to migrate to neighboring countries.

Ever since dictator Alfredo Stroessner assumed power, the country has been exposed to intensive imperialist penetration. What is more, it occupies a special strategic place in the Pentagon's military planning, a fact which the Paraguayan Communist Party exposed conclusively in published materials. The newspaper ABC, which has close official connections, reported plans for a large U.S. airbase with

facilities for heavy supersonic planes and inter-continental missile launching pads in the Paraguayan Chaco. Thousands of carefully screened counter-revolutionary Cuban emigré families are to be settled round the base, creating a "protective cordon."

Crash building of strategic roads, especially the Paraguayan section of the so-called Pan-American highway, will make the country an important communications junction on an all-continental scale, which is likely to turn it into a bastion for the suppression of popular, democratic and anti-imperialist movements in the Latin American countries.

Pentagon designs are carried forward by a U.S. military mission, which has turned the Paraguay army into a band of mercenaries poised to strike against democratic movements. The main pillar of the Stroessner regime, it was engaged by the U.S. militarists to squash the democratic movement in the Dominican Republic in April 1965. The U.S. military mission trains Paraguay officers at home and in U.S. military academies in Panama, where they are primed for anti-guerrilla warfare by instructors "schooled" in Vietnam.

A U.S. "economic mission" is the actual ruler in the country. It interferes in the activity of government institutions, appoints U.S. "advisors," who lay down the law for the ministries and impose their will through economic measures that lay a heavy burden on the people.

The notorious CIA-sponsored Peace Corps conducts espionage in various parts of the country, especially among peasants and university students.

To paralyze the workers' united struggle and divert it from the revolutionary path, ORIT (Inter-American Regional Organization of Working People) "advisors," obvious U.S. monopoly agents, preach "class cooperation" and "social harmony," and eulogize the "workers' bank," garnishing their demagoguery generously with anti-Communist dressing. They function in close collaboration with the Paraguayan Confederation of Labor, the leadership of which, headed by traitor Andres Fernandez, is closely associated with police and employers.

West-German monopolies are showing a distinct interest in the country, granting the government credits worth \$17 million in recent years and financing construction of a cement mill in Vallemi. West German money is financing trade-union instruction

courses with an anti-Communist curriculum and 116 German schools, thus exercising an influence on the country's political and cultural scene.

The chiefs of the regime hold forth about "agrarian reform" and "aid" to poor peasants, but are, in effect, continuing to consolidate the landowners. AGRA-Paraguayan Limited, a U.S. company, has been given licence to buy up a million hectares of land, and ADELA, run on North American, West-German and other foreign capital, has been granted leave to purchase 500,000 hectares of government land.

The Stroessner regime brags of having organized 204 "agricultural colonies," which really comprise peasants resettled from the central zone to Caaguazu and Alto-Parana. In fact, thousands of peasants there have been abandoned to their fate, denied credits, agricultural implements and medical assistance in areas removed from the communication lines, and compelled to sell their produce at depressed prices. Hundreds of families had no choice but to flee this Stroessner "paradise," and in one colony near San-Estaniel 60 peasant children died of hunger.

The disastrous effects of Stroessner's economic policy could not be more obvious. Wages have been frozen since April 1964, and are so low that they barely cover 40 per cent of the wage-earners' elementary needs. The national debt is swelling, having passed the \$200 million mark, while the balance of payments deficit last year was \$25 million and the trade deficit bigger than before. The budget is being propped up by North American loans, tanning enterprises in the ports of Pinasco, Sastre and Guarani have folded, the cattle industry is declining and beef exports, the main source of foreign exchange, are shrinking. The North-American oil companies have shut down wells in the Chaco and the country is spending much of its foreign currency on oil from abroad.

To shore up the regime, the dictatorship has tabled in the House of Deputies a bill on the "protection of democracy and political and social order in the state," which qualifies "class struggle," incitement of "hatred," criticism of the government and demands of higher wages as a crime punishable by prison terms ranging from 3 to 15 years. By these means, aimed chiefly against Communists and other patriots charged with "subversive" activity, the Stroessner clique hopes to muzzle criticism

and block the democratic and liberation movements.

The bill, quite obviously a sign of the dictatorship's weakness and hate of the people, has roused a powerful wave of resentment. Apart from the Communist Party, it is articulately opposed by the Paraguayan Episcopal Conference, the Liberal-Radical, Liberal and Christian-Democratic parties, the Popular Colorado Movement, the University Federation of Paraguay, the Lawyers' Association, the Christian Confederation of Labor, and some organs of the press, particularly the weekly *Comunidad*. A large section of deputies representing the governing party, too, have spoken out against it, thereby revealing an acute conflict between the government junta in the Colorado (Stroessner's party) and the dictator.

In a manifesto in September 1969, the Communist Party called on workers, peasants, students and intellectuals, on democratic and patriotic forces in all parties and of all social backgrounds, on soldiers, sailors and officers to campaign against the bill and at once set the stage for the final elimination of the unpopular military and police regime whose repressive legislation is a cause of so much want and suffering for the people. The manifesto advocates joint struggle committees to block passage of the bill, stressing that the masses should employ all forms of struggle in demanding the release of all political prisoners and trade union leaders, and prepare to overthrow the venal tyranny by means of a general uprising that would produce a consistently democratic provisional government. Due to the critical and quickly deteriorating economic situation, new elements of political tension are building up that may spark a government crisis and a new, deeper than ever, revolutionary crisis.

The dictatorship is isolated and increasingly unstable. The army, its main pillar, is displaying symptoms of discontent. Patriotic officers are protesting against corruption, dirty dealing and servility to the U.S. military mission.

The working class is showing greater determination to fight, clamouring for the removal of traitors installed with police help in the trade-union leadership.

That the present government is uncertain and confused is obvious. General Stroessner no longer dares to challenge deputies disapproving the barbarian bill.

Yes-men, the dictator's menials, have lost their grip. They are encountering growing resistance in their own camp, and their talk of "phased democracy" and "salvation by rule of law" is no longer believed.

The masses have gone over to resolute large-scale action. Students are no longer content to protest in word only, and are organizing demonstrations, occupying faculty premises and holding flying meetings. A recent statement by thirty youth organizations denounced the imperialist aggression against the heroic people of Vietnam, expressing solidarity with students and mass actions in other Latin American countries. All segments of society are involved in the campaign for the release of political prisoners, and women are becoming more active on the political scene. And when Nelson Rockefeller, Yankee imperialism's ranking emissary, visited the country, the wave of mass manifestations rose still higher.

The anti-Communist mud-slinging in the government press and its man-hating appeals to wipe out communism evoke no public response. After a period of difficulties, the Communist Party is again making its voice heard in the nation's affairs. Its leaflets and newspapers are read widely, which infuriates the ruling clique. Communist influence and guidance is felt in all major actions of the working class, peasants, students and other social groups.

Our Party is fighting heroically against the reactionary regime, working deep underground and repulsing all attacks of internal and external enemies. Hundreds of Communists have paid for this with their lives, including many members of our Central Committee. A large number of Party leaders languishes in prison, some for over 11 years, in terrible conditions.

Traitor O. Creydt's insidious efforts have harmed the Party immensely. Paying lip-service to Marxist-Leninist principles, the former General Secretary of our Central committee methodically subverted all Party branches and organizations. He went so far as to induct 19 policemen, including R. Ramirez, a provocateur who acted as his main supporter, into the Party's security section, as a result of which all Party functionaries re-entering the country between 1960 and 1965 were arrested, tortured, and most of them killed. Methodically, Creydt sabotaged Party aid to guerrilla groups, supplying them with the insignificant sum of 4,400 guarani (about \$300) in five years. Exposed and expelled from the Party, the

villain lost no time in launching provocative, anti-Soviet bourgeois-nationalist activity behind a screen of "Leftist" verbiage.

Today, the Paraguayan Communist Party is still reorganizing its forces. Considerable progress has been achieved. A national conference was held in 1967 to prepare the ground for the Third Party Congress, proving a milestone in the new phase of our Party life. Experience shows that we must learn to distinguish between words and deeds, screening Party cadres from time to time irrespective of post and position to prevent enemy infiltration. It is not enough to maintain revolutionary vigilance. Vigilance must be continuously intensified.

To regain lost positions in the labor movement and build up the mass struggle of workers, peasants, students, intellectuals and other social groups is our main task. And we have tackled it on the basis of the people's vital demands in association with the struggle for democratic aims. The Party is gradually building up strength in the popular fight for higher wages, land, better prices for farm products, lower tuition, university autonomy, lower taxes, release of political prisoners, against the "protection of democracy" bill, for an end to the state of emergency and for other democratic demands, and will be ready when conditions ripen for a popular rising to overthrow the venal dictatorship, replacing it with a new government that will clear the way for deep-going, democratic reconstruction, for national and social emancipation.

To fulfil, this task, the Party works with resolve for a national anti-dictatorial front of all forces wishing to participate in the struggle; and certain success is on record in creating this front, based on the worker-peasant alliance. Despite difficulties, the Party has promoted the growth of a united movement for the release of, and solidarity with political prisoners on a national and international scale. It took an active part in public demonstrations protesting against Rockefeller's visit, circulating leaflets, manifestoes, and other Party publications.

We are making a deep, scientifically grounded study of the political situation at home and working out program aims and tactics to suit the present stage of our struggle. Furthermore, we are learning

from, and creatively applying the experience of fraternal parties.

The PCP Political Committee noted that the Party has made progress in fighting the survivals of bourgeois nationalism and Right and "Left" opportunism. Its internationalist proletarian stand has grown firmer. It has approved the International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties and its conclusions. Party cadres have grown numerically, with most of them possessing good theoretical grounding. We have entered a new stage of unity and cohesion on all issues of principle and our leading cadres are politically and ideologically mature.

However, this still falls short of the challenges of the current political situation. To improve our work, we must devote more attention to *Adelante*, our central organ, to propaganda and educational activity, extend our work with the masses, promote the campaign for the liberation of political prisoners and fight against the bill on the "protection of democracy and political and social order in the state." It is essential, too, to assure collective work in the Party's leading bodies, to better Party planning in all sectors, to tighten revolutionary discipline and combat individualism and lack of organization.

Our Party is aware of the need to combat petty-bourgeois impatience, as well as opportunist sluggishness. As we see it, one must not play at partisan warfare, but neither must one shrink back in face of difficulties in preparing a popular uprising against the dictatorship. The Party is improving its work among the working class, peasants and, especially, in the army, in order to win the support of at least a part of the armed forces and make the victory of the popular uprising secure in as short a term as possible.

All Party members are discussing the theses adopted by the Central Committee as a basis for the coming 3rd Congress, which will adopt the Party program and rules, and elect a new Central Committee of faithful Leninists who have proved firm in battle against the enemy, displayed a lofty spirit of proletarian internationalism and are prepared to head the mass struggle for the victory of the democratic, agrarian, anti-imperialist revolution, the first step on the way to socialism.

Interviews with trade union leaders of the socialist countries

Last year, WMR published (in issues 4, 5 and 9) interviews with representatives of the basic classes and social groups of several socialist countries: workers, cooperative farmers, intellectuals. The interviews with trade union leaders on this and the following pages deal with the principal aspects of trade union work in socialist countries.

Led by the working-class party, the trade unions are an organic element of their socio-political system. Their present position is largely due to operation of the policy Lenin formulated half a century ago: after the revolution, the unions would be the connecting link between the Party, that working-class vanguard, the socialist state and the mass of working people. The trade unions, Lenin stressed, must become a school of management, a school of communism.

He resolutely opposed Trotsky's demands for a "shake-up" of the unions, for a "tightening of the screws," to make the unions part of the state. He opposed the Trotskyist contention that, in a proletarian dictatorship, it is not the business of the trade unions to stand up for the material and spiritual interests of the working class. But Lenin also adamantly opposed Right-opportunist and anarcho-syndicalist trends which denied the Party any leading role in the trade union movement and contrasted the unions to the socialist state. The defeat of

these "Left" and Right deviations on the trade-union question was of fundamental importance in assuring a correct relationship between the Party, the state, and the mass of working people—finding the correct method of approaching and influencing the masses and keeping in constant touch with them.

These principles are basic to trade-union work in the U.S.S.R. and other socialist countries.

In most of these countries trade union activity is geared to the building of a developed socialist society, using all the advantages of the technological revolution. The process is a complex one, and it is important to know how the Lenin principles are applied in practice.

We put the following questions to union leaders in Hungary, the GDR, Poland and Rumania:

1. Lenin regarded the trade unions as a school of communism. How is this idea being realized in your country?
2. Lenin repeatedly emphasized the need for the Communist Party to play a leading role in the trade unions. How is this problem being solved in your country?
3. What new problems does the scientific and technological revolution pose for the trade unions and how are they being solved?

The answers, and an article on the Mongolian union movement are given below.

Sandor Gaspar

General Secretary, Hungarian Trade Union Council

1. Hungary's socialist achievements are the result of the devoted effort of her people and their socialist state under the Party's leadership.

In their own particular province, the trade unions have done much to refashion

the country's social structure.

Their organizational structure, based on democratic centralism, provides for accountability of elected bodies to the membership, so that all our work involves rank-and-file participation. Our methods are con-

viction and education, never coercion or administration.

The trade unions are a school, but one that educates in the process of production and in the day-to-day work of union branches. This involves not only union leaders and activists, but, increasingly, the general membership.

A fair wages system, efficient labor protection arrangements, social insurance and maintenance and union participation in management, are key factors in shaping the new mentality and psychology. The two main union functions, socio-economic and educational, are not opposites; they complement each other.

The trade unions do not immediately, nor simultaneously in all areas of activity, become a school of management. If their socio-economic role is not properly understood and if, for one or another reason, is not properly carried out, there can be no question of effective educational work. In fact, their political and cultural aims, and their practical work to attain these aims might be distorted. We were witnesses of, and involuntary participants in, such a situation in the early '50s.

In a socialist country, the state and the unions express and uphold the same interests. This is the main feature of their relation, but one that can obliterate the difference between government and trade union educational work. And, particularly in the period when the foundations of socialism are being laid, there might be a situation in which union political and educational work is relegated to the background.

The transition period poses other problems too. We have laid the foundations of socialism and are only now building a developed socialist society. A sizeable part of the working class is a "heritage" of the past. Its mentality is not completely free of capitalist influences and bourgeois ideology. What we have accomplished over more than 20 years is not sufficient to wipe out the influence of nationalism, petty-bourgeois ideology and religion. Some of this influence is "re-inherited" by the younger generation.

In developing our trade unions as a school for training the new type of man, we are guided by Lenin's precepts but this is a long process.

2. Lenin's teaching on the leading role of the Party has by no means lost its validity. It has been confirmed time and again as basic to all trade union work. In a socialist country, the working class needs different

organizations, each with its own distinctive functions, to exercise its power. This "division of labor" in the system of proletarian dictatorship is an essential condition of continued progress.

The leading role of the Party, the decisive force of the proletarian dictatorship, is an objective necessity. The Party's functions cannot be equated to those of other organizations. Its leading role is not exercised spontaneously, but through constant political and organizational work.

For us there is no question of the Party leadership principle no longer being applicable to the trade unions. The important thing is how it should be directly applied in the conditions of today. We are often "criticized" for accepting Party guidance which, we are told, deprives the union movement of its "independence." But we feel that the only true criterion of our activity is how effectively it serves the working class, the interests of all working people. In Hungary they are best served by the policy of the Socialist Workers' Party. That being so, what talk can there be of the unions being independent of the Party? To insist on such "independence" would mean shifting from a workers' to a bourgeois policy.

