

WORLD

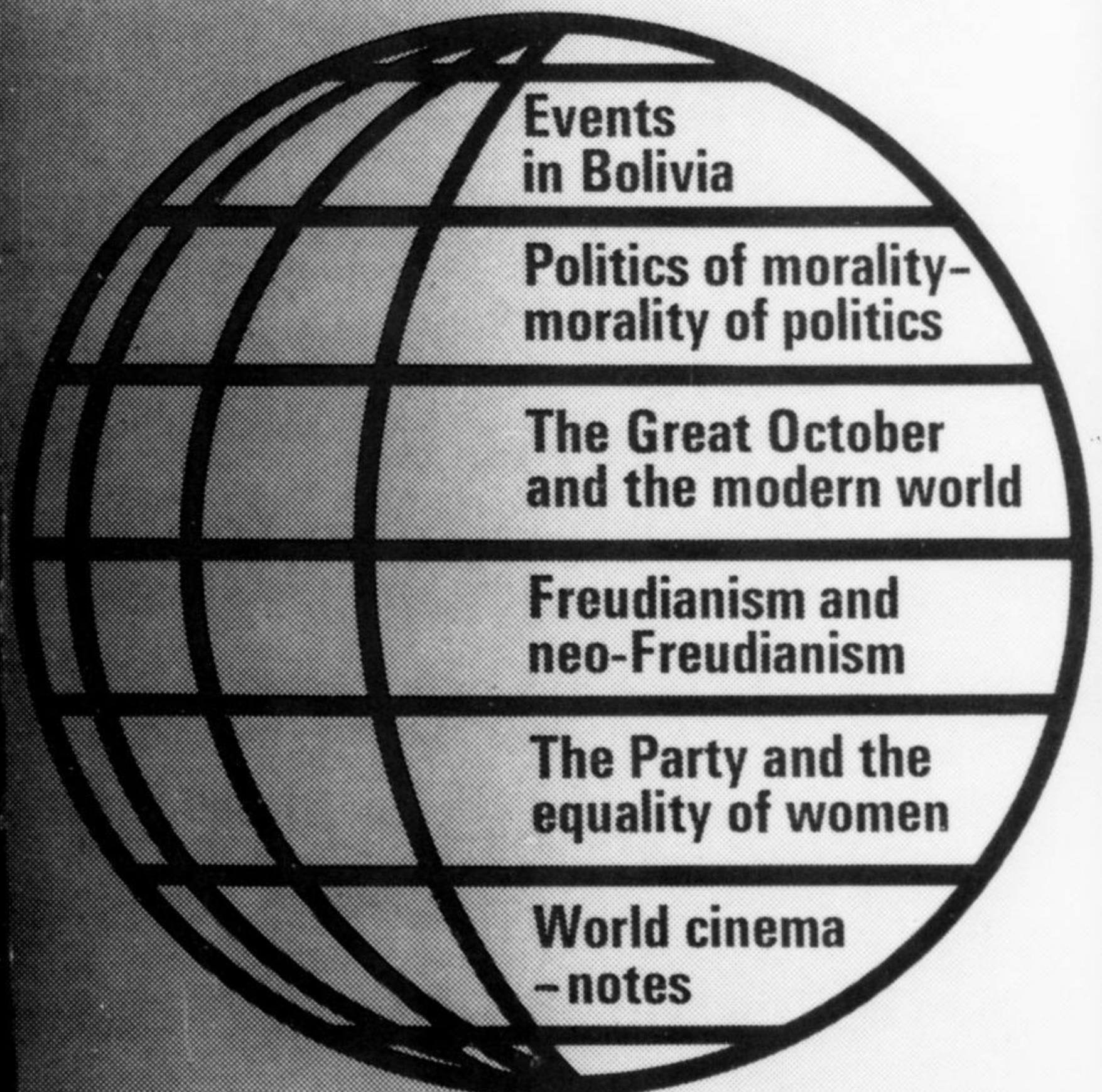
Problems of

MARXIST

Peace and Socialism

REVIEW

November 1971, Vol. 14, No. 11 50¢



**Events
in Bolivia**

**Politics of morality-
morality of politics**

**The Great October
and the modern world**

**Freudianism and
neo-Freudianism**

**The Party and the
equality of women**

**World cinema
- notes**

DEAR READER,

1971 is ending. All these months we have done our best to meet the wishes you conveyed to us in letters and readers' conferences. The journal regularly presented surveys of round-table exchanges and academic conferences held under its auspices. We introduced new departments: Marxism-Leninism and Our Time, Imperialism and the Anti-Imperialist Struggle, From the History of Socialist Thought, and Modern Non-Marxist Socialism. Apart from analytical articles, we carried political commentaries and features, and responded to topical world developments. Also, we presented articles on world topics in a lighter vein.

At present, the Editors are working on the plan for 1972.

— As before, leaders of Communist and Workers' parties, personalities of the international labor movement, prominent figures of the national liberation struggle, scientists, scholars and publicists of different countries, will write for us.

— We shall present analyses of the world revolutionary process, covering its basic trends and topical problems. Due attention will be devoted to the further elaboration of the ideas advanced by the International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties of 1969.

— We shall give prominence to the experience of building socialism and communism, and to the consolidation and growth of the socialist world system.

— We shall cover all events of importance in the life of the fraternal parties, their work with the masses, their creative theoretical activity in advancing Marxism-Leninism, and in exposing modern bourgeois ideology and opportunist stances.

— We shall give broader coverage to problems preoccupying Communists all over the world, shall offer space for exchanges of views, produce series of selected articles on specific subjects, react to acute international issues, and publish supplements with documented studies of present-day socio-political and economic affairs.

— As before, the Editors rely on your friendly cooperation. Specifically, your answers to the following questions will help us in our planning:

What subjects would you like to see covered in the journal?

What issues would you think worth debating?

Do you think we should have any new departments?

What do you think of the journal's appearance and what improvements would you suggest?

Your replies will be gratefully received. Address them to:

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The Great October and the modern world

William Kashtan

The working people of the Soviet Union, the international Communist and workers' movement, all progressive mankind are celebrating the 54th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution. For over half a century it has exerted a decisive influence on the course of world history. The Great October Revolution and the deep-going historical processes it accelerated radically changed the alignment of forces on the world political scene – the powerful Soviet Union, the socialist world system and the international working class have in this age become the cardinal factor of social development.

In his article, 'Fourth anniversary of the October Revolution,' written on October 14, 1921, Lenin said:

'The further that great day recedes from us, the more clearly we see the significance of the proletarian revolution in Russia, and the more deeply we reflect upon the practical experience of our work as a whole' (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 33, p. 51).

In his articles and speeches on the early anniversaries of the Revolution, Lenin always singled out what was most important, most relevant to the times. Let us follow that Lenin method and single out the main issues out of the whole complex of world problems and try to analyze them in the light of the present tasks of the international Communist and workers' movement.

I

No other event in the many centuries of human history has had so powerful an impact on the life and destinies of the peoples of the world. The October Revolution did more than give Russian history a new direction – it predetermined the fundamental worldwide changes of the past half-century. That is why the question of the Revolution's historical implications is still central to the ideological and political struggle, is still a basic criterion of the class position of any political leader, movement and party. And without a correct answer to this question, one cannot correctly

orient himself in the present-day situation and assess the trends and prospects of the world revolutionary process.

The October Revolution signified the beginning of the general crisis of capitalism. The united front of the capitalist powers had been pierced. A new, red-colored area appeared on the world map – history's first state of workers and peasants covering one-sixth of the earth. That was the beginning of a momentous process of history, the triumphal onmarch of socialism.

On the example of Russia, the October Revolution provided convincing corroboration of the conclusion drawn by Marx, Engels and Lenin that the economic, political and ideological collapse of the capitalist system was inevitable. For capitalism had proved incapable of solving the problems posed by the march of history, or of realizing the opportunities presented by expansion of the productive forces.

In our day it has become all too obvious that capitalism is too narrow a framework for scientific, technological and social progress. This finds expression in aggravation of all the inherent contradictions of capitalism, including those resulting from the scientific and technological revolution, in the limited opportunities the rulers of the imperialist powers have for social and political maneuvering, in the fluctuating rate of economic growth and in the upheavals of state-monopoly capital's currency and financial system. It is expressed, too, in the old, 'classical,' and the new sources of unending social tension, conflict and social malaise – the crisis in education, racial and national conflicts, the ghettos and slums of the large cities, the spread of violence, and so on. And to this list should be added the crimes of imperialism in the 20th century, its aggression, its policy of colonialism and neo-colonialism, its desperate effort to suppress the people's urge for peace, democracy and social progress.

Looking back on the experience of these 54 years, it is now perfectly obvious that the revolution ushered in a new era in human history and showed mankind the realistic path to abolishing the inhuman conditions of capitalist society, the path to satisfaction of the pressing needs posed by history. The destruction of capitalism and all its traces, the introduction of the fundamentals of a communist order, these make up the content of the new era now begun in world history. That is how Lenin defined the role of the October Revolution in 1920. Experience has fully corroborated that definition.

The October Revolution fundamentally changed the very substance of international relations. The rise and consolidation of the socialist state created a new, paramount revolutionizing factor. It set into motion the masses exploited and oppressed by imperialism. This factor:

- transformed the international working class into the decisive force of our era;
- transformed the international Communist movement into the most influential political force of our times;

– brought into being and strengthened the socialist world system, the chief revolutionary force of our times and the decisive factor of the world revolutionary process;

– awakened the vast masses who for centuries were on the periphery of history and brought them into active struggle against imperialism;

– powered the broad national-liberation movement, with resultant disintegration of the colonial empires and the emergence of a new political factor, the young independent states;

– wrested historical initiative from imperialism, which today is powerless to reverse world development, and opened the high-road to communism;

– undermined the position of bourgeois ideology, assured the immense growth of the authority and influence of the scientific Marxist-Leninist ideology and its spread to wide sections of the working people in every part of the world.

It is no exaggeration to say that the world as we know it today – a world in which socialism is steadily strengthening its international positions, the class struggle in the capitalist countries is growing in scope, anti-imperialist tendencies in developing countries are taking deeper root, and the attraction of socialist ideas is rapidly widening – this world is the product of the October Revolution. The process of transition to socialism begun by that revolution is an objective, law-governed and irreversible process.

This year the Communist Party of Canada is celebrating its 50th anniversary. It can confidently be said that the revolutionary upsurge at the time of the Party's founding, both in our country and throughout the world, was a direct sequel to the Great October Socialist Revolution. It was on the crest of this wave that Canada's Communist Party came into being. In its 50 years it has made a significant contribution to the growth of the Canadian labor movement and to the struggle for peace, democracy and socialism, combining genuine patriotism with internationalism as a law of development for our Party. And today, too, we are working to fulfil our duty to the working class of Canada and the world.

II

When Marxism first appeared, and for the first time provided a scientific explanation of social development, the enemies of the working class, bourgeois ideologists and philistine sceptics scoffed at its materialist theory. But with the passage of time it became clear that history was following the course Marx and Lenin had predicted. The Great October Revolution was the triumph of Marxism-Leninism. The Soviet Union's progress since then has convincingly demonstrated that there is no greater truth than that which has been tested by history. From an idea socialism became a living force that is refashioning the world. The working class has proved that it can run the country without capitalists.

The past 54 years provide irrefutable confirmation that the Soviet people, led by their Leninist Party, has chosen the correct path. The 24th CPSU Congress was a demonstration of the people's confidence and energy, their unshakeable fidelity to the immortal ideas of Leninism.

It is important to note that the Soviet people, who pioneered the new social development, did not perform their revolution gropingly, in the dark, or by accident. They had a guide, a compass, in the Marxist theory developed by the great Lenin, leader of the Russian Communists and of the world Communist movement. The revolution had been prepared by the immense theoretical and organizational work Lenin and his Party carried out in the years preceding it.

Lenin wrote: 'A revolution can only be made by the masses, actuated by profound *economic* needs' (Vol. 11, p. 423). The revolution must resolve the main conflict, the very basis of the contradictions of capitalist society, the conflict between labor and capital.

But revolutionary situations, Lenin taught us, do not directly stem from this contradiction. There has to be the subjective factor – not blind, voluntaristic, but conscious action based on knowledge of the objective process, theoretically substantiated action of a mature political force expressing the interests of the working class. Such a force is the Communist Party, in which Lenin saw the 'intelligence, honor and conscience of our epoch.' The existence of such a party is an important indicator of the maturity of the subjective factor of social revolution.

For more than twenty years Lenin prepared the socialist revolution in Russia politically, ideologically and organizationally. And his first concern was the ideological tempering and organizational testing of the Bolshevik Party, the Party of a new type. Steeled in battle with tsarism, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union became the stimulating and organizing force of the October Socialist Revolution.

Never and nowhere had a party been so well prepared for social revolution as was Lenin's Communist Party in Russia.

And led by that Party, the Russian working people won political power, which they not only upheld in open battle against world imperialism, but were able, in a remarkably short time, to carry out social transformations that ruled out restoration of bourgeois power and opened the road to socialism.

It was no easy road. It required sacrifices, determination, perspicacity and singleness of purpose. But in the teeth of all these difficulties, overcoming all obstacles and rectifying the errors inevitable in so stupendous an undertaking, the Soviet people laid a firm foundation of the new society and are now building communism.

If we were to formulate briefly the result of their constructive effort over the past 54 years, we could say that the revolution proved that economic, social, political and spiritual life can be

based on entirely new principles, opposed to those of capitalism. The revolution proved that, freed of oppressive exploitation, the energy of the masses, led by the working class and its Party, can build a new social system which in a brief span of history can achieve vast material, social and cultural progress. And that progress is embodied in the gigantic growth of the productive forces in the USSR based on the scientific and technological revolution, in an economic system whose durability has been conclusively tested by history, in the deep-going changes in social relations in Soviet society, free of class and national antagonisms, in which the working class plays the leading role, a society developing towards still closer rapprochement of social strata, classes and nations, a society distinguished for its high level of science and culture and for its successful development of a qualitatively new type of democracy.

Now that the world can see the fruits of the first socialist revolution there is no shortage in acknowledgements of its worldwide historical significance. But for Communists, for Marxist-Leninists aspiring to the revolutionary remaking of the world, these verbal acknowledgements are not enough. It is not enough to simply acknowledge October 1917 and its significance. One must take guidance in its ideas, carry them forward in present-day conditions and see to it that they should continue to influence modern political and social life.

The significance and influence of the October Revolution is usually recognized in a broad sense. For how could anyone deny the unquestionable fact that in the intervening fifty-odd years the world had changed not by itself, by the ordinary course of development, but precisely as a result of the October Revolution. However, studying, assimilating and applying the practical experience of the socialist revolution and construction in the USSR, some are inclined to belittle this experience by saying that it is exclusively Russian, that its example is not valid for the developed capitalist states, because the 1917 Revolution occurred in a backward, multinational country.

It is true that, like any other social revolution, the October Revolution possesses distinctly national features, but its implications are far broader than these specifics, its experience everlasting, and where the context is fundamental it helps find constructive solutions in any country fighting for socialism. This aspect of the October Revolution was stressed by Lenin. He drew attention to it on the eve of the Second Congress of the Comintern, saying that the experience of the October Revolution exerts and will continue to exert an influence on the revolutionary movement in other countries, making a repetition, on an international scale, of its main features historically inevitable. He wrote: 'The Russian model . . . reveals to all countries something – and something highly significant – of their near and inevitable future.' And further on: 'Experience has proved that, on certain very important ques-

tions of the proletarian revolution, *all* countries will inevitably have to do what Russia has done' (*'Left-Wing' Communism – an Infantile Disorder*. Coll. Works, Vol. 31, pp. 22, 31).

Could one indeed describe as obsolete or irrelevant the experience of the October Revolution in such matters as communist strategy and tactics, the art of winning over the working masses, analyzing the correlation of class forces, determining the suitable moment for starting revolution, or flexibly using peaceful and non-peaceful means in the struggle to win and retain power? Does not the revolutionary vanguard of the proletariat of different countries also have to react flexibly, skilfully and swiftly to changing situations, advancing the appropriate slogans swiftly, and combining democratic and socialist objectives in the process of socialist revolution? Is there nothing Communists can learn in this respect from the vast experience and lessons of the October Revolution?

To these questions history has given a convincing reply: the experience of the October Revolution is of everlasting significance.

We Canadian Communists regard the experience of the October Revolution and the building of socialism in the Soviet Union as the treasured possession of the entire international working-class and Communist movement. The approach to it and to the experience of any other country and any other fraternal party, should be creative. It should not be imitated blindly, for one must consider the specific features of one's own country. But on no account should it be ignored.

We take both these factors fully into account in the redraft of the Party Program 'The Road to Socialism in Canada.' Our draft program re-affirms the universality of the principles of Marxism-Leninism which are valid for our country as they are for all countries as well as the specifics of the country. In this we are guided by Lenin who stated that the program of every party is bound to take into consideration the *specific* features of the development of its country. Without this the program cannot become a guide to practical action. The combination of the universal and the specific has led us to call for the formation of a democratic, anti-monopoly, anti-imperialist coalition and a government based on it in Canada, led by the working class and its Marxist-Leninist Party. Such a government would have the task of undertaking effective measures to curb the power of monopoly and clearing the path for the advance to socialism.

In curbing the power of monopoly through nationalization and other measures, the democratic forces will have facilitated the passing over of the democratic to the socialist revolution, bearing in mind that in essence the defeat of monopoly is essentially anti-capitalist and leads to socialism.

Our approach to the concept of a democratic, anti-monopoly and anti-imperialist coalition arises from the peculiarity of development in Canada, where together with the basic contradiction of capitalist

society, the conflict between labor and capital, there arise other contradictions. These find expression in the struggle of the French Canadian people for the right to self-determination and the overcoming of national, social and economic inequality, a struggle which is both national and democratic and an integral part of the ever expanding movement of the Canadian people against U.S. domination and for Canadian independence which, to be successful, must involve the political defeat of monopoly capital in Canada by a united and militant working class able to rally all the forces which can be rallied against both U.S. imperialism and Canadian monopoly capital. We regard ourselves as fighters for the cause of the October Revolution, for the materialization of its ideas in our country in line with our conditions. We hold that knowledge and use of the experience of socialist construction in the Soviet land, the experience of Lenin's Party, will help us resolve our own vital problems.

The grandeur and relevance of this experience is in no way eclipsed by the errors and slips that may have been committed while pioneering the way to socialism. To take any other view, contrasting the grandeur of the ideas of the October Revolution to the actually existing socialism in the USSR as their seemingly incomplete and distorted materialization, is to belittle the significance of the Great October Socialist Revolution, because making history has its own objective logic, its own natural coupling of events in which the October Revolution and the present Soviet society are the starting point and continuation of socialist development. Communist construction in the Soviet Union adds to the might of the world's revolutionary forces, reinforcing their positions in the fight against imperialism, and ultimately bringing closer the day when all mankind will arrive in an exploitation-free society.

For us Canadian Communists the Soviet Union is a model solution of enormously important social problems, a bold and revolutionary solution. One of these problems is that of building a multi-national state. The solution of the national problem in the USSR is highly instructive. It has exercised a strong influence on Canadians, especially in French Canada where all the elements of a developing democratic revolution are at hand.

In 1967 we celebrated the centenary of Canada's federation, a federation based on the national inequality of the French Canadian people. This is why to this day French Canadians aspire to the right of national self-determination, up to and including secession. Symptomatically, even Daniel Johnson, the one time anti-socialist Premier of Quebec, where the bulk of the population is of French origin, said that the Soviet Union has proved that federalism, provided it is correctly conceived, can be effective and serve as an interesting and useful example for Canadians at this time when we are reassessing our own constitution.

At the end of next year the Soviet people will celebrate the

50th anniversary of their Union. In place of the tsarist 'prison of nations,' destroyed by the October Revolution, the working people of the world's first socialist country have under the leadership of the Communist Party built a united and strong multi-national state that withstood the ordeal of the Second World War. The solution of that age-old problem would have been impossible without the October Revolution, which proclaimed national equality, self-determination and internationalism. This is but one of the impressive facts showing how the Soviet Union resolves the fundamental problems facing all humanity.

The October Revolution gave a start to a new type of relations among nations and states. Take the cooperation between the Soviet Union and the fraternal socialist countries. Take Soviet relations with the young national states, based on mutual confidence, respect and disinterested aid. And take the principle of the peaceful co-existence of states with different social systems, which originated from Lenin's foreign policy.

The fraternal cooperation of the socialist countries in political, economic and military matters is of the utmost importance for the present-day world. The friendship of the countries of the socialist world system is ever stronger. The Soviet Union follows a steady policy of extending cooperation with the fraternal socialist countries. This is borne out by the recently adopted Comprehensive Program for the economic development of the socialist countries.

The Soviet Union maintains a militant alliance with peoples still fighting against colonialists. It maintains cooperation with those that have thrown off colonialism, rendering them all-sided aid. The United States attitude towards our country provides an entirely different example. In its more than hundred years Canada has grown from an agrarian-industrial into a highly developed capitalist state. Yet Canadians are anything but optimistic in their outlook for the future, for they fear U.S. foreign policy and the increasing U.S. hold on our economy.

The USSR is truly a great and mighty power, but has never behaved as a 'superpower' out to dominate other countries and subordinate them to its will. It is farthest from that thought. The recent visit to the Soviet Union of Prime Minister Trudeau confirmed this but one more time.

States and societies are distinguished not by size or geography, but by their social structures and the social system. And the Soviet Union, a socialist state, just cannot follow a 'superpower' policy. That would be completely out of context.

Yet the USA does follow this 'superpower' policy deliberately and vigorously at the expense of the independence and sovereignty of Canada and the well-being of her people, evidenced again in the brutal efforts of U.S. imperialism to export its crisis, its inflation and unemployment to Canada and its other allies and trading partners. The Canadian people are beginning to see more and more clearly that behind the 'good neighbor' policy of the USA stands

the mailed fist and ugly face of U.S. imperialism. Canadian Communists feel it, see it, analyze it, and draw due conclusions from it in their Program, policies and action.

III

Ever since October 1917 the Soviet people have unfailingly displayed a sense of responsibility to the rest of the world. Under Lenin Soviet Russia found a way for withdrawing from the worldwide slaughter of World War I, proclaiming peace as the fundamental principle of its foreign policy. The Decree on Peace was the first legislation enacted by the socialist state.

The Soviet people were the first in history to build socialism. They defended it selflessly against the assault of fascism, the shock force of world imperialism. And the world will never forget the historic Soviet contribution to the defeat of Nazism.

The military victory of the Soviet Army over Hitler's Wehrmacht was at the same time a victory of the new social system, socialism, over the forces of imperialist reaction. The heroic courage of the Soviet people had its beginnings in socialism. The banner of the Soviet victory over fascism in World War II is the immortal banner of the Great October, the banner of Lenin.

Not only did the victory of the Soviet people prevent the scourge of fascism from spreading across the world, not only did it deliver the world from the Nazi nightmare; it also prepared the way for the emergence of the socialist world system and for the collapse of colonialism. We can safely say that in the final analysis the Soviet victory shaped the postwar development of the entire world. The emergence of socialist states in Europe, Asia and America, the downfall of colonialism, and man's present precipitous progress would all be inconceivable without the Soviet victory over fascism.

But take this further: this victory would itself have been inconceivable without the Great October Revolution. If the workers of Russia headed by Lenin's Communist Party had not flung off the chains of imperialist slavery, if the October Socialist Revolution had not won, it would have been the likely lot of the world to rot under the jackboot of the most brutal form of bourgeois dictatorship.

The lessons of the victory are still topical. The Soviet effort for peace, against imperialism, has a fundamental bearing on all modern development.

True to the principle of peaceful coexistence, the Soviet Union is working for world peace, for general and complete disarmament, and for mutually advantageous international cooperation. It is doing its utmost to prevent the extreme reactionary groups of U.S. imperialism from realizing their dream of world supremacy. The socialist nature of the Soviet state, the social nature of its economy, and its democratic, humane socialist aims give a definite

pattern to Soviet foreign policy. Socialism is peace, while imperialism, for all the camouflage, is war.

Every unprejudiced man and woman will see the highly constructive nature of the six Soviet peace proposals on crucial international issues made by Leonid Brezhnev in the Central Committee Report to the 24th Congress of the Soviet Communist Party. The motives of the Soviet Communists are clear; a sincere desire to eliminate all the flashpoints of war and tension, deliver the world from an arms burden and pave the way for lasting world peace. And the Soviet Union is proving its determination to achieve these aims by active moves for the implementation of its peace initiatives.

United States policy is imperialist and therefore different. The continuing aggression in Vietnam bears witness to this. Yet the Vietnam war is also evidence of the vast difference between the aggressive designs of the U.S. imperialists and their capability. They are frustrated by the unmatched heroism of the Vietnam people and the internationalist fraternal aid to Vietnam of the socialist countries, primarily the Soviet Union.

The Soviet people devote a substantial portion of their resources to securing lasting world peace, and those are resources that they could have used to advantage for domestic needs. They do it for the good of the world, fired by their sense of responsibility for its future.

A deep analysis of the present political situation was made by the International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties in 1969. Its Document says: 'Powerful revolutionary processes are gathering momentum throughout the world. Three mighty forces of our time – the world socialist system, the international working class and the national-liberation movement – are coming together in the struggle against imperialism. The present phase is characterized by growing possibilities for a further advance of the revolutionary and progressive forces. At the same time, the dangers brought about by imperialism, by its policy of aggression, are growing.'

In the path of imperialist aggression rises an insuperable barrier – the socialist world system, the bastion of the international working class, its hope and support. And any attempts reactionary imperialist forces may make to turn back the clock of history will collapse in face of this bastion.

The World Communist and working-class movement, every working man, join the Soviet Communists, the people of the Soviet Union, in celebrating the anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution.

Lenin, the leader of the October Revolution, has gone down in history as the genius of proletarian revolution and socialist reconstruction. Leninism is an ever valid source of revolutionary thought and revolutionary action.

The ideas of the October Revolution live on and triumph.



Class alliances and class struggle in the world arena

Tsola Dragoicheva

The 24th Congress of the CPSU, the 10th Congress of the Bulgarian Communist Party and recent forums of other fraternal parties gave prominence to key international problems. They did so in view of the close connection between internal development in the socialist countries and the world situation, and also because it is in the international field that numerous important problems of carrying the world revolutionary process deeper and of building socialism and communism are solved today.

All this calls for increased attention to the issues of class alliances and class struggle in the world arena and makes it necessary for the socialist countries and all anti-imperialist forces to devise appropriate strategy and tactics.

1. The solid methodological basis for the scientific solution of these problems is the Marxist-Leninist theory of class struggle, a guide to revolutionary action on a national and international scale. The general laws of the class struggle find a reflection in international relations, a relatively autonomous and highly intricate sphere of social life. However, not all methods of organizing and carrying on the class struggle used in a particular country can be used on a world scale, nor can they be used always.

Before October 1917, international relations were generally an arena of sharp rivalries between the exploiter classes, which often dragged their countries into war. Their main content and main trends were conditioned primarily by the evolution of inter-imperialist contradictions. The October victory initiated a radical turn in this respect. When the first socialist state came into being the pivot of contradictions in world politics shifted from inter-imperialist relations to relations between the two opposite socio-economic systems. Lenin pointed out that due to the rise of the Soviet socialist state, 'world political developments are of necessity concentrated on a single focus – the struggle of the world bourgeoisie against the Soviet Russian Republic, around which are inevitably grouped, on the one hand, the Soviet movements of the advanced workers

in all countries, and, on the other, all the national liberation movements in the colonies and among the oppressed nationalities' (*Preliminary Draft Theses on the National and Colonial Questions*, Coll. Works, Vol. 31, p. 146).

Now that the socialist world system is a reality, the destiny of social progress depends in vast measure on the course of the historical contest between world socialism and the imperialist camp headed by the United States. This is the main contradiction today and it determines the main line of the worldwide class struggle. In this struggle the Soviet Union, economically and strategically the mightiest power of the socialist system, remains the point of attraction for all anti-imperialist forces due to its leverage and great moral and political prestige. On the other hand, it is under bitter class attack from imperialism and reaction.

Understanding the principal contradiction of our times and estimating the balance of forces fully and precisely are requisites of the Marxist-Leninist class approach to these relations.

The Communists' policies have always been characterized by internationalism. Communists regard loyalty to internationalism, and a policy meeting its requirements, as an important criterion of the Marxist-Leninist class approach. In carrying forward the principles of proletarian internationalism, Communists combat attempts by Right- and 'Left'-wing opportunists to minimize its importance, to substitute nationalism for it and divide the revolutionary and anti-imperialist forces. We Bulgarian Communists believe that support for existing socialism, and above all of the Soviet Union, remains the most important criterion of a genuinely proletarian class approach to world politics. 'The definition which Georgi Dimitrov gave in the mid-1930s by describing the *attitude to the CPSU and the Soviet Union as the touchstone of proletarian internationalism*, of the genuine revolutionism of political movements, parties and figures, is even more important and valid today,' says the BCP Program adopted by the 10th Party Congress.

To adhere to a proletarian class position in world politics means proceeding from reality and not from what one would like to have. This makes profound realism and scientific approach – two requisites of a class estimation of world political development – important foreign policy principles of the socialist countries. Voluntarism, subjectivism and the inability properly to weigh available opportunities, to foresee the main effects of this or that foreign policy move, are particularly intolerable today. The strength of world imperialism, our opponent, must be neither over-rated nor under-rated.

The socialist community, with its vast economic and military potential, bears tremendous responsibility for the fate of the world, which it wants to safeguard against a nuclear war. While tackling every problem primarily with the object of providing the most favorable conditions for the socialist revolution and socialist development, Communists also uphold and express the fundamental interests of all anti-imperialist forces and the whole of progressive mankind.

While pointing to the distinctive character of international relations and the specific tasks of foreign policy, Communists never allow foreign policy to be divorced from home policy, let alone posed against it. They proceed from Lenin's idea of the unity of home and foreign policy.

The bourgeoisie admittedly goes beyond exploiting only 'its own' working class. Given favorable conditions, it places other peoples in the same plight as the exploited classes of its own country, and extends the principle of domination and subordination to the international sphere. The working class, on establishing its political power in a country and in building socialism, strives to end exploitation and eliminate that principle. This is indicative of the proletarian class character of the socialist state.

International relations are a most important political battlefield of the working class and its Communist party. They are the sphere in which we can fully apply Lenin's fundamental postulate of combining firmness of principle by steadfastly pursuing the main strategic goal – the victory of socialism – with the greatest flexibility in tactics.

Knowledge of the general Marxist-Leninist principles of waging the class struggle on a world scale, and their creative application in each particular case are an earnest of socialism defeating imperialism. On the other hand, the slightest departure from the proletarian class approach strongly prejudices the cause of the working class and all anti-imperialist forces.

II. We have said that relations between socialist and imperialist states are the main front of the international class struggle. The socialist countries try to build these relations on the principles of peaceful coexistence advanced by Lenin. We are occasionally asked whether there is no contradiction between these two theses. There is none. Peaceful coexistence is a special form of class struggle against the bourgeoisie carried into the domain of inter-state relations. It is very much in keeping with the interests of the working class, and ultimately of mankind, because the alternative to this policy can in the final analysis be nothing but a nuclear world war.

To be sure, peaceful coexistence never implies, nor can it ever imply, anything like reconciliation of the interests of the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, or a decline in the struggle between dependent countries and imperialism. This is obvious to every Marxist-Leninist and we need hardly go into it here. The problem is different. Marxist-Leninists do not reduce peaceful coexistence to the elimination of world war as a political instrument. They seek constructive relations between states belonging to the two opposed systems, that is, growing economic and cultural links. This means that the working class organized in a state must, in entering into inevitable and diversified contacts with capitalist countries, fully master, as Lenin said, the difficult art of political maneuver, which connotes the ability 'not to make political concessions to the international bourgeoisie . . . unless we receive in return more or less equivalent concessions' (Vol. 33, p. 332).

Lenin stressed that in political struggle compromises are not only possible but, given definite conditions, necessary. 'To carry on a war for the overthrow of the international bourgeoisie, a war which is a hundred times more difficult, protracted and complex than the most stubborn of ordinary wars between states, and to renounce in advance any change of tack, or any utilization of a conflict of interests (even if temporary) among one's enemies, or any conciliation or compromise with possible allies (even if they are temporary, unstable, vacillating or conditional allies)—is that not ridiculous in the extreme?' he wrote (*'Left-Wing' Communism—an Infantile Disorder*, Vol. 31, p. 70). However, Lenin warned that not every compromise benefits the revolutionary movement and that the proletariat is not necessarily prepared to compromise in every case.

In deciding on how acceptable a compromise is, Communists proceed from objective criteria.

A revolutionary compromise is acceptable if it helps to bring about a balance of world forces more favorable to the proletariat or at least to maintain the existing balance, and secondly, if it does not overshadow the ultimate goals of the struggle of the working class. Compromises with the class enemy that tend to make him stronger and help him to overcome difficulties—to say nothing of compromises detrimental to other anti-imperialist forces are firmly rejected by Marxist-Leninists.

Lenin, who founded and led the first socialist state, furnished us with concrete examples of revolutionary compromise. He showed how contradictions between imperialist countries can be used for ultimately strengthening the positions of the world proletariat. The famous Rapallo Treaty, signed between Germany and Soviet Russia in 1922, is a classical case in point. It re-established diplomatic relations between the two states and thus dealt a crippling blow at the imperialist policy of isolating Soviet Russia.

Proper analysis and utilization in politics of the interaction of centripetal and centrifugal forces operating in relations between imperialist countries is also very important today. The existence of NATO, the EEC and the like is a reflection of the imperialist states' trend towards unity and evolving a common political strategy in regard to the revolutionary forces of the world. This trend is due to the growing internationalization of production and the objective requirements of the scientific and technological revolution, as well as, in increasing measure, to the exacerbation of the historic contest between the two world systems.

On the other hand, developments indicate that rivalries in the imperialist camp, far from diminishing, are gaining in intensity. This implies that the possibility of using inter-imperialist contradictions to strengthen the world positions of the revolutionary forces is still there. Making this possibility a reality will, of course, depend on the subjective factor, on the socialist countries pursuing a principled and flexible policy.

The socialist countries, which take guidance from Lenin's herit-

age, are stepping up their fight for peace and international security, for greater mutually beneficial cooperation, for the freedom and independence of the peoples, for effective resistance to every act of aggression, wherever it may come from. They prove by deeds their solidarity with the peoples of Southeast Asia fighting against U.S. aggression, first of all with the courageous people of Vietnam. They help the peoples of Arab countries in their just fight against the Israeli aggressors backed by the U.S. This principled policy was reaffirmed and carried forward in the peace program approved by the 24th Congress of the CPSU. The 10th Congress of our Party fully subscribed to it.

A crucial problem in promoting world peace and easing international tensions is to safeguard European security by recognizing the territorial and political realities resulting from World War II. This prompted the Warsaw Treaty countries to take the momentous initiative of proposing a general European conference on peace, security and cooperation which drew most favorable comments from world opinion.

An important sphere of international class relations are the relations between socialist countries and the developing states, the peoples fighting for national independence, against colonialism and neo-colonialism. By far most of these countries are still in the orbit of the capitalist world economy. However, the developing countries hold a special position in it since the foreign policy of many of them is markedly anti-imperialist. Accordingly, the class policy of the socialist countries towards these countries is not restricted to the principles of peaceful coexistence but implies active moral, political and material support for their struggle for political and economic independence. Relations between socialist countries and new anti-imperialist states are in effect an international class alliance between the working class organized in a state and the anti-imperialist forces of the countries winning their freedom, primarily the overwhelming majority of the population – the non-proletarian sections of the working people.

The actual forms of this alliance are most varied. They depend on the nature of the political forces in power in the developing countries, the material possibilities of the socialist countries in this or that period of history and other factors. Brother parties lay special store by more extensive cooperation with countries following the non-capitalist road. Their close alliance with the socialist world system and the international working class is a key condition of successful advance along that road.

Relations between the socialist countries and many developing countries are not exempt from difficulties or contradictions due to objective causes. They are affected by the complex, mosaic-like class structure of the developing countries, the lack of a mature working class, the non-proletarian nature of the ruling parties, and so on. These contradictions are surmounted in the course of all-round cooperation, in step with these countries' economic and social progress.

The difficulties caused by the revival of anti-Communist trends in some developing countries are different in character. Historical experience shows that anti-communism greatly injures both the general interests of the anti-imperialist fight and the national interests of the countries concerned and hampers their advance. This is why the socialist countries firmly and uncompromisingly condemn the policy of persecuting Communists and other progressives, whatever the slogans used to justify it.

III. The growing role of the international factor in the social sphere, the exacerbation of the worldwide class contest and the consolidation of socialism's positions induce bourgeois theoreticians and politicians to pay increasing attention to world political problems. Among the various concepts advanced by them in this connection, the concept of 'two superpowers,' said to shape the fortunes of the world, has been particularly popular in late years.

It is not surprising that the bourgeoisie conceives ideas denying the main class contradiction of today and obscuring the fundamental differences between the foreign policy objectives of the socialist countries and those of the imperialist countries. What is surprising is that these views are used as a weapon by people calling themselves the 'most genuine Marxist-Leninists.' The Peking press persistently publicizes, as contributors to this journal have already put on record, the theory that today's world is dominated by struggle between 'two superpowers,' the Soviet Union and the United States. They are alleged to be 'squabbling between themselves and yet entering into collusion with each other' to redivide the world and establish their supremacy over all other countries, classed as belonging to the 'intermediate zone.'

With the obvious intention of giving this concept, borrowed from the bourgeoisie, a revolutionary semblance, it has been supplemented with the thesis of the existence of 'two imperialisms.' But this merely shows how greatly the inventors of this myth have departed from the Marxist-Leninist class approach to international relations. Indeed, why else does the Peking press substitute 'squabbling' and 'collusion' between the Soviet Union and the U.S. for the contest between the two opposed systems on which world development turns? Why does it equate socialist with imperialist states, the defensive Warsaw Treaty organization with the aggressive NATO bloc? Why does it try to make people suspicious of the anti-imperialist objectives of Soviet foreign policy? We are struck above all by the cynicism and lack of principle in the charge of 'social-imperialist' aspirations hurled against the Soviet Union, whose disinterested aid to the peoples of the socialist countries, including the Chinese people, and to all anti-imperialist forces, is well known. 'Every unbiassed person in the world,' said Todor Zhivkov at the 10th Congress of our Party, 'realizes that if mankind is not being consumed by the flames of a new world war, if imperialism cannot brutally impose its will on the countries which have gained their freedom, and if the socialist countries are successfully building a

new life, we owe this to the Soviet Union, the Red giant who has risen to full stature on one-sixth of the globe, a strong, peace-loving country as generous as a brother, ready to come to the aid of every people fighting for freedom and independence, for a better life.'

Characteristically, the proponents of the concept of 'two super-powers' and 'two imperialisms,' as well as conducting an active anti-Soviet campaign at home and abroad, have taken the road of active political contacts with the United States. As we all know, President Nixon will shortly visit China at the invitation of its leaders.

Bulgaria's Communists have always been against the U.S. policy of boycotting and refusing to recognize the People's Republic of China. One could only welcome the progress in U.S.-Chinese relations if it helped to ease tension, if it squared with the interests of other countries and served peace. We are entirely in favor of contacts of this kind between countries of the two opposed social systems. It is common knowledge, for example, that the Soviet Union's principled and realistic position in talks with the U.S. on a number of issues goes a long way to produce important measures making the political climate of the world healthier.

However, like many others, we were surprised and put on our guard by the timing of the American-Chinese rapprochement. Washington did not reverse its attitude to China until after the hostile nature of China's policy towards the Soviet Union had become patent. On the other hand, the Sino-American rapprochement coincided with a deep crisis in the U.S. policy of aggression, made worse by the growing protest movement against the Indochina war and the new peace initiatives of the DRV and the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam, which indicated the way to peace. 'Nixon's policy,' *Nhan Dan*, the Vietnamese paper, commented, 'finds itself in a tragic situation. It is being cornered. The United States and the rest of the world insist on an immediate end to the war of aggression in Vietnam and on sending all U.S. troops home. Caught in this predicament, Nixon searched feverishly for a solution, only to strike out in the wrong direction.'

