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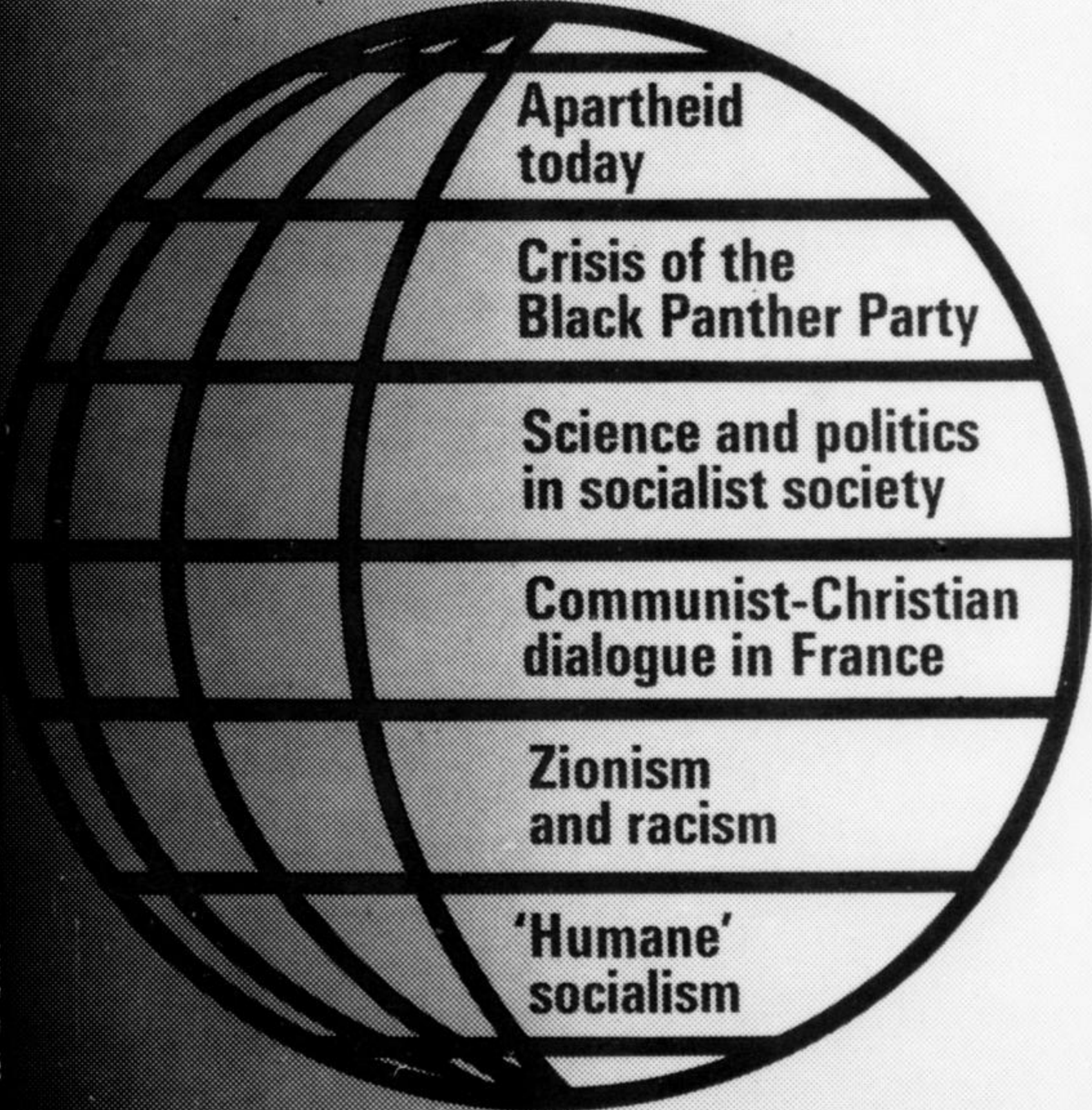
Problems of

MARXIST

Peace and Socialism

REVIEW

December 1971, Vol. 14, No. 12 50c



**Apartheid
today**

**Crisis of the
Black Panther Party**

**Science and politics
in socialist society**

**Communist-Christian
dialogue in France**

**Zionism
and racism**

**'Humane'
socialism**



Recently, the world celebrated the 90th birthday of Pablo Picasso, artist and Communist.

His famous peace dove has circled the globe, a symbol of resistance to imperialist war and struggle for international peace.

The above drawing is the artist's response to the first manned space flight by Communist cosmonaut Yuri Gagarin.

The editors send best wishes to Comrade Pablo Picasso on his birthday.



WORLD *Problems of* **MARXIST** *Peace and Socialism* **REVIEW**

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Workers' Parties

December 1971, Vol. 14, No. 12

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Science and politics in socialist society and experience of GDR

Erich Honecker

In the activity of Marxist-Leninist parties in socialist countries, elaboration of scientifically-grounded policy is connected with matters of the utmost importance. With the working class and its allies exercising political power and with socialist relations of production victorious, it is the task of our parties to use to the fullest the resultant objective premises and possibilities for building socialism. This process encompasses all sections of society and has a bearing on the life of the people. The building of socialist society continuously brings up new, often complicated, problems, which have to be creatively resolved by our parties. Our political decisions, resolutions and programs become the basis for the actions of millions of people at home and, moreover, influence the class struggle in the international arena.

The world revolutionary process impressively confirms the correctness of Lenin's thesis that the tempo of history accelerates as socialism becomes stronger. The coordinated, stable and purposeful advance of the countries of the socialist community, closely rallied around the Soviet Union, exercises a decisive influence on the anti-imperialist struggle and the safeguarding of peace through their common foreign-policy activity. As the main force of the great revolutionary streams of our time – the others being the international working-class movement and the national liberation movement of the peoples – the socialist world system sets mankind the attractive as well as inspiring example of reshaping social being along new lines.

An enormous responsibility devolves from the standpoint of the common international interests of socialism on the policy and practical work of all fraternal parties. The Eighth Congress of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany kept this in mind when charting the aims and ways for the further upbuilding of the developed socialist society in the German Democratic Republic. We regard the present and future advances in building socialism, the all-round consolidation of worker-peasant power, the deepening of our alliance with the Soviet Union and our state's still closer attachment to the community of socialist countries as an element and at the same time a requirement of the world revolutionary process.

The political working program contained in the decisions of our Eighth Congress reflects the creative application of the Marxist-Leninist teaching to the concrete conditions of our country. It embraces the wealth of ideas of the historic 24th Congress of the CPSU, the theoretical conclusions and practical experiences of the fraternal parties of other socialist countries and the world revolutionary movement. The guidelines formulated by the CPSU for further communist construction are of universal significance, and we are using them in our policy in accordance with our specific conditions.

The Eighth Socialist Unity Party Congress answered the questions that arose in our life and pinpointed as the top priority in the main task of the five-year plan for 1971-1975 to create all prerequisites for further raising the living standard and cultural level of the people. It pointed out that building a new society is a complicated and long process. It will therefore still take some time to complete the building of socialism in the GDR. Much has still to be done to attain the necessary higher level of productive forces, socialist social relations and people's socialist consciousness.

Our Party Congress bore in mind Lenin's words that Marxism 'requires of us a strictly exact and objectively verifiable analysis of the relations of classes and of the concrete features peculiar to each historical situation' and that it is necessary continually to fit all new developments 'into the general pattern of events' (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 24, pp. 43 and 141). Experience shows, that lacking this a realistic evaluation of events and of the actual situation, and a dependable definition of the tasks ahead, are impossible. Any approach to elaborating policy without the closest consideration of revolutionary practice and of the social reality would be anything but scientific.

For the first time in history socialism has made it possible to shape social processes in a conscious and purposeful way, and precisely for this reason the Party's political leadership must be scientifically grounded. Utilizing the objective regularities and decisive factors of development, and taking into account most carefully the inter-relationship of the various aspects of life, the Party can direct the creativity of the working class and all working people along the right lines and use it fully for the benefit of the people.

The SUP is guided in all its activity by Marxism-Leninism, the most revolutionary and the most advanced science of our time. Its strategy and tactics are based on the ideology of the working class and its victorious ideas – on this enormous spiritual foundation for the material transformation of human existence as a unity of all its components. Always, we attach the greatest importance to the requirements and development of the dialectical method, for which we are indebted to the classics. It disciplines the mind and rules out any onesided or subjectivist view of things and all unrealistic political wishful thinking. It sharpens the eye to see essential, the decisive, trends of development, and helps spot the main links the

Party must grasp to pull forward the whole chain of development.

If we take the experience of the revolutionary struggle, all of it will entirely bear out the fact that creative solutions of newly arising problems of socialist construction are conceivable only on the general basis of Marxism-Leninism. Naturally, this is not meant to belittle the various special sciences, which are rendering us important and indispensable services. But the Party's leadership is essentially political and therefore cannot be built exclusively on this or that special science. Politics is the unity of the ideologico-theoretical and practical organizational activity of the Party in guiding social development under socialism. It requires a substantiation of the main objectives for the various phases of the march forward, and the analysis necessary for this of the existing prerequisites and conditions and, finally, a precise program as a guide to action. This is imperative, because, as Lenin put it, 'without a correct political approach to the matter the given class will be unable to stay on top, and, consequently, will be incapable of solving its production problem either' (Vol. 2, p. 84).

As a social entity, socialism is still very young, notably in the GDR. Although it has still to overcome some survivals of the capitalist past and cope with various difficulties in the continuous battle between new and old, it is developing successfully and vigorously. As shown by the 24th Congress of the CPSU and the congresses of Communist and Workers' parties in other socialist countries, including our Eighth Congress, the practice of building socialism and communism has proved the vitality of the Marxist-Leninist ideology, which illumines the way for all revolutionary fighters to victory over imperialism and to building a new world.

Our Eighth Party Congress, too, strongly emphasized the increasing role of the working class and its Marxist-Leninist party in building socialism. As the ruling class, the class exercising power, the working class guides the socialist state, unites all working people and establishes the comradely and friendly relations with them that characterize the progress of socialist society and which this progress requires. The development of our socialist state in the past 22 years fully confirms the fact that the working class is the decisive social force. Its class interests are linked most directly with socialism and communism. It is most closely related to public ownership of the means of production. Its continuously growing political consciousness, organization and discipline are combined with revolutionary optimism, stamina and moral integrity. Equipped with Marxism-Leninism, the working class exercises its leading role in daily life, and performs great and heroic deeds to promote socialist interests and follow the communist ideals.

Continuous strengthening of the alliance of the working class with the cooperative farmers, intellectuals and other working strata, as we see it, is a basic element in building socialist society, and therefore we devote to this matter the attention it deserves in our policy. Though we may legitimately say that this alliance expresses

the moral and political unity of the people, it would be a mistake to overlook the fact that differences still prevail in the attitude and interests of classes and strata in the GDR. To overlook them is to reduce the role of the working class and create the impression that socialism can solve the problem of the social structure of society in a way that will only be possible under communism.

It is the policy of our Party to take every step in forming a developed socialist society jointly with all classes and strata. In the GDR the existence and comradely collaboration of several parties embodies the broad class alliance with the cooperative farmers and all other working strata, of which the working class and its party, the SUP, are the guiding force. All these classes and strata, which stand together with the working class, are thus able to contribute to the advance of socialism and fit into our society ever more consciously.

In elaborating a scientifically grounded policy we never lose sight of the determinative fact that socialism rests on the conscious and planned activity of the people, that it arises and develops in the process of the creative activity of millions of people, in which the working class and all working people learn to run their state. Lenin pointed out that the history of revolutions is always richer in content, more varied, more multiform, more lively and ingenious than even the best of parties can imagine. But all revolutions, he emphasized, are made by the exertion of all human capacities, 'the class-consciousness, will, passion and imagination of tens of millions' (*'Left-Wing' Communism - an Infantile Disorder*, Coll. Works, Vol. 31, p. 95). Of cardinal importance for an efficacious policy is the Party's profound confidence in the working people, its regular practice of taking counsel with them, of heeding their opinions, criticisms and suggestions. This implies resolute actions against callousness, arrogance, bureaucracy and disregard of the individual. It is our principle to build an ever better socialist society in the GDR with and for everyone.

The economy is an important touchstone for the Marxist-Leninist approach to the relationship between politics and science. Our Eighth Congress set the economic targets on the basis of our decisive political tasks: the continued building of a developed socialist society in the GDR. Doing so, it took account of the central importance of economic issues for the development of the socialist system. Congress projected the continuity of our economic policy, while emphasizing the focal points in its further development.

One could say that in this respect the decisive conclusions are summed up in the main task of the 1971-1975 five-year plan. It consists in further raising the people's living standard and cultural level on the basis of a high rate of development of socialist production, higher effectiveness, scientific-technical progress and growth of labor productivity. The concrete targets to be reached along this way were set in the five-year plan directives passed by Congress, envisaging a 35 to 37 per cent increase in labor productivity and a 21 to 23 per cent increase in real incomes.

This task, conditioned by political strategy, and the ways and means of effecting it, were elaborated with strictly scientific precision. Our Party appraised the level achieved, assessed the country's economic potential and, taking all this into account, defined the possible and necessary steps for the years ahead.

Deep understanding of the objective economic laws of socialism and the conditions in which they operate in the present stage of building the new society in our republic proved to be the key problem. A higher living standard and higher economic effectiveness can never be achieved out of keeping with, or independently of, these laws. In our country, too, the only way to achieve good and enduring economic results was to take these regularities into account and use them consciously, with knowledge and skill. This is a constantly reaffirmed conclusion, a Marxist-Leninist truth that we should always keep in mind. Therein is the watershed between scientific policy and subjectivism in the economy. That the desire to satisfy the important requirements of society and wipe out the adversary's lead in labor productivity is keener than warranted by the exact economic balances, is of course understandable. But if this wishful thinking succeeds in influencing our concrete decisions, the result will be a loss rather than a gain in our rate of advance. Subjectivism in economic matters has always been a costly proposition.

However, a nakedly pragmatic approach would also fail in the case of the important problems of socialist economic development. Economic policy is not aimed at achieving isolated short-term advances. A long-term, stable economic climb in which each successful step prepares the ground for the next one and provides added scope to the forces and advantages inherent in socialism can be ensured only by a policy based on the objective laws at the root of the social process. And this can be achieved only if practice rests securely on economic theory.

Our own experience shows that it is necessary to encompass theoretically the totality of objective economic laws in their interaction, to study their complex operation and use them in economic policy. Like the fraternal parties, and specifically inspired by the 24th CPSU Congress, the SUP has drawn relevant conclusions from the basic economic law of socialism, which plays the determinative role in this interrelationship. By this law the socialist economy is characterized as a means that must serve the good of the people. At its Eighth Congress, the SUP noted that as socialist society and its economic potential develop, the natural interconnection between production and requirements becomes increasingly more direct. It was with this in view that the fundamental task of the present five-year plan was formulated. And we made it clear from the outset that it was not a temporary goal prompted by practical motives, but a strategic, theoretically deeply substantiated orientation. This fundamental task shows the priority that the requirements of working people hold in a socialist economy. These are seen as the decisive point of departure for economic management and planning. Natur-

ally, this fact will have far-reaching consequences for all spheres of economic activity.

In this connection great importance falls to the law of planned proportional development. With especially dynamic processes under way in important areas of science, economy and technology, this essential objective law operates these days in changing conditions. Which only underscores the fact that the planned proportional development requires all the more meaningful attention, for in view of this flux even a brief oversight may cause considerable imbalance in the general proportions and thus disrupt the harmonious progress of the whole. Our Party can look back on a good economic balance. But we have also openly admitted that, for example, the lag in power production and deliveries has produced a number of disproportions that it will take some time to eliminate. It is no secret that these phenomena resulted from the underestimation of this important objective economic law in a few theoretical publications of the GDR.

Our Eighth Congress attached great importance to a comprehensive scientific substantiation of economic projecting. This has generated an undeniable impulse in the Party to make better use of the works of Marx, Engels and Lenin in the present conditions. The striving for depth and thoroughness in theoretical works, for a constructive scientific approach to the problems of socialist practice, is ever greater. The Central Committee's conference with social scientists this October has obviously given strong impetus to this development.

Building developed socialism, we are making full use of the advantages of this first phase of the communist social formation and are preparing the ground for transition to the second phase. That, however, means that we should implement the objective laws of socialism more and more effectively and thoroughly. We have thus quite unavoidably come to a point which requires animated spiritual and theoretical activity, intensive scientific exploration, and lively clashes of opinion in order to penetrate deeper into the essence of these objective laws and to get a clearer idea of how they operate.

In so doing, economic practice and theoretical insight will continue to develop in close harmony. When we were building up the economic system of socialism in the GDR in the past, we not only changed the concrete economic relationships, but also continually developed the scientific understanding of its requirements and trends, as reflected in the decisions of our Eighth Congress. There is a vital link between the scientific basis of policy and the creativity of the people. The more accurately a policy corresponds to the interests of the working people, the more effectively it serves them, and the better it is understood by the people, the more powerful is the stream of mass initiative.

Our Party devotes great attention to the objective processes in the realm of the productive forces encompassed and characterized by the concept of the scientific-technical revolution. They are accompanied by a rapidly developing socialization of labor. That is

why the nature of public ownership of the means of production and the concomitant social planning in the interest of the people, give socialism an objective long-term advantage in the use of these new forces. That is a decisive area of the socialist offensive in the economic contest against imperialism. It should be borne in mind, however, that the historical advantages of the new society do not come into effect automatically. All-round theoretical and practical effort is required to tie in to the scientific-technical revolution more and more closely with the advantages of socialism. And that is the course consistently followed by our Party.

Science, which is turning more and more into an immediate productive force, is bringing about revolutionary changes in the techniques and results of production. And these can have a very great bearing on the effectiveness of the economy. But this does not write off the unity of the quality and quantity aspects of scientific and technological development. The improvement and perfection of what we already have, and the normal scientific and technical progress, retain their importance. Neither the one nor the other should be neglected. That is why our Congress set the guideline that all potentialities should be utilized to raise labor productivity in the main drive of intensifying social production. The GDR is still in the early phase of the scientific-technical revolution. And, as we see it, the country can cope with its huge and far-reaching undertakings only in association with the Soviet Union and the other fraternal socialist states.

Further expansion of economic cooperation with countries of the socialist community, especially with its main force, the USSR, is in many respects the decisive question in our theoretical and practical work. We regard the socialist economic integration of CMEA countries as the expression of an objective natural process. Our people's rising living standard will depend considerably on the successful consolidation of this cooperation. It has a most direct bearing on the main task of the present five-year plan.

Our Party is aware, of course, that to carry through a long-term integration policy, as conceived in the Comprehensive Program of the 25th CMEA Session, we require ever deeper knowledge of the laws underlying the relevant processes. This applies not only to the effectiveness of the economic laws in the broad international framework. Equally important, in our view, is the corollary that internal processes in our own society will be increasingly influenced by the unfolding integration. The developed socialist society we are building in the GDR is part of the ever closer community of socialist states, which has a visible impact on various aspects of its development. From this, too, new demands arise for theoretical research.

Elaborating our policy, we always have at our disposal the wealth of experience and knowledge accumulated by the world Communist movement. And our Socialist Unity Party has never done itself the injury of ignoring this rich spiritual source. The teaching of the Marxist-Leninist classics is ever alive in the socialist reality of our republic. So is the experience of the Soviet Union, the vanguard of

mankind on its way to the future, and the experience of many other friendly parties. And if we succeeded in finding creative solutions for the concrete conditions of socialist construction in our country, and thereby also contributed to theory, we owe it to this fruitful cooperation. Socialist integration makes for ever closer coordination of social practice. We are spurred by this to devote all the more attention to the experience and scientific achievements of the fraternal parties and to promote cooperation in the theoretical field.

The scientific standard of economic management and planning is of major importance for the successful utilization of the economic laws of socialism. Each stage of practical economic advance calls for a progressively higher niveau of scientific management. Congress occupied itself at length with this problem, accentuating the significance of a well grounded and realistically balanced plan. The scientific niveau of our entire working technique is brought out in bold relief in the quality of our planning. And its quality affects all aspects of economic activity, primarily the stability of economic progress, and not least of all the people's confidence in the socialist planned economy. A great deal of work is being done on many of the aspects of economic planning in connection with the elaboration of the present five-year plan.

And there naturally arise a great many interrelated problems of management and planning at factory level and with regard to the scientific training of executive personnel. With these, too, our Party is dealing seriously.

An important role belongs these days to such scientific fields as economic mathematics, cybernetics and operational research. It stands to reason that they must not be allowed to eclipse the political economy of socialism as the theoretical basis of our economic policy. And our Party has had to speak up against the inclination to stuff certain publications with pronouncements borrowed for no tangible scientific reason from these modern specialized fields. What we require and what we encourage, is thorough, fundamental, and economically fruitful research.

The nature of the socialist system exercises a profound influence not only on the social objectives, but also on the formulation of problems and the ways and means of resolving them with the help of these new scientific disciplines. It would be a mistake to make technological data and indicators the object of economic research, and in so doing overlook the position of people towards technology, forgetting that they are, and act as, the owners of the means of production. All these branches of science participate in the elaboration of independent solutions corresponding to the nature of the socialist system. Copying theoreticians of monopoly-capitalist management would do us nothing but harm. The usefulness of theoretical work, from this angle too, depends on how effectively it fosters mass initiative. We are interested in the new, but do not neglect the experience and methods tested in the practice of socialist emulation.

We have stressed at our Congress that we measure the effectiveness of the socialist economic system in the GDR by how it helps to rally the millions of working people for higher results in production in line with the democratic principles of our social system, how it helps to strengthen their socialist consciousness, to improve their working and living conditions, and to induce them to improve their political and economic knowledge and raise their professional proficiency, to be more deeply and meaningfully conscious of their responsibility for the planning and management of the economy.

Characteristically, we see the role of the subjective factors gaining weight in all areas of public life in the framework of the objective realities of socialism, and it is only logical that the Party should devote the utmost attention to moulding the socialist consciousness of people and regard ideological work as the mainspring of its activity. We train all Party members in the spirit of socialist patriotism and proletarian internationalism moved by love of the Soviet Union, the pioneer in man's progress, and by close kinship with other socialist countries, the world Communist movement and the international working class. Ideological clarity and firmness, confidence in the victory of our great cause, of socialism and communism, labor enthusiasm and fighting spirit – these are the attitudes and qualities that act on all the other citizens of our republic through the example of Party numbers and become manifest more and more in their own actions.

It is in the ideological field that the confrontation between socialism and imperialism is now the most acute, and it would be extravagant to bow to anyone who may think it is possible to be passive in this battle. As our Party sees it, assuming the offensive in ideological work is the fundamental prerequisite for developing the socialist consciousness of our people, consolidating their class outlook and equipping them to withstand all influences of bourgeois ideology, including the Social-Democratic; this is an important precondition for further headway in building a developed socialist society in the GDR. Our Party attaches the greatest importance to propagating the Marxist-Leninist outlook and to theoretical work.

As we know, the imperialist bourgeoisie uses anti-communism and anti-Sovietism as its main politico-ideological weapon in the fight against socialism. All the variants of reactionary ideology, including Social-Democracy and revisionism, are, overtly or covertly, of an anti-Communist complexion. All the more topical is Lenin's statement that "struggle against imperialism that is not closely linked with the struggle against opportunism is either an empty phrase or a fraud (Vol. 23, p. 99). We resolutely denounce the politico-ideological school of Maoism, which is in principle hostile to Marxism-Leninism and the joint line of the world Communist movement. The Chinese leadership uses the Maoist platform to pursue a policy saturated with great-power chauvinism, hegemonism and anti-Sovietism against the socialist countries and their main force, the Soviet Union, and against the entire world Communist movement. That is why it is absolutely necessary to combat Maoism

in order to cement the unity of all revolutionary forces in the anti-imperialist struggle.