The leading role of the Party does not imply a govern-governed relationship. The unions are not "subordinate" organizations. They consciously accept the leading role of the revolutionary working-class Party in society. The Hungarian trade unions are independent mass organizations working, like the Party, towards the people's goal—socialist society. That is why they accept the political and ideological leadership of the Marxist-Leninist Party.

Communists in the trade union movement make it their job to convince union organizations to accept appropriate elements of Party policy, incorporate them in union decisions and carry them out in practice.

The unions have a share in framing and implementing national programs. Resolutions of Party congresses and major Party directives on such matters as ideological work, culture, economic planning and management are discussed in top union committees. All criticism, suggestions, amendments, etc., are taken into account by Central Party organs. The unions are encouraged to take a more active part in solving the country's problems, big and small, and show more independent and bold initiative.

Under the Hungarian Constitution, the trade unions share in formulating policy on

working and general conditions. All decisions on such matters must be cleared with the unions, and in some cases they can act directly, for they have the right to veto any measure that infringes valid laws, collective agreements and the principles of socialist morality. Party organizations respect and help implement trade union independence.

3. The scientific and technological revolution is bound strongly to influence our life and work, and we are doing everything to help the country make the most of its advantages. This poses a dual problem: all our work, political and economic, must facilitate the transition to the new technology, and on the other hand, we have to come to grips with the social issues the new technology raises for the trade unions.

In a socialist society, technological progress makes for accelerated economic development and higher material and cultural standards. Our duty, as we see it, is to promote the country's economic and technical progress and assure its people conditions worthy of socialism.

The trade unions support the innovation and invention movement, organize and

direct the socialist emulation movement. The "socialist brigades" now account for more than one-third of all workers. The younger generation will in the coming years have to run our industry. That is why the education reform provides for professional training in secondary schools and for specialized technical training in higher schools.

The trade unions, which cater to the needs of the workingman, must reckon with the fact that the technological revolution breeds contradictions in the minds of individual workers and sections of the working class. It may even produce new conflicts in the social sphere.

For instance, changes in the industrial structure reduce the role of such traditional industries as coal-mining, inasmuch as we are tapping new power resources. This entails retraining of miners, members of an old and highly respected profession, and finding other jobs for them. Similar situations can arise in other industries.

Considering these and other aspects of the technological revolution, we shall have to work out in detail what part, concretely, the trade unions can play in the process of readjustment.

Herbert Warnke

Chairman, Central Executive, German Free Trade Unions

1. We of the German Free Trade Unions are guided in all our work by the understanding that in the GDR trade unions are a school of socialism and their members builders of socialism.

In accordance with Lenin's teaching, we attach primary importance to ideological work, in particular to inculcating a new, socialist attitude to one's work and to public property. This finds expression, above all, in the socialist emulation movement. Another aim of our ideological work is to arm the people effectively to foil attempts at imperialist ideological sabotage against the socialist community.

The GDR trade unions represent and safeguard the interests of their members. But it would be wrong to regard them merely as "special-interest organizations." In a socialist country the unions cannot confine themselves to defending the immediate work-a-day interests of their members. They must express and promote the fundamental interests of industrial and office workers and intellectuals by active participation in administering the state and developing its economy. This is their major

contribution to the growth of our socialist society, and in this respect our trade unions are indeed a school of socialism.

2. The program of socialist construction in the GDR was worked out by the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, the Marxist-Leninist Party of the German working class. Its Seventh Congress called for the building of a developed socialist system, and this will bring to reality the basic aims of the working class. The trade unions, as independent decision-making bodies, are consciously working towards that goal, which accords with the interests of the working class and the entire people.

Can the unions, as working-class organizations remain "neutral" with regard to the aims of the working class? Marx emphasized that the trade unions can fulfil their function of furthering the immediate interests of the workers only if they combine this with political struggle to liberate the working class from capitalist oppression.

Lenin's proposition on the leading role of the Marxist-Leninist Party retains all its validity for the GDR trade unions. More, we

are convinced that Lenin's polemic with those who advocated trade union "neutrality" and his fight against anarcho-syndicalism retain all their validity for the international trade union movement.

3. In the GDR, the process of building a developed socialist society and realization of the economic laws of socialism are inseparably linked with optimal use of the new technology. The interaction of the two is perhaps most aptly expressed by paraphrasing Lenin's famous formula: Socialism is worker-peasant power plus the technological revolution.

The technological revolution exerts a profound influence on the worker's place in socialist production. It changes the very nature of this work, giving it a deeper spiritual and creative content.

The GDR trade unions are determined to keep in step with the requirements of the technological revolution. At present we are doing this primarily through the socialist emulation drive in honor of the Lenin centenary and the 25th anniversary of liberation from Nazism. The priority goals are comprehensive automation of production and supervision processes, wider use of chemicals, more efficient techniques, i.e.,

the focal points of technical progress. In this, as in earlier emulation drives, we are guided by Lenin's proposition that increasing labor productivity is decisive for socialism's victory over capitalism.

Education and professional standards are an increasingly important factor in the technological revolution. Accordingly, the trade unions are encouraging every worker to study, raise his professional skill to meet the higher requirements. Our work in this field goes hand in hand with political education to instil working-class ideology.

The unions use diverse forms to meet the rising requirements in education and culture. The idea is to use the new potentialities of science and technology to improve working conditions, provide better safety precautions, etc. — in short, use the new technology for the benefit of the workers.

In solving the problems arising out of the technological revolution, the trade unions are helping to bring closer together public, collective and personal interests. This opens up broad vistas for effective mass initiative by blue-collar and white-collar workers in raising production to a higher level.

Ignacy Loga-Sowinski

Chairman, Central Council, Polish Trade Unions

Chairman,

1. Union activity in socialist Poland is based entirely on Lenin's doctrine of the trade unions as a school of communism. In a country ruled by its people, the trade unions are an integral and important element of economic and cultural development. They play a significant part in administering the state and the economy and in creating and allocating the national income.

Their basic task is to use every social lever and mobilize work collectives to achieve higher economic indicators. And we are fully aware that only through such practical participation in running the economy can we carry out Lenin's idea of higher labor productivity as the chief guarantee of socialism's victory over capitalism. And the surest way of achieving that, Lenin taught us, is correct application of incentives in a wages policy based on the socialist principle "to each according to his labor."

Poland is a member of the socialist community and we, as trade union representatives, share in extending and perfecting co-

operation within the Council of Mutual Economic Assistance, the aim being accelerated growth of output and closer production cooperation and specialization, using all the achievements of science and technology.

In creatively applying Lenin's proposition that the trade unions are a school of management, a school of communism, we have concretized the guiding principles of the Polish trade-union movement to give fuller expression to the dialectical unity and inter-dependence of production and living standards.

2. Our fight for socialism over the past quarter of a century fully confirms the correctness of Lenin's theory that working-class hegemony and the leading role of the new-type party, the Communist vanguard of the working class and the people, are essential for the successful building of socialist society.

The Communist Party and all its members see in the trade unions their true and faithful helper. And the trade unions regard the Party as the leading force. It supports all their initiatives and proposals that con-

tribute to the building of socialism and benefit the working class. The two million Communist union members constitute the socio-political and organizational mainstay of the movement.

The building of socialism, a cause to which our trade unions are wholly committed, implies application of the Lenin policy of close contact with the widest masses and utilization of all available opportunities to promote their interests. The Party relies on the mass self-governing trade unions as a major source of its strength and as a means of close contact with the masses. Active participation by Party members at all levels of trade union activity has been a decisive factor in helping the unions cope with their tasks.

3. In this all-important area, the Polish trade unions have set themselves the following goals:

—Higher effectiveness of scientific re-

search and technological progress;

—Higher activity by research personnel;

—Explaining to workers and technicians the interconnection and interdependence of science and economics.

We are using the initiatives and opportunities of the trade union movement to stimulate and encourage rationalization and innovation among workers and technicians, and we see to it that the results are put to practical use. Our aim is to utilize scientific and technical achievements for more effective organization of production, leading to a steep rise in labor productivity.

We want the technological revolution, which increases man's knowledge, culture and performance capacity, to become a direct and effective productive force capable of accelerating the growth of national income and of production, of improving working conditions and raising prosperity standards.

Florian Danalache

Chairman, Central Council, Rumanian General Trade Union Federation

1. Lenin, as we know, devoted much attention to the role and functions of the trade unions under socialism. And their role increases now that all our people are working to bring to reality the program of building a comprehensively developed socialist society adopted at the 10th Party Congress. The trade unions have a bigger part to play also because jointly with the farmers and intellectuals of all our ethnic groups, the working class, the leading class of society, is more closely involved in charting the country's future and in solving its present problems. In this the trade unions are acting in concert with other mass organizations of the Socialist Unity Front, the political organization that unites our people's efforts in implementing the Party's program.

The trade unions also have an active share in formulating home and foreign policy, working out the scientific principles of economic development, analyzing and solving the chief problems of our socialist state, economy and culture. They consider it their bounden duty to mobilize all their forces to carry out the Party's policy of uninterrupted socio-economic progress and higher living standards.

Trade union representatives enjoy full rights and obligations in leading organs of ministries, big industrial enterprises, and other economic and public bodies (univer-

sity senates, scientific councils of research institutes, etc.).

General meetings arranged by Party and trade union branches are held at all places of work. Their purpose is to work out joint decisions and assure collective responsibility for the organization of production. Since the National Party Conference, these meetings have acquired much experience in controlling factory managements. They act as a forum of collective opinion, and see to it that workers' proposals are carried out.

A major aim of all trade union activity is to foster socialist consciousness, which our Party understands as follows: deep knowledge of everything of value in modern culture, science and technology; mastery of one's profession; assimilation of the working-class ideology; a progressive outlook in which patriotism is combined with socialist internationalism.

Our unions make a special point of promoting higher skill and cultural levels by creating a climate in which every worker feels it his duty to do his job in an exemplary way, safeguard and multiply the country's wealth and strengthen and develop its socialist system.

2. The experience of our and other socialist countries has shown that Communist Party leadership of society is objectively determined by the nature of the socialist

system and its development as the consciously organized endeavor of the people. The problems involved in building a developed socialist society and in creating the prerequisites for gradual transition to communism can be solved only if there is a strong Marxist-Leninist working-class party. The Party draws up the general political line in conformity with national specifics and concrete conditions at each stage of development and, through its work of education and organization, mobilizes the masses to carry it out in practice.

In Rumania, the Communist Party's leading role can be seen in every aspect of public life, and this, of course, includes trade union activity, where it exercises its leadership through Communists active in the unions. Elected union officials share in the work of central and local Party committees and are responsible for carrying out their decisions in trade union work.

The Communist Party is systematically perfecting the methods it uses to exercise its leadership of society. It is forming closer ties with the masses and carefully studying every aspect of public life. "The Party," Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu emphasized at the Tenth Party Congress, "is the central nucleus of the whole of society which radiates energy and light setting the whole mechanism of the socialist system in motion and ensuring its functioning. The Party, in its turn, constantly gains new strength from the energy and light continuously radiated towards it by the mass of our socialist nation."

3. We are living at a time when science

is advancing at an unparalleled pace. Progress in science and technology is transforming all aspects of public life, opening up fresh prospects for the whole of society. Socialism possesses a vast potential for using scientific and technical thought to enrich economic and social life and raise living standards. That is the purpose of our Party, which has elevated scientific and technological advancement to the level of national policy. Much attention is being paid to fundamental and applied research and the training of specialist personnel, so that every technical achievement can be put to use in production.

Rumania has compulsory 10-year schooling and a wide network of technical and economic schools. Higher education, especially in the technical sciences and economics, has been greatly extended, for we know that technical progress depends on trained personnel for the new and automated industries.

The trade unions are very active in this field. They sponsor technical consultation sessions, conferences, symposiums, seminars, exchange of experience, publish popular technical literature. Last year, for example, our unions enlisted noted scientists and specialists in various fields for a nationwide campaign to popularize the new technology. The mass innovation and rationalization movement directed by the unions is producing good results: the number of rationalization proposals increased from 3,650 in 1950 to 43,570 in 1968, and the resultant economy was equal to one-quarter of all the economy effected by our industry.

The unions and the workers of Mongolia

DOVCHINGIIN YADAMSUREN

Chairman, Central Council of Mongolian Trade Unions

Lenin's definition of trade unions as a school of communism is the cornerstone of Mongolia's trade union movement. Our unions are but a little over forty years old, having first come into being when the formation of the working class had only begun in our country, when the people of Mongolia, inspired by Lenin's ideas and supported by the Soviet Union, opted for the non-capitalist way.

In a short time, the unions became a large, influential organization, their activity spreading to nearly all areas of society. Led by the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party, the unions performed their functions with eminent success in all phases of growth, living up to their mission of loyal helper and dependable supporter of the Party. True to the principles of proletarian internationalism, the unions have also assumed their due place in the world trade union movement.

As we see it, the history of our movement may be of interest, especially to countries that have opted for the non-capitalist way, in the social structure of which the working class is still in the formative stage.

BIRTH OF THE MOVEMENT

Our trade union movement sprang up under the direction of the People's Revolutionary Party, the political organization of the working people, with the assistance of the people's state, in 1927, that is, six years after the people took over power in the 1921 revolution. The unions, therefore, took no part in overthrowing the old power. However, they helped in every way to consolidate the people's democratic system,

the political substance of which gradually evolved into a dictatorship of the proletariat and whose general aims coincided with the interests of the unions. That had never happened before in the international labor movement.

After winning independence, underdeveloped countries face the imperative choice of whither to go—to capitalism or socialism. Since several modes of economy usually exist there in the transition period, with the respective classes and social groups, the growth of the superstructure, as well as the basis, gives rise to a mass of contradictions, liable to cause grave complications and political instability. In the circumstances, subjective factors play an important role, as borne out by the history of the MPR and, particularly, the trade-union movement.

Our unions are guided by the working-class ideology and consistently follow the class policy based on the Marxist-Leninist teaching about the workers' guiding role in socialist society. The international experience of the fraternal parties and countries, primarily that of the Soviet Union and the Soviet Communist Party, have become a key factor of success in our socialist growth. Important, too, was the fact that only one leading party existed in the country, precluding the very idea of a split in our movement.

Mongolia's working class came into being not in a capitalist environment, but in the process of building a new, young socialist industry. It did not have to fight for higher wages and shorter hours by strikes and demonstrations.

During the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal period of the people's revolution, it

is true, capitalist elements burgeoned, dragging the country on to the capitalist road. We faced the question of who beats whom. The Party fought perseveringly for the non-capitalist way. But it was difficult to cultivate the spirit of public ownership and a socialist attitude to work in a country where small-scale production associated with private property, predominated.

The number of workers was then fairly small. But for all their experience, the unions had much prestige and contributed invaluable to the Party's cause by their consistent class policy. This stood us in good stead at the Second Congress of Mongolian Trade Unions in 1928, which repulsed the assault of Right opportunists, who tried to distort the Party's general line, give back economic power to the feudal lords, encourage emergence of capitalist elements and restrict trade-union independence.

An industrial combine, a mechanical factory and a power station were built in Ulan-Bator with Soviet aid in the 1930s. Also, we got our first railway and developed automobile transport. As a result, factory and clerical workers increased steeply in number, paving the way for the further growth of the trade union movement.

As the people's revolution advanced, Party-sponsored political, economic and cultural construction made good headway. In the economy a state and cooperative sector came into being. The unions devoted themselves largely to protecting the rights and interests of the arats, the Mongolian counterpart of the farm laborer, the main reserve of our emerging working class.

The unions were then helping to train novice workers, helping them acquire production skills, know-how and conscious discipline, and showing them the running of socialist economy.