The coming American-Chinese top-level meeting is a prominent topic of the world press. Bourgeois journalists stress Nixon's special interest in the Peking trip. *Frankfurter Allgemeine*, mouth-piece of the West German big bourgeoisie, had this to say about the announced visit: 'The U.S. President may arrive in Peking just when the election campaign is virtually under way in the United States. In that case the Chinese Communists would help Nixon in the elections.' Stressing the increasingly frequent invitations of American journalists, politicians and sportsmen to China, the Washington correspondent of *Figaro* wrote: 'One might think that the face of the world has been transformed all of a sudden, that the Vietnamese war is over and the clouds over Suez have dispersed. The front pages of all newspapers display one and the same headline, "The Chinese Give Americans Smiling Welcome." All this looks rather paradoxical, of course. After all, it has been long since the Americans were used to the world greeting them with flowers. To think

that they were reminded of one-time enthusiastic welcomes in, of all countries, that of Mao Tse-tung!

The more reactionary U.S. quarters admit that they hope through increasing U.S.-Chinese contacts to disrupt the unity of the anti-imperialist world front, first of all the unity of the socialist countries, and tilt the balance of world forces against world socialism. They regard President Nixon's planned visit to Peking as a maneuver aimed at playing Red China and Red Russia against each other.

Life will show whether the reactionary forces will succeed in making profit from U.S.-Chinese relations. The Chinese leaders' posture will obviously be decisive.

The PRC leadership has lately made statements to the effect that it supports the proposals of the DRV and the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam regarding the ways and means of ending the war in Indochina, that it will not allow the United States to impose its Taiwan policy on the Chinese people, and so on. We believe world opinion is entitled to insist that the PRC leaders' declared intention to promote peace and resist the U.S. policy of aggression in Asia and elsewhere be at last supported with real deeds.

As regards the Bulgarian Communist Party's view of the policy of the present Chinese leadership and the development of Bulgarian-Chinese relations, it is well known. We pointed out at the 10th Congress of the BCP that our Party and government strive to normalize inter-state relations with China despite serious ideological and political differences. We resolutely declare for the unity of all socialist countries and the world Communist movement on Marxist-Leninist principles. On the other hand, our Party will go on combating Right- and 'Left'-wing revisionism, nationalism and anti-Sovietism, and all attempts to split the socialist countries and weaken the anti-imperialist front.

This is why our Party has invariably taken a resolute stand against the 'Left'-opportunist effort to saddle the revolutionary movement with an untenable and harmful theory substituting struggle between 'world town' and 'world village,' and between 'rich' and 'poor' nations, for the contest between the two world systems.

There is another fashionable theory that has lately gained some currency. It calls for the formation of an 'independent bloc of small and medium states' irrespective of their class character. Central to it is the attempt to replace the Marxist-Leninist class principles of analyzing international relations by other criteria, such as the dimensions of the countries in question, their geographical proximity to one another, the narrow and exclusive, virtually nationalist interests of particular regional alignments, and so on.

Advocates of this theory say their aim is to win greater world prestige for small countries, whose independence is allegedly suppressed by the big powers irrespective of their class character. We Bulgarian Communists, who speak for a small country, reject this idea. Everyone should see that such characteristics of international relations in the capitalist world as force and diktat, imposing the

will of big countries on small ones to prey on the latter's resources, are thoroughly foreign to the nature of socialism, which establishes a new type of international relations.

We hold that the prestige of a socialist state is determined by its actual contribution to economic and cultural progress and the people's standard of life. It is earned through a concrete anti-imperialist policy in the world and an explicit orientation on alliance with the progressive forces of today.

Our Party and people have made their choice. The unshakable granite foundation of Bulgaria's foreign policy is friendship and co-operation with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. At the same time we do much to improve relations with other countries, in particular to promote close links with our Balkan neighbors and make the Balkan Peninsula an area of lasting peace. On this issue, too, our Party and people are prompted by proletarian principles.

The 1969 Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties specified the Marxist-Leninist position on the main tasks in the class struggle and in forming class alliances. This position is expressed in the slogan: *'Peoples of the socialist countries, workers, democratic forces in the capitalist countries, newly liberated peoples and those who are oppressed, unite in a common struggle against imperialism, for peace, national liberation, social progress, democracy and socialism!'*

More than ever before, it is necessary that genuine patriotism and internationalism should go together in the activity of the most diverse contingents of the world revolutionary movement and its vanguard, the Marxist-Leninist parties, both those at the helm of the state and those not yet in power, and that their internal policies be framed with due regard to the international tasks of the anti-imperialist struggle.

A very important condition for the success of the anti-imperialist world front is to strengthen its core, the socialist world system. As the socialist world system grows and gains strength, Lenin's prophetic words about the inevitability of the dictatorship of the proletariat gradually developing from a national into an international one, into a force capable of exerting decisive influence on world politics, are coming true.

Of course, much will depend on close unity of the socialist countries. In seeking this closer unity, we must overcome a number of obstacles and contradictions of both an objective and a subjective nature. Many of them stem from the uneven levels of economic development of the socialist countries, from peculiarities of social structure, differences in the degree of socialist maturity, national specifics, and so on.

A certain influence is exerted by the sharpening of the class struggle in the world, with the imperialist countries trying to profit by their economic and commercial advantages, to say nothing of the escalation of the subversive ideological and psychological war.

All this makes the problem of consolidating the socialist countries

economically as well as militarily and politically an exceedingly important class task. It necessitates a search for new ways and means of furthering unity in line with the new stage of maturity of the socialist countries' internal social and international relations, with the prevailing world situation and the peculiarities of the contest between the two world systems, which is becoming sharper as the technological revolution goes on. It is very important to execute the Comprehensive Program for extending and perfecting cooperation and fostering the socialist economic integration of the member countries adopted by the 25th CMEA Session.

The preparation and implementation of such far-reaching steps towards perfecting the machinery of economic and political cooperation between socialist countries are a powerful factor in strengthening world socialism as the leading anti-imperialist force, and hence the entire front of struggle against imperialism, for the socialist transformation of society.



Some lessons of the events in Bolivia

L. Padilla

On August 22, 1971 the ultras in the Bolivian armed forces, acting in alliance with the reactionary section of the Nationalist Revolutionary Movement (NRM) and Bolivian Socialist Falange (BSF),* overthrew the government of General Torrez. This was the culmination of a conspiracy carefully prepared by the imperialists. Its purpose was to check the revolutionary democratic process that had been going on for two years, with the growing popular movement tending to weaken the positions of imperialism and its allies as it opened up the unmistakable prospect of the revolution going deeper.

The counter-revolutionary coup was nothing unexpected. The progressive forces knew about the intrigues of reaction and repeatedly warned the government against the danger threatening from the Right. Nor was the coup accomplished overnight, for the conspirators had to break the resistance of some troop units loyal to the government and the courageous defense organized by the working people and students. Fighting in the capital and elsewhere exacted almost a thousand victims.

The people's forces were defeated for a number of reasons, such as the class character and peculiarities of the Torrez regime and the conspirators' absolute military superiority.

For a deeper insight into the causes of the Torrez government's fall, to draw appropriate lessons from it and to visualize the further course of the revolutionary struggle in Bolivia, a component of the widespread and powerful anti-imperialist movement on the continent, it is necessary to assess the gains scored by the people over the past two years and analyze the role of the social and political forces involved in the revolutionary democratic development of the country.

How things developed

The Torrez government took over on October 7, 1970 after a bitter inner political struggle. A mere three days earlier the army

*The NRM, founded in 1941 by Paz Estenssoro, a politician with reformist leanings, is a nationalist party of the petty and middle bourgeoisie. The BSF, founded in 1937 on the pattern of Franco's Falange, speaks for the big bourgeoisie and landed proprietors. Both parties are described in greater detail later on. — Ed.

ultras had toppled the weak and discredited regime under General Ovando Candia. However, rapid action by the people and patriotic army officers prevented the reactionary military from maintaining power. The general strike called by the Bolivian Labor Center proved decisive. All working people joined in the political action of the trade unions, which paralyzed the economy and helped the masses to mobilize. The Communists firmly backed it. Reaction had to retreat and it became possible to form a people's government.

However, the lack of unity among the workers and the people on the significance and prospects of the alliance with the military who had come to power prevented the formation of a genuinely popular government. Key ministerial and other administrative posts went to military men and intellectuals. Spokesmen of the big and middle bourgeoisie were removed from government agencies while the role of the petty bourgeoisie in government increased notably, with the result that petty bourgeois concepts of 'revolutionary nationalism' became widespread and told on the government's political activity.

The government preserved its class composition almost unchanged until the August 1971 coup. There was much talk about the need 'to give the country a popular representation of a new type that would make laws and not merely issue non-committal provisions,' but this was never done. The people never gained access to power and the government found itself without a strong basis in the form of a broad network of local representative bodies.

Contrary to reactionary propaganda allegations, General Torrez was very far from Marxism-Leninism and had no intention of building socialism. His government tried to carry into practice the democratic and progressive ideas of the 'Mandate of the Armed Forces'* prepared by the Ovando Candia government in 1969. It was on these lines that Torrez pursued his policy as he tried to make good the mistakes of his predecessor, a compromiser and defeatist.

With regard to oil, a key political problem, it was decided to revoke the trade agreement imposed by the U.S. Gulf Oil Co. on President Ovando on extremely disadvantageous terms. The agreement provided that the company would be paid maximum compensation for nationalized property and allowed to resume its activity in Bolivia. In deference to the people, who protested against plundering the country of its natural resources, the Torrez government cancelled a contract leasing the Matilde mine (one of the continent's richest zinc deposits worked by Phillips Brothers, a U.S. consortium) and the agreement on the Catavi y Siglo xx tin mine concession. The result was a \$50 million reduction of direct U.S. investments in Bolivia.

In striving to gradually free the country from the tyranny of im-

*Political platform of the nationalists in the armed forces. It called for nationalization of the main foreign enterprises, independent economic development of the country and a sovereign peace policy. — Author's note.

perialist monopolies, President Torrez sought diplomatic, economic and cultural relations with the socialist countries. Bolivia signed a series of agreements on economic and technological cooperation with the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Hungary, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia providing ample opportunities to set up a national heavy industry, build state-owned enterprises in the mining, metals and oil refining industries and undercut the system of semi-colonial dependence imposed by imperialism.

Speaking of the home policy of the Torrez government, it must be stressed that it enabled the trade unions and political parties to develop unhampered. The Labor Center became a unifying center of all anti-imperialist and revolutionary currents. Left political parties, persecuted or destroyed under General Barrientos, began to operate in legal conditions. The Communist Party held its Third Congress, which adopted the new Party Program.

Reactionaries at home and abroad were enraged by these developments and started plotting counteraction. Early in January 1971 several troop units revolted. Colonel Hugo Banzer, future leader of the August coup, joined in the rebellion. But the conspirators could not win over the greater part of the garrisons. The reactionary revolt was foiled due to the firm stand of the trade unions and Left-wing parties.

The lesson to be learned was obvious but the government confined itself to disciplinary measures against the leaders of the abortive coup and allowed army officers known for their Rightist, anti-popular views to keep their high positions. The security agencies set up by previous regimes were not reorganized and CIA agents continued to control them. The high command of the armed forces, which had become the center of the imperialist conspiracy, used the security agencies for its own purposes.

The government did not appreciably change its position even when, in June 1971, the threat of an armed coup became only too obvious. On the other hand, it showed indecision and excessive caution as to bringing the working people into politics and government.

The Torrez government was too remote from the working-class and popular movement. On the other hand, the latter lacked strong links with the patriotic section of the armed forces. And when the crucial moment came the people proved powerless against an enemy armed to the teeth.

Some members of the government realized that the looseness of the government's political links with the masses was fraught with danger. They saw the need to end the regime's self-imposed isolation. But what they proposed was half-way measures. Ignoring the situation in the country, they suggested amending the Constitution by referendum to begin with and gradually drawing the working people into the management of state enterprises after that. They seemed to forget that institutional changes aimed at establishing genuine popular power can only be effected with the

direct participation of the social and political forces intent on hastening the revolutionary process. They did not stop to think that all misgivings and delays over this played into the hands of the conspirators and misled the people.

This attitude was due to the class composition of the government. It was expressive of the utopian desire of some leaders to 'preserve the unity of the armed forces' and, on the other hand, of the intention of certain reactionary elements to set up a political organization devoted to the regime, one that could do away with the influence of Left-wing parties in the working-class and popular movement and enable definite sections of the petty bourgeoisie to keep a firm hold on power. This, of course, made it difficult to unify the democratic and progressive forces.

The progressive forces did not, as we have said, arrive at a common position *visa-vis* the social strata in power, especially the patriotic section of the armed forces. They failed to evolve flexible and effective tactics that would enable them to win over this group of army officers to the people's side and strengthen its positions. Nor did they do everything that was necessary to consolidate the worker-peasant alliance and draw the peasants into the movement led by the Labor Center. They were not firm enough in combating Leftist views hostile to the tactics and objectives of a proletariat seeking unity. Lastly, they did not do all that they should have done to encourage a broad movement of the working people in town and country for the formation of committees, assemblies and councils of unity at grass roots – the basis of the popular front and the mainstay of genuine people's rule.

These and other negative factors led to a change in the alignment of forces and created a political situation favorable to the conspirators.

Problems of the anti-imperialist front

In surveying political developments in Bolivia, one is struck by the big role of the democratic trend among army officers led by General Torrez. This trend originated among nationalists who in 1969 came out against the 'Barrientist' ultras advocating 'ideological frontiers,' 'civic action,' 'struggle against subversive elements' and other ideas. Radical anti-imperialist sentiments were gaining ground among the more politically conscious and patriotic officers.

These phenomena spoke of the changed attitude of the army, the mainstay of the bourgeois state and its strategic reserve, sent into action whenever imperialism and home reaction begin to fear that the situation is likely to produce a revolutionary explosion. Secondly, they were a sign of the appearance on the political scene of a new potential ally of the people, which meant that the revolutionary front could be strengthened and the arms monopoly of the ruling classes abolished. Thirdly, they showed that the crisis of society had gone beyond the 'civilian sphere' to encompass an

institution like the army. Last but not least, they suggested that the more clear-thinking officers, who were anxious about the country's destiny, had come out of the morass of ideological and political prejudices inculcated in them in U.S. military training centers and had drawn nearer to understanding why the country was backward and dependent.

In view of all this and contrary to reactionary propaganda, the working-class and popular movement did not call for liquidating the army. It wanted to ensure, as the Communist Party Program stresses, 'that the armed forces take the people's side and serve their interests. The formation of a group of patriotic and progressive officers leads to this objective and affords favorable revolutionary prospects.'

However, not all political forces proceeded from this principle based on the experience of the world revolutionary movement and aimed at isolating the reactionary elements in the armed forces. The prevailing attitude of ultra-Leftist groups – adherents of the theory of 'hotbeds' of guerrilla war, Maoists, Trotskyists – was hostile to the military and amounted to something like a 'Leftist' brand of 'anti-militarism.' Some of them regarded the army as a solid entity free from internal contradictions. Others exaggerated the character and dimensions of these contradictions to the point of calling for the immediate isolation of all medium and high-ranking officers and the formation of a 'people's army' under NCOs. The unrealistic and dogmatic stand taken by the armed forces' association of sergeants and NCOs a few days before the fall of the Torrez government was almost a replica of the position of Brazilian army sergeants before the fall of President Goulart. Reactionary propaganda used this to the hilt in the interest of the conspirators, who wanted to neutralize Torrez' backers among the army officers and win their support at the height of the rebellion.

Thus Leftist 'anti-militarism' in Bolivia is a further indication that the activity of ultra-Leftist elements suits the reactionaries. From this we may deduce the true role of these elements in the revolutionary process. They mislead the working people by imposing incorrect, adventurist methods of struggle as they try to skip certain phases of the revolutionary process.

As regards the peasantry, it had been under the influence of NRM ideology and policy ever since the 1952 revolution. Only a small proportion of it had adopted Marxist-Leninist ideas. Under Torrez' presidency it became possible to carry on effective political work in the countryside, combat caciquism,* unite the peasants and make them a reliable ally of the working class. But this work was never completed. Peasant participation in the activities of the Labor Center was limited.

An important if not decisive step towards unifying the people's forces was the convocation in June 1971 of the People's Assembly, which proclaimed itself an 'anti imperialist revolutionary front

*Military bureaucratic administration in rural Bolivia. – Author's note.

led by the proletariat.' It comprised the Labor Center, national trade union federations, popular organizations and revolutionary parties. It was established to 'win national liberation and build socialism.'

The Assembly had 218 members. The labor unions accounted for 60 per cent of its membership, the middle strata of the population 25 per cent, the peasants 10 per cent and the Left-wing parties 5 per cent*. Owing to its composition, the Assembly became a kind of trade union body although its declared objectives and its activity were political. In view of the traditions of the working-class and popular movement and the distinctive conditions in which the revolutionary process had been going on, any other form of political association of the people would have created insurmountable difficulties. Hence the Communist Party, stressing the need for an anti-imperialist popular front, indicated in its Program the possibility of the Assembly 'becoming the embryo of people's power.'

However, the Assembly did not become a form of people's rule, although the bourgeois press at home and abroad made all sorts of speculations and raised a hue and cry about what it called the 'first Latin American Soviets.' Local people's assemblies were virtually lacking in the main industrial and agricultural areas. And when, late in June, the first national People's Assembly convened in La Paz, there was no question of 'dual power,' which spokesmen of reaction and ultra-Leftists talked about to frighten the government. The alignment of forces was still unfavorable to the working-class and popular movement. The Assembly did not propose to fight against the democratic government of Torrez, either directly or indirectly, by peaceful means or by armed force. It declared for mutual understanding and close political and organizational links with the government on the basis of an anti-imperialist program.

But the government was hesitant and took a sectarian stand on the Assembly. The latter for its part, failed to concentrate on such important tasks as extending the basis of popular unity, exposing the adventurist and disruptive activity of ultra-Leftist elements,** rallying the masses in defense of their democratic and anti-imperialist gains and organizing working people's action against the conspirators, in support of the government and the revolution. Yet this was the only way in which the Assembly could have become a political instrument of uniting and mobilizing the anti-imperialist forces – workers and peasants, students and intellectuals, patriotic servicemen and office employees, handicraftsmen and other working people. It was the only way to neutralize the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois groups in the Assembly, prevent a substantial num-

*The Left had only 11 seats in the National and People's Assembly, two of which were held by the Communist Party. – *Author's note.*

**Among the various forms of this activity, often provocative in character, were unlawful seizures of real estate, ill-timed student strikes, various unrealistic demands, acts of terrorism, 'anti-militarism' and anti-Sovietism. – *Author's note.*

ber of servicemen from deserting to the enemy, isolate the reactionary elements, bring about a qualitative change in the alignment of forces and mount a revolutionary offensive on all fronts.

However, the working-class and popular movement did not take this road, nor were these issues central to it before the decisive showdown with reaction. This was due to the negative, misleading role of the ultra-Leftists, who played into the hands of the conspirators. On the other hand, it indicated disregard of the well-known revolutionary principle that as well as following a correct political orientation, it is necessary to see to it that this orientation is translated into everyday action by the masses.

The conspirators' words and deeds

The reactionary elements of the army, NRM and BSF have long been linked with U.S. imperialism. What is new about this is that not so long ago the CIA helped them to establish contacts with the Brazilian gorillas, who have become expert in staging bloody military coups. Not surprisingly, the leaders of the conspiracy were helped by the ultras among the Argentine military, as press reports and their own statements show.

For all their 'geopolitical' differences, they took a most active part in preparing the Bolivian coup. The overthrow of the Torrez government was an instance of applying the doctrine of 'ideological frontiers' against the 'march of communism in Bolivia.' It also met the interests of the big monopolies disputing each other's 'title' to the exploitation of the vast iron ore and manganese deposits in the Cuenca del Plata area of Mutum Province, not far from the Bolivian-Brazilian border.

Open meddling in Bolivian affairs by the military ultras of the two principal satellites of U.S. imperialism in Latin America shows how dangerous their activity is. The Brazilian gorillas are particularly active. This is seen, among other things, in the conspiratorial activity of Hugo Bethlem, former Brazilian ambassador to Bolivia, the rising of the Santa Cruz garrison and the massing of Brazilian tanks and aircraft with Bolivian markings on the frontier. The Brazilian militarists aspire to the role of continental policeman.

The main purpose of the Bolivian coup was to check the liberation movement, restore the U.S. monopolies to their lost positions and 'rehabilitate' the capitalist way of development.

The conspirators use demagoguery and various subterfuges to conceal their counter-revolutionary intentions. They talk about the need of a 'modern national state,' which the so-called Nationalist Popular Front is supposed to lead to. The Front is a bloc of the NRM and BSF. What are its prospects?

The time is long past when the NRM attacked the BSF for upholding the interests of the industrial and landed oligarchy and opposed nationalization of the mining industry and the agrarian reform.

While retaining its 'revolutionary' name, the NRM surrendered to imperialism years ago as a result of its leaders' Rightist orientation

and because it was a typically bourgeois reformist party backing the neo-colonialist program of the United States known as the Alliance for Progress. It is a nationalist movement without the working class and youth.

The BSF, which made its 'historic contribution' to the reactionaries' seizure of power, has gone through an evolution of its own. Once it was a frankly fascist organization. Today it is a party of the big and middle bourgeoisie 'defending the assets of Western civilization' and showing a stronger tendency towards great-power chauvinism and anti-communism than the NRM.

NRM leaders talk a lot about Bolivia being bound to embark on socialism when it has become an 'organically integrated national community.' BSF leaders say as much by professing 'Christian socialism.' Their vague declarations are in keeping with their demagogical objectives.

Both parties are now led by men linked with Bolivian big capital, landed proprietors of a bourgeois type, and the U.S. imperialists. The impact of their demagogy on various classes and strata of Bolivian society cannot be dismissed until their true role has been fully exposed. The NRM still wields some influence among politically backward workers and, above all, among the peasants. It owes this to its past when it advocated an agrarian reform and universal suffrage. The BSF, for its part, is active among the urban middle strata.

It is no accident that the U.S. imperialists and the Bolivian oligarchy have chosen these two parties. Using the 'Mexican way' of the revolution as a model, the imperialists and home reaction expect to make them a political instrument of a pseudo-popular nationalist and anti-communist type. 'Just as the Constitutional Revolutionary Party came into being in Mexico, the Nationalist Popular Front has emerged in today's Bolivia,' said Carlos Serrate, a member of the present Bolivian government. But then Paz Estensoro is not Lazaro Cardenas, any more than the Bolivia of 1971 is the Mexico of 1934.

The political agreement reached by the NRM and BSF with support from the military is not as dependable as the imperialists would like it to be. The deep political crisis in the making is bound to rekindle the flames of their former rivalry. And it is most unlikely that their leaders will succeed under the circumstances in laying the foundations for the 'great and united revolutionary nationalist party' they aspire to.

Antagonisms in the armed forces will hardly disappear, either. The imperialists expect to restore the institutional character of the Bolivian army. They want to unify it and send it to the barracks, hoping that armed forces cleansed of the 'dirt stains' of the recent past will again serve them as a strategic reserve in an emergency which the country's turbulent political life may produce. But the class struggle besetting Bolivian society cannot fail to tell on the armed forces. The nucleus of patriotic army officers which the reactionaries are trying to eliminate will regain strength. This will

come about much sooner than the conspirators imagine and it will be a nucleus more closely linked with the people than in the recent past.

The fight goes on

The NRM-BSF alliance shows that the Bolivian conspirators are following in the footsteps of the Argentine ultras, who advocate a comeback of Peronism. This marks, in fact, the beginning of a stage of cooperation between imperialism and 'popular' nationalism under whose cover imperialism is expected to use subtler methods of domination in some Latin American countries.

The Bolivian gorillas and Nationalist Popular Front meet foreign banks and monopolies half way. The early moves of the present government included the passing of a new, very liberal law on investments, the sale of the Mutum iron-ore deposits by international auction, the revision of measures adopted by the previous government, the promise to protect private enterprise and the announcement of eventual amendments to projects prepared with the aid of experts from socialist countries.

In the light of these steps and plans, it is demagogical to describe the Nationalist Popular Front as 'a political instrument of the social classes interested in changing the economic structure, which hampers the independent development of the nation, achieve a spiritual and physical integration of the country that will make it possible to build a modern state.' What this organization and the present government really uphold is the interests of the Bolivian oligarchy and foreign capital.

The Bolivian coup is fraught with grave danger to revolutionary processes in Latin America. It is a serious warning against eventual actions of the same nature by the U.S. imperialists and Latin American gorillas against Chile, Peru and other countries.

Bolivia is situated in the heart of South America. A conflict with Chile cannot be ruled out. Bolivia's bourgeois nationalists and the BSF have always exploited the problem of access to the sea, treating it from a chauvinist standpoint. The fact that a BSF leader was appointed Foreign Minister in the new cabinet hardly calls for comment. Provocations may take the most diverse forms. As well as demanding access to the sea for Bolivia, attempts are being made to amend one of the main provisions of the Andean Pact on control over foreign capital. The present regime has thrown Bolivia's doors wide open to foreign investment by offering maximum guarantees. It will undoubtedly attack the very foundations of the Andean Pact itself.

The foregoing suggests that U.S. imperialism is not a mere on-looker in the revolutionary movement in Latin America but is trying hard to crush it. How far it may succeed is a different matter. The upward trend of the anti-imperialist struggle cannot be stopped. Reverses of the working-class and popular movement, as in the case of Bolivia, are a passing phenomenon.

Popular resistance in our country is by no means broken. The imperialists, the oligarchy and gorillas show the greatest brutality in trying to have their revenge. The premises of the Communist Party and other Left-wing parties were raided, numerous political and trade-union leaders were jailed and universities closed. Counter-revolutionary terror reigns supreme in the country. But the working people are not giving into the hangmen. They are re-forming their ranks as they fight. They are searching for a way to unity against the regime's anti-national and anti-popular policies. To achieve this goal the patriotic forces must learn the lessons of the period of revolutionary democratic development broken off by the reactionary coup, unite on the basis of a common program, evolve and use flexible tactics in organizing and mobilizing the masses with due regard to the changing situation. The militancy of the workers, peasants, students, progressive intellectuals and other working people has by no means subsided. Bolivia's revolutionaries and patriots are resolved to win their arduous battle.



Communists on the collective farm

Letters from the Soviet Union

In the last issue we promised to share with the reader our impressions of a collective farm, its Party branch, its people, their life, thoughts, plans.

The farm we visited is in the Crimea, a region of the Soviet Ukraine. We began by interviewing the first secretary of the Regional Party Committee, Nikolai Kirichenko (about 50, alternate member of the CPSU Central Committee, school teacher by training, spent the war years at the front, fought at Stalingrad, worked in the YCL and local Soviets). This is a digest of the information he gave us: Crimea is a renowned health resort, playing host to more than one million vacationers every year. But it is also a farming area. Last year its per hectare grain crop worked out at 34 centners, per cow milk-yield at 2,990 litres, the per hectare rice yield is the country's highest. Gross agricultural output increased 57 per cent over the past five years.

One thing that struck us here as in Moscow, in talks with Party officials and at the ZIL plant, was that every executive we interviewed always began by citing the relevant facts and figures, thus enabling us to form an objective picture. Indeed at times we thought there were too many figures, but we always appreciated the desire to give us easily digestible information, and, of course, figures speak for themselves. And having digested the statistics, we usually turned to analysis, to discussion of the processes of socio-economic development, to an exchange of views and thoughts on themes political and 'lyrical.'

And so, we were told what and how much the Crimea produces, the size of its population, the incomes of its people, the outlook for the future. Our dream, Comrade Kirichenko said, is to irrigate the entire peninsula, and this will be accomplished when the North Crimean Canal is fully completed.

He conveyed an invitation to visit the Friendship of the Peoples collective farm (its Party secretary, Alexander Kalinichenko, had met us at the airport). This is a front-rank collective, in a way even an exceptional one. But, then, collective farm life can be best

studied at a front-rank enterprise where development trends stand out more clearly. About fifteen collective farms (out of a total of 118, all of them profitable) can vie with Friendship in efficiency. And that is not due to any special or preferential measures, but to the fact that they are making optimal use of the potentialities inherent in the socialist system and collective farming.

It was with this information that we came to the farm, but also with a multitude of questions, for bourgeois propaganda has been doing its inadequate best to prove that agriculture is the Achilles' heel of socialism. We knew, of course, about agricultural development in the USSR, its achievements and problems, but we wanted to find out what was new now, after the 24th CPSU Congress, the tasks facing Communists on the collective farms. And, more particularly, we wanted to learn more about the Soviet farmer of today, his way of life, his thoughts and sentiments. These are not exclusively the domain of the novelist—human detail is often the most cogent proof of political truth. It was around these problems that we conducted our talks with the farmers.

Efficient operation

Like every Soviet collective farm, this one can be described as a society in which economic, social and human relations are intertwined. In many respects this is a self-governing socialist collective and does not lend itself to a one-dimensional description. We begin our description with its production and related social aspects.

Though we talked to many different people, the man who gave us the clearest idea of how the farm operates was its chairman, Ilya Yegudin, remarkably energetic and alert for his close on 60 years. His thoughts on the farm, its people, its past, present and future were a blend of expert knowledge, managerial acumen, the ingrained wisdom of the peasant and the conviction of a Communist dedicated to remaking the world a better place for its inhabitants. This is Yegudin's 23rd year as chairman. He is a Hero of Socialist Labor, the Soviet Union's highest civilian award, is a member of the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet, has been the subject of articles in the Soviet press and was awarded the Order of Lenin way back in the 30s, when collective farming was going through its difficult formative years.

We travelled over the farm's asphalt roads, looked into new cottages and city-type housing, drove past miles of wind-protection tree belts, trim vineyards and orchards, past the huge watering machines at work in the wheat fields—somehow they resembled jet planes with wingspreads of 100 metres.

'When I came back after the war,' Yegudin remarked, 'there were only two cows and no machinery, and only old men, women and children to do the work. Many families had lost several of their members. Frankly speaking, at times even we Communists doubted whether we would ever get the thing running again.'

And looking back to the more distant past, to the days before the October Revolution, the picture would be one of sunscorched steppe (the farm is about 70 kilometres north of Simferopol). That picture was impressed upon us for only by comparing it to the present could one really appreciate what the country had accomplished under the Party's leadership.

The picture today is of an efficiently run production complex. The farm has 16,000 hectares under cultivation, grows grain, vegetables, grapes, fruit, supports large herds, has a number of auxiliary enterprises, including several processing plants, refrigerator units, an irrigation system, continues to put up new buildings, has 30,000,000 rubles in the bank. About half of its population of 8,000 are employed on the farm.

The collective farm is not a state enterprise, but as a socialist enterprise it is subject to the development laws and trends common to the entire Soviet economy. And the trend now, as emphasized by the 24th CPSU Congress, is continued growth of material production, greater effectiveness and higher productivity of social labor. These are the goals the Friendship Party branch is working to achieve.

Taking the concluding years of the seventh and eighth five-year plans, 1965 and 1970, we find that gross output per 100 hectares of cultivated land increased from 58,200 rubles to 102,000, or 43 per cent,* and profit from 30,500 to 86,327 rubles, with profitability showing a rise from 96.1 to 171.7 per cent. The figures below spell out the result of efficient operation. An efficient operation is evident also in the following figures on per hectare yields.

<i>Cereals</i>	1965	1970
Area (hectares)	6,115	4,837
Yield (centners per hectare)	17.8	35.1
Gross output (centners)	108,589	169,570
<i>Fruit</i>		
Area (hectares)	164	656
Yield (centners per hectare)	73.1	169
Gross output (centners)	11,996	110,874
<i>Output per 100 hectares</i>	<i>1965</i>	<i>1970</i>
Milk (centners)	558	717
Meat (")	80	96
Eggs (per 100 hectares sown to cereals)	6,246	10,360

* Annual gross farm output in the USSR in 1966-70 was up 21 per cent over the previous five-year period.

The following figures on gross output in plant and animal farming provide a fair measure of productivity growth:

	1965	1970
Per worker (rubles)	2,455	4,452
Per man-day (rubles)	10	23-22

We were told that visitors from capitalist countries sometimes remark on the 'slow pace of work.' But the farmers believe that, with plenty of machinery and efficient organization, productivity will grow without speed-up, for people must remain people and not be turned into machines, as they are at the capitalist assembly belt.

A good deal of the work here is mechanized. Cereals, we were told, were '99 per cent mechanized.' Machines also do much of the work on fodder crops, the vineyards, orchards and vegetable plots. On the cattle ranches all cleaning has been mechanized, also watering, fodder transport and milking. Cattle farming is being put on an industrial basis. However, on some operations, grape and fruit harvesting, for instance, no mechanical devices have been invented anywhere. Everything that lends itself to non-manual operation is being mechanized.

The farm has 300 tractors (compared with 70 eleven years ago), 150 trucks, 40 grain harvester-combines, watering machinery and a wide range of other mechanized equipment. The amount of mechanical power per worker is now 11.3 hp (before the revolution, someone remarked, a peasant farm would be lucky if it had one hp!) Last year the farm consumed 11 million kwh of electricity, nearly as much as all Russian villages consumed in 1924.

Irrigated land is one of the farm's main assets – from 1,871 hectares in 1965 it increased to 4,492 in 1970.

Building is on a massive scale. One of the current projects is a broiler plant to produce three million broilers a year. All the equipment was bought in the GDR.

Organization and management are in many respects up to modern industrial standards but with due account to rural conditions. All basic production units are run according to plan, with material incentives to stimulate output. There is a 48-hour six-day work week with a 2-hour lunch interval. The most intensive period is at sowing and harvesting time, that is, from May to October, so that most of the annual holidays come in December, January and February.

Much of the credit for the farm's progress must go to Party members who attach special importance to proper organization of work, progressive techniques, promotion of conscientious discipline and socialist emulation (based on a differentiated system of moral and material stimuli). All these questions are discussed at Party branch and committee meetings, and by the collective as a whole. Some of us perhaps were still under the impression, carried over

from previous years or gained from Soviet literature, that work on a collective farm is loosely organized. Any such impression is hopelessly out of date.

The development of the collective farm, the increasing accent on technology, are expressed in these figures of employment in the various branches: administration and services – 363, production – 3,308, and this figure is subdivided as follows: 350 machine operators, 150 truck drivers, 121 building workers, 370 cattle tenders, 257 technicians, electricians, welders, lathe operators, mechanics, machine setters. There are 77 agronomists, 32 of them with higher education. Ten years ago only 12 per cent of the personnel were working with machines, now the proportion is 25 per cent – tractor drivers, mechanics, etc. But the farm needs more specialists and is sending some of its younger people to study technology – 200 are now attending college or technical school. Machine operators are trained in vocational schools and are paid a monthly grant by the farm of 30-40 rubles (depending on their school record); family men get 90 rubles a month. Last year 30 persons were trained in this way.

While releasing workers on some sectors, mechanization has not meant less total employment (in general there is no exodus from this farm, on the contrary the plan is to employ 1,000 more workers in the coming five years, though employment in Soviet agriculture as a whole is declining). Expansion of labor-consuming operations and an ambitious building program require more labor power.

What does a collective farmer earn? What is his standard of living like?

Like every other collective farm, this one pays its members a guaranteed monthly wage. In 1970 monthly earnings, 180 rubles, were above the national average, for this is a front-rank farm. Earnings per man-day increased from 4.25 rubles in 1965 to 6.23 in 1970.* Every collective farmer is entitled to a household plot and to a specified number of cattle, poultry, etc. In the Friendship farm household plots play a minor role and most farmers do not keep cows.

We're getting along fine and our people are well off, we were told. They have full faith in collective farming and know that working on the farm gives them more than pottering about on a household plot. But there is no campaign to abolish household plots – anyone who wants to grow flowers or grapes or early vegetables, or raise chickens can do so.**

Payment is in accordance with work done, part in kind and part in cash, and members can get products at cost price. It's much cheaper that way, and there is no sense in keeping a cow.

We looked into many homes, good, sturdy houses. Everywhere we found a feeling of prosperity, of satisfaction with the way things

*Collective farmer incomes increased 42 per cent in 1966-70, and man-day earnings in 1969 amounted to 3.62 rubles. Both figures are USSR averages.

**Household plots contribute about 30 per cent of the collective farmer's income – that is the USSR average.

were going. Last year the farm's shops sold three million rubles' worth of goods. The list includes 10 cars, 42 motorcycles, 400 refrigerators, 277 television sets and about 350 washing machines. But much of the shopping is done outside the farm, in the district and regional center, and if there were more goods sales figures would be higher still. The Friendship farmers have 37 cars, 548 motorcycles, practically every home has a TV, radio, fridge and washing machine and every other or every third family a library. Newspaper and magazine subscriptions and book sales are impressive. The farmers have substantial savings: for instance, about 800 have the ready cash to pay for a car, if one were available.

The farm is building a city-type housing estate. Part of the three-and-four storey blocks are already complete and the flats are no worse than those in the cities—spacious rooms, hot water, gas, central heating, telephone. The plan calls for 1,100 such flats and the overall construction program, which includes office buildings and cultural facilities, will run to 30 million rubles.

Already 420 families have moved into the new flats. We interviewed some of them, people of different professions, specialists who had come here from the towns to find that they were living in 'city conditions,' but also people born and brought up in the village. They bear no resemblance to the traditional peasant whose innermost desire was to have a plot of his own, a cow and a flock of chickens. Years, events, the very pattern of our times, have changed his mentality.

To give a full picture of farmer prosperity, we would have to add such contributing factors as free education and vocational training, pensions, medical care, kindergartens and nurseries, low-price accommodation at rest homes and health resorts. For instance, 600 children are in boarding school with practically all expenses defrayed by the collective farm. Its chairman, Party secretary and rank-and-file members told us that this was the best form of education, one with a tremendous future, and both children and parents have taken to it.

The numerous cultural and welfare facilities can be capsuled into the following figures. The Friendship farm has: 9 schools with 1,800 pupils; 8 clubs with halls seating 4,000; 7 libraries; 9 shops; 6 canteens; 2 hospitals; 8 ambulance rooms; 9 kindergartens and nurseries for 645 children; 33 kilometres of water-mains; 60 kilometres of asphalt roads and sidewalks.

We might add that the state pays the doctors, school-teachers and cultural workers and maintains the schools, hospitals and libraries.

The Party branch initiates diverse political, cultural and educational measures and helps to disseminate scientific and technical knowledge. Again we cite the figures: in the past five years each inhabitant of the collective farm visited the club nearly twenty times; the twenty-eight amateur art circles have a membership of 600, or about one-tenth of the adult population. There are frequent excursions to other parts of the Crimea, to the Hero City Sevastopol,

theatres in Simferopol and other centers, with all expenses defrayed by the farm. Last year, 3,000 took part in such excursions. Cultural life on the Friendship farm is proof that the 'idiocy of rural life,' of which the classics of Marxism spoke, has vanished without a trace.

Closer acquaintance with the farm revealed many progressive economic and social trends. But this one, we believe, is of especial importance: the CPSU has set itself the task of bridging the gap between town and village and obliterating major differences between the two. At the Friendship farm we saw that the process was developing at a much faster rate than most of us supposed. Farm people are rapidly assimilating the industrial culture of the city, adapting it to rural requirements and conditions. This, we think, is a major social achievement of the Soviet Communist Party and state.

Collective farm democracy, the state, the communists

We were interested to know what part the collective farmer has in appointing managerial staff, compiling production plans and allocating revenue.

We were given a general picture of how collective-farm democracy works. The supreme governing body is the general meeting, but in this collective of several thousand members such meetings are impractical and their function has been passed on to a meeting of elected delegates, of whom there are 600 and they meet every three months. The chairman and the board, elected for a period of three years, are accountable to the delegate meeting; the farm's eight departments are governed by elected councils. The Party organization is responsible for political work; its influence is felt in every aspect of the life of the community. The farm is represented on the local, district, regional and republican Soviets and also on the district and regional Collective Farm Councils. The chairman is a member of the USSR Collective Farm Council (created by decision of the 1969 Congress of Collective Farmers to facilitate continued development of collective-farm democracy, collective discussion of major questions and formulation of recommendations to heighten operational efficiency).

The bourgeois propaganda figment that there is no democracy in the Soviet Union rests mainly on the absence of an opposition so that, allegedly, there is no one to warn of 'tensions' building up in society. But bourgeois propaganda wilfully bypasses the fact that major problems are resolved as they arise in a businesslike manner, in accordance with the norms governing relations between economic, public, state and Party organizations. We asked about democratic norms and the answers sometimes revealed surprise: for can democracy be defined only in formal terms. Can it be considered in separation from the social system as a whole? The kind of work a man does, the remuneration he gets, his confidence in the future, his status in society and the role he can play in it, the

kind of people he works with – all this is of no little importance. The workers, farmers, scientists and Party officials we talked to emphasized with the utmost conviction that the Soviet system, while giving reality to the formal democratic norms, creates a congenial atmosphere for 'informal' democratic solutions.