Not only Party members and candidate members should understand the laws of social development and act accordingly; by propagating Marxist-Leninist science, we want to achieve this to an ever growing degree also in the case of the whole working class, the cooperative peasants, intellectuals, and especially the youth. Socialist consciousness is the basis of creative activity. The growing interest in questions of ideology is reflected in the fact that some 1.35 million Party members and 350,000 non-members have joined in the regularly conducted Party studies when study groups and seminars began the 1971-1972 academic year. This equips people with knowledge of Marxist-Leninist theory and of the strategy and tactics outlined by our Eighth Congress to further strengthen the GDR, with a deep understanding of the world revolutionary process carried forward irresistibly with the support of the socialist countries by the mighty army of fighters for the progress of mankind.

Science and politics, closely and organically interrelated, work for the present and future of socialist society. Revolutionary practice turns the theoretical knowledge of the working class Party, expressed in the decisions of the Eighth Congress, into reality for the good of the people.



Contradictions in the present-day world

Georges Cogniot

Events since the 1969 International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties have fully confirmed its general line. Its analysis of the basic directions in the international class struggle has proved entirely correct. The world is in the midst of a period of class battles, serving notice, as the Meeting predicted, of new battles between progress and reaction likely to bring about fundamental social transformations. Never before have the peoples been so deeply involved in the worldwide struggle for peace and security, for social progress. Nor have the prospects of assuring their vital interests and resolving the political and social problems ever been so promising.

Struggle of the two world systems

The titanic struggle between the two world systems, socialism and capitalism, is the dominant form in which the contradictions of modern history manifest themselves. And the socialist world system heading the global revolutionary movement is the decisive force of the anti-imperialist struggle.

The five-year period ending in 1970 saw a substantial growth of the socialist countries' economic potential. Living standards rose visibly and socialism's political basis grew stronger. The April-May 1971 issue of E.C.E. NEWS, the UN European Economic Commission's bulletin, wrote that the countries of Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union together increased national production in 1970 by more than 7.5 per cent against 5 per cent in 1969. The Soviet 1970 material production targets were sizably exceeded. The annual national product growth rates were high throughout 1966-1970, with nearly all countries registering a more considerable increase in production. In all these countries (with data unavailable only in the case of Rumania) private and public consumption climbed more rapidly than in the preceding five years. In most countries, per capita incomes and real wages per employee rose more rapidly. The overall impression is that rates of economic growth, effective-

ness of production and living standards rose more rapidly than in the preceding five years.

May the reader forgive us this long quotation. It is taken from a publication that is not systematically kind to socialist countries. We quoted it, because it confirms the stable and rapid development of the East European socialist countries, and primarily the Soviet Union.

As for the future outlook, the 42-46 per cent production increase coupled with the unparalleled rise of living standards envisaged by the 24th Congress of the Soviet Communist Party opens up thrilling perspectives, which have impressed even the reactionary press. In an essentially malevolent article, *Etudes*, a French Jesuit journal, said: 'Although higher living standards have always been one of the explicit aims of Soviet planning, they have never occupied a place of such great prominence before.' *Echos*, the Paris organ of big industry, in a February number described the new five-year plan as a 'stimulant of prosperity, focussed on the highest possible productivity.' It mentioned the atmosphere of élan and pride reigning in the USSR.

Pride: surely that is not the word to describe the sentiments of the capitalist leaders at the present time. Raymond Aron, the leading French bourgeois sociologist, gave this suggestive title to his latest investigation, 'The Disillusionment of Progress.' The question of man's ability to direct his future, he says, can yield no answer.

For three successive years the big capitalist powers have been unable to come out of a monetary crisis. The 'paradoxical' combination of inflation and growing unemployment is striking fear into their rulers. Only yesterday, they extolled 'economic miracles' in various countries, maintaining that the Marxist 'schemes' of capitalism were 'outdated,' that they may have been good for the 30s, but not any more. Postwar capitalism, they said, has grown 'vigorous,' notably by virtue of the more sweeping and systematic intervention of the state in the economy. But now? Now *l'Economie*, the straightlaced journal of French enterprise, admits that all the bourgeois economic schools are 'powerless to devise effective instruments for conducting a balanced economy,' that 'contemporary economic thinking' has stretched itself to 'the limit.'

Philip Cortney, an influential capitalist, wrote in a March issue of *Le Monde*: 'Never before in its history has the United States faced so many complex and difficult problems at one time.'

Inflation is having a ravaging effect in the USA. But it is also running high in the FRG, Japan, the United Kingdom, Italy and France. In 1971 prices kept rising just as they did the year before. Government forecasts have proved wrong, and at the present time, for example, prices in the FRG are rising at an annual rate of 9 per cent and a rate of 6.3 per cent in France.

Some time ago *L'Usine nouvelle*, a journal of French industry, wrote: 'All big countries of the free world (sic!) are engulfed by inflation to a point where certain analysts have begun to wonder

whether or not the phenomenon is a built-in feature of our society,' and, consequently, impossible to eliminate. The sole remedy suggested by the Secretary General of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, is to limit production and increase unemployment – as though this has not already happened in the United States and Britain, where, nonetheless, a disastrous level of unemployment is accompanied by galloping inflation.

Capitalism's financial and monetary system is hit by the most acute crisis since the war. Though the West German mark is fraternally sustaining the dollar and the Bundesbank is blandly playing the game of the United States, the more serious European experts insist on the necessity of devaluing the dollar, no matter how painful this may be to Wall Street prestige.

As L. I. Brezhnev said in June at the Eighth Congress of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, 'the noose of the general crisis of the capitalist system is steadily drawing tighter . . . There is no reformer, no healer in the world, who could cure these congenital diseases and maladies.'

The capitalist powers are trying to defend themselves against the fatal deficiencies of their economy and against the steadily growing might of world socialism by intensifying the processes of integration, as evidenced by the efforts to bring Britain into the European Economic Community. But this will only sharpen competition and further aggravate political and economic rivalries. On the one hand, the United States has closed its borders to goods from Europe and Japan, and, on the other, European countries are trying to ease the burden of exploitation imposed on them by U.S. capital. In the EEC the economic and political pressures exerted by West Germany are becoming intolerable for a country like France. Many French capitalists fear that once Britain, another full member of NATO, is admitted into the Common Market, the EEC will become dissolved in an 'Atlantic,' or rather American, Europe by reason of three factors: the might of the United States, the support it receives from the FRG, the strongest member of the Common Market, and, lastly, the almost exclusively American character of the multinational companies, the vehicles of the mounting concentration, which are laying their hands more and more on the West European economy.

Whereas the world triumph of socialism has produced a new type of international relations, which are in principle fraternal – despite cooperation among the socialist countries being seriously injured by the activity of the Mao Tse-tung group – capitalist relations are based exclusively on positions of strength and are defined in terms of rivalry. Imperialism tries ceaselessly to interfere in the affairs of the socialist countries and to subvert the independence of ex-colonial peoples, which are on their way to a new life.

The aggressive U.S. imperialist designs in Southeast Asia led to crimes that have covered America with shame: the celebrated 'MacNamara Memorandum' attests that the unjust and barbarous

war against the peoples of Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia was provoked by Washington on a patently false pretext. To this should be added the aggression against the Arab countries unleashed by proxy by U.S. imperialism.

In contrast to the socialist world system, which stands as the liberator of the peoples and the guarantor of their independence and sovereignty, world imperialism, and primarily U.S. imperialism, plays the role of world gendarme upholding the forces of reaction, exploitation and oppression.

The socialist world system is the herald of the lofty ideas of peaceful coexistence and peaceful competition of states with differing economic and social systems; it is working for the collective security and cooperation of all nations without discrimination. Imperialism, meanwhile, brandishes the torch of war, imperilling not only the rights, but the very existence, of humanity.

And so, world socialism and world imperialism are in a constant state of confrontation and struggle, and this struggle between the forces of the past and of the future is the main content of our epoch.

Intrinsic contradictions of capitalist society

In all capitalist countries intrinsic contradictions are becoming more acute. The working class is fighting vigorously for the vital interests and rights of the people against the tyranny of the monopolies and the reactionary anti-people's policy of the imperialists. The beginning of 1971 saw a distinct aggravation of the conflict between labor and capital: miners and metalworkers were on strike in France, metalworkers in Finland, postal workers in Britain and teachers in the United States and Colombia. Big strikes brought entire industries to a standstill, highlighting the social climate in Britain, Japan, France, Spain, Argentina, Belgium and the United States. *Figaro* complained: 'Strikes have become a normal condition in labor relations.'

But neither brutal repressions nor attempts to induce the working class to accept 'integration' in the capitalist system and association between labor and capital, nor propaganda of a 'great,' 'new' and 'post-industrial' society can mitigate the antagonism between capital and labor. The growing socialization of production (employment of large masses of workers, the interdependence of technology, rationalization, expanding markets, etc.) is coming into collision more and more with the capitalist mode of production.

The larger number of workers employed in the technically more progressive industries, with their high degree of production concentration, tends to mass the working class in the key sectors of the capitalist economy and thereby heighten its political, social and economic role.

The frontal clashes between the working class and state-monopoly capital in France in the spring of 1968 and in Italy in the autumn

of 1969, marked the beginning of a new, more intensive phase of the class struggle. Working-class actions are increasingly marked by unity and class solidarity. This is evidenced not only by the strikes in Europe, but also by movements such as the one in the General Electric (U.S.) plants, where 13 labor unions of different trends acted in unison. The class consciousness of the workers is rising, their determination to bring together all anti-monopoly forces, the working people first of all, in a united front is growing visibly.

Engineers, technicians, and managerial personnel, whose numbers are rapidly growing, are deeply dissatisfied. They are joining the struggle against capitalism, conscious – albeit not very clearly – that they, too, are an object of exploitation. They object to being ‘little cogs’ of the economic machinery, without a say in its affairs. They want to play an effective role in the enterprises and in decision-making at various levels.

More and more ‘paper proletarians’ are appearing among white-collar workers, civil servants and intellectuals. Irrespective of earnings, they feel keenly that they belong to the army of wage labor.

The students, many more of whom now come from the middle strata and the petty bourgeoisie, reflect and amplify the general discontent and moral crisis of this segment of society.

The small farmers are haunted by fear and insecurity. They are being pushed off the land by the big capitalist landowners. EEC policy, in particular, is oriented on banishing them from the land and turning them into proletarians.

Artisans and shopkeepers are protesting against the tax burden imposed by governments serving the monopolies and against the grinding competition of the big commercial firms.

A large section of the petty bourgeoisie, it is true, is either totally deceived by monopoly propaganda or only slightly touched by doubt. However, Marxist-Leninists should not only measure the past and present political activity and views of various population groups, but also anticipate their future evolution. They must pinpoint the main trends in social development and spot future allies among those still rejecting solidarity with the working class. Many small producers still believe that their troubles are due to errors of the government, to bad organization of distribution and marketing, to fallacious price policies, and the like. Communists show them that their view is superficial and that their troubles are rooted in the organization of production, in the domination of the monopolies.

All democratic sections of society are now in conflict with the machinery of government, which upholds the interests of the monopoly bourgeoisie. Consequently, economic and political demands intertwine. This is a characteristic feature of the present stage. The center of gravity in the struggle shifts increasingly to *political* conflict with state-monopoly capitalism. The numerous actions of all categories of working people are creating the necessary conditions for rallying all democratic forces around the working class and, in many countries, around the Communist parties.

The communist parties are working energetically for united working-class action and the unity of all anti-imperialist groups. France, Italy and Japan, i.e., three of the six leading capitalist powers, have mass Communist parties, which stand at the head of broad mass movements. The recent elections in France, Italy, Japan and other countries gave evidence of the strength of the Communist parties and Left forces as a whole.

The interaction of the main world contradictions and the intrinsic contradictions in each capitalist country

The built-in contradictions in each capitalist country rally the overwhelming anti-monopoly majority, at least potentially, against the oligarchy and merge with the grand confrontation of the two world systems. Every success of labor and democracy in each country gives impetus to the spread of socialist ideas across the world and socialism's successful struggle against imperialism's counter-revolutionary forces. Conversely, every victory of the socialist world system stimulates the development of the democratic and working-class movement in the capitalist countries, strengthening the positions of labor. Since the enemy is the same, the need for unity is self-evident.

The working class in the capitalist countries is becoming aware of the fact that successful struggle in its own country, or on a regional basis, requires closer unity of the world liberation anti-imperialist movement, of which the socialist system is the main bulwark. The workers of France, and Western Europe in general, can see the American stranglehold on their national economies. And they can also see American imperialism's drive for world hegemony. As the guarantor of the nation's future, the working class is animated by a deep feeling of patriotism. That is why it wants international anti-imperialist proletarian solidarity.

The cosmopolitan monopolies are out to destroy the international brotherhood of the working class, their prime object being to sow mistrust of and indifference to socialist reality. They go out of their way to encourage anti-Sovietism, which is just another name for the kind of anti-communism which is imperialism's main political and ideological weapon.

The bourgeoisie would like to isolate the working class of each country, seal it up in its national borders, so as to battle it more easily. It wants to demoralize the working class by distracting it from the lofty ideal of communism. Anti-communism and anti-Sovietism are the main tools in the political and psychological strategy of the monopoly offensive on living standards and working conditions.

And as imperialism's resources for a frontal attack against socialism diminish, it intensifies its ideological and political subversion against the revolutionary forces of our time: not only against the peoples of the socialist countries, but also against the working class

and its allies in the capitalist countries. Bourgeois propaganda is using every available means to instil the idea that there is no conflict between the two socio-economic systems. Capitalism's paid pens are even trying to 'prove' the 'convergence' and 'synthesis' of capitalism and socialism. They maintain that the conflict is really between two 'superpowers' aspiring to world supremacy. This is done to emasculate the confrontation of its class essence and misdirect the working people of the capitalist world.

The politicians who so zealously support integration of Western Europe and the theorists who bemoan the 'feeble response in the hearts' of working people to the European idea, take a diametrically opposite stand in respect to East Europe: here they extol national isolation and have only good words for nationalism.

The French workers know all too well what this 'national communism' is about. Bourgeoisie propagandists recommended it in 1939, when the capitalist government intensified repressions against the working people for their unbending proletarian internationalism and loyalty to the unity and cohesion of the world Communist movement.

French writers in the service of imperialism have no compunction about describing the socialism built in the Soviet Union as 'pure fantasy.' Everything is being done to vilify the Soviet Union and lure the French workers away from it. But as Comrade Fajon said at our 19th Congress in demolishing the 'arguments' of revisionist Roger Garaudy, renunciation of solidarity with the CPSU would mean 'tearing the French revolutionary movement away from the main force of world socialism and thereby undermining the very possibility of transition to socialism in our own country.'

The existence and consolidation of the socialist world system is a decisive factor weakening international reaction and influencing the balance of strength between working class and bourgeoisie in each capitalist country.

Class contradictions at national level and the main contradiction between socialism and imperialism at world level, Communists in capitalist countries hold, are closely connected. The socialist world system is a strong accelerator of history, in the course of which every nation makes the passage from capitalism to socialism.

Role of the national liberation movement

The national liberation movement of the Asian, African and Latin American peoples occupies an important place in the world revolutionary process. Imperialism is subjected to its increasing pressure, principally from the young independent states that have opted for the non-capitalist way.

This option is more and more frequent these days, for the peoples have become conscious of the inequality bred by imperialist domination. Egoism and hypocrisy are the main ingredients in the attitude of the rulers of developed capitalist states toward developing countries. In most cases, the so-called aid to young countries is

less than one per cent of their gross national product – an outlay amply compensated by the internationally organized plunder of raw materials. It is common knowledge, at least, that the United States is resisting endeavors to balance the situation in the raw materials market, invoking the diabolic specter of 'world dirigism.' Some U.S. authors describe their country as the world's 'benefactor and gendarme.' As concerns its police functions, no one will deny them, whereas the U.S. beneficence is pure figment.

Imperialist states go out of their way to make debtors out of the developing countries. Their debt has doubled since 1956 from \$6.1 billion to \$13.3 billion. The oil-producing countries, it is true, are in a somewhat better position, for after a giant economic battle, thanks to unity and to indirect support from the socialist countries, they managed to force the European states and Japan to pay them an additional sum of nearly \$10 billion over five years.

The inflation gripping the developed capitalist states tends to increase the cost of the ready product imported by the developing countries. The latter's export revenue, on the other hand, does not rise. This makes the terms of exchange increasingly adverse.

At the end of October 1970 a group of UN members elaborated a 'strategy' for the coming ten years, envisaging export advantages for developing countries. However, only deep-going revolutionary change in those countries can solve the problem.

'The power of the industrial (read capitalist) powers has been put in question in Africa and Latin America,' wrote *Economie* in its February issue, adding: 'Most of the Third World countries are for revolution against all forms of imperialism, racism, neo-colonialism. . . . These countries want to be a sufficiently impressive force to alter the world, change the structure of international relations, and liquidate neo-colonialism, which perpetuates the malaises of the past and subverts the future.'

Altering the world – that is the process in which the Asian, African and Latin American peoples are now becoming involved.

Some countries have embarked on the non-capitalist way, opting for the socialist perspective, and have begun nationalizing the property of imperialist monopolies and making the state sector the foundation for revolutionary democracy. That is the evolution in many of the Arab countries, and in Guinea, Somalia, Tanzania and Burma. Many have in earnest tackled the agrarian problem. Despite difficulties – and these should certainly not be minimized – many former colonies follow progressive social policies. Just since 1969, nations such as Somalia, Chile and Peru have embarked on progress, joining the mighty anti-imperialist stream.

The people's forces can also be proud of headway in India, Ceylon and Nigeria. India, Ceylon, Zambia and other countries have taken steps to restrict foreign private capital.

To be sure, painful setbacks are unavoidable in this complicated and changeable struggle, of which the July events and counter-revolutionary terror in Sudan are sad evidence. The country's finest

sons fell victim to wanton brutality. Abdel Khalek Mahgoub and his comrades have fallen. But history shows that the movement will not be halted, no matter how brutal the persecution of revolutionaries and of friends of scientific socialism.

Far-reaching changes are under way in Latin America. The election victory of the Popular Unity bloc in Chile has put in power a government which, with mass support, succeeded in arresting inflation and the rising cost of living, nationalizing the big banks and the copper mines, the country's main wealth, and launching an agrarian reform and the expropriation of large property. Chile is entering on the socialist path.

The Peru government has come to grips with the American monopolies. A Popular Unity front is emerging in Venezuela, set on retrieving the nation's wealth from the grasp of foreign capitalists. A Broad Front has been constituted in Uruguay, and there is evidence of growing resistance to Yankee domination in Ecuador. The common market of the Central American countries – the backyard of U.S. big business – is also in a state of crisis.

Much evidence has accumulated over the years that the developing countries' struggle against neo-colonialism is being effectively backed by the socialist world's struggle against imperialism. Soviet policy in the UN bears this out. The Soviet Union was a sponsor of the UN declaration on granting independence to colonial peoples, it collaborated in drawing up the declaration on eliminating racial discrimination, repeatedly called for effective UN sanctions against the SAR for its apartheid, and took a firm stand in November 1965 against the 'independence' of the racist minority in Rhodesia.

The USSR and other socialist countries are true friends and allies of the Asian, African and Latin American peoples, ever ready to help and support them in their drive for economic and political independence. Dozens of large enterprises have been built with Soviet aid. Soviet economic and political cooperation with the liberated countries is based on the principles of justice and equality.

The world sees that the approach of the developed capitalist countries, principally the USA, and that of the socialist countries, with the Soviet Union at their head, are diametrically opposite. While the former obstruct, the latter facilitate the advance of the developing countries to freedom, sovereignty and social justice. This is why the peoples in developing countries scoff at the idea of viewing industrially developed states, both socialist and capitalist, as a homogeneous bloc; they brand this as slander and as indirect vindication of imperialist exploitation. They reject Mao Tse-tung's 'theory' of the world city, allegedly opposed to the world village. They also reject the theory dividing the world into 'rich' and 'poor' countries or 'propertied' and 'proletarian' nations. The peasants in the young states are aware that their enemies and false friends, who seek to perpetuate domination and exploitation, want to isolate them from their natural ally – the working class, particularly of the socialist countries. Close interaction and solidarity of

the positive factors in world history (the socialist world system, the international working-class movement and the national liberation movement), will ultimately determine the ways of speedily resolving the main global contradiction between revolution and imperialism.

Of methods to resolve contradictions

The three groups of contradictions examined here are antagonistic. The course of history spurred by them cannot be uniform, smooth or harmonious. Nothing but open struggle, in which imperialism will be defeated and destroyed, will resolve the main contradiction.

But this does not eliminate the question of forms of struggle. The Marxist-Leninist method alone yields the correct analysis and way of resolving this contradiction by a non-metaphysical and non-dogmatic dialectical approach. Contradictions cannot be resolved by *a priori* ideas of a leader. Lenin described this as pure romanticism. The only way to resolve them is on the basis of objective reality.

If, for example, the objective reality of the present-day world is highlighted by the ever increasing power and authority of the socialist system and socialist ideology, profoundly humane and naturally hostile to war, then it is this that helps determine how the antagonistic contradiction between socialism and imperialism will be settled.

The struggle of the socialist and capitalist systems unfolds these days not in the form of an armed conflict, but in that of peaceful coexistence and economic competition. This the world owes to the might of socialism.

Despite the horrors of local imperialist-sponsored wars, mankind has been spared a world war for more than 25 years. This historic achievement is a credit for the socialist system and, first and foremost, the Soviet Union.

The absence of extreme international tension has made it more difficult to poison the masses with the venom of bourgeois chauvinism and has helped build up the class struggle in the capitalist countries, where the problems of democracy and social progress have always attracted public attention. Also, the policy of peaceful coexistence has contributed substantially to the success and progress of the really existing socialism, providing tangible proof of its superiority to capitalism. Far from excluding each other, peaceful coexistence and revolutionary struggle are mutually complementary in the sense that the success of real socialism, made possible by the former, acts as a stimulant of the latter.

Social emancipation of the capitalist-oppressed masses does not follow pre-determined stereotyped ways. The people use the ever changing opportunities of actual reality, as borne out by the experience of Chile: it was through unity and firmness that her people succeeded by constitutional means in forming a government which,

despite all difficulties, is leading the country on to the socialist path.

The Communist parties of many developed capitalist states have inscribed in their programs the possibility of a peaceful transition from capitalism to socialism. The option is not an arbitrary one. In those countries objective conditions required for the emergence of broad anti-monopoly alliances and, consequently, for the political and moral isolation of the financial oligarchy are maturing rapidly. Besides, among other things, the option derives from the prestige and might of the socialist system, its growing influence, and its capability to prevent imperialists from exporting counter-revolution.

In short, the analysis shows that in the present stage of the class struggle in the capitalist world, the working class and its allies have greater objective opportunities to advance their cause. A working-class and mass democratic movement is unfolding in the citadels of capitalism. The gulf between the monopolies and the masses is widening.

Changes in the economy bring together non-proletarian social strata and the working class. Speaking at the 19th Congress of the FCP, Georges Marchais, FCP Deputy General Secretary, said the scientific-technical revolution was giving impetus to this process – 'one of the main reasons for the aggravation of capitalism's intrinsic contradictions.' The contradiction between technical progress and the backwardness of social institutions is, indeed, becoming increasingly evident.

The antagonism between imperialism, which denies democracy, and the masses which aspire to it, grows more acute. The rising tide of struggle for democracy, the outcry against all forms of social and national oppression, against the inhumanity of capitalism, coupled with the unprecedentedly broad anti-imperialist actions of the youth – all this is no less characteristic of modern capitalism than concentration of capital, domination of monopolies and their alliance with the state.

Developments upset the designs of anti-Communists, who pin their hopes on splitting the Left forces. In France, rapprochement between the Communist and Socialist parties is met with public approval, including rank-and-file Socialists. The two parties are expected to adopt a joint program of struggle and government, envisaging radical anti-monopoly reforms which could, given mass activity, open up the way to socialism. Demands for democratic nationalization of monopolized industries and greater rights in enterprises, industries and the country as a whole, are built-in factors of the organized working-class movement of today.