Schools and courses were opened under union auspices. All propaganda and cultural work was centered on worker education and combating surviving feudal prejudices. That our working class never learned the ordeals of exploitation, that it was politically unoppressed and was imbued with the lofty patriotic revolutionary spirit, was for us a source of help.

THE PARTY'S HELPERS IN BUILDING SOCIALISM

The people's revolution developed gradually from the revolutionary democratic

stage to the socialist. In the 1940s our People's Republic embarked firmly on the socialist way. The workers' role in building socialism increased and a close alliance was forged between the working class and the arat herdsmen. The state and cooperative sectors had become more solid and the Party drew up a long-term economic development program. Rallying closely round the MPRP and the People's Government, the workers and their unions stood in the van of the struggle for socialism.

Concerned for the people's interests, the unions worked for better working conditions, better workers' housing and better community services. They initiated new work norms, an improved wage scheme, tighter labor safety controls and social insurance.

During the Second World War, Mongolia extended fraternal aid to the fighting against Japanese imperialism. When the war ended, the Party set the aim of developing the country's productive forces at an accelerated rate. New industries were built up: power, mining, oil, metal- and wood-working, textile, tanning, etc.

In the new conditions the unions continued to assist workers in improving proficiency acquiring technical knowledge and mastering new technologies.

In 1948, our increased economic potential enabled us to go over to long-term planning. Fulfilment of plan targets soon created far-reaching qualitative changes in our economy. The nation was able to tackle the tasks of building the material and technical basis for socialism. Industrial and transport growth had the effect of increasing the number of workers and accentuating their role in building socialism. By 1966, workers had increased 17 times over the 1940 figure. Considerable changes are in evidence in the structure of the working class as compared with 10 years ago. The number of skilled workers has gone up 28-fold. By 1968 nine out of every ten workers had skill grading. In the past five years alone, more than 15,000 young specialists graduating various educational and training establishments entered the country's economy.

At present, more than 90 percent of the workers are enrolled in trade unions. The number of activists doing spare-time union work is increasing steadily. With new industries forging ahead, the unions have been reorganized on an industrial basis. As a result, union work in branches of industry has become more concrete and

closer in line with the specifics of production. Guidance, too, is now more competent.

IN THE NEW STAGE

Its 15th Congress set the Party on the general course of completing socialist construction. Also, it adopted a new Party program. In the present period the unions are enlisting larger sections of working people in guiding the economy, participating in planning, raising production efficiency, promoting the socialist emulation movement and establishing public control over plan fulfilment. Promoting worker participation in guiding production is an important factor of socialist democracy. Through their unions, working people participate in framing, elaborating and carrying forward production plans. Unions sponsor discussions of draft plans by workers' meetings and standing production conferences. Delegates to the conferences are elected at general meetings, chiefly from among leading workers and technicians.

This combination of scientifically grounded planning with the wage-earners' initiative is yielding good results. When endorsing economic plans, the state's planning agencies give full consideration to suggestions and proposals submitted by the union branches. In 1969 alone, more than 40,000 factory and clerical workers participated in discussing plan drafts and came forward with many valuable suggestions, most of which were taken into account by the planners.

The unions facilitate fulfilment of production plans primarily by organizing the socialist emulation movement among workers and production collectives. They help workers and collectives in drawing up thoroughly considered, feasible pledges that put in motion untapped potentialities. Since the socialist emulation movement is an effective form of worker participation in management, factory and clerical workers are also encouraged to control fulfilment of pledges.

More than 95 percent of the country's wage-earners participated in socialist emulation last year. A higher form of it—the movement for socialist work — is widespread, marked by a high degree of political awareness and production activity and spurred by the wish to live, work and learn the socialist way. Last year, the number of collectives which earned the title of enter-

prise, brigade or office of socialist work was double that of 1966.

Our workers, engineers and technicians are always in the fore in introducing innovations in production, disseminating advanced experience and making the fullest use of scientific and technical achievements. In 1966-68 the number of innovation proposals passed the 8,000 mark, while inventions exceeded 9,000. Of this total, nearly 8,000 were put into practice. Jointly with the enterprises, the unions organize numerous advanced-experience schools.

To advance socialist construction, individual workers and the collectives must be given a greater material stake in the results of their work. For this reason, jointly with the State Labor and Wages Committee, our Central Council has initiated improvements in the wage scheme and in task-setting for workers in mining and the food industry, building and some branches of agriculture. Furthermore, we have introduced a new system of material incentives. As a result, average incomes have risen ten percent and those of the low-paid categories 14-22 percent.

At present, we have mainly an occupation-graded pay system. Wages and salaries are set and altered by the government on proposals of the Central Trade Union Council. The unions discuss the matter directly with the wage-earners. This approach yields splendid results.

Undeniably, there are shortcomings in our activity. Some branches take insufficient interest in production and too little trouble over enlisting workers in the socialist emulation movement. Some are not active in marshalling the untapped production potentialities. These negative tendencies are sharply criticized, because they impede the key function of the socialist unions—the moulding of a new attitude to work.

The trade union "terms of reference" include improving working conditions, mechanizing labor-intensive jobs and raising productivity. Also, the unions control labor safety, supply of work clothes, and issue of free meals and milk to workers employed in health-hazardous jobs. They devote themselves, too, to improving cultural and community services and bettering the social insurance system, which covers all wage-earners. Pensions are issued in old age and disability and to families deprived of the breadwinner. This and payment of benefits for temporary disability is

also a trade-union responsibility. The state allocates considerable funds yearly in grants to mothers of many children. About 20 per cent of the work force is annually accommodated in holiday homes and sanatoria, while 10 percent of the schoolchildren spend their vacations in Pioneer camps. The unions are also deputized to run the houses of culture, clubs and cinemas (mobile and stationary) at enterprises. These operate circles for work education, atheism, and the like.

The Party and Government provide every facility to enhance the role of the unions in building socialism. Extensive union rights are provided for in our labor legislation and the statute on the rights of union committees approved by the Presidium of the Grand Hural. In line with these rights, the continued growth of the trade-union movement will enable the people of Mongolia to make the most of the advantages of socialism and to advance still more rapidly along Lenin's way.

Trade union struggles in the U.S. today

GEORGE MEYERS

Intensified exploitation of the working class is a stark feature of the 1960s in the United States. New industrial techniques are an ominous threat to workers, rather than a benefit. When automation first began to make its appearance, ruling class soothsayers predicted an easy life for the workers, whose main job would be to "push buttons." But instead of shorter hours and reduced work loads, automation has been used to eliminate jobs and reduce wage standards, and is an important factor in the growth of speed-up.

The speed-up system has become a most serious problem for the entire U.S. working class. The high level of exhaustion resulting from speed-up and forced overtime is directly related to the tremendous increase in industrial accidents. In 1969, 116,000 workers were killed on the job, and 10.8 million were permanently injured. Lung diseases, blood and skin diseases, cancer, permanent deafness and other ills caused by dangerous chemicals, excessive dust, noise and heat are mounting, due to the criminal negligence of the corporations in their rush for profits. There is a marked increase in heart attacks and mental diseases among workers, directly attributable to speed-up, and worry over job insecurity, and other problems that plague most U.S. workers.

The response of the working class to the attacks of the monopolies has been a resounding upsurge of the class struggle. This, in turn, has stimulated a process of revitalization in the trade union movement and affecting all other mass movements as well.

The rise in strike struggles is one indication of the intensification of the class struggle. In 1967 there were over 4,595 strikes, in 1968—5,045 and in 1969 some 5,600. Ruling-class efforts to convince the

workers not to strike in the name of support for the war in Vietnam have been fruitless. Opposition to this obscene war and its effects have mounted to mass proportions.

Last year saw major strike struggles by East coast longshoremen, oil workers and miners. But, of course, the biggest single action was the General Electric strike which began in October and involved 150,000 workers at the corporation's 150 plants in 33 states. The strike lasted nearly 100 days and was won thanks to the courage and perseverance of the workers and united action by the various trade unions representing them.

This year will very probably see even bigger strikes. Collective bargaining agreements are up for renegotiation in rail, automobiles, rubber, paper, building and other industries. The Big Business magazine *Fortune* speaks of an "explosive epic confrontation." Another magazine, *U.S. News and World Report* predicts that about five million will be involved this year in strike actions for higher pay and better conditions.

The march of events seems to confirm these press forecasts. Besides the General Electric strike there have been strikes by Wisconsin railwaymen; Newark, New Jersey, schoolteachers; New York suburban bus drivers and East coast longshoremen. In March, there was the great postal workers' walkout involving 180,000 in 200 cities. The government mobilized 16,000 troops in an attempt to break the strike.

The ruling class is working desperately to curb the workers' fight. Much publicity is being given to the increased number of layoffs already taking place and the Pentagon threatens loss of another 500,000 jobs if "defense" production is cut. A substantial cutback in building construction

is being held over the heads of building trades workers.

The National Association of Manufacturers, the Chamber of Commerce and their Congressional lobbies have long been campaigning for tougher anti-labor legislation. Press reports indicate that President Nixon and Secretary of Labor Shultz believe the time is ripe for overhauling all labor-relations laws. In fact, bills envisaging drastic restrictions of the right to strike are to be put before Congress. One proposed anti-labor law would outlaw industry-wide bargaining. Another would forbid multi-union bargaining, even against the giant conglomerates. A third would destroy what little legal protection federal laws now provide the unions. Worst of all is a proposal to outlaw the right to strike and replace it with compulsory arbitration.

But even the massive official strike figures do not tell the whole story, for they do not cover the tens of thousands of rank-and-file actions at the point of production which are an even more accurate reflection of rank-and-file militancy. Rank-and-file actions take the form of strikes, stoppages, sitdowns and slowdowns. Some of them last an hour or so, some of them last for weeks. The grievances have to do mainly with increased work loads and speedup, with dangerous and unhealthy working conditions, and with multiple problems emanating from installing automated machinery without prior union agreement, lay-offs, reduced wages, elimination of older workers, etc.

Rank-and-file struggles that began in a small way soon expanded into a movement that covered entire industries and all parts of the country. Concerted demands began to emerge for substantial wage increases to meet the high cost of living. An increased wave of radicalization developed among the workers, which is reflected in a sharp challenge to self-styled "company prerogatives" on a new level. The workers are demanding more of a say concerning the use of automation, work loads and safe working conditions.

A good example of this is the struggle of the coal miners against the black lung disease (pneumoconiosis). For generations, miners have suffered from this dread disease caused by excess coal dust. In West Virginia and other coal-producing states, the coal operators have refused even to recognize its existence. Earlier in 1969, the rank-and-file movement that had

emerged in protest against the black lung, culminated in a two-week political strike that forced the state of West Virginia officially to recognize the disease over the vehement protests of the mine owners. Now the miners are challenging the existing safety standards, the setting of which had been considered by the companies to be their sole prerogative.

At the end of 1969 a number of General Motors auto assembly plants were out on "wildcat" strikes, demanding a cut-back in the speed of the assembly lines. These rank-and-file actions have been coordinated in a number of widely separated cities. Longshoremen on both the East and West coasts have conducted determined struggles for a say on the introduction of "containerization."

The decline of the shop steward system in the mass industries has been an important factor in the ability of the ruling class to intensify exploitation at the point of production. Over the years it has been under systematic attack by the auto, steel, rubber, textile and other magnates. Everything has been used from the firing of militant shop stewards to concessions to the union in return for weakening the shop steward system.

In a number of industries, arbitration systems have tended to displace shop steward systems. In the steel industry, union lawyers have worked with the steel magnates to give the arbitration procedure the authority of a court of law. The decisions of some arbitrators are treated as "legal precedents," and used as guides to determine the legitimacy of new grievances.

Big industrial plants that formerly had a shop steward for every 25 or so workers now have a steward for as many as every 1,200 workers. Even the most energetic and militant stewards find it impossible to handle grievances under these circumstances. As a result, tens of thousands of grievances have dragged on for years, and have eventually been lost or traded off in contract negotiations, at the expense of the workers involved.

With the shop steward system emasculated in many areas, the monopolies quickly moved to install automation on their own terms, to speed up the workers, and to ignore their grievances about hazardous working conditions. That is why the rank-and-file struggles inevitably demand strengthening of the shop steward system.

Many old-line trade union leaders were either unable or unwilling to make the kind of fight the workers demanded. This led to an increase in "unauthorized" or "wildcat" strikes, and to frequent rank-and-file rejections of contract agreements reached between company and union negotiating committees. These rejections are usually followed by strike action.

Election of more militant workers to trade union leadership is now an established pattern. This is particularly true in regard to shop stewards and local union officers. But the militant spirit of the rank-and-file is pressing into higher echelons of trade union leadership and some of the most entrenched class collaborationists have been forced out. Many trade union leaders who have developed a "stand pat" posture are being forced to change or face removal.

Rank-and-file opposition to class collaboration in the mining industry came to the front in the miners' struggle against the deadly black lung disease.

The rank-and-file initiated a struggle which reached a high point last May, when 44,000 miners went on a two-week "wildcat" strike that closed every mine in the state of West Virginia. This was a political strike in which the West Virginia miners refused to dig coal until the State Assembly enacted legislation which gave black lung victims at least minimum protection under industrial compensation laws. Miners in the neighboring coal mining state of Ohio and Pennsylvania went out in support.

One of the most important ingredients in the rank-and-file movements is the militant participation and leadership of young workers. In the last few years, a big change has taken place in the age level of the working class, especially in the basic industries. Of the 1½ million U.S. auto workers, over one million have been in the mills less than five years. Of this million, half are under thirty years of age, and of these three-fifths are young black workers. One-third of workers in the rubber industry are under 25.

There has been a similar influx of young workers, black and white, into steel, aircraft, electrical, clothing and other industries. These young workers take the main brunt of the speedup. The radical trend in the working class is more pronounced among them, and the caliber of their demands is much higher than among older

workers. Young workers are the major force that give the rank-and-file movements their militant energy. At the same time, the young workers are beginning to rise to leadership in the trade unions.

Another very important feature of the rank-and-file upsurge is the participation of young black workers, who have been getting jobs in basic industry in increasing numbers. Discrimination usually relegates them to the hardest, dirtiest, and most dangerous jobs. At the same time, too many white trade union leaders, themselves blinded by racism, ignore the many grievances of black union members.

In self-protection, black workers were forced to consolidate their strength through the organization of black caucuses, where the militant spirit of the black liberation movement, which they brought into the mills with them, found expression. These black caucuses, like the rank-and-file movements generally, made their first thrusts against conditions at the point of production. In their struggle against speed-up and dangerous working conditions, and to smash the disgraceful manifestations of racism, black workers have given a lead to all workers.

Black steel workers have set up effective picket lines that have disrupted production in such giant steel centers as Baltimore, Buffalo and Bethlehem, protesting company discrimination and the reluctance of the Steel Union to fight it. Auto workers have done the same in Detroit. These workers have won some important, though partial victories. In numerous instances, they have had substantial support from white workers, who refused to cross the picket lines. Massive struggle is conducted against discrimination in the notoriously racist building industry.

Black caucuses are demanding the right of black union members to participate in trade union leadership at policy-making levels, and are insisting that organized labor take the lead in the struggle for civil rights and the special problems facing black workers in the ghettos.

The struggles of the black workers against racism are forcing white workers to face up to this question. As they do so, the tendency is toward greater working class unity.