We discussed all this with members of the farm's management board, the Party committee and managerial staff. In the course of the conversation, Chairman Yegudin gave us this description of relations within the collective:

'The delegate meeting is a businesslike affair with no histrionics. We tell the people everything, for all of us belong to one and the same big family. Not everyone cares to attend our socials and dances, but everyone comes to our meetings. And at these we report on action taken on suggestions and criticisms made at the last meeting. When necessary, board members criticize farmers for laxity in their work, and we are trenchantly criticized for errors and blunders. I am not boasting when I say: On this farm there is no "feeling of vengeance" against people who speak up and criticize. Also this: our senior specialists and department heads, who have been with us for 10, 15, even 20 years, will not tolerate shortcomings and never hesitate to criticize them. Though this is my eleventh term as chairman, I don't sleep the night before elections. Of course, you try your best, always looking out for the farm's interests. But after all, I'm not a sun and cannot be equally warm to everyone. Some might not share my view on how I am doing my job. You must always exercise self-control, otherwise you might find yourself voted out of office. . . . No one dares deceive the farmers – once you have made a promise you must keep it. No one has the right to lower wages during the year, or to alter production quotas, or to get more than he is entitled to. Manager families have to work along with the rest, nor are their children entitled to any privileges. That is not a minor consideration: no one can reproach us, "You're living better than the rest!" The people believe in us and we have the moral right to talk to them frankly and when necessary appeal for a little extra effort . . .'

The chairman of the Petrovsk Rural Soviet on whose territory the Friendship is located, Boris Burin (before election he was a tractor driver), and other comrades told us about the work of the Soviet and its 94 deputies. It sees to stringent observance of all Soviet laws, the collective farm Statutes, sees that the rights of every citizen are fully respected. Actually, there are no violations of the law to speak of, and the Soviet's major job is to help increase production and improve cultural and welfare services. We were given these figures: last year, the Soviet held 24 meetings at which it discussed 105 questions concerning production, budgetary matters, planning, trade, etc. The Party committee, the collective farm board and the Soviet usually coordinate their action on matters of importance.

And now this detail, characteristic of the general atmosphere:

the name 'Friendship of the Peoples' is not entirely fortuitous, for working on the farm are members of seventeen nationalities – Russians, Ukrainians, Byelorussians, Estonians, Moldavians, Maris, Jews, Bashkirs, Tartars, Bulgarians, Armenians, Mordovians, Germans and several more. We talked to many of the newcomers, some had come because of the Crimean climate, specially recommended for people with lung trouble. They told us they felt at home here and there was no trace of discrimination.

It is probably not very tactful to say this, and we do so only because of Zionist propaganda: the head of this big and interesting enterprise, Ilya Abramovich Yegudin, is of Jewish nationality. Our mention of tact is not superfluous, for it is quite out of keeping with the spirit of this international collective to single out anyone because of his nationality – everyone is judged by his work, by the contribution he makes. In general, Soviet people do not usually speak of these things. In the USSR Jews enjoy the same rights and privileges as members of other nationalities. Their services and talents are judged and rewarded in the same way. Jews hold such positions as deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, Ministers, generals, academicians, People's Artists of the USSR – in short, are very prominent in political and public life, science, technology, culture and the arts. But those who really want to know the truth, know these facts.

The farm's relations with the state was another subject we inquired into. The view current in many capitalist countries is that under socialism the state and the individual, the state and the collective, are antagonists, with the state trying to get the most out of its citizens, and the latter trying to yield as little as possible.

We found nothing remotely resembling this on the Friendship farm. Yet the bourgeois press has been speculating on the fact that the state influences production planning, arguing that this is a sure sign of the absence of democracy, independence, and so on. But socialism means economic planning, and, consequently, no element of the system, including the collective farms, can remain outside the general plan. The plan is not some kind of tribute collected by the state, but a powerful instrument of rational management, benefiting society as a whole and each of its collectives and individual members.

But to return to our Crimean farm. The state procurement plan for major crops (cereals, say, meat, milk, fruit, grapes) is worked out in consultation with the farm for a period of five years. The farm itself decides what crops to raise; indeed, this is discussed with the entire collective. The procurement plan is not burdensome and, besides, everything sold over and above plan is at a higher price, and this swells the farm's profits. As a rule, above-plan output is realized not on the market (though that outlet can be used too) but sold to the state, and in some cases in larger quantities than plan deliveries. Here are some relevant figures:

	<i>Percentage of 1970 plan fulfilment</i>
Cereals	127
Grapes	130
Vegetables	153
Fruit	589

We asked: do district and regional organizations interfere in day-to-day management? and got this answer:

Now no one tells us what to plant, when to plough or harvest, or how to fulfil the plan. . . . The men now appointed to leading posts at district and regional level are competent, educated, erudite and have a correct understanding of their tasks.

We were strongly impressed by the way the interests of the state and collective farms are dovetailed. This example is typical: the farm is criss-crossed by irrigation canals, one of its main assets and a major factor in increasing production. The state is building the North Crimean Canal and has given the farm sections of it worth nearly one million rubles. Of course, the farm could afford to lay out one million for some new project, but it could not build the North Crimean Canal.

On the other hand, the farm is building a boarding school for 600 children, hospitals, libraries, all of which will be handed over to be run by the state. Why doesn't the state build them? The answer is that it cannot give preference to some collective farm, and will build all these facilities when it can afford to do so, but not before it looks after more urgent needs on other farms. The Friendship farm can afford to build good schools and hospitals, and that is exactly what it is doing.

But wouldn't this lay a heavier tax burden on the collective farmer? This was the answer:

'In a capitalist country the peasant might think that he is unlawfully being made to pay more. But that is not how our farmer sees it. He is well off, and he cannot regard everything done for the common good as a tribute paid to the state. For he knows that a new hospital will mean beter medical care; a new school or kindergarten, better facilities for his children; a new club—that, too, serves him and his family; asphalt roads—well, he won't have to trudge through the mud. And all of it is ours. The state is ours, a worker-peasant state. All of us know this for sure: the better it is for the state, the better it is for us. You can appreciate this if you look back to what the village was like fifteen years ago. It's changed beyond recognition, and so have the people. You can't distinguish our farmer from a city man, even the way he dresses. Was there ever a time when a countrywoman had five pairs of shoes or a dozen frocks, changing them morning, afternoon and evening? . . .'

In short, neither in practical things nor in psychology did we find any evidence of 'alienation,' let alone hostility, vis-a-vis the state.

We found the very opposite: the interests of state and collective farm are identical, and this identity is based not on cool calculation (who gives whom more and who takes more from whom) but on a common desire to boost production and make life better still.

Nevertheless we persisted: doesn't the state influence the farm, doesn't it set rigid indicators for production? And can the farm react on the state?

This is the answer given by Chairman Yegudin:

'It would be wrong to think that we can't influence decisions affecting the farm. As a member of the USSR Collective Farm Council, I can tell you this. First, the new Collective Farm Rules, which lay down the principles of collective-farm operation, were drawn up with our participation and adopted by a congress of collective farmers. Second, the government always consults us before taking any decisions affecting the farms. For instance, a while ago our Council objected to a plan to turn some collective farms into state farms, and our opinion proved decisive. . . . What I want to emphasize is that serious questions are not decided off the bat – an idea that occurs in the evening is not put into a government decree next morning. And then there are things we do not usually advertise. For instance, several Politbureau members visited the farm in recent years, and we discussed with them some of the outstanding problems of continued agricultural development. . . .'

On the basis of our talks with collective farmers and managers we tried to summarize what the farm needs. This is the list (not necessarily in the order of priority):

- more and better machinery;
- about five times more fertilizer;
- more scientific research to improve selection and provide herbicides free of health hazards;
- bigger water and electricity supply;
- more processing facilities to obviate reliance on processing plants in other parts of the country;
- raising school education to match urban levels;
- buses to carry children to and from school;
- better cultural centers with good theatre facilities;
- more consumer goods, especially consumer durables.

A careful reading of the 24th CPSU Congress decisions and its Directives for the ninth five-year plan will show that these problems are given priority treatment, and the ways are indicated for their stage by stage solution.* This is added proof that the Congress decisions are attuned to reality and accord with the development of Soviet society.

The Party organization is the heart and soul of the collective. Its secretary, Alexander Kalinichenko, described the composition

*After the Congress, the CC CPSU and USSR Council of Ministers adopted decisions envisaging measures to improve working conditions for machine operators, boost production of meat, eggs, milk and poultry through wider use of industrial methods, expand land-improving operations, improve harvesting techniques, design and construction of farm buildings and other installations, and provide more equipment for rural construction agencies. Collective farmer pensions have been increased as from July 1, 1971, and are now granted on the same basis as for urban workers.

and work of its nearby 200 members (70 machine operators, 26 on cattle farms, 22 in plant farming, and the rest in the administration and the cultural services). Nearly half joined the Party during the war. Communists know their job and their part in the overall production scheme. As for Comrade Kalinichenko, like the Friendship chairman he is conversant with all the details of the farm's operation.

The Party branch exercises control of economic activity. In practice this means that its members are in touch with all aspects of production and all social processes. They must be able to detect and eliminate shortcomings in time. More important, however, is their role in organizing all the farmers to attain the goals set by the collective, and here the Communists are always well to the fore. When necessary they are assigned to the most difficult jobs. Thus, control by the Party branch means, above all, intensive work, initiative and organizing in which all Party members share.

In short, Party and political guidance in production matters is highly competent, nor could it be otherwise in a socialist society. Yet we know that Soviet Communists are often accused of 'empiricism' (a charge frequently levelled by Right-wing revisionists) or of being obsessed with economic matters to the detriment of 'politics' (and in revisionist usage 'politics' usually refers to some kind of opposition to the state or dissidence on one or another matter). That these charges have absolutely no foundation in reality was clearly evident. Party members, including those at the Friendship farm, have to deal with politics, for they often intrude into the life of the farm irrespective of anyone's will.

Let us cite a few examples. We were anxious to find out how Party members uphold general Party and state interests while, at the same time, looking after the interests of the farm and its rapid development, which to one or another degree concerns only this one collective. There is, as mentioned above, full identity of interests. But are there not cases when decisions have to be made that do not militate against the farm and the state?

'Yes, you are right,' we were told. 'It is not a simple question. As Communists we would not be doing our job if we did not look out for the interests of the farmers. Sometimes there is a chance to make some extra profit. We are building a broiler factory just now, and here in the Crimea we can easily earn one ruble on every broiler. Are we going to do that? I don't think so. We shall be selling our broilers at a profit of 50 kopeks. We shall expand production, raise productivity, and in this way increase profits and give the consumer more for his money. But we are not going to boost farm profits by jacking up the price of an essential food. But we shall try to make more, partially by taking advantage of favorable marketing conditions, on our grapes and wine, neither of which can be classed as an essential food. As Communists, we are against profiteering of any kind. It would be wrong to think that the collective farmer is indifferent to where the money comes from as

long as there is more of it. The collective farmer is a member of socialist society. . . .'

Or this example. As mentioned above, average earnings are fairly high and are increasing from year to year. They could be higher still. Why aren't they?

'We are not living in a vacuum,' we were told. 'As Communists, we must not forget that people on other farms are earning less though working just as hard. On our farm, favorable conditions have put us ahead of the others. Nobody, of course, wants an evening-out of earnings, but, then, neither do we want a wide earnings gap. That is why we are investing heavily in housing, schools, roads, in things that benefit the farmer and society as a whole. That is the course the collective farmers decided to follow. . . .'

We have cited only a few examples. We do not know to what extent they will enable the reader to understand the essence of Communist activity on the collective farms. But we are convinced that these Communists, working with the utmost dedication, are solving in a true Party spirit the complex problems of socialist agriculture. They are men and women of supreme fidelity to Communist ideals.

And we wish to repeat: our account is of a collective farm which, in terms of production, organization and income, and in its general development, is ahead of many other farms. It does not have to solve problems and surmount difficulties that still exist in other parts of the country. But in this Crimean farm we could more graphically see the general trends characteristic of agriculture in the Soviet Union, its process of growth and consolidation on a higher level.

We left the farm with a feeling of regret (for we had, to some degree, become part of it) and of joy at having made the acquaintance of this remarkable collective which so truthfully embodies the aim of our struggle, socialism.

*Ib Norlund, Erwin Zucker-Schilling,
Ilja Sedivy*

Crimea-Prague.

The Party and the equality of women

Arpad Pullai

1. The mounting struggle for women's liberation and equality is a distinguishing feature of our times, and also an important factor in social progress, for women make up half of the human race.

The struggle is being waged, in differing forms, in almost all countries, but not everywhere with equal intensity, consistency and organization.

Scientific socialism understands women's equality as a historical category, an issue that will disappear when the appropriate social conditions for that are ripe, when, in other words the economic, political and subjective causes of discrimination are eliminated.

The conscious struggle for liberation and equality is inseparable from the workers' fight for social progress. In *The Holy Family*, Marx cites these words of Fourier: 'The change in a historical epoch can always be determined by the progress of women towards freedom, because in the relation of woman to man, of the weak to the strong, the victory of human nature over brutality is most evident. The degree of emancipation of woman is the natural measure of general emancipation.'

Capitalist exploitation was and remains the basic cause of woman's oppressed state. The relations of the sexes in a capitalist society can be traced to their private property basis. And this influences the views and behavior of many representatives of the working class. 'The modern individual family,' Engels remarks in his *Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State*, 'is based on the open or disguised domestic enslavement of the woman; and modern society is a mass composed solely of individual families as its molecules. Today, in the great majority of cases the man has to be the earner, the breadwinner of the family at least among the propertied classes, and this gives him a dominating position which requires no special legal privileges. In the family, he is the bourgeois; the wife represents the proletariat.'

Marx and Engels rendered a great service by disclosing the revolutionary role of the working class, which in emancipating itself emancipates all the oppressed, abolishes exploitation and all manner of social prejudices and discrimination and, at the same time, the oppression of women. Marx and Engels repeatedly emphasized that woman can become an equal member of society only if she joins the working-class revolutionary struggle.

In this respect, too, the October Revolution was true to the tenets of Marxism. One of its first acts was to proclaim equality of women. But Lenin emphasized that its realization was a long process; it could not be achieved quickly, nor could a simple enactment of laws erase age-old prejudices and customs. Lenin's principles are the basis for resolving the contradictions and new problems that now arise.

The social change now sweeping the world, the scientific-technological revolution, have brought women into the process of production. In fact, a third of all the values produced by mankind are the work of women. Social changes over the past quarter of a century have raised the movement for equality to a new level. In many countries political rights for women have become a reality, the results of the worldwide class struggle, the sharp conflicts in

capitalist countries and the growth of the labor movement. With the collapse of the colonial system, the emancipation idea is hewing a way for itself in new areas.

In June 1969 the World Congress of Women in Helsinki could record completion of the first stage of the equality struggle: women's rights are now legally consolidated. But ahead is a more difficult and complex period, one in which it is necessary to create the conditions enabling woman to exercise her hard-won rights.

There is the proof of history that bourgeois society cannot fully resolve the problem of equal rights. Only socialism, by abolishing exploitation and asserting human dignity, can fully accomplish this momentous task.

II. The Hungarian Communist movement has from its very inception regarded the complete emancipation of women one of its main tasks and has worked devotedly towards its accomplishment. The process of emancipation should be seen in its interconnection with the development of our society. For in Hungary our understanding of equality of the sexes, and its realization, progressed as the Party and working class won new positions in the political, economic and cultural fields.

In pre-liberation Hungary, more than half of the women were condemned to work on the farms. One woman in five was a house servant. Most intellectual professions were inaccessible to women and they played no role whatever in politics.

Emancipation meant, first of all, political equality. This was complemented by socialist industrialization which guaranteed women the right to work. And once involved in social production, women acquired a new social status and economic independence.

At present, 65 per cent of our women (and more than 80 per cent in the capital and the larger cities) have a part in the national labor effort. There has been no significant change in the population between 1949 and 1968, but employment in the economy increased by 920,000, of whom 770,000 are women. They have every opportunity to share in public life and activity, hold important positions in the economy, can enter any of the intellectual professions. In 1930, there were only 9.8 per cent of women among persons with higher education, in 1970 the figure was in excess of 30 per cent. Women now make up more than half of our doctors, nearly 80 per cent of school teachers, about 30 per cent of agricultural economists, 19.4 per cent of the student body in higher technical schools, 52.1 per cent in economics faculties and 45.9 per cent in law schools.

The government has carried out a far-reaching welfare program, particularly in mother-and-child care. We now have a network of maternity wards with all treatment free of charge; expectant mothers are allowed 20 weeks maternity leave with full wages, plus a monthly grant to care for the child up to the age of three, and these three years are included in the mother's pension seniority.

These examples, and many more could be cited, are typical of the fundamental changes over the past 25 years. Women's material independence has undermined 'male dominance' in the family. The basis of marriage is love rather than property or other material considerations.

But for all that, can we truly say that the equality problem has been solved fully and finally? Are we entitled to say that the residual problems of women's political, economic and social status will solve themselves automatically in the process of socialist transformations, without any special effort, and that emancipation will be really full? If that were so there would be no need to explain why women's equality is still an issue.

Socialist Hungary is developing dynamically, with constant and radical change in every sphere. Naturally, the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party (HSWP), as the leading force of society, is fully aware of all the new processes, always disclosing and resolving new contradictions as they arise, always setting new tasks for the future. In the past ten years the Party Central Committee has solved a number of cardinal problems, such as socialist restructuring of agriculture, improving the position of the working class, a new system of economic management, continued development of socialist democracy, a more effective policy towards the youth. Analysis of the political, economic and social position of women has always been organic to this work.

How tangibly real is their equality in our society? The question has many important aspects. For instance, is there any further need for special measures to improve women's position? In February 1970 the Party Central Committee plenum emphasized that equality under law had been fully secured, but in practice this is not always consistently observed. And not because of some defects in our laws or policy or their underlying principles. The cause should be sought in restrictions resulting from backward views on woman's role in society and shortcomings in her material position. Besides, we have to reckon with the inadequate level of general and political education of many women, and much remains to be done to raise their activity and interest in public affairs.

Some are inclined to the view that since we have enough nurseries and factory canteens, and since our industry produces enough household appliances, the whole question of woman's equality is solved. This is a too narrow, indeed oversimplified, interpretation of Lenin's insistence that 'the real *emancipation of women*, real communism will begin only where and when an all-out struggle begins (led by the proletariat wielding the state power) against this petty housekeeping, or rather when its *wholesale transformation* into a large-scale socialist economy begins' (*A Great Beginning*, Col. Works, Vol. 29, p. 429).

Of course, we do not underestimate the value of welfare amenities and household appliances. But the experience of socialist

construction suggests that these are but the material preconditions of fully equality. All kinds of household appliances are produced in capitalist countries, but has that abolished woman's oppressed position?

Lenin's idea was to transform household work into a socialist industry so that women would in every respect enjoy equal rights and opportunities. In his article 'To the Working Women,' he wrote: 'Equality before the law is not necessarily equality in fact.

'We want the working woman to be the equal of the working man not only before the law but in actual fact. For this working women must take an increasing part in the administration of the state.

'By taking part in administration, women will learn quickly and will catch up with the men.

'Elect more working women to the Soviet, both Communist women and non-Party women . . .

'The proletariat cannot achieve complete liberty until it has won complete liberty for women' (Vol. 30, pp. 371-72).

The HSWP is the ruling party and its policy is embodied in legislation and government activity. It is only natural, therefore, that Communists should hold leading posts in the political and economic structure and in public organizations. But this poses a rather important question: why do not these Communists and non-party officials who subscribe to our principles consistently and resolutely implement Party policy with regard to the social problems of women? To say that they disagree with that policy would, of course, be wrong and would, moreover, contradict the impressive results of the past 25 years. With negligible exceptions, there is no perceptible opposition to our policy on this question.

One of the reasons why implementation of women's rights is at times restricted should be sought in still surviving prejudices. The remnants of bourgeois ideology, conservative views, a distorted conception of women's role still make themselves felt. And this backward mentality is kept alive by a peculiar interaction of old prejudices and intimate feelings, by the still current view that the family is an entity unto itself and not subject to accepted social standards. Furthermore, these retrograde views will be found in both sexes, but apparently have a stronger impact on men. Often enough, behind a correct attitude towards woman you will find contempt, the ingrained philistine conviction that woman's sole mission is to look after the children and the home, and that view is shared by many women. No wonder there have been demands for higher pay for men so that they could 'take better care of the wife and the family.' And, as mentioned above, even Party members do not always correctly interpret our concept of equality.

Conservative views manifest themselves in various areas of Hungarian life. First, the principle of equal pay for equal work is not always and not everywhere practised. The woman worker is sometimes subjected to offensive discrimination, and motherhood, which

we have tried so hard to make the object of special respect and solicitude, sometimes places woman at a disadvantage in such matters as job promotion, higher earnings, material or moral incentives.

Second – and here perhaps we have the sharpest expression of old prejudices – the number of women in executive positions is out of all proportion to their abilities and acumen. And there is the glaring contradiction that every year more and more women, first-rate specialists, educated and cultured, have an active part in political and public affairs, but responsible positions in political organizations, in the administrative, economic and cultural fields, still seem to be beyond their reach.

Before the 10th Party Congress there were only six women first secretaries of regional, city and district Party committees, and only 12-15 per cent among branch secretaries and branch committee members. The picture was no better in the administrative, economic and cultural fields. Take these figures: 80 per cent of our school-teachers are women, but only 13 per cent were school superintendents. In the textile industry women account for 68.3 per cent of the workforce, but of the 7,500 executive positions, from foreman to factory manager, only 1,220 were held by women and in subsidiary factories only 144 of the 2,817 executive positions were held by women, most of them being shop superintendents or managerial assistants. Women made up 19.8 per cent of the State Assembly and 15.2 per cent of the local Councils.

The Party Central Committee sharply criticized this state of affairs, noting that women were not adequately represented in decision-making bodies, in terms of their numbers (women make up more than half of the population), or their role in society, or their general and political qualifications.

Our efforts are hampered by the fact that some women are reluctant to take up more responsible work – either because they fear they will not cope, or are frightened away by the amount of time the new job will take – there are still too many evening conferences, meetings, etc.

On the whole, women are in step with the times and have an active part in socialist construction. But some official bodies, and individual government and economic officials, are not doing enough to train and advance women to responsible positions. In the selection of personnel more is expected of women than of men, more proof of ability to cope with the job.

The mass influx of women in industry has had the most profound and far-reaching effect on their social and economic status. It has beneficially affected their political, occupational and cultural development and has lessened, in many cases completely eliminated, their material dependence. However, these very welcome changes have produced new contradictions. The mass influx of women could not be met by adequate development of social amenities and services. For a time women found their positions even worsened, for now they had to bear a double burden of job and household chores. This

cut to a minimum their free time: besides 44-48 hours a week at work and travelling to work, there were 30 hours of looking after the home. This is one of the main reasons for the lag in the occupational, political and cultural development of our women. For it requires a great effort indeed for a woman to continue her education or acquire new skills.

There are now 1.9 million women at work, or 40 per cent of the total of wage and salary earners. Equal pay for equal work is guaranteed by the constitution, the Labor Code and a number of legislative acts. But infrequently a woman is paid less than a man doing exactly the same work. More, there have been cases of girls applying for their first job being given a lower rate than boys, and having to wait longer for a wage raise.

The following table of net earnings in the public sector shows how things stand:

<i>Earnings</i>	Men (per cent)	Women (per cent)
801-1,500 forints	14.2	52.4
2,001-2,500 forints	27.4	9.0
over 3,000 forints	12.1	1.4

These figures, obviously unfavorable for women, should not be taken to mean that the equal pay principle is everywhere violated. For it should be borne in mind that women are employed mostly in industries where wages are below the national average, also that most women workers are unskilled. The position is especially difficult for women without husbands—about 17 per cent of women workers have to maintain their families.

What is the solution? We have to reckon with objective conditions. We can only bridge the earnings gap (in different industries and within one and the same industry) at some future time, as economic growth furnishes the conditions for this. Raising women's skills cannot be accomplished in a short time either. Apart from everything else, there is the changing structure of the economy which presents problems of its own. However, we can and must see to it that, a quarter of a century after liberation, the equal pay principle is fully applied everywhere.

The Party Central Committee has made it perfectly clear that it will not tolerate impairment of women's rights. And the Party is working to undermine the influence of backward views and assert socialist policy on this problem too.

III. After the February 1970 plenum, improvement of woman's position became a matter of public concern and much is being done both by mass organizations and government agencies. The 10th Party Congress played a big part in this. The nationwide discussion of the Central Committee theses created a congenial political climate for searching examination of our problems and for devising

effective solutions. The pre-Congress discussion clearly demonstrated that the political, economic and social position of women could be further improved only as part of our general economic and social development and only by dint of sustained, persevering and purposive collective effort.

Above all it is for Party members to set an example of such perseverance in assuring equality. After the 10th Congress we can confidently say that in this matter, too, the Party has taken the initiative and has indicated the path to the whole of our society. In last year's Party elections, one-third more women were voted into responsible positions. They now make up 23.5 per cent on branch committees, 3.5 per cent more than before the congress; 19.1 as compared with 15.2 on higher Party committees, and 18.8 as against 14.7 per cent on committee bureaus. In fact, the percentage of women on leading Party bodies is exactly equal to their share of the Party membership. In addition, better conditions have been created for political education of women and we can anticipate that their share of the Party membership will gradually increase – they already account for 32.3 per cent of new Party members.

More women have been elected also to trade union committees, the State Assembly and local councils. In the trade unions, women occupy half of all elected positions. In the State Assembly they make up 23.8, and in the local councils 24.3 per cent.

The efforts initiated by the Central Committee have proved effective also in other areas of social and economic life. Evidence of that will be found in the measures introduced, partly by the center but basically as a result of local initiative, to wipe out all the vestiges of discrimination against women and improve their position in the family. A government decision emphasizes that improvement of women's economic and social position is by no means the monopoly of the central authorities, but the direst duty of all local authorities, factory managers, heads of offices and cooperatives. They are all responsible, the decision emphasizes, for stringent observance of the constitutional guarantees of equal pay for equal work. And the decision provides for definite measures to ensure that. For instance, under the new five-year plan wages will be increased in industries where women predominate – the light and food industries, trade, education, public health. There are also plans for more service facilities and child-care institutions, and increased output of household appliances. And more factory managements are coming to realize that the central authorities can only facilitate operation of these measures; the main responsibility rests with local organizations. Another gratifying development is more attention to women's conditions in the new collective agreements.

We take into account the objective potentialities of the economy, local resources and the fact that mentality is not changing as fast as we would like. We cannot solve all problems at one go, but by concerted effort we can, and will, lighten woman's double burden of doing her job and looking after the family. Party committees and mass

organizations will have to be more energetic, show more initiative, for besides economic and social measures there has to be fundamental change in work among women and in the corresponding organizational structure. What we want is that the equality problem shall not be regarded as confined to the women's movement, its solution only 'supported' by other organizations who bear little or no responsibility. It must be the task of the whole of society.

And to accomplish that task, we are creating organizational facilities on a national and local scale. The central leadership of the All-Hungarian Women's Council has been restructured and this has indirectly affected its local organizations. The Party believes that ideological and political work among women is an integral element of Party work and that Party branches must see to it that the appropriate decisions are carried out, and coordinate all activity to improve the position of women. Within the Party, work among women is conducted through elected organizers, of whom there are now 32,000. It is their job to uphold women's interests in various Party bodies, from city and regional committees down to the local branch.

The economic reform has given factory managements much more independence. Now all major questions are usually discussed and solved at factory or local level. And it is at this level that most questions concerning women arise. That is why we have set up women's committees in all parts of the country, in all trade unions, the Fatherland People's Front branches, in factories, cooperatives, etc. The committees can thus directly influence the agencies responsible for improving the position of women and possessing the necessary material facilities.

The Party Central Committee is anxious to utilize every effective means to improve work among women and for women, using all its political weight, authority and prestige. The Party wants respect and solicitude for women to be tangibly felt in every aspect of public life.

For a militant working-class party

Arnoldo Ferreto

The People's Vanguard Party of Costa Rica held its 11th Congress in San José from May 14 to 16, 1971. The event coincided with the 40th anniversary of the Party.

The Congress was attended by 187 delegates from 120 organizations – an indication of unprecedented growth. Indeed, membership has increased fourfold over the past two years alone.

Congress deliberations greatly benefited by the presence of brother party delegations from Chile, Venezuela, Mexico and Central American countries. A CPSU delegation attended for the first time. Numerous other Communist and Workers' parties sent messages of greetings.

The Congress heard the Central Committee report on CC activity and the political situation at home and discussed drafts of the new Rules and Program.

Political line

In unanimously approving of the work done by the Central Committee, delegates stressed the need to continue building up the Party and to recruit new members in industrial centers. Roughly half of the membership today are agricultural or industrial workers, and 20 per cent are women.

Both the Central Committee report and delegates' speeches pointed to the imperative necessity for improving the political and theoretical schooling of the membership to combat bourgeois influences that seep into the Party with the influx of new members.

The Congress put on record the mounting class struggle in town and country and the progress made towards trade-union unity.

Delegates voiced their approval of the political line of the 10th Congress (1966) designed to uphold and extend the working people's democratic freedoms and social rights and providing for a non-violent path of the revolution. That path implies class battles and anti-imperialist actions that will almost invariably be severe and hard-fought, since the prevailing social system is based on violence.

The Congress described the 30,000 votes won by the Party in the 1970 election, as a big victory. Two Communists, including the General Secretary, were elected members of parliament and another nine, municipal councillors. It noted that there is a widespread social movement for the repeal of Paragraph 2, Article 98, of the Constitution under which diverse political parties have been banned for the last twenty years. This campaign is now being carried forward in parliament.

Speakers at the Congress pointed out the big gains of the world revolutionary movement. They stressed that the socialist community is the mainstay of the peoples in their fight against imperialism, for peace, democracy and socialism. Solidarity with this fight on the part of the socialist countries, above all the Soviet Union, opens up new prospects for the progress of the revolutionary movement and limits imperialism's opportunities of exporting counter-revolution, as the failure of imperialist aggression against the peoples of Cuba, Indochina and the Arab East indicates. The victory of the popular forces in Chile and the progressive reforms being carried out in Peru are landmarks in the revolutionary struggle on the continent. The Congress exposed the hypocrisy of 'Left'

and Right opportunists who base their policy on anti-Sovietism, one of the most dangerous forms of anti-communism.

New elements in the rules and program

The new Party Rules are the fruit of collective effort by all Party organizations. The Rules adopted by the 10th Congress had to be revised for two reasons. First, the legalization of the Party – a reflection of democratic progress in the republic – removed the need for certain restrictions that had been indispensable in the period of illegality. Secondly, all delegates to the 11th Congress declared for building up the Party numerically and for making it an organization closely linked with the masses. In other words, it was necessary, while abiding by Leninist organizational principles, the backbone of any Marxist-Leninist party of the working class, to exclude from the Rules approved by the 10th Congress provisions slowing down and complicating the admission of new members.

The Rules provide, in particular, for a larger Central Committee, which now has 30 full and 15 alternate members. The cc Political Commission has been increased to 11 members. A new aspect of the Rules is that they make the Party's personnel policy a responsibility of the Control Commission.

Another highlight of the 11th Congress was the adoption of the new Party Program, which had long been in preparation. The previous Program was approved by the Eighth Congress (1952).

The new Program takes into account the changes that have occurred on the international scene and in our country over the past 19 years. In elaborating it, we proceeded from the fact that ours is an underdeveloped country dependent on U.S. imperialism and dominated by capitalist relations of production. Costa Rica's economic development is unsound. Most of the industrial enterprises are mere appendages of big U.S. monopolies. They bleed our economy white; 'repatriation' of profits has a ruinous effect on economic development. Foreign capital tends to assume control of even some of the small enterprises producing consumer goods. Our mineral resources and our air, railway and sea transport are mainly in the hands of foreign monopoly capital.

Backward forms of production persist in our agriculture and there is a large army of land-hungry and landless peasants while a handful of big proprietors and a few foreign, chiefly U.S. companies own immense tracts of land. The national bourgeoisie has failed to solve the agrarian problem. The farms of poor and middle peasants are backward and their productivity low. The majority of peasants live in poverty and are exploited and hard pressed by the big landowners. The only way out for the rural masses is genuine agrarian reform, which must be fought for in close connection with the general struggle against imperialism.

Costa Rica has an anti-military, democratic tradition. Despite various restrictions typical of the capitalist system, our people have

won the right to participate in elections and our working class registered important political and economic gains under the leadership of its Party.

Our Party considers that Costa Rica has objective conditions for the revolution taking a peaceful course. While the recent period has seen a trend towards greater militarization of the police, the country has no military caste and no strong standing army, an attribute of many other Latin American countries. Anti-military traditions and a democratic mentality have struck deep roots in our people. The possibility of a peaceful revolution is also suggested by the present balance of world forces. The new Party Program says: '... Our Party will do all in its power to adhere to a peaceful course for the revolution and will renounce it only if the exploiter classes, especially those subservient to foreign capital, force it into doing so. The main goal of the revolution is not violence as such but the transfer of power to the people.' The revolution in Costa Rica can be non-violent. On the other hand, we maintain that whatever the methods used for winning power, active struggle and conscious participation in the revolution by the masses are indispensable.

In striving for power, we take advantage of the Party's participation in election campaigns and its presence in parliament and on municipal councils. We certainly do not regard these forms of struggle as the only ones to be used as the revolution follows its peaceful course. They are merely a means of establishing contact with the masses, of organizing them and heightening their social awareness. We hold that if widely backed by organized masses prepared to fight, the Communists' parliamentary activity will make it possible to wrest democratic reforms and socio-economic gains for the working people. The new Program states that, with the revolution developing on peaceful lines, 'parliament can become an important means of effecting far-reaching reforms even before the formation of a democratic people's government, provided the masses are organized, united and prepared to fight.'

Our Party neither makes an absolute of any one form of struggle nor rules it out. The Party Program generally sets tasks for only a definite period of history. In specifying the ways and means of attaining the goals set by the Program, the Party must always proceed from the objective conditions. It must never forget that reality is subject to change and that a method which today seems to be the most effective one and most in keeping with the actual situation may lose this quality afterwards, in a different set of circumstances. The Program therefore says that the situation may make us take up arms to fight for power or maintain power already gained.

We have a high opinion of the CPSU's contribution to socialism and world peace. We consider that the CPSU holds a vanguard position in the Communist and revolutionary movement and shows the greatest consistency in upholding and carrying forward the

ideas of Marxism-Leninism, which historical experience has proved correct. The CPSU was the first party to lead the people towards building socialism and communism and its experience is the principal asset in the theoretical treasury of the world Communist movement. Our Program stresses that 'the Soviet Union is the bulwark of the socialist camp and the world revolutionary movement' and that the Party of Costa Rica's Communists, being 'loyal to the principles of proletarian internationalism, rejects anti-Sovietism in any form.'

Character of our revolution

The character of the Costa Rican revolution at this stage has been widely discussed in our Party. Documents adopted by the Party earlier called for a bourgeois-democratic revolution to 'free the country from imperialist domination and carry out an agrarian reform.' The new Program no longer speaks of the 'bourgeois-democratic revolution' or the need to carry it through to the end. It now defines the character of our revolution as follows: 'The Costa Rican revolution at its first stage will be chiefly democratic, popular, anti-imperialist and agrarian. Revolutionary changes should be aimed, first of all, at eliminating exploitation and the domination of the economic and political life of Costa Rica by the U.S. monopolies.'

This wording deliberately uses the concepts of 'democratic' and 'popular' listed together. In this case we want to emphasize the non-bourgeois character of our revolution. Thus it is a question of the role of classes at this stage.

There is a growing trend in Costa Rica on the part of the big bourgeoisie to compromise with foreign capital. Those sections of the bourgeoisie closely linked with foreign capital are involved in plundering the nation of its riches and in imperialist interference in the country's political and cultural affairs. Being in collusion with imperialism, the big bourgeoisie cannot possibly take part in the revolution. This is why we do not include it among our potential allies.

The Communists of Costa Rica hold that accomplishing the historic tasks of the present stage will pave the country's way for socialism. The Party strives to ensure that the stages of the revolution make up one continuous process. The Program emphasizes, therefore, that the transition to the next, socialist stage, depends 'in the main on the role which the working class will play, on its ability to organize, and lead other forces involved in the revolutionary process.'

Thus we maintain that the working class must play the leading role as the guarantee of the revolution moving from one stage on to the other as early as possible.

A new type of government

The Program underlines that the main tasks at this stage of the revolution – freeing the country from imperialist domination and effecting a genuine agrarian reform – cannot be fulfilled by a bourgeois government, no matter how progressive. It is only a new type of regime, a people's government, that can do this. Socially this government must be based, first of all, on alliance of the workers and peasants, as well as on alliance of the working class and the urban petty and middle bourgeoisie, which includes patriotic students and progressive intellectuals.

The character of the new type of government must be properly understood if the various concepts of ultra-Leftist groups with adventurist leanings are to be combated and if reformist ideas are to be barred from our ranks.

The Party Program says that 'the legal foundation of the new government should be recognition of the people's will as the only source of power.' This government must adopt a series of measures aimed at extending the people's democratic rights and enabling them to use civil liberties as a means of carrying the revolutionary process deeper. It must grant freedom of speech, assembly and association and guarantee the citizens' right to elect or be elected to any government body.

It goes without saying that a government of this kind should be composed of representatives of all popular parties as well as of non-party forces interested in revolutionary change. What we mean by a people's government is, in other words, a government representing both many classes and many parties. It should be noted at this point that our Program speaks of the functioning of opposition parties under people's rule and of safeguards of their activity and their participation in elections.

Fighting against imperialism

In defining the character and objectives of the liberation struggle, Congress delegates said that Latin American bourgeois governments saw a solution to the problem of their countries' economic backwardness only in foreign capital investments and new foreign loans. The Alliance for Progress was one in a series of abortive attempts to follow this kind of policy. Nor was the problem solved through the economic integration of Central American countries. The industrial enterprises that came into being and are owned mostly by foreign capital, as well as those set up under the law on promoting industrial growth, have been exempted from customs duties. It is estimated that as a result the country lost \$100 million and \$115 million, respectively, in 1969 and 1970. In recent years Costa Rica has been in a permanent financial crisis whose full impact has to be sustained by the people.

To deliver the country from imperialist oppression, Costa Rica's

Communists envisage nationalization of the enterprises and lands held by foreign companies; the transfer of mineral resources and lands to the state and the extension of the country's sovereign authority over territorial waters to 200 miles; the abolition of all concessions granted to foreign monopolies and of international agreements injurious to national sovereignty; maintaining and extending diplomatic, trade and cultural relations with all the countries of the world, primarily the socialist countries, as well as with the peoples that have freed themselves from imperialist oppression and follow an independent foreign policy.

Speaking of the nationalization of enterprises and land belonging to foreign monopoly capital, we do not maintain that they must be compensated for. We believe the experience of Latin American revolutions has shown that it is impossible to decide beforehand on our attitude to a particular imperialist enterprise, let alone on the amount of compensation. There are no hard and fast patterns for settling this problem, nor are they necessary. Reality suggests a solution in each particular instance.

Agrarian reform

The agrarian problem is prominent among the problems facing the revolution at this stage. The bulk of the land is owned by big proprietors. According to official data, 62.5 per cent of the cultivated land area is held by 6.5 per cent of the total number of landowners. The overwhelming majority of those who own any land – 93.5 per cent – hold a mere 37.5 per cent of the country's cultivable area. Over 50,000 holdings do not exceed 80 sq. metres in area. The agrarian problem is unquestionably made more difficult by the fact that the United Fruit Company and other U.S. companies own roughly 500,000 hectares of the more fertile land.

It is no accident that our program closely links national liberation with a real solution of the agrarian problem. The Party pursues the following important objectives: enacting an agrarian reform law and establishing an institution whose activity will be based on the principle that agriculture as a whole must be the basis of economic development; abolishing big landed estates and setting maximum limits to landownership by individuals and companies according to the mode of farming; distributing land among the land-hungry and landless peasants free of charge; nationalizing the forests, which the state must rationally utilize; the setting up of a system of agricultural cooperatives by the peasants on a voluntary basis; establishing state farms, and transforming farms expropriated from imperialist companies into state farms or cooperatives.

We do not at this stage deal with the issue of compensation for the land to be expropriated from big holders. How it will be settled will largely depend on the circumstances in which the agrarian reform takes place. It is clear, however, that large-scale property in

land must be abolished. As for capitalist-type farms owned by Costa Ricans, the problem is merely one of restricting their area.