This gives an idea of the content of an anti-monopoly democratic system, a system of advanced democracy leading to socialism.

Whereas the diversity of forms of passage to socialism is an objective necessity and depends on time and place, the basic content of revolutionary reconstruction is universal: the transition to socialism is accomplished by conquest of political power by the working class and by socialization of the basic means of production. This

has nothing in common with any Labor Party-type 'socialist' government that seeks to run capitalist affairs better than the capitalists. Take the example of Sweden: after decades of 'socialist government' 95 per cent of the country's basic means of production belong to the Wallenbergs and other tycoons.

Of course, the new forms of passage to socialism are not immutable. Marxists, Lenin taught us, must be ready to master all methods and forms of struggle, depending on the situation.

Non-antagonistic contradictions under socialism

Socialist society, too, has contradictions. It is plain dialectics that the source of any movement and any development is in the existence and operation of contradictions. This is as true in society as it is in nature. In history, contradictions primarily spark passage from one socio-economic formation to another. This applies to antagonistic contradictions, expressive of the class struggle. In socialist society, too, contradictions operate as the motive power of development. But they are not antagonistic, because here social development is not expressive of class struggle, but of an entirely new socio-economic basis comprising none but friendly classes and social strata. Contradictions arise as socialist society passes on to new stages of development.

The building of more advanced elements in defiance of the obsolete and moribund, produces a conflicting situation. And criticism of gains made is aimed at improving them. Dialectics, Marx says, 'lets nothing impose upon it, and is in essence critical and revolutionary' (*Capital*, Afterword to the Second German Edition). The growth of socialism is a dialectical process in which contradictions are bound to arise. It is up to the Party, the working class and the people to resolve them. They are not unusual and are in substance objective, and do not derive from subjective errors. Resolving them is part of the drive for social progress.

Take the contradiction between production and consumption. Under capitalism, with one class selling its labor to another, totally subject to the law of profit, this is an antagonistic contradiction. History resolves it in the process of the class struggle, with wages and consumption rising as the working class fights to reduce capitalist profits. The same contradiction exists under socialism. Here, however, it is not antagonistic because social production is not oriented on capitalist profit, but on satisfying the requirements of working people and facilitating the all-round development of the individual.

The contradiction remains, because the resources of society are limited at every given moment. An increase in the allocation for consumption reduces accumulation, that is, development of the productive forces, and vice versa. The contradiction also remains because the development of socialist production continuously generates new requirements.

How is the contradiction resolved in, say, the Soviet Union? How is consumption reconciled with production in that country? Not by class struggle, but through effectuation by the Communist Party and the state (the state of the whole people) of a policy securing rapid rates of growth of the national income. The development and consolidation of the socialist economy is oriented on continuous expansion of consumer production without detriment to accumulation. The plan targets are based on science-grounded requirements of society and, at once, on objective assessments of production resources and reserves. In a socialist country society is administered on the basis of scientific prognostication and information.

In the Soviet Union, where all means of production are publicly owned, contradictions are resolved not by seizing on new 'models,' but by achieving new success along the way opened up in 1917, by consistently accentuating the general tendencies of socialist development.

We can now answer the question: how can all members of Soviet society become versatily developed, highly educated personalities living in accordance with the new morality and possessing a high degree of political consciousness? Obviously, this cannot be achieved by contrasting the cultural ideal of the working class to the existing social system, for together with exploitation it destroys man's alienation from the material and cultural benefits. On the contrary, it will be achieved by mobilizing all the new resources of the existing social system against the cultural, spiritual and moral survivals of the capitalist past (or against the influence of the surrounding capitalist world). In other words, it will be the result of struggle between the new world and the old. The new society, democratic life under socialism, require that all working people attain comprehensive development, whereas the old capitalist society had no use for a working people with cultural interests.

When the French Socialist Party's Bulletin, while admitting some achievements of the Soviet people, says that the most important thing in the Soviet Union is 'conservative behavior,' it is barking up the wrong tree. The 'most important thing' in the Soviet Union is the struggle against conservatism, promotion of creative labor, the struggle against the old, the Communist Party struggle to fully utilize the vast objective advantages of the qualitatively new system.

Antagonisms vanish under socialism, but contradictions remain. To borrow Academician Fedoseyev's apt formula, there constantly arise contradictions in social development between the old and the new, the developing and the obsolescent, the positive and the negative, the contradictions of a living, developing organism.

Resolution of non-antagonistic contradictions of this kind assures continuous progress of socialist society and, consequently, facilitates resolution of the main antagonistic contradiction, the worldwide confrontation of socialism and capitalism.

Revisionist distortions of the dialectics of social development

Revisionist and bourgeois propaganda centers on obscuring this problem of antagonistic and non-antagonistic contradictions, seek-in to present imperialist contradictions as non-antagonistic and resolvable in an atmosphere of peace and class harmony. On the other hand, the contradictions of socialism are presented as antagonistic, as leading to class struggle and to change of the system.

Right and Leftist elements contend that in the socialist countries the working class sells its labor power to another class, though they cannot scientifically define this class, nor even prove its existence. They clap the 'techno-bureaucratic' label on to socialist society. They distort the very meaning of working class nationalization of the means of production. This gives them a pretext to oppose, together with the bourgeoisie, all plans advanced by the Communist parties in capitalist countries for nationalization of the monopolies.

In short, the calumny of men like James Burnham, Milovan Djilas and Galbraith pursues patently selfish aims, namely, to prevent the worker of the capitalist countries raising the question of who should own the mean of production.

The workers in the capitalist countries see more and more through the revisionists' stratagems. They are coming to realize that the substance of existing socialism is unity of the working peoples' political power, social ownership of the means of production, and labor free from exploitation, as well as the fact that the socialist state makes it possible to emancipate labor.

The enemies of Leninism have lately been trying hard to capitalize on the scientific and technological revolution. They allege that the socialist revolution is an 'outdated' concept and that the irreconcilable contradictions between labor and capital, which are poles apart, can be reconciled. To believe them, today's rapid progress in science and technology will lead to radical changes in both the productive forces and production relations of bourgeois society and make the abolition of private ownership of the means of production 'pointless.' They contend that today the real revolution is being accomplished through scientific and technological changes which ease social contradictions. In their view, the content and principal contradiction of the epoch are no longer determined by the struggle between socialism and imperialism but depend solely on the scientific and technological revolution. This idealist thesis, which slurs over the social meaning of revolutionary changes and carries them into the domain of intellectual 'creative effort,' the 'spirit' and 'culture,' is close to the views of the renegade Roger Garaudy.

In reality the technological revolution does not moderate the main class antagonism of the bourgeois world. On the contrary, it increases this antagonism and extends the social battlefield. It cannot replace the social revolution because it does not affect the

substance of the production relations prevailing in the capitalist countries. It is fully governed by the law of profit and makes for greater exploitation of the working people, and this merely aggravates the class struggle. In the capitalist countries, the working class is the object and victim of the scientific and technological revolution. To become the main factor in this revolution, to lead it and make it serve their objectives, the workers must take power.

It follows that, contrary to Right opportunist allegations, the scientific and technological revolution by no means eliminates the antagonisms between labor and capital.

'Leftist' elements link up with the Rightists by affirming that an improving standard of life tends to 'embourgeoisify' the workers and results in the working class ceasing to play the leading role. According to this thesis, revolutionaries today should be looked for only among the peasants in the Third World or among the 'peripheral' elements of society, especially the students, whom the bourgeois system has not had time to 'assimilate.'

The scale of working-class battles in capitalist countries shows how groundless this theory is. Experience tells us that the anti-capitalist, revolutionary consciousness of the working class is not dulled, but is being constantly developed. Even the improvements in their standards of life achieved to date are seen by the working people as being a result of their class struggle and encourage them to fight on. New requirements raise the content of working-class struggles to a higher plane. More and more emphatically, the workers insist on their rights and bring up the issue of power and their professional dignity.

In bourgeois society 'Left' and Right revisionists have lost sight of the revolutionary perspective, they are out of touch with reality and the actual progress of the class struggle. Lenin proved long ago that this kind of petty-bourgeois sentiment expresses itself 'at once in opportunist frustration and terroristic desperation.' Opportunists of every description deny the significance of the leading role of the working class and try to undermine the vanguard role of the Communist party. They abandon the class struggle. This applies to both 'Leftist' and Rightist elements. In France even the press sympathizing with 'Leftist' elements admits that they not only cater, to one extent or another, for the same customers as the Rightists, but, like the Rightists, readily give up political struggle to withdraw into the sphere of culture, the 'invisible sectors of society,' moral issues and, above all, sex problems. Behind the smokescreen of talk about 'super-revolution' they retreat from the battlefield of the real revolution.

Right-wing liberals and 'Left'-wing anarchists join efforts for the pseudo-humanitarian object of 'emancipating the individual' and accomplishing a 'moral revolution.' It is suggested that all this be done *before* the emancipation of the working class and *before* the socialist revolution is carried out. This is a stone's throw from substituting a 'revolution of the spirit and consciousness,' that is, an intellectual reform, for genuine revolution.

Nothing is said about antagonistic contradictions. Instead, it is suggested reforming minds and morals (an old panacea of the petty bourgeoisie), which will allegedly make the bourgeois system perfectly tolerable.

Even when they speak of taking power, 'Leftist' elements do not mean socialist revolution. In France, for example, they replace it by the demand for partial and local pseudo-power, conceived in a Proudhonist and anarcho-syndicalist spirit ('workers' power' in the factories, 'student power' in the universities, 'journalists' power' in the press, and so on). The issue of private ownership of the means of production and the domination of the state by the big bourgeoisie is fully ignored.

Exposing every variety of revisionism is an important aspect of the ideological struggle. However, to fulfil the tasks set before them in the ideological struggle, Communists must step up their creative effort in the field of theory, taking careful account of the evolution of social life, the new experiences of the revolutionary struggle in the capitalist world and the developing countries, as well as in the countries building socialism and communism. They must not forget about progress in science and technology, nor about the wealth being created by modern civilization as a whole. Marxist-Leninists, while assimilating in accordance with our principles all that is likely to contribute to Marxist theory and to their struggle, will continue to innovate. This will enable them to solve new problems in the interests of the working class and the people.



Ideological work of Bulgarian CP

1971 has been a momentous year for Bulgaria. In the spring the BCP held its 10th Congress, which adopted the New Party Program, charting the way to a developed socialist society. In May, in the wake of the Congress, a nationwide referendum approved the new Constitution of the Bulgarian People's Republic, giving expression to the humanism and democracy of socialist society. And in August the country celebrated the 80th anniversary of the day when Dimitr Blagoyev and his friends laid the groundwork for the party of Bulgarian Communists. All these events enriched the nation's life and stimulated the political and labor activity of the people.

A round-table discussion of how the Communist Party conducts its ideological work with the masses was held in Bulgaria, September 13-20, under the joint auspices of the CC BCP and **World Marxist Review**.

Representing the BCP were Krum Vasilev, head of the Department of Propaganda and Agitation, CC BCP; Todor Stoichev, Director of the Institute of Marxist-Leninist Propaganda in Sofia; Ilcho Bachvarov, Deputy Chairman of the Radio and Television Committee of the Council of Ministers; Vlychko Kunchev, a member of this Committee; secretaries of regional Party committees (Mincho Ivanov of Stara Zagora, Racho Stoyanov of Ruse and Iliya Georgiev of Varna); Koicho Avramov, head of the Propaganda and Agitation Department of the Varna Regional Party Committee; Maria Tsoneva, secretary of the Varna Party Committee, and many other Party functionaries and activists.

WMR was represented by Helene Berg (Socialist Unity Party of Germany); Laszlo Nagy (Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party); Amadu Dansoko (representing Marxist-Leninists of Senegal); Lars Junttila (Communist Party of Finland); Jorge Texier (Communist Party of Chile); Bistra Avramova (Bulgarian Communist Party) and staff members Vladlen Kachanov and Nikolai Proshunin.

Apart from the Party's ideological work, **WMR** representatives learned about present-day life in Bulgaria, about its economic, scientific and cultural achievements and, what was more, about its people. Building the new society is linked indissolubly with com-

munist education of the people. That is the underlying sense of ideological work. Man, with his convictions and will for action is, in the final analysis, the prime mover of Party policy and social progress. Visit to the Blagoyev Textile Mills in Kazanlik, the Elprom electric appliances plant in Varna and the agricultural cooperative in Dropla, Tolbukhin Region, showed how much has been done in the sphere of production and how many inspired makers of the new life the Party has brought up—men who work with a scientific certainty in the triumph of the communist system.

Subsequently, the **WMR** group was received by Ivan Abajiev, Alternate Member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the CC BCP.

Purposes and aims

The opening discussion in the Propaganda and Agitation Department of the CC BCP dealt with the main objectives of ideological work in the present stage.

Ideological work, Vasilev said, is an important aid in working out social development problems, a powerful accelerator in moulding socialist consciousness, the communist outlook and the new man in general. The Party is proud that Marxist-Leninist ideas have won the masses, thus turning into a great material force. The social milieu and way of life have a beneficial effect, shaping the morality of the individual, his thinking and sentiments, his devotion to socialist ideals. The bulk of our people were born after the victory of people's power and have grown up in the new political and ethical atmosphere.

If this is so, we asked, why does the Party devote so much attention to improving ideological work? Why is its importance increasing?

In their replies the Bulgarian comrades said that the goals of mass political education can never be regarded as completely reached. It is as relevant as ever when building developed socialist society. Social change is continuous. At present, the working class and intelligentsia are growing in number, educational standards are rising, the political activity of the masses is on the upgrade, the nation's spiritual requirements are broader, more diverse.

Other reasons, too, require that ideological work should expand. The multiplying successes of the socialist countries are accompanied by an intensification of the ideological struggle on the world scene. Imperialist ideological centers have built up an immense propaganda machine, which concentrates its efforts on discrediting socialism, and is exploiting Right and 'Left' opportunism. So Marxist-Leninists cannot afford to relax their vigilance or take a passive, purely defensive attitude.

The decisions of the 10th Congress provide guidelines for all ideological work. Pride of place goes to the new Party Program. Describing it as the Party's basic theoretical and political docu-

ment, Todor Zhivkov, First Secretary of the CC BCP, said in Congress that it 'provides our ideological workers, our entire ideological front, with a new weapon for a more meaningful and effective struggle against modern bourgeois ideology, against anti-communism, against modern revisionism and dogmatism.'

The Bulgarian comrades pointed to general features, which, they hold, are now apparent in all ideological and educational work. It is clear, for example, that stultified and narrow pragmatism is contra-indicated in Party propaganda. Our message should center on the grandeur of communist ideals, which reflect the aspirations of the masses. Yet it should not be an abstract message, but rather a forceful call to battle for lofty goals, showing gains achieved and the longer-term tasks, and also the difficulties which more often than not exact from each Communist, each citizen, his utmost effort.

Good ideological work will not tolerate any discrepancy, albeit temporary, between word and deed, any departure from social practice, collision between immediate needs and more distant interests, disregard of difficulties and contradictions, and neglect of the negative sides of the existing environment. Egoism and indifference, bureaucracy and arrogance and ordinary petty-bourgeois inefficiency, are still frequent. There are still people who circumvent or violate the law. There is still embezzlement, theft, other offences. Even Communists – only a few, of course – sometimes forget lofty social ideals and seek personal gain. All this, as Todor Zhivkov pointed out in Congress, shows that the 'small truth,' distinct from the big Party truth, the reigning principles of behavior and morality, is not yet dead. Though the 'small truth' is not determinative, we must reckon with it, we must combat it, for it can inflict much moral damage and weaken the impact of our ideological work.

The discussion with members of the CC BCP Propaganda and Agitation Department also touched on traditions and innovations in ideological work.

'We have strong, time-tested traditions,' Vasilev said. 'I mean mostly the content of our ideological work. Dissemination of Marxist-Leninist ideas and education of the people in the class and Party spirit – that is the first commandment, the law of Party work. Our Party is proud of its tradition of struggle against opportunism, for proletarian internationalism, which has won it acclaim in the world Communist movement. We have always taught the people to cherish the world's first socialist state and Lenin's party. That, too, is a tradition from which we never depart. Every Bulgarian carries in his heart Georgi Dimitrov's injunction: fortify the sacred Bulgarian-Soviet friendship, because for our Party and people it is the sun and air of our life.'

The same close concern is shown for many traditional forms and methods of work. One could scarcely get along without, say, oral propaganda, meetings and conferences, and close contacts with the

masses. In this respect, the Party follows the traditions of Dimitr Blagoyev, Georgi Kirkov, Vasil Kolarev and Georgi Dimitrov, who were all fervent and dedicated leaders and orators.

Respect for tradition is no obstacle to innovation, which, in turn, has nothing in common with negation, nihilism. Keeping that which has served and will still serve the cause, the Party is quick to spot deficiencies and find ways of resolving new problems.

The April 1956 Central Committee meeting was a bold act of innovation. The big gains in which the people take pride today are the result of the Party's April line, a line of trust and respect for cadres, rallying all generations around the Party's policy.

The July 1968 Central Committee meeting, too, generated considerable thrust. It linked ideological work more closely with the needs of the time, the practice of social administration, and pinpointed deficiencies and flaws.

'It was a mistake, for example,' Vasilev said, 'that Communists studied what were in effect purely economic matters as part of their political education—ways and means of stimulating animal husbandry, or developing transport, and the like. A few years ago some people thought this forged a "link with life". As a result, however, some of our political circles closely resembled an ordinary production meeting. These days, such a simplistic approach would cause bewilderment.'

After the 10th Congress, the Party redoubled its creative search. All useful elements originating in the primary branches are being recorded and put to use. How Party committees and ideological workers promote useful experience, enriching it with their own creative initiative, is now regarded as an important criterion in evaluating their work.

An efficient system makes for good knowledge

In our conversations the Bulgarian comrades accentuated study of Marxist-Leninist theory. The differentiated system of politico-ideological education operating for more than 20 years, is being continuously improved. New teaching methods are tried, the subject matter is suited to the needs and knowledge of the audience and its interest in current affairs. Study of Marxist-Leninist classics is tied in closely with topical problems and the scientific pillars of Party policy.

The academic year of the Party educational system is the main study medium for Communists and non-party activists. Some 90 per cent of the Party members will augment their knowledge in 1971-1972. The remaining 10 per cent are those enrolled in higher educational establishments, people of advanced age, etc.

The ramified political-educational network consists of 30,000 schools, universities, seminars and circles, staffed with 30,000 teachers and propagandists. Study aids, programs and requisite literature are supplied at all levels.

People are eager to learn Marxism-Leninism. This applies not only to Party members. In Sofia, for example, more than 150,000 have enrolled in the Party's educational scheme – a number that greatly exceeds the Communists in the capital. Tens of thousands of non-party activists – workers, technicians and engineers, teachers and others – are learning theory. Many Communists study on their own, by an individual plan. If those attending political circles and schools organized by the trade unions and YCL are added, the enrolment rises to the imposing figure of 450,000 or approximately half the city's population.

The wide range of the Party's scientific and theoretical interests and the diversity of its practical problems is a spur for learning the objective laws of socialist development. People are aware that without a thorough Marxist-Leninist grounding it is hard to find one's bearings in the conditions of the scientific-technical revolution and sharp ideological confrontation between socialism and capitalism.

The Institute of Marxist-Leninist Propaganda plays a prominent part in the life of the Sofia Party organization.

'Our institute,' Stoichev said, 'was founded in 1968 by a Central Committee decision, with departments of Marxist-Leninist philosophy, political economy, scientific communism, the history of the BCP and CPSU, international relations and international politics, and mass political work. Recently we formed sections studying the scientific-technical revolution and propaganda media, and will soon start a department studying problems of scientific government.'

The Institute has courses for lecturers and propagandists, and surveys experience of ideological work in Party branches. One of its functions is to supply literature for Party education. City districts and enterprises have Party study rooms, for which the Institute has put out about a hundred pamphlets. A fortnightly foreign affairs bulletin is supplemented with tape recordings, film slides, documentary films and other aids, which are circulated in the capital's Party branches and supplied to regional committees of the BCP.

An evening Party university is in operation, cooperating closely with the City Party Committee. It consists of four departments: one for administrative cadres and managers, another for workers, the third for art and literature workers, and the fourth for propagandists. This enables the university to meet the interests of the audience and fit the different standards of academic preparation.

The department for propagandists admits Party and YCL members with a higher education and a bent for political work. Most of those in the department for administrative cadres and managers, too, have a higher education. They are secretaries and members of district and factory Party committees, leaders of YCL and trade union branches, factory directors, shop superintendents, and employees of People's Councils. They learn Marxist-Leninist philosophy, socialist political economy and the economic policy of the

BCP, social psychology, the principles of communist education and scientific government, and other subjects.

The department for workers usually conducts courses directly at enterprises for groups of 40 to 60. The factory Party Committee is in charge, while the Institute supplies the lecturers and draws up the study programs. The duration of the courses varies from one to three years. Those who had previously finished the school of fundamentals of Marxism-Leninism study topical problems of theory and practice raised by the 10th BCP Congress and 24th Congress of the CPSU.

The curriculum for literature and art workers and those working in publishing houses and mass information media covers one year. People are grouped by professional criteria: writers and literary critics, cinema and theatre workers, people employed in cultural institutions, etc., and organized by city districts. In addition, short-term courses are held for young artists, musicians, writers, etc. Besides, a city lectureship is available for intellectuals.

Apart from staff lecturers, of whom 47 are professors and several score teach in higher educational establishments, students of the evening university are frequently addressed by members of the BCP Political Bureau, government ministers, and academicians.

What is the leadership structure and organizational pattern of ideological work in the regions?

The answer was given by Stoyanov, Secretary of the Ruse regional Party committee:

'Like all other regions, we have a political education department, a university of Marxism-Leninism and a branch of the Society for the Dissemination of Political and Scientific Knowledge. Besides, the regional committee publishes a daily newspaper, the *Danube Pravda*.

'There are 710 primary Party branches in Ruse region, with a wide circle of helpers: trade unions, YCL branches, People's Councils and educational authorities. Local branches of the Fatherland Front, too, are highly active. So are our culture and art councils (operating in towns and in every community). The fraternal organization, the Bulgarian People's Agrarian League, contributes conspicuously.'

In the past academic year, Stoyanov said, the curriculum consisted of four subjects, but we had as many as 24 programs. This goes to show that we differentiate our approach to audiences, depending on their schooling, age, trade and political experience. The form of study is different in each case: the University of Marxism-Leninism and its branches; academic conferences and seminars; groups for independent study (learning from original texts directly); schools of the fundamentals of Marxism-Leninism; circles and schools for beginners; courses for recently admitted Party members, helping them pass to a more advanced stage.

There are many local differences. In Varna Region, for instance,

short-term courses are regarded as highly effective. They treat some single problem of Party policy or a specific theoretical issue, which is exhaustively examined. Last year the subject was: the class roots of 'Left' and Right opportunism in the world Communist movement. Lectures were attended by 5,000 secretaries and bureau members of Party branches, and were then also discussed at open Party meetings. In the new academic year, as elsewhere in the country, the courses will study the decisions of the 10th BCP Congress.

Expanding curricula, Party committees also devote attention to the organizational side. Experience shows that if the academic level and interests of the audience are not properly reckoned with in forming groups, the drop-out rate is quite considerable.

Do you have to contend with reluctance to participate in organized forms of study?

The Bulgarian comrades said that some intellectuals, especially young people, are reluctant to come to lectures. This does not mean that they do not accept the Marxist-Leninist ideology. But in a way it amounts to a claim to exclusiveness, a mistaken sense of superiority. Ignorance is far less removed from the truth than prejudice or error. In this case, the error of the young specialist is thinking that he knows everything: 'I learned this in school,' 'I'm an engineer, I'll get more out of reading a technical magazine,' and the like. It calls for eloquence to prevail on them, to capture their interest.