When the fight against racism is taken up among white workers on the basis of self-interest and class interest, important victories can be won. This was proven in

the recent presidential elections when the racist, anti-labor Dixiecrat, George Wallace, got far below his expected vote among white workers. Wallace had concentrated among them with demagogic appeals as the "champion of the white working man." A massive educational campaign by the entire trade union movement exposed the fundamental anti-working class nature of Wallace's demagoguery and led to his rejection by the overwhelming majority of workers, black and white.

In the face of the demands of the rank and file for militant trade union leadership, and despite widespread opposition to the Vietnam war, the dominant leadership of the AFL-CIO continues a pattern of what has been aptly described as "*status quo* unionism."

The virulent anti-communism of the Meany-Lovestone group that controls the AFL-CIO colors all policies of this major U.S. labor body. Its continued support of the war in Vietnam and of all other policies of U.S. imperialism has destroyed its ability—or its desire—to mobilize the membership around such questions as unjust taxes, skyrocketing prices, lack of proper housing and medical care, deterioration of the working-class communities, the special problems of black and other minority workers. The major reason for this bankruptcy is obvious: these problems are either a direct result of the war in Vietnam, or are aggravated by it.

Rank-and-file militancy among unorganized workers, particularly in the low-paid service industries and in the South have created new conditions for a successful organizing drive. Yet the AFL-CIO refuses to mobilize for the concerted organizing campaign which is so vital to its interests.

The rapid internationalization of U.S. capital, and the tremendous growth of U.S.-dominated international monopolies have created a new series of problems for U.S. workers, problems whose solution requires maximum cooperation with workers in other countries, both capitalist and socialist. Yet the International Department of the AFL-CIO is an unashamed instrument of the CIA and works openly in the interests of U.S. imperialism.

The situation in the AFL-CIO makes the emergence of the Alliance for Labor Action (ALA), the most significant advance in the U.S. trade union movement. While ALA leaders insisted from the beginning that it was not conceived as a rival to the AFL-CIO, that body branded it as "dual

unionism" even before it was organized. When the small AFL-CIO Chemical Workers' Union had the temerity to accept financial help from the ALA in a drive to organize the overwhelming number of chemical workers still outside union ranks, Meany led the successful fight for their expulsion. He made it clear that any AFL-CIO union cooperating with the ALA on any issue whatever would suffer the same fate as long as he was head of the organization.

The founding members of the ALA are the two biggest unions in the country. The Teamsters Union now has over 2 million members, and the UAW has over 1½ million. At its founding conference, the ALA adopted a dynamic program that gives it a great potential for future growth. Any other bona fide union is invited to join, regardless of affiliation. The only condition is acceptance of this program. A number of points in this program bring it into direct conflict with reactionary positions taken by the AFL-CIO leadership.

The first act at the founding conference of the ALA was condemnation of the war in Vietnam and a demand that it be ended. This is the first time a labor organization of such major proportions has openly clashed with the policies of U.S. imperialism.

The huge military budget was sharply condemned in a resolution opposing the anti-ballistic missile program. The ALA called on the president to initiate negotiations for arms limitation with the Soviet Union, Great Britain and France. It called for a mutual moratorium on testing and deployment of all offensive and defensive strategic weapons.

The ALA urged that the billions of dollars saved be used for the critical needs of the people—for education, health, medical care, housing, anti-pollution programs, ending congestion, and dealing with "broad environment problems and conservation of resources."

The ALA announced support for a nationwide Peace Moratorium. This support has given tremendous impetus to action for peace among both officers and rank-and-file members of the AFL-CIO who are opposed to the warmongering policies of that body's top leadership. A number of AFL-CIO affiliates are planning to join officially with the demand to end the war.

In response to wide rank-and-file demands that the unions concern themselves

with the problems of the working class communities, the ALA is devoting considerable attention to the organization of "community unions." These bodies are designed to deal with such problems as lack of housing, high rents, unemployment, a breakdown in social services, and other evils. In its resolution on community unions the ALA adopted a position that could give new dimensions to the organized labor movement.

The ALA is identified with the demand for a number of basic reforms and is committed to the mass mobilization of its members in their behalf.

The working class is up in arms about the impossible heavy tax load it is forced to carry. The knowledge that many wealthy individuals and corporations get bigger and bigger "loopholes" adds to the workers' anger. There is a massive demand not only for tax reduction, but also for tax reform. Over the years, the whole principle of "ability to pay" has been increasingly abandoned as a guideline to tax policy. Instead, mounting sales tax, rising taxes on small homes, increased federal taxes for workers, have become the pattern. The ALA and a number of AFL-CIO unions have mobilized important mass protests against unfair taxation in response to rank-and-file pressure.

Adequate medical care is now out of the reach of the big majority of U.S. workers. The cost of a hospital bed is as much as \$100 per day. Doctors' fees and the cost of medicine lead the rise in prices. The ALA has initiated a demand for a National Health Act, which would guarantee at least minimum medical care for all citizens. It has helped in the formation of a nationwide committee of doctors, civil rights leaders, trade unionists and others for the purpose of developing a mass fight for this objective.

Housing in the U.S. is in a state of crisis. While sumptuous apartments for the wealthy are going up at a great rate, public housing for the low-income workers is at a standstill. Declaring that there are 11 million substandard and overcrowded housing units in the U.S. by a very conservative estimate, the ALA is committed to work for

the construction of 25 million new housing units in the next 10 years.

The ALA has offered financial support and organizers to any union, regardless of affiliation, that wants to go out and organize the unorganized. This has already led to the formation of a new union in the almost totally unorganized service trades, the Distributive Workers' Union. It is headed by a black trade unionist, Cleveland Robinson, and the majority of the Executive Board are black and Puerto Rican, a number of them women. This reflects the composition of the workers who predominate in this field.

The ALA comes at a very crucial time for U.S. workers, Rank-and-file willingness to struggle on the one hand and intensified exploitation, declining living standards, threat of government repression, and a bankrupt leadership in the AFL-CIO on the other give it the potential of becoming a dynamic instrument of the working class.

U.S. workers face steadily worsening conditions. Inflation mounts, taxes grow, mass unemployment threatens, and the monopolies have launched a massive assault on the trade union movement, using every available means, including outright terror against progressive union leaders. Early this year the world was shocked by the brutal murder of miners' leader Joseph A. Yablonski, his wife and daughter. In Cincinnati, Ohio, three local union officials were jailed and seven others fined for organizing "illegal" strikes.

As the U.S. capitalist economy becomes more and more shaky and unstable, the threat to workers' living standards and democratic rights will continue to grow. But so, too, will the struggles of the working class in defense of its interests. The mushrooming of rank-and-file struggles, the process of revitalization taking place in the unions, the struggles of the black workers for full equality, the fight for international trade union solidarity, the process of radicalization, particularly among younger workers — all these give promise of greater struggles to come. All are concrete demonstrations that the working class will continue in growing measure to carry on its historic role.

Some aspects of uneven capitalist development in conditions of the two-system contest

YAKOV PEVZNER and FRIEDL FURNBERG

WHAT WE CAN LEARN FROM HISTORY

Lenin formulated his theory of capitalism's uneven economic and political development in the imperialist era at the time of World War I. But uneven development of countries, regions and economic spheres, in the sense of differing growth rates, was known before monopoly capitalism, and, indeed, was an essential condition of economic progress. Marx remarked that capitalist production would be impossible if it had to develop simultaneously and evenly in all spheres. But with the emergence of monopoly and completed territorial division of the world, existing patterns are altered through clashes of interests, and on a scale that leads to sharp world conflicts. That is a distinctive feature of uneven development under imperialism, and one that makes it easier for the working class to pierce the imperialist front.

The essential significance of Lenin's doctrine is that the objective conditions for victorious socialist revolution mature unevenly in the different countries. This is how he puts it in the article *The Military Program of the Proletarian Revolution*: "The development of capitalism proceeds extremely unevenly in different countries. It cannot be otherwise under commodity production. From this it follows irrefutably that socialism cannot achieve victory simultaneously in all countries. It will achieve victory first in one of several countries, while the others will for some time remain bourgeois or pre-bourgeois" (Vol. 23, p. 79).

Marxism-Leninism has never understood

the "degree of capitalist development" to mean merely the level of productive forces. And history provides ample evidence that in this age of the greatest change in human history — the transition from millennia of slavery and exploitation to socialism—political, military, ideological, national and other superstructure factors play an especially important part. That is why the uneven development theory merges with the proposition that the imperialist chain can be broken at a point where objective and subjective factors, economic and political, converge in a way that favors the overthrow of capitalist political power. That proposition is spearheaded against the Right opportunist and conciliatory view that the transition to socialism will come automatically when the productive forces reach a definite level — as if one can know beforehand just what level is required! In reality, a revolutionary situation builds up through the antagonisms and conflicts capitalism generates in all areas of social life, as a complex of sharp contradictions which develop extremely unevenly from country to country.

On the other hand, Lenin's uneven development theory is directed against Trotskyism and other varieties of petty-bourgeois "Left" opportunism, against disregard of objective conditions, against the notion that the determination of the revolutionary minority alone can assure socialism's victory. This "revolutionary" adventurism, just as the politics of compromise, is closely linked with the danger of losing the revolutionary perspective. It follows from Lenin's theory that differences in economic

and political development contain, at one and the same time, possibilities for accelerating the victory of socialism and difficulties and obstacles on the road to victory. "If any Marxist," Lenin wrote, "or any person, indeed, who has a general knowledge of modern science, were asked whether it is likely that the transition of the different capitalist countries to the dictatorship of the proletariat will take place in an identical or harmoniously proportionate way, his answer would undoubtedly be in the negative" (Vol. 29, p. 308).

In investigating any phenomenon of social life, Marxism-Leninism proceeds first of all from its inherent laws of development. The investigation of capitalist relations of production in their "pure" form, that is, cleansed of their national specifics, enabled Marx (using chiefly data on the development of 19th-century Britain) to discover the basic laws of capitalism. This provided a sensitive instrument for analyzing internal factors in countries with differing conditions and at different stages of capitalist development. But in the imperialist period, the inevitable time-differential in the maturing of socialist revolution poses the all-important question of the international conditions in which the revolutionary process unfolds.

While carefully studying internal phenomena, Marxism-Leninism devotes much more attention than before to the relation of socio-economic and political factors in the different countries, their economic strength, development levels, sharpness of social and class contradictions. At the initial stage of the general crisis of capitalism, the pattern of international relations under imperialism was the key factor of uneven development. And the problem reduced itself primarily to the following: can the imperialist bourgeoisie and the other exploitative classes of the chief capitalist countries unite to a degree that would enable them to vanquish the world's first socialist state? History decided that question in favor of socialism. But the answer was given long before that by Marxism-Leninism, which concluded that conflicting monopoly interests were bound drastically to aggravate imperialist contradictions, with resultant imperialist wars and weakening of the imperialist front.

World War II was the most salient manifestation of uneven development after the October Revolution. Contradictions between the imperialist powers reached a point when war became inevitable, despite the exist-

ence of their common foe, the socialist state. True, the imperialists of a number of countries tried to exploit the contradictions between fascism and socialism to get the better of their rivals. How this boomeranged against imperialism is common knowledge.

The problem of the uneven maturing of socialist revolution retains all its topicality up to socialism's world victory. And it is a problem that cannot be approached from set formulas—there must be constant study of the new factors that facilitate or retard the working-class revolutionary struggle. The postwar situation and the emergence of the socialist world system have produced a number of cardinal changes in this respect.

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AND IMPERIALIST CONTRADICTIONS

Before and during the war, the question of what course relations between the capitalist states would follow was one of life and death for socialism. Today, with the socialist system strong enough to defend its gains against imperialist encroachment, the question has lost some, but by no means all, of its topicality. The danger of imperialist aggression against the socialist countries and their allies necessitates unrelaxing vigilance and strengthening of socialism's military and economic potential, but also analysis of the changing pattern of relations between capitalist states.

Now, after socialism's victories and its transformation into the decisive force of our age, the dialectics of world development are compelling the imperialist powers to subordinate their relations, to a considerable extent, to the struggle against socialism. To quote the Document of last year's International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties: "Under conditions where the struggle between the two world systems is becoming sharper, the capitalist powers seek, despite the growing contradictions dividing them, to unite their efforts to uphold and strengthen the system of exploitation and oppression and regain the positions they have lost. U.S. imperialism strives to retain its influence over other capitalist countries and pursue a common policy with them in the main spheres of the class struggle." U.S. imperialism is exploiting the international bourgeoisie's fear of socialism to knock together a united front. That policy has made it possible to avoid the emergence of mutually - opposed imperialist military

groupings, which could not be avoided in the past.

But that does not mean that uneven capitalist development is no longer a key factor of the world situation, and one that breeds constant and deep contradictions within the capitalist camp. The experience

of history, particularly of the second half of this century, indicates that uneven development, which tends to sharpen contradictions, manifests itself whenever there is a shift in the capitalist world balance of strength. And the postwar shift is spelled out in the following table.

POSTWAR ECONOMIC INDICATORS OF LEADING CAPITALIST COUNTRIES

		USA	Britain	France	FRG	Italy	Japan
Percent of capitalist world industrial output	1948	53.9	11.3	4.0	3.6	2.6	1.0
	1958	46.1	9.0	5.0	8.9	3.6	3.1
	1968	44.2	7.4	4.3	8.8	3.7	7.6
Percent of capitalist world exports	1948	23.8	12.1	3.8	1.1	2.0	0.4
	1958	18.5	9.3	5.6	9.7	2.7	3.0
	1968	16.2	7.0	6.0	11.8	4.8	6.2
Per-capita national income (U.S.\$)	1949	1,353	733	482	320	325	100
	1958	2,324	1,084	1,089	920	493	285
	1966	2,894	1,543	1,447	1,506	884	693

Sources: World Economy and International Relations, No. 8, 1963; No. 8, 1969. Monthly Bulletin of Statistics, March 1969.

The figures indicate a narrowing economic-levels differential, particularly with Western Europe and Japan catching up with the United States, and authoritative economists predict much faster economic advance by Japan and Western Europe relative to the U.S. which will narrow the gap still more.

The fact that countries defeated in the war are advancing at a faster rate may appear paradoxical, so much so that the bourgeois press speaks of the economic miracles in Japan, West Germany and Italy. But there is no miracle. Rapid growth in these countries is due to such factors as renewal of basic capital stimulated by the technological revolution; extraordinary physical and moral depreciation of plant as a result of the war; loss of colonies, markets or spheres of influence; the need to restructure foreign trade by winning new markets. But these factors are only part of the picture: capital was needed to finance development. And in these countries it was accumulated by intensified exploitation, by productivity outstripping wages. Still another important growth factor was direct and indirect support from the United States. For in the reactionary ruling elements of these countries, U.S. imperialism found an ally in its fight against socialism. Accordingly, it freed them of reparation payments and also, for a long time, lightened their military-spending burden by defraying some of their military costs. In addition, the U.S. monopolies and government made appreciable investments in their economies, which boosted their growth and, at the same time, gave the U.S. a handsome profit.

It should also be borne in mind that the summarized data in our table do not show the profound contradictions between the leading capitalist countries resulting from extremely uneven development of individual industries and from the leap-like rise and decline of rival monopoly groups.

Uneven development and the sharper rivalry following therefrom can clearly be seen in the mass-production industries. One example: the automobile industry in Japan and Federal Germany, also in France and Britain, is expanding at a staggering pace, and the four countries are steadily gaining ground on the world's biggest automobile producer, the U.S.A., though each of them is far behind the U.S. in the number of cars produced.

Another example: rapid expansion in chemicals is compelling the U.S. to reckon with competition from the European Economic Community, Britain and Japan, which are steadily increasing their share of the world market in plastics, synthetic fibres, organic and "fine" chemicals. The figures speak for themselves: U.S. investments in these industries dropped in 1968, whereas the F.R.G. registered a 14 percent, Italy a 16 percent, and Japan a 50 percent increase.