Our allies and the Party's role

The new Party Program concerns itself with the issue of the motive forces of the revolution and the role of the People's Vanguard Party of Costa Rica in it, two questions of strategic importance.

Our Party is doing much to rally around the working class, within a democratic front, all the social forces oppressed by imperialist domination. We consider that the main forces of this front are the proletariat, poor and middle peasants, students, intellectuals and other middle strata.

We all know that, given definite circumstances, the fight against imperialism is also joined by that part of the bourgeoisie whose interests conflict with imperialist interests. The Party Program speaks of the possibility of an alliance with this section of the national bourgeoisie. Our experience tells us that we can reach agreement with it precisely by taking advantage of the contradictions between it and imperialism. We realize, of course, that agreements and compromises of this kind are very unstable and transient and are therefore only tactical. Accordingly, while refusing to regard the bourgeoisie as our ally, let alone an ally throughout the present stage of our revolution, we call for cooperation with the petty and middle bourgeoisie.

In solving all these problems, the Party devotes special attention to the role of the working class. 'Every genuine revolutionary alliance,' the Program says, 'must have the working class for its core even though the working class does not constitute the majority of the population.' The proletariat owes its ability to lead the revolutionary process to its being the most consistent revolutionary class due to its place in the capitalist production process, to its organization and its genuinely scientific ideology, Marxism-Leninism. The experience of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries bears this out.

What, then, is the role of our Party in the revolution? 'The role of the working class and its party,' we read in the Program, 'is a key problem of the strategy of the revolutionary process. It is a topic of widespread argument today. Revisionists minimize or deny the need for a Leninist party for the progress of the revolution. Historical experience shows that the advance of the revolution to its socialist stage depends in the main on whether the working class and its party become the main leading force.'

Revolutionary struggle involves diverse classes. This means that spokesmen of non-proletarian sections may become members of a people's government at an early stage and hence exercise hegemony in the revolution. In these conditions, the working class must fight for the leading role in the revolutionary process, a role it does not gain automatically. In other words, the party of the working class must win the leading role through struggle. Without this, and also

if the working-class party is weak or departs from Marxism-Leninism, the proletariat cannot establish its hegemony in the revolutionary process or may lose it. 'The petty and middle urban bourgeoisie, as well as the peasantry,' the Party Program says, 'will accept the orientation and leadership of the working-class party as it demonstrates its ability to lead the revolution and shows its ideological staunchness, organizational strength and its courage in struggle.'

A strong proletarian party guarantees the progress of the revolutionary process. The Communists of Costa Rica consider that to solve the problems facing them and clear the ground for the victory of the revolution, they must concentrate on building up a party of this type.



Peace offensive

There has been a series of important international developments in the past few months, associated primarily with Soviet foreign policy initiatives. The USSR has concluded friendship and cooperation treaties with Egypt and India. There have been talks in Moscow with the heads of government of Canada and the FRG, the King of Afghanistan and the Prime Minister of India. Furthering bilateral relations and solving urgent international problems were the object of visits by CPSU and Soviet government leaders to a number of European, Asian and African countries.

Another useful round of the Soviet-American SALT talks has been concluded.

Last year's Soviet and Polish treaties with the FRG, which have paved the way to a decisive shift towards peace and cooperation in Europe, are beginning to have a tangible and favorable influence on international relations. Conclusion of the four-power agreement on West Berlin should be seen as an outstanding diplomatic act.

In assessing this vigorous foreign policy activity, commentators describe it as a 'peace offensive' by the USSR and the socialist community in general. One can well agree with that. The 'peace offensive' formula has the merit of conveying the sustained energy of the socialist countries' peace policy, the initiative and perseverance characteristic of their effort for a detente in Europe and mutually-advantageous cooperation of states with differing social systems.

But there is no bypassing the fact that bourgeois propaganda has its own explanation for that policy. At best, it reveals a lack of understanding, but more often is deliberate distortion and falsification.

Motivations and aims

For some time now, it has become the vogue in the bourgeois press to present Soviet foreign policy moves as a 'reply' to 'ping-pong diplomacy,' Peking's flirting with the U.S. and other Western powers. That version was assiduously cultivated by James Reston

in a series of articles describing the 'long voyage' from Washington to Tokyo, Peking and London. A section of the European press often claims that the Soviet Union wants peace and cooperation in Europe only because it is concerned about the situation on its Asian border. Some comments even apply this yardstick to the treaties of friendship and cooperation signed by the Soviet Union with Egypt and India, although these important documents formalize relations that took shape long ago and have never been made a secret of. Much the same strange approach is taken to the socialist countries' idea of a general European conference on cooperation and security and to the settlement of the West Berlin question.

Bourgeois propaganda alleges again and again that the Soviet peace policy is prompted by tactical considerations. In other words, it calls this policy into question to defame the foreign policy objectives of socialism. This invention is defeated by its own indefensibility. Statements made in Moscow show that the Soviet government has to take Peking's present anti-Sovietism into account. It is absurd, however, to regard this as the reason for a peace policy launched not yesterday, but over half a century ago, when the Soviet state came into being.

As for the recent Soviet diplomatic moves, any fair-minded person will readily see that they were conceived when there was no talk about 'ping-pong diplomacy' and it had hardly occurred to the U.S. President that Peking would ever play host to him. The main proposals on European security, for one, were formulated by the socialist countries in the Bucharest Declaration (1966) and Budapest Statement (1969). The Communist and Workers' parties of Europe took a stand on this matter in 1967, at Karlovy Vary. Lastly, a far-reaching collective security program was evolved by the 1969 International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties.

Thus bourgeois propaganda's version will not hold water even chronologically. The current 'peace offensive' of socialist diplomacy is noteworthy for precisely its *planned and principled character*. The recent foreign policy initiatives were neither a fruit of hasty improvisation nor a tribute to fleeting exigencies. They were prompted solely by the program objectives of the Communist parties and by loyalty to the Leninist principles of peaceful coexistence.

Many foreign policy moves that have found worldwide echo flowed directly from the decisions of recent party congresses of socialist countries, in particular the 24th Congress of the CPSU. This congress, it will be recalled, announced a specific plan for peace that was welcomed by the whole of democratic opinion. It is obvious now how meaningfully and consistently this plan, which calls, in particular, for a campaign to bring about 'a radical turn towards detente and peace' on the European continent, is being carried out.

Other recent initiatives have the same origin. One of them was the Soviet government's proposal for putting the issue of a world conference to examine every aspect of the disarmament problem on the agenda of the present session of the UN General Assembly.

Some bourgeois commentators have gone as far as to write off

even this important initiative as 'tactical calculations of the Kremlin.' They would do well to recall that the Soviet Union has been following these 'tactics' ever since its rise, for the question is of a fundamental objective of the socialist state's Leninist foreign policy. How the situation in the world will shape – whether tensions will ease or whether war preparations will be intensified and the danger of a new war heightened – will largely depend on how the disarmament problem is solved. In seeking real steps toward disarmament, Communists have never concealed their motives among which is the desire to preserve peace for all mankind as well as to ease the burden of military spending. The countries building socialism would have no difficulty in finding more judicious uses for the allocations they are now compelled to spend on defense.

All peace-loving peoples and governments will undoubtedly give credit to the socialist community for initiating a new resolute effort towards disarmament. Neither past failures nor superficial historical parallels entitle anyone to dispute the advisability or timeliness of a world conference on this issue. After all, the last conference of this nature met almost forty years ago when socio-political conditions in the world were entirely different and the forces of peace and socialism in too small a minority to achieve success.

The situation today is different and so is the balance of forces. At present even spokesmen of the imperialist bourgeoisie realize that a world war would spell disaster. All this holds a new promise for disarmament, which we may now regard as a problem that can be solved and not as wishful thinking

Why now?

Favorable changes in the world situation help us answer an oft-repeated question about the socialist peace offensive: granting that socialist foreign policy is basically motivated by long-standing objectives, why has it pressed forward its 'offensive' with such vigor in precisely the recent period? And why is it getting ever more tangible results?

The 1969 Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties noted that 'at present there are real possibilities for resolving key problems of our time in the interests of peace, democracy and socialism, for dealing imperialism new blows.' This was a conclusion of strategic significance and the period since the meeting has abounded in vigorous efforts to use new opportunities to the utmost.

Politics, like nature, may be said to have its seasons. There is a time for sowing and a time for reaping. Now is the time when the socialist countries' steadfast policy for peace is beginning to bear fruit. So is the growing coordination of their foreign policies, which combine firm resistance to imperialism with constructive effort to find agreed solutions to international disputes.

The progress made by the policy of peaceful coexistence would, of course, have been impossible without the tremendous contribution of the Communists, who are in the van of the struggle against

reaction, aggression and war. This is why people are deeply grateful to these courageous men and women. Indeed, five or ten years ago Communists fought for peace undaunted by police persecution and terror, often risking their freedom as they upheld demands that today are incorporated in international agreements.

It is paradoxical but true, nevertheless, that not so long ago Communists in West Germany, for example, were hounded just because they called for normal relations with the GDR and for closer relations with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. There are many similar examples. World development today is again proving the Communist parties historically correct.

The favorable reaction of realistic-minded spokesmen of the bourgeoisie shows that the peace offensive is well-timed. The rulers of some capitalist countries, including those in NATO, are becoming aware that the 'Atlantic' policy, based on refusal to recognize the irreversible character of worldwide changes, is in a blind alley. There is a growing trend towards reappraising certain bankrupt doctrines to get rid of the U.S. imperialist diktat and establish normal relations with socialist countries on the principles of peaceful coexistence. The agreement on regular consultations between the Soviet Union and France or Canada is self-explanatory.

To be sure, capitalist governments and those behind them pin hopes of their own on the present round of talks and the policy of détente. They have by no means given up their plans of disputing and weakening socialism, which they still expect to lose the peaceful contest with the capitalist system. But this is something else and the socialist countries are in a position to upset these calculations as they have done more than once in the past. The *Washington Post* paraphrases a well-known dictum by describing talks as 'the continuation of confrontation by other means.' As far as the fundamental interests of peace, progress and socialism are concerned, this kind of confrontation between states is definitely preferable to a military one.

Recognizing political realities

The four-power agreement on West Berlin reached last September was symbolic for some new important characteristics of the international situation. West Berlin was for years a highly sensitive area. Its problems affect relations between the four great powers, between the two German states and between the two main military and political alignments, NATO and the Warsaw Treaty organization.

For a quarter of a century, the so-called Berlin question was one of the most challenging problems of the postwar period. Let bygones be bygones, it is often suggested, but we will not follow this advice. When the past is recalled not to arouse passion but to view the present in the right perspective, this can do no harm. The fact is that West Berlin, which cold warriors openly called their 'front-line city,' was turned into a center of continual intrigue and dangerous provocations against the GDR and other socialist countries, against

peace in and outside Europe. And while those behind this subversion posed as champions of 'humanism' anxious to safeguard the interests of West Berlin, they repeatedly and cynically gambled on the destiny of two million West Berliners, whose peace and hope of normalization they sacrificed to their own political designs.

As the years wore on the problem of West Berlin became almost the main stumbling block of détente, a lever which imperialist politicians used for regulating the cold war climate, being careful to keep it up. The forces of aggression made a frank bid to perpetuate this state of affairs. They fomented pessimism – not entirely without success – and argued that the West Berlin problem could hardly be solved.

The agreement reached despite all the prophecies to the contrary is a notable step towards détente in Europe and the world. Eighteen months of talks on West Berlin have produced a balanced solution acceptable to both German states. The agreement is based on recognition of and respect for the sovereign rights of the GDR, the first socialist state on German soil. Furthermore, it assures the maintenance of the normal economic, cultural and other relations that have developed between West Berlin and the Federal Republic of Germany.

The value of this agreement as far as the immediate interests of West Berlin are concerned need hardly be stressed. It provides a sound basis for improving the situation in this European metropolis and for normalizing its links with the outer world in general and the GDR, inside which it lies, in particular. In short, life in West Berlin can at last take a normal course now that the insecurity and feverish atmosphere characterizing it are over.

Unlike the bulk of public opinion, reactionary newspapers and politicians make no secret of their dissatisfaction with the outcome of the Berlin talks. They often accuse the Western powers and the Brandt government of having made excessive concessions. Baron von Guttenberg, a prominent leader of the Bavarian CSU, made a statement typical of this mercenary approach. He said that through the agreement on West Berlin the FRG had 'bartered an orchard for an apple.' The baron will not consider the fact that his 'orchard' bore nothing but the sour fruit of a cold war that had set everyone's teeth on edge. As for 'concessions,' it can only be a question of concessions to the exigencies of common sense and the new situation in Europe. It was the recognition of a political reality that prompted, in particular, the provision laid down by the four governments that West Berlin is not part of the Federal Republic of Germany, which neither governs nor will ever govern it.

The solution of the West Berlin problem is a gain for all who want a lasting peace and good-neighbor relations between states. The cold war has been struck a telling blow in an area that used to be its main stronghold. This was confirmed again by the outcome of the Crimean meeting of General Secretary of the CC CPSU L. I. Brezhnev and Federal Chancellor Willy Brandt. The communique on the talks is expressive of a new atmosphere between the two states and of

the opportunities that European security now has. That this is a new phase in the evolution of the situation in Europe is seen, among others, in those passages of the communique which point to the possibility and great importance of normalizing relations between the two German states on the basis of complete equality and mutual respect for independence and sovereignty. The parties to the meeting expressed the conviction that the situation now shaping in Europe is favorable to the convocation of a European conference.

The necessity for this conference, the first on this continent since World War II, has become part of the thinking of Europeans. Nevertheless, certain political quarters in Western Europe still allege that the Soviet Union and East European countries are the only ones to have a stake in the conference. This leads them to the conclusion that they can stall and indulge in political blackmail to get something in exchange for their consent to participate in the proposed conference.

Surely this is a strange logic. It virtually implies that peace, security and cooperation are needed by only one part of the continent while the other can do without them. Yet Europeans know from their own bitter experience that the formula 'peace is indivisible,' advanced by Soviet diplomacy as far back as the thirties, is only too correct. And this explains the rise in many European countries of committees for a general European conference. There is an increasing number of governments which consider that preparations for the conference brook no delay.

Counter-attacks by the enemies of peace

Socialism has been carrying on its peace offensive in a complicated and contradictory international situation and not in a vacuum. Those who bank on maintaining tension and continuing the cold war have by no means given up. Wherever possible, they mount counter-attacks to check or stop the trend towards détente and growing international security. The enemies of peace, freedom and independence do not shrink from outright provocations in pursuing their aims.

These counter-attacks are particularly fierce now, at the close of the year. The U.S. imperialists have committed new crimes in Indochina by resuming their barbarous air raids on the DRV. NATO generals are campaigning against the very idea of disarmament and further steps to normalize East-West relations in Europe. Reactionary and revenge-seeking elements in West Germany, as if by command, have become more active. They are stepping up their efforts to prevent ratification of the treaties between West Germany and the Soviet Union and Poland. London is intensifying its anti-Soviet campaign to poison the atmosphere of international cooperation. The Conservative government resorts to provocations in the worst manner of its diehard predecessors, who were responsible for the police raid on ARCOS and the forged 'Comintern letter.' Revealingly enough, London hardly denies that the present hysteria is directly linked

with the Tory campaign against détente and a European security conference.

Strictly speaking, there is nothing very unexpected in these relapses of cold war. It would have been absurd to expect that the more aggressive forces of imperialist reaction would refrain from new attempts to block socialism's peace initiatives, specifically by frustrating the effort to set up a collective security system in Europe.

Every advance towards lasting peace has to be achieved, as in the past, through bitter struggle against hostile political forces. Accordingly, the Communist and Workers' parties consider it their duty to win the active support of the working class and the masses for the developing process of international détente.

Jan Prazsky



Workers' authority

'Collectives of working people participate directly or through bodies elected by them in supervising economic activity.'

Constitution of the People's
Republic of Bulgaria, Art. 24.

Vast experience has been acquired in the socialist countries of workingmen's participation in administering state and public affairs. A variety of forms of participation in economic management on a nationwide, as well as local and shopfloor scale, has evolved over the years. Our July issue contained an account of workers' participation in the German Democratic Republic. Below are notes on economic participation in Bulgaria.

The visitor is invariably struck by the rapid economic growth in Bulgaria. Travelling across the country one sees building sites everywhere. Factories and dwellings are going up, and new motor-roads are being built, functioning enterprises are being modernized and new types of commodities are being put out. Farming complexes are on the way, with industrial methods gradually taking over in agriculture.

True, to put the economy on a modern scientific and technical footing in a country that had had no industrial basis to speak of just a quarter-century ago, is no easy matter. The effort is facilitated by the advantages of the socialist system, the correct political line of the Party and government, and the workers' active participation in management, and the fraternal support of the other socialist countries.

The value of all opinions

Workingmen's participation in administering production. . . . How effective can it be in the scientific-technical revolution? Many sociologists in capitalist countries, some even progressive, are sceptical on this score. With management and control becoming more com-



Meeting of the production committee at the Burgas Petrochemical Plant.

plex, they hold, they are the exclusive function of engineers and specialists. The worker can but do what he is told. In the light of this, I wondered what G. Dragiyev, director of the Dimitrov Textile Mill in Sliven, would say about the workers' part in controlling modern economy.

The engineer, he replied, cannot cover all the ground by himself. His projects of modernizing or reconstructing are ultimately handled by workers. How well they are effectuated depends largely on the workers' skill and know-how. However, creativity in merely effectuating ready designs is but one of many aspects. Workers, experience shows, contribute to designing. It is a regular practice to discuss plans with workers, to enlist their help in drafting the projects. Often the drafting is in several variants. What should be remembered is that the workers' educational standard is going up. Three out of every ten (and in the Sliven Electro-Vacuum Plant almost seven out of ten) have a secondary school education.

This does not go to say that we under-rate engineers and specialists, Dragiyev said. In many things the engineer is the only competent authority. But, by and large, in the over-all view of our particular problems, the best results depend on collective effort, combining the experience of the administrator, the worker and the specialist.

At this mill and elsewhere we saw that it is a rule in Bulgaria to thoroughly discuss with workers all the main aspects of production and management, and to enlist their participation in improving operations. Take the finishing department. It has a new automated line. And, we discovered, it had a story. The workers had raised the

question of making work lighter. The project drawn up for this was discussed with the workers, who made a number of useful suggestions. As a result, a plan evolved for automating the entire shop. Not only did this visibly improve working conditions; it also raised efficiency.

Rhythmic work and agreeable working conditions were the features that impressed themselves on us at the television assembly shop of the Voroshilov Radio Engineering Works in Sofia. Fitter S. Andreyev (he has since been promoted to shift foreman) told us the shop had been recently reconstructed. And workers' suggestions had greatly improved the project of the technologists. The discussion was also instrumental in adjusting the wage scheme.

We were shown round the factory's science-technical club. Its members, club chairman P. Pavlov said, number over 200, with three in every four being young workers. Fifteen youth teams are investigating various technical problems. The teams comprise workers, engineers and technicians from different sectors. The results of their research are put to use without delay.

The economic reform launched in the mid-60s has yielded new forms of worker participation – general meetings of blue- and white-collar men, at bigger enterprises conferences of their deputies, and production committees. True, workers could participate before the reform as well. Party and union meetings, production conferences and the socialist emulation movement were, and still are, important in shaping affairs in the factory. But time marches on and new problems arise. In this stage of building a mature socialist society the democratic principles of administration have become doubly important.

In November 1970 the government adopted a set of decisions on streamlining the economic mechanism. They fortify the principle of one-man authority, implying the director's responsibility for all current affairs and the work of the enterprise, but also accentuating broad worker participation in management, particularly in handling the basic and fundamental issues.

Workers' representatives were elected in the 1,588 bigger plants, and production committees in the other 3,000. Who are these men and women deputized by their workmates? Out of the 213,000 representatives more than 65 per cent are workers, 20.5 engineers and technicians, and something like 14 per cent white-collar workers, nearly 32 per cent women and over 18 per cent youth. This more or less mirrors the social structure of the work force.

Out of the 39,500 members of production committees more than 39 per cent are workers, some 23 per cent white-collar workers, and 38 per cent engineers and technicians. Well over half of them are directly involved in production, and more than 70 per cent have a secondary or higher education. The committee is headed by the factory director. This, the Bulgarian comrades said, assures prompt effectuation of collectively adopted solutions.

The new bodies have extensive powers. Here, by way of an example, are some of the items deliberated by a representatives'

conference in the Burgas Petrochemical Plant: regulations governing organization of labor and wages in 1971; director's report on discipline and technology; internal organization and activity of the plant, and, last but not least, the director's report on the plant's 1972 program.

Important matters are also examined by the production committee: the economic plan, financial estimate, the structure of the plant, reports of administrative departments, and the like.

'Often, opinions clash,' T. Mladenov, business manager of the Sofia Radio Engineering Works, said. 'Earlier this year the committee discussed a new personnel scheme. It had been drawn up by the administration and agreed with representatives of shops and departments. On the face of it, it had been thoroughly prepared. But a few of the workers in the committee suggested important amendments, for it was discovered that in the case of some shops the estimated number of auxiliary personnel was below requirement. Most of the workers' suggestions were accepted.'

To be sure, the new representative bodies have problems. Experience is still scarce and managerial know-how and technique is for many still a mystery. This we were told at the local Party Committee headquarters in Sliven. Production committees often handle matters of but secondary importance; elsewhere, the representatives are not yet conversant enough to prepare the committee sittings properly, and some forget to follow up their decisions. Not all are able to differentiate the functions of the different public organizations: Party, trade union, production committee and others.

In the circumstances, it is up to the Party committees to analyze the practical experience and improve the forms of public activity. Their role in personnel matters, too, is bigger these days: they are also consulted on the choice of director and deputy directors.

Factors behind workers' activity

This subject was raised several times during our factory visits. It did not concern merely material incentives the role of which the new economic system has greatly stimulated. What the comrades referred to were factors of a non-material order prompting workers to participate in decision-making at factory or shop. Opinions were based on experience and observation. And the differences of opinion were not incompatible, merely reflecting the variety of factors motivating the behavior of working people.

'As far as I can see,' D. Doldjev, a young worker of the Sofia Radio Engineering Works, said, 'much depends on information. In our shop we are continuously briefed on the state of production—over the radio and by visual media. This draws prompt responses from us.'

The preparations for the 10th Party Congress saw workers assume additional pledges and participate in discussing the draft directives for the new five-year plan. This showed them how weighty their say is in the country's life. In the Sliven Textile Mill, for

example, workers' suggestions led up to amendments in targets set for the entire textile industry.

'The main factor making the workers more active,' said Sh. Vasilev, a veteran of the Burgas Petrochemical Plant, 'is their knowledge that they are the makers of their own future. Before the people's revolution I was an apprentice and had to pay for learning a trade. After the revolution I worked in a machine-and-tractor station, where I first learned the joy of liberated labor. In the early 60s I joined the petrochemical building project. Now I am with the plant's repair works. We have a close-knit collective. When overhauling the polyethylene-making equipment this June we discussed the assignment in our shops, teams and sectors. This yielded a good number of sound proposals which reduced the overhaul schedule: we did the job in a fortnight instead of the allotted 27 days.

'The workers' involvement depends on a variety of factors,' he added. 'One of them is the moral climate in the collective.'

An elusive thing – this moral climate, the spirit and militancy of a collective, its professional pride and style, and the human relationships, said P. Gryncharov, the plant's Party committee secretary. Some factories and shops have more or less identical working conditions and manufacture similar things, but their approach and results differ. In some the personnel displays a high degree of awareness and identifies itself with the state of the factory, while in others you see indifference. It depends on the factors which distinguish a collective from a fortuitously assembled group.

Everything depends on the heads of enterprises, shops and sectors, said N. Ivanova, weaver of the Sliven Textile Mill. When he sees care and consideration, a worker responds, and is more active. A. Dimitrov, secretary of the Sliven Regional Party Committee, said: Much indeed depends on the style and approach of the management. Workers are more active, as a rule, if they see their suggestions followed. And it is always good to tell them why some suggestion proved unacceptable.

The attitude of public organizations should be decisive, G. Staikova, a punching press operator of the Radio Engineering Works, said. Suppose a worker makes a valuable suggestion, while the administration is remiss in effectuating it. That is where the union or YCL branch should step in, backing the worker's initiative.

'Does the worker's sense of involvement depend on education?' I asked. Opinions differed. Some workers saw no direct connection, while others held that education did prompt a higher degree of activity. The type of work performed and the degree of the creative elements in it also counted, many thought.

'Before being elected to the production committee,' machine operator S. Katardzhiyev of the Burgas Petrochemical Plant said, 'I had some trade-union and Party experience. And from past experience I know that some things do not depend solely on the enterprise itself. Some people fancy that an active collective is the solution for all problems. But what about state planning? Without the

backing of the superior administrations, the enterprise could never attain stable financial and economic indicators, which may affect the incomes of wage-earners.'

The factory and the industry

In Bulgaria, administration of an industry (branch of an industry) is entrusted to a state economic organization (SEO). At present, these organizations number sixty. They are of recent date, born of the reform. Gradually, as experience accumulates, their structure is improved and their powers are finalized.

How does the operational independence of enterprises (greatly extended under the new economic system) blend with the authority of SEO? The SEO decides what the factory makes, endorses its basic production targets, and finances capital building. Does this not hem in initiative at factory level?

Some people are inclined to regard the role of any central economic agency as bureaucratic interference, hemming in the independence of enterprises. The exponents of this over-simplified view overlook the complexity of present-day economy and the over-riding trend of forming large complexes.

I. Budinov, General Director of SEO Bulgarplod, showed why the amalgamations are needed:

'The degree of centralizing economic functions depends, first and foremost, on economic expediency,' he said. 'In the era of scientific-technical progress an enterprise cannot do all things by itself—production, on the one hand, and capital buildings, designing, export and import, on the other. The latter are functions better handled by the SEO. The SEO general plan coordinates production in its enterprises. But fulfilment of the plan, effectiveness of production and working and living conditions—that depends on the initiative at enterprise level. We have a stake in enlisting enterprise participation in running the industry as a whole, for we want them to identify themselves with tasks of the amalgamation.'

How is this done? A few words about the structure of SEO. That will illustrate the democratic principles in management. Operational guidance is entrusted to the general director and an executive bureau consisting of the top executives. As for the more fundamental aspects (long-term and annual planning, annual accounts, and the like), these are in the care of the collegial body, the economic council.

In a way, its composition is unique. Apart from the general director and his deputies, it includes the directors of all the SEO enterprises and the respective chairmen of trade union branches.

Are there ever differences between the SEO and enterprise collectives? Controversies are inevitable, but are settled democratically. The collective has effective means of influencing the SEO position.

In 1968 SEO 'Tekstil' released a new rate scale, R. Karadjov, chairman of the Sliven Textile Mill union committee, recalled. Rates have to be revised from time to time, as techniques become more effi-

cient. But on this occasion SEO miscalculated: the new rates meant a slight drop of real wages for many workers. Something had to be done. The union requested action. It was backed by the Regional Council of Trade Unions and the central committee of our own union. The Regional Party Committee, too, sided with us. As a result, the rates were readjusted.

E. Matov, economic director of SEO Farmakhim, recalled another case. The amalgamation had long been planning a new block for the Aroma Perfume Factory in Sofia, an old enterprise technically inferior to the new plant in Plovdiv. Since the latter was able to build up production rapidly, many SEO executives objected to expanding the Sofia factory. Some went so far as to suggest folding.

'If this had happened in a capitalist country,' Matov said, 'the factory would have closed down. In any case, there would have been a strike. In our case, the interests of the collective were uppermost. We took into account that the factory had traditions and skilled personnel. In other words, our considerations were not purely economic, but also social. In the end we reached a well-considered consensus: expansion of the Sofia plant was put into the five-year plan.'

Our administrators and workers, A. Kirkov, general director of Farmakhim, said, have common interests and aims. That should be remembered. We heed the opinion of the collective. True, enterprises may make ill-considered suggestions. Then it is up to us to show them why they cannot be accepted.

Furthermore, administrators are controlled both by state and public organizations. Specifically, the SEO administration reports regularly to the economic council, which also has a say in the selection of the general director and his deputies. By decision of the 10th Party Congress, the right to control the administration has also been vested in the SEO Party branch.

Economic management and the unions

A new housing development has gone up in the north-eastern outskirts of Burgas. The tall modern buildings of the petrochemical plant's housing development blend nicely with the surrounding landscape.

As many as 2,400 flats were ready by the end of 1970, P. Baichev, the factory union chairman, said, with another 1,700 to be ready for tenancy in the next five years. The plant has its own polyclinic, kindergartens and nurseries, run jointly by the plant administration and the union branch. Besides, the union is wholly in charge of the holiday homes, tourist hostel, house of culture and stadium.

But these 'fringe' facilities are not everything that preoccupies the union (though it has its hands fairly full: tickets annually distributed to holiday homes and the tourist hostel exceed 4,000). The production committee works jointly with the union in issuing norm-setting regulations, setting wage procedures, distributing social benefits and consumption funds, improving working conditions and labor safety. The union committee is vested with powers

to suspend unlawful administrative instructions on such matters as labor protection rules and distribution of public funds. It may also appeal to superior state or trade union bodies for reversal of the management's decision.

Broad trade-union rights are a typical feature of the socialist system. The unions' role is not confined to factory or industry; they are a substantive factor in the entire complex system of government. In 1920 Lenin said: 'The functions of government cannot be performed without a foundation such as the trade unions.' (Coll. Works, Vol. 32, p. 20). Lenin praised the theses of J. E. Rudzutak's report to the Fifth All-Russia Trade Union Conference, which, among other things, said: 'While the Supreme Economic Council's point of departure in drawing up an overall production program is the *availability of the material elements of production* (raw materials, fuel, the state of machinery, etc.), the trade unions must look at it *from the standpoint of organizing labor* for the tasks of production and its best use. Therefore, the overall *production program, in whole or in part, must be drawn up with the participation of the trade unions*' (Vol. 32, p. 38).

Socialist thought of a half-century ago thus defined the principles of worker participation in management and administration. Theories of 'participation' are fashionable these days in some capitalist countries. But experience shows that the workers cannot be an equal participant in running an enterprise which exploits him. Socialism yields the only possible solution. It does not come automatically, for the degree of democracy in production depends largely on the attained socio-economic level, the growth of new culture, new personnel and new traditions. But under socialism the aim is realistic.

In Bulgaria, indeed, the unions take an active part in planning and effectuating economic and social policy at the 'highest,' national and 'middle' regional levels.

The forms of participation are many, Kostadin Giaurov, Chairman of the Central Council of Trade Unions and alternate member of the Politcal Bureau, cc BCP, said. The Central Council participates in framing the country's socio-economic development plan and submits proposals to the government on aspects of social policy. Representatives of industrial unions participate in the work of ministry collegiums and other republican administrations. The regional union councils collaborate with local authorities in drawing up regional socio-economic plans. Functions formerly performed by the state, such as social insurance and control over labor safety in enterprises, have been fully turned over to the unions. Many acts relating to labor organization and wages have been adopted as joint decisions by the cc BCP, the Council of Ministers and the Central Council of Trade Unions.

The new constitution grants the unions the right of legislative initiative. A new labor code and a social insurance law, to be submitted for approval to the People's Assembly, have already been drafted.

Bulgaria's working class, Giaurov said, is relatively young. Its numbers more than tripled in the past twenty years, rising from 800,000 in 1950 to 2,700,000 in 1970. The scale of union work has expanded. The tasks are more complicated, and experience is accumulating.

The recently adopted program of the Bulgarian Communist Party says that union activity oriented on national tasks should be combined more fully with protection of the wage-earners' collective and personal interests. Acting on 10th Party Congress decisions and the experience of trade union work in the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, Giaurov said, we are planning to improve educational and social work and to make the unions more militant and irreconcilable to shortcomings in economic development.

The time has come to align the trade union structure with the new economic mechanism; we are examining ways and means of setting up union councils in the SEO amalgamations. These and many other issues will be looked into by the coming trade union congress.

Those are but a few aspects of worker and union democracy in Bulgaria. But they show how experience is gathered, how traditions evolve and how new vistas are opening up for further growth. The realness of future achievements rests on the identity of the interests of all working people and the political course of the Party, the socialist state.

I. Ilyinsky

Burgas-Sliven-Sofia-Prague.

Development of the socialist individual

Sociological research in GDR

Erich Hahn

The German Democratic Republic, like many other socialist countries, has lately been investigating concrete social problems on Marxist-Leninist methodological lines. This research is necessitated primarily by the fact that we are now building a developed socialist system. Under socialism, social processes cannot be controlled effectively in the absence of exact data on every notable

aspect of social life. Sociological investigations hold an important place in the social sciences studying these problems.

By expanding sociological research at all levels, we also help to strengthen our positions in the ideological fight against imperialism and to demonstrate the superiority of Marxism-Leninism in both the solution of global problems of social development and concrete sociological analysis.

The progress made by Marxist-Leninist sociology was revealed at the Seventh International Sociological Congress (Varna, 1970), which may be described as a review of the forces of diverse sociological schools. It was at the congress that the symptoms of the deep crisis besetting bourgeois sociology stood out against the background of the big gains of Marxist-Leninist sociology. Nor does this evaluation come from Marxists alone. It is shared by numerous bourgeois authors. However, their criticisms say nothing about the main cause of the crisis of Western sociology, namely, its bourgeois class character, which strongly limits the possibilities of social research.

Marxist-Leninist sociology owes its superiority, above all else, to its progressive, proletarian class position. This is an important instrument of the revolutionary transformation of society under the leadership of the working class.

The development of the socialist individual, one of the great objectives of socialist society, is prominent among the topical problems of Marxist-Leninist sociology.

I

Sociological investigations in this field can bear fruit only if conducted from the standpoint of Marxist-Leninist methodology and if they proceed from the objective laws of socialism, from the interconnection of all the spheres of life in socialist society. Their objective is to ascertain the social conditions and trends promoting the formation of an active and fully developed individual. Study of this many-sided process helps to perfect planning and social guidance under socialism. It is a specific contribution by Marxist sociologists to the ideological struggle against imperialism.

The principal sphere in which the socialist individual is formed is the struggle of the working class led by its Marxist-Leninist party for a developed socialist and then a communist society. It is of decisive importance that the Party should consciously influence social development, that the working man should competently apply, and hence control, 'the laws of his own social action, hitherto standing face to face with man as laws of Nature foreign to, and dominating him' (Frederick Engels, *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific*).

Of course, the process in question can only be accomplished through collective action. It is by no means as an isolated, solitary being that the individual is becoming the subject and conscious

moulder of social relations. The founders of Marxism-Leninism noted repeatedly that only as a member of society can man under socialism control natural and social forces, and that only in a collective body does he acquire the means of unfolding his talents to the utmost. Hence the formation of the socialist individual hinges primarily on the ability of the working class led by its Marxist-Leninist party to plan and control social development. The point is not that the class is the decisive motive factor of society by virtue of its numbers, nor that the individual cannot accomplish the historical tasks facing his class as a whole. The struggle of the working class gives rise to a historically new dialectic of relationships between the individual and his class. Under socialism the working class is something more than the totality of individuals possessing common characteristics. To quote Marx and Engels, 'in the real community the individuals obtain their freedom in and through their association' and put 'the conditions of the free development and movement of individuals under their control' (*The German Ideology*).

This is the fundamental distinction between the development of the individual worker and the individual bourgeois. What members of the bourgeoisie have in common as a class is mainly their collective interests 'in regard to a third party,' the exploited proletariat. True, each particular bourgeois depends on the existence of his class, on its domination of society. Nevertheless, the starting point of his personal development is not the common interest of his class but freedom of self-assertion, in particular at the expense of other members of his class.

On the other hand, the historic mission of the working class directly determines the scope, objectives and possibilities of development of the socialist individual, since its content is to meet social requirements coinciding with the fundamental interests of the individual. This means that awareness of the common interest of the class under socialism generates decisive motive forces of individual action. The development of the socialist individual consists essentially in consciously assimilating the common interests of his class, and in mastering and reshaping social relations from its standpoint. The new in this case is, therefore, that the individual does not become historically active merely as a member of a large social community automatically joining his strength to that of the whole class. He consciously regards the objectives and requirements of the struggle of his class in its entirety as the basis for his personal activity, and perceives gains in this struggle as his own. Conversely, the struggle of the working class in building socialist society will be successful to the extent to which workers join consciously in it.

II

Implementing this objective law does not depend on general appeals. To do so it is necessary, first, to equip all working people

with the Marxist-Leninist world outlook, and second, to bring into being a system of social relations making for the growing creativity and initiative of the masses, heightening their sense of responsibility for public property, for economic planning and management and the functioning of political power. The two tasks are intimately interlinked. How effective socialist ideology is and how strong its hold on the working people depends on how far their everyday practice accords with the goals and principles of Marxist-Leninist ideology. On the other hand, it is only by assimilating socialist ideology that collectives and individual working people come to understand the intrinsic connection between their everyday life and the struggle of the whole working class.

Fulfilment of these tasks offers wide scope for sociological analysis. Noteworthy research into the evolution of socialist social labor was carried out in the GDR. In 1969 as many as 40 per cent of all working people in the state sector of the economy took part in a competition for the title of 'Socialist Work Team' launched eleven years earlier. Sociologists succeeded in graphically demonstrating the big contribution made by this mass movement to the development of relations based on mutual confidence, collectivism, frankness and comradeship, to the formation of new, socialist requirements and moral standards.

Another object of sociological research was the democratic activity of the working people, their direct participation in economic and social management. Attention was focussed on the educational impact of this aspect of the working people's creative initiative, on its significance in moulding the individual. The experience gained to date shows the importance of the meaningful guiding activity of leading bodies in this field. Democratic activity cannot develop automatically. This is more true than ever in view of the current scientific and technological revolution. Its development should be based on a carefully weighed concept taking account of the economic as well as the cultural and educational aspects of the working people's conscious activity.

Much of our sociological research is concerned with the motives of labor under socialism, for it is subjectivist estimations of this issue that may seriously impair control of social processes. On this issue two opposite and, to our mind, equally erroneous points of view have gained some currency. One of them maintains that labor can only be stimulated through material incentives. The other regards application of the principle of material inducement as a concession to bourgeois management methods which should be eliminated as early as possible. Sociological investigations have revealed that the subjective motives guiding the working people in everyday labor and in fulfilment of creative tasks are vastly varied, specifically in structure. They must under no circumstances be reduced to the desire for material reward. Three factors play a growing role in the overall system of incentives: (1) the desire to make an important and recognized contribution to the fulfilment

of general tasks of the state, the national economy, the class; (2) the certainty that as complicated problems are solved by joint effort harmonious relations based on complete trust among people will develop apace; (3) the desire for personal perfection, for creative application and development of one's abilities.

In 1969 a poll was held among 4,000 factory workers and foremen as part of a piece of research. About half the polled proposed cuts in production costs. They were asked what had induced them to make their proposals. A sorting out of the answers produced the following results (per cent):

I was asked to do it	1.6
I like to think over technical problems and solve them	12.7
I wanted to help the enterprise make bigger profits	17.6
I wanted to improve my living standard	16.4
I wanted to help raise the prestige of my work team at the enterprise	12.7
I was prompted by shortcomings in our production process	18.7
I wanted our output to be renowned at home and abroad	15
It adds to my prestige	5.3

Most of the polled gave several reasons which together are expressive of a close interlacing of moral and material interests. More often than not the threefold desire to win renown for the enterprise, boost its profits and one's own income was given as the reason. This suggests that ideological, moral and creative interest in labor, coupled with an intelligent conception of one's personal material interest, is playing an ever more decisive part in socialist material production.

III

A number of socialist countries, including the GDR, have in recent years been taking important steps to improve economic planning and management. To accomplish this task, it is necessary both to evolve definite economic principles and enact appropriate legislation. Moreover, it is a key exigency to foster socialist awareness.

'I would like to re-emphasize here,' Erich Honecker said in the Central Committee report to the Eighth Party Congress, 'that we gauge the effectiveness of the socialist economic system by how far this system helps millions of working people in line with the democratic principles of our social organization to score bigger achievements in labor, how far it helps in heightening the socialist awareness of the working people and in steadily improving their working and living conditions, how far it impels the working people towards building up their political, economic and special knowledge, how it helps them to become more deeply and effectively aware of their responsibility for economic management and planning.' All this implies paying special attention to concrete problems of social development and singling out the decisive problems objectively necessitating a new way of thinking and a new approach.