Maria Tsoneva added: 'In the past, when recruiting students for our evening university, some tried to excuse themselves by saying they were busy or not interested. To counter this, we drew up an attractive program, which took into account the nature of the audience (educational standard and general culture), and enlisted the help of top-rate lecturers. As a result, reluctance vanished.'

The key to success

One of the main purposes of mass political work is to develop closer bonds between the Party and the people, enhancing the people's socialist consciousness and rousing their labor enthusiasm. All matters of concern to people are promptly and competently elucidated. People are shown that BCP policy is correct.

An important area is educating the masses, primarily the youth, in the spirit of socialist patriotism and proletarian internationalism.

Ivan Abajiev pointed out in his conversation with the WMR group:

'Bourgeois propaganda goes out of its way to cast a cloud on Soviet-Bulgarian relations and the friendship between Bulgaria and other socialist countries. During and immediately after the 10th BCP Congress, the capitalist press described Bulgaria's attitude to the Soviet Union as that of a "loyal subject." These commentaries will not confuse us Communists of Bulgaria. Nothing will alter the fact

of the Party's affection and sincerity towards the CPSU and the Soviet Union. And we shall continue to cultivate the fraternal friendship with the Soviet Union. Any relaxation in this respect is unthinkable."

Examples were given. All regions, most Party committees and branches, have fraternal contacts with different regions, towns and Party branches in the Soviet Union. In Varna Region, for example, all schools, enterprises and cooperatives maintain friendly contacts with similar Soviet institutions.

Popularization of the Party's revolutionary tradition occupies a prominent place in patriotic and internationalist education. Party history is studied eagerly. So is the work of Communists in the regions. Young people like to meet members of the Resistance movement and to tour wartime partisan areas. Pioneers and YCL groups assume responsibility for the care of monuments of national heroes.

The regional Party organization of Stara Zagora, where the Party's Inaugural Congress took place 80 years ago, has rich revolutionary traditions. The region's recent rapid industrial growth saw an influx of workers from other parts of the country who knew nothing of its heroic past. Communists brief new arrivals on the history and traditions of the region. A recent general meeting of the regional Party committee was completely devoted to the question of patriotic and internationalist education.

Party bodies are working out a scientific approach to public affairs. They lean for help on Party activists, science workers, economists, specialists and the staffs of enterprises. Such terms as 'modelling,' 'experimenting,' 'prognostication' and 'social development program' are becoming commonplace. Nor is this a mere fad. Social processes are really and truly analyzed. For this the BCP Political Bureau decision calling for concrete sociological investigations in the Party and society provided the essential impetus. The regional Party committees now have a staff sociologist. Various science centers, councils, sociological groups and commissions, and other consultative and auxiliary bodies have been formed of volunteers in the regional and most of the city, community and factory Party branches. They help study our problems and find new, more effective forms of ideological work with the masses.

Party workers are aware of the complex processes under way in various collectives, of changes in the population structure, in people's psychology and their material and spiritual requirements. The leisure of different sections of the population – youth, intelligentsia, housewives, pensioners, etc. – is differently structured. Farm mechanics, too, require a special approach because of the seasonal nature of their job. Working women require much attention: their double duty – production and housekeeping – leaves them very little time for study and public pursuits. In promoting social and civic activity among them, the Party complements educational measures with steps to improve working and living conditions,

child care, helping ease women's household duties. *Georgi Getov*, Secretary of the Elprom Party committee, said that the wives and children of workers can use the Elprom Factory canteens and many women workers have a shorter work day.

Party committees follow the response to educational measures and study public opinion. Great store is set by prompt, objective, comprehensive and analytical Party information. Much is done to equip the information system with up-to-date facilities so as to receive and process data without delay and use them fully as an instrument of leadership, education and control and a means of removing shortcomings in various social spheres.

It is essential, however, *Stoyanov* said, that our people should take a realistic view of technical facilities. The mass media, and indeed we ourselves, often publicize computers as if they could accomplish any task. This makes some think they can stop using their brains and leave everything to machines. We saw this when introducing automation into industry and analyzing current farming data. Imagine what would happen if all of the people's daily problems were approached from this standpoint! In reality we may find ourselves in unexpected or critical situations that cannot be forecast by means of logical warning devices.

People should do their own thinking and find solutions in time, with due regard to Party and class principles. We must distinguish between the scientific and quasi-scientific approach concealing routine and primitive thinking as a result of which facts and phenomena appear in a false light. What people feed into a machine is a reflection of their own logic, nor are they always innocent of at least a subconscious desire to obtain results which they regard as correct beforehand. Anyone who uses this method may easily make a mistake by, say, presenting the interests of a narrow group as the 'public interest,' or the other way round. Much the same is true of concrete sociological investigations, such as we often conduct. We do not treat their results as an absolute. We realize that they cannot be substituted for the actual observation of life, for personal contacts or other information channels. They merely help us to analyze and generalize phenomena and facts and to ascertain the effects of our economic or ideological work.

Our Regional Committee, *Ivanov* added, has an information sector which analyzes reports from factory and communal Party organizations. The various problems and the steps taken to solve them are discussed at its meetings. The letters, complaints and suggestions sent by working people to Party bodies are an invaluable source of information. They help to reveal shortcomings and often prompt us to tackle and solve important problems.

Party organizations insist that Communists should set an example in life and work. Party meetings at the Elprom factory concern themselves with the problem of increasing the Communists' vanguard role in production, urge a more exacting attitude to Communists as regards their statutory duties, specifically the execution

of Party decisions, and discuss questions bearing on initiative. Each of the 270 Party members there has given a personal undertaking as a participant in the emulation movement. The 380 foremost workers include 90 Communists. Almost half of the winners of contests for the title of best foreman, turner or rationalizer are Party members. The Party organization uses their example to educate young workers. Young workers and veterans are often brought together at friendly meetings.

To impress on Communists their responsibility for the upbringing of their children, Party branches in enterprises, cooperatives and schools maintain close contact with parents. Cycles of lectures are held under Party auspices on how to bring up children in the communist spirit, and on methods of education.

The Party attaches special importance to the direct participation in political work among the masses by Party workers, administrative officials and economic executives. Every person holding a key position in any field is expected to be a political leader as well, to address meetings and deliver lectures explaining the Party's policies, keep in touch with people, answer their questions and lend an ear to their criticisms and suggestions. How is this requirement met?

Local cadres are gaining in efficiency. Time was when this or that executive, expert or researcher refused to deliver a lecture or make a political speech. They admitted that they could not overcome their shyness, or said they were not competent enough or did not know how to win the audience's interest. Many of them have changed since, due primarily to Marxist-Leninist training. Besides, we took steps to help lecturers in their work. The press and the system of Party education give increasing attention to problems of oratory, of the art of convincing people. We study the social and psychological prerequisites of effective propaganda and agitation.

We constantly ask ourselves, Avramov said, whether the emotional impact of our propaganda is strong enough. Do our speakers really reach their audiences? The effort to educate people will bear no fruit unless directed to both their minds and their hearts.

Lenin stressed that while giving priority to the political aspect, we must not forget the educational one, that is, must put ourselves in the position of our audiences, to explain rather than 'lay down the law.' This is what Bulgaria's Communists are concentrating on now. We do not want to hedgehop over phenomena but to look into them. We wish to steer clear of categorical judgments and formulas, nor do we want our propagandists to pose as oracles who explain hardly anything and tolerate no objection. We need clarity as regards principles and ideological positions. We must not dodge precise and point-blank questions by answering them in vague terms or incompletely if we want our audiences to trust us.

Many comrades said lectures may not interest everyone. Nor is it a good idea to use lectures as the only method. Party organi-

zations try to vary methods depending on the composition and requirements of the audience and other circumstances. Series of talks, symposiums, forums on scientific practice, lecture films and quiz games are some of the numerous forms that can be used. Question and answer evenings in enterprises and residential neighborhoods are an interesting and stimulating method of explaining Party policies and local problems. They are attended by members of city Party committees and People's Councils, as well as by trade union leaders.

The mass media play an important role in present conditions. Bulgaria's central and regional dailies have a total circulation of almost two million copies, and there are over 300 weekly newspapers and periodicals. We now produce more books, films and records.

Radio and television are well-tested vehicles of ideological training. Our broadcasts give much time to socio-political subjects, *Kunchev* said. Twice a week we broadcast lectures for students of Marxism-Leninism. Radio and television authors search for new methods of presenting information and commenting on events. Listeners showed a keen interest in 'The World in the Seventies,' a forum in which prominent scientists from various countries took part. Radio and television staffs strive to present a wide range of opinions and to efface, as it were, the boundary between broadcaster and audience, the supplier and the recipient of information. Thousands of young men and women take part in such broadcasts as 'Young Communists Render Account to the Party,' 'Use the Telephone' or 'The Quick-Witted and Imaginative.'

The Radio and Television Committee has a sociological program center which studies the opinions, psychology, knowledgability and interests of viewers and the effect of telecasts upon them. A team of sociologists studies the experience of the radio and television authors of fraternal countries.

There are radio and television programs for diverse population groups. Each of the three radio programs, 'Christo Botev,' 'Orpheus' and 'Horizons,' conveys a message of its own. 'Christo Botev' is a broad cultural-political program. The literary and musical program called 'Orpheus' is for lovers of classical music. 'Horizons,' a round-the-clock program, is for young people with a taste for popular music. Pop is interspersed with home and foreign news at half-hour intervals. This lets the listener relax or, as it were, 'switch off', and then, at regular intervals, 'switches' him briefly into current affairs. 'Horizons' arouses young people's interest in political information, and it has been estimated that the young radio audience increased 18-20 per cent after the program was inaugurated.

Our Committee, *V. Kunchev* said, has evolved a concept for the advancement of radio and television in the next five years. Several research teams are preparing a forecast for the period between now and 1980.

Against bourgeois ideology

Participants discussed some problems arising from attempts by the ideological enemies of socialism to hoodwink Bulgarian intellectuals and young people into accepting the 'de-ideologization' theory, various 'models' of socialism, bourgeois views on the nationality question and other alien ideas.

Relations between Bulgaria and other countries have expanded visibly of late. Trade, reciprocal visits by experts and tourists are growing. Between 700,000 and 800,000 tourists from capitalist countries have been to Bulgaria this year, according to tentative estimates. Asked about the effects of this 'invasion,' Bulgarian comrades said that tourism may bring political gains in addition to economic benefits. Those foreigners who wish not only to spend their holidays on the Black Sea but to acquaint themselves with Bulgaria are afforded every opportunity to see our fast-growing cities and modern villages and meet with Bulgaria's hospitable people. This is bound to have an effect on the visitors' political outlook.

On Bulgaria's southern seaboard is a large tourist camp, frequented by young people from socialist and many capitalist countries. Discussions are held by them about the values of the two opposite social systems and the advantages of socialism. Young people are invited to factories and cooperative farms to see with their own eyes how greatly the socialist system has benefited the Bulgarian people.

Western tourists are mostly intellectuals or members of the middle strata and some of them are factory workers. Most of them are friendly to Bulgaria although tourist firms in some countries, especially West Germany, brainwash those leaving for Bulgaria to use them as publicity agents for the Western way of life. We have a tourist guide published in West Germany under the title 'Holidays in Bulgaria.' We have circulated it in Varna to acquaint its population with the objectives and methods of ideological subversion. Following are some passages from it.

'The Iron Curtain is up before you and that means a lot. You are in a privileged position. The first and most promising thing to do is to seek contact with Bulgarians. On the beach, in the restaurant, on the dance floor, in the street and wherever else you go, you will be welcome. Do not be afraid of discussion - it will not expose you to the risk of repression.

'As German tourists you have an effective means, your personal belongings. They are hardly worth anything but you can use them to help people in Bulgaria. Take some literature with you. Two or three pocket-size books. Not necessarily political ones. A few fresh issues of newspapers or illustrated magazines on architecture and the cinema. After you have read them yourself you can present or lend them to your Bulgarian friends. If you have no chance to do so you can simply "forget" them on a park bench or on the beach,

especially if there are young Bulgarians around. You must stress the advantages of life in the West but show no conceit. You may and must criticize the bad situation in Bulgaria but under no circumstances must you show contempt. If you want to make a gift, do it as a friendly gesture and not as an act of charity. In exchange you may accept an invitation to a home, a restaurant or an outing and then you will have a unique opportunity to acquaint yourself with genuine Bulgarian hospitality. If you want to sell something, don't use your monopoly to raise the price. Take as much as you are offered because that will put you in a favorable light.'

Party workers in Varna point out that youth and intellectuals are the main object of hostile indoctrination. It is with them that visitors from capitalist countries talk about the 'advantages' of capitalism in material production, alleging that Western intellectuals enjoy 'freedom of creative endeavor' and that science and technology there have made 'unsurpassed progress.'

Knowing the Bulgarians' friendly feelings for the Soviet Union, Western visitors peddle anti-Sovietism in devious ways. Speaking of, say, Bulgaria's membership of the CMEA, they recommend 'greater national independence.' Experience shows that very few young people are gullible enough to give in to this kind of propaganda.

The Communists of Varna Region remember that they must furnish holiday-makers with truthful information about Bulgaria. Varna Radio broadcasts in numerous languages, including English, French and German. Tourists are enabled to meet noted scientists and public figures, visit factories, attend quiz games on 'How Well Do You Know Bulgaria?'

The influence of Western tourists poses problems that did not exist at all or were less acute. There is, for one, the problem of drinking. True, it is not so great as to give cause for alarm but people in Bulgaria are not inclined to minimize it. Some young people have a weakness for drink, and some girls have taken to smoking, which is not typical of Bulgaria. These things are often a result of following a bad example.

Even before the socialist revolution of 1944, Avramov said, I, then a schoolboy, was a member of the Temperance Society. Our Party and Young Communist League were already leading the movement against alcoholism. Most of the members of this society, used as a legal cover for Party work among the masses, joined eventually in the revolutionary movement. Once the society's activity was underestimated but a few years ago it began to revive. In Sofia the society publishes its own paper. Responding to its proposal, the Council of Ministers has restricted the sale of alcoholic drinks near educational institutions. Their sale is also banned in some cafes and other public establishments.

Discussion moved on to the Church and the attitude to it. A distinctive aspect of this problem is that some periods of Bulgarian history have seen the Church play a positive role. At times the

national liberation struggle and the movement for religious self-determination went hand in hand. However, after Bulgaria had won religious independence within the Turkish Empire and Istanbul had become the Bulgarians' religious center, the young clergy began to degenerate and assumed a reactionary political role. During the formation of the Bulgarian bourgeoisie the Church stood foursquare on reactionary positions and under fascism it was closely linked with the country's rulers.

A characteristic of the Bulgarian Orthodox Church, Stoichev said, is that most clergymen have risen from the people. After the socialist revolution the higher clergy became differentiated. Noted religious leaders condemned the position of the Church by dissociating from it. Fifty priests discarded the cassock and gave the reason for their move at mass meetings. They published articles that afterwards appeared in book form, under the title *From Religious Error to the Truth*.

The Church is disestablished under the Constitution. This provision is enforced, except that the Church still gets government subsidies to pay priests. To a degree this is a reflection of the past role of the Church mentioned earlier.

To be sure, the Church is in substance inimical to the scientific world outlook. Today it raises obstacles to educational work. Its press, sermons and religious talks tend to exaggerate the historical role of the Church. Some national heroes have been canonized and their connection with the Church is emphasized.

Religious customs and rites are particularly difficult to combat. Birth, marriage and other important events in man's life have been associated with the Church from of old. Secular rites are now being brought into being and they divert people from religion. The village of Dropla, for example, has long had secular christening and wedding rites, said farm chairman Antonov and Party secretary Pilev. They have become so popular that no one has gone to church for the last three years to marry, or to christen a child.

The fight against religious prejudice is not over. Church members, who sometimes display enviable energy, still score gains among some segments of the population. By and large, however, religious influence, which has never been great, is declining and so is the number of church-goers.

Part of Bulgaria's population is Turkish. Bulgaria's Turks are equal citizens of their socialist state. The facts refute the anti-Bulgarian attacks of the bourgeois press of Turkey and some other countries.

Once the Bulgarian bourgeoisie tried to suppress and isolate the national minorities, a policy which accounted for their economic backwardness and low standard of life. After the September Revolution bourgeois elements of Turkish origin tried to profit by the difficulties that cropped up in the early years of people's rule to foment anti-socialist sentiments. They harped on the backwardness of the areas largely inhabited by Turks. Ankara, for its part, took

advantage of the Turkish minority's national and religious sentiments to stir up trouble.

For many long years, *Ivan Abajiev* said, bourgeois propaganda alleged that People's Bulgaria did not allow citizens of Turkish origin to emigrate to Turkey. However, after a relevant agreement was concluded three years ago, the Turkish authorities began to block immigration in various ways after admitting several hundred families. They declared that they could supply neither transport, housing, work, nor land, adding that to be able to give land to the peasants, they would have to take it from the landowners. This attitude of the Turkish authorities was an eye-opener for many.

The Party's consistently socialist approach to the nationality question has earned it the sympathy of the Turkish-speaking population. Their cultural advancement has been very great in the years of people's rule, and their living standard has risen steeply. The Party and the government take account of the Bulgarian Turks' special interests: there are newspapers, periodicals and broadcasts in Turkish, and schoolchildren who wish to study Turkish are enabled to do so.

Combating bourgeois ideology and survivals of the past, is a permanent task. In addition, life puts forward some new problems. Here is one.

The Party has approved measures for agriculture that are aimed at concentrating and carrying forward agriculture on an industrial basis. Numerous agrarian industrial complexes—a new form of organizing agriculture that holds a big promise at this stage—have been set up this year. Under the current five-year plan, these complexes will concentrate agricultural production on the territorial principle and large stock-breeding industrial enterprises will come into being.

The peasants say yes to the agrarian industrial complex, which they see as a sure way to solve new difficult problems of agriculture and raise their living standards.

The task facing ideological workers today, *Stoyanov* said, is to encourage and firmly establish a genuinely socialist attitude to public property in the new conditions, foster friendship and comradely unity and make all working people aware of the community of their interests. This calls for greater flexibility and realism, a concrete approach, close links with people, the ability to detect vacillation, doubts and fears, the slightest changes of mood. We are doing our best not to relax our attention to any village. There was a time when Party committees occasionally preferred to concern themselves with big problems and unwittingly lost sight of the people living in their community or working next door. Yet that is where misunderstandings and contradictions are likely to arise and grow to serious proportions.

The establishment of agrarian industrial complexes makes it necessary to improve the Party's organizing work and the structure of Party committees. Various solutions are being tested. Important

and far-reaching experiments will go on until a model is found which will prove most suitable after being tested in practice. One task is to perfect ideological institutions within the complexes by reorganizing local broadcasting, merging several newspapers, founding a university of Marxism-Leninism, setting up a political education room, appointing a coordination council for culture and art, and so on. There is a tremendous amount of work to do.

Many ideological tasks of the BCP coincide with those of the Communist Parties of other socialist countries. This is why the Bulgarian Communist Party readily shares its experience and carefully studies and uses the experience of friends, said Ivan Abajiev, Krum Vasilev and other comrades during the closing interview at the CC BCP. Greater coordination in this field was discussed at a special meeting held by secretaries of the Central Committees of the brother parties of the CMEA countries in Bulgaria in February 1970. The meeting helped in particular to raise the efficiency of our Party's ideological work among the masses.



Communists in science

Letters from the Soviet Union

Many people in the capitalist world still associate Siberia with vast tracts of taiga, eternal congelation and uninhibited land. The taiga and congelation are, indeed, a fact, and there are still fairly large sparsely populated areas. But no longer are they the determinative features of Siberia. Giant enterprises, power stations and towns are going up across the land, new roads are being laid. Siberia has long become one of the nerve centers of Soviet industry. We went there to see the growth of Soviet science, for Novosibirsk may be termed an ideal place for this. Thanks to the city's Akademgorodok (Academy town), the concentration of science workers is extremely high there, which gave us an opportunity to see the science policy of the CPSU in action, to hear the scientists' opinions on various aspects of social development, and to see their way of life.

Akademgorodok

The nation sets a high priority on developing the Soviet East, using its natural wealth and building up its productive forces. This came by way of an introductory remark from Nikolai Dybenko, Secretary of the Novosibirsk Regional Party Committee (he is 43 and a graduate engineer). He continued: 'Take our region which, by local standards, is far from being the biggest – "only" 179,000 sq. km. in area and with a population of 2,480,000. Its almost 500 enterprises represent 50 different industries, mainly engineering. In the past five years the industrial potential here went up 55.8 per cent. We have a manpower shortage, which we want to resolve by raising the productivity of labor. This was how 95 per cent of our accretion in output was achieved in 1970. Scientists contribute invaluablely. In the past five years alone we have benefited from more than 500 discoveries, which yielded a cash gain of many millions of rubles. The city has 120 research institutions, 16 university-level educational establishments and 37 technical schools. Their total enrolment is 120,000. The biggest science institution in Akademgorodok.

True, it is a national rather than local institution. Its structure – a conglomeration of research institutes, making for cooperative, comprehensive projects – has stood the test so well that the Agricultural Academy and Academy of Medical Science have also begun building Siberian branches. For this we are using funds accruing from free work done by Soviet people on the annual Lenin Sunday.'

Akademgorodok is short for Novosibirsk Science Center, Siberian Branch, USSR Academy of Sciences. We reached it by a 25-kilometre road along the bank of the Ob River. Ivan Tsyplakov, Secretary of the Novosibirsk City Party Committee, accompanied us. A true Siberian, he spoke volubly of the beauties and the spectacular growth of his land.

Akademgorodok is a town of 56,000 people, numerous research institutes, schools, housing estates, recreation centers and stadiums – all this amidst the magnificent Siberian forest on the shore of the sprawling man-made Ob Sea.

In the Scientists' House, an architectural landmark, we met Academician Mikhail Lavrentyev, Alternate Member of the CPSU Central Committee and head of the Siberian branch of the USSR Academy of Sciences, a tall and genial man. Also present were Academician Guryi Marchuk, Deputy Chairman of the Presidium of the Siberian branch, Rudolf Yanovsky, Cand. Phil., First Secretary of the Akademgorodok Party Committee, and other comrades. Briefly, all our hosts were highly competent to tell us what we wanted to know.

Academician Lavrentyev addressed us first:

'You are probably interested in the history of Akademgorodok. You would probably like to know the purpose we serve and how we perform our tasks. Akademgorodok was founded 13 years ago. The objective was to raise steeply the general cultural and scientific level in this vast part of Siberia and Far East. Top-level decisions had been taken to accelerate Siberia's development, prospect minerals, etc.'

Scientists suggested building a Siberian science center. The Party's Central Committee and the government welcomed their idea. The steering committee, headed by Academician Lavrentyev, also included Academicians S. L. Sobolov, A. A. Trofimuk, and others.

'The benefits of a large science center encompassing research institutes of many different trends, are now obvious,' Academician Lavrentyev continued. 'We can tackle fundamental problems collectively and find comprehensive solutions. The second advantage is the tie-up with practice. The results of research gave impetus to the growth of industry and the economy in general. Take the geologists. They produced theoretical guidelines for oil, gas and diamond prospecting, and by now this has paid off on a grand scale.'

Academician Lavrentyev, 70 last year but looking much younger, rose lightly from his chair and on a wall map pointed out science institutions in Siberia and the Far East, most of them founded with Akademgorodok help.

Good progress has also been made in education, which the Academician described as the third main direction in the work of the Siberian branch.

'We have been given a free hand and can experiment: whom to admit, what and how to teach. We go directly to the schools, recruiting gifted young people. We organize mathematics and physics contests all across Siberia and the Far East. This covers tens of thousands of students. Those who prove gifted but are inadequately prepared, go to our three-year physics and maths preparatory school (8th, 9th and 10th classes). We thus get the best equipped youth for our education program.'

Academician Lavrentyev referred to three main directions in Akademgorodok activity. We learned more about them in due course. But let us take one.

We were deeply impressed by the scientists's concern for the young, by their wish to prevent any waste of gifts and faculties (of schoolchildren, students and postgraduates).^{*} The democratic approach to education was described by some of the other comrades.