U.S. monopoly and government circles are especially alarmed by Japanese competition. Japan is waging a virtual trade war on the American textiles and electronics markets. In 1968, for instance, she produced more radio sets and nearly as many TV sets as the United States.

Recent years have seen rapid concentration and centralization of capital and the

rise of "super-giants" and international monopolies both in the U.S. and Western Europe. This has accentuated uneven development and aggravated all the old contradictions. Such giants as General Motors, Standard Oil of New Jersey, and General Electric in the U.S., Unilever and Imperial Chemical Industries in Britain, Fiat-Citroen in Italy and France, Bayer, Hoechst, and BASF in Federal Germany, are now involved in battles unparalleled in the long history of capitalist rivalry.

The concentration and centralization process was bound to affect the position of the smaller industrial countries. In one of them, Austria, it has led to increasing penetration of foreign capital with all the consequences following therefrom. The bourgeoisie of small countries, knowing that it stands little or no chance in this frenzied rivalry, is inclined to accept the tutelage or control of big firms, to the detriment of the national interest and of the national working class, which has to bear the burden of stepped-up exploitation.

Capacious markets are a must in this age of technological revolution. With its population of 200 million and high purchasing power, the United States can afford optimal-size industrial units, something beyond the capacity of other countries. West-European countries are trying to solve the problem through integration and neo-colonialist policy (notably in Africa). Japan, which in 1968 out-stripped Britain and Federal Germany to advance to second place in capitalist world industrial output, is making a special effort to create a farflung sphere of influence that would include Australia, Oceania, and, eventually, South East Asia.

So far, due to the factors mentioned above, expansion has been largely through agreements between imperialist powers. But there is increasing evidence of maturing conflicts even within the European Economic Community which bourgeois writers hold up as the acme of unity. There was a sharpening struggle on currency issues, taxes, agricultural and transport arrangements—problems without the solution of which there can be no question of developing this trade alliance into an economic one (the aim set out in the Treaty of Rome). For that matter, even the present trade alliance has many defects: free movement of goods, capital and manpower has not eliminated the concealed means of discrimination available to national monopoly groups.

As for political integration, it has virtually been stricken off the agenda.

The conflicting interests of monopoly-capital countries are very clearly expressed in their monetary relations. The U.S. policy of keeping the dollar at a patently inflated rate, devaluation of sterling and of the French franc, revaluation of the West-German mark, etc., proved advantageous to some monopolies and countries and disadvantageous to others.

An analysis of economic relations between monopoly-capital countries confirms the conclusion drawn by last year's International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties: "Economic development is becoming more uneven among the various imperialist powers and in the capitalist world as a whole. Life demonstrates the correctness of the Marxist-Leninist theory of struggle between the imperialist powers and between the capitalist monopolies for spheres of influence. Industrial and commercial competition is growing sharper, and the financial and currency war is spreading. Competition is growing in Western Europe, including within the Common Market, and also between the capitalist countries of Europe and the U.S.A. Japanese imperialism is energetically joining this struggle for markets and maximum profits."

WIDENING GULF BETWEEN RICH AND POOR COUNTRIES

Conflicting economic interests — a built-in feature of capitalism — militate against government attempts to secure political stability in domestic and international affairs. As economic progress gains momentum, the more acute becomes the problem of allocating its results among nations, classes and social groups.

This can clearly be seen in states that won through to independence since the war. Following the collapse of the colonial system, their growth rates increased somewhat (averaging about 4.5 percent), but the gaping disparity between these and imperialist nations remains. In 1968, for instance, they accounted for only 9.5 percent of the capitalist world's industrial output and for only 20.4 percent of its exports. UN statistics show that in the first half of the development decade (1961-70) their per-capita national income rose by \$10.00, compared with \$300 in developed capitalist countries. In the early sixties, their per-capita industrial output was about one-

tenth that of capitalist countries; now it is less than one-twelfth. Extreme uneven economic development leads to sharper contradictions between imperialism and developing nations.

Their continued economic backwardness has led some neo-colonial theorists to draw an idyllic picture of the "benefits" accruing from colonial administration. In their view, the present economic lag of many Third-World countries is due entirely to their breaking out of colonialism. But what these apologists of "civilized" capitalism carefully conceal is that many Third-World countries still painfully feel the results of long years of colonial misrule. They have to tackle formidable problems created by lop-sided economic patterns meant to serve the needs of the imperialist powers. In fact, they have to begin from scratch: lay the foundations of an independent economy, train technical intellectuals, carry out far-reaching agrarian reforms. All this requires much time and much money. Nor are things made easier by imperialist obstruction aimed at preventing, or at least retarding, industrialization, strengthening of the public sector, etc. As pointed out above, the trend is toward neo-colonialist spheres of influence, which would reduce ex-colonial countries to purveyors of raw materials.

Socialism has made elimination of economic backwardness a major world problem. And socialism has demonstrated that the solution lies in revolutionary struggle against capitalism. For it is no secret that a number of ex-colonial countries have been able, in a historically short span, to make significant headway in democratic reform, drastically reducing illiteracy, training technical personnel, laying the foundations of a modern industrial structure, and raising productivity in agriculture. Socialist orientation, through fundamental social transformations, is a historical necessity for the young national states, and a major element of the world revolutionary process.

SOCIAL PROBLEMS POSED BY UNEVEN DEVELOPMENT

Uneven capitalist development makes for conflicts between the ruling classes of different countries and, more particularly, the monopolies, but it also makes for uneven maturing of the social and political conditions for the victory of socialist revolution. And these include social change and changes in the nature and direction of class and political struggle. Of the many

social problems posed by uneven development, we propose to deal with only one, namely, the interrelations between the internal and external factors that influence the cost and price of labor power.

A much-favored theory of bourgeois economists is that wages are in direct proportion to productivity, i.e., the amount of product produced by one worker. And bourgeois and reformist ideologists have sought to instill that idea, which they have expressed in this formula: The bigger the national pie, the bigger will be the share of the worker and his employer.

And to substantiate that, bourgeois propaganda points to the U.S.A. — wages there are higher than in countries with lower productivity levels. The bourgeoisie of developed countries use that to boost capitalism. One of the obstacles American progressives have to contend with is the assiduously inculcated philistine mentality of the "American way of life," of which higher wages than in other countries is the central element. But, then, how to explain the fact that the impressive productivity rise of the '50s and '60s was accompanied by bigger and sharper strike struggles?

The key to an understanding of this complex and contradictory situation is provided by the Marxist theory of wages as a transformed form of the cost of labor power, and by analysis of the law of uneven development. The following should be taken into consideration: first, the relation between wages and the cost and price of labor power, and, second, the role of national wage differentials now and in the past.

In present-day conditions, the growth of real wages is a reflection of the inevitable growth of the cost of labor power, the greater mass of consumer values accessible to the worker. This, in turn, is the result of the changed nature of labor — wider use of skilled labor and the steady decline of low-wage unskilled labor. In the United States, for instance, white-collar workers make up 45 percent of the labor force, compared with 17 percent in the early years of the century, with a rapidly declining share of low-wage industrial and agricultural workers. The technological revolution makes for higher intensification, with resultant higher wages and more of the wage packet spent on medical care, education, etc.

A higher cost of labor power naturally means a higher price, but wages are still below the cost of labor power.

This is evidenced, albeit indirectly, by

the Heller family budgets, investigations of bourgeois statisticians and the calculations of the progressive American economist Victor Perlo. Real wages in U.S. manufacturing industries rose 18 percent between 1958 and 1965, but productivity rose 53 percent, which means that wages per unit of output declined 14 percent. Data compiled by a Soviet economist, N. Gauzner, shows that in 1960-64 real wages in manufacturing accounted for 73.5 percent of the productivity growth in Britain, 73 percent in Italy, 71 percent in France and 50 percent in Japan.

It will thus be seen that the universal law of capitalist accumulation and its corollary, the theory of relative impoverishment, the essence of which, Marx said, was that with the accumulation of capital the position of the worker must deteriorate irrespective of whether his wages are high or low, are fully confirmed by capitalist reality.

The fallacy of the bourgeois theory that wages grow in proportion to productivity lies in its gross distortion of the cause and effect pattern. Higher productivity merely creates an economic situation more favorable to the workers' struggle for higher wages. But there is no direct link, nor can there be under capitalism, between wages and productivity. The wage ceiling is determined not by productivity, not by the full value of product per worker, but rather by the difference between newly created values and average profit. And the size of the latter depends on the relation of class forces and on the class struggle.

Marx demonstrated that wage levels and working time are determined by ceaseless struggle between capital and labor, by the strength, in the end, of the two sides. Past and present experience effectively refutes the fairy tale about "good capitalists" who voluntarily give the worker an extra piece of the national pie. Increased wages are the result not only of objective processes linked with the growing cost of labor power, but primarily of the day-to-day struggle of the working class. And there are abundant facts to show that when this struggle slackens, the position of the worker deteriorates, wages are frozen or cut.

Now as in the past, the basic determining factor in the cost and price of labor power should be sought in the social conditions obtaining in each capitalist country. But a new factor has been introduced by postwar developments. The growth and

strengthening of world socialism, the technological revolution, the trend toward harmonizing national development levels, all tend to even out national labor power costs; the tendency is towards their internationalization. In practice, this means that, as productivity in Japan, Italy, France and other countries approximates the American level, the workers of these countries can take American wages as a realistic minimum to fight for.

There is no question, of course, of a uniform productivity level in all countries and industries. In conditions of irreconcilable class antagonisms, the competitive strength of one or another monopoly or monopoly group, or how they fare in the Big Business rat-race, is of little interest to the worker. What is important for him is that he is getting less pay than workers in other countries for the same job.

Despite this tendency towards more even wage levels, there is still wide disparity, as will be seen from the 1967 figures on hourly wages in manufacturing industries: U.S. \$2.83, Federal Germany \$1.15, France \$0.67, Italy \$0.68, and in Japan \$0.65.

Austria, an old industrial country, has been lagging more and more behind Britain and France in terms of real wages, but is also beginning to lag behind Italy and Japan, which not so long ago were near the bottom of the scale. Average wages in Japan, for instance, rose 27.2 percent between the first quarter of 1966 and the same period of 1969, as against only 8.4 percent in Austria.

One of the chief social consequences of uneven economic development in the present world situation is that workers are less inclined to accept gaping wage differentials. In Japan, despite a high rate of economic growth, wages (especially in smaller factories) are much lower than in other industrial countries. For about ten years now, the Japanese workers have been demanding "European wage levels." That is the slogan of the big autumn and spring wage offensives. Trade unions in the Common Market countries are insisting that any gain won in one of the six countries must be extended to the workers of the other five.

Needless to say, evening out of national labor-power costs cannot be automatically tied to the wage movement in the different countries—the link is only through class struggle. The tendency towards internationalizing labor power costs sharpens

class contradictions and intensifies the class struggle.

Notwithstanding the forecasts and wishful thinking of bourgeois and reformist ideologists and politicians, closer economic development levels in leading capitalist countries, powered by the technological

revolution, have not moderated social and economic differences and contradictions in the capitalist world as a whole. On the contrary, changes in economic levels, in economic and social structure, only accentuate the social contrasts and antagonisms that are part of the capitalist system.

Once more about the non-capitalist way

The general interest in the non-capitalist way for Third World countries and the response to R. A. Ulyanovsky's article in our September 1969 issue, prompted the Editors to sponsor a discussion, in which representatives of a number of Communist and Workers' parties, and researchers, took part. Below is a summary of the discussion held in the autumn of 1969, under the auspices of our journal.

Comrade *Amath Dansoko* (Senegal), who spoke first, said anyone interested in the aspects of the non-capitalist way could not help asking what precisely that concept stood for. Related questions arose, too, creating the need for accurate definition of terms and concepts. It should be stressed, for one thing, that the non-capitalist way and national democracy are not synonymous. The non-capitalist way is, as a socio-historical stage of development, relevant for most of the Asian and African countries, whereas national democracy is no more than its corresponding superstructure. Past experience shows that anti-imperialist economic and political measures in countries on the non-capitalist way are in many cases accompanied by violations of democracy—curtailment of trade union freedoms, outlawing of Communists, and the like.

Logically, the non-capitalist way leads to socialism. But not necessarily so. The nature of the class coalition, lacking a clear orientation, creates an unstable socio-political situation. In the case of one country, for example, its anti-imperialist posture and wide scope of socio-economic reconstruction did not deter it from accepting from an international consortium

for a certain project a sum of money twice the size of its budget. The investment was made in the framework of a series of other, either completed or still uncompleted, projects. Despite the aid of the socialist camp, the country's economy is becoming increasingly dependent on the capitalist market. Therefore, we cannot help pinpointing the need for a fully independent national economy, attainable by extending the state sector and emphasizing its anti-capitalist orientation.

When we think of Vietnam and Cuba, *Dansoko* said, we see that the non-capitalist way, at least in the form adopted by the progressive African and Asian countries, is not the only possible way. Some say the peculiar political situation in those progressive states is due to the "newness and weakness of their working class," its "lack of militant traditions" and "paucity of experience." Those are not convincing explanations.

Longino Becerra (Honduras) observed that the non-capitalist way is to preserve recently-won political independence (in other words, to prevent neo-colonialism) and, at the same time, to secure a social development leading in due course to the building of socialism. The function of main-

taining independence and assuring this social development is performed by the democratic, anti-imperialist, national and popular movement.

In contrast, the liberative democratic revolution advocated by the Latin American Communist parties as a way out in the continent, centers on ending the neo-colonialist North American imperialist penetration. The point of departure, therefore, is of a higher order, as witnessed by the facts, not the least of which is the continuously growing anti-imperialist sentiment of the masses and the structure of production, potentially capable of rapid growth once delivered from the present impediments.

Becerra drew the conclusion that the non-capitalist way is an eclectic alternative, rather than a cardinal solution, for it gives priority to democratic change and lays the accent on social progress with but a long-term perspective of building socialism. It is hence a longer way than the liberation democratic revolution unfolding in Latin America.

The non-capitalist way is eclectic, because the process is not guided by the working class, a fact creating the added danger of stagnation, even of defeat. The reactionary coup in Ghana is an example. That is why, Becerra said, we must view the non-capitalist way with caution and determine what can and what cannot be expected from it. The aforesaid shows that the non-capitalist way is out of step with the degree of general development in Latin America and that, therefore, the slogans of some Christian-Democrats, referring to non-capitalist growth, are a typical expression of their demagoguery and petty-bourgeois ideology. The working class is quite fit for the role of hegemon even in the most backward of the Latin American countries, and the revolutionary aims it sets itself go farther than what we imply by the "non-capitalist way."

Jose Dickman (Chile) noted that for the Third World countries the non-capitalist way is not obligatory, because it is not the only way of approach to socialist development. Countries with an incipient economy and oriented on non-capitalist growth may go on to socialist development once they overcome reaction with the backing of the progressive forces, the emerging working class and the socialist camp. In some countries, where considerable reactionary forces are still entrenched, the mass struggle must first accomplish a change of power, estab-

lishing a government working effectively for non-capitalist growth as a stage in the passage to the socialist way. The working class and Communist parties will develop in the course of this process; they will support the government, while preserving their ideological independence and fighting alongside the masses for a consistently anti-imperialist policy that paves the way to socialism.

Orientation on transition to the socialist way should, therefore, be weighed against the economic, as well as the social and political level of each country.