There undoubtedly exists an objective connection between the growing socialization of labor due to the rise of larger economic entities and the working people's increasing realization of the fundamental economic and social tasks facing them. In the early years of socialist development class-conscious workers showed an earnest and conscientious attitude to their effort, both as holders of specific jobs and as members of work teams. Added to this now is the need to carry personal responsibility beyond the job, to extend it to the advancement of the whole enterprise, to the solution of problems of the economy as a whole. We are witnessing an ideological process of great historic moment, an outstanding achievement of the socialist system. It is a fact that the individual stops thinking of only his own interests. His thinking and sense of responsibility are assuming new, social dimensions.

An important function of sociology is carefully to analyze every intermediate stage and every specific form of this process in diverse groups of working people. Investigations conducted in the GDR show that a new attitude to labor is developing in various ways under the Party's ideological influence. It is due, first, to increasing realization of the interdependence of personal and collective fruits of labor and improving production conditions and living standards. Second, to realization of the connection between the growing cost of the means of production and the working people's increasing responsibility. Third, to realization of the intricacy of national economic relationships, which is growing in step with the increasing division of labor and specialization. The concept of 'socialist owner' has had a beneficial effect on numerous work teams in the process of the formation of socialist views and standards of behavior. In elucidating this concept, the social character of socialist property is linked with personal or collective responsibility for it on the part of the workers as members of the ruling class.

The outcome of investigations set off the problem of the relationship between communist conviction, the class standpoint of the working people, and their concrete conception of economic and social interconnections. It revealed that many working people devoted to the socialist cause still lack adequate economic and technological knowledge that would enable them to take an effective part in production management and planning and to exercise their democratic rights more fruitfully. Moreover, it showed that some enterprise managers who consider it important to disseminate economic and technological knowledge minimize the importance of imparting to the individual the ideological and moral qualities needed to translate relevant knowledge into socialist action. They concern themselves with imparting special knowledge to the working people and do far too little to disclose the social content and meaning of everyday effort.

To remove these shortcomings, we did sociological research into forms and methods of vocational training and of improving the skill of factory workers (production academies, educational cen-

ters, lecturers' group in Party organizations, and so on). Sociologists rendered specific assistance to enterprises, passed the valuable experience of some industries on to others and offered generalized recommendations.

In investigations of this nature the problem of rationally and effectively supplying the working people with information holds a noteworthy place. Research was concerned primarily with the interconnection of general and special information. It was demonstrated that an important reason for seeking information is that work teams are politically convinced of the correctness of the tasks set before them. This largely determines the assimilation of information and its translation into creative effort.

IV

A digression suggests itself at this point. A widespread thesis of the bourgeois sociological concept of the individual is the contention that man's role as the subject of social evolution is diminishing, and will do so even more in the future, that it is, indeed, disappearing because today man is faced with an 'impenetrable maze' of social relationships and processes that he understands less and less and is unable to influence in any way. According to Horst Kern and Michael Schumann, West German sociologists, 'it is precisely the complexity of economic-social interconnections and the growing mutual dependence of producers and consumers, the functioning of the system as a whole and its components that make for the workers' insecurity, because economic development presents itself as increasingly impenetrable and confusing' (*Industriearbeit und Arbeiterbewusstsein*. Vol. I. Frankfurt, 1970, p. 246).

Investigations carried out in socialist countries make the social meaning of this assertion perfectly clear. Unquestionably, scientific and technological progress poses difficult problems in planning and controlling the reproduction process. However, the fact that the working class of socialist countries has begun successfully to solve these problems in its interest reveal their close connection with the class nature of the social system.

'The workers in the Federal Republic are no proletarians . . .' Otto Neuloh and Jeno Kurucz affirm in *Vom Kirchdorf zur Industriegemeinde* (Cologne and Berlin, 1967, p. 164). 'But they are as dependent as ever . . . Even today's workers lack certain educational prerequisites of rationally scrutinizing complex social processes. They are hardly competent enough to gain insight into general interconnections in and outside their enterprise.' This statement turns things inside out. Precisely because under state-monopoly capitalism the proletariat is an exploited class as in the past, it is given an education that is sufficient for only reproducing the capitalist process of exploitation. On the other hand, the monopoly bourgeoisie does its best to conceal 'general interconnections' from the workers because its rule would be greatly endangered if the workers knew them.

Nor is that all. West German sociologists somehow forget that the 'penetrability limits' of capitalist relations of production are by nature not only, nor primarily, a matter of knowledge or organization. These limits are decisively conditioned by antagonistic contradictions between the interests of the proletariat and those of the bourgeoisie. 'Capital never allows its books to be looked into,' said a West German worker during a survey by bourgeois sociologists. Peter F. Drucker, an American sociologist, unwittingly discloses the reason for the 'difficulty of understanding' social interconnections in 'industrial society.' 'The difficulty,' he writes, is that the interest of the worker as a member of an enterprise . . . does not coincide with interest . . . in the economic performance of the enterprise' (*Gesellschaft am Fließband*. Frankfurt, 1950, p. 140).

The 'impenetrability' of the general process of capitalist society is merely the reverse of its spontaneous evolution. From the standpoint of the individual worker, this evolution results, more than ever before, in social insecurity and growing fear of the future.

Bourgeois sociologists treat science and technology as decisive factors for the increasing complexity of social practice today, as the main reason for its 'impenetrability.' This, too, means turning things inside out. There is the positive experience of socialist industrial enterprises processing data by means of electronic computers to make the production process more 'penetrable' and understandable to the worker. An industrial complex in Berlin has introduced a daily evaluation of socialist competition according to key indices. Work teams are in a position rapidly to ascertain whether the complex and the team concerned have made a profit or incurred a loss. It follows that progress in science and technology, while making relations of production and social relationships ever more complicated, provides ample opportunities of rationally organizing social labor under socialism.

V

The relevance of sociological research into the problem of educating and informing the workers is also due to their role in solving the problem of bringing mental and physical labor closer together.

Numerous investigations have revealed the significance of a concrete ratio between the quantitative and qualitative components of physical and mental activity to the development of the socialist individual. In definite circumstances this factor has a stronger effect than the standard of qualification or the degree of mechanization of production processes. One and the same degree of mechanization may involve different proportions of mental and physical operations in the worker's labor. A relatively high degree of competence stimulates the development of the individual only if the share of mental operations in the labor process constantly gives rise to demands for creative effort and daily use of the quali-

fication acquired. Inadequate demands on a given standard of qualification have an adverse effect on the development of the workers as individuals.

The question may be asked what mental labor means when it comes to the ratio of physical and mental elements in the production process. It would be wrong to restrict this concept to the physical and intellectual requirements for the direct function of operating definite machines or plant. We must include in it the practical activities linked with the creative content of the production process as a whole, with participation in the management and planning of economic, territorial and social development. A variety of opportunities present themselves here to increase the share of the creative, mental-production element in labor processes accomplished in highly diverse technological and economic conditions. This must be stressed because we are now faced with the task of studying the conditions in which the working class as a whole will be able to perform the functions of the leading force of socialist society.

More and more, development of the socialist individual is becoming a function of leading bodies, since under socialism progress of the productive forces and of relations of production is inseparable from the formation of a comprehensively developed man. Hence sociologists should be encouraged to concentrate on those aspects of the production process that multiply the objective prerequisites of imaginative, creative, varied and interesting work by the bulk of the working people.

To accomplish these tasks, we must answer many questions, and this is where sociological research comes in. In doing such research we must take a critical stand against simplistic, mechanistic notions about the interaction of man and technology. According to these notions, the development of the individual is a direct function of technological change. They often express themselves in two outwardly opposite assertions. A low technological standard is supposed fully to preclude the development of the individual by making too insignificant demands on him, and a high technological standard is said to have the same effect because the demands put to the individual as a result can only be met by the 'technological elite.'

In reality technological processes have an effect on the development of the individual always to the extent to which they give rise to social needs satisfied through collective effort. Their chief significance lies in continuously putting forward new tasks and demands requiring initiative and creativity. The experience of sociological research suggests that innovation makes headway where managers, proceeding from the technological processes they have to master, assign work teams specific and explicit tasks calling for concerted effort by workers, foremen, engineers and technologists. Hence the need to take in the enterprises themselves steps to raise educational and qualification standards so as to enable large staffs

to accomplish on their own tasks previously unknown to them, it being understood that knowledge gained at school provides only general requisites of carrying out these tasks in a creative spirit.

Communism sees its mission in bringing out all the creative potentialities of every person and using them in enriching every aspect of social life. Sociologists of the GDR are striving to contribute their share to the solution of this historic problem.



Vital aspects of socialist integration

Wieslaw Iskra

Economic integration is one of the most topical problems in the economic theory and practice of the socialist countries, encompassing the entire complex of international economic relations in the CMEA system and closely related with the development of the national economies. The importance for each country and for the entire socialist community of closer mutual economic ties was stressed by the 24th Congress of the CPSU and the congresses of other fraternal parties. 'Our Party,' Edward Gierek told the ninth CC Plenum of the Polish United Workers' Party, 'fully shares this point of view and, for its part, is doing everything to accelerate the economic integration of CMEA countries.'

1. The comprehensive program of socialist integration adopted by the 25th CMEA Session accords with the new stage in the development of the socialist world system. Integration, this important factor in the further development of the CMEA countries, is a projection of all preceding economic cooperation.

At present, economists and, especially, scholars of socialist countries that signed this agreed document, are looking for the best ways of effectuating the integration program.

In the past 25 years the fraternal countries made spectacular economic headway and registered gains in the economic competition with the highly-developed capitalist states. The narrowing of the development gap between socialist countries and elimination of the past long economic backwardness and many of the disparities inherited from capitalism – this is an indisputable achievement of socialism and particularly the result of cooperation in the CMEA framework.

Growth of the productive forces, higher production effectiveness and change in the structure of the national economies have influenced the content, methods and forms of CMEA. In the beginning, CMEA concentrated on three basic forms of ties – foreign trade, scientific-technical cooperation and credit relations. In the latter half of the 1950's it became necessary to extend direct ties in material production.

The changing economic structures saw the existing economic relations become obsolete. New problems and requirements arose. Disproportion appeared in some countries between the rapidly developing manufacturing industries and the mining and power-generating industries, which fell behind. An appraisal of the realities led to the logical conclusion that it was necessary to coordinate on an international level the economic development of the countries concerned, mainly in the area of raw materials and power. This transcended the limits of foreign trade, requiring agreed principles of internal distribution of material resources between industries and coordination of national economic plans. This brought to the fore the problem of cooperation in production and coordination of economic plans, giving foreign trade a subsidiary position.

In the 1960s new forms of international economic relations between the socialist countries were gradually introduced. It was found, however, that scientific-technical progress and intensification of the production process required a more comprehensive international socialist division of labor and a further improvement of economic ties. The greater effectiveness of production and the ever fuller use of the achievements of the scientific-technical revolution necessitate a comprehensive approach to economic cooperation and closer interaction of the national economies. What is needed, therefore, is economic integration based on the advantages of socialism.

The concept 'integration' in the economic context connotes approximation, cohesion and coordination of the economies of several countries. This, of course, is a very general definition, which does not show the full implications of this term, the purpose of which is to reflect the higher degree and new quality of economic cooperation among fraternal countries.

Not surprisingly, a lively discussion unfolded over the problems of socialist integration, centering chiefly on three basic questions:

- what should be given priority in improving the mechanism of economic cooperation - production or circulation?
- in unfolding economic integration should the decisive role go to the state or should the accent be on cooperation between enterprises?
- is it best to concentrate on coordination of planning or on commodity-money ties?

In the initial stages, experts often held divergent views on some aspects of integration. Some focused attention on production and socialist international division of labor, with foreign trade taking a back seat, while others laid the stress on exchange. The majority, however, considered both sides of the problem - a standpoint that actually determined the trend of action. As we see it, it accords best with the principles of Marxist-Leninist economic theory and with available experience. Socialist economic cooperation covers not only the sphere of production, but also the sphere of exchange, though ultimately the balance does gradually shift towards the former.

To improve cooperation between the socialist countries it is

necessary to invigorate all levels and areas of the national economies: the economy as a whole, the amalgamations, and the enterprises. The central organs cannot solve all the problems posed by the developing economic cooperation of the socialist countries. Yet, since under socialism social ownership of the means of production is predominant, international economic relations cannot be determined by cooperation at the level of enterprises. The state should play the decisive role. The commanding heights should be in the hands of the central state organs, while ties also expand between all economic units, including enterprises.

Some say that the present system of ownership in the socialist community requires chiefly commodity-money relations, because the socialist states are sovereign proprietors of the means of production and, therefore, mainly trade and credit ties should exist between them. It is indeed true that commodity-money relations are necessary to fortify the economic accountability principle and to gauge the effectiveness of the socialist international division of labor. However, socialist economy is planned economy, and planning, the determinative factor in internal economic relations, extends, albeit in slightly modified form, to the entire sphere of the socialist international division of labor.

Ties in planning are sure to expand. This is in line with the requirements of modern economic practice and the future development of the socialist world economy. 'There is a tendency,' wrote Lenin, 'towards the creation of a single world economy, regulated by the proletariat of all nations as an integral whole and according to a common plan. This tendency has already revealed itself quite clearly under capitalism and is bound to be further developed and consummated under socialism' (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 31, p. 147).

II. The sphere of production is of decisive importance for socialist integration.

In the drive for socio-economic progress, the socialist countries build and expand all essential branches of the economy, such as industry, building, transport and commerce, forming economic complexes and diversifying the national economy in the framework of the international division of labor.

Socialist integration does not rule out comprehensive development of national economies and diversified economic structures encompassing in the optimum proportions industry and agriculture, extractive and manufacturing industries, production of means of production and of consumer goods. It is important to remember, however, that the economic resources (material, financial, manpower) of the socialist countries, such as those of Poland, for example, are limited. Effective development of their economies requires specialization of production with consideration for the international division of labor and the requirements of the entire community of socialist countries.

However, what is desirable in material production should not be mechanically applied in the field of consumption. The material

needs of people are universal and grow continuously. Hence the emergence of the objective contradiction between specialization of production in the individual countries and the people's striving for universality of their consumer needs. One solution is an international economic complex of mutually complementary national economies harmoniously combined in an integrated system.

In the initial stages the international division of labor played an auxiliary role. Engaged in industrialization, the less developed socialist countries imported mainly machines and equipment from the more developed countries, the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia and the GDR, in exchange for raw materials and fuel (Poland – coal, Rumania – oil, Hungary – bauxites), farm produce and consumer goods. These exchanges were based on an inter-branch division of labor.

With time the situation changed. Through industrialization nearly all the socialist countries have built up a manufacturing industry (engineering, electrical engineering, chemical, metallurgical, etc.), and its place in the national economy is expanding steadily. The economic structures of the different countries began to converge gradually, and division of labor inside industries, especially in engineering, electrical engineering, chemicals and metallurgy, increased significantly.

It should be borne in mind that resources and specialization differ from country to country. For instance, from Poland's geographical position follows the importance of her land and sea transport in the socialist international division of labor. Her transport system is one of the links between the economies of the USSR and GDR, while a substantial part of Czechoslovakia's exports go through Poland to the Baltic. The balance in mutual transport services is therefore in Poland's favor. The neighboring socialist countries cover the difference in goods and services, especially products of the manufacturing and extractive industries.

Expanding participation in international specialization, the CMEA countries are shifting the accent on division of labor inside industries. International specialization with priority to this form of division of labor, has a strong bearing on shaping a modern optimum economic structure. At the same time, some of the socialist countries want to avoid an overly complex structure of production, which entails dispersion of materials and manpower. The danger of this existed not only in the past, at the start of industrialization, but still surfaces at times, though the advantages of specialization are more than obvious.

The automobile industry is a case in hand. Some countries wanted their own relatively independent automobile industry, although optimum car production is a few hundred thousand a year. It is therefore more desirable to develop car production on the basis of socialist international division of labor.

Division of labor sparks qualitative and quantitative changes in the structure of the productive forces and the use of material and individual factors of production – the means of production and

manpower. Specialization facilitates concentration and raises effectiveness. One of the more favored methods of uniting the factors of production is joint building of enterprises making sophisticated equipment – electronics, computerized machinery, chemicals, generators of new types of power, and the like.

Founding of international research institutes, such as the Nuclear Research Institute in Dubna (USSR) is another factor. There will be research groups, which will deal with the basic problems of science and technology, there will be coordination of research done in individual countries and exchanges of scientific and technical papers either commercially or without compensation. International research-and-production associations will serve this purpose too.

But this is not all. There must also be a free flow from country to country of the materialized and living labor. So far this has been limited. International exchange of materialized labor (means of production) is carried on mainly through trade and long-term credits. As for the free flow of living labor (manpower) between the CMEA countries, it is still of secondary importance and is mostly seen in border regions only. Countries want to employ in their own economies personnel requiring time and money to train.

And so, the conclusion is that one of the most important aspects of socialist economic integration is to raise the mobility of production factors in the framework of the socialist community.

III. It has been noted that socialist integration encompasses not only production but also circulation. This concerns the national markets and the socialist world market. In some CMEA countries the national market is comparatively small, while technical progress leads to the manufacture, and subsequently to the marketing, of large series of goods. This is why in Poland engineering is largely oriented on export. In 1968 Poland exported about 19 per cent of the produced metal-working equipment, excavators – 46 per cent, tractors – 24 per cent, freight cars – nearly 38 per cent, railway coaches – 65 per cent, trucks – 16 per cent, ships – nearly 71 per cent and kitchen ranges – 42 per cent.

In the scientific-technical revolution the contradiction between increasing mass production and the limited capacity of internal markets will continue to grow, and the only solution lies in international coordination of the movement of commodities on internal markets and their adaptation to the requirements of large-scale production.

Changes in the production sphere should be followed by appropriate changes in the structure of foreign trade, especially in countries like Poland. The urban population and its consumer demand grow rapidly in the conditions of socialist industrialization, reflecting inevitably on exports of farm produce. The manufacturing industry, too, consumes the export surpluses of raw materials and fuel. Experience shows that a rapidly developing country must have flexible foreign markets. While reducing exports of some commodities, it puts on the market ever new types of products. During

industrialization the most rapid growth is seen in the manufacture of machines and equipment, the weight of which in foreign trade increases continuously.

So the question arises: to what extent can the requirements of a socialist country such as Poland be met by trade with the developed capitalist countries?

Experience shows that Poland has always had difficulties in the markets of its capitalist partners, and still runs into stiff barriers. The relations between socialist countries are of an entirely different kind. The mechanisms of the capitalist market create obstacles to the progress of the less developed trading partners, while socialist foreign trade facilitates their economic growth.

True, despite common advantages, the socialist world market is still insufficiently adapted to the requirements of economic integration and needs to be further improved. This purpose is served by the economic and organizational measures of CMEA to strengthen the role of a collective currency (transferable ruble) and to introduce in future mutually convertible national currencies. The transferable ruble should adequately perform the functions of a value indicator and of a means of payment and accumulation. That is why its convertibility (at least partial) into currencies of CMEA countries and subsequently into other world currencies is an important target of the comprehensive program of socialist integration.

A strong common currency requires rates for the conversion of national currencies and correction of exchange rates between national currencies. One more link in the chain of improvements is a uniform system of calculating internal prices, which, as we know, depend on production costs. Collective currency, realistic exchange rates and balanced internal prices will yield comparable data about production costs in the various countries. This is also needed for long-term solutions relating to specialization, import and export.

Settlements and trade turn-over also require further improving. Multi-lateral settlements should be used on a larger scale, making the turnover more flexible and mobile. Also important is the effort to improve the system of trade agreements on contracted and non-contracted goods.

Many of the problems discussed in this article will be solved as part of the comprehensive program of socialist integration. It is a reflection of the objective trend towards steady and planned convergence of the CMEA countries' national economies and a highly effective modern economic structure in order to bring out more fully the great potentialities of the socialist system.



Reformed colonialism

Erich Jungmann

Two seemingly opposite trends stand out more and more in imperialism's neo-colonialist policy. One of them, the growing brutality of this policy, is exemplified by the aggression against Vietnam and its extension to Cambodia and Laos, active support for the Israeli aggression, mounting terror by South Africa's racist regimes, which are openly supplied with arms, the Portuguese colonial mercenaries' attack on the Republic of Guinea, the increased militancy of reactionary forces intent on quelling the popular movement in a number of Latin American countries. The other trend expresses itself in partial concessions and compromises and in efforts to 'reform' relations with the developing countries.

There is nothing new in the imperialist tactic of the carrot and the stick. The use of force and 'concessions' are two aspects of the policy of consolidating and extending the sphere of imperialist domination by trying to bridge the antagonistic contradictions inherent in relations between capitalist countries and new states. The emphasis in each particular setting of the class struggle at home or in the world depends on tactical considerations.

The present system of exploiting the developing countries through bilateral agreements, obligatory deliveries, international redistribution of accumulated national wealth in favor of the one-time mother country, and so on, is in deep crisis. This is admitted by even the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development.* The Pearson Report prepared in 1969 at the request of the Bank, criticized the pattern of economic relations between the imperialist powers and the developing countries and made recommendations for a reform based on the neo-colonialist strategy of preventing the choice of the non-capitalist way by other developing countries and blocking and paralyzing their progress. Imperialism sees an effective method of implementing this strategy in promoting the ideology of Social-Democracy adjusted to the

*Credit agency influenced by U.S. state-monopoly quarters, which have virtually made the bank an instrument of their foreign policy.

distinctive conditions of developing countries. The West German variety of Social-Democracy is advertised as a model of the 'third way' for the peoples of Asia and Africa, an alternative to a socialist orientation. The policy of 'reformed' neo-colonialism has spawned numerous agreements with developing countries to set up cultural centers and schools, exchange delegations, and the like.

The 'reform' trends of imperialism today are indicative of its desire to take account in its own way of radical changes in the international situation and adapt itself to the conditions of the contest between the two world systems. The intensity of the 'reforms' which this or that imperialist power is constrained to effect and the nature of the new international relations that are coming into existence, are also conditioned by the balance of class forces and other factors reflecting the law of the uneven economic and political development of capitalism. The influence exerted on this or that imperialist state by the world socialist system, the international working class and the national liberation movement plays a prominent part in this respect.

The foregoing fully applies to the neo-colonialist expansion which West Germany is pushing ahead as state-monopoly capitalism develops and the military-industrial complex gains strength.

Though defeated in two world wars, German imperialism is as active as ever in trying not to 'lag' in the drive for profit. Its neo-colonial policy skilfully takes advantage of the disintegration of the world colonial system. By posing in the developing countries as an anti-colonialist and even a socialist force (meaning the German Social-Democrats' 'democratic socialism') and by shrewdly dissembling its policy, it has contrived to wrest certain positions from its imperialist rivals burdened with a colonialist past, and to become one of the principal components of the system of collective neo-colonialism. Its capacity for vigorous and effective expansion in the developing countries makes West-German imperialism a formidable enemy of Afro-Asian and Latin American nations. At the 1961 conference of African peoples in Cairo, the United States and West Germany were rightly named as heading the list of neo-colonialist countries.

In accordance with a peculiar division of labor in the collective neo-colonialist system prompted by objective circumstances, West Germany does not openly take part in the suppression of liberation movements. Its usual device is to block progressive trends in the developing countries politically and economically. 'The most important foreign policy issue as I see it,' said Eppler, Federal Minister for Economic Cooperation and Development, in a program statement before the board of the Friedrich Ebert Foundation, notorious for its part in neo-colonialist activities, 'is how to follow a development policy without making enemies.' Without answering the question directly, Eppler said: 'The United States can hardly avoid the hatred (of the peoples of developing countries. - E.J.), and the Swedes and Dutch can hardly arouse it. The achievements

of the economic policy of the grand coalition have put the FRG in a critical situation. The FRG is no longer insignificant enough to be immune to the resentment that the mighty can arouse . . . ' The speaker suggested promoting collective cooperation among the colonialists by giving more attention to multilateral political planning. 'Such a procedure,' he said, 'would make the performance more effective, prevent political resentment in developing countries and yet enable us to exert stronger influence on the social structure of the developing countries through international organizations. In this way our own long-range interests would be safeguarded.'

These statements add up to a synthesis of old and new aspects of German colonial policy. For all the differences in emphasis, the continuity of colonialist strategy and tactics is manifest. However, greater importance is attached today to disguising the real objectives. The more effective the disguise, the greater the chances of attaining them. This has always been a rule with West German state-monopoly capitalism and it continues to determine its tactical options.

Government credits are among the traditional devices, supplemented by new ones, that West Germany's neo-colonialists use above all. In so doing they take into consideration the credit policy of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries whose purpose is effective aid to the developing countries. To neutralize this policy, the FRG is compelled in some cases, due in particular to pressure from the developing countries concerned, to offer them easy terms by reducing the interest rate to 2.5 per cent, extending the interest-exempt period, the general time limits of paying off loans, and so forth. Export of West German private capital, too, is fully encouraged (though at high interest rates), portfolio investments (buying up securities) are promoted, and so on. Under the guise of granting credits to new states these are virtually plundered of their meagre financial resources.

'Long-range interests' are also the source of 'generous' offers to lift the more discriminatory tariff barriers to goods from the developing countries and to contribute to their partial industrialization. The transfer of certain obsolete industrial plants to these countries is intended to help indirectly in retooling West German industry, increasing its production potential and hence bolstering the position of the West German monopolies in the world market. This process tends, in fact, to freeze the technological lag of new states and to increase their exploitation through an artificial imbalance in the production sphere.

These are all indications that as far as economic relations are concerned, the Social-Democratic policy of 'cooperation' with the developing countries squares with the policy of other imperialist countries. The promotion of cultural relations, for its part, has neo-colonialist objectives. The diverse 'educational centers' and schools set up on this basis serve ideological subversion first and foremost. In West Germany and West Berlin there are about 300 government,

semi-governmental and non-governmental institutions engaged in ideological infiltration of the developing countries. Among them are the Goethe Institute, German Foundation for Developing Countries (West Berlin), Friedrich Ebert (Bonn) and Friedrich Naumann foundations, Institute for International Relations (Stuttgart), Konrad Adenauer Foundation (Bonn), Institute for Social Cooperation (Freiburg) and Institute for International Solidarity (CDU). The activities of these institutions are expected to camouflage West Germany's imperialist expansion. The opportunities for camouflage increased substantially when the policy of greater multilateral cooperation with the developing countries was exalted to the rank of state policy.

The activity of the Development Service, lavishly assisted by the state, is an indication of West Germany's neo-colonialism. This agency was set up in 1963 on the pattern of the ill-famed U.S. Peace Corps, with the assistance of S. Shriver, former head of the Corps. It is worthy of note that *Vorwaerts*, the Social-Democratic paper, opposed the idea at the time. It wrote that one should not 'follow disputed U.S. prototypes' . . . In training camps, first of all in Hawaii, members of the Peace Corps are instructed in a strange blend of pathfinder romance and jungle warfare . . . The Peace Corps has already aroused the strongest mistrust in a number of developing countries.'

A few years after the emergence of this organization it was officially announced that membership in it was put on a par with service in the armed forces and its organizational structure was determined by new tasks. Its membership - 2,000 - is to be doubled in the near future. Neo-colonialist functions have also been assigned to other West German institutions operating in developing countries, such as 'model farms,' technological training centers, various courses, and so on. Small wonder that some countries had institutions of this type, exposed as subversion centers, liquidated on their soil.

West Germany's neo-colonialist potential, whose primary sphere of application is expansion, has long been serving the interest of the capitalist system as a whole. The close association of the FRG with the aggressive NATO bloc, the chief enemy of the anti-imperialist movement in general and the national liberation movement in particular, expresses itself in indirect support for the United States in South Vietnam (financial aid to West German munitions corporations active there, subsidies and credits to Saigon, and the like), and in full support for the Israeli aggressors, which goes well beyond the so-called agreement on reparations signed in 1952 (deals between West German imperialism and the Israeli rulers, the training of pilots, credits, direct investments, misinformation of public opinion). The talks which a delegation of the Social-Democratic Party had in Israel in May 1971 were said by its secretary, Wischniewski, to have shown that relations between the FRG and Israel were 'more than good.'

Special attention is devoted to Africa, where West Germany pursues aims of its own within the framework of collective neo-colonialism. As far back as 1961 the West German intelligence service cooperated with the anti-national forces in the Congo. In November 1970 staff members of the Development Service, exposed as accomplices of the Portuguese aggressors, were deported from Guinea. Western agencies reported that Herman Seibold, a former SS commander, had played the chief part in the affair. He had been employed as a technical adviser in an organization camouflaged as a 'Christian youth village.' Instead of training personnel for bauxite mines, he was busy preparing an attempt on President Sekou Touré's life. Another unmasked West German agent admitted that West German 'experts' operating under cover of the Fritz Werner firm, were sent instructions through diplomatic channels on how to organize economic sabotage. They were closely linked with certain instructors of the Bundeswehr, who were subsequently deported, and a number of Guinean counter-revolutionaries.

Anti-Guinean activity did not stop even after the 'experts' had been exposed and expelled. Speaking on the radio in March and May 1971, President Sekou Touré said that British, French and West German mercenaries were being trained in Guinea-Bissau for another invasion of Guinea. He added that their training was financed, among others, by West Germany.

The FRG helps Portugal economically and renders it indirect military aid supplying it with military equipment. Unlike Sweden or Italy, it rejected the African countries' demand that it forbid its leading corporations to participate in the construction of the Cabora Bassa dam, Mozambique, a new imperialist stronghold in South Africa. The talks on this, which President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia carried on in Bonn on behalf of the African states and the General Secretary of the Organization of African Unity (OAU), ended in failure.

Speaking to a meeting of the UN Economic Commission for Africa in February 1971, the Mozambique delegate condemned the West German monopolies' plan to finance the project. He showed that their aim was to make bigger profits by subjugating the African population and to support the Portuguese oppressors' colonial war.

The OAU Liberation Committee has evidence revealing that Portugal uses West German arms supplied within the framework of NATO against the national liberation movement in its colonies. The FRG also encourages its citizens to join the Portuguese armed forces fighting against African patriots. This is confirmed, in particular, by *Vitoria ou Morte*, the MPLA (People's Movement for the liberation of Angola) newspaper, which reported that some of these mercenaries were killed in Angola.

In keeping with a 'historical tradition,' Bonn closely cooperates with South Africa's racialists. The FRG and South Africa have concluded a military agreement and the West German monopolies

are building up their economic positions in South Africa. According to the Johannesburg *Sunday Times*, West German exports to South Africa in 1970 were worth 18 per cent more than in the previous year, and South African exports to West Germany showed a 0.7 per cent increase (the small increase in the latter case was due to the almost 9 per cent revaluation of the mark). West Germany is still South Africa's best market after the United States and Britain. Rosenthal, parliamentary secretary of state, Ministry of the Economy, who visited South Africa in April 1971, described trade between the two countries as 'excellent.' Cultural links are also being expanded. Rosenthal said there were 'strong cultural relations and a sentiment of friendship' between West Germany and South Africa 'as if they spoke one language.'

The events in Lesotho in March 1970, which marked an onslaught of reaction led by Leabua Jonathan, a minion and lackey of the apartheid regime, against the people, the Communist Party of Lesotho and the Congress Party, were staged by Albert Baumhauer, political adviser to the Prime Minister, onetime staff member of the Adenauer Foundation.

The facts we have listed – and we could have listed many more – show how dangerous West German neo-colonialism is to the developing countries. The aggressiveness of neo-colonialism, which cannot be concealed behind the facade of hypocritical solidarity with the developing countries, is increasing. Needless to say, no change of form or method can affect the substance of neo-colonialist policy.

Only by uniting on anti-imperialist lines and by extending multi-lateral cooperation with the socialist countries can the developing countries hold their ground against the various forms of neo-colonialist policy, specifically that of West Germany.



Politics of morality and the morality of politics . . .

James Aldridge

Like most people who have seen it in the National Gallery (London), I have always been an admirer of a painting by Degas called 'Young Spartans Practising Combat.' It shows several athletic Spartan boys in wrestling postures watched by admiring Spartan girls. And though Sparta is not one of the Greek City States I admire very much, Degas' rather dry picture suggests the bare but effective indoctrination the young Spartans got. Sparta was the most expert of ancient societies in preparing their youth from the cradle for the total military future that faced them. The Nazi system copied many of Sparta's methods in an attempt to create an 'instinctive' German soldier. The Israeli method is also similar. And so in many ways is the British system of upper-class education, not in militarism perhaps but in its select school system from childhood which prepares its privileged youth to be the rulers and the arbiters of every aspect of British life.

The education given to the school boys of Eton (Britain's most select upper-class school) is a model for half a dozen lesser upper-class schools and a dozen inferior bourgeois copies. The system is simple. Junior boys at Eton are submitted to all the indignities of an inferior race or class, no matter how illustrious their families. In this way they are taught first of all what it is like to be ruled, what it is like to be treated with contempt by superiors, what it is like to be beaten for misdemeanors, and what it is like being forced to obey. The point of this system is not to teach the young to sympathize with the victim, but how better to put these impositions on other people. When they become seniors it is their turn to be harsh and overbearing and absolute with inferiors, and they enjoy the process more because they have suffered it themselves. They have also acquired the right to the kind of absolute authority which they now consider theirs for as long as they live. They emerge from it with an instinctive class position which determines their behavior in everything they do as an adult.

This selection of a particular class to be the moral and natural rulers of society is similar in every capitalist country (if it isn't Eton in Britain, it is money in America or militarism in Germany,

etc.). I mention the British system only because I know it best and because it is easy to see how it works. The point is that it is the chosen few who must make the national decisions because it is their right. It is they who must shape the laws because it is their right. And it is they who must govern the populace because the populace does not know how to govern themselves, and never will know. It is also their logical right to take off the large portion of the benefit, because it rightly belongs to them.

Anyone who imagines that the ruling-class claims to be absolute are no longer current knows little about our system. Half an hour watching the Tory benches in the House of Commons, or the board rooms of Krupp (if you can get in there), or a few minutes reading Mr. Henry Ford's pronouncements will make the point better than I can. And any attempt by another class to claim political rights for themselves or to establish another set of values is met with an organized hostility which amounts to a life and death struggle to defend their absolute possession.

The morality of modern politics obviously begins with this choice between what you think is right and wrong, and what *they* think is right and wrong. Even to ask the question suggests some form of moral confrontation. And a moral class-confrontation is one thing that our upper classes have spent a lot of time and money and corruption and deception trying to avoid.

If the bourgeoisie have compromised in tolerating other ideas than their own, the compromise has always been forced upon them. A lot of fuss is made in established societies like Britain and America about the 'democratic rights' of its citizens. It is true that we do have considerable civil and constitutional rights, but only because they have been won. Nothing has ever been given from above. It has all been fought for, inch by inch; and sometimes the very democratic institutions which our ruling classes boast of as proof of our democracy have only been won from them by blood and strife a few years before.

There is nothing new in any of this. The only point in looking again at the source of our 'democratic rights' is that so many of them are now being threatened. On the one hand there is a blatant attempt to simply crush all opposition. On the other hand capitalism is trying to put on the red shirt of revolution and adapt socialism to fit its own ideas. For instance, when the Director General of the BBC can say: 'We are all Marxists now . . .' it is obviously time to be on the alert. When the *London Times* can analyze modern capitalism as ugly and deformed, then it is time to watch out. And when 'red revolution' is safe enough for one of Britain's biggest brewers to use the phrase 'Join the Red Revolution - drink Watney's Beer,' it is time to put on our revolutionary spectacles. We are no longer in danger of being eaten by the monster. We are being invited to die in his embrace.

That is why the most serious problems of political morality in the western world are not posed by the crude men who want to copy

Hitler. Hitler, in fact, has taught the intelligent capitalist how *not* to behave. They know now that if they use his brutal methods they will produce a worldwide revulsion against them. There are, of course, Hitlers in all western ruling classes, particularly in the United States. But they are being restrained now by cleverer politicians who realize that the world is in crisis, and who feel that their only chance for survival is to corrupt the opposition rather than kill it, divert it rather than confront it, absorb it rather than oppose it. You only use Hitler when all else fails.

Unfortunately for them this clever system cannot work all the time. If it did there would not be any brutal confrontations in Vietnam, Northern Ireland and the Middle East. No Angela Davis, no South African apartheid. These are obvious and crude confrontations. The trouble is that the contradictions between bourgeois deception and bourgeois reality only become obvious when capitalism has to use such crude methods. The problem for the working class is to find out what is deception and what is reality when there is no obvious oppression to make it clear.

This democracy of deception is really an old invention, but it has never worked so hard and so cleverly as it does now. Today it does its best to make all moral choices in politics impossible. It operates its confusions, deceptions and absorptions on the very highest intellectual level as well as on the lowest. And it does not hesitate to cut huge holes in its own system if, by doing so, it protects the system itself.

This democracy of deception has become the life style of our western societies. In Britain, for instance, we have our 'permissive society.' Everything, more or less, is permitted in behavioral and sexual matters. The old moral taboos of bourgeois society have been shattered – or so it seems. Pre-martial sex (anathema to bourgeois respectability) is now normal. Sexual aberration is okay. Prostitution has become intellectually desirable. Pornography is allowed the description of art. And fashion and music and literature have evolved in this steamy air like orchids that blossom when the air sweats, but die and shrivel when the hot-house door is opened. Never mind – there'll be a new crop tomorrow.

How did this happen? What cracked the old bourgeois morality? Could they have stopped the rot if they had wanted to? Or is permissiveness itself a bourgeois moral attitude? There are interesting answers to these interesting questions, but before looking at them there is another aspect of our permissive society which is also morally intriguing. Today in western capitalist countries you can not only behave sexually as you wish, but you can safely (almost) call yourself a communist, a Marxist or a revolutionary and do it (almost) in any place – even in church. You can even get yourself heard (privately) on tv and in the press. You can state your (private) case anywhere. Isn't this real proof of our real democracy?

Maybe. But this democratic freedom to say and do as you please only operates if you do it alone, or in a size that amounts to being

alone. The very loneliness and individualism of your ideas (and society's toleration of them) simply means that you are heard because you are isolated and harmless. But try to organize a wide response to your communist or Marxist or revolutionary principles, then our democracy tolerates you only to the degree that you fail. When a real issue, like a strike, suddenly crystallizes a real political attitude, and is given social meaning instead of isolated personal attachment, you begin to meet real opposition and real intolerance, as every striker in our western democracies knows. The true moral condition of society today lies hidden somewhere under these democratic and permissive bed clothes. Everything is fine and democratic in bed. But try to get out of bed and desert the orgy —, then you're in trouble.

Once, when the ruling classes were in full control of society and could cope with opposition, the Christian Ten Commandments (some of which have social meaning) were the moral basis of their social outlook. But today, when the ruling class are not in full control and find it increasingly difficult to deal with class opposition, they abandon their Ten Commandments and urge in low-pitched howls: 'Every man for himself, even in the revolution.' The best of the Ten Commandments are now considered communist propaganda by the bourgeoisie.

This whole idea of 'anything goes' is therefore very attractive to the bourgeoisie today, whereas thirty or forty years ago they hated it. The fact that a section of the bourgeoisie themselves don't like their permissive society, and make strong sorties against it, does not alter the fact that it is really their social message, not ours. The more intelligent bourgeoisie, who know best how to defend themselves, are in fact the ring-masters of our permissive circus. For them the very point of the sexual revolution and the inward, private adventure that youth can get with pot, LSD or porn is that inside every man is his own relief, if not his own salvation. If a man can be persuaded to look for social satisfaction in his own sexual and emotional personality, he is obviously heading for social isolation. Aberration is emotional suicide, pot is navel contemplation, pornography is flagellation. Yet we have 'revolutionary' pot smokers by the hundreds, and some of them are probably shooting hard drugs into their veins to prove to themselves how liberated they are from bourgeois society.

Here begins the crux of the moral and political problems we face in the west. Are we a lot of isolated individuals free to do anything we like, including self destruction? Or are we a social force that has the right to look for something more besides individual liberty for its own sake?

There is no doubt that the bourgeois moral structure began to break down because it could no longer persuade people that even our personal liberties were real. When men began to question their real condition and look for reasons, the bourgeoisie seemed more and more anxious to say: 'Never mind all that. Have a little more intellectual cake.' But the bourgeoisie cannot go on teaching honor

and loyalty to the working classes and peace between classes and sexual probity and family stability while their own society is built on exploitation, robbery, dishonor, violence, personal advantage, opportunism and sexual excess. The crack caused by this contradiction has become too wide for any repairs to help. The political attack by the working class has become, in battle terms, a total war – the early preparation for some eventual and final confrontation. Bourgeois defense, in battle terms, is cunning in retreat, with some successful and very brutal counter-offensives which often become full-scale war.