Academician Marchuk: 'We wanted to make the selection of young people so thoroughly democratic that all could compete on equal terms. It was not an easy proposition. Concerned for their children's future, parents tend to 'stuff' them, that is, train them to a point where it is almost impossible to distinguish the truly gifted youth from one simply well informed. That is the main problem we face in picking out the right material for scientific training.'

Corresponding Member of the Academy of Sciences A. G. Aganbegyan: 'All other conditions being equal, we give preference to students from rural areas and small industrial towns rather than to city youngsters. If the village boy aggregates as many marks as the boy from the city in university entrance exams, we regard him as more gifted, because, as a rule, he has had poorer schooling.'

We discussed the scientists' way of life. Was it right, we asked, that a young scientist, a postgraduate, a junior science worker, earned less than a young man with the same education in industry (the reader may recall that we asked the same question at the Likhachov Motor Works in Moscow). One of the explanations we were given for the gap in earnings was the following:

'Lower pay than in production was something one of the former presidents of the Academy, Vavilov, had insisted on. As he saw it, and we share his viewpoint, young people aspiring to a scientific career should not care about money. Those who want to earn more should refer elsewhere. In principle, however, the young scientist can get along modestly on his salary (in the vicinity of

^{*}It stands to reason that this concern is typical of all Soviet society. Take the October decision of the CC CPSU and USSR Council of Ministers to improve the material, living and housing conditions of students (among other things, their monthly scholarship grant has been raised substantially), and the speech addressed to students in the Kremlin by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CC CPSU.

150 rubles). What he will earn later depends on his own accomplishments. And it may be fitting to add that the numbers opting for science are not declining. . . .'

We raised a question prompted by the inventions of the bourgeois press, which alleges that scientists had been bundled off to distant Siberia merely to isolate them from society and vice versa (the other version is that scientists are the 'elite' of socialist society, and independent from it).

This is total nonsense. The Akademgorodok scientists are tied to Soviet society by a thousand threads. They conduct their investigations across the length and breadth of Siberia and the Soviet Far East, regularly visiting enterprises, collective farms, educational establishments and other institutions. Many are deputies of Soviets of all levels and many members of local Party committees.

We were given figures: international conferences held in Akademgorodok average one a month and conferences of scientists from other parts of the Soviet Union one a week. A Soviet-French oceanographic symposium was just ending when we came to Novosibirsk.

If there is a caste spirit or anyone thinks he belongs to the 'elite,' the signs of this are seen at once. We did not see any. On the contrary, what struck us was the genuinely democratic spirit of equality. Members of the Party and non-Party people (of whom there were many at different levels), people of different nationalities – Russians, Ukrainians, Jews, Armenians and Buryats – worked in harmony side by side. True, that special strain of pride and dignity that people associate with scientists, was present. But that is as it should be.

Science and practice

Growth of socialist society is inconceivable without science. And, as we know, scientists in the Soviet Union now play a role greater than ever. The Party sets a high priority on science.

So we wanted to know how science relates to politics, and if the aims of both coincide. Many of our interlocutors volunteered answers. Academician Marchuk said: 'I recall Lavrentyev's opening remark at our general meeting to discuss the results of the 24th Party Congress. "Never before has a Party Congress devoted as much attention to science," he said, and there is no denying it. Our discussion was about the main task set by the Congress – speeding up scientific-technical progress and making research more effective.'

Akademgorodok people told us what they had done for the economy, and what problems they had worked on to improve the people's life. Here are a few examples.

One of the most urgent objectives in the socialist countries is to shorten the time gap between a scientific or technological dis-

covery and its use in production. Akademgorodok is devising a fundamental solution. Its first concrete proposals were ready about three years ago. They are now being used. Designing offices and experimental workshops are going up under dual auspices – of the respective Ministries and the Academy of Sciences. The latter is the scientific supervisor and does the initial designing. In due course the new technology, samples of the new product, even the engineers involved in the project, will be turned over directly to the industry. If the scheme proves successful, its economic gain will be high.

One more example. Academician Lavrentyev told us Siberia's scientists have joined the conservationists in the battle to preserve Lake Baikal, that unique gift of nature. Some of the facts: enterprises that had been built beside the lake, spilled their waste into it. Some administrators argued that nothing especially harmful would come of it. Now, responding to public and scientific opinion, the government has taken steps to protect Baikal.

Regrettably, in the short time we had at our disposal we could not even think of visiting Akademgorodok's 22 research institutes and their nearly 10,000 researchers. A brief account of the institutes we did manage to see will have to suffice.

'Our principle is to tackle big problems with small but competent groups,' said Academician Guryi Marchuk, Director of the Computing Center. 'We combine fundamental research with applied computations. What I mean by applied computations are problems related to weather forecasting, mathematical problems in chemistry, especially the chemistry of catalysis, and gravitational magnetic and seismic data for mineral prospectors. One of our big assignments is to develop new information techniques.'

'The center is thriving. Our computers are much better than those we had five years ago. We have made good headway in modelling scientific, natural and production processes, and Western firms are showing an interest. The Belgian firm, Union Chimique Belge, has bought a set of programs from us to model catalytic processes in chemistry.'

What did the scientists think of the bourgeois theorists' contentions that Marxist-Leninist philosophy was an impediment, and at best of no help to science?

Gennady Mikhailov, Dr.Sc.: 'I think I speak for all Soviet scientists when I say that science develops on the methodological basis of dialectical materialism. This also applies to cybernetics. Specific instances bearing out our view are countless.'

At the Institute of Nuclear Physics, the seat of primarily 'pure' science, we were pleasantly surprised by the scientists' keen interest in practice and concern for cutting the cost of research. Yet it was a trait common to all Soviet people – the individual's sense of responsibility for the country's work.

We spoke to the Director of the Institute, Academician Andrei Budker, to Academician Spartak Belyayev, who is associated with research in the Institute and is also Rector of Novosibirsk Univer-

sity, and other comrades. Working on the problem of harnessing thermonuclear energy, the Institute is unique in many ways. We were impressed by what the scientists picked out as its special features (which, by the way, brings us back to the 'elite' question).

'What makes our Institute unique,' Academician Budker said, 'is that it combines research in nuclear physics, ultra-high energy and elementary particles, on the one hand, with manufacture of equipment, specifically accelerators, for industry, on the other. We sell at a profit, earning enough money to cover the cost of our "pure" science. The other special feature is that large numbers of workers, technicians and scientists, the latter chiefly engaged in abstract science, work side by side.'

The main efforts are concentrated on the peaceful uses of nuclear energy. Of this Academician Budker speaks with a sense of deep involvement, for he holds that science could have done much more:

'Atomic energy, first harnessed in the mid-forties, could have been put to use for peaceful needs at once. But the specific social, economic and historical situation prevented this. It was used almost exclusively for military purposes and for such limited peaceful aims as powering oceanographic submarines.'

'I see neither technological nor any other fundamental reasons why atomic power stations should be worse than hydroelectric ones. There is much talk about the waste products of atomic stations but the amount of waste dumped by thermal power plants is a million times greater—a figure that defies the imagination. When I want someone to grasp it I suggest that he count aloud to a million.'

At this point we were joined by a group of very young people. They were introduced. One of them, we learned, was Deputy Director of the Institute—Alexander Skrinsky or, more properly, Academician Skrinsky, the youngest Academician in the Soviet Union. We asked him to tell us his life story. Budker intervened:

'There is very little to it—I would call his an elementary biography: born in 1936, finished school, was admitted to Moscow University, joined a research institute, was elected Corresponding Member of the Academy of Sciences in 1968, and last year made a full member.'

We also wanted to see some center working directly on practical problems. So we visited the Institute of Economics and Industrial Production Organization. Abel Aganbegyan, Corresponding Member of the Academy of Sciences and head of the Institute, told us about the problems it works on.

'This Institute,' he said, 'may be described as economico-mathematical. The pattern of its activity is like a triangle: research, that is the Institute proper—personnel training, that is the University's economics department and post-graduate course—introduction of scientific achievements in production. This latter purpose is served by two autonomous organizations under our scientific control: the Institute for the Automation of Planning and Management Systems

and the laboratory of economic-mathematical methods at Novosibirsk University. You may know that economico-mathematical methods did not win recognition overnight. In our country as elsewhere, the new has to prove its worth. I'm glad to say that these methods have now been recognized and are put to ever more numerous practical uses. The 24th Party Congress spoke of this as a pressing task.'

The economic reform, whose aspects attracted our attention at the Likhachov Motor Works was brought up. We wanted to know how it was assessed as a whole – after all, the Institute had done much to promote it.

'Virtually all our industries have gone over to the new pattern,' R. Karagedov, Dr.Econ., told us. 'Over the past four or five years, we have improved economic performance generally. More important still, we have made production more profitable by making better use of plant. The reform has already spread to the entire economy, including the building industry. Indices are bound to improve considerably when the entire economy will have gone over to the new pattern.'

'The economic mechanism is being modified with due regard to the experience of the past four or five years. This applies above all to improving economic incentives. Secondly, large industrial research units are being set up and steps are therefore taken to train highly competent managerial personnel. Our Institute contributes to this effort. We do our best to apply new training methods, using computers and modelling.'

The last lap of our tour of Akademgorodok brought us to the Institute of History, Philology and Philosophy. G. Svechnikov, Corresponding Member of the Academy, I. Komogortsev, Dr.Hist., and other staff members told us about their research into the history of Siberia and the Far East (one result, a five-volume *History of Siberia*) and into the languages of the region's peoples and nationalities, as well as about work on philosophical and methodological problems of science. This fruitful effort – investigating the culture and history of a vast region of the Soviet Union east of the Urals – began while the Institute was still in the making. We could not but agree with Svechnikov, who said that Akademgorodok provides conditions for the harmonious development of natural, technical and social sciences. 'Their interaction plays an important part in social progress today,' he said.

In the institutes we visited, we were invariably interested how the thesis, 'closely combining achievements of the scientific and technological revolution with the advantages of socialism,' is put into practice, what Soviet scientists plan or aspire to.

'We believe we must push the economic reform further,' Aganbegyan said, speaking of plans. 'Right now we are working on measures of the next round that should lead to a more far-reaching reorganization of the economic mechanism. One of our long-term ideas is, therefore, to devise an economico-mathematical model of

the economic mechanism and to experiment, first with this model and then in practice. It's a formidable scientific problem. Indeed, it seemed insoluble at first but now we may be said to have made the first breakthrough under the guidance of K. Bagrinovsky, Dd.Ec., by producing a profitability model, a rough one for a start, for enterprises. It's a cybernetic model and we'll use it to test diverse variants. One variant is to revise the plan every year, another requires a stable assignment for five years.'

A socialist economy cannot have 'purely economic' interests but must and does ensure the full development of man and society. What socialist society concentrates on is not production for the sake of production and profit, but man. Isn't that a 'technocratic' approach? we asked. Can models reflect the whole range of people's requirements and interests? And can all that be processed by purely mathematical methods?

'We don't proceed from the economic principle alone,' said V. Mozhin, Deputy Director of the Institute. 'The calculations made at the Institute with the aid of models and by mathematical methods take account of the social and national aspects. What we are creating is not merely an economic model but a socio-economic one. Its main components may be listed as ensuring an ever higher standard of life and spiritual progress for every member of society, cooperation with other countries and assistance to the developing countries, safeguarding the country's defenses, maintaining peace and protecting the natural environment.'

'As far as the outlook is concerned,' Karagedov said, 'our main idea is to create an automated system of economic analysis of industrial activity. However, this is still in its initial stage.'

Set up an automated system of analysis and eventually management could go a long way towards making fuller use of the advantages of socialist economy and planning, towards raising the economic effect. This is really a decisive material prerequisite of communism.

'We shall have made a big breakthrough, I'd say a fantastic one,' said Academician Marchuk, 'once we begin optimizing all spheres in the state plan on a really scientific basis, once we have trained more people for the job and computerization encompasses the entire economy. We'll be beyond all competition then, for global optimization of the economy holds untapped potentialities for us that capitalists could not dream of . . .'

This, then, is Akademgorodok – top-class research by all standards,' abreast of the highest in the world. The research staffs do their best to help the economy, society and the people make further headway. The atmosphere is one of creative quest throughout. Soviet science has an enormous potential that will unfold from year to year and increasingly further social progress.

Some general considerations

We have tried – by citing facts, quoting from interviews and giving

our immediate impressions – to furnish a picture of Soviet reality. We know that this is a very small contribution.

What impressed us most of all was probably that we felt the heartbeat, so to speak, of the forces which are not only transforming the Soviet Union on an unprecedented scale but influencing the world. And it is not easy to put that into words – great things are not always translatable into great words.

We have said that we were prompted to visit the Soviet Union of 1971 by our earlier trips, the desire to compare previous impressions with new ones and probably the fact that bourgeois and revisionist propaganda against the Soviet Union goes on unabated.

We felt more and more strongly that our trip did not mean merely revisiting the first socialist country but rediscovering it. What made us think so?

It was not only the tremendous growth of the productive forces, although we realized that this is at the root of the big changes we witnessed and is therefore in the focus of the Soviet people's thoughts and activities.

Nor was it only the tangible improvement in living standards, although we realized that this accounts in large measure for the people's confident feeling that the country is on the right road.

It was first and foremost the process of development of new human relations – in labor, in everyday life, in social activity. This process makes Soviet society particularly dynamic and creates a moral and cultural atmosphere in which human values, ignored in the capitalist world, are appreciated so greatly.

It would, of course, be wrong to imagine that the Soviet people and Soviet society encounter no difficulties. The important thing is that people see these difficulties very well, that they talk openly about them and make collective efforts to overcome them. What makes the Soviet Union great is not that it is an abstract ideal but the fact that Soviet society is a living system, a progressing society which knows how it must advance.

In capitalist society, people are fed so many misleading statistics that they do not believe even truthful data – the facade of 'well-being' obscures many unsolved problems. In view of this, we have not tried in these notes to support every statement with figures even though we have not shunned them. The new, humane social relations on the basis of which the working people are developing society provide a solution to the problems existing in capitalist reality.

This is why real knowledge of real socialism makes so strong an impression. Brimming with new knowledge from our visit to the Soviet Union, we could not help thinking of the many people outside the socialist world who know nothing about this reality, though it is so important for their own future. We realized how necessary it is to disseminate information about real socialism all over the world. But how?

The enormous changes in social and human relations have be-

come part of the Soviet people's life, so much so that they do not seem to notice them. This is perhaps the greatest difficulty one encounters in writing about the Soviet Union. The Soviet people and Communists themselves rarely stress this new development – out of natural modesty and, above all, because you cannot expect one to remember at every moment that he is breathing.

The workers, collective farmers and scientists we talked to usually mentioned peace as if to sum up what was said earlier and at the same time to voice what they long for. We recall these interviews now that bourgeois and other hostile propaganda alleges the Soviet 'peace offensive' to be make-believe, a tactical device, an attempt to achieve purely 'national' objectives, and so on. The Soviet 'peace offensive' is realizing in international politics the innermost desire of the working people of the Soviet Union and the world.

We saw that the Soviet Union continues to build communist society on a growing scale and at a qualitatively new level and that labor in the Soviet Union today is powerfully stimulated by the decisions of the 24th Party Congress, which combine scientific knowledge and planning, the vast experience of the Party and the collective wisdom of the people, communist consciousness and the activity of the working people. The progress is steady and confident. Here is an illustration. 'Don't you think,' we asked our Soviet interlocutors (we were talking about the economic reform), 'other socialist countries are more audacious in making innovations, reforms and experiments?'

'Comparisons are inappropriate,' they replied. 'Don't forget that we cannot afford errors, due to the vast dimensions of our country and economy and the role we play by the will of history in the socialist system and Communist movement.' In our view every Communist would do well to think about this.

Lastly, we were greatly impressed by the indestructible unity of Party and people that we witnessed, by the Soviet people's community of aims and interests which the Party cements. Whether speaking to a worker, collective farmer, engineer, agronomist or academician, we invariably felt that the Party is near and dear to them. The life of some people has not been easy and they had reason for complaining. But we never heard people make any reservations about the Party.

To return to some Akademgorodok interviews. We asked Budker about his attitude to the Communist Party and what he thinks of the Party's influence on, say, nuclear physics (for bourgeois propaganda claims that this influence on the work of scientists is 'unscientific interference').

'We don't set ourselves apart from the Party,' he replied. 'We owe credit to it, among other things, for our achievements in science. Foreign propaganda talks about Party "interference" in our branch of science. I would say we are all like-minded people. And that is at the root of everything else.'

In asking our question, we did not know that A. Budker is not a Party member. Here is the opinion of a scientist who is.

'Western propaganda's allegations that scientists are one thing and the Party and government another is merely a set of insinuations,' said Academician Marchuk. 'There are some disgruntled people but they play no decisive role in the overall tactical and strategic advance of science. In the Siberian branch and the Academy as a whole, the guiding principle is to follow the policy of the Party and the government. A scientist derives satisfaction from his work only when he sees that it contributes to the advancement of society. We do not have to fight for the right to this; it is expected of us.'

What we saw in the Soviet Union during our new visit was not a rigid, self-satisfied or monotonous society but a world that is steadily developing and advancing even now, 54 years after the October Revolution. We sensed how new human values are created and saw how new people are formed. And we were proud to know that the Communists are in the van of the movement renovating the world.

Ib Norlund, Erwin Zucker-Schilling, Ilja Sedivy
Moscow-Novosibirsk-Prague.

Parliamentary activity of AKEL

Giorgos Savvides

The Progressive Party of the Working People of Cyprus (AKEL) joined in parliamentary activity in 1960, as soon as the island was proclaimed an independent state.

The country's only working-class party, AKEL enjoys wide-spread confidence among the working people of town and country due to its courageous struggle for their interests and freedom. It scored notable gains in municipal elections as far back as the forties and fifties. Its experience in local government proved useful when the Party engaged in parliamentary activity in very difficult conditions.

AKEL policies and tactics cannot be properly understood without regard for the abnormal situation that has prevailed in Cyprus for the past 12 years. The Cyprus question has been on the agenda of the UN Security Council ever since 1964 and has virtually become an international problem.

The 1959 Zurich-London agreements signed by three NATO members - Britain, Greece and Turkey - granted Cyprus political independence on terms strongly limiting its sovereignty. Britain

retained two bases on the island. Greece and Turkey were allowed to keep 1,600 regular troops in Cyprus (950 Greek and 650 Turkish). The 'guarantor' countries were left free to interfere in the new republic's internal affairs whenever they felt that the status quo was threatened.

Certain provisions incorporated in the Cyprus Constitution under pressure from the three 'trustees' made the political structure of the new republic ineffective and undermined its foundations from the outset. As there are two national communities on the island, the President of the Republic is elected by the Greeks and the Vice-President by the Turks. Members of parliament, too, are elected separately by the two communities. The President or Vice-President may veto any decision or law on foreign policy, national security or defense adopted by parliament. Bills on taxation, the municipalities and elections become law only when the majority of Greek MPs and the majority of Turkish MPs have voted for them. In regard to the religious, cultural, educational and other affairs of the communities, legislative and executive power is vested in two communal chambers, the Greek and the Turkish.

In the very first year, the supreme legislative body was thwarted in its effort to pass an income tax law. This defeat was due to the attitude of the Turkish MPs. For the same reason no decision could be taken on the municipalities, the formation of a Cyprus army and other matters. Antagonisms and mutual distrust between the two communities grew and this was precisely what the imperialists and their agents wanted.

A Marxist-Leninist analysis of developments prompted AKEL to describe the first stage of the republic's existence as 'essentially anti-imperialist and national-liberation.' The Party correctly defined the main object of the struggle at that stage as 'winning complete independence.' 'To achieve this goal,' says the Party Program formulated in the early sixties, 'it is necessary to follow an anti-imperialist policy at home and abroad, rid Cyprus of economic and political independence and imperialist influence, eliminate military bases, democratize the country's political and social life and rehabilitate its economy.'

AKEL grappled successfully with the problems that confronted it following the proclamation of independence, including problems in the parliamentary sphere. Its own experience and the experience of the international Communist and working-class movement helped it to adopt more flexible tactics free from sectarianism and 'Leftist' errors. The fight against Right and 'Left' deviations culminated in 1948-1949 in the ouster from the leadership of petty-bourgeois opportunist elements that injured AKEL's relations with the nationalist movement by compromising with imperialism. The harsh conditions of underground work in 1955-1959 made for removing faint-hearted elements from the Party. Ideological and educational work was intensified, and this helped to strengthen the Party's bonds with the masses. On emerging from illegality, AKEL

won influence over the majority of workers and large sections of the peasantry and urban middle strata.

Election tactics of the Party

Cyprus had general elections in 1960 and 1970. Due to a tense domestic situation, the first parliament was in office for 10 years instead of five as stipulated by the Constitution.

Cyprus is divided into six constituencies which elect 35 Greek members and 15 Turkish members to the country's unicameral parliament. The Turkish community, dominated by Right extremists, put forward no Left-wing candidates in either 1960 or 1970. The persecution and assassination of Left trade unionists and politicians forced the progressive movement deep underground. The majority system prevented AKEL from winning seats in parliament – in 1960 the Party could not count on more than 35 per cent of the votes in any one of the six constituencies. Nevertheless, its flexible tactics enabled AKEL to overcome difficulties and conclude an election agreement with the Patriotic Front of Cyprus,* which recognizes President Makarios as its leader. While this agreement did not bind our Party either ideologically or politically, it was a compromise enabling AKEL to cooperate in the elections with a wide range of patriotic forces, including Rightists, and secure the election of its candidates to parliament. However, the agreement did not provide for political cooperation over a longer period.

By the terms of the agreement, AKEL nominated five candidates and the Patriotic Front 30. All 35 were elected. The number of AKEL MPs was far from corresponding to the Party's actual influence. But then we did not attach too much importance to the number of seats because our main object was to ensure that AKEL and mass organizations of the Left were represented in the supreme legislative assembly from whose rostrum they could uphold their policy and the interests of the working people.

Cooperation during the 1960 election was the first gain in the effort for patriotic unity. It took diverse forms in parliament as well and played a decisive part in the difficult times the republic had to pass through afterwards. Although AKEL had rather few seats in parliament in 1960-1970, it made itself heard there and its political role was considerable due, in particular, to the fact that the AKEL MPs were backed by tens of thousands of organized working people and very influential mass organizations. Among our MPs were E. Papanioannou, General Secretary of AKEL, A. Zartides, General Secretary of the All-Cyprus Workers' Federation, C. Machailides, General Secretary of the League of Cypriot Peasants, and Y. Potamites, Chairman of the All-Cyprus Peace Committee. This directly linked

*Political association founded in 1960. It has no rigid organizational structure and generally expresses the interests of propertied Cypriot Greeks. Its basis is made up of the Orthodox Church, General Peasant League of Cyprus, Workers' Confederation of Cyprus and a number of former members of EOKA (National Organization of Cypriot Fighters), a nationalist military-political organization. – Ed.

the activity of our parliamentary group with the working people's fight for their rights.

The past decade has seen the patriotic forces gain experience in cooperation in and outside parliament. When, in the most trying moments of imperialist interference (1964-65), NATO tried to impose its plans for dividing and subjugating the island, with Turkey threatening to invade it, the mass organizations of the Left and Right formed a Coordination Committee for Struggle, which helped effectively to unite the patriotic forces behind President Makarios. The head of the state firmly rejected U.S. plans for Cyprus, nor did he yield to pressure from without in favor of a solution that would merely have furthered the strategic goals of NATO. For all the efforts of imperialist agents and the financial support given by imperialism, the anti-Communists were unable to cause a deep split among the people as in the fifties.

The 1970 general election took place in a different situation. The Right had broken up into four parties which announced that they would campaign independently. One of them sharply attacked the Communists and President Makarios and called for immediate Enosis (union with Greece - Ed.) which would have meant partitioning the island between Greece, Turkey and Britain (Britain retained its military bases in Cyprus). The other three parties, once members of the Patriotic Front of Cyprus, declared for a peaceful solution of the Cyprus problem through talks on the basis of independence.