In his country, Dickman said, the ruling Christian-Democratic Party professes a policy of "non-capitalist growth." It could not be more obvious, however, that it kowtows to and supports the big U.S. monopolies.

Salibo Khamis (Israel) spoke of some peculiar features in countries that won independence after World War II. Examining the postwar period, he said that some Marxists think the non-capitalist way is a new way of building socialism in specific conditions.

To be precise, we should refer only to the incipient stage of social and economic development, a stage in which the economic and social foundations are laid for building socialism. This does not mean, however, that the non-capitalist way is in all respects identical to building socialism. The recent decades have borne out the fact that the non-capitalist way is not a phase in building socialism, though doubtless an important stage in countries seeking to reverse the capitalist way and, overcoming semi-feudal and semi-colonial backwardness, bring closer the time of tackling socialist construction.

It is difficult to pinpoint common features in the newly-free countries. One thing can be said, however: they are all economically dependent on imperialism, though some, like Syria, have already shaken off foreign monopoly influence.

As he sees it, Khamis said, the national-democratic stage of the revolution cannot be counterposed to the non-capitalist way, and the role of the armed forces, too, should not be underestimated. In the existing socio-economic environment, influenced by the national liberation struggle, the army plays a progressive role in fighting imperialism and opposing the despotic puppet regimes. It should be borne in mind, however, that the army, a permanently armed force better organized than others, is not

devoid of class characteristics; it may be on the side of the people, but we cannot exclude the possibility of its alienation from the mass struggle.

Mohamed Harmel (Tunisia) examined the thesis of the guiding role of the working class in relation to the non-capitalist way. The workers' guiding role and the non-capitalist way, he said, are compatible and related ideas. Absence of the workers' guiding role does not prevent us from endorsing what is called the non-capitalist way taken by some countries, if only because of their important anti-imperialist and anti-capitalist actions. The Document of the 1969 International Meeting in Moscow, too, stresses this. For one thing, the speaker added, Egypt, where the working class does not exercise guidance, has taken more than positive, important measures, which, we can safely say, are aimed not only against imperialism, but also against the capitalist system.

Things would be simpler, it is true, if the movement were headed by the proletariat and its party, as in the case of Vietnam, but in most cases we see an entirely new phenomenon, with non-proletarian elements heading the anti-capitalist process.

Looking at the matter from another angle, we should ask ourselves whether positive measures lead directly and automatically to socialism. The answer is obviously negative. It is a mistake to identify the non-capitalist ways of development or to maintain that the non-capitalist way leads automatically to socialism. The way to socialism may be paved in the course of the process, one of the prerequisites being the workers' guiding role, without which passage to socialism is inconceivable. In no case, Harmel concluded, may the thesis of the guiding role of the working class be called in question. Nor can anything belonging to the climax or culmination ever be identified with the opening stage of a process. In Vietnam the national movement is led by the working class and its party, whereas in other countries it is not, at least not in its early stages. *The guiding role of the working class is the guarantee of the advancement of any national and democratic revolution and its growth into socialist revolution.*

Artashes Avanesyan (Iran) pointed out that the non-capitalist way is relevant for countries long an object of colonial plunder and oppression, where revolutionaries and patriots stemming chiefly from the middle strata (the intelligentsia, the army, etc.,)

are the guiding force, while the big and middle bourgeoisie lost the lead in the popular movement and are being ousted from the political, as well as the economic, scene. At present, however, the objective conditions in the countries on the non-capitalist way preclude deeper-going socio-economic reconstruction until the working class assumes the leading role. As long as state power is in the hands of representatives of the exploiting classes, the state sector of the economy remains a basis for state capitalism, not for socialism.

The period in which a country only prepares the ground for subsequently building socialism is the transitional period. It is still far removed from socialism, though the socio-economic reconstruction sets the stage for it. The end result depends on the relation of class forces, the depth of the socio-economic reconstruction and the intensity of the anti-imperialist struggle, on the strength and organization, political consciousness and activity of the working class and its party, on friendship with the socialist camp and the aid of the socialist countries.

The rate of advance to socialist society depends on many objective and subjective factors. Though the end goal is to build socialism, there is the danger of the "skipping" of stages of development (especially in the economy) or procrastinating overly in passing from one phase to another. Communists are always determined to help society advance, in step with the objective situation in their country and the conditions in the international movement.

C. Unni Raja (India) said that after winning independence, India has been following the capitalist way, with powerful monopoly groups emerging, which, hand in hand with feudal elements and with the support of foreign monopoly capital, are imperilling independent economic growth. Conflicts and contradictions stemming from the capitalist way have flung the country into the vortex of an economic and political crisis.

The only way India can shake off that crisis is by carrying through a series of revolutionary changes: firstly, ending economic dependence on foreign monopoly capital; secondly, eliminating the rural power of landlord and feudal elements and effecting radical agrarian reforms in the interest of the peasants, thus ending their exploitation by usurer, commercial and banking capital; thirdly, eliminating the Indian monopoly amalgamations dominating industry, commerce, and the like, and effectively re-

moving the tendency to monopoly; fourthly, consolidating the public sector, independent of foreign monopolies and functioning on a democratic basis in order to build up rapidly an independent national industry and economy.

That, Raja said, is how we conceive the non-capitalist way. Lenin's well-known postulate that the capitalist stage of development is not unavoidable, should not be taken literally. Lenin pointed out in one of his works — and it applies to our country — that the socialist revolution will become feasible only after a whole series of special transitional measures. Their sum total amounts precisely to the non-capitalist way of development.

The non-capitalist way to socialism through national democracy in a revolutionary democratic state is possible for two main reasons: firstly, thanks to the all-round support of the powerful socialist world system and, secondly, thanks to the unprecedented radicalization of the non-proletarian anti-imperialist elements in Third World countries under the impact of the profound crisis of the capitalist world system and socialism's force of attraction among the masses.

There are dogmatists in India who oppose the slogan of national democracy and the non-capitalist way. They contend that it is a conciliatory slogan rejecting the guiding role of the working class in the national-democratic revolution, and abandoning that role to the bourgeoisie. What they fail to see is that working-class guidance cannot be achieved by merely speaking about it. To deny the national bourgeoisie the guiding role and establish workers' hegemony in the national liberation movement calls for arduous, often very long, effort.

The national-democratic state and the non-capitalist way are complicated ideas, because what is implied by "special transitional measures" varies from country to country. Hence, the non-capitalist way of one country differs from that of another. In India's case, the non-capitalist way is directed not only against imperialism and the deep-seated feudalism, but also against the Indian monopolies.

The author of the article, Professor Rostislav Ulyanovsky, Dr. Econ., a Soviet researcher, was the last to speak in the discussion. The non-capitalist way, he said, embraces the aggregate of the complicated socio-economic processes in the liberated countries. The theory of non-capitalist development advanced by the founders of

Marxism-Leninism is nearly a hundred years old and is still developing. It was closely examined in relation to the present stage in the preparation for and during the 1969 International Meeting of Communist and Workers' parties. The documents of the Meeting advance the non-capitalist way as a realistic alternative to the capitalist development of newly-independent countries.

The analysis of the subject shows that we often approach the same problem from different angles. It is proper, therefore, to formulate the main criteria of the non-capitalist or "abridged" capitalist way of development.

As we see it, the decisive criterion of the non-capitalist way is removal from the national bourgeoisie and national-bourgeois elements of the monopoly hold on political power. Wherever the political monopoly grip of the bourgeoisie is loosened or eliminated, a substantive shift occurs in the political forces towards the non-capitalist way, sparking the search for an alternative to capitalism that may, in the course of time and under certain conditions, bring on the stage of transition to socialism.

The second feature is a sequel to the first. The national-democratic structure of the state may not coincide in every detail with that theoretically advanced by, say, the 1960 International Communist Conference, but certainly differs in principle from bourgeois or bourgeois-landlord states, to say nothing of monarchist or theocratic, replaced by a new regime (e.g., in Sudan, South Yemen, Libya). By virtue of these two factors, restrictions of an economic nature and the gradual ousting — more or less consistently and at different rates — of foreign, comprador, usurer and commercial capital and, in some countries (UAR), also of the industrial bourgeoisie, is another criterion of the non-capitalist way. Hand in hand with it goes the expansion at a forced pace of the state sector and its gradual conversion into an influential, and for some countries at a certain stage decisive, base for economic growth.

The next criterion is anti-feudal agrarian reconstruction, which, though it does not put a stop to rural differentiation and growth of capitalism in the countryside, clears the ground for passing at a certain stage from the agrarian or land problem to the solution of the peasant problem, that is, the agricultural problem as a whole, through the development of large-scale non-capitalist farming (state forms, farming co-operatives, self-administration) — an objec-

tive attainable with the support of the state sector and the national-democratic structures once the bourgeoisie is deprived of its monopoly on power, first political and then economic.

Close alliance of national-democratic countries with the socialist community is another important criterion. Lacking this, the former cannot, in principle, follow the non-capitalist way either economically or politically, let alone go over subsequently to building socialism.

Practice has not yet supplied the final answer to the question of the relationship between the national-democratic regimes in countries following the non-capitalist way and Marxist-Leninist organizations (Communist parties, groups). The relations of today are fairly varied (UAR, Syria, Sudan, Algeria); in general terms, they may be said to be in an incipient state. Painful and conflicting forms of relationship have a negative effect on the anti-imperialist and anti-capitalist struggle and are likely to jeopardize the respective countries' socialist orientation. One thing is clear: objectively, both sides have a stake in the unity of the progressive forces and in broad cooperation against imperialism and capitalism.

Non-capitalist development implies gradual industrialization, accelerated growth of the working class in town and country, abolition of feudal relations and the removal from power of bourgeois elements. Though parties of scientific socialism capable of taking the lead and guiding the working class and all working people have not yet developed in countries of this type, it is not only theoretically and practically conceivable, but possible that they will emerge and grow in the near future, developing into mass parties, meaning that the now still incipient process of non-capitalist development will proceed and reach completion under their leadership. This complicated and evidently painful process is, however, not likely to run its course anywhere near rapidly. All the same, it is inevitable. How this conversion of national-democratic parties to scientific socialism will come about, how Marxist-Leninist parties will arise, it is still too early to say. It is clear, however, that gradual departure from capitalism in the process of anti-imperialist and anti-feudal struggle in the national-democratic stage of the revolution may begin under the leadership of revolutionary democrats, but will not attain completion and impel the transition to socialist construc-

tion, finally assuring the total victory of socialism, without the party of scientific socialism and working-class leadership.

The discussion ranged over a great many topics. It revealed an identity of general viewpoints, in full accord with the interpretation of the non-capitalist way in the documents of the 1969 International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties. However, I should like to make a few concluding remarks.

That our time is one of the transition from capitalism to socialism, is now an axiom. It also implies transition to socialism from pre-capitalist relationships—feudalism, small-scale farming, serfdom, sharecropping, and communal, clan, and tribal relationships.

Doubtless, capital rules throughout the capitalist world; doubtless, too, in the developing countries the communal, clan and tribal system, commercial, and usurer and primary capitalist accumulation and small-scale peasant farming on owned or rented land are, in the final analysis, subordinated to the finance capital of imperialist powers and closely associated with national capital. However, if capitalist relations of production were dominant throughout the non-socialist world, the question of the non-capitalist way would obviously never arise. We know that as a system of production relations among people, capitalism is not dominant everywhere in the non-socialist world. And this means that in the past and still more so today Marxist-Leninist science faces the challenge of framing the strategy and tactics of the transition to socialism of countries where capitalism has not yet taken root as the dominant socio-economic formation.

No international Communist forum since the October Revolution—neither in Comintern congresses nor any others, including the 1969 International Meeting of Communist and Workers Parties—ever offered the colonial and semi-colonial, and now the liberated, countries anything but Lenin's conception of the non-capitalist way as the way of passage to socialism, just as none of the founders of scientific socialism and none of the international Marxist-Leninist forums ever contended that for all these countries the non-capitalist way is the only or the best way of passing to socialism. There are probably some colonial and semi-colonial countries, whose passage to socialism will be different. In their case the social reconstruction may depart from the concept of the non-capitalist way. They may, for

example, follow the way of Cuba, where the liberative democratic revolution is growing over into a socialist revolution in a relatively rapid time.

There is yet another aspect to be noted. Sometimes, critics of Marxism associate the concept of the non-capitalist way with rejection of the guiding role of the working class, indicating that this is ostensibly a concession to petty-bourgeois democracy. Deeper study will show that the very concept of the non-capitalist way is in substance and in ideological and political content, in origin and perspective, indubitably an expression of the guiding role of the working class in the world-wide struggle for socialism.

Revolutionary democracy is greatly influenced, and has always been so, by the proletarian revolution, the working-class movement and scientific socialism, the world socialist system and its victories. It reflects this influence, though it is also deeply affected by bourgeois influence. The sentiment of this segment of petty-bourgeois democrats is sometimes even tainted with anti-communism.

The experience of the newly-free countries proves that if the democratic anti-imperialist movement develops along the right lines, becoming increasingly popular and massive, and if imperialism and home reaction is not allowed to throttle it or, exploiting some mistakes, overthrow the revolutionary democratic government that leans on the anti-imperialist movement, then, inevitably, in accordance with historical necessity, the working sections of the people strive to dissociate the country's development from capitalism, which

they either consciously or instinctively regard as the antipode of their own aspirations and ideals. That is the peculiarity of the times, the specific law of the post-October and, particularly, the postwar national liberation movement.

Lenin anticipated this 50 years ago, saying at the Third Congress of the Communist International that "the movement of the majority of the population of the globe, initially directed towards national liberation, will turn against capitalism and imperialism." Lenin's foresight was brilliant, though Bukharin, Pyatakov, Roy, Trotsky and many others did not perceive it and thought that like the national movements in pre-imperialist Europe (17th, 18th and 19th centuries), the contemporary liberation movements in Asia and Africa would only liberate, clear and fertilize the soil for rapid capitalist development.

In the new conditions of the struggle against imperialism, in the time of socialist revolutions and the world-wide transition to socialism, the realities direct and concentrate the national-colonial revolutions and wars against capitalism as a whole.

The problems of the non-capitalist way merit further theoretical treatment. The facts constantly yield new practical experience, which needs to be digested. What is needed most is a profound study of socialism and the economic practices along the non-capitalist way and a generalization of experience in promoting and shaping cooperation between Communists and revolutionary democrats. Broader exchanges of opinion between them on topics related to the non-capitalist way would produce a broader and deeper insight and enrich our theory.

Indonesia: reactionary propaganda figments

Despite reactionary terror and heavy losses, the Indonesian Communists continue their Marxist-Leninist fight against internal reaction and imperialist penetration and their painstaking work to rebuild the Marxist-Leninist Party, which on May 23 celebrated its 50th anniversary.

Frightened by the growth of anti-imperialist and democratic sentiments, the present regime is trying to isolate the Communists from the masses and the national patriotic forces. It has not for a moment relaxed the terror, which it is now complementing by a campaign of slander against the Communist Party and Marxism-Leninism.

The following is a brief survey of anti-communist propaganda in the Indonesian press.

Following the events of 1965, Indonesia was placed under a regime which the Communists describe as a reactionary dictatorship relying on armed force in its confrontation with the masses. Political reaction and the anti-colonial economic structure provide many opportunities for imperialist infiltration in the country's economic, political and cultural life and have greatly intensified the exploitation and oppression of the working people.

Though Indonesia regularly receives substantial loans and credits from the imperialist powers, the new regime has not solved any of the country's fundamental economic and social problems. That is why it fears the masses, the Communist movement, even though it is greatly weakened by the ferocious terror. That is why, too, it has made anti-communism the official policy and introduced legislation prohibiting "all activity designed to disseminate or popularize the communist, Marxist-Leninist doctrine and philosophy in whatever form or manifestation, and the use for this purpose of any and all information means and methods."