There is also visible in the bourgeois position a hint that, if all their cunning and compromise and counter-attacks fail, they would rather see everything destroyed than give up the last ditch of their privileges. There is an element of 'let's destroy everything' in our permissive society. No doubt our radical intellectuals and our working class and our raw and angry youth have driven big wedges into the moral structure of bourgeois society. But once the moral structure began to disintegrate it became a point of bourgeois philosophy to use this radical attack against them to their own advantage. 'If they are proving us corrupt,' the bourgeoisie says, 'then let us corrupt them with our corruption.'

The increasing anarchy of this moral trickery is now the environment we have to live in. Nobody sits down and plans this bourgeois philosophy or plots its operations. But just as Eton boys are inculcated with instinctive behavior so that they can react correctly in their own interests without any need for guidance or advice, so the entire bourgeois structure operates in its own defense. No deep-laid scheming is necessary, no plot is required. They act vastly and instinctively, and the moral smog we live in is the result of this profound bourgeois talent for knowing what to do in their own interests.

But let us look at the other side of this new morality.

What sort of political morality has the opposition acquired. What sort of thinking goes into the attempt to replace bourgeois society by something better. There isn't any moral measurement that is common to both sides in this class contest. There may be neutral ground, but in fact the very basis of the contest is the different concept of what is right and what is wrong, what is democratic and what is not democratic, what is cruel and what is not cruel. There is no ideological framework which can absorb both positions. The mistake many democratic-minded people often make is to assume that the good things in our society are, after all, part of capitalism, so there must be some sort of common ground between us. In fact the best of our modern liberties under capitalism exist despite capitalism. They have been held on to in the face of incredible capitalist pressure to give them up.

In saying this, one is not ignoring the old historically-progressive role of capitalism. Many of the fundamental liberties we have today were ideologically conceived by early capitalism to liberate the individual from obedience to feudal mind-shrinking. The Reformation was necessary if men were to become mechanics, if capital investment and manufacture were to be free of religious-feudal

restraints. When the Puritans in England cut off King Charles' head in 1649 they laid the foundation for Britain's emergence from a great merchant capitalist society into an industrial empire. And their insistence on the word of parliament, on the liberty of the individual and on the right of free assembly were necessary for free exchange of labor and the development of men's scientific and mechanical talents which needed good open minds, not closed and frightened ones. The fact that feudal reaction (in England the Restoration) had to hack its way back into society, in order to get an equal share of the ruling position, does not make it the parent of our liberties. On the contrary, the struggle for liberty from below has always been the main pressure, even on the bourgeoisie. In this sense, the people owe 'nothing to nobody.' That is – to nobody but themselves.

The problem now is to separate the remnants of the old struggle for individual liberty from the struggle for the real means of total liberty. After Marx had analyzed the capitalist system and finally given us a scientific understanding of our condition, the world was given a new morality which, for the first time, defined good and bad as part of the historical development of necessity. The real point of Marxist morality is that it is not an imposition or an invention, but simply a human requirement because the old morality can no longer help man. There are no rivals Gods in Marxism, no abstract dogmas, no codas. There is only reality and the understanding of reality, and the true use of reality to correct cruelties and failures.

Taking the fundamental position that it is the ownership of the means of production that counts, Marxist argument defines its initial morality in terms of whether production is for private gain or public good. And the point of view for the worker is simple. Whom does he serve – is it the common weal or the private exploiter? These are moral contentions in themselves, and are utterly opposed to the capitalist position. But the real trouble begins when working classes and their allies have to decide how they are going to get social ownership, and social control. Can we persuade the capitalist to give up his privileges? If not, can we use the democratic system, or whatever else there is, to change capitalism into socialism? The real division of our moral position begins here. What is the right way to do it, what is the wrong way? And above all who is to say which one is the right way, and which one is the wrong way?

The one defense the bourgeoisie have always put up is that any attempt to change society is not only unlawful, it is dangerous and disorderly. A strike is always 'against the national interests.' A Left-wing parliamentary victory is a disaster. Catholic protesters in Northern Ireland are a mob. The Vietnamese people are bandits or gooks. Palestinians at home are terrorists. Communists (untamed) are traitors. Blacks are criminals. Putting us in the wrong by this sort of thing is how the bourgeoisie educate us to believe that we are becoming immoral when we defend our rights or feel we can rule ourselves without them.

There are, of course, some political limits that even they have to accept. Parliament, for instance. But even in countries where there

is a parliamentary tradition it is notable that it has been the bourgeoisie themselves who have attacked and destroyed parliament whenever it has achieved a popular majority against them. Thiers crushed the Commune with soldiers. Hitler destroyed the Weimar Republic with storm troopers. Franco smashed the Spanish Republic with German tanks. It is usually the ordinary people themselves who are willing to use the peaceful means of parliament, and it is reaction that becomes violent when they are in danger of losing their grip on it.

Anyway, what are the people supposed to do when a Thiers or a Hitler or a Franco emerges from a hole in the ground to attack them? At this point the whole morality of violence becomes clear. Teaching the working class to be afraid of violence or to feel that they have no right to use violence under any circumstances is what the bourgeoisie have always done. A gun in the hand of a worker is the epitomy of evil and horror to the bourgeoisie. Guns in the hands of corrupt police (the U.S.), and oppressive Army (Northern Ireland), so-called Volunteer forces (the Ulster Volunteer Force) are perfectly okay. Mass internment is okay. Mass arrests are okay. And in the long history of colonialism, hangings and shootings and starvations and imprisonments are okay. But not a gun in the hand of the worker, even when his life is threatened and his rights destroyed.

On the whole, workers do not want guns. They do not want to see their country torn by civil war. They don't want to kill anybody. But what man in Nazi-occupied Europe, when millions were being burned and murdered and tortured, could feel that he was not justified in killing his oppressors. A gun in the hand of a worker then was a moral force. Without it, we would all be in slavery today because it wasn't the bourgeoisie that died in their millions, but the workers of the world.

The real issue of political morals clearly lies in a situation that precedes the use of guns. Long before the situation has become that critical, the choice of morality has to be made. The problem for all Marxists is to make the choice so clear that nobody makes a mistake. But you can't look at the situation in the world today and feel that the choice is at all clear and easy. It gets more difficult to find the right way. The problem is to find a policy and a leadership that has proved itself incorruptible and devoted utterly to class loyalties and class morality, and class organization.

It may be a little easier to make a moral choice where broad issues like national liberation are the main problem. Even so, what happens after national liberation? Does one follow the morality of the bourgeoisie, who have been liberated alongside the workers and peasants? Or must one begin immediately to think in another way, with another morality? This is the problem the third world faces. Unity for liberation is right, disunity is wrong. That is the simple choice in colonial and semi-colonial countries. But experience shows that national independence is only the beginning of a conflict. Imperialism disappears in its foreign person, but returns in local disguise. Today there are African and Asian bourgeoisie ruling liberated coun-

tries who are as bourgeois as Europeans, and their political morals are the same as the bourgeoisie anywhere.

Even so, fairly large sections of the bourgeoisie in all societies have begun to take a look at working class ideology. The truth is that the moral force of the working class future is attractive. Or rather the alternative is less attractive to some of the bourgeoisie. But there is no deep-laid intellectual principle involved, merely self-interest.

That is why class morality has to remain, even when the working class has won its point. It is all very well to be liberal in victory. But liberality in victory depends on circumstances. The history of Spain might have been different if the Republican Government had been less liberal at the outset towards its military opponents secretly plotting in Morocco. Spain has paid dearly for that error of moral hesitation, and it is still paying.

Since there has never yet been an occasion where the right wing have given up their authority gracefully and gladly, it becomes a moral duty on any working class society to make sure that the enemy is neutralized both physically and morally. The best way to neutralize an enemy is to have so much strength that he is powerless. But political strength is relative. The Labor Party, for instance, had enormous physical and moral strength in Britain just after the war. (Churchill, at the very peak of his success and his popularity, was literally wiped out at the polls by a Britain that wanted social change). What happened then? On the day of victory the right wing of the Labor Party set about undermining the very policy that had brought the party victory. Step by step they began to get hold of the leadership. Step by step they introduced the compromises and retreats which have ended in a betrayal of almost every principle that the Labor Party was supposed to stand for. This is not just the same old story of Social Democracy, it is the immorality of a policy which claims to be one thing but is, in fact, another.

What gives strength as well as difficulty to any working class party is obviously the force of its principles, and the purity of its behavior. When working class movements fall into the hands of opportunists, the fundamental morality of the cause is obviously betrayed, as well as the political future. There is nothing new or startling in that possibility. But we have a situation today in which elements of the bourgeoisie want to join the working class movement, and bring their own morality and their own class interests with them. This particularly applies to intellectuals.

The flow of intellectual ideas that crosses the class borders is considerable today. In fact there is a sort of intellectual no-man's land which produces incidents like the Paris 'revolution' of May 1968. The students then had a grievance of their own. They tried to link it with the workers' grievances. There were areas where both could meet. But for students to call on workers to join them in the streets in defense of individual liberty and for student intellectual revolutionary abstractions, was really asking for a hopeless revolution. The student 'ultras' had simply brought their bourgeois ideas

and ideals across the class borderlines and called it revolution. 'Revolution for what?' the Renault workers shouted at the students when they appealed to the workers for help.

Intellectuals have always crossed the class frontiers, because they have understood with their intellect where their real future lies. But having stepped into the working class world, many have suddenly discovered that the commitment is more than they bargained for. So they hasten back to where they came from. That does not always mean that they have lost their integrity. Some do lose it. But some retreat nervously to their old individual and uncommitted position, but retain an intellectual regard which is stronger than their sense of commitment. And the others? The Spanish War brought a crop of intellectuals to communism. How many deserted it within a year, two years?

But how many young intellectuals died as heroes in Spain. The very best young intellectuals of Britain died fighting for the Republican cause in Spain. Christopher Caudwell was not even thirty, and he left an intellectual gold mine behind him which has not yet been exhausted. So did David Guest and Ralph Fox. So did dozens of others from France, America, Germany, Italy as well as Spanish intellectuals themselves. The proof of their value to Britain is that our theoretical Marxism never quite recovered from the loss of these young men. Our theoretical basis might have been better today if these young men from Oxford and Cambridge had lived to help it.

We cannot do without our young intellectuals. But only those who cross the borders and leave their old bourgeois morals and ideals and requirements and loyalties behind will do. That is not to say that we can't make alliances and work with men who find it difficult to face that final commitment. There is many a brave bourgeois intellectual who has sacrificed himself for his radical principles without ever coming to a class commitment. The point is that we can understand and even cooperate, but the old rule about the fundamental difference in morality has to be preserved. There is no salvation in the diffusion of one into the other.

These things are worth saying because lately there is a tendency to denounce intellectuals for being intellectuals. 'Ultras' on the one hand and 'liberal betrayers' on the other: these are common classifications for 'intellectuals.' But life now is putting great moral pressure on the intellectuals. They cannot stand aside so easily. They cannot take up abstract positions so easily. They cannot avoid social conflict so easily. But because it is more and more difficult to avoid the obvious, some intellectuals try to find a safe retreat of another sort. 'In modern technological conditions there are, in fact, no classes left,' they say. On that basis they emphasize their intellectual right to keep their heads above class water.

On the other hand there are the Marcusites and others who claim that the intellectuals (or rather the student intellectuals in particular) are a new class in themselves. Moreover they are supposed to be the most militant and revolutionary class because the modern working class are hopelessly neutralized by their bourgeois satis-

factions. The morality of this point of view is interesting. If students are the true revolutionary class now, they clearly have a mandate not only to lead the revolution, but to make all the revolutionary decisions on behalf of a laggard working class. There was an element of this sort of thinking in the Paris events of 1968. In fact there may be specific situations in which the intellectuals are more militant than the working class. But these are definable, intellectual attitudes.

The point is that the fundamental contradiction of society operates on a wider scale than its individual issues. The Vietnam war is one issue, but militancy in general concerns the whole class relations, which represent larger economic and political factors. Who is going to say that the working class lack militancy because they are fighting on a less definable front than obvious issues like Vietnam, racialism and individual freedom. Class militancy itself is often hidden in the whole vast conflict that society itself is going through in all its aspects. Men are militants in daily life when, in fact, they are not specifically dealing with issues like Vietnam or individual liberty. Every day on the shop floors of our industrial society there are thousands of examples of militancy that are never seen and never recorded. The Marcusites assume that militancy is a purely intellectual affair, whereas in fact it is a far wider and more complex and more pervasive act than they are able to see, because they don't know anything about working class life.

These intellectual inventions which have been designed to neutralize the essential element in class politics are really the end product of the bourgeois embrace. 'Leave the revolution to us. . . .' The embrace is obviously becoming larger and wider and tighter and warmer if only we will respond and accept it. But in response to this invitation our class morality has to be flexible and honest without being dogmatic or crude. It has to be simple and clear, and as long as we keep it that way we have the best route through all the temptations and confusions and deceptions and unwelcome affections of a dangerous enemy.

Bourgeois morality itself remains double-faced. It has to be. It teaches us 'revolution' on the one hand, while on the other it does everything possible to prevent revolution. It is persuasive with us in argument and violent against us in action. It keeps intellectual company with us on ideological matters, and at the same time puts its spies into our operations and tries to catch us like criminals. Its moral attitudes are hopelessly hypocritical. Democratic among themselves, the bourgeoisie deny democracy to others. They are gentle among themselves and cruel to outsiders. They are cultured in their own culture, and primitive and savage in attacking other cultures. They are highly educated in the beauties of their heritage, but they will betray country, flag and heritage to defend their class. Theirs is a strong class loyalty, but they consider class loyalty criminal in others.

These are not just contradictions and paradoxes. They are really the essential failure of a system that can no longer behave honestly

or honorably. Eton schoolboys may be taught the rudiments of classical honor and Homeric bravery, but they are wasting their lives because their honor serves dishonor, and their courage defends a cowardly system. It is made even worse for them because the alternative is already known. October 1917 installed a new kind of honor and a new kind of courage which is created by ordinary men in service to each other. No higher morality exists, and no better sense of true honor.

Freudianism and neo-Freudianism

Joseph Reynolds

In an article entitled 'Oh! What a Lovely War!' editorial columnist Anthony Lewis writes: 'Stuart Hampshire, the English philosopher, wrote recently of the impact of Freud's demonstration that human behavior is governed less by conscious than by unconscious thoughts and feelings. . . . The most normal man is moved by forces of which he may be unaware. . . . We must rely on some such view of men to help explain war' (*New York Times*, Feb. 13, 1971).

Lewis was trying to explain the savage war in Vietnam but his statement that war can be explained only by such unconscious forces, that there are no rational explanations of individual and social behavior reveals several significant features of bourgeois psychology and ideology.

The use of Freudianism and Neo-Freudianism to explain the normal abnormality of capitalist society is commonplace in the United States. Further, the struggle of masses against the horrors and evils of capitalism must also be explained away. Here we find Dr. Bruno Bettelheim, the Vienna-born disciple of Freud, stating to the U.S. House Special Subcommittee on Education that militant student leaders are 'emotionally fixated at the age of the temper tantrum.' In customary Freudian fashion, Dr. Bettelheim dismisses the splendid actions of young people who organize sit-in demonstrations against racism and war by declaring: 'Big in size and age, those who sit-in feel like little boys with a need to "play big" by sitting in papa's big chair' (*New York Times*, Jan. 11, 1970). Psychiatrist Herbert Hendin writes of the militant students who demonstrate against Nixon's policies: 'These young radicals have suffered in families . . . which ignored and frustrated their personal needs and continue to be blind to them as people. . . .' (*New York Times*, Jan. 17, 1971).

What is this theory that explains away deep-going social conflicts with deficiencies in education and age specifics of the psyche, and so on? Taking the basic principle that human behavior is explained by unconscious mental processes, Sigmund Freud elaborated a full-scale theory of the human psyche and of psychic development. He split the psyche into three parts: the dominant Id with its two innate basic instincts of Eros (libido) and Thanatos (death and destructive drive); the unimportant Ego, a window on reality; and the Super-Ego, which moderates between the wild primitive Id (The Unconscious) and the Ego (Consciousness) in dealing with reality, and is the bearer of the social element in the human personality.

The theory of the racial unconscious as the source of innate drives, memories and taboos, the content of the Id, is an essential elements of Classical Freudianism. As Freud sees it, the racial unconscious subsumes the human experience of the *primaeval horde*, which he regards as the initial phase in human relationships. He infers correspondence between the elements of the racial and individual unconscious, with each human passing through all the inevitable phases reproducing the history of the race in his individual development. Among these he includes the biologically innate Oedipus Complex. The character, personality, normality, etc., of the adult, Freud says, depends on the child's transitions from one phase to the next and on how he resolves his Oedipus Complex.

Freud claims that his theory of the definitive role of the 'libido' (as he terms sexual energy) has universal application: to history, society, groups (youth, women, neurotics, children), culture and daily living.

A striking and dramatic example of the application of psycho-analytic theory to a major social phenomenon took place in 1932 when Albert Einstein wrote to Freud to ask for his participation in preserving peace. In an open letter, Freud replied that 'it (war) seems quite a natural thing.' Freud further explained to Einstein that 'the aggressive or destructive instinct . . . is at work in every living being and is striving to bring it to ruin and to reduce life to its original condition of inanimate matter' (*Collected Papers*, Vol. V, London, 1950, p. 285).

Freud made other sweeping generalizations regarding civilization (due to sublimation of repressed unconscious drives*), resistance to authority (Oedipus Complex), etc.

Classical Freudianism could not and did not remain unchanged in a world undergoing massive social change and scientific growth. While preserving Freud in the original for those who could stomach it, the more unscientific and reactionary aspects had to be eliminated to make Freudianism palatable to those influenced by science and social struggle.

Experimental psychology had made great strides in the study of

*By sublimation Freud means the transformation of the individual's repressed sexual energy into a socially acceptable activity. One type of sublimation is man's creative activity - the arts, science, culture, etc.

perception, memory, learning*, psycho-motor functioning – in those very areas discounted as unimportant by Freud. Ego psychology had to be made more prominent in Freudian theory: Heinz Hartman constructed a more scientific-appearing theory in this area of what Freud called 'the secondary processes of the ego.' Anna Freud also came to her father's 'scientific' rescue by introducing the mechanisms of defense of the ego. These theories accentuate the active role of the human consciousness in the individual's adaptation to the environment, but preserve the classical Freudian postulate of behavior ultimately depending on innate instincts.

Rising social struggle based upon class and national consciousness, together with major anthropological findings on the effects of culture on human behavior, made necessary the removal of Freud's concept of a universal, unchanging 'racial unconscious.' Revisers of Freud such as Franz Alexander and Abram Kardiner helped to perform this surgery.

But these changes were insufficient to give Freudianism the appearance of scientific respectability and a progressive posture. They merely filled in the onesidedness of Freudian theory, which under-rated the activeness of the Ego, excised the obviously unscientific concept of the 'racial unconscious,' but left untouched the basic Freudian premise: the theory of innate unconscious drives and memories.

Anthropology had amassed massive evidence to disprove the claimed universality of such basic Freudian assumptions as the sex and death instincts, innate infantile sexual stages, and the Oedipus Complex. Further, a number of these concepts had been experimentally tested and found to be false. Summing up and evaluating these experimental findings in his *Survey of Objective Studies of Psychoanalytic Concepts* (New York, 1942), Robert Sears came to the following conclusion: 'By the criteria of the physical sciences, psychoanalysis is not a good science. . . . Psychoanalysis relies upon techniques that do not admit of the repetition of observation, that have no self-evident or denotative validity, and that are tinctured to an unknown degree with the observer's own suggestions.' (p. 133).

Another strong impetus for streamlining Classical Freudianism came from the militant, conscious movement of workers, youth, farmers and Blacks beginning with the catastrophic economic crisis of the 30s and continuing to today. The static, instinctual, sex-oriented psychoanalytic theory could not satisfactorily explain these conscious movements which responded to specific social phenomena. A new look was needed – and Neo-Freudianism emerged.

Led by Karen Horney, Erich Fromm and Harry Stack Sullivan, the Neo-Freudians set about excising the more grotesque features of Classical Freudianism. The sex and death instincts, the infantile sexual states, the Oedipus Complex – all were cast overboard. Calling their sleek new theory 'the cultural psychoanalytic approach,'

*In psychology, learning is the formative process of new conditioned associations in the human psyche.

they claimed to relate the psyche to the culture and society in which the individual lives. Erich Fromm maintains that some requirements are common to all men (hunger, thirst, sex, and the like), while others, which create differences in men's characters (love and hate, lust for power, and the like), are the product of the social process (See Erich Fromm, *Escape From Freedom*, N.Y., 1941, p. 12). The Neo-Freudians stated that mental illness was due to socio-cultural factors. They even called for basic changes in society to reduce mental illness.

However, the Neo-Freudians are at one with the Freudians in attributing human behavior to the operation of The Unconscious. Fromm, in his *Escape from Freedom*, writes: 'Only a psychology which utilizes the concept of unconscious forces can penetrate the confusing rationalizations we are confronted with in analyzing either an individual or a culture' (p. 137). Like Freud, the Neo-Freudians use the very same psychoanalytic techniques invented by Freud: dream analysis, free association, transference, etc. Common to both are their cultural and social analyses based upon The Unconscious.

Capitalist ideology is infinitely adept in offering the same ideological food with different sauces. Neo-Freudianism covers Freud's main dish of The Unconscious with the sauce of 'socio-cultural responsiveness.' It enables both the Freudians and the Neo-Freudians to explain socio-political actions and events involving normal people in terms of sex repression, instinctual drives or other unconscious mechanisms. Fromm, for example, evaluates human action and mass movements as 'mechanisms of escape (which) are the driving forces in normal man' (*Escape From Freedom*, p. 141). These Frommian 'mechanisms of escape' include masochistic and sadistic strivings, destructiveness, and automaton conformity. Of course, these mechanisms operate unconsciously, below the level of awareness, in 'the deeper layer of personality' (p. 163).

The Neo-Freudian approach, especially the theory relating the psyche to culture and society and the call for basic changes, attracts many progressives and even those gravitating to Marxism. For was it not Marx who showed the tie-up between man's fundamental problems and the socio-economic and cultural?

The delusions about Neo-Freudianism are also impelled by attempts to merge Freud with Marx. Leaders in this effort have been Erich Fromm, Herbert Marcuse and Wilhelm Reich.

Fromm avers that Marx was onesided, for he 'did not see that a better society could not be brought into life by people who had not undergone a moral change within themselves.' Hence the conclusion that Marx's theory needs to be 'complemented' with the psychoanalytic concept of irrational forces in man, which helps understand human nature and create a socialist theory best suited for it. He interprets Marx's philosophical system in an existentialist context, eliminating several basic principles of Marxism: the theory of class struggle, of socialist revolution, of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and public ownership of the means of production. This,

indeed, is the kind of merger that the cat makes with the mouse: Fromm and Freud try to swallow up Marx.

Lenin pointed out that subjective idealist philosophy always opens the way to spiritualism and mysticism. Freudianism is subjective idealism applied to the psyche, it is 'mentalism' – the divorce of the psyche from its physiological base and from objective social reality. Dissatisfied with his earlier attempts to reform Freud (and Marx), Fromm has now descended into the ideational abyss of Zen Buddhism and religious mysticism (*Psychoanalysis and Religion*, New Haven, 1950; *Zen Buddhism and Psychoanalysis*, New York, 1960). Now Fromm makes a genuine merger – unlike his merger of Freud and Marx – the merger of Freudian 'insight' with Zen Buddhist 'satori' – the sudden awakening, the enlightenment. He can now offer a glittering and seductive goal: the achievement of inner peace and true happiness to those dissatisfied with the capitalist 'vale of tears.'

Fromm has gone the long Freudian road from the speculative and socially reactionary Freudian theory to the mystical and unattainable 'satori' of Zen Buddhism. His one purpose was to salvage the substance of psychoanalysis even if he had to sacrifice the Freudian form.

In analyzing the nature and role of bourgeois ideology one is struck by certain ideological components which function in many spheres. Psychoanalysis has that kind of ideological liquidity in present-day American society.

Both Classical Freudianism and Neo-Freudianism have two purposes: to distort and misrepresent human thought, emotion and behavior, and to psychologize social processes. What could be more pleasing to the ruling class than to convince people that their problems are due to unconscious conflicts? And what could pay off more handsomely than the idea that human history today with its wars, racism and oppression is due to unconscious, destructive and libidinous forces and repressions and not to capitalism?

Psychoanalysis forces the individual to look within himself for the cause of his problems. It prevents the individual from joining with others in real struggle against the real causes.

Psychoanalysis has saturated the ideological and cultural atmosphere in the U.S. One must admit that psychoanalytic theory offers strikingly dramatic material to writers and dramatists: sex, parricide, incest, perversion, sado-masochism, dream symbolism, insight, unconscious motivation. It offers, one must sadly conclude, everything but psychological truth. Art, politics and history – in short, all aspects of public life are interpreted and evaluated in the light of psychoanalytic theory.

The three leading American playwrights – Arthur Miller, Edward Albee and Tennessee Williams – write works shot through with psychoanalytic symbolism and Freudian motivation along with Existentialist guilt and despair.

For historians, a new technique is reported (*New York Times*, July 3, 1971): 'Perhaps the fastest growing of the new techniques

(of historians) is psychohistory. Analysts and historians with psychoanalytic training have adapted Freudian analysis in the search for the hidden psychological forces that have motivated men.' Applying Freudian 'psychohistorical' analysis to Richard Nixon, historian Bruce Mazlich of Massachusetts Institute of Technology writes that Nixon has had 'a serious problem with death wishes and anxiety: in relation to his brothers, himself and Eisenhower.' So much for the man responsible for the daily death of babies and other humans in Indochina!

Not only is history mutilated by the psychoanalytic theory of universal, unconscious, compulsive behaviour, but the role of workers, Blacks, women and youth in the class struggle is either negated or distorted.

Freud's psychoanalytical theory of women ascribed every conceivable trait of inferiority to them: hysterical, masochistic, child-like, passive, vain, envious, unreliable. Freud's disciples and successors, as well as the Neo-Freudians have for the most part left his basic views on women unchanged. Is it strange then that the growing and increasingly militant Women's Liberation Movement in the U.S. angrily rejects all Freudian and Neo-Freudian views on women?

The most feared movement (by the monopolists) in the U.S. today is the Black Freedom Movement. Frequent attempts are made to Freudianize this movement. A recent book of this genre by two psychiatrists (*Black Rage*, by Grier & Price, New York, 1969) met this rebuff by Black reviewer Janet Saxe in *The Black Scholar* (March, 1970): '*Black Rage* is a collection of commonly held assertions about Black people strung on the thin thread of Freudian psychoanalysis and clasped together with interestingly tragic anecdotes about a few unusually unfortunate Black people.'

One need hardly refer to the Freudian and Neo-Freudian stereotype of militant workers and Communists: rebelling against authority (as a father-figure) due to Oedipal conflict (Freud) or externally expressing their inability to deal with their unconscious internal emotional conflicts (Neo-Freudians).

Psychoanalytic theory thus buttresses the effort by the ruling class to 'blame the victim' for his victimization by capitalist society, to turn workers, Blacks, women and youth inward into their own psyche rather than outward against the real causes of their oppression.

The many attempts at rationalizing, correcting or perfecting Freud while leaving intact his fundamental postulates, as we have seen, have proved futile. A tide of opposition is rising against Freudianism in the West, with sharp criticism aimed at its methodological and philosophical principles. But it is Marxism and Marxist psychology that makes the most conclusive and comprehensive criticism of Freud's claim to having reached a new understanding of man, culture and society.

Lenin, in his talks with Clara Zetkin in 1920, pinpointed the reasons for the popularity of Freudianism in capitalist society and

its role in the politico-ideological struggle. Taking exception to a Vienna pamphlet on the women's question, in which the Marxist approach was 'backed up' with Freudian judgments, Lenin, as Zetkin relates, said: 'Freudian theory is the modern fashion. I mistrust the sexual theories of the articles, dissertations, pamphlets, etc., in short, the particular kind of literature which flourishes luxuriantly in the dirty soil of bourgeois society. I mistrust those who are always contemplating the sexual question, like the Indian saint his navel. . . . No matter how rebellious and revolutionary this occupation seeks to manifest itself, it is in the final analysis out and out bourgeois. . . . There is no place for it in the Party, in the class conscious, fighting proletariat' (*Lenin on the Woman Question*, New York, 1934).

Since then psychology, particularly Soviet psychology, has made great strides. Pavlov's laws of the higher nervous activity and conditioned reflexes served as the natural scientific substance of psychology. Marxism-Leninism provided it with a true conception of such all-important philosophical categories as the psyche, consciousness, reflection, image, personality and activity, and thereby offered psychologists new horizons in elaborating the regularities in man's psychic development.

For Marxist psychology, social activity by the individual is the central and decisive feature in the shaping of his psyche. The role of parents, family, school and mass struggle is vital in shaping the ideas, emotions, attitudes, behavior, outlook and personality of the individual. Hence, human consciousness as a reflection of social reality plays the dominant role in human behavior. Man is not a helpless, neurotic creature, a slave of his instincts, as the psychoanalysts wish to make out. Changing the world through his practical revolutionary activity, he also changes himself, opening up new facets of his social and natural essence.

The facts of history show that the proper conditions for realizing the immense potentialities of human beings exist in socialist society. Here in the United States, the struggle against psychoanalysis as a 'science' and as a social theory denying the rational nature of man and that it is possible to build a truly humane society by socialist revolution, is a part of the necessary ideological struggle we must wage if we, too, are to achieve these proper conditions. Given socialism, we can then realize the essence of what Hamlet said about humankind: 'What a piece of work is man! How noble in reason! How infinite in faculties! In form and moving, how express and admirable! In action, how like an angel! In apprehension, how like a god! The beauty of the world! The paragon of animals!'



The Philippines at the crossroads

Francisco Balagtas

I

For more than a quarter of a century the Philippines has operated within the framework of a neo-colonial society and economy. The two bourgeois parties alternating in office, the Nationalista and Liberal, rely almost completely on American economic aid and military aid and pursue consistently an uncompromising anti-popular policy (internal and external). The possibilities of 'free enterprise' are virtually exhausted and the nation now finds itself in a blind alley. Without adequate means of its own to solve its problems, the economy, underdeveloped and unbalanced, has almost reached a point of stagnation. It will take tens of billions of pesos of investment to give the economy a shot in the arm.

Before going over to the country's socio-political situation, which is the principal object of this article, let us look at some general aspects of the Philippine economy.

Agriculture is its main branch. More than 60 per cent of the nation's gross national product comes from farming and 70 per

cent of the value of its total exports is derived from three natural raw materials: coconut, sugar and wood. Industrialization is limited and slow. The vast majority of the population lives in misery. About a quarter are agricultural and industrial workers. Their wages are low, while prices keep rising and the inflation gets worse. Per capita income in 1968 was 667 pesos, which falls short of even the official cost-of-living minimum. As much as 97 per cent of the population receive but 35 per cent of the national income the growth rate of which hardly suffices to match the annual population growth rate. Total number of unemployed in 1968 was more than one million, while visible and invisible underemployment was close to three and a half million. Rural overpopulation is probably the most cogent reason behind the chronic unemployment. The peasantry constitutes 60 per cent of the population. Almost three-fifths of the peasantry are poor peasants without land of their own, or with so little land as to be compelled to work as share tenants. There has been a

continuing shift from the ranks of the peasantry to the ranks of agricultural or factory workers. Masses of ruined peasants go to towns in search of jobs, but the factories cannot provide them with employment. The country needs a massive program of industrialization to provide work to those willing and able to work.

Disenchantment, discontent and anger are welling up among the masses. Struggles to achieve a higher standard of living, to secure national and social liberation, are becoming more acute. The people of the Philippines are becoming more responsive to the ideas of the class struggle.

II

The peasants have a long tradition of armed struggle. During the three hundred and seventy-five years of Spanish domination the peasantry had conducted more than three hundred revolts, which culminated in the Philippine revolution of 1896. During the American imperialist regime, several peasant revolts (Colorum, Tanguilan, Sakdal, Pulahanes) also took place. When the Japanese militarists invaded the country in 1941, it was the peasantry which formed the backbone of the Hukbalahap, the armed force of the Anti-Japanese United Front led by the Communist Party of the Philippines. The revolutionary core of the anti-Japanese armed forces continued the fight for democratic change and social liberation until the defeat in the 1950s. It suffered only a temporary de-

moralization and is once again in the forefront of the anti-imperialist struggle for national liberation.

The working class of the Philippines is in no way comparable in class consciousness, experience and organization to the proletariat in the industrially developed capitalist countries. The working class is only a few generations removed from its peasant origins. Consequently, it still retains remnants of the peasant mentality. But it has had considerable experience in conducting militant mass actions.

When the trade unions following the leadership of the CPP were outlawed in 1951, the American monopolists, utilizing the AFL-CIO trade union leaders, concentrated on laying the foundations of a 'free' trade union movement steeped in the ideology of economism, reformism, legalism and anti-communism. Up to now this ideological trend in the trade union movement is still dominant. However, under the impact of the deteriorating economic situation, with high prices outpacing meagre increases in wages, and with increasing insecurity of employment, the workers are once more conducting militant mass actions in defense of their livelihood. The more advanced sectors of the working class are actively participating in anti-imperialist mass actions, aside from leading militant strikes in defense of workers' interests.

A relatively new feature in the resurging anti-imperialist struggle is the active participation of, and even leadership by,

petty-bourgeois elements, particularly students, intellectuals, professionals and even government employees in militant mass actions. Experience has taught them that only organized, militant collective mass action which the exploited peasants and workers utilize to fight for their interests, can similarly serve their own aspirations. Now, these petty-bourgeois elements, particularly the students, actively seek the organized and unorganized workers and peasants to coordinate their struggle.

The exploiting classes, the feudal landlords, compradores, national bourgeoisie and the big professionals serving them and the American monopolists, constitute a mere five per cent of the population. Notwithstanding their numerical inferiority, the exploiting classes continue to rule and exploit because of their ownership of the means of production, and because of continuing American military and economic support.

There is, as yet, no sharp conflict between the exploiting classes. Under the neo-colonial set-up, the feudal landlords exploit the peasantry. The compradores exploit the small producers and profit immensely as agents of foreign monopolists. The national bourgeoisie, whether as junior partners of foreign monopolists or as independent capitalists, exploit the workers. The big professionals exploiting the small professionals render service to the foreign monopolists and the native exploiting classes.

As the exploited, compelled

by necessity, begin to organize, unite and conduct militant struggles, there appears conflict among the exploiters themselves. The national bourgeoisie, chiefly its Left wing, supports the demand of the peasantry for agrarian reform, even at the expense of the feudal landlords. Increasingly, it struggles for industrialization. Industrialists, except the compradores, profiting immensely from export-import ties with the U.S., are insistently clamoring for diversification of foreign markets, including socialist markets. Among other things, they hope to get loans from socialist countries on more favorable terms than in the USA.

III

In these circumstances, the ruling element, hard pressed by the working people and the Left wing of the national bourgeoisie, are forced to think about revising, even if superficially, their policies. Preparations are afoot to work out a new constitution, and the question of establishing cultural, commercial and diplomatic relations with socialist countries is being studied.

Since 1946, when formal independence was recognized, the Philippines has held seven national elections and six local elections. These elections were invariably tainted by rampant vote buying, fraudulent counting of votes and terrorism. As a cumulative result of continuing election anomalies, the electorate is increasingly losing faith in the efficacy of the electoral process. In a poll conducted in Manila and its suburbs after the

1969 elections, almost one-fifth of those polled expressed the opinion that it is 'only through violence that our government will reform.' The people are gradually losing confidence in the ruling parties, long in promises, but short in performance, and looking up to other parties for guidance, and even to engage in forms of struggle, other than electoral, to protest their interests. Contributing to the people's loss of confidence in these parties is the scandalous practice of leaders in the ruling party, transferring to the opposition party to obtain its support to topple the ruling party, only to continue the unpopular policies and corrupt practices of the defeated party, in utter disregard of their election commitments.

Reinforcing the disillusionment of the people is the persistent and relentless exposure of American imperialism. The dirty war in Vietnam and other U.S. aggressive actions have dispelled the widespread illusion about American 'altruism' and 'democracy.' The recent leak and publication of the Pentagon documents merely confirm in greater detail what nationalists, socialists and Communists have been patiently and continuously explaining to the people.

The hierarchy of the Catholic Church, which has had a long record of identification with the exploiting classes and is also showing discontent, is now cleverly dissociating itself openly from its discredited class allies. It is denouncing the two-party system and is engaged in a program of social action (essentially palliatives) and is now

even paying lip service to nationalism, even while refusing to take a categorical anti-imperialist position, and instead is conducting anti-Communist propaganda.

The Church was most aggressive in demanding the convening of a constitutional convention took an active part in the campaign for delegates and is expected to play a significant behind-the-scenes role in its deliberations. Responding to the situation, the hierarchy tolerates the open espousal of christian democratic and even social democratic principles by the mass organizations of workers, peasants, youth, women and professionals that are under its influence. It stresses the need to 'restructure society' at the same time that it is elaborating a 'theology of violence' which is aimed primarily against the revolutionary movement for national liberation, but is also being seriously considered for use against its class allies who may prove too stubborn, callous and cynical to effect minimum reforms calculated to defuse an otherwise explosive situation.

Among the young Catholics, particularly the students, a movement is emerging to challenge the authority of the hierarchy. This movement is essentially motivated to reform the church. However, possibilities exist to draw its Left-wing, or at least individual progressives, to the united anti-imperialist front.

The armed forces are not immune to the erosive effects of the unrelenting struggle of class forces, considering the role they are compelled to perform in the

suppression of legal and peaceful mass actions. There is growing discontent with the rampant corruption not only in the government bureaucracy, but also in the higher echelon of the military establishment. A growing, if still insignificant, number of the rank-and-file soldiers and officers are beginning to be more cautious and prudent in the performance of their assigned tasks. Those who have not succumbed to corruption among the relatively intelligent officers are beginning to draw conclusions from the experience of other underdeveloped countries, where the armed forces are playing a constructive role in the national reconstruction of their society and economy. However, the higher echelon of the military establishment is dominated by corrupted officers whose loyalty is not to the country and its people, but to individual politicians and oligarchs and to their American advisers to whom they owe their positions and tenure in office.

The American monopolists are modifying their tactics to suit the current turn of events. They have established a network of intelligence inside and outside the government, which enables them to obtain more reliable information than that gathered by the national government. They have infiltrated all the political parties and mass organizations. They have been abandoning discredited puppets and obsolete class allies in favor of unexposed potential puppets and new flexible class allies. They make skillful use of the disunity in the ranks of the anti-imperialist struggle, caused by

the splitting and disruptive actions of the 'Maoist' group which claims to be the genuine Communist party.

Enjoying ample funds coming from dubious sources (including Filipino agents of the CIA and other oligarchs) the 'Maoist' group and its leaders have easy access to the bourgeois-owned mass media (newspapers, magazines, radio and television) which deny access to the CPP and the mass organizations under its influence. This group and its student followers stage 'militant' mass demonstrations, projecting the slogans of anti-imperialism and anti-feudalism, but concentrate their attacks not only on the Marcos administration, but also on the Soviet Union and other socialist countries and the genuine Communist Party of the Philippines. Through its mass publications and leaflets, it has been distorting the true aims, policies and methods of struggle of the CPP. It even resorts to threats and acts of terrorism against progressives, nationalists, socialists and Communists.

Whether or not this group is a genuine Maoist party, or is merely a CIA front, or a combination of the two, is still unresolved. What is more important, the American imperialists and their class collaborators may utilize the highly provocative words and actions of the 'Maoist' group and its followers to justify the establishment of a military-fascist dictatorship for the suppression of the genuine revolutionary movement for national liberation. The CPP devotes special attention to this danger.

IV

In its 'Thesis on the National Situation' discussed and approved at its CC Conference of August 1969, the Communist Party of the Philippines made an analysis of the policies of the Party since its organization, its errors and mistakes, and an assessment of the alignment and balance of class forces and of its own subjective strength in relation to the objective situation. It defined its strategic aims, and clarified the outlook and perspectives of the struggle, the relation and interaction of varying forms and methods of struggle, the need for theoretical discussions within the CPP itself, its concrete tasks in organizing and leading mass movements and mass actions, the role being played by the professed Maoists in dividing the anti-imperialist front and the urgency to break its isolation from the international Communist movement.