AKEL strove for the cooperation of all the parties advocating a peaceful settlement and fighting for the independence and territorial integrity of the republic. 'The important thing now,' said a statement published by the Political Bureau of the CC AKEL on May 2, 1970, 'is not the superiority of this or that party in the election, but a solemn reaffirmation of the policy of bringing about a peaceful, democratic solution of the Cyprus problem and strengthening the domestic front of the whole people against imperialist intrigue. . . .' To make agreement easier and achieve joint action, AKEL decided to content itself with the same number of seats as it had held in the previous parliament although the number of its supporters had grown noticeably in the meantime. At the same time it declared for a more democratic electoral law based on proportional representation, in keeping with the number of votes polled by the party or bloc concerned. But parliament voted for the law in force.

AKEL's attempts to cooperate with other parties in elections on the basis of a minimum program failed due to contradictions between them. The Unity Party, main party of the bourgeoisie, wanted an absolute majority in parliament. Besides, foreign reaction did not scruple to exert pressure and interfere so as to prevent the formation of a broad electoral front including AKEL. Under the circumstances our Party resolved to campaign on its own and put forward nine candidates. All nine won - AKEL polled 40 per cent of the votes while the candidates of the biggest party of the Right secured only 26 per cent.

Why did the Communists nominate only nine candidates where they could have won election for more, at least in some constituencies? Their decision was in keeping with their policy of promoting patriotic unity. During the talks AKEL suggested that all parties in favor of a peaceful settlement through talks between Cypriots be represented in parliament. By putting forward a limited number of candidates, AKEL enabled other patriotic political organizations, with which it sought united action and cooperation, to win election for their representatives in a number of constituencies. It should not be forgotten that the domestic situation was most complicated at the time. A mere three months before the election, reactionary forces made an attempt on President Makarios' life and a little later the National Front, an organization of the extreme Right, seized a police station. The restraint shown by AKEL made it clear to other parties that in view of the critical situation our Party attached less importance to the number of seats held by it in parliament than to the cooperation of all patriotic forces in the interests of normalizing the situation and bringing about a peaceful settlement and a united, genuinely independent and free Cyprus.

Economic progress for the people

The parliamentary group of AKEL has always laid special store by the country's economic progress and the solution of the people's problems. During the first two years of independence emigration remained a great evil and unemployment affected nine per cent of the able-bodied population. Our Party welcomed both five-year economic development plans (1962-1966 and 1967-1971). Every measure aimed at advancing industry, agriculture and tourism was supported by the Left MPs, who, on the other hand, criticized the shortcomings of the plans and proposed amendments. Specifically, the parliamentary group of AKEL took exception to the government's policy of encouraging foreign investment.

With the active cooperation of Left MPs, parliament in 1960-1962 passed a series of laws and decrees easing the condition of the workers, peasants and handicraftsmen, such as the laws on rent, compensation and pensions for foundry workers affected with silicosis, the decrees abolishing compulsory sale of peasant property, on unemployment relief and higher salaries for teachers. In 1965 a social insurance law was adopted covering all working people – wage and salary earners, handicraftsmen and peasants. It was a notable gain for our working-class movement.

Over the past three years Left MPs have called for a more equitable distribution and redistribution of the national income and proposed relevant measures. In addition to higher pay for wage and salary earners, we seek improvements in social insurance, a more extensive state-financed health service and free medical aid, government subsidies for housing, free compulsory nine-year education and the provision of kindergartens and nurseries for working people's

children. Left MPs demand a cut in indirect taxes, whose brunt is borne by the masses, and a higher direct tax on profit.

Problems of agriculture and the peasants' condition receive constant attention from us. The demand of the parliamentary group of AKEL that state-owned lands be turned over to those who till them is on the way to being met. AKEL MPs use every opportunity, especially debates on budget appropriations, to stress the importance of building reservoirs and carrying out other irrigation measures and to insist on greater allocations for this purpose. Loans and credits for peasants are still an acute problem. The government has allocated £1.5 million for medium-term loans but this is clearly insufficient for our developing crop-farming and animal husbandry. Left MPs also concern themselves with problems of the sale of farm produce and of securing fair prices for it. They have done more than anyone else to set up cooperative and semi-governmental organizations selling farm produce, which has helped to increase exports.

Proceeding from the interests of the peasants and economic progress, spokesmen of AKEL oppose Cyprus' entry in the Common Market and advocate mutually beneficial trade with all countries. Left MPs have always stressed the tremendous importance to our economy of the growing market of the socialist countries, especially the Soviet Union, which is interested in many products of our agriculture.

The working people's delegates who make up the parliamentary group of AKEL exercise control over the functioning of government agencies and table questions in parliament. They periodically tour the countryside to look into the peasants' problems and then take steps to solve them through parliament and government agencies. Their links with the people are permanent.

For a genuinely independent, free and democratic Cyprus

In 1960 our MPs declared that they would 'work steadfastly to ensure that Cyprus becomes a genuinely independent, peaceful and democratic country.' No one could imagine at the time how difficult this would be and how long it would take. This makes the contribution of AKEL and the Left movement as a whole all the more valuable.

The 1960 and 1970 election programs pointed out that the Left did not intend to operate in parliament as a negative opposition, rejecting everything, but was going to contribute to the nation's effort to overcome the difficulties bred by long years of colonial rule and the Zurich-London agreements.

Left MPs back government measures promoting the independence and international standing of Cyprus and furthering its relations with other countries. In voicing our approval of the government's policy of non-alignment, we continuously insist on the need for close relations with the socialist countries and with countries that, like Cyprus, are fighting against neo-colonialism and imperialist inter-

ference in their affairs. The support which our Party and its parliamentary group give to the government's constructive and useful measures does not prevent them from criticizing whatever they disapprove of.

Cooperation between our MPs and the Makarios government and its sincere backers in parliament, which has been particularly close in the critical conditions since 1964, continues. The slogan 'For the unity of the people, army and government,' advanced by the Communists early in 1964, played a decisive part in strengthening national unity in the grimmest hours of imperialist interference. When Turkey threatened intervention, the Left mustered its forces and put them at the government's disposal to defend the country. In 1964 the Left MPs took an active part in organizing the 100,000 march against British bases.

It is AKEL and its MPs that have invariably and courageously laid bare the sinister schemes of U.S. imperialism, such as the Acheson plan, aimed at partitioning Cyprus, the Lemnitzer plan, under which NATO troops were to have landed in Cyprus, confronting the world with an accomplished fact, or other NATO projects, generally disguised with a 'national' or 'peace' facade. Our MPs expose attempts by the Right to portray the imperialist powers as "traditional" allies of Cyprus.

The Soviet and Czechoslovak governments firmly supported Cyprus in the UN Security Council and helped it to strengthen its defenses. We were aided in various ways by the socialist countries, Egypt, Syria and other non-aligned countries when, in the extremely difficult 1963-1967 period, the imperialists tried hard to dismember Cyprus and convert it into a NATO bridgehead. This aid opened our people's eyes to who were their friends and who the worst enemies of our republic and how very correct, patriotic and disinterested was the foreign policy supported by AKEL and its parliamentary group. 'This support and this aid,' said E. Papaioannou in parliament on November 16, 1964, 'did not come, nor could they ever have come, from the NATO imperialists, who turned out to be our country's inveterate enemies. They came from our natural allies and friends – the non-aligned states headed by Egypt and the socialist countries headed by the mighty Soviet Union, defender of small nations. We express our immense gratitude to all these countries, which helped us and supported us in our national liberation fight against imperialism.'

When, after 1968, terrorist groups incited from without began to arm and tried to disrupt Cyprus's internal resistance front through terrorism, Left MPs warned that chaos, anarchy and internecine strife would be disastrous to our cause. The attempt on President Makarios' life and the capture of a police station opened the eyes of those who tended to minimize the terrorists' criminal activity and to dismiss our warnings as exaggerated. The Left in parliament insisted that the government proceed resolutely to disarm and disband terrorist organizations. Early in 1970 our MPs did not hesitate to vote

for giving the government emergency powers, including the power to imprison members of terrorist groups for three months.

Left MPs have from the first taken a stand for a reconciliation between the Greeks and Turks of Cyprus, against fomenting chauvinistic sentiment and against bloodshed. In December 1962 the imperialists took advantage of certain provisions of the Zurich-London agreements to provoke armed clashes between the two communities of Cyprus. AKEL, which seeks sincere cooperation of all the working people of Cyprus irrespective of nationality, stressed at the time that the blame for the rising of Cypriot Turks and for other provocations must be put primarily on the imperialists, who had a vested interest in maintaining the abnormal situation in the republic and were intent on undermining its unity and independence.

AKEL and its spokesmen in parliament supported the Makarios government's measures to restore peace and welcomed the talks that were launched to enable the Cypriots themselves to solve their constitutional problem by peaceful means. We consider, as we always have, that the only correct way is to continue intra-Cypriot talks. This is the way to prevent imperialist interference and the imposition of a solution from without, as was done in 1960.

The only workable settlement is to bring into being a united, genuinely independent and really sovereign Cypriot state that will respect the democratic rights and interests of all.

For cooperation of Left forces

Arne Pettersen

The communal elections in Norway last autumn are interesting for several reasons.

The ruling Norwegian Workers' Party, which according to a pre-election poll had the support of over 50 per cent of the electorate, registered a sharp loss of votes. The same happened with the Conservative (Hoyre) and Liberal (Venstre) parties. On the other hand the Center Party, the Christian People's Party, the Socialist People's Party and the Communists advanced significantly. The voting was the lowest in the country's history and the press dubbed the 'home-sitters' the third largest party in the election.

A resolution passed at an October plenum of the Central Board of the Communist Party of Norway says that the shifts in election results and the low voter participation show that the people's attitude towards political problems and parties has changed significantly. Left positions are stronger in both the bourgeois camp

and the workers' movement. The people are dissatisfied with the Workers' Party, Høyre and Venstre. The discontent and active opposition to them stems from their home and foreign policies. The Social-Democrats suffered the heaviest loss, because following the formation of the government they proved incapable of advancing a policy that would end the course of the former bourgeois coalition government and, probably to no smaller degree, because the present Social-Democratic leadership is more active and persistent in its support of negotiations for Norway's entry into the Common Market.

Our readers are undoubtedly aware that in the past few years a broad popular movement has arisen against Norway's entry into the EEC. There are grounds to believe that a large percentage of the 'home-sitters' of the Workers' Party are staunch anti-market-eers. The same may be said in relation to the Conservative Party which, together with the NWP, actively promoted the country's joining the Common Market.

The elections were very successful for the Center Party, a bourgeois agrarian party also gaining popularity in the cities. It has decidedly dissociated itself from the plans to join the EEC. Its success and that of the Christian People's Party, which has taken a wait-and-see stand on this issue, is traceable not only to their attitude towards the Common Market. It is also connected with the general credibility crisis of the 'old parties,' which proved powerless to solve the problems caused by the economic and political developments of recent years as a result of which international and Norwegian monopoly capital have profited at the expense of the people.

The most interesting result of the elections for us was the shift towards the Left in the workers' movement, although this was not fully reflected in the returns. The shift to the Left was much greater than the figures showed, firstly, because the returns did not account for the views of those who did not come to the polls and, secondly, because the Left opposition in the NWP chose to help its party win the elections.

The Communist Party doubled its seats in communes where it participated in the elections and won thousands of additional votes in spite of the large number of 'home-sitters.' In some communes Communist votes almost tripled. The support came mostly from young people, which is an interesting and promising trend. It appears that the many years' decline in CP votes has finally ended, and a new positive trend is coming into focus.

A new and important feature of this year's communal elections was the organized cooperation on the Left flank of the workers' movement, which in many cases also embraced the Left wing of the voters who had previously supported the bourgeois parties. This was seen in the noteworthy lists of candidates nominated by opponents of the Common Market. Communists had independent lists of candidates, joint ones with the Socialist People's Party and

'cooperation lists' with the other Left forces in the workers' movement.

There are several reasons for the results, and not least of all the new political climate in Europe, coupled with growing opposition to political parties that tried to prevent the spread of this climate, while unable to propose an acceptable course to the people. Communists were able to participate in political discussions without the previous frankly uncooperative attitude of their opponents. They made home and foreign policy proposals, and although these were not entirely new, it was for the first time in a long period that they reached the voter.

The Communists came forward as consistent champions of Left unity. It is interesting to note that the Socialist People's Party was the most successful where it cooperated with us and won the least number of votes where it was a rival of the Communist Party. For our Party the situation was entirely different. We won the greatest number of votes where we had an independent list of candidates and where we were part of a broad election alliance, and the least number of votes where we proposed a list jointly with the Socialist People's Party. Naturally, this trend may be due not only to the list of candidates and should be studied carefully. Local conditions, for instance, influenced the vote to a great extent. For us it is important to register the fact that the Communists and Socialists can jointly attain success and that a process of closer cooperation is unfolding on the Left flank of the workers' movement in spite of counteractions.

Both the Communists and Left Socialists note with satisfaction the results and trends of the elections. However, the same cannot be said of the Left opposition in the NWP, although after the election defeat of the Right wing its position has become stronger. Its chances of electing a new, progressive leadership at the next congress are highly debatable.

Today, the Communist Party is naturally striving for broader cooperation with all Left forces in the workers' movement in order to form a united electoral alliance in the parliamentary elections in two years. However, it has always been clear to the Communists that the working class political struggle must under no circumstances limit itself to parliamentary elections. The Communist Party will lay greater stress on extra-parliamentary struggle. It will work for broader cooperation among various political forces in the struggle against international and Norwegian monopoly capital and against all those who are undermining the country's independence and the people's democratic right to determine Norway's development.

'Re-election' of a dictator?

Marcelo Pereira

Paraguay's next presidential 'election' is due in February 1973. Stroessner and those around him expect it to be a mere formality as in the past.

The terroristic military dictatorship under Stroessner, which upholds the interests of the landed oligarchy and is aided by the U.S. imperialists, has oppressed the Paraguayan people for over 17 years now. Ignoring the people's will, the reactionaries try hard to prolong a fascist regime that enables them to control the nation's economy and politics.

Who is to blame for the country's backwardness

The program theses approved by the Third Congress of the Paraguayan Communist Party note that 'Paraguay is an economically underdeveloped member of the world capitalist system, a country dependent on imperialism. Commodity production in general and capitalist production in particular are developing slowly and in contradictory fashion. The growth of the productive forces is held up by the existence of latifundia and remnants of a pre-capitalist mode of production and by imperialist exploitation. These are the main causes of the country's deformed socio-economic structure, its exceedingly low labor productivity and income rates and an extremely limited home market. The development of the productive forces and the process of production concentration are accompanied by the ruin of small producers and lead to stagnation or decline in some economic fields.'

Imperialism uses the scientific and technological revolution to step up the exploitation of underdeveloped countries and make them still more dependent. The already deep gulf between them and developed capitalist countries is becoming deeper still. The latifundium system and imperialism are the two main obstacles to the growth of the productive forces and social progress in Paraguay.

A handful of landowners linked with imperialism own almost the entire cultivated land area. The landed estates still use mostly primitive, extensive farming methods. They combine the system of wage labor with pre-capitalist forms of exploitation and dependence of the peasants, many thousands of whom have no land. The majority of peasants till small patches of land belonging to latifundists or the state and may be evicted at any moment. A smaller number of peasants are tenants or small holders. They are mostly poor people

or semi-proletarians supplying the landowners and capitalists with cheap labor.

The latifundists hold back the growth of agricultural production. Almost half of the rural labor power is idle. With unemployment growing fast, people living in the countryside move to the towns or emigrate to neighboring countries.

The development of industry, especially of manufacturing, is retarded by a backward technology, an agricultural crisis, a limited home market, competitive imports from developed capitalist countries, a growing tax burden, smuggling (which involves civil servants and even members of government), and various forms of economic plunder by foreign monopolies. Almost 90 per cent of the country's industry consists of small handicraft enterprises. Big enterprises make up only one per cent but they supply over half of the industrial output in terms of value. The more important of them manufacture export items and are owned by foreign monopolies. They constitute the most developed sector of industry and provide the greater part of surplus value, which, however, goes to imperialist countries.

In investing their capital in Paraguay, mainly in the form of government loans, the U.S. imperialists are prompted first of all by military and political considerations in view of the country's strategic situation. They want to turn Paraguay into a stronghold they can use in trying to crush the revolutionary movement on the continent.

Paraguay is strongly dependent on U.S. banks and its foreign debt is mounting. U.S. 'advisers,' who control key government agencies, are stepping up their political interference. Paraguay is something of a vassal state. It had to sign agreements on special guarantees for U.S. investment and pass laws granting privileges to foreign capital. Trade with socialist countries is forbidden. Loans must be used for purchasing goods in the United States, where they cost more than in other countries. U.S. creditors decide what Paraguay may or may not produce.

Imperialism plunders our country through unequal trade, by paying low prices for raw materials and by taking out profits and interest on capital. Foreign monopolies pump out more dollars than they invest in a direct form. In the 1953-1969 period foreign investments in Paraguay amounted to \$164.7 million. During the same period \$167.7 million was taken out of the country in dividends and interest.

Paraguay is dependent in both domestic and foreign policy – suffice it to mention the involvement of its armed forces in the intervention against the Dominican Republic, the government's willingness to send troops to Vietnam or the position of Paraguayan diplomats in the UN, OAS and other international organizations. Paraguay is one of the few Latin American states that has neither diplomatic, commercial, nor any other relations with the socialist countries, a fact injuring national interests.

Domestic and foreign capitalists intensify exploitation of the

working people, interfere in the affairs of the trade unions, which they have put under police control, cut wages and salaries to a niggardly minimum and lengthen the working day. Agricultural workers and peons on big estates and unskilled workers in woodworking factories are treated almost as serfs. Women and teen-agers are ruthlessly exploited.

The peasants are preyed upon by latifundists, middlemen, money lenders and imperialist monopolies. They are heavily taxed by the state and deep in debt. The petty bourgeoisie and the urban middle strata are gradually ruined and join the proletariat. Teachers, most of the civil servants and private employees are in a bad way too. Intellectuals refusing to serve the regime are discriminated against and persecuted. Their creative energy is shackled and many of them are compelled to emigrate.

The present regime, which uses a military and police apparatus, rules in collaboration with the most venal sections of the ruling classes. Riding roughshod over elementary human rights, these forces suppress every popular action. By virtue of its nature the regime neither tries nor would ever try to evolve in a democratic direction despite official propaganda claims to the contrary. The party of the national bourgeoisie was taken in by this propaganda.

The regime has assumed a more and more reactionary and terroristic character ever since the 1954 military coup, which brought General Stroessner to power. This trend is manifest even when the dictatorship is forced by the pressure of the masses to apply the policy of the carrot and the stick, that is, combine repressive measures with some concessions made with demagogical intent. A case in point was the granting of some precarious liberties to the bourgeois and landowner opposition in exchange for its political reconciliation with the regime. A law adopted late in 1969 to 'safeguard public order and civil freedom' prohibits all action against the dictatorship. In other words, the regime cannot hang on without constant recourse to repression.

The government took advantage of the reconciliation with the bourgeois and landowner opposition to impose the 1967 Constitution bolstering one-man rule. The dictator may proclaim a state of emergency and dissolve parliament. Stroessner imprisons Paraguayan citizens for indefinite terms by decree, without charge or trial. The new Constitution guarantees his 're-election' and the maintenance of an outdated socio-economic structure through terror.

In Latin America, U.S. imperialism counts on the one-man power of servile tyrants like those ruling in Haiti, the Dominican Republic, Guatemala, Nicaragua and elsewhere. It is these regimes that provide the Pentagon and U.S. monopolies with the greatest opportunities to plunder their peoples.

Having pushed its policy of coercion to extremes, the Stroessner dictatorship tries to shut the last channels through which the legal opposition parties – which had believed, or made a show of believing, in the possibility of achieving 'democracy stage by stage' – might express their views.

Mounting opposition

Practically every section of Paraguayan society comes out against the regime in looking for a way out of the present impasse.

The younger generation (70 per cent of the population are below 30) is the foremost fighter against poverty. Young people do not want a life of unemployment or ignorance, or emigration in search of jobs or an education. Their interests are irreconcilable with those of the military and police dictatorship. More and more young workers, peasants and students are realizing the necessity for radical democratic changes. They look to the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, to socialist Cuba. They support the working-class and national liberation movement. The more progressive of them turn to Marxism-Leninism as a guide to revolutionary action.

The students of the universities and secondary schools are one of the more active forces of youth. Overcoming difficulties, the movement unites on specific demands and goes over to organized action. There is a growing trend among the students towards alliance with the workers and peasants. In an attempt to check and split the student movement, the regime takes repressive measures and maneuvers by setting up parallel student 'centers' and 'federations' under police agents and other venal elements planted in universities and colleges. The students rebel against these methods and continue their search for economic, political and cultural progress.

The army is in ferment. Seemingly a monolith supporting the dictatorship, it has its contradictions and there is a polarization of forces. The military camarilla which has made a fortune under the present regime is opposed by young army officers who increasingly resent the Stroessner government's policies. Influenced by the patriotic servicemen of Peru, Panama and other countries, they abhor the idea of supporting a regime that is worsening the condition of the people, bartering the country's future and acting as policeman for a privileged minority. A growing number of officers feel unhappy about the transformation of the army into an appendage of the Pentagon and refuse to serve as a repressive force against their own people's democratic and patriotic movement. The sympathy and admiration which men and officers have for the Vietnamese people's courageous fight prevented Stroessner from sending troops to Vietnam.

Until recently the Catholic Church was a traditional stronghold of the dictatorship. After the Second Ecumenical Council and the Latin American bishops' conference in Medellin, Colombia, notable changes came about among Paraguay's Catholics. More and more priests are making common cause with the people against the tyranny. This, in turn, has its effect on the Church leadership, whose relations with the government have been deteriorating and occasionally give rise to outright clashes. Revealingly, the Episcopal Conference of Paraguay (the supreme Church body) joined

together with numerous priests to campaign for the release of political prisoners and for human rights. The regime retaliated by stepping up the persecution of democratic priests, Christian leagues and the Christian-Democratic Party and by arresting and deporting a number of CDP leaders.

The idea of dialogue and joint action with the Communists and other democrats is gaining ground among the Catholic priests and parishioners. Thousands of believers learn from their own experience that all working people are exploited, persecuted and humiliated irrespective of whether they are atheists or Christians. Every believer who protests or joins in the fight against the regime is called a 'Communist' and is victimized. And while the dictatorship tries to use religion as a means of dividing the workers and peasants, reality urges them to unite in the name of common class interests.

Our tasks

Our Party is faced with various difficulties in its fight against the dictatorship. Among other things, we must combat the defeatist ideas of certain political groups and opposition parties. Our position on this matter is stated in the political theses approved by the Third Party Congress, which say that 'to achieve decisive victory for the revolutionary democratic movement, it is necessary to defeat the opportunist idea that "nothing can be done or gained until the military and police dictatorship is gone".'

Those who hold opportunist views overestimate the strength of the regime and as a result tend to paralyze the struggle of the masses for their immediate economic and political demands. Professional provocateurs and 'Left' opportunists strive to discourage the masses from action for the release of political prisoners and the repeal of the state of emergency, for trade union freedoms and other democratic demands. They contend that no demands can be won under the military and police dictatorship. This defeatist attitude is entirely false. The struggle to remove the dictatorship means mobilizing the masses in action on an increasing scale for immediate demands. It implies exposing and weakening the tyrannical regime on all fronts until tangible democratic gains are secured.

'The slogan "All or nothing" is entirely foreign to Marxist-Leninists,' the theses stress. 'The importance of concessions that the dictatorship will be compelled to make to the working class and the people will depend in the main on changes in the alignment of forces between the regime and the revolutionary movement. It will depend on the scope, organization, unity and resolve of the workers, peasants, students and other sections of the people in struggle. This will decide when all imprisoned patriots will be set free, the state of emergency revoked and all repressive laws abolished, and when the working people will win trade union freedoms and have their economic demands met.'