But the regime is widely using "any and all information means and methods" in a concerted effort to vilify the Party and its aims and suppress the democratic movement.

Much of the propaganda centres on the events of September 30, 1965, the attempted putsch by a group of junior officers led

by Lt.-Col. Untung. They killed six army generals accused of plotting, together with a group of reactionary generals, to overthrow the government of President Sukarno. The putsch was suppressed by the evening of September 30. Right-wing parties and groups, however, exploited it to demand prohibition of the Communist Party and of all its mass organizations. And ever since then official propaganda has been describing these events as a Communist Party attempt to seize power behind the back of its National Front partners.

The purpose of this propaganda is to sidetrack public attention from the important facts connected with the September 30 events. Reports in the Indonesian press in the spring and summer of 1965, suggested that the army command was concentrating mobile forces around Djakarta and elsewhere in Java, though this was not necessitated by defense requirements. More, the behavior of the top command before and after September 30 made it clear that it was planning to seize power and change the country's policy. That the top ground-army command had become a marshalling centre of the anti-Communist and anti-democratic forces was not secret. That explains, primarily, why Untung's statement about the military coup was received in good faith by the Left forces.

Indonesia's political development from the end of 1965 to the middle of 1967, was,

in effect, a dragged-out coup d'etat. Its main features were forcible reconstruction of the top administration, overthrow of the government (and arrest of its members in March 1966), legislative banning of democratic organizations and unparalleled terror against Communists, those genuine patriots and democrats.

In assessing the events of September 30, 1965, the Communist Party emphasized that its leaders reacted with Leftist adventurism to the reactionary danger confronting the country in the summer and fall of 1965. There was no appeal for organized popular resistance to the reactionaries, which, in the final analysis, determined the defeat of the democratic forces. At the same time, the Indonesian Communists point out that "responsibility for the past mistakes does not rest with the CPI and its three million members, or with any one person, but with a group of leaders who in point of fact had detached themselves from the Party and, willingly or unwillingly, voiced interests alien to the Party . . ." (See *World Marxist Review* No. 9, 1969, p. 33).

In accusing the Communist Party of "betraying" its National Front partners, the anti-Communists are deliberately distorting the Party's attitude to the NASAKOM principle, i.e., unity of the national, religious and Communist trends. The pamphlet *The Communist ABC* tries to make out that the Communists were never "sincere and loyal supporters of NASAKOM." However, the facts will show that the NASAKOM formula, based on equal participation in the administration of representatives of the three trends, was never operated due to the resistance of army leaders and Right-wing groups.

"Strengthen unity of all national forces on the NASAKOM principle"—that was a key Party slogan, clearly formulated in its 1962 Program. Yet, despite all the efforts of the Left, led by the Communist Party, for a NASAKOM government, in 1960-65 the Party had only 3 seats in a Cabinet of 100, and even then these were ministers without portfolio, that is, without any real say in shaping government policy. The Party's suggestion that command of the armed forces be based on the NASAKOM principle was likewise rejected.

Another propaganda figment is that the Communist Party was motivated by its own selfish interests rather than national interests. Thus, a book titled *Facts About the September 30 Events and Their Background* published in 1966 maintains that in organ-

izing the peasants to demand full implementation of agrarian legislation and land redistribution, "the CPI did not want to improve the lot of the peasant or increase his income, but merely to exploit the political aspects of the campaign." And the authors contend that the agrarian reform would have been carried out without the Communists. The facts, however, show that by 1964, three years after the reform had been proclaimed, only nine percent of the land earmarked for landless peasants had been allotted. Also this fact: terror against the Left in the cities and rural areas (where the target is the Peasant Front associated with the CPI) has gone hand in hand with a campaign against the agrarian reform. Early in 1968 the *Djakarta Ampera Review* reported that 80 percent of the land transferred to landless peasants was now in the hands of its former owners. "On Bali Island," the paper wrote, "the peasants are afraid to cultivate their new plots, fearing revenge from those who regard them as a Communist gift."

Another propaganda thesis is that Marxism is incompatible with Indonesia's national interests. The idea, of course, is to drive a wedge between the Communists and other sections of the national liberation movement. Marxism-Leninism is opposed to chauvinism, the advocacy of national superiority, and to national narrow-mindedness. This is interpreted as Communist contempt for national interests. Former Minister for Religious Affairs Iljas, says in his *Marxism on Religion and Religion on Marxism*, a book larded with deliberate lies, that "national feelings, as people understand them, feelings based on national consciousness, statehood, the concept of fatherland, are alien to Marxism. More, the Marxists want people to shed these concepts which, they hold, are contrary to their international struggle." This is a typical sample of flagrant distortion—the regime stoops to outright falsification, ascribing to Marxism views it has never held.

Anti-communism propaganda is meant also to discredit the Communist movement in the eyes of the Moslem majority. The men who speak and write for the new regime have sought to present the Communist Party and Marxism as sworn enemies of religious freedom. Iljas, for instance, argues that "Marxism is a bigger danger than capitalism, imperialism or neo-colonialism." That argument is used by two Indonesian jurists, A. Abidin and B. Lopa,

in their malicious book, *The Communist Menace*. The aim of Communist policy, they allege, is to provoke conflicts, split the Moslem community, and sow discord between Moslems and Christians.

There is no underestimating the impact of this propaganda in a Moslem country where the progressive forces have been weakened and have no way of answering. Dar-ul-Islam, the anti-republican and anti-communist movement for an Islamic state, founded in the fifties, is still active. The Communist fight against reaction operating under a religious signboard never infringed on religious freedom, never denied any religion the right of existence. The history of the Communist movement in Indonesia, before and after independence, shows that the Party has always exercised the utmost tact in dealing with religious issues. Its program, adopted at its Seventh Congress in 1962, expressly emphasizes freedom of religion, and its fight for the people's interests attracted millions of believers to its associated mass organizations and support for its candidates at election time. Iljas is obliged to admit this, adding that all these "heretics" will pay for their "sins."

Indonesia's post-1945 history shows that democratic freedoms, including religious freedom, were won and preserved by the efforts of the Communist-led progressive forces. The Moslem-Christian clashes of 1967-70 were the first in very many years. And they should be attributed to activation of the Christian church leaders, on the one hand, and Moslem reaction on the other. This is one indirect result of the regime's encouragement of imperialist penetration.

Indonesia's democratic forces were fully alive to the consequences of imperialist cultural penetration. The Communist Party Program contains the demand to "ban all morally corruptive films, lectures, music and other forms of cultural subversion." Now reactionary propaganda is trying to

distort this aspect of Communist activity. Ministry of Information publications allege that Communist-organized demonstrations against American films were "part of a campaign to create tension." The problem of moral corruption is now more acute than ever. A member of Parliament recently declared that the moral decline was "stimulated by the very people appointed to combat it."

Anti-communist propaganda, whatever its forms and methods, is designed to instill the idea that Marxism-Leninism and the Communist movement are alien and hostile to the Indonesian people and "have no place on Indonesian soil." And yet the leaders of the "new order" constantly harp on the "danger of a Communist revival."

What they fear, of course, is the CPI again becoming a powerful political force. By 1965 the Party and the mass organizations under its leadership united between 15 and 18 million people. And there is nothing surprising about the fact that, even now, the military command in Purwodadi (Central Java) estimates that of the 200,000 inhabitants "40 percent are Communist-orientated."

The Indonesian Communists are fully alive to the dangers of this massive ideological campaign. The Party's statement, *Urgent Tasks of the Communist Movement in Indonesia*, issued by the underground Marxist-Leninist group of the CPI, emphasizes that the prime task of all true Communists is to fight "to rehabilitate the Party in the eyes of the broad masses, to restore and strengthen its ideological prestige, i.e., the teaching of Marxism-Leninism, among the Indonesian people, and to surmount anti-communist sentiments." Successful accomplishment of this task, the statement says, is a crucial condition for creating "a National Unity Front consisting of all the patriotic forces of the nation on the basis of a program of democratic aims."

A.U.

Gustav Husak on the Slovak national rising

A new edition of Gustav Husak's *Record of the Slovak National Rising** has been put out for the rising's 25th anniversary. A Russian edition has been put out in Moscow by *Pravda*, and Hungarian, Polish and Bulgarian translations are to be published shortly.

Interest in this book by the First Secretary of the Czechoslovak Communist Party is not accidental. For the rising of the Slovak people was not only against fascism and reaction, and not only in defense of Slovak national interests and the establishment of a new Czechoslovak Republic. The Slovaks were fighting, also, to hasten the defeat of Nazi Germany and her allies and bring nearer the day of Europe's liberation. It is not surprising, therefore, that many representatives of other nations fought in the Slovak ranks. This gave the rising a very pronounced internationalist character.

Husak was one of the first to make a study of the rising and its implications. The first edition of his book, published in 1964, contained personal reminiscences and unpublished documents and little-known facts. His purpose was to counter distortions, half-truths and untruths about the rising and its participants.

But Dr. Husak has produced more than memoirs and more than a historical survey: the book is a happy combination of both, with the eye-witness account supported and supplemented by documentary evidence. The result is a clear and convincing analysis of the main and secondary problems of Slovakia's anti-fascist Resistance.

The author examines the key factors of the rising and shows how they affected the socio-political development of the new Czechoslovak Republic.

Central to his study is a Marxist-Leninist analysis of the social processes at work in Slovakia during the war. This enables one properly to assess the leading role of

the Communist Party in the complex work of preparing and carrying out the popular armed struggle against fascism. And in this context the author examines in some detail relations between the Czechoslovak Communist Party leadership in Moscow, headed by Klement Gottwald, the Slovak Communists and, on the other hand, the Benes government in London. This is important, for it strongly influenced the course of the struggle and the political orientation of the forces who joined it or cooperated with the Communists. Much attention is also devoted to the vast material, military and political assistance of the Soviet Union.

Numerous facts are cited to show the Slovak people's hatred of the puppet fascist regime and their opposition to attempts to resurrect pre-Munich policies, bourgeois Czechoslovakism, and to Benes's idea of Czechoslovakia's special role in East-West relations.

The battle for social emancipation, and the results it yielded during the rising and, more especially, after Czechoslovakia's liberation, hold a prominent place in Dr. Husak's account.

There was the problem of Slovakia's place in the Czechoslovak state. The Slovak Communists based its solution on the experience of the Soviet Union and the political situation in Slovakia. Slovakia, they decided, would be part of a Czechoslovak Federation. This was approved at a working conference of the Slovak Communist Party in Kosice on February 28-March 1, 1945, and by the Slovak National Council. In March, Dr. Husak, as representative of the Council, laid the proposal before Klement Gottwald at a special meeting in Moscow to work out a program for the new Czechoslovak government. The author remarks that Gottwald's views were later reflected in the Kosice government program.

Dr. Husak and other members of the Slovak National Council delegation agreed to postpone solution of the Slovak prob-

*Husak G. *Svedectvo o Slovenskom narodnom povstani*. Bratislava, nakladatelstvo Epocha, 1969, 636 str.

lem pending Czechoslovakia's complete liberation, when it would be possible to have the opinions both of the Slovak and Czech people. The author gives a positive assessment of the Slovak delegation's tactics at the Moscow meeting.

A commendable feature of the book is its lucid exposition. It reads easily and holds the reader's interest.

It concludes with words that could well serve as its epigraph: "Granted freedom is valuable, but freedom won in battle is a hundred times more so, both for the individual and for a people. The Slovak people made a significant contribution to the free-

dom of Czechoslovakia. In the battle against fascism they played a no lesser part than any other European nation."

The book brings to the reader knowledge of one of the finest pages in modern Czechoslovak history. But it also reveals the personality of its author, the man now the head of the Party's Central Committee in its efforts consistently to apply Marxist-Leninist principles in the country's life and its relations with other socialist countries and the progressive forces of the world.

V. PLEVZA

M. VARTIKOVA

Lenin's doctrine of the party

That is the title of a book* compiled by a team of Soviet authors. It traces the development of Lenin's doctrine of the proletarian party of the new type from its inception to our day.

This method of examining problems in their historical setting enables the authors to relate basic organizational principles to the process of the Party's rise and development. The process is illustrated mainly by examples drawn from the history of the CPSU. However, this is not an essay on Party history, but rather an investigation of the problems involved in building the Party.

The very existence of the new-type party is a historical necessity. The authors show how the principles of Party building are forged in the class struggle and in the fight against opportunism and revisionism. Each organizational principle is a synthesis of a vast and varied fund of experience.

Dealing with the historical need for an independent proletarian Party, its theoretical grounding and the objective nature of its organizational principles, the authors show the role Marx and Engels played in this respect. This historical continuity is added refutation of anti-Marxist attempts to depict Lenin, the founder of the new-type party, as some kind of conspirator guided solely by voluntarist motivations. The book shows that the Communist parties have deep historical, social and theoretical roots.

In outlining the principles of theoretical, political and organizational Party activity, the authors emphasize their interconnection. And this is fully justified for, to quote Lenin: "You cannot draw a hard and fast line between a political question and an organizational question. Any political question may be an organizational question and vice versa . . . Political questions cannot be mechanically separated from organizational questions."

The book illustrated how Lenin's principles are applied in the life of the Party. In many cases it describes in detail certain aspects of Party activity relating to the solution of one or another major problem.

The authors have carefully systematized and organized their historical material and singled out the more important theoretical aspects of their subject. This applies especially to the chapters: Development of Lenin's Doctrine of the Party in Conditions of Completing the Building of Socialism and Gradual Transition to Communism, and The Triumph of Lenin's Doctrine of the Party in the World Communist Movement.

Unfortunately, some problems of Party organization receive less attention than they deserve. For instance, the problem of the Party in a developed socialist society, its role in coordinating complex social processes; changes in methods and forms of Party work to comply with the new requirements posed by the scientific and technological revolution and economic reforms; the importance of the component of Party and political leadership which Lenin defined as the art of leadership. More attention could

**Leninskoye ucheniye o partii*. Chief editor A. A. Timofeyevsky, Mysl Publishers, Moscow 1969, 549 pp.

have been devoted to the contribution of fraternal parties to creative elaboration of the theory of the new-type party.

Of course, these questions could become the subject of special studies. Interest in the problems associated with the rise and building of Marxist-Leninist parties is no

more than natural. It stems, in particular, from the pressing requirements of the ideological struggle, the need to counter bourgeois propaganda, its unscrupulous slander of the proletarian parties and falsification of their history and principles.

A.M.

OUR MAILBAG

Letter from Turkey

Ankara, April 28, 1970

Dear Friends,

I am sending you this letter in a roundabout way, because there is no freedom for us to write to Czechoslovakia. I want to say that I am very happy to see the great economic, political and cultural developments in socialist countries. Unfortunately, there is no possibility for us to publish our ideas freely in Turkish newspapers. When I first received a copy of *World Marxist Review*, I was still a student. I talked with my friends and suggested reprinting the article from your journal, "How to End the Military Dictatorship in Greece," in our student newspaper. We published it in English and didn't expect any action from Turkish laws, which are very old and oppressive. But unfortunately we were called before the judge for doing communist propaganda. Some of my friends said that I had brought the article, and the judge condemned me to one and a half years in pris-

on. I suppose that now I shall not be able to finish my university studies because of this event. I say event, because I expect there will be more events like it in my struggle against imperialism and against the internal representatives of imperialism in Turkey. Our struggle shall go on until final victory. Some of my friends think that this final victory can be achieved by armed struggle. But I think that before the armed struggle we must create the necessary conditions.