The CPP realistically recognizes that in the struggle between the imperialist-dominated and imperialist-supported exploiting classes, on the one hand, and the exploited classes and their potential ally within the ruling class (progressive national bourgeoisie), on the other, the balance of forces is still heavily tipped in favor of the exploiting classes. However, it is changing with the deterioration of the crisis of the neo-colonial economy, under the impact of the worldwide struggle between the revolutionary forces for national liberation, social emancipation, democracy, peace and socialism led by the

Soviet Union, on the one hand, and the forces of imperialism, feudalism, fascism and war led by American imperialism, on the other. This struggle is significantly aiding the Philippine struggle for national liberation.

At the present stage of the struggle, the CPP sets for itself the strategic aims of achieving complete independence from American imperialist economic exploitation and political domination and the liquidation of the powerful remnants of feudal exploitation and political control, leading to the establishment of a national-democratic state (in which political power is shared by the alliance of the workers, peasants, the petty bourgeoisie and the progressive national bourgeoisie) which will proceed to restructure the economy, ultimately leading to socialism.

The CPP, learning from the past mistakes, realizes that the struggle will be bitter, difficult and protracted. It struggles against the illusion of a quick and easy victory, in the face of the declining power and disarray of the ruling classes and the decline of the strength and prestige of American imperialism, which illusion manifests itself in adventurism, sectarianism and premature engagement in armed struggle not based on stable mass support. It simultaneously struggles against tendencies of evasion of militant mass actions, awaitism and undue reliance on external factors favorable to the struggle. It is simultaneously conducting a struggle against both parliamentarism and militarism, and is prepared to combine skillfully

and flexibly, as the situation dictates, both peaceful and violent, legal and illegal, parliamentary and armed forms and methods of struggle.

The CPP believes that properly organized and led in militant mass actions, the working class can assume, in close alliance with the poor peasantry, the leading role in the national-democratic struggle. For this purpose, the CPP is determined to devote greater attention to the trade union movement, concentrate more on the rank-and-file workers, and avoid its past sectarian tendency of isolating itself from the mass of workers whose leadership is corrupt, reformist, class-collaborationist or anti - Communist. It is also oriented to give priority to organizational work in industries with relatively larger concentration of workers and in such key sectors as the banks and other financial organizations, communications, transport, power, etc.

The CPP has not yet learned to make proper use of the potentialities of the revolutionary students, intellectuals and other petty-bourgeois elements. It is confronted with the phenomenon of intelligent, sincere and dedicated revolutionary students and intellectuals actually engaged in militant mass actions, following the leadership of the 'Maoist' group or the leadership of the church-led Christian Social Movement. It is not enough to expose the adventurism, sectarianism and 'Left' infantilism of the 'Maoist' leadership or the reformism or reactionary orientation of the church-led and church-influenced mass or-

ganizations. It is necessary to establish contact and organizational relationships and to participate in joint struggle with the mass of sincere revolutionary students and intellectuals to hasten their disillusionment with the incorrect ideology and methods of struggle of the 'Maoists' and the CSM, leading them to the correct path of revolutionary struggle. It would be fruitful to study the experience of fraternal parties in other Asian, African and Latin American countries where revolutionary petty-bourgeois elements are playing an active, positive role in the national-democratic struggle.

The CPP and the anti-imperialist forces it has been leading since its organization have survived four decades of American imperialist suppression, with the help of its class allies. It has survived, considerably weakened compared with its strength in the late 1940s and early 1950s. A variety of factors contributed to this weakening, not the least of which was its long isolation from the world socialist community, the international working-class movement and the national liberation movements in Asia, Africa and Latin America. To overcome its shortcomings arising from such organizational and ideological isolation, the CPP is determined to forge ties of unity and fraternal relations with brother Marxist-Leninist parties in the spirit of proletarian internationalism. It has struggled and will continue to struggle against all attempts and manifestations tending to create disunity within the international Communist movement.

At the same time, it is prepared to apply creatively the relevant experiences of other Communist parties to the concrete situation in the Philippines.

The CPP is deeply conscious of the grave responsibility it has to bear at this juncture when the country is confronted with the alternative of moving forward in the direction of complete national liberation, people's democracy and eventual abolition of all forms of exploitation, or moving backward towards more intensified neo-

colonial exploitation, neo-fascist or clerico-fascist dictatorship and tyranny. Much depends upon the dedication and devotion of individual members of the CPP and the speed, skill and flexibility with which it can organize and lead the revolutionary struggle of the people, and on the internationalist support which the unified forces of the worldwide anti-imperialist front can render to the Philippine struggle against the most aggressive and ruthless enemy—U.S. imperialism.

The Mollwaldplatz discussions

If you happen to be in Vienna, try to find your way to Mollwaldplatz. Not many Viennese know this small square, closed in on three sides by buildings and adjacent to the Faworitenstrasse, now dug up as Vienna builds its subway. A small plate on No. 5 reads 'International Institute for Peace.'

Founded about two years ago, the Institute is little known in Austrian and international learned circles. In fact, many of the European and American scholars I met there had first heard about it when invited to one of its discussions.

Meeting place

The Institute is on the second floor, and there is nothing to suggest a research center—you

do not see people poring over manuscripts or books. In fact, there are no staff researchers, only voluntary collaborators. The main research laboratory is a large, airy hall with a big table and chairs in the center and a cinema screen on the far wall.

Dr. Georg Fuchs, the Institute's Vice-President, told us: 'We are an international research organization, our main purpose being to provide a meeting place for scholars from many capitalist and socialist countries and to serve as a discussion forum for representatives of the social and natural sciences, Marxists and non-Marxists—we welcome everyone prepared to place his knowledge at the service of peace.'

The idea of such a dialogue forum on a wide range of ques-

tions relating to the peaceful coexistence of states with differing socio-economic structures originated with the late Josef Dobretsberger, an Austrian professor of no party affiliation, and he did much to make the idea a reality.

The scholars from various countries I talked to agreed that the dialogue must be seen within the context of the growing role of science in international relations. Research on peaceful ways of resolving international conflicts took hold in many countries in the sixties. And peace research is even becoming a new branch of the social sciences, just as in earlier years research on military problems acquired an independent status. UNESCO data indicate that there were 83 research centers and institutes working on peace and disarmament at the end of 1965; today the figure is more than 150, not counting international organizations of peace researchers.

This can, to a certain degree, be taken as an expression of an objective need of our times, buttressed by the growing urge of Marxist and democratically-minded researchers to make science an instrument of peace, a contribution to an enduring system of peaceful relations, international security and cooperation. But it has to be said that such research is not always meant to promote peace. In the U.S., for instance, there are 'peace research' centers working on the problem of boosting the arms drive rather than disarmament, of applying the 'games theory' to imperialist strategy rather than the strategy of

peace. They are working in the interests of the Establishment and serve its foreign policy. But even in these institutions there are scholars anxious to find effective ways of assuring enduring peace and to prevent exploitation of the peace slogan by unscrupulous politicians.

The Vienna institute, I learned, concentrates on concrete research in the ways and means of achieving stable peace in our time. The conferences, symposia and colloquia it sponsors facilitate broader exchanges of research results, discussion of possible peaceful solutions for specific international issues and elaboration of proposals designed to promote international cooperation. The discussions clearly delineate areas of agreement and single out issues requiring continued study. The value of this method is beyond doubt. It has won appreciation from U Thant in a message to the Institute's colloquium 'The 25th Anniversary of the United Nations and International Security.' The UN Secretary-General said in his message of greetings: '... As the distinguished scholars exchange views at your colloquium, I hope that they will find new ways and means by which the United Nations can play an increasingly vital role in the world of tomorrow.'

Science must work for peace

The main element in the Institute's activities is discussion by scientists and primarily specialists, irrespective of their political and other views, of concrete aspects of the peace problem. In 1970, in addition to the above-

mentioned colloquium, there was a symposium on the security aspects of international economic cooperation, and this year, a conference on peace and security in Europe and all-European cooperation and a symposium on the so-called aggression instinct theory. Jointly with the Vienna University Peace Research Institute, it is holding a colloquium in November on The Search for Peace as Seen From Various Ideological Viewpoints. These discussions usually bring together scholars from 10-20 capitalist and socialist countries and are therefore fairly representative.

Their results are published in the *Peace and Sciences* series which appear in German, English and French. This is a rather unique publication, for in it we find diverse approaches to the same problems, and, more interesting still, diverse viewpoints, which are not simply reported, but often organically woven into the polemic, making possible a clear assessment of their merits and demerits. The series is interesting for another reason — it shows the process of how scientific truth is forged through dialogue of Marxists and non-Marxists. Here is one example.

In the days of Marx's polemic with the Manchester school, the theory was current (and still is) that international trade, irrespective of its concrete-historical forms, is always beneficial to peace. In a recent symposium on international economic cooperation, Professor Adler-Karlsson (Institute for International Economic Relations, Stockholm) said that he had not found any convincing proof of this in

scientific literature. More, there were arguments of disproof: the two world wars were fought by nations who had been trading partners; economic relations based on imperialist ties, exploitation, domination and inequality, contain the seeds of future conflicts. Dr. Juergen Kuczynski (German Academy of Sciences, Berlin, GDR) remarked that this thesis, in its general form, was fallacious. He recalled Lenin's criticism of Kautsky's utopian ideas that, with the undivided domination of imperialism, development of economic contacts leads to disarmament and peace. Prof. E. Winter (UNESCO, Paris) drew attention to Pisar's book, *Commerce and Coexistence*, and its 'recommendations' to the anti-Communist and conservative forces. International trade, Pisar says, should be used as a weapon to undermine the socialist system, maintaining that trade 'will eventually defeat communism in Eastern Europe.'

Besides a negative appraisal of certain imperialist forms of international trade, with their characteristic features of impairment of independence, exploitation, etc., there were many arguments in favor of international economic intercourse and cooperation as the material basis of peaceful relations. These two diametrically opposed views are not, however, mutually exclusive. The question of the interconnection of world trade and peace cannot be treated abstractly, in disregard of concrete socio-economic and political conditions. One should distinguish between the time when capitalism and imperialism held undivided sway, and the present

time when there are two socio-economic systems. In these conditions, normalization of trade, its development on a basis of equality and mutual advantage, is an important aspect of peaceful coexistence. Dr. E. M. Chosudovsky (UN, Geneva) remarked that disclosing the principles and demands of normal international trade would help to understand its role in strengthening peaceful relations. That is one possible direction for further study suggested by the discussion.

Apparently, one thing that especially attracts scholars is the opportunity the Vienna Institute offers for weighing the new ideas that crop up in the discussions and for their closer examination. The second 1971 issue of *Peace and the Sciences* contains the record of a conference on peace and security in Europe and all-European cooperation. And in it are proposals on the nature and principles of Europe's future security system. Their value for the scientific community lies in their concentration on major European security problems. For instance, the paper read by Academician N. Inozemtsev of the USSR Academy of Sciences' Institute of World Economy and International Relations contains a discussion outline on such problems as economic, scientific, technical and cultural cooperation in Europe; prospects for establishing a system of collective security and creating on this basis a bloc-free structure of international relations; elaboration of a general theory of conflict and crisis situations and methods of de-escalating military

and political crises; problems of preserving and improving the environment.

A few words about the Institute's scientific criticism of concepts that serve war propaganda. Our acquaintance with the Institute was during a symposium on Aggression Instinct Theories. They are not new: in the early 1900s, Freud came to the conclusion that the source of war is rooted in man innate instinct of death and destruction (Thanatos). War, he wrote, 'no doubt has a good biological basis and in practice it is scarcely avoidable.'^{*} At one time these 'social-Darwinist' views on war as a manifestation of human nature were fashionable among bourgeois sociologists and psychologists. Social and psychological literature published since the war, however, leaves no doubt that they are being shed by most psychologists and sociologists. But there was a new flare-up of 'social Darwinism' in the second half of the sixties.

This time it was associated with the development of ethology, the study of animal behavior. Konrad Lorenz and Robert Ardrey, it was noted at the symposium, have been eulogizing the 'new biology' as a means of understanding the problems of our century, maintaining that the violence of *homo sapiens* is biologically determined and rooted in ineradicable instincts. Thus, Lorenz asserts: 'With atom bombs in their hands and the endogenous aggressive instincts of an irritable ape in their nervous system, modern

^{*}Discussed in more detail by J. Reynolds elsewhere in this issue. - Ed.

mankind would have thoroughly lost its balance.' That pessimistic conclusion is supported by a number of biological arguments. As distinct from the animals, man's anthropoid ancestors did not evolve a restraining mechanism that would prevent annihilation of each other. Nor was there any need for such a mechanism, because, we are told, they had not been endowed by nature with such natural weapons as sharp teeth and claws. With the invention of weapons, however, man had to pay for this blunder of biological evolution by destroying members of his own species. This biolization of social relations is the very core of Lorenz's 'aggression instinct theory.'

Ardrey's 'territorial imperative' theory is just as far removed from science. One of his 'shattering' discoveries is that the world is filled with 'private property' beings, though this applies to a much lesser degree to humans. In the ocean depths, in the great forests — wherever there are animals, fish, birds, even insects, there is a 'struggle for territorial property.' And viewing the animal world through this prism of private property, Ardrey has no difficulty in completing his theory: 'The human striving for property,' he says, is but 'the expression of an animal instinct' which drove 'the first man to become an armed murderer.' The biological instinct, which supposedly is inherent in man as in every other animal, is the explanation not only of war, but also of its ultimate cause, private property.

To scientists, this was an amusing novelty, but they were

able to expose its reactionary foundation, shows its scientific absurdity. Papers read at the 1967 American anthropological congress, for instance, exposed the anti-scientific attempts to explain war as part of man's biological nature. But the voice of truth was drowned in the hue and cry of the bourgeois mass information media. Lorenz's and Ardrey's bio-militarist conceptions suited the needs of imperialist aggression and were highly publicized in an attempt to exonerate imperialism of its crimes in Indochina and the Middle East, of the ever-present nuclear menace and the arms drive, and to instil the idea that efforts to abolish militarism and war are useless.

The 'aggression instinct' symposium brought together biologists, zoologists, anthropologists, psychologists, sociologists and politologists from eleven countries and contributed to the exposure of these reactionary conceptions. A large part in this, participants and observers agreed, was played by the scientific validity of the introductory report compiled by the Vienna Communist professor, Dr. Walter Hollitscher. However, in the view of this writer the discussion was somewhat academic, and one cannot agree with everything said at the symposium, especially with some of the remarks about the causes and sources of contemporary international conflicts.

Acquaintance with the Vienna International Institute for Peace reaffirms anew the very real possibility of joint fruitful work by Marxists and non-Marxists in research for peace.

And there can be no doubt that such cooperation will advance concrete research of the problems of peace and thereby con-

tribute to the solution of the problems of international security.

E. Panfilov

Vienna-Prague

Opposite sides of the barricades

Notes on the world cinema

Vladimir Baskakov

The traditional film festivals furnish opportunities for an exchange of experience and achievements. In this respect the seventh Moscow Festival held this summer was of particular importance. First, because it was the most representative gathering of cinema workers, bringing together about one thousand from 70 European, Asian, African, North and South American countries. Second, because it clearly demonstrated the alignment of forces in world cinema and convincingly showed the ideological and artistic superiority of its progressive, democratic trend.

In our day, cinema is the arena of sharp controversy, reflecting the tense worldwide ideological struggle, for films are made by men standing on opposite side of the barricades.

Nearly half a century ago, in conversation with Anatolii Lunacharsky, People's Commissar

of Education, Lenin remarked that 'for us the cinema is the most important of all the arts.'

This was said at a time when, not only in Russia but throughout the world, the cinema had not yet become an art in the true meaning of the word. But Lenin foresaw its gigantic potential. He used the words 'for us' to stress the cinema's importance for the cause of the proletarian revolution, socialism and communism. But Lenin, of course, was fully aware that the cinema could be used against 'us'. Even before the Revolution he emphasized that so long as the cinema is in the hands of unscrupulous speculators, it will cause more evil than good, often corrupting the masses by the base content of its films.

The cinema has become one of the most mass and democratic arts, a potent weapon of ideological struggle. It actively serves socialism, helping to shape and assert its ideals. But

it is also exploited by the bourgeoisie to maintain its influence on the masses.

The Soviet Communist Party and government have always devoted special attention to the cinema. In August 1919, Lenin signed a decree of the Council of People's Commissars nationalizing the production and distribution of films, and this has since then been a function of the state.

Developing the finest traditions of Russian and world culture, the Soviet cinema grew and matured as an innovative art closely linked with the people and inspired by Communist ideas. It set a new pattern with the films made in the early Soviet years: Sergei Eisenstein's 'Potyomkin,' Vsevolod Pudovkin's 'Mother' and 'Descendant of Genghis Khan,' Alexander Dovzhenko's 'The Earth,' Dziga Vertov's documentaries. Vivid and captivating accounts of the revolution, they wrought a veritable revolution in cinema art. They broke through the bourgeois censorship and the malicious criticism of the bourgeois press, through the obstacles capitalism had set up against penetration of the Soviet cinema, to be warmly welcomed by audiences throughout the world.

Their impact has been aptly described by Guido Aristarco, the Italian critic: 'The new culture the USSR was working to assert in those unforgettable years produced individualities which could not find adequate expression in the prerevolutionary period. Alongside the poet of the masses, the man who gave us "Potyomkin," there was Pudovkin, a poet whose films of

man and his fate mirrored the destinies of a people. There was Dovzhenko, that Gorky of the cinema . . . for whom folklore was part of history, part of man working on the earth to make it a better place to live in.'

The evolution of Soviet cinema, its development stages, are inseparable from the development of socialist construction, its great aims and joys of victory, its setbacks and difficulties that had to be overcome. The films of the 20s, 30s and 40s are a priceless record of the birth and growth of the new society and its makers. Soviet realistic cinema gave the world 'Chapayev' and the 'Maxim' trilogy, 'Komsomolsk,' 'Baltic Deputy' and 'We Are From Kronstadt,' films of Lenin and the first anti-fascist films. Each was the result of persevering search and experiment, and not only in terms of the cinema, but also in terms of people, of finding a true depiction of the new man born of the revolution. It is probably true to say, in this context, that these prewar films, imbued with the spirit of historical optimism, did more than any other of the arts morally to prepare the Soviet people for the terrible ordeal of the war against fascism.

Revolutionary humanism and proletarian internationalism are implicit also in our finest post-war films, though there have also been weak, superficial productions which gave an oversimplified picture of life or were influenced by principles alien to socialist art.

But such recent works as Grigori Chukhrai's 'The Forty-First' and 'Ballad of the Soldier'; Mik-

hail Kalatozov's 'The Cranes Are Flying'; Joseph Heifitz's 'Big Family'; Sergei Bondarchuk's 'The Fate of a Man' and 'War and Peace'; Mikhail Romm's 'Nine Days of One Year' and 'Ordinary Fascism'; Sergei Yutkevitch's 'Lenin in Poland'; Sergei Gerasimov's 'Quiet Flows the Don' and 'At the Lake'; Yuli Raizman's 'Communist' and 'Your Contemporary'; Alexei Saltykov's 'The Chairman'; Andrei Tarkovsky's 'Ivan's Childhood'; Rezo Chkheidze's 'The Soldier's Father'; Andrei Konchalovsky's 'First Teacher'; Yuri Ozerov's 'Liberation', and many others continue and carry forward our innovative revolutionary art.

The Soviet cinema has given us many vivid images of heroes, men and women of sterling courage and integrity prepared to surmount all difficulties for the cause they serve. But they are not 'blue-print' heroes – they love, suffer, live a tense, pulsating life.

The more recent years have seen a broader spectrum of genres and styles, the result, in particular, of the rapid development of cinema in all the Union Republics. Multi-national Soviet cinema art has turned its attention to themes historical and ethical, analytical and satirical, classical and publicist. We cater to the world's biggest audience, more than 13 million a day; on an average the Soviet cinema-goer sees 19 pictures a year.

Today the focal theme is problems that are uppermost in people's minds. Films like 'Your Contemporary', 'Wait Till Monday,' 'The Beginning', 'Byelorussia Station', some produced by

artists of the older generation, others by much younger men, candidly, but without over-simplification, bring to the spectator the real conflicts that arise in society and depict positive characters in process of struggle, at times dramatic, for the assertion of the Communist ideals.

The socialist countries have won a firm place in world cinema. Many of them had no cinema or only the rudiments of one before the war. Now all of them make feature, documentary and popular-science films. In the past quarter century they have brought to the screen moving accounts of the struggle for the triumph of the new social relations.

Socialist cinema is a development of epochal significance and one that is having a powerful impact on world cinema. Films imbued with the spirit of socialist change, showing the rise and development of the new society and the new man are now being shown in more than 80 countries, having broken through the 'iron curtain' erected by bourgeois cinema companies and the censors.

The anti-Communists attack socialist art primarily because of its kinship with the people, its advocacy of noble political moral and aesthetic ideas, denouncing it as 'over-committed' and 'tendentious.'

What can be said of these charges? Artists in the socialist countries are free to choose the subject, character and style of their work. But they consider it their duty to participate, by the themes they choose, by their approach and creative solutions,

in the struggle for the new society and the new man, in eliminating shortcomings, in educating the masses in the spirit of communism. In this sense they are indeed 'committed,' consciously, with their minds and hearts. They accept the communist ideology, the principles of proletarian internationalism; they believe that art is not amusement for a 'select few,' nor a means of side-tracking the masses from vital problems, but a form of social consciousness, an effective weapon in the fight for communism.

The capitalist cinema of today presents a complex and in many respects contradictory phenomenon. Its basic trends, which reflect the political and spiritual conflicts of bourgeois society, are determined by the social atmosphere in which the artist has to work.

Central to this atmosphere is commercialism. Producers and directors are dependent on the marketing agencies. Fear of possible financial losses influences the choice of subject matter. To this should be added another factor, the increasing influence of American firms which now control 70 per cent of Italian cinema production and finance most British and many French pictures.

Assembly-line commercial films have become the rule in Hollywood and West European studios. Vapid comedies, primitive 'thrillers' and elaborate pseudo-historical productions cultivate in the spectator acceptance of set standards, established stars and a penchant for films with plenty of 'adventure.'

But latterly producers have turned to new subjects expressive of the crisis phenomena of a sick society. Accordingly, there is a much larger dose of brutality, eroticism and reactionary politics. The James Bond pictures are typical examples of this brand of film.

These products of mass bourgeois culture, aiming at total audience control, are not confined to mere entertainment. The capitalist monopolies have long since made the cinema a means of ideological conditioning. As L. I. Brezhnev remarked in his report at the 24th CPSU Congress: 'All the instruments the bourgeoisie has of influencing minds - press, cinema and radio - have been mobilized to delude people, make them believe that under capitalism they are living in a near paradise, and to slander socialism.'

The more outspoken films of this kind seek to instill the idea of class harmony and the principles of bourgeois morality, diverting the masses from the problems of real life into an imaginary world domination by the forces and eroticism.

But now, in an atmosphere of sharp social conflict and economic and political upheavals, artists are expected to provide answers to questions agitating people's minds. Young people, and they make up the bulk of cinema goers, are in revolt against the evils of capitalist society. They are not to be taken in by its idyllic depictions. Hence, the appearance of films which, using sophisticated camouflage, try to provide an outlet for this protest. You will find in them pseudo-revolution-

ary 'rebels' and anarchists, subtle psychology and modernistic 'anti-film' techniques. An American film about Che Guevara, a piece of vile falsification that unscrupulously exploits the respected memory of this revolutionary, belongs in this category.

Understandably, pictures of this type, for all their show of opposition, are welcomed by bourgeois propaganda, indeed are publicized as a 'break-through' in cinema. And it is by no means accidental that, whereas the first 'rebel' films of the so-called 'new wave'* were financed by independent producers, they have now been taken over by leading European and even American companies.

Jean-Luc Godard is classed among anti-bourgeois directors. He began with new themes and techniques, making some 10 pictures in the last few years. All of them have political undertones, but do not give a coherent interpretation of major political developments, (though they are critical of bourgeois institutions and morality). One of his latest films, 'Wind From the East,' is not only an apology for Leftist ideas, but criticizes the 'old revolutionaries,' i.e. the Communists. It also criticizes the bourgeoisie, but the latter do not seem to mind, for, as the American Communist critic Phillip Bonosky has remarked, a 'revolution' based on anti-communism is not something capitalism should fear.

This film and also Martin Karmitz's 'Comrades' were de-

monstrated at the 1970 New York festival, financed by the Rockefellers and the Miller breweries. Bonosky says in his article, 'The Rockefeller Brothers Preach Revolution,' that Godard and Karmitz are trying to teach 'young middle-class intellectuals' that you can call for 'violent revolution' without affecting your own class privileges or the Miller breweries.

In bourgeois literature, the author's purpose often is not to 'disclose what is concealed' but to 'conceal what is disclosed,' in other words, avoid objective analysis of reality, retreat from the truth of life. The present-day bourgeois cinema provides many examples of this urge to 'conceal what is disclosed' – the class struggle, social inequality, the real causes of human suffering, at times so convincingly and artistically portrayed on the screen.

Some theorists, however, are inclined to regard only 'mass' art as bourgeois. Everything that does not bear the hallmark of 'mass culture' and is 'uncommitted,' is not, they maintain, bourgeois. Thus, Roger Garaudy, the French revisionist, upholds the concept of 'limitless realism,' arguing that only comics and other offerings of the 'cultural market' do not come within the concept of realism. But while condemning this type of 'art' he appears to believe that anti-bourgeois realism includes decadent, subjectivist anti-social productions, with their advocacy of the doom of mankind.

Many of the so-called 'uncommitted' artists, while openly dissociating themselves from capitalism, nevertheless subscribe to

*A movement started several years ago by independent French directors who decided to abandon the old, standard themes.

such reactionary bourgeois ideas as the unalterable nature of man, the futility of all activity, etc. To believe them, scientific and technical progress tends to 'dehumanize man' and ultimately leads to the destruction of civilization. These ideas will be found in many a film now being shown. More, they pervade the work of such an outstanding representative of the bourgeois cinema as Swedish producer Bergman and many others. They do not see the real prospect of social development, and to them the world is already doomed, for man himself is doomed, alienated, powerless to withstand the forces hostile to him. Frustration, despair, fear – such are the dominant motives of films staged by men of undoubted creative potentialities. But unfortunately they use them to delve into psychological detail, not into the big social and moral conflicts of their society.

Standing opposed to this are artists anxious to uphold and carry forward the humanist traditions of art. One might recall the cinema of the thirties, the works of Charles Chaplin, Orson Welles, Marcel Carné, René Clair. With unfailing insight and artistry they depicted the process of alienation, stressing their sympathy for the 'little man' lost in a hostile capitalist world. Progressive producers in the West, in contrast to those who specialize in decadent films, seek critically to interpret reality and fortify faith in man and social progress.

The deep-going revolutionary processes in the world of today, expansion of the anti-imperialist front, have a radicalizing effect

on creative intellectuals in capitalist countries. This applies in full to cinema workers, among whom there is mounting resentment at the stranglehold of the American monopolies, which are flooding the market with films that can only diminish audience interest. But there is also a more pronounced trend towards films associated with the mass movement for social and national liberation. They have been produced in Europe, the U.S., Japan and India and in a number of Latin American, African and Arab countries.

Lenin wrote: 'The *elements* of democratic and socialist culture are present, if only in rudimentary form, in every national culture, since in every nation there are toiling and exploited masses, whose conditions of life inevitably give rise to the ideology of democracy and socialism. But every nation also possesses a bourgeois culture (and most nations a reactionary and clerical culture as well) in the form, not merely of "elements," but of the *dominant culture*' (Coll. Works, Vol. 20, p. 24). This gives us the key to understanding the complex and contradictory processes of the contemporary cinema.

For instance, the best productions of Italian neo-realism of the 40s and 50s were profoundly democratic and anti-capitalist. After the long night of fascism, Italy's young producers took full advantage of their newly-won freedom, relating it to the life and struggle of the Italian worker. Such films as 'Rome, an Open City,' 'The Bicycle Thief,' 'No Peace Under the Olives,' and 'Rome at Eleven' voiced the

people's understanding of the new reality. In that lay the strength of neo-realism, a trend largely free of the influence of bourgeois ideology. Its exponents always emphasized that they owed much to the revolutionary traditions of the Soviet cinema.

Art has its own laws. And it is not always easy to explain the flow and ebb of artistic creation in one or another country or at one or another time. But we can trace a direct link between the spread of democratic social movements and the rise of progressive art. The traditions of Italian neo-realism are continued by progressive artists of all countries.

But to return to the Moscow International Festival. A simple enumeration of all the films shown would take up too much space. I shall therefore mention only the more interesting ones.

Perhaps it is best begin with 'Emitai,' the story of an African tribe's fight against colonial oppression, produced by Sambène Osman of Senegal. Surely it is a sign of the times that peoples who only yesterday could not even dream of producing their own films are now making a weighty contribution to world art.

Other films significant for their exposure of capitalist anti-humanism were two from Japan, Akira Kurasawa's 'To the Noise of Passing Trams' and Kaneto Shindo's 'Live Today, Die Tomorrow,' several from Italy - 'Police Inspector Reports to the Prosecutor,' 'The Case of a Citizen Beyond Suspicion' and others. Giuliano Montaldo's

'Sacco and Vanzetti,' a moving depiction of the frame-up of the two martyrs, had the impact of a damning condemnation of American reaction.

The State Department officially announced the U.S. would have no part in the Moscow Festival because films from embattled Vietnam had been shown at the last one. Nevertheless, there were many American entries. Most of them were realistic exposures of the crisis of American society and the 'American way of life.' The American documentaries showed up the sharp social conflicts, crime, tyranny and bellicose racialism that are part of the American scene today.

Sidney Pollack's 'They Shoot Horses, Too, Don't They?' had a tremendous emotional impact. The simple story is symbolic of America today: a dance contest in a seaside town, held in a make-shift barrack-like structure, the contestants straining every ounce of energy in a competition in which everyone is the loser.

A Leftward trend is noticeable in the work of many masters of the cinema art still influenced by bourgeois philosophy and aesthetics. But the true artist sometimes shows more wisdom and insight in his work than in his personal views and sympathies. This was evidenced by Michelangelo Antonioni's 'Zabriskie Point,' shown at the Festival. This noted Italian director with a penchant for modernism was able to pronounce a harsh indictment on the 'great consumer society.'

Artists of differing orientation and political views were

attracted by the Festival's discussion on the cinema in the battle for social progress. And in their pronouncements there was a clear note of concern for making the cinema a still more effective factor in bringing people into the battle against imperialism and for the revolutionary restructuring of society.

On the whole, the Moscow Festival showed that, in the

cinema as in all other arts, there is a distinct process of polarization: the forces opposed to frank bourgeois and decadent art stand out more clearly. This process is directly influenced by socialist art, by the great struggle of the Communist parties and their constantly growing ideological influence on creative intellectuals.

International meetings

Studying the experience of new states

The Third Conference of Africanists of the socialist countries met in Varna, Bulgaria, in September to discuss problems of non-capitalist development. It drew scholars from Bulgaria, Hungary, the GDR, Mongolia, Rumania, the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia.

The first question to be discussed was that of bypassing capitalism in advancing from a pre-capitalist formation on to socialism. Most speakers regarded non-capitalist development as a stage at which the political, economic and social prerequisites for affecting socialist changes are created and which precedes the stage of socialist building proper. Others considered that the non-capitalist period covers both the stage of general democratic changes and that of socialist changes.

Among the conditions for non-capitalist development are, as numerous delegates saw it, the adoption of a Marxist-Leninist position by the revolutionary democrats in power in socialist-oriented countries and the formation of a vanguard party guiding development on the principles of scientific socialism. The working class allied with the peasantry must be the regime's mainstay. On the other hand, analysis of the present practice of certain African countries led participants in the conference to the conclusion that during non-capitalist development power is in the hands of forces that are guided by a transitional ideology and have yet to adopt Marxism-Leninism in full measure. The peasantry is the social basis of these revolutionary democratic

forces for the time being, and hence the potential basis of non-capitalist development. One of the main tasks in the period of non-capitalist development is to rouse the peasantry to active struggle for socialist changes. Of course, these changes must be effected under the leadership of a working class, which by that time will be strong enough.

In view of this, some speakers stressed the importance of the political basis of socialist-orientated regimes – parties, trade unions and other organizations and the armed forces. They believe that in Afro-Asian conditions these parties and organizations can serve as a basis for a national democratic state until an appropriate social foundation develops. This is a distinctive combination of objective and subjective factors in the development of new African and Asian states.

Speaking of the ideology of revolutionary democracy, some participants said that while it may not be regarded as socialist already, it is important to encourage its positive aspects indicating a trend towards socialism. All attempts at fomenting anti-Communist sentiment under the pretext of 'national exclusiveness' or on any other plea must be foiled, they added. The conference stressed the importance of Marxist analysis of the processes taking place in the countries following a non-capitalist road.

The conference gave much of its attention to the problem of using the experience of the Mongolian People's Republic and the Soviet republics of

Central Asia and Kazakhstan. Speakers noted that the socialist-oriented national democratic states of today lean on the victorious proletariat for support. There are other general laws governing both groups of states. The fact that the non-capitalist development of a number of Afro-Asian countries is taking place in an entirely new situation, first of all internationally, entitles us to look on it as a qualitatively new phenomenon.

In criticizing bourgeois theories, speakers raised the problem of the relationship between external and internal socio-economic factors in the development of new national states. Under the pressure of the progressive forces of the world, bourgeois science makes a show of being concerned about the economic and technological gap between developing and developed countries. However, bourgeois scholars refuse to admit that to close this gap, it is necessary to alter the entire system of international economic relations prevailing today, well knowing that this is impossible as long as capitalism dominates a substantial part of the planet. Delegates stressed that neo-colonialist theories ignore the social aspect of the problem, the widening gap between the working people and the upper classes in the developing countries themselves. Bridging this gap is a problem whose solution depends on the political forces of each particular country. The primary distinction between the inner political programs and the practice of socialist- and capitalist-orientated regimes in Africa and Asia lies, according to some

speakers, in the approach to the social problems.

The conference made a deep analysis of aid to the newly-free countries, noting that it is a politico-ideological rather than an economic matter. The nature and significance of aid are determined, first of all, by the socio-economic changes it promotes.

The opinion was voiced that imperialist 'aid' is motivated primarily by the desire to strike a blow at the very idea of non-capitalist development, and secondly, the fact that today imperialism cannot allow itself the luxury of waiting for capitalism to develop spontaneously in new Afro-Asian states. In extending 'aid' to these states, neo-colonialism tries to impose fast-developing capitalist relations upon them. Participants in the conference spoke of the struggle of progressives in both continents against neo-colonialist intrigues and urged closer cooperation between the national democratic states of Africa and Asia and the socialist countries. There were comments on cooperation in production, which in getting off to a start, and on the eventuality of closer economic relations between these states and the CMEA countries.

Varna-Prague

V.R.

An expression of anti-imperialist solidarity

Almost simultaneously the Bulgarian capital played host to an international trade union conference of solidarity with the Palestine people. There were delegations from 70 international, regional and national organ-

izations of 56 countries affiliated to the World Federation of Trade Unions and other federations, in particular those of Africa and Latin America. They included spokesmen of Christian trade unions.

Delegates submitted to the conference documents exposing the racist policy of Israel, whose rulers flout the legitimate rights of the Palestine people. The conference devoted considerable attention to the plight of the population of the occupied Arab areas. It stressed that Tel Aviv grossly violates international law by taking steps to annex the seized areas.

The conference revealed the high degree of the working people's political consciousness. There were also some controversies. Numerous participants exposed the reactionary character of international Zionism. But the term 'Zionism' was called into question when the conference began discussing its draft Appeal. Some delegates proposed deleting the term, saying that the workers in their countries did not know it. Delegates from Arab and other countries objected, suggesting that the term be explained to those workers. Some delegations abstained from voting on the relevant passage. On the whole, however, divergences of this nature did not prevent the conference from unanimously adopting the main documents - Appeal to the Working People of the World, memorandums addressed to U Thant and the UN Human Rights Commission.

After the conference this correspondent asked some delegates two questions: (1) What

do you think is the significance of the conference? (2) Do you see any connection between the struggle of the Palestine people and the working-class movement in your own country?

Following are some of the answers.

A delegate of the South African Trade Union Congress:

1. The conference was useful because it will help to mobilize public opinion in support of the Palestine people's just struggle. However, my *personal* opinion is that the Arab peoples lack unity against imperialism and Zionism.

2. I see a direct connection between the struggle of the Palestine people and our own struggle against apartheid. First of all, the question in both cases is of a movement against racial oppression. Secondly, there are close links between the rulers of South Africa and Israel. In the third place, the imperialists back the rulers of both countries. It follows that we are carrying on a common struggle.

N. Ekamba-Elombe, secretary of the Congolese Trade Union Confederation (Brazzaville):

1. We attended the conference to help the Arab peoples put their struggle on a concrete basis and to unify the efforts of those who have a common political platform. We believe the conference will help to give the Palestine people's cause greater publicity.

2. The connection is obvious – we have a common enemy even though we may be attacking from different sides.

Warsame Ali Farah, delegate of a department of the Supreme

Revolutionary Council, Somali Democratic Republic:

1. I see the significance of the conference in the fact that it brought together a wide range of individual participants and organizations holding different positions in the trade union movement.

2. We Somalians consider it our duty to support the struggle of all oppressed peoples and we say so in our Charter of the Revolution.

Before the conference closed, the Bulgarian trade unions arranged a big meeting of solidarity with the Palestine people.

V.B.

Discussing agrarian problems of non-capitalist development

Scholars, public leaders, and statesmen from 29 Asian, African and Latin American countries met last August at an international seminar in Frunze, the Kirghiz capital, to discuss the experience of agrarian changes in the Soviet republics of Central Asia and Kazakhstan. The seminar was sponsored by the Soviet Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee and Academy of Sciences. Speakers noted that the peoples of new states are faced with tasks similar to those that Soviet Eastern republics had to accomplish in the early years after the revolution. Foremost among these tasks are radical agrarian changes designed to eliminate outdated forms of land ownership and tenure. Participants in the seminar said the experience of the peoples of the Soviet East, who have rid themselves of economic and cultural backwardness and built a devel-

oped socialist society, skipping capitalism in the process, may be used by the progressive forces of Asian and African countries seeking non-capitalist development. They spoke in detail of how this can be done in the specific conditions of new states.

The seminar was addressed by 86 scholars and other representatives of the Soviet Union, other socialist countries and new states.

Ba Hamed, the Mauritanian

delegate, spoke highly of the seminar, which he described as a form of the socialist countries' internationalist assistance to new states.

In a letter to Kirghizia's Communist Party leadership and government, delegates expressed confidence that the seminar will prove of great theoretical and practical value to the peoples engaged in progressive socioeconomic reforms.

E.O.

Frunze-Prague.



DECLARATION BY PARTIES AND ORGANIZATIONS OF FRENCH OVERSEAS DEPARTMENTS

Fifteen democratic organizations of Réunion, Guiana, Guadeloupe and Martinique, held a congress in Marne-Rouge, Martinique, to discuss problems of autonomy for these overseas departments of France. The first forum to be held on so broad a basis, it was attended by Communist parties, trade union federations and women's and youth leagues.

The congress adopted a declaration stating the economic, social and cultural programs on which the autonomous status of the countries in question should be based. The economic program calls for ending colonial backwardness and assuring harmonious development by establishing social ownership of the principal means of production, forming mixed economic societies and introducing a new tax system. The declaration outlines the forms of autonomous legislative and executive power.

It was signed by the most representative organizations of the respective countries, including the Communist parties of Guadeloupe, Martinique and Réunion and the Guianese Marxist Study Circle. They consider that their peoples can exercise their right to self-determination only through free democratic elections based on universal suffrage. The congress urged the democrats of Guiana, Réunion, Guadeloupe and Martinique to set up a united front against colonialism, for free and all-round progress.

BELGIUM

The Communist Party of Belgium observed its 50th anniversary. Thousands of Belgians joined in the celebrations.

The big jubilee meeting in Brussels was attended by Political Bureau members and veteran Communists who have devoted their lives to the Party's cause and the interests of the working class. The Central Committee received messages of greetings from the CC CPSU, the brother parties of other socialist countries and the Communist and Workers' parties of numerous other countries.

The traditional Communist press festival, which coincided with the Party jubilee, drew large audiences. Amateur art companies of Belgian workers and guest performers from the Soviet Union and GDR appeared on open-air stages in the capital's park. The most successful boosters of the Party newspapers – *Drappeau Rouge* and *Rode Vaan* – were awarded diplomas and souvenirs.

Drapeau Rouge carried items on the founding of the Party in 1921 and the progress made since. 'Freedom to Be a Communist' is the headline of an article by Party Chairman Marc Drumaux. Throughout these years, he writes, the Communist Party of Belgium has been engaged in an uncompromising fight against imperialism, for peace, democracy and socialism. Not only the past of the Communist Party but its present and future, indeed the meaning of its existence, are profound devotion to internationalism, class solidarity with the socialist countries, the working-class movement in the capitalist countries and the peoples' fight for national liberation.