Far-reaching socio-political changes can only be brought about through action by the masses. To promote the fight for democratic, agrarian and anti-imperialist changes, it is necessary, first of all, to bring our Party Program home to the workers and peasants, to the whole people. It will guide them in struggle by giving them a better understanding of their goals and help them to choose the right way. The ideas of our Program will play a tremendous mobilizing and revolutionizing role as they reach the masses and rouse them to struggle.

In its fight against the dictatorship—a fight involving diverse segments of the population—our Party tries to establish an anti-dictatorial front of the working class, the peasantry, students and progressive Catholic forces. The formation of this front can be greatly expedited through agreements on united action between various political parties and movements. However, the front must be based on unitary mass organizations operating all over the country if it is to be solid and to go from strength to strength.

Practice has shown more than once that without overthrowing the Stroessner camarilla and destroying the military and police dictatorship, it is impossible to establish a regime that would consistently democratize the nation's political life. Political freedom is the paramount condition for genuinely democratic elections involving all parties. Only on the basis of extensive political freedoms can the democratic, agrarian and anti-imperialist changes that are gaining in urgency be carried out by peaceful means. These changes will enable our people to end backwardness, poverty and oppression.

A big task is to unite the working class and win over its majority to our Party's side. To fulfil this task, it is very important to strengthen the trade unions and the Confederation of Working People of Paraguay and make them genuine class organizations.

The united anti-dictatorial front can become a mighty political factor only if it is based on a worker-peasant alliance and encompasses all the democratic, patriotic and revolutionary forces of the country, including those that, while not democratic, are opposed to the dictatorship at this stage and willing to fight it. The front should be brought into being through numerous actions by the masses using forms of struggle in keeping with the political situation and supported by hundreds of branches of people's committees and unity juntas or coordination commissions for joint action. The choice of forms and methods of struggle will depend, not only on the will of the working class and the people, of this or that party, but on the resistance put up by the reactionary forces and the forms and methods of fighting against the people chosen by them.

The military and police dictatorship realizes that the working class is the most revolutionary social force. It therefore regards the proletariat as its most formidable opponent and employs the bulk of its repressive forces against it and its party. After the 1958 national strike the dictatorship concentrated on the trade unions

and made a point of bringing them under police control. With the aid of ORIT (Inter-American Regional Organization of Working People) and agents of West German monopolies, it organized the training of trade union leaders to create a bureaucratic stratum in the unions and to plant in them police agents specializing in treachery and corruption. In other words, the dictatorship tried to turn the unions into the worst variety of America's yellow unions. It foisted these declassed bureaucrats on the leadership of the Confederation of Working People of Paraguay and numerous other unions.

This is firmly resisted by the working people. The working class with its long-standing revolutionary tradition has a huge potential of militancy that is bound to come out, all repressive measures notwithstanding. And then it will lead the people into action for political freedoms and for a government that will consistently democratize the country—the main requisite of effecting democratic, agrarian and anti-imperialist changes.

Mass struggle: the road to victory

There is ample evidence of the people's growing fight against the terroristic dictatorship. A strike movement shook the country in 1958. It was drowned in blood but the working people fought on in other forms. A political crisis loomed large in 1969. The dictatorship's attempt to cope with it through still more monstrous repressive legislation was defeated by the opposition parties, the Catholic Church and a number of mass organizations. Anti-dictatorial actions, which occurred throughout 1969, disproved the allegation that a 'democratization process' was going on in Paraguay.

The trend towards sharpening mass struggle, which the dictatorship tried to check through terror, was in evidence in 1970 as well. Working-class action assumed a large scale. Almost all trade unions were in conflict with the employers. Tense class battles were fought by the dockers of Puerto Casado, workers at the meat-packing plants of Piquete Cue and San Antonio, bus drivers and conductors, textile workers in the Grau mills, workers of the sugar and other industries. There was more peasant action for land and against eviction. Student action was considerable. New sections of the population joined in the struggle in 1970.

In organizing the mass movement, our Party regards the campaign for the release of political prisoners and union leaders as one of its most important tasks. Our appeals to world opinion and the Paraguayan people stress that genuine democratic elections are unthinkable so long as the country is dominated by terror and violence and its jails filled with freedom fighters. We consider international solidarity highly important for our fight against the dictatorship. We are particularly grateful to the socialist countries, and first of all the Soviet Union, whose mass organizations have called on the Paraguayan government to free patriots and democrats.

Stroessner, a brutal dictator who admires Hitler and shelters Nazi war criminals, recently added a new crime to his record. The regime jailed Gumersido Gamarra, a peasant and father of seven children. Held without trial, he went on a hunger strike and died after 74 days.

This came as a shock to the country. His death should attract the attention of world opinion to the drama of Paraguay's political prisoners and trade unionists doomed to die in Stroessner prisons. Antonio Maidana, Alfredo Alcorta and Julio Rojas, members of our Party's Central Committee, have been in jail for 14 years. They are veterans among the hundreds of patriots and democrats sharing their fate in Latin America. The democratic and progressive forces of the world must demand their release.

This, then, is the atmosphere in which preparations are being made to 're-elect' a dictator. In these circumstances, the legal opposition parties are coming to realize the necessity for revising their conciliatory policy so as to join in active struggle against the dictatorship. The recent congress of the Liberal Radical Party showed that this trend is on the rise, that there is a growing opposition movement powered by the mass struggle.

Increasing readicalization of the masses is inevitable. The country needs deep-going political changes paving the way for similar socio-economic changes. The government's attempts to prevent change through terror and repression are certain to increase political tensions that will aggravate the national crisis.

This situation confronts us with challenging problems. Our Party has stepped up its activity in the past two years, especially by joining in mass actions, and has improved its propaganda. This indicates that no amount of terror can stop the development of the Party or its activity among the masses.

Now that the issue of replacing the President and renewing both chambers of parliament is gaining in political importance, our task is to expose the farce. The goal of the Paraguayan people and Communist Party is to prevent the 're-election' of Stroessner and his underlings, foil the dictatorship's plans and offer the country a genuinely democratic alternative.

24th Congress of CPSU and Marxist-Leninist theory

This was the theme of a conference held in Moscow. *Kommunist*, theoretical and political journal of the CC CPSU, carried some of the papers read at the conference (see Nos. 14 and 15 for 1971).

M. Suslov, member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the

cc CPSU, spoke in his opening remarks about the significance of the 24th Congress of the CPSU for social development in the Soviet Union and the world. The Congress showed, he said, that the CPSU has been, and remains, a party of the working class, a party of creative Marxism, whose activity embodies the oneness of revolutionary theory and revolutionary practice based on scientific analysis and generalization of the latest social development trends.

The constructive program for peace and international security approved by the Congress is an outstanding contribution to Marxist-Leninist theory. The CPSU and the Soviet government are now putting it into effect in alliance with other socialist countries and with the support of all democratic and peace-loving forces, using the colossal and growing power of the Soviet Union.

The common front of the three main revolutionary forces of today – the world socialist system, the working class of the capitalist countries and the national liberation movement – is growing stronger as the historic contest between socialism and capitalism goes on. The world revolutionary process is taking place amid a scientific and technological revolution and this makes the present epoch the most revolutionary epoch in history.

The Congress furnished an important analysis of the present stage of development of Soviet society and its prospects. For the first time in history, a developed socialist society has been built and is functioning successfully in the Soviet Union.

Speaking of socialism's place in history, scholars occasionally describe socialism as an undeveloped, immature society compared with full communism. This is right in terms of the historical perspective of socialism, the first phase of communism, developing into the higher form of the latter. Whenever we speak of socialism we think of its subsequent development. Communism is our great and sacred goal, and a highly important task of our theory is to indicate, on the strength of scientific evidence, the ways and means of attaining it. However, it is just as important fully to reveal, from the standpoint of theory, every aspect of socialism as a *reality*, to show the historic heights to which socialism raised mankind.

Mature socialism implies all-round and harmonious development of the economic, social, political and cultural conditions of life. At this stage society has a powerful material and technical base brought into being through comprehensive economic progress due in particular to application in the production sphere of the latest achievements of science and technology. Socialism guarantees a steady and high growth rate of production and productivity. A characteristic of developed socialism is mature social relations taking shape on the basis of the unchallenged domination of socialist property and the socio-political and ideological unity of a society entirely free of exploitation. The socialist principle of distribution according to the quantity and quality of labor fully comes into its own in this society, which has an appropriate

political superstructure in the form of a profoundly democratic state of the whole people. Among the assets of a developed socialist society are vastly advanced public education and universal adherence to the Marxist-Leninist world outlook.

Socialist development and communist building are one process each new stage of which is a continuation of the previous stage and constitutes a higher stage in the upward and onward movement of society.

The 24th Congress of the CPSU, the speaker said, noted that due to a common social system and the coinciding fundamental interests of the peoples of the socialist countries, the main historical trend is towards closer links and cohesion. On the other hand, the Congress spoke with Leninist straightforwardness and frankness of the objective and subjective difficulties that crop up as the world socialist system takes shape, and of ways of overcoming them. The socialist cause is greatly endangered by the present Chinese leaders' anti-Leninist and anti-Soviet line.

The need now is to provide a more profound scientific basis for the historically new development processes of world socialism. A pressing task in this connection is to work out the problems of socialist economic integration, which guarantees to all parties, as the Comprehensive Program of the CMEA countries shows, the most effective use of achievements of the scientific and technological revolution, fast-growing production and stronger positions in the economic competition with capitalism.

Speaking of the logical growth of the Communist Party's leading role, M. Suslov pointed out that it arises from tremendous and exceedingly complicated internal and international tasks, the people's increasing political maturity and creative activity, the extension of socialist democracy, the higher standards required of social management, the need to improve the communist education of the masses and steadily to further Marxist-Leninist theory. The Party's role is growing because it is necessary increasingly to take into account and harmonize the requirements of all classes and social strata, all nations and nationalities, and all generations.

The paper read by P. Demichev, alternate member of the Political Bureau and secretary of the CC CPSU, dealt with the elaboration of current problems of communist building by the Congress. A most important aspect of the Party's economic policy at this stage, he said, is to solve production, technological, economic and socio-political problems as a complex.

The Party and people are concentrating on the pivotal task of using achievements of the scientific and technological revolution in inseparable connection with the advantages of the socialist economic system. This task involves far more than the production sphere, for scientific and technological achievements must link up with every sphere of the life of socialist society in forms proper to it.

Marxism-Leninism, the speaker stressed, sees scientific and

technological advance as a process taking place, not in a 'social vacuum,' but in the context of the interconnection and interaction of social, scientific and technological factors. This is one of the main principles of the Marxist-Leninist approach to the scientific and technological revolution.

A socially homogeneous, classless society is in the making in the Soviet Union. Trends towards social homogeneity are becoming ever more marked. However, the Party takes into account the persisting social distinctions and its views on how nations are brought together in a multinational socialist state are anything but simplistic. Departures from Leninist principles on the nationality question and one-sided solutions breed either great-power or autarchic trends.

The speaker gave a definition of socialist democracy, which has already attained developed forms. It is entirely wrong to treat elected government bodies and the state apparatus as opposites, for it is on this counterposition that various 'Leftist' theories of a Trotskyist brand about 'bureaucratic degeneration' that link up with Right opportunism and anti-communism are based. Under socialism the state apparatus is the instrument of the elected bodies of Soviet power and has no interests other than those of the people.

The 24th Congress took a close look at the problem of moulding a communist social consciousness. Communist building is not a superficial but a profound process involving the masses. Social practice is greatly influenced by the degree of the social consciousness and spiritual maturity of the masses.

The speaker stressed the intricacy of ideological problems and warned against over-simplification. With the material wealth of society and the standard of life on the rise while ideological education is inadequate, we may incur moral losses and occasionally witness such phenomena as money-grubbing and a tendency to withdraw into the narrow shell of private, philistine interests. It is not accidental that our opponents advocate the ideas of a 'consumer society,' hoping to spread vulgarly philistine notions and to erode socialism ideologically. They extol 'snug idleness' as the ideal of human existence. In this way they reduce man to an unthinking and asocial being. On the other hand, we cannot agree with those who affirm that moral purity and communist moral principles can last only if there is universal poverty and want.

Man's consciousness is not influenced by ideological and political education alone but by every condition of his life and work, by his social being. This is why the Party creates material and spiritual conditions ensuring the formation of a new consciousness and a new mentality.

The focus of numerous social and philosophical theories of this century is the problem of man. This means that to defeat our ideological enemies, we must fully elaborate the theory of man on genuinely scientific lines. We reject both the idea that human nature is innately corrupt and immutable – an idea supported with

references to modern genetics – and facile talk to the effect that you have only to memorize a set of quotations to move mountains and purify yourself morally. We maintain that the fundamental condition for transforming man's consciousness is to change social being.

B. Ponomaryov, secretary of the CC CPSU, read a paper on 'Current Problems of the Theory of the World Revolutionary Process.'

The 1969 Meeting and our Party Congress, he said, call on the Communists to make full use of the new opportunities that present themselves at this stage of history.

The speaker pointed out that the decisions of the 24th Congress of the CPSU, those of the brother parties of Bulgaria, Hungary, Mongolia, Czechoslovakia and the GDR, and the Comprehensive Program for deepening and improving cooperation and promoting socialist economic integration, recently adopted by the CMEA countries, reflect a definite qualitative change in the socialist system. Cooperation between socialist countries is rising to a new plane in every field.

Whatever the 'economic miracles' that may occur in this or that capitalist country, it is the community of CMEA countries that has been, and remains, the most dynamically developing industrial area of the world. They now account for approximately one-third of world industrial output, with the United States supplying roughly one-quarter and Western Europe slightly more than one-fifth.

There is growing evidence that a number of countries in the area of developed capitalism are at the threshold of decisive class battles that will put fundamental social changes on the order of the day. The facts show that a great deal of inflammable material has accumulated within capitalist society. Any acute political crisis, whether domestic or international, is likely to produce a revolutionary situation.

The present state of affairs in the capitalist world provides new opportunities for working-class struggles. On the other hand, it is characterized by the attempts of extreme reaction to exploit political instability in its own interest and to strike a blow at the mounting revolutionary movement.

The speaker next dealt with diverse forms of Right and 'Left' opportunism. He stressed that the fight against nationalism has gained in importance.

The speaker analyzed the distinctive features of the revolutionary process in Latin America as well, where it continues to develop faster than in other parts of the non-socialist world, describing it as a 'seething continent.'

Going on to the issue of the national liberation movement as a whole, B. Ponomaryov said that behind the vast variety of events in the national liberation zone are two fundamental questions: (1) Will the anti-imperialist regimes be consolidated, and will they succeed in frustrating imperialist attempts to carry out counter-revolutionary coups? (2) Will the countries that have freed them-

selves from colonial oppression become areas of capitalist development and hence components of world capitalism, which imperialism would like them to be, or withdraw from the imperialist system and become areas of non-capitalist development leading to socialism? This is the problem that lies at the very root of numerous sharp internal and international conflicts in that part of the globe.

The speaker devoted considerable attention to an analysis of revolutionary democracy. The fraternal relations linking the Soviet Union with national liberation forces are an indication of the consistency of the policy followed by the CPSU and the Soviet government, as well as of the maturity of these forces. They are an indication of a qualitative advance towards the three main streams of the world revolutionary movement merging into one stream.

Speaking of the development trends and prospects of revolutionary democratic parties, B. Ponomarev pointed to the problem of their relations with the Communists. The CPSU is convinced, he said, that cooperation between revolutionary democratic parties and the Communists fully meets the interests of the anti-imperialist movement, national independence and social progress. By the same token, struggle between the Communists and revolutionary democrats of any country is bound to have dire consequences for the progressive movement in that country because it splits and weakens the revolutionary forces.

In conclusion the speaker noted the close connection between ideological work and the exigencies of revolutionary practice.

The reader will find in *Kommunist* papers delivered by Academician P. Fedoseyev on 'The Party's Growing Role: A Law of Building Socialism and Communism' and by M. Yovchuk, Corresponding Member of the Soviet Academy of Sciences, on 'Current Problems of the Ideological Struggle and of Development of Socialist Ideology and Culture.'



Communist-Christian dialogue in France

Guy Besse

An interview with George Marchais, Deputy General Secretary of the French Communist Party, appeared in *Croix*, one of the oldest French Catholic dailies, on November 19, 1970. Its theme was 'The Communist Party and the Catholics' and it had strong repercussions well beyond Catholic quarters. The reaction of a large proportion of *Croix* readers was favorable, but not that of *Nation*, organ of the UDR, the main party of the reactionary majority in the National Assembly, the party of Pompidou and Chaban-Delmas. It had misgivings about the effect the interview could produce among Christians, especially priests, in seminaries and religious communities, where *Croix* is widely read.

However, the editors of the government paper know full well that *Croix* was prompted to interview Georges Marchais in view of the growing concern of the Christian masses in our country, who wonder what relations can and should exist between Christians and Communists in a society in which the crisis of capitalism is deepening. What are the possibilities and prospects of joint action by Communists and Christians to change social relations? These are not artificial questions. They are suggested by the experience of Christian working people and their increasing involvement in today's economic and political struggles. It is a fact that many Christians took part with Communists in the municipal election campaign a few months ago. This was not new, but this time it was on a much greater scale. As a result more Christian workers were elected on the union of workers' and democrats' list.

Reflecting the social stratification of Catholics, and of Protestants, their political options range from extreme reaction to co-operation with the Communists in the fight for a socialist France. However, the misgivings of *Nation* are understandable because the rulers of France have for some time accused the Catholic Church of drifting away from the regime. In fact, Minister Billecocq was sent to Rome to prevail on the Pope to urge the Catholic hierarchy to mend its ways. This did not help. On several occasions the Archbishop of Paris, the Bishop of Arras, and other Church

dignitaries indicated their unwillingness to act as spiritual assistants of the regime. The current doctrine is that while the Church should treat the state as a secular institution essential to national life, the mission of the Church must not be that of a ruling or opposition party. Nor must the Church consider itself bound by the political commitments of any one of its members on the Right or the Left. But it should remind every politically committed Christian of his duty always to be loyal to the spirit of the Gospel.

This attitude is understandable, considering the situation of the Church in the context of the class struggle. Once the Church was a great feudal power. After anathematizing the 1789 revolution, it closely linked its interests with those of the victorious bourgeoisie. It has solid support in the banks and among the big manufacturers and landowners. And while its leadership is willing to criticize an occasional 'injustice' or 'abuse,' it would never think of criticizing capitalist exploitation from a revolutionary standpoint. It cannot afford to alienate the privileged. But neither can it ignore the fact that submission and resignation are no longer as widespread among its flock as in the past. It cannot disregard the discontent of the working class and middle strata and their desire for change.

Yet neither faith nor the Church is in a position to spare Christian wage or salary earners or peasants the effects of a system at odds with the vast majority of the population. As far back as 1934-1936, many Christian workers allied themselves with their class brothers in the fight against fascism, for a popular front. In May and June 1968, there were numerous Christians among the millions of strikers. It never occurred to them that their religious convictions might be an obstacle to their participating in the strike. Besides, it is a fact that the CGT, the most progressive, Communist-led trade union federation, has numerous Christians among its members. The French Democratic Confederation of Labor, born of the one-time Confederation of Christian Working People, regards the class struggle as a reality. Its latest congress recognized that socialism is a rational perspective for the working people of our country. Many Christians who follow the evolution of Latin America, Africa and Asia, show a keen interest in the events in Chile and the Christian Democrats' participation in implementing the Popular Unity program.

This change among Christians is not confined to France, it is having reverberations in the Vatican. It prompted Paul VI to speak of socialism, in his apostolic letter to Cardinal Roy, in new terms. While rejecting Marxism in principle, he admits that a Christian may consciously adhere to certain 'socialist currents,' provided his faith is not called into question. To be sure, the Pope's letter is hardly a guide to proletarian revolution. A careful reading shows how very closely the intentions of its author and his advisors are related to neo-capitalist theories. This is not surprising, for the aim is to subdue and canalize the forces of discontent in the Church and in bourgeois society.

The Catholic Church, by far the most important in France, draws its own lesson from the changes taking place among the people. At a time when de-christianization is progressing, the Church cannot openly defend an increasingly oppressive system. To do so would mean risking loss of influence among Christian working people.

Thus it is against the background of the class struggle, and hence within the general framework of the contest between socialism and capitalism, that the issue of relations between Communists and Christians presents itself.

George Marchais said that when, in 1936, Maurice Thorez extended a hand to the Catholic working people he did so in the common interest of all working people, in the face of a common enemy. This was in keeping with Leninist tradition. In our day, the objective conditions warranting the policy of the 'extended hand' are as valid as before. The interests of state-monopoly capitalism run counter to the interests of not only the wage workers, whose numbers are growing, but the urban and rural middle strata, whose plight is going from bad to worse. The fact that there are wage and salaried workers, peasants and intellectuals belonging to the same Church as members of the big bourgeoisie cannot alter the nature of relations of exploitation. It is with due regard to the common interests of all working people, who are faced with a common enemy, that the Communists put forward the perspective of a powerful struggle by the masses for an advanced democracy and a socialist France. Ideological and political differences do not eliminate the community of interests in economic and political struggles.

That is why dialogue can be meaningful only in the context of the class struggle, not outside it. The question is not of a passing tactic but of a position of principle strongly emphasized by our 19th Party Congress (February 1970) and the Champigny meeting of our Central Committee (December 1968). The victory of an advanced democracy and the building of a socialist France will not result from the effort of an isolated vanguard, but from the effort of millions of men and women realizing that only through their constant participation in the economic, social and political life of the country at all levels is it possible to abolish the monopolies, establish genuine democracy and carry it forward, reorganize production relations on socialist lines and exercise a new power, that of the working class and its allies. Socialism will win because millions of our compatriots will have become aware that it is the only fair solution to the problems facing French society and the only effective answer to questions of vital importance to the nation.

Thus the dialogue with the Christians, initiated by the Communist Party at a time when the Church leadership was against it in principle, is inseparable from the people's struggle for decisive changes, which are also sought by numerous Christian workers.

The dialogue varies in form. The municipal election campaign, for example, made possible very useful meetings between Christians and Communists in various localities. The discussion meetings sponsored by our Party all over the country enable us constantly to exchange views on problems of the day with Christian wage and salary earners, priests and laymen.

It may be argued that the fundamental difference between every religion and our philosophy is an insurmountable obstacle to dialogue. This difference does not preclude joint action in support of limited objectives. But, it might be asked, does it not, in the long run, doom the dialogue to failure?

To reason in this way would mean breaking with historical materialism. Social history is not restricted to conflicts of ideas. Its main trends are determined by the relations of production, which, in turn, are inseparable from the productive forces. In a society in which these relations assume the character of a contradiction between antagonistic classes, to reduce them to ideological differences alone means adopting an idealist position.

Historical materialism tells us that consciousness is not an incorporeal force independent of the lives of concrete people and divorced from the evolution of social relations. In producing the material conditions for its existence, mankind gives rise to a certain consciousness of itself, a certain notion of itself and of the world. It follows that a Communist cannot judge people only in terms of ideological categories, if he is to follow the scientific principles of analysis. It is in the dialectics of social relations, and primarily class relations, that both contradictions and solidarity between people develop. If a Christian worker regards the atheism of his Communist fellow-worker as sufficient reason for refusing to join him in the fight against exploitation, this merely proves that he is prisoner to an ideology that conceals the real nature of social relations. We see daily how the ruling class, which is far from being made up of Christians alone, takes advantage of religion to divert the Christian masses from class action with atheists.

Thus it is not by renouncing their dialectical materialist philosophy that the Communists will create the most favorable climate for a dialogue with the Christians, or provide the greatest opportunity of uniting, on a broad basis, the progressive forces against monopoly power. The Marxist-Leninist concept of the alliance of all working people having common interests irrespective of ideological differences is entirely based on historical materialism.