Yes, my friends, in Turkey there are some progressive actions, and I should like to talk about them in your *World Marxist Review*, but as you see it is very difficult even to publish articles from your journal.

I hope to write to you again before entering prison. Don't forget the young people of Turkey, who are fighting against imperialism in 1970.

I hope this letter reaches the Editorial Board of *World Marxist Review*.

Husnu DURUST

Letter from Pakistan

Dacca, April 15, 1970

Dear Friends,

I have read with interest the article, "Lessons of Democratic Upsurge in Pakistan," by Amina Nizami, published in the December 1969 issue of *World Marxist Review*. It was a very correct analysis of the political situation in Pakistan. Progressive political workers in Pakistan hold views which have very much in common with those of your correspondent.

But the author has made some mistakes regarding personalities and events. In fact, Mr. Bhutto was never a NAP leader. He was the foreign minister of the Ayub regime. He left the Pakistan Muslim League (Convention) and also his post in Ayub's cabinet due to his controversy over the Tashkent Declaration. Soon after, he joined anti-Ayub politics. In 1968 he convened his new party, named Pakistan People's Party, of which he became the president.†

The first time martial law was imposed in Pakistan was in the year 1958; it was withdrawn in 1962 after a great mass movement, and not on February 21, 1969.[§] For the last seven years Ayub retained his autocratic power through so-called basic democracy—a limited franchise of eighty thousand “basic democrats” with some vested interests. The people of Pakistan have still to overthrow the military-bureaucratic regime backed by imperialism, monopoly and remnants of feudalism. However, now we are on the verge of achieving some democratic reforms as the immediate result of the 1969 popular upsurge. A nationwide election on the basis of “one man one vote” for preparing a new constitution for the country, has been scheduled on October 5, 1970.

"Addressee unknown"

Letter from a West-German Reader

Editor,

Problems of Peace and Socialism.

To us, living in a country ruled by big capital, your journal is an oasis of truth, an inspiration in our day-to-day struggle.

But the men who rule the Federal Republic want to keep the population ignorant not only of Marxism-Leninism and genuine democracy. They want to make it impossible for people critically to regard the realities around them. And the authorities are thinking up new methods of keeping the Federal Republic's population in the dark.

One of these methods, which concerns me and, I think, many others, is obstructing circulation of your journal. Officially, this can only be done by a court decision. But why go to all that trouble? Why be open to charges of violating the Constitution? The whole procedure can be simplified. The postal authorities are told to exercise more vigilance in handling mail from “Eastern bloc” countries—you can never tell, some innocent-looking letter might contain propaganda that could undermine the very foundations of the Federal Republic! And the postal clerk is told that a parcel from the socialist countries should be seen by the investigating authorities before it is seen by the addressee. If there is the slightest suspicion (or even “uncertainty”) the parcel is to be handed over (confidentially, of course) to an informer of the Department for Protection of the Constitution. There is at least one informer at every post office.

In spite of all the ill efforts and tactics of the reactionary cliques, the working people and peasantry are gradually sharpening their struggle against autocracy, for independence and democracy.

In this context, I thank you for publishing such a thoughtful article on Pakistan.

Aboul USMANI

EDITOR'S NOTES:

*The Editors are grateful to the writer for spotting the mistake in one of the editions of our journal *World Marxist Review*, where the name of the People's Party was distorted by printer's error (in other editions of the journal the name of the party was given correctly).

†The People's Party was founded in autumn 1967.

§In February 1969 the state of emergency introduced in 1965 during the India-Pakistan armed conflict was lifted in Pakistan; lifted were the curfew and Article 144 of the law on the defence of the state.

And now this dignitary, acting as guardian of “democracy and freedom,” opens the parcel and hands its contents over to the prosecutor, but not before carefully noting the name of the addressee. The prosecutor, who may not remember all the pertinent articles of the Constitution (otherwise he would have to prosecute the informer for violating postal laws and regulations) examines the contents and decides what to do with them. He can have the parcel destroyed or, if he thinks it is not too dangerous, return it to the post office. And here, to retain a semblance of democratic procedure, this note is inserted: “In conformity with the law of May 24, 1961 (BGBl. I, S. 607) on punishable offences and other misdemeanors, this parcel from the CSSR was examined by Customs and sent to the prosecutor on suspicion that it contains matter dangerous to the state. The parcel is not being confiscated.”

But things do not end there. First—and this has happened to me more than once—you receive the note with the prosecutor's sanctified lie, but not the journal. Did the prosecutor hold it back for further perusal? Did he file it away in the archives? Second, I know that the post office clerk, that lowly public servant, is summoned to his superior for a good talking-to. He is told that though there is no legal reason why the parcel should not be delivered, it would be wise if this batch of “Communist propaganda” did not reach the addressee.

Then begins the second circle (very nearly according to Dante). The postman is ini-

tiated into the intricacies of actions "just across the border of legality." "How long have you been with us, Herr Meier? More than 20 years? And you really don't know how it's done? Well, let me tell you. It's all very simple: 'Addressee unknown'; 'Left without giving forwarding address'; 'Parcel rejected'; 'Could not be located'; 'Addressee is dead.' That's how to go about it, Meier, see?"

Suitably brain-washed, Meier sets out on his delivery route. Now he knows all the tricks, but he does not always use them in the right order. For instance, one of my letters was marked: "Addressee dead"; another went back with a "rejected" stamp. But I am not dead, and I have not rejected mail. After continued briefing by officials of the Department for Protection of the Constitution, the Federal post can even conjure up living corpses, the idea, apparently,

being that your circulation department will stop sending the journal to "dead addressees."

But, surely, this is a criminal offence, the reader will say. Yes, it is, and also a flagrant violation of common decency. But both are part of the emergency laws that make a travesty of the Constitution. And this at a time when the Brandt-Scheel government promises us "more democracy" ... It is also added evidence of the cold war, which made possible the unlawful ban of the Communist Party, reaffirmed in mid-February by the Political Senate of the Federal Court when it examined the Party's draft program.

My friends and I condemn these actions of the postal authorities and their masters. We call upon all democrats in Federal Germany energetically to combat this outright lawlessness.

G. SCHORSCH

VICTORIO CODOVILLA

With the death, on April 15, of Comrade Victorio Codovilla, founder and Chairman of the Argentine Communist Party, the world Communist and workers' movement lost a sterling revolutionary and a devoted and able exponent of Marxism-Leninism.

Comrade Codovilla began his revolutionary career by combating the anti-Marxist policy of the Argentine Socialist Party leaders. His fight, together with Rodolfo Ghioldi and other comrades, in defense of the Marxist principles, proletarian internationalism, the Great October Revolution and Lenin's cause, culminated in the founding, on January 6, 1918—two months after the socialist revolution in Russia—of the International Socialist Party of Argentina, which soon changed its name to Communist Party.

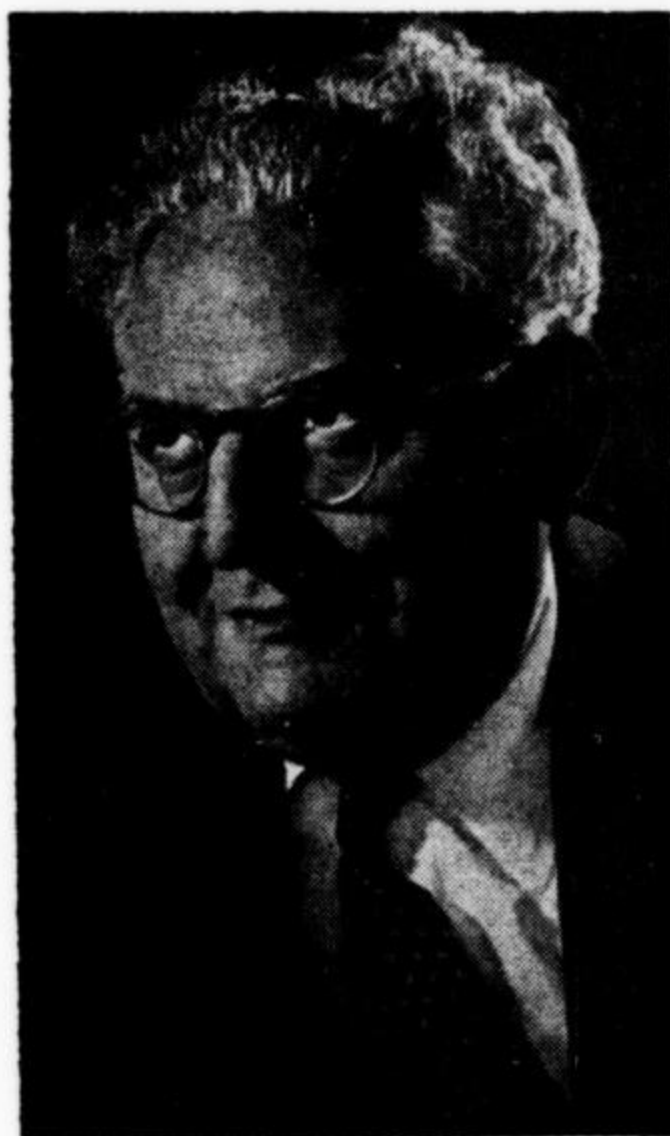
Comrade Codovilla had an active and fruitful part in its development. He was always concerned to raise the ideological and political level of the new Marxist-Leninist party, saw that it followed Lenin's organizational principles, and trained its cadres in a Marxist-Leninist spirit.

Today the Communist Party of Argentina, founded by Comrade Codovilla 52 years ago, has a membership of 100,000. It is closely linked with the workers, peasants and the broad masses and plays an outstanding part in the battles against the reactionary military dictatorship, imperialism, the oligarchy and the big bourgeoisie.

In his graveside speech, Comrade Arnedo Alvarez, the Party's General Secretary, said: "Comrade Victorio, you have bequeathed us a Party steeled in battle against reaction, a Party monolithically united on the basis of its policy and the principles of Marxism-Leninism."

Victorio Codovilla always combined theory with revolutionary practice. His profound study of Argentina's social and economic structure and political superstructure, based on creative application of Marxism-Leninism, was a major contribution to working out the Party's **political and tactical** line and the strategy of the democratic, agrarian and anti-imperialist revolution, with the prospect of transition to socialism.

The Party's recognized leader, he played a prominent part in the anti-imperialist



struggle, effectively exposing various forms of imperialist penetration into the economy and other spheres in Argentina and Latin America generally and organized the masses to fight for national and social liberation.

Comrade Codovilla spent many years in the Comintern, and as a member of its leading bodies helped to strengthen the young Latin-American Communist parties organizationally and ideologically.

He trained his own Party in the spirit of Communist patriotism, international solidarity and fidelity to international traditions.

Comrade Codovilla was a fervent champion of the Soviet Union and the Party of Lenin. He did much to acquaint the workers and people of Argentina with the magnificent achievements of the world's first socialist state and convincingly proved to them that the U.S.S.R. was the reliable bulwark of all peoples fighting for freedom and independence.

He worked indefatigably for unity of the international Communist movement on the basis of Marxism-Leninism. He denounced every deviation, whether Right or "Left," from our scientific theory. His long service to the revolution, in Argentina and on the international scene, won him esteem in all Communist parties.

And his memory will always live in the international movement.

Books listed here are in the language of the country of publication

LENIN, V. I. *A proletarforradalom es a renegat Kautsky* (The Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky). Budapest, Kossuth Konyvkiado, 1970. 176 pp.

LENIN, W. I. *Dziela* (Collected Works). Vol. 41. Warsaw, KiW, 1969. 553 pp.

LENIN. *Dopisy matce* (Letters to His Mother). Prague, Lidove nakladatelstvi, 1969. 193 pp.

LENIN, V. I. *Materialismo y empiriocriticismo* (Materialism and Empirio-Criticism). Buenos Aires, Ediciones Estudio, 1970. 415 pp.

LENIN, V. I. *Obras completas* (Complete Works). Buenos Aires, Editorial Cartago, 1969. Vol. I, 544 pp.; Vol. II, 572 pp.; Vol. III, 670 pp.; Vol. IV, 466 pp.; Vol. V, 623 pp.; Vol. VI, 629 pp.; Vol. VII, 629 pp.; Vol. VIII, 703 pp.; Vol. IX, 504 pp.; Vol. X, 554 pp.

LENIN, V. I. *Opere complete* (Complete Works). Vol. 53. Bucharest, Editura politica, 1970. 581 pp.

LENIN, V. I. *Spisy* (Collected Works). Prague, nakladatelstvi Svoboda, 1970. Vol. 44, 591 pp.; Vol. 45, 820 pp.

BREZHNEV, L. I. *Leninskim kursom* (Following the Lenin Course). Speeches and articles. Moscow, Politizdat, 1970. Vol. I, 544 pp.; Vol. II, 608 pp.

V. I. *Lenin i istoricheskata sydba na bylgarskiya narod* (V. I. Lenin and the Historical Destiny of the Bulgarian People). Sofia, BCP, 1970, 319 pp.

V. I. *Lenin o sotsialisticheskome gosudarstve i prave* (V. I. Lenin on the Socialist State and Law). Moscow, Nauka, 1969. 414 pp.

Vospominaniya o Vladimire Ilyiche Lenine (Recollections of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin). In five volumes. Vol. 5. (Reminiscences of Foreign Contemporaries). Moscow, Politizdat, 1969. 559 pp.

COGNIOT, G. *Présence de Lénine* (Lenin Is With Us). Paris, Editions sociales, 1970. Vol. 1, 251 pp.; Vol. 2, 157 pp.

LEHEN, T. *Lenin suomalaisten muistelmassa* (Finnish Recollections of Lenin). Tampere, Sanan Tie, 1969. 152 pp.

NEMES, D. *A lenini eszmek ereje* (The Power of Lenin's Ideas). Budapest, Kossuth Konyvkiado, 1970. 152 pp.

ARNAULT, J. *Le "socialisme" suédois* (Swedish "Socialism"). Paris, Editions sociales, 1970. 79 pp.

CHESNOKOV, D. *Historical Materialism*. Moscow, Progress Publishers, 1969. 582 pp.

DUCLOS, J. *Mémoires*. Vol. 3. The Clandestine Struggle. Part One: 1940-42. Paris, Fayard, 1970. 315 pp.

KOMUNISCI (Communists). *From the History of the Polish Communist Party*. Warsaw, KiW, 1969. 650 pp.

KORODI, J. *Valtozasok Magyarorszag gazdasagi terkepen* (Changes on Hungary's Economic Map). Budapest, Kossuth Konyvkiado, 1970. 85 pp.

PEDESOV, A. D. *Partiya bolshevikov i tekhnicheskyy progress* (The Bolshevik Party and Technological Progress). Moscow, Mysl, 1969. 462 pp.

STEIGERWALD, R. *Herbert Marcuse's "dritter Weg"* (Herbert Marcuse's "Third Way"). Berlin, Akademie-Verlag, 1969. 366 pp.

TEITELBOHM, V. *Hombre y Hombre* (Man and Man). Santiago de Chile, Editora Austral, 1969. 585 pp.

LENINISM AND THE REVOLUTIONARY PROCESS

That is the title of a book recently put out in Russian by Peace and Socialism Publishers. It is a collection of papers and contributions by representatives of Communist and Workers' parties at an international conference, "Leninism and Our Time," on the centenary of V. I. Lenin's birth, held under the auspices of this journal in Prague, November 19-21, 1969 (see accounts in our Nos. 2 and 3, 1970). The collection contains full texts of papers and contributions made.

English, Spanish, German and French editions are now being published.

Editions of the journal

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