BULGARIA

The BCP Institute of History has published *Recollections of Georgi Dimitrov* in two volumes. The book is dedicated to the 90th anniversary of the birthday of the great son of the Bulgarian people and outstanding leader of the international Communist and working-class movement, to be commemorated next year. The recollections add up to a stirring portrayal of the fiery revolutionary, staunch internationalist and indomitable fighter against fascism. They provide the reader with a deeper understanding of the strategy and tactics of the world Communist movement at a crucial stage closely associated with Dimitrov.

The book opens with an article by Todor Zhivkov, First Secretary of the CC BCP and Chair-

man of the State Council of Bulgaria.

Much space is given to recollections by Otto Kuusinen, Palmiro Togliatti, Maurice Thorez, Walter Ulbricht and other Communist leaders.

VENEZUELA

Women Communists held their first national meeting in Caracas, bringing together 105 delegates from all over the country. The meeting declared in support of the People's National Front comprising the People's Electoral Movement, Republican Democratic Union and Communist Party.

CP General Secretary Jesus Faria, who addressed the meeting at its close, called on the delegates to step up their struggle for the independence of Venezuela from U.S. imperialism and educate the masses in the spirit of loyalty to the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

The revisionist activity of the Petkoff-Marquez group expelled from the Communist Party caused serious damage to the Communist Youth League as well. Now that preparations are under way for the Third Congress, due to meet in February 1972, the League is fast regaining its numerical and organizational strength. Operating already are over 200 branch committees and 19 of the 24 regional organizations have elected a new leadership. League membership has increased almost by half in these past months.

Recently over 3,000 young

men and women met at the Sports Palace in Caracas to celebrate the 24th anniversary of the Communist Youth League. Guillermo Garcia Ponce, member, cc Political Bureau of the Communist Party, called on them to heighten their revolutionary awareness and steadfastly study Lenin's writings.

PERU

The Communist Youth League of Peru held its First National Congress. The Congress was attended by Jorge del Prado, General Secretary, cc of the Peruvian Communist Party, delegations of the Soviet Komsomol and the Communist Youth leagues of Chile, Venezuela and Costa Rica, as well as representatives of the People's Action Party and National Liberation Front.

In opening the Congress, CYL General Secretary Jorge Tapia hailed 'Mariategui's glorious Party, to which we Young Communists owe allegiance.' The Congress gave a warm welcome to the spokesmen of friendly parties, who voiced their approval of the main principles of the Young Communists' activity.

Jorge del Prado said in his Congress speech that the Communist Youth of Peru had assimilated the Party's correct policy. The Communist Party backs the reforms which the government is carrying out in the people's interests. The task is to maintain the gains already scored, carry the revolutionary process deeper, prevent delays in mustering new forces for the revolution and expose reaction-

ary intrigues. It is essential, he said, that the overwhelming majority of Peru's youth actively contribute to this struggle.

URUGUAY

The Communist Party of Uruguay won 6,718 new members in the first eight months of this year and 4,600 young people joined the Communist Youth League. Most of the new Party members are young people between 25 and 32 years of age and over 30 per cent of them are women.

The Party is joined not only by workers and peasants but by intellectuals as well. This was confirmed again at a mass meeting at the cp Central Committee which admitted to the Party Francisco Espinola, well-known writer, Eduardo Amezaga, artist, and other people prominent in the arts.

cc First Secretary Rodney Arismendi, who handed F. Espinola his Party card, said that his entry into the Communist Party was a sign of our times, when 'the finest spokesmen of the intellectual community devote their energies to the cause of the revolution and greatly help the Left in its efforts.'

FRANCE

Upwards of 35,000 people joined the French Communist Party in the first half of 1971.

CEYLON

The government has issued a new postage stamp in memory of Lenin, the first Ceylonese

stamp to be dedicated to a foreign statesman.

The cancelling of the first stamp was the occasion for a ceremony in Colombo. Cabinet ministers, staff members of the Soviet Embassy and the embassies of other socialist countries, representatives of Ceylon's Communists and the public met in the main hall of the central telegraph office decorated with Lenin's portraits and displaying the national flags of the Soviet Union and Ceylon. In common with all mankind said Finance Minister N. M. Perera in his speech, the Ceylonese pay tribute to the memory of the great Lenin because Lenin is the recognized leader of the peoples of all countries.

On behalf of the Communist Party, B. Tudawe, Vice-Minister of Education, said that the stamp was dedicated to the memory of the organizer of the Great October Socialist Revolution, which enabled numerous other countries and oppressed peoples to win national independence and economic freedom. This, he continued, is also a tribute of respect to the great socialist state founded by Lenin, to the foreign policy of peace being followed by that state.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

The cc of the Communist Party, the government of the CSSR and the Central Council of the Czechoslovak Revolutionary Trade Union Movement adopted a decision on some social measures.

The re-establishment of the Party's leading role, the docu-

ment says, the resolute policy of promoting the socialist principles of economic management and planning, the growing initiative of the working people and progress in the socialist emulation movement made it possible in two years not only to remove the threat of inflation but to make the economy more dynamic and its proportions more favorable. This, in turn, made it possible to carry out the first appreciable social measures envisaged by the 14th CPC Congress.

The decision provides that state aid to families with children shall be increased as from October 1, 1971 by extending the monthly allowance of 500 crowns to all mothers bringing up at least two children and by paying this allowance until the child is two years old. The allowance paid at the birth of each child is up from 1,000 to 2,000 crowns.

The financial condition of some categories of pensioners is improved by increasing their pensions by 120, 200 or 300 crowns a month. Low pensions in the case of persons whose only income is their pensions, are increased to 550 crowns and in the case of those who have a dependent—a wife or another member of the family—to 900 crowns a month.

The implementation of these measures means that the income of the above categories will go up by a total of almost two billion crowns a year.

JAPAN

The cc Presidium of the Communist Party of Japan took a

decision on celebrating the Party's 50th anniversary. A book on the history of the CPJ is to be brought out on the occasion. Other publications will be articles, fiction and songs. Jubilee badges will be issued. The celebrations, including a public

meeting, have been set for July 15, 1972. A theoretical symposium will hear papers on the revolutionary movement in the developed capitalist countries and on the outlook for a democratic coalition government based on a united front.

DIARY

A discussion meeting of WMR readers was held in Budapest. It was attended by staff members of cc departments of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, editors of theoretical and political Party periodicals, prominent journalists, Higher Party School lecturers and staff members of the Party's publishing house.

K. I. Zarodov, Chief Editor of the journal, told the meeting about the work and tasks of the editorial board. Participants in the meeting commended the journal, noting that it carries valuable theoretical and political articles and information items. They called for more analytical articles about the development of the world Communist movement and suggested some specific themes.

Alfred Dewhurst, member of the Central Executive Committee and secretary of the cc, Communist Party of Canada, visited the editorial offices of this journal. The discussion centered on the problems of printing and distributing the journal.

A forum on new developments in the youth movement in the capitalist countries and the role of Communists was held in Prague on September 28-29. The forum, sponsored by the editorial board of this journal, brought together representatives of the German Communist Party, the Communist parties of Spain, Italy, United States, Finland, France and other countries, a number of democratic youth organizations and the press. The discussion material will be published in forthcoming issues of the journal.



Pedro Patino, victim of Franco regime

It happened on September 13 last, in the vicinity of Madrid. The building workers of the capital called a strike to back their demands, as their fellow-workers did in Granada about a year ago.

The stonemason Pedro Patino, a Communist active in Workers' Commissions, was talking with Obracon workers about the strike begun in the morning. Some leaflets calling on the workers to strike lay on the ground. A Civil Guards patrol came up and told the workers to remove the leaflets. Patino said it wasn't their duty. Thereupon one of the guardsmen, Jesus Benito Hernandez, told Patino he was under arrest and ordered him to walk ahead of him. When they started the guardsman shot Patino in the back, almost point-blank. It was not until two hours later that Patino's body was taken to Gomez Ulla Hospital.

Late in the night guardsmen arrived at Patino's home, singing a filthy song. They told his wife he was dead, and searched the place. Afterwards the widow asked the authorities' permission for a doctor named by her

to attend the autopsy but was refused. Patino was buried by the Civil Guards, who barred the public from the funeral. Numerous friends and relatives of the murdered man hurried to the cemetery but were dispersed by Guardsmen, who used the butts of their rifles, wounding dozens of men, women and children.

People in and around Madrid were outraged by the assassination. While in the morning the number of building workers on strike was 60,000, next day it rose to 100,000, involving almost all building workers. Protest strikes and demonstrations took place in Madrid, Barcelona, Seville and elsewhere.

Pedro Patino was born into a family of revolutionaries. His father was shot in Madrid during the fascist massacres that followed the civil war. Patino was only 33 years old and two children were orphaned by his death. He was a devoted and active fighter and was arrested three times as a Communist and champion of the workers' demands.

Like many of his countrymen, Patino had to emigrate in search

of a livelihood. His class brothers in Grenoble, France, remember him as a staunch fighter for the rights of labor. The Soviet Union was one of the countries he visited because he was deeply interested in the experience of the countries building a new, socialist life.

By perpetrating a new crime, the regime has added another

name to the long list of those who fell fighting for the freedom of Spain – the recent victims of Franco fascism in Eran-dio, Granada and Eibar, and the more than one million Spaniards who gave their lives during the civil war. The people will avenge their death by destroying the barbarous regime responsible for it. L. Sanchez Madrid.



A MARXIST STUDY OF IRELAND

The Irish liberation movement has been rightly described as history's longest struggle for independence. In a way, this year marks its 800th anniversary: in 1171 Henry II proclaimed himself ruler of Ireland. Irish history since then has been a record of ceaseless British colonial pressure and ceaseless struggle by the Irish for the right to shape their destiny.

And the struggle continues. The present events in Ulster, which have attracted worldwide attention, can be properly understood only against its background. For the seeds of the present Catholic-Protestant discord in Northern Ireland were sown 300 years ago, when the indigenous population was driven from the island and its north-eastern part settled by newcomers from England and Scotland. In a certain sense, British imperialism is today paying for its 'original sin' of brutally conquering Ireland and turning it into its first colony.

The treaty that partitioned Ireland and made Ulster part of the United Kingdom was im-

posed in 1921 on the threat of 'immediate and terrible war.' It did not solve the Irish question. In the north, it ushered in a new stage of the struggle of the oppressed Catholic minority for human, civil and national rights. The present turbulence is thus but an episode in a long and bloody sequence of events.

They are vividly described and scientifically analyzed by the British Marxist historian T. A. Jackson in this book.* First published in 1947 (it carried the story up to the 1930s) it enjoyed a wide readership, was translated into other languages, and is now a bibliographical rarity. But never before, perhaps, has it had such relevance as now, when the political crisis in both parts of Ireland has reached fever pitch. This new edition, which the publishers have brought up to date, is therefore very timely.

The author died in 1955, and the task of updating the book fell to Desmond Greaves, noted for his earlier research on the Irish question. His epilogue, actually a new, 35th chapter, gives a pithy, fact-packed summary of Irish history from the mid-30s to 1970, and is an organic continuation of Jackson's account. In this new chapter the reader will find a review of the Republic's development, its economic upbuilding, relations with Britain, alignment of political forces, and the outlook for a settlement.

Of course, this collaboration was not planned beforehand, and is all the more significant

*T. A. Jackson, *Ireland Her Own*. London, Lawrence & Wishart, 1971, 516 pp.

for being between an Englishman and an Irishman. It is evidence of the fruitfulness of Marxist research and of the strength of proletarian internationalism.

A veteran British Communist, Jackson took as his premise Marx's idea that the British people would never be truly free as long as the oppression of Ireland continued. Using a wealth of factual material, Jackson was able to show the intrinsic criminality of Westminster's policy towards the Irish people. He showed also, that the country's partition was no solution, that the Catholic minority in the North would continue to fight within this hastily knocked together 'self-governing province.' And though Jackson was fully aware of the defects of the Irish liberation movement and of the bourgeois limitations of many of its recognized leaders, he nevertheless believed that the English democratic forces should do everything to eliminate the consequences of the partition. This was the only way, he maintain-

ed, of eliminating the evil done Ireland by its oppressors, the only way to real friendship between the people's of the British Isles.

Desmond Greaves has sympathetically developed and concretized Jackson's ideas, their correctness fully confirmed by the march of events. With the present crisis in Ulster, Greaves says, the least the Irish can demand of the British Parliament is a Bill of Rights, including the right to self-determination. Alas, Westminster has refused to grant anything resembling that.

The reform program of the Ulster provincial government has been factually blocked. Northern Ireland has been flooded with British occupation troops and police, placed under a reign of terror, with internment of all 'suspects' without trial or investigation. Relations between the two parts have been sharply aggravated. In sum, Ireland is still very far from being 'her own,' and Jackson's book retails all its topical interest and value. *L. Sheidin*

'THE CRISIS OF DEVELOPMENT' OR DEVELOPMENT OF THE CRISIS

Mr. Pearson's book* continues the line set in the massive and much publicized *Partners in Development*, the report of a special commission under his

*L. B. Pearson, *The Crisis of Development*. London, Pall Mall Press. Published for the Council on Foreign Relations, 1970. 117 pp.

chairmanship appointed by the World Bank for Reconstruction and Development to study 'aid' policy towards developing countries. It formulated a neo-colonialist program for the current decade. The report's conclusions and recommendation were meant for the specialist, the book addresses itself to the general reader, the purpose being to instil the author's undersanding of the 'aid' problem.

He asked C. Unni Raja, National Council Member of the Communist Party of India, and George Toubi, Central Committee Member of the Israeli Communist Party, for their critical remarks on the book.

*What is the crisis
of development?*

The imperialist powers' 'aid' programs to developing countries, Mr. Pearson says, have not justified the hopes either of the ex-colonies or the ex-colonial powers. He concedes that 'two-thirds of mankind remain hungry, disillusioned and desperate,' that the menace of social upheaval emanating from former colonial peoples has not diminished in the past two decades. In fact, the situation has reached a point where we can speak of a crisis. What are its causes?

'Transfers of resources' (from capitalist to developing countries) 'were often more closely related to a strategy of cold war than to a strategy for development,' he writes. Increases in national income, he says, have been too highly concentrated in relatively few hands - (making the rich richer will not make for sound development'). Besides, there has been a slackening in recent years of the 'aid effort' among the larger imperialist donors, notably the United States.

Mr. Pearson is worried also by the fact that the very idea of 'aid' and 'international cooperation for development' is being questioned both in capitalist and developing countries. And yet, the 'aid' policy, he inti-

mates, is an effective guarantee of keeping capitalism alive: 'aid' expenditure, even at the expense of military spending, would strengthen rather than weaken the Western world.

'How can one accept,' Pearson asks bourgeois politicians, 'an arms-spending of \$140 billion a year . . . and argue at the same time that \$6.4 billion . . . spent on . . . development aid (a substantial part of which we get back) is not economically bearable?'

And so, there is a crisis. A crisis of imperialism's economic relations affecting one of its cardinal sectors, neo-colonialism and, consequently, the author suggests, a crisis of economic development of the young states.

What is the way out? A 'greater coherence to aid strategy,' Mr. Pearson says. Accordingly, he suggests increasing the total aid volume to one per cent of the wealthy countries' GNP by 1975; stimulating the flow of private capital to developing countries; rearranging some repayment schedules; granting loans at no more than two per cent per annum, raising the developing countries' share of international trade, and controlling population growth. There is nothing new in these proposals. The First United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD), held at Geneva in December 1963, made almost the same recommendations.

Essentially, this is the old 'aid' strategy. Of course, there is no disregarding the fact that it can prove an effective weapon against the national-liberation movement, the desire of developing countries to break

through to social progress. But there is also this important consideration: the crisis of 'aid' policy is linked with the deepening of the general crisis of capitalism. For 'aid' programs are but a new method of keeping the newly independent states tied to the old capitalist system of international division of labor, of substituting, in other words, neo-colonial for the old colonial links. Consequently, the collapse of these programs – which Pearson admits – reflects the continued aggravation of the crisis of imperialist contacts in their neo-colonialist dressing.

However, let's take a closer look at Mr. Pearson's recipes. What are they, philanthropy dictated by a feeling of Christian charity, as the author would have his reader believe? Certainly not.

A more generous influx of private capital, Mr. Pearson believes, would infuse fresh blood into the 'aid' idea. We know that in developing countries private investments have only one aim, profit. World Bank estimates show that private investments in these countries during 1960-68 amounted to some £13 billion, but a report by the UN Secretary-General for 1969 shows that profits from these investments rose from £1.33 billion in 1960 to £2 billion in 1968. On balance, private companies drained out more from the developing countries than they brought in. Surely, a greater flow of private capital would only extend the scale of exploitation and plunder.

Or another Pearson proposal – a bigger share in international trade. This completely overlooks the fact that the developing

countries are still economically dependent on the imperialist powers, which take much of their exports and account for a very large share of their imports of capital and manufactured goods. The terms of trade in the world market are steadily worsening to the disadvantage of the developing countries: the gap between the low prices for their exported primary goods and the high prices of their imported capital and manufactured goods is steadily and rapidly widening. It has been estimated that they lose an average of £1 billion a year as a result of this price scissors.

If the developing countries are to get effective help, there has to be a meaningful change in the pattern of international trade. A simple increase in the volume of trade will have no effect at all.

There is no need, of course, to examine all the Pearson proposals. They add nothing new to the aims and orientation of capitalist economic strategy. Liberal phraseology cannot conceal or obscure the plain fact that the former colonial powers are using the 'aid' slogan as a cover for continuing and intensifying exploitation.

'Aid' realities have shattered the illusion of former colonial nations that economic backwardness can be overcome by capitalist methods. The realization is growing that they can only make things worse still. And that their disenchantment is acknowledged by a representative of the bourgeois school of thought is in itself significant.

The 'crisis of development,'

as understood by Mr. Pearson, will continue as long as the liberation struggle of the peoples does not hew a path to economic independence from imperialism.

C. Unni Raja

Neo-colonialist cosmetics

Quite naturally, Mr. Pearson examines relations between industrial capitalist and developing countries from a purely capitalist standpoint. True, he uses a good deal of cosmetic dressing to gloss over the real causes of the crisis in these relations, namely, imperialist exploitation of former colonies and semi-colonies and gross interference in their internal affairs. More, their growth pains are equated with the stalemate of Western neo-colonial 'aid' policy. The two are lumped together as the 'crisis of development.' The economic growth of ex-colonial and semi-colonial countries, Mr. Pearson believes, is possible only through Western 'aid' programs. There is not even a mention of the assistance the USSR and the socialist community are giving nations that have won through to independence. Nor is that accidental, for Pearson would have to admit that this assistance rests on socialism's solidarity with the national liberation movement and is, of course, exempt from crises.

Mr. Pearson sets out to accomplish the unaccomplishable — convince his readers that the 'aid' program he proposes is motivated by the disinterested desire of the Western industrial powers to help developing coun-

tries build up their economies and raise living standards. He is all praise for the United States, which is making such 'sacrifices' for the 'poorer' countries and is helping 'two-thirds of the population of the world.'

But what are the real motivations? Perhaps the humanity 'rooted in Christian traditions,' or simply a useful way of disguising imperialist penetration?

Let us take the example of Israel, which is away ahead of other countries in per capita foreign aid. Why? Perhaps Israel needs such aid more than other countries? Of course not. There is another reason — the Israeli government is a weapon of imperialist policy in the Middle East, where the oil monopolies have such a vital stake. And the imperialists are paying Israel for its 'good services.'

To retain some semblance of objectivity, Pearson feels obliged to specify some of the real motives behind the 'aid' policy. Capitalist governments, he writes, often support 'regimes... which had acquired a merit badge by professing themselves to be vigorously anti-Communist or pro-Western and strong supporters of the donor country.' However, while admitting that 'anti-communism, and political support for it, has been used as the main argument for aid,' he seems to be surprised that many countries react to American 'aid' with the demand 'Yankee Go Home.'

Mr. Pearson does his inadequate best to obscure the real reason for Third-World economic backwardness. 'We should

never forget,' he writes, 'that the developing peoples do not start from scratch in a new world . . . (they) develop within a context unfavorable to them, because in the past their position has been so largely determined by the interests of other nations.' The explanation he offers is amusing: everything hinges on the subjective traits of the spiritual makeup of a people. 'Energy and enterprise – a desire for knowledge, curiosity, if you like,' are characteristic traits of Europeans but not, we are asked to believe, of African, Asian, etc. And he draws this conclusion: 'This thirst for knowledge and concern with its application, this creative energy born of curiosity, appears as a steady impulse in Western society.' The rest of the world, it follows, has no such impulse. And even when he admits, unwittingly perhaps, that economic backwardness is a heritage of colonial dependence, he relates this only to the past, wholly denying that neo-colonialist have replaced colonial ties. This, of course, is in crying contradiction to all the facts, past and present.

Pearson's class position predetermines the nature of his recommendations to developing countries, which path to choose and which to avoid. He even threatens newly independent peoples: 'If a host country . . .

discriminates unfairly against outside investment or resorts to nationalization by outright confiscation, then a different situation is created and an aid or investment relationship becomes virtually impossible.'

The question of what path each developing country should follow should be decided by its people without foreign threat or interference. And though Mr. Pearson seeks comfort in the belief that the West will continue to shape the destinies of nations and continents for a long time to come, all the facts point in the very opposite direction. Many developing countries have already chosen the non-capitalist path. And more and more people in these countries are coming to realize that economic and social progress is possible only through an independent policy and deep-going social change.

Lastly, a few words about the title of the book: 'The Crisis of Development.' The developing countries are indeed faced with many hard and complex problems. They are part of the growth process and will be resolved sooner or later; indeed, much has already been accomplished. But there is a crisis, the crisis of capitalism, and it will continue to develop as long as the system that caused it exists.

George Toubi

THE USSR THROUGH A ONE-TRACK MIND

For one of its recent anti-Soviet diatribes, *U.S. News and World Report* chose Thomas W. Pauken. He is not a professional journalist and this was his first, and very short, visit to the Soviet Union, so that his impressions are necessarily superficial. What probably attracted the editors was his youth (27), non-professional status, link with the White House—Pauken is Deputy Director of the White House Fellows program, a project that brings 'outstanding young people' to Washington for a year of internship at the highest level of U.S. government—and his story is sub-headed Personal Report from a White House Aide. The combination, the editors probably reasoned, would give his account more credibility.

Earlier this year, fourteen of these Fellows made a 'semi-official' visit to Moscow, Kiev and Kharkov for a 'look inside Russia.' Pauken's is not an official report of that visit, but a personal diary. The reader is thus given to understand that he has before him a fresh, unadulterated and trustworthy account. It can lay claim to neither of these.

Pauken is not a propaganda expert specializing in anti-Sovietism. That, incidentally, makes him all the more interesting for us. With naive candor he trots out all the ingrained stereotypes of his mentality, not simply bourgeois, but Americanized bourgeois, and based on the belief that his views are universally accepted. Refuting

them is a boring and unnecessary task: the Soviet Union is not one of those countries of which little is known in the world. But it might be interesting to dissect some aspects of his bourgeois consciousness. Like an uranium isotope, he serves, in this case, not only as 'fuel' for a propaganda 'nuclear reaction,' but is also the product of the preceding 'fission' process. And we shall examine him as such.

We begin with his description of the Komsomol: 'If you want to get ahead, you join Komsomol, the youth arm of the Communist Party.' Of course, one could enumerate the many scientists, collective-farm chairman, Supreme Soviet deputies, etc., who 'got ahead' without Komsomol membership. But, then, why do we have to justify ourselves? Yes, the vast majority of prominent Soviet citizens were in their youth members of the Komsomol and are Communists now. What's bad about that? The Communist Party, the ruling party in the USSR, was created by the working class to uphold and advance the interests of the people. It is composed of the finest sons and daughters of the people and enjoys universal support. Millions join the Komsomol not because they can't get along without it, but because they don't want to get along without it. And these millions include many who 'get ahead' to top jobs in government, on the farm, in the factory or in the research laboratory. The Komsomol's purpose is communist education of the entire Soviet youth.

But for Pauken everything

Communist is unnatural and unlawful, and only because it is Communist. He has no arguments, for bourgeois propaganda has instilled in him a stereotype which he applies to every aspect of Soviet life and draws the unfailing conclusion: No good. Facts don't count — everything that doesn't neatly fit into the stereotype is simply passed by, does not even register. Pauken mentions the friendly attitude of Soviet people, is greatly impressed by Soviet achievements! 'Medical education in Russia is generally excellent,' or the 'interesting description / by the Mayor of Kharkov / of pre-school centers for children of working mothers.' But these are unrelated to his overall conclusions.

Analysis and reflection are similarly alien to him. In Moscow University he saw an American Communist paper on an African student's desk. 'That was a jolt. I had always dismissed the *Daily World* as pure propaganda. Presumably, he expects everyone else to share the view. And if Soviet students prefer American Communist to capitalist papers, that in itself is, for Pauken, a condemnation that does not require supporting evidence.

His reaction to Soviet realities that do not fit into his mental stereotype at times borders on the ludicrous. African students at Patrice Lumumba University amazed him by their 'independent thinking' — is the reader supposed to conclude that African students in a Soviet university are incapable of independent thought?

He was also surprised by the

friendly attitude of Soviet people, notwithstanding, he suggests, all the 'anti-American propaganda.' True, this refers to a television program and posters protesting against the American aggression in Vietnam. And since for him this is not aggression, but defense of the USA, naturally any protest against it is 'anti-American propaganda,' not a protest against imperialism.

Pauken takes such pleasure in sharing his discoveries with the reader that one is led to think he really believes them. For instance, at an airport he 'had to chuckle' when the group passed a waiting room for Deputies of the Supreme Soviet: At last he had discovered evidence of privileges in a 'classless society'! But he is the one who will be laughed at, at any rate by readers a little more informed and a little more free of propaganda stereotypes. One does not have to be an expert to know that socialist society (incidentally not yet classless, but only free of exploiter classes) does not recognize only privileges stemming from one's origin or possession of capital. But it does recognize 'privileges' stemming from one's work, from the public trust a man enjoys, or his contribution to society. Pauken thinks he is laughing at a communist ideal; he is laughing only at his own caricature of socialism.

Capek has a story about a reporter who could only think in literary clichés. Hearing the word 'oak' he would immediately react with 'mighty'; 'trade' — 'prospering'; 'institution' — 'appropriate.' The same with Pau-

ken, he can only think in clichés – political, not literary, but primitive just the same. A few examples: The USSR – ‘a closed society,’ the USA – the bulwark of ‘freedom and democracy.’ His one-track mind makes Pauken blind to his surroundings and often lands him in a mess. He says, categorically, that African students in the USSR are confronted with ‘racial discrimination.’ Facts? There are none: he was simply told by ‘a student.’

If Pauken confined himself to this perhaps U.S. News readers would believe him. But he goes beyond accusations of ‘racial discrimination’ in the Soviet Union – he sets out to prove that it does not exist in the United States. He prides himself on having opened the eyes of unspecified Soviet students misled by the malicious ‘fabrications’ of the Soviet press. These students, we are told, were surprised to learn that ‘integration is being pressed by the government, not only in the schools, but in jobs.’

Bravo, Pauken! Whether the Soviet people he spoke to were really surprised is hard to say, but it can safely be said that the American reader will be surprised. Two weeks before the Pauken opus appeared, U.S. News quoted U.S. Census Bureau statistics showing that the share of ‘non-whites’ in high-paid professions had increased by . . . 2.5 per cent in ten years, but was still woefully lower than their share in the population.

True, Pauken does not venture to assert that there is no segregation in the United States, that would not sit well in an American magazine. But he does

say that the government is concerned to achieve desegregation, something the Soviet press does not report. There is no need to cite specific issues of Soviet newspapers – let Pauken scan the files and get his facts right. And the facts are that the Soviet press has repeatedly written about Washington’s slow and hesitant desegregation moves. But why should the Soviet press be silent on the shooting of Negroes, on white teachers and pupils leaving desegregated schools, or President Nixon’s abandonment of his own busing program?

Elsewhere Pauken says economic policy is not discussed in the Soviet Union – just imagine how Soviet economists are muzzled! One might, of course, remind him that even the American press reported the spirited discussions preceding the economic reform, or the open exchange of views at the 1968 USSR Economic Conference, or the nationwide discussion of the five-year plan directives. But there is this pertinent question: what public discussion was there of the recent U.S. economic measures that literally stunned the American trade unions and the capitalist world?

Pauken’s myths have the property of coming alive; or rather he himself sees them come alive. Thus, secret police agents followed him everywhere to prevent contact with Soviet people. And it was only out of fear of these ‘agents,’ and not because Pauken does not know Russian, that when he tried to strike up a conversation, passers-by would ‘shake their heads and smile or nod in a friendly way.’

Poor passers-by, afraid to talk to Pauken! And yet Pauken describes the many unofficial talks he somehow managed to have. Neither he nor his editors seem to be troubled by this obvious illogicality. 'Police surveillance in the USSR' is one of the stereotypes long ago indoctrinated in the average American and therefore requires no supporting evidence. Incidentally, Pauken has a very personal reason to suspect the omnipresence of 'police agents': *U.S. News* says before becoming a 'Fellow,' he was an intelligence officer in Vietnam.

He was probably sincerely suspicious, when, on leaving Kiev, the group was on a night train. He did not consult the time-table to find out whether there was a convenient day train: he was sure the Russians wanted to prevent them from seeing the countryside. What else had the Railway Ministry to worry about?

He makes but a casual reference to many of his conversations in the USSR. But not all – he was especially gratified by – and vividly describes – one with a young married couple, who began by asking 'whether Levi-Strauss blue jeans or those made by Lee were most popular in the U.S.,' and told him they liked American clothes and rock music. Of course, he might have drawn the conclusion that silly people can be found in a social-

ist society too. But for Pauken this couple was a find – he was glad to hear that they listened to Radio Liberty, Voice of America and the BBC. It only remains for us to congratulate these radio stations with having such an audience.

He tries to make the most of the 'average Russian,' an upside down version of the 'average American,' and an old propaganda standby. This 'average Russian' can be made the vehicle of many a propaganda stereotype, all the more so that he is a 'type' rather than a living person. And the reader is told a lot about this 'average Russian': Intourist hotels are 'off limits to the average Russian,' he 'is completely ignorant of African people,' his face is 'expressionless,' etc.

Where does all this come from? Men have been known to make up stories and believe them; even classes indulge in that: the bourgeoisie believes in its ideological myths and tries to instil them in the minds of millions. Way back in 1922, Walter Lippmann in his book *Public Opinion*, remarked that reality is too vast, complex and fickle for direct understanding. The public, Lippmann intimated, must be given simple, reliable and vivid models, or symbols. Thomas W. Pauken has been raised on these symbols.

O. Medvedev

BOOKS IN BRIEF

N. STEFANOV, N. IAKHIEL, St. KACHAUNOV, *Upravleniye modelirovaniye, prognozirovaniye* (Management, Modelling, Prognostication). Sofia, Bulgarian CP Publishers, 1970. 283 pp.

The heightened interest in scientific management, of late the subject of intensive study in Bulgaria, is traceable to the requirements of socialist construction. The new management system necessitates new operational patterns for government and other organizations. That is the object of the integral management concept and program adopted by the July 1968 Central Committee plenum and further elaborated by the 10th Party Congress.

This collective study, one of several on the subject, summarizes the experience of Bulgaria and other socialist countries and examines the central aspects of the theory and practice of management from Marxist-Leninist positions. Its three parts deal with the problems of management, modelling and prognostication.

The authors interpret the concept of management in its present-day implications, show the need for a systems approach to social management and for a uniform strategy, discuss its reliability criteria and review various methods of designing and forming management systems.

The book contains a comprehensive examination of the theory of modelling, notably the use of models in education and science. Much of the study is devoted to the role of prognosti-

cation in conjunction with the scientific and technological revolution. With the greater volume, depth and complexity of social changes and with more and more people involved in their realization, the authors point out, voluntarism, subjectivism, hasty and short-sighted decisions can have very adverse effects. Accordingly, they emphasize the need to make full use of scientifically substantiated prognoses in social development, science and technology. They enumerate the basic elements of a prognoses system and outline prognostication methods and techniques for various branches of science. The book contains a critical analysis of bourgeois futurology.

It is valuable for its theoretical interpretation of the practice and needs of social development. Largely polemical, it will stimulate continued research on the management process in socialist society. *M. Markov*

J. C. QUINIOU, *Marxisme et informatique* (Marxism and Informatics). Paris, Editions sociales, 1971. 191 pp.

The problems involved in collecting, storing and processing information, modelling of complex analytical processes, introduction of automatic management systems—they have all been the subject of scientific and ideological controversy.

There are now in the world more than 100,000 computers, used by industry, research establishments and national agencies. And there is already talk of a new branch of the economy, informatics, comprising large

centers for directing production, prognostication and planning and employing increasing numbers of trained personnel.

All these questions are discussed by the French Marxist, J. C. Quiniou in a book made up largely of his own research published earlier in the collections 'Computers: Myth and Reality' (1968), 'The Artificial Brain' (1970). Quiniou concentrates on the socio-ideological problems and social implications of informatics under capitalism and socialism.

He analyzes the role of informatics in the system of state-monopoly capitalism as a 'cardinal factor accelerating concentration of production and raising productivity.' He opposes the bourgeois myth of informatics as a 'universal panacea' against the class struggle, as an instrument to assure class harmony, thereby dispensing with the need for revolutionary refashioning of society.

In France, informatics are employed mainly in the non-productive sphere and are virtually controlled by the international monopolies. In this context, the author criticizes government policy as running counter to national economic interests. The French Communist Party, Quiniou writes, links the struggle for an advanced democracy with the need for fundamental political and economic reforms, notably nationalization of the key economic sectors, including informatics. Quiniou shows the prospect of developing informatics in conditions of democracy and socialism and criticizes its anarchistic development under capitalism, arguing that 'the

capitalist system is incapable of utilizing the creative potential of the technical intelligentsia, or even of giving its work real meaning.'

Referring to the use of computers in the socialist countries, Quiniou emphasizes that only the socialist system can assure that this advance in science and technology will benefit the working people.

L. Gurevich

O. CAPUTO, R. PIZARRO, *Desarrollismo y capital extranjero* (The 'Development Theory' and Foreign Capital). Santiago de Chile, Ediciones de la Universidad Técnica del Estado, 1970. 118 pp.

The book is divided into two parts: Foreign Capital: Another 'Development Theory' Utopia, and Foreign Capital in Chilean Industry. The accent is on the former, on a critical examination of the 'development theory.' Its exponents maintain that foreign capital investments and loans are essential to Latin America's economic development; unequal trade and the growing need for imported capital goods call for more foreign investments, which will make it possible to build up foreign exchange reserves and balance exports and imports. Such is this 'development theory' which, incidentally, is supported by the UN Economic Commission for Latin America.

It is effectively refuted by numerous research findings. For apart from everything else, fresh foreign investments are largely used to finance enterprises already functioning in Latin America. The authors sim-

ilarly refute another argument, viz., foreign capital facilitates national accumulation and foreign-exchange build up to pay for imports of capital goods and semi-fabricates. The facts, however, are that depreciation costs, interest on loans and other outflow of capital more than compensate for its inflow. And the authors convincingly show that direct foreign investments lead to a lop-sided, unbalanced economic structure dependent, moreover, on foreign, chiefly North American, monopolies. The net result is a continued and intensified drain of the continent's resources. U.S. assets in 1946 amounted to \$3 billion, and another \$5.4 billion were added by 1967, but North American monopoly profits over this period added up to \$14.8 billion.

The objects which the supporters of the 'development theory' set out to achieve cannot be achieved by more injections of foreign capital. Latin America can overcome its dependence on foreign monopolies only by breaking out of capitalism.

The second part of the book shows how foreign capital was able to gain control of the commanding heights of Chile's economy and how it uses its profits to finance its enterprises. This dependence on the North American monopolies, Caputo and Pizarro say, is bound to increase the debt burden and intensify the plunder of Chile's resources. Both, they conclude, can be avoided only by parting company with capitalism.

This study by researchers of the Chile State University provides useful economic substan-

tiation for the nationalization measures now being taken by the popular government and for its policy of safeguarding national industry. J. Texier

E. CUENCA, *El militarismo en la Argentina* (Militarism in Argentina). Buenos Aires, Editorial Independencia, 1971. 90 pp.

The author is a Marxist writer on military affairs. In this study he discloses the link between the mounting popular struggle against the dictatorship and the growth of democratic and patriotic sentiment in the army and explains the Communist attitude towards the armed forces.

Argentina's Communists, he writes, believe – and there is ample historical evidence to back them – that the top military act in the interests of the oligarchy and imperialism and are responsible for the country's profound political and social crisis. But the Communist Party does not regard the army as one solid reactionary mass. The army is recruited from various strata and the recruits bring with them the maturing opposition to the dictatorship. These anti-imperialist sentiments, Cuenca writes, are apparent also in the officers corps, especially among its younger members. It is the task of the Party to bring the democratic and patriotically minded sections of the army into joint struggle with the people against the dictatorship.

This is what the Communist Party proposes to give the Army a democratic structure: a military policy entirely independent of the Pentagon, abolition of the present bureaucratic structure

and a purge of all reactionary elements. The army, Cuenca writes, must not be a weapon against the people, but a guardian of their national sovereignty and independence. That can be accomplished only through a democratic, agrarian and anti-imperialist revolution. And the first step towards that goal should be replacing the dictatorship by a provisional government based on a broad popular coalition. That, in turn, requires alliance of all the progressive and patriotic forces, civilian and military. A beginning has already been made with the emergence of the National Meeting of Argentines. The Communists appeal to all patriots in the army to join it. I. Ksenofontov

Les Communistes et la condition de la femme (Communists and the Position of Women), Paris, Editions sociales, 1970. 175 pp.

J. EDELMAN, *Women on the Job: a Marxist-Leninist View*. New York, New Outlook Publishers, 1970. 21 pp.

The first of these books is a report of the French Communist Party's women's commission. The second is written by a member of the U.S. Communist Party women's commission. Both expose bourgeois attempts to gloss over the class character of women's inequality, ascribing it to the 'eternal battle of the sexes,' and both reveal the causes of discrimination against half of the human race.

The French book gives a comprehensive Marxist-Leninist analysis of the problem, with quotations from Marx-Engels-Lenin,

August Bebel, Clara Zetkin, Maurice Thorez, Waldeck Rochet, and Communist Party documents—for the fight for women's equality has always been central to Communist activity.

The sociological and statistical data cited on women's position as worker in factory and office and as mother, confirm the topicality of the ideas enunciated by the classics of Marxism-Leninism and the international Communist movement. There is a special chapter on Communists and the Family and the concluding chapter, 'Woman and Socialism,' uses the example of the USSR to show how equal economic, social and political rights, for which French women are now fighting, have become a reality under socialism.

Judy Edelman disputes the feminists view current in America that exploitation of women's labor has no class basis. She particularly draws attention to the constitutional amendment, widely discussed since 1923, providing for equal rights. The feminist movement supports it as a guarantee against discrimination. But many trade unions and the Communist Party are opposed to it for, as the author rightly remarks, 'any law which applies to women alone would thus be unconstitutional.' This would jeopardize the legislation won by the labor movement defending women workers against employer arbitrariness (for example, the ban on employment of women in health-hazard occupations, night work, etc.). There are many laws that militate against women's rights and the author emphasizes the need to fight for their repeal.

She describes the triple exploitation of 'colored' women and their lack of rights in capitalist America and calls on all working women to join trade

unions.

Both books consider the women's movement as part of the general struggle for democracy and socialism. P. Loiseau

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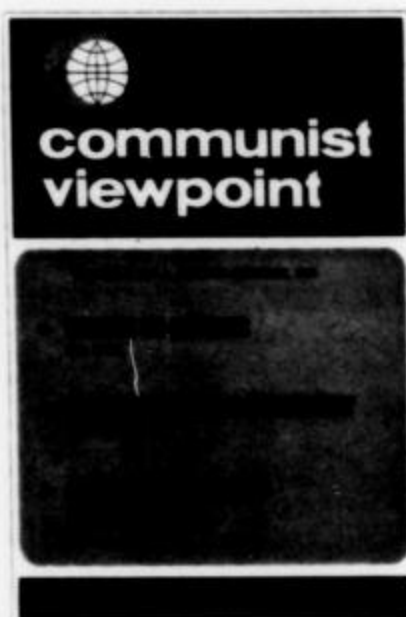
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