Had the French Communist Party accepted Roger Garaudy's recommendations and agreed to repudiate its philosophy on the plea of making it easier for the Christians to accept its policy of the 'extended hand,' it would have undermined the very foundation of that policy. For it is only historical materialism that makes it possible to understand the policy of alliance and joint action with all anti-monopoly forces and to pursue it on scientific lines. The task is to follow this policy persistently – at the present stage as

well as in the subsequent struggle to bring into being a socialist France.

Garaudy's thesis, presented as a 'bold break-through,' was defeatist, and as such was rejected by the 19th Congress of our Party. The thesis was the logical conclusion of Garaudy's repeated attempts to find a formula midway between the religious concept of man and the world and the philosophy of dialectical and historical materialism. It was not an innovation, but a step back to Feuerbach. It was only by radically criticizing Feuerbach – who remained virtually in bondage to religious ideology though he thought he had shed it – that Marx laid the philosophical foundations for revolutionary social practice and scientific socialism. The same drift back to pre-Marxist concepts was evident in Garaudy's attempts to find, under the slogan of 'returning to the fundamentals,' a sort of 'primary philosophy' on whose basis both historical materialism and Christian thought could be 'reconstituted.' Eclectically, he cut a piece off Marxism and another off 'Christology,' or 'theology without god,' and presented this as something new and original. It resulted:

- first, in impoverishing Marxism (which Garaudy had claimed to enrich), in trimming scientific socialism to fit into the vague pattern of so-called 'man's religion' or another 'true socialism';

- secondly, in artificially selecting Christian opponents and interlocutors whose views fit into this kind of eclectic construction.

A theoretical convergence between historical materialism and theology is out of the question since every theology, in particular the theology of 'the death of God,' is contrary to science and is disproved by it.

We do not bar any Christian, whatever his notion of God, salvation, the Church, mass, and so on, from joint action and struggle based on the community of the fundamental interests of the working people, believers and non-believers alike. And it is not against our materialist philosophy but in accordance with it that we firmly advocate the broadest alliance of all forces of renovation. The Communist Party cannot renounce its philosophy without abandoning the revolutionary policy of working-class unity and the alliance of all working-class and democratic forces for a France free from capitalism.

The 19th Congress of our Party noted that the struggle for social change does not concern the Communists alone but requires the cooperation of the vast majority of our people. Hence, far from ruling out, the struggle demands broader public activity. This also implies more discussion. The Party is not afraid of such confrontations and, indeed, encourages them. This is an aspect of its vanguard role. Ours is an epoch of great political battles, of clashes of ideas and ideologies, and the Communists know by experience how very illusory it is to try to solve present day problems without such discussions and ideological struggle.

A socialist France will be the result of conscious and steadfast

activity by the masses, by all the political and trade union organizations involved in leading and governing the country. Relations between the Communists and Christians will fit naturally into the new socialist democratic system. The Champigny Manifesto of our Central Committee specifies that this kind of democracy will effectively guarantee all citizens, equal before the law, freedom of thought, speech, assembly and association. In a socialist France the republican and democratic traditions of a secular state, that is, one in which all churches will be disestablished and which will be independent of all confessions, will come into force again. This will benefit, in particular, public education. Freedom of religion, religious worship and of speech will be guaranteed by law for the Christians and their churches, just as atheists will have the guaranteed right to express and popularize their atheist convictions. Georges Marchais said in his interview with *Croix*, that it would be illogical of the Communist Party if today or tomorrow it gave 'philosophical differences precedence over the common interests of the working people. It would mean turning our back on our principles and reducing the people's involvement in socialist construction. In philosophical terms, we firmly advocate respect for the convictions of everyone and freedom of confrontation between world outlooks and cultural trends, without any interference in this sphere by the state or the administrative machinery as is the case now, to the detriment of secular education.'*

We consider that the present dialogue with the Christians, with its prospect of joint action, is the best method of preparing the ground for cooperation between Communists and Christians, and between believers and non-believers generally, in a socialist France.

Prejudices disappear and preconceived notions are defeated through daily exchange and through participation in the fulfilment of common tasks necessitated by common goals. In the years of the Popular Front, then in the period of Resistance and Liberation, and lastly, in the struggle for peace, many Christians came to know and respect the Communists, who, for their part, learned much from their cooperation with Christians.

Is such joint action an obstacle to criticizing religious ideologies? On the contrary, it enables us to make this criticism more profound and specific, more friendly and convincing. This criticism is based on the experience of Christians whose participation in joint struggles has led them to question their faith. De-christianization is not the only characteristic of our times. There is also the changing religious consciousness of the most diverse groups of believers. The exploitation, oppression, violence and corruption daily generated by capitalism and the crimes of imperialism in Vietnam are things to which millions of Christians cannot be indifferent. And, as the 19th Congress of our Party stressed, they condemn the unjust so-

*The interview also mentions the prospect of a 'contract' which in a socialist France would determine the 'rights and duties of Church and State' on the basis of discussion and agreement between the parties concerned.

ciety in the name of their faith. But it is one thing to make a rational analysis of a historical situation and another to interpret it on the strength of mystical notions of history.

Marx and Engels showed how Christianity often gave ideological support to popular movements resulting from objective social contradictions. In our day many Christians search their traditions and the new experiences of their faith for an explanation of the crisis of capitalism, trying to come to terms with their own desire for social change. The Communists would lose their influence, indeed their *raison d'être*, if they were to conclude from this that they must revise the principles of scientific socialism. It would be a step back and not forward, because the changes occurring in the thinking of Christians are due to objective changes in the contemporary world, changes in which millions of Communists have an active part everywhere. But the Communists would be poor materialists and dialecticians if they did not carefully study this evolution in the mentality and attitude of numerous Christians. The dialogue is bound to help us in appreciating every aspect of this process. We believe that the more fully the Communists compare their way of thinking with that of others, the more effectively will they safeguard themselves against academicism and stagnation. The questions put to us by Christians and by others on current problems, induce us to perfect our analysis of these problems. They prompt us to clarify our theses and to present them more lucidly.

We do not propose to investigate in detail all the changes taking place among Christians, in their notions of God, the family, private life, the Church and its relationship with the modern world, and so on. We wish to stress the importance which the problem of the relationship between *faith and politics* has had for some time for numerous believers and the Church leadership itself. A few months ago a plenary meeting of French bishops, acknowledging the 'fruitfulness of meetings with those who do not share faith in Jesus Christ,' noted that Christians feel themselves more and more involved in politics. This is virtually an admission that the Church cannot escape the effects of the class struggle.

We have said that Christian working people are particularly sensitive to the influence of the Communist Party. We must add, however, that many of them are drawn to reformism. It is well known that evangelical doctrine and religious dogma generally give rise to an attitude preventing revolutionary consciousness. This is why Christian workers and other working people are traditionally inclined to class cooperation. Hence the problems of alliance with Christian working people cannot be solved in isolation from the problems of alliance of Communist and Socialist working people fighting for a common government program for all democratic forces. This objective can be attained only if the Socialist Party is induced by the struggle of the masses to renounce every form of class cooperation with the bourgeoisie.

We must also note the receptiveness of some Christian groups to

'Leftist' ideas and slogans. It is generally a question of social groups, in particular the middle strata and young people, that are hard hit by the crisis of capitalism but have yet to analyze their situation in scientific terms. Their behavior is a combination of revolt against the system of oppression and old petty-bourgeois prejudices against the working class and communism. Their religious education (even when they have openly renounced it) breeds in them many an illusion, utopia or voluntarist aspirations.* Those who until recently were thinking about salvation in the hereafter are now thinking of how to change everything here and now. Those who made a rule of non-violence do not hesitate to disrupt church services and back the most desperate 'rebels.'

But whether using 'classical' forms of Right opportunism or 'Leftist' phrases, their opportunism is invariably defeatist. It always reflects their lack of faith in the working class and its ability to establish a broad front against the common enemy. This is why our principled criticism is inseparable from the effort to draw as many Christian working people as possible into the mass struggle against monopoly, for democracy and socialism. It is in this sense that the dialogue has long-range value.

*This requires a special investigation. Young members of bourgeois families educated in a traditionally Christian spirit, and with all the prejudices of anti-communism and anti-Sovietism, often show a typically religious behavior, which they expect, however, to get rid of by 'breaking' with their environment and by 'converting themselves to revolution.' However, their 'revolutionary' language is one of 'atonement' and 'repentance.'



The 1969 International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties declared that 'imperialism makes use of racialism to divide the peoples and maintain its rule.' The Meeting called on 'all honest men in the world to unite their efforts against **the man-hating ideology and practices of racialism.**' On Soviet initiative, the United Nations proclaimed 1971 a year of action against racialism and race discrimination. These are the questions dealt with on this and the following pages.

Crisis of the Black Panther Party

Henry Winston

Some years ago the Black Panther Party emerged in the United States as a militant organization dedicated to fighting against the genocidal oppression of Black Americans. Subjected to the most brutal repression, its leaders murdered by the racist minions of 'law and order' or imprisoned for long periods awaiting trial on trumped-up charges, it fought back and won wide support. Proclaiming itself as revolutionary, it took some tentative steps in the direction of Marxism-Leninism. But today the organization is in dire straits, racked with crisis.

What are the causes of the crisis of the Black Panther Party? How could an organization which portrayed itself as the revolutionary vanguard become so quickly isolated from the people? Why were the hopes of so many militant and courageous Black youths who were attracted to the party turned into frustration and even tragedy?

No answer to these questions can be given without taking into account the attacks and frameups launched by the enemy against the party. Yet even these brutal and murderous attacks, conducted both from within and outside the organization, cannot alone explain the crisis of the Black Panther Party.

Huey P. Newton, writing in the *Black Panther* of April 17, attempts to provide an explanation for this crisis, which led to the party's split into factions, one headed by himself, the other by Eldridge Cleaver.

In his April 17 article, Newton states: 'under the influence of Eldridge Cleaver the party gave the community no alternative for dealing with us, except by picking up the gun . . . Therefore, the Black Panther Party defected from the community long before Eldridge Cleaver defected from the party.'

In saying this, Newton appears at first glance to have taken a step toward understanding and correcting past mistakes – to have begun the process of disentangling the Black Panther Party from Cleaver's catastrophic influence. However, in this article as a whole, Newton, instead of providing answers, creates still more questions and doubts as to the past, present and future course of the Black Panther Party.

That the uneasiness created by this article is well founded is confirmed by Newton's subsequent writings and speeches, and particularly by his May 29 article in the *Black Panther*. Here he announces that the party is ready to open, in San Francisco, a shoe factory and one to make clothing and golf bags – the first of many factories to be operated by Black Panthers in ghettos across the nation.

It will undoubtedly appear to some that there is a head-on contradiction between Newton's 'new' direction and his previous 'revolutionary' period. The opposite is true. There is no contradiction between his previous ultra-Leftist role and his present position. In essence, both positions represent accommodation to the status quo – even though the earlier one was more effectively camouflaged with the rhetoric of revolution. The link between both positions is the fact that neither 'Black capitalism' nor ultra-revolutionary rhetoric offers the people the path of struggle.

According to Newton, the Black Panther Party had its origin as a response to what he interprets as the people's rejection of non-violent action. When the Black Panthers first picked up the gun, he states in the April 17 article, 'we were acting (in 1966) at a time when the people had given up on the philosophy of non-violent direct action and were beginning to deal with sterner stuff. We wanted them to see the virtues of disciplined and organized armed self-defense, rather than spontaneous and disorganized outbreaks and riots.'

In this estimate of what was needed as the next step in the Black liberation struggle can be found the source of the Panthers' subsequent difficulties. By offering the alternative of armed self-defense, the Panthers presented the upsurging Black urban youth with a false choice diverting them from mass unity and struggle.

Strategy – defensive or offensive?

When Newton advocated guns and a defensive strategy as the

solution for Black people, he was wrong on both counts: not only did the people refuse to relate to the gun, they also rejected the concept of a defensive strategy. Black people – who have been warding off attacks for 400 years – want and need an offensive strategy to build a great popular movement to end racist oppression.

In his concept of self-defense, Newton endeavored to respond to the oppression of his people. However, this concept excluded the people from their own liberation struggle. It involved the idea of an elite few acting for the masses – in fact, supplanting them.

Thus, even before Cleaver joined the Black Panther Party, Newton had substituted elitism for mass struggle. Cleaver's influence brought the elitist concept to new levels of anarchist, adventurist confusion and provocation – but his ideology was nevertheless inherent in the original concepts on which the Black Panther Party was founded.

At one point, however, it appeared to some that the Black Panthers might be turning away from these original concepts, that they might supplant the Little Red Book and Cleaver's anarchism with Marx and Lenin. This was in the summer of 1969 when the Black Panther Party called for studying the historic report on the united front by Georgi Dimitrov. But instead of linking theory with practice, the actions taken by the Black Panther Party turned the concept of the united front into a sectarian caricature of the Marxist-Leninist principles on which it is based.

Against this background, internal strife in the Black Panther Party deteriorated into factionalism, and – with neither faction guided by scientific theory – into an inevitable split. Newton expelled Cleaver and a group of his supporters. Although there are now two separate groups, both unfortunately hold similar anti-Marxist views on the most basic principles of class and national liberation.

It is worth recalling that in the same period when the Black Panthers came on the scene, others were also seeking new directions, notably Martin Luther King.

During the Montgomery bus strike in 1955, King had said, 'There go my people. I must catch up with them.' More than a decade later and at a new turning point, King was still motivated by these sentiments.

It had become apparent to King that an offensive strategy of new dimensions had to be built. The new situation required the continued and even expanded participation of church and middle-strata forces, including students and professionals, that had predominated in 1954-66. But King saw that the basis for regaining the offensive was *working class* strength moving in coalition with the middle-class forces. He now directed all his efforts toward involving the working class in a higher level of struggle with the Black liberation movement – and with all the poor and oppressed.

The Communist Party welcomed this historic revolution in Dr. King's leadership, and wholeheartedly supported his efforts to bring

about a new strategy and a new alignment of forces. The Communist Party saw this as a profoundly important development, even though Dr. King had not yet demonstrated a *full* understanding that an offensive strategy to end class exploitation, racist oppression and war demands not only the *strength* of the working class, but also the *leadership* of the working class – Black, Brown, Yellow, Red and white – guided by the science of socialism. However, before he was assassinated, King had moved toward an anti-imperialist position.

King was also keenly aware of the dangers that faced the movement. For instance, in his historic address – just two months before his death – at the *Freedomways* memorial meeting for Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, King warned that racism and imperialism could not be fought with anti-Communism.

The ruling class did everything in its power to divert and defeat the new direction taken by King. The capitalist mass media went all out to promote the activity and the ideology of those Black and white radicals for whom King was 'too non-violent' and the Communist Party 'too conservative.'

While Newton, Cleaver and Hilliard waved the Little Red Book and talked of picking up the gun, they were joined in these activities by middle-class white radicals who also came forward with 'new' interpretations of Marxism. All of this created divisions and confusion on the campus, in the ghettos and in the peace movement.

The Black and white radicals, including Cleaver and Newton, dismissed what they called 'orthodox' Marxism. Taking a different direction from King, they disdained the working class and glorified the super-'revolutionary' tactics of confrontation by an anarchistic elite. In this way, the ultra-'revolutionaries' helped create an atmosphere in which the racist monopolists could falsely portray violence as coming from the Left – and cover up the fact that they themselves are the source of it.

The pseudo-militancy of Newton, Cleaver and Hilliard made their own party and its supporters particularly vulnerable to nationwide genocidal assaults and frameups. And beyond this, their super-revolutionism made the movements for Black liberation and against war and poverty more vulnerable to mounting repressive attacks.

It is apparent that neither Newton nor Cleaver have ever based their tactics on the working class and its revolutionary science, Marxism-Leninism. In order to give some semblance of credibility to the 'revolutionary' role they assign the lumpen elements, Newton and Cleaver would have us believe that the Black unemployed, those on welfare, and high school dropouts are all part of the lumpenproletariat. This is an insult to Black men, women and youth. People are not lumpen simply because they are denied jobs.

Today, in the center of imperialism in the era of its decline, there is a massive increase in the army of the unemployed. Alongside this, the number of lumpen elements also increases. However,

these groups *do not merge*: each has its distinct characteristics. As Marx wrote in *The Class Struggles in France*, the lumpenproletariat 'forms a mass sharply differentiated from the industrial proletariat.' The lumpenproletariat, as Engels wrote, includes 'elements of all classes.'

Specifically the lumpen elements are those so demoralized by the system that they are not only jobless, but that to them a job is unthinkable. It is their declassed parasitical status and outlook that sharply distinguish them from the great mass of the unemployed, who are searching for and demanding jobs and the opportunity for a decent life. That is why – in addition to making the distinction that Marx emphasized – it is now even more necessary than in Marx's time to clearly distinguish between the lumpenproletariat and the great mass of unemployed, which includes so many youth (particularly Black and Brown) who have never been regularly employed.

However it is quite evident that the ruling class is not counting on the prediction that the unemployed will passively accept the idea that 'they are without a future.' Today, the monopolists fear the fact that the struggle of the unemployed, together with the rank-and-file struggles within the unions, will lay the basis for a new upsurge of the working class and the Black Liberation movement. The monopolists are aware that the struggles will eclipse those of the thirties.

One of the ways in which the ruling class is trying to short-circuit the struggle for jobs and against war and racism is through its barbaric promotion of drugs – in the armed forces (particularly in Vietnam), in the ghettos, among the workers, and among the youth on and off the campuses. Together with its mass promotion of drugs, the ruling class is promoting anti-working class ideology on a mass scale in new ways. This is why the media have popularized the writings of such individuals as Regis Debray and Herbert Marcuse, whose views have greatly influenced Cleaver, Newton, Hayden, Hoffman, Rubin and other radicals who foster the idea that workers have 'a stake in the system.' From this starting point Cleaver and Newton have developed the concept that the lumpen sectors, who will resort to anything but work, and not the working class, comprise the vanguard of revolution.

Objective laws of development

Those who point to the lumpenproletariat as the revolutionary vanguard disregard the objective laws of historical development. In pre-capitalist societies, poverty and oppression were even greater than under capitalism. But oppression in itself, no matter how great, does not create the basis for the struggle to abolish oppression.

Because of the specific nature of exploitation under capitalism, the working class, which collectively operates the mass production process of the privately owned monopolies, is transformed into the

gravedigger of the system. That is why Marx and Engels wrote in *The Communist Manifesto*: 'Of all the classes that stand face to face with the bourgeoisie today, the proletariat alone is a really revolutionary class.'

No fundamental change – or even a challenge to the monopolists – can occur without the working class. And today the proportion of Black workers in basic industries such as steel, coal, auto, transport and others is transforming the prospects for the class struggle and Black liberation.

These Black workers, who share the oppression of all Black Americans, also share the exploitation experienced by their fellow white workers. But as compared to these white workers, they suffer from racist super-exploitation: they have the worst jobs and are still the last hired, the first fired.

The degree of exploitation of Black workers is clearly much greater than that of white workers. Nevertheless, the collective form of exploitation in the decisive mass production industries is suffered by *all* workers. This creates the objective basis for their unity and leadership in the struggle against the monopolist ruling class.

At the same time, history has assigned a doubly significant role to Black workers – as the leaders and backbone of the Black liberation movement, and as a decisive component of the working-class leadership of the anti-imperialist struggle as a whole.

It is the monopolists' fear of Black, white, Brown, Yellow, Red and working-class unity, which forms the basis for still broader people's unity, that is behind racism and anti-Communism – the main ideological weapons of the ruling class.

Leninism, the Marxism of the imperialist epoch, is *the* ideological weapon of the working class. It is the scientific guide that enables the working class to combine its struggle with national liberation movements against imperialism. No other theory has served to free a single working class, a single people, from imperialism anywhere in the world. Beginning with the October Revolution, only those guided by Marxism-Leninism have been able to free themselves from class and national oppression and take the road of socialist construction.

Cleaver and Newton have tried to use the writings of Frantz Fanon, whose vantage point was the Algerian and other African liberation movements, to justify their anti-Leninist theory of the role of the lumpenproletariat. They have attempted to apply Fanon's ideas to the U.S., although these ideas lack Marxist clarity in some respects even within the African context for which they were intended. On top of this, Cleaver and Newton have inflated Fanon's positive views on the lumpenproletariat, while completely ignoring his serious reservations about this group. There is a danger, he warned, that 'the lumpenproletariat will throw itself into battle and will take part in the conflict – but this time on the side of the oppressor.'

The Cleaver-Newton theory of the lumpenproletariat as vanguard would mean objective surrender to the ruling class – because only the working class can lead the fight against poverty and exploitation. And not only does this theory fail to offer an offensive strategy for liberation; without working-class leadership of the struggle, the lumpen victims themselves will not be provided with even their own barest needs.

Incredible thrust backward

Between mid-April and the end of May, 1971, Huey P. Newton became increasingly frank in describing his new course. What he only hinted at in the April 17 *Black Panther*, he made astoundingly clear in the May 29 issue, when he described what he calls a 'survival program,' i.e., survival through 'Black capitalism.'

Announcing that the Panthers will now operate factories in ghettos, he went on to say: 'We will have no overhead because our collective – we'll exploit our collective by making them work free. We'll do this not just to justify ourselves – like philanthropists, to save someone from going without shoes, even though this is part of the cause of our problems. People make the revolution; we will give the process a forward thrust. If we suffer from genocide, we won't be around to change things. So in this way our survival program is very practical.'

Far from being either 'practical' or a 'forward thrust,' this is an incredibly reactionary thrust *backward*. Newton, however, tries to justify his retreat into the past with the following explanation: 'We can jump too far ahead and say that the system absolutely cannot give us anything, which is not true, the system can correct itself to a certain extent. What we are interested in is for it to correct itself as much as it can do and after that if it doesn't do everything that the people think is necessary then we'll think about reorganizing things.'

Well, this is a pretty late date to advise the oppressed and exploited to call off their struggles and wait to see if 'the system can correct itself!' Why should the people surrender to still more racism and oppression in order to learn what they already know – that the system 'can correct itself' only through wars, increased racism, poverty and exploitation.

While in the past Newton did indeed jump ahead of the people's needs, he has now leaped far behind them. He misread the mood of the people and mistook their real needs when he talked of 'picking up the gun' from 1966 through early 1971. Now he is again misreading their mood and ignoring their real needs, when in effect he tells them to surrender to racist oppression and accept a 'survival' concept based on his anti-working class theories and glorification of the lumpenproletariat.

Newton offers the people mini-enclaves of Black capitalism in the form of ghetto sweatshops across the country. But what Black

people want is an *end* to the ghettos. During slavery, the underground railroad established way stations to meet the basic survival needs of Blacks escaping from the South. In today's context, a defensive 'survival' strategy cannot possibly serve the people, for whom way stations cannot provide an escape. The vast scope of Black Americans' needs today can be met only by an offensive strategy.

Black Americans have a first and equal claim on the *total* economy of the country – which they helped build with 400 years of slave and near-slave labor – for billions of jobs, housing, medical care, education, etc. They want the *total* economy turned around to meet the people's needs, instead of operating for the wars and the profits of a handful of corporate monopolists.

After 'hurling' super-revolutionary rhetoric for six years, it appears that Newton will now 'retire into small passive satisfaction' while Black people are given the prospect of working in the ghetto under racist sweatshop conditions.

Neither Newton's nor Cleaver's concept of a 'survival program' is in the interests of the people. While Cleaver expresses the ultra-Leftist face of opportunism – 'urban guerrilla warfare now' – Newton's opportunism takes a different form.

Describing his 'survival program,' Newton says: 'We serve (the people's) needs so they can survive oppression. Then, when they are ready to pick up the gun, serious things will happen.' (*Black Panther*, April, 1971). In other words, Newton would have us believe that accommodation today will lead to revolution tomorrow!

Both the 'survival program' Newton-style ('Wait until the masses are ready to pick up the gun') and the 'survival program' Cleaver-style ('pick up the gun now!') objectively amount to the same thing: desertion of the people's struggles.

The cause of liberation cannot be served by a negative idea – 'survival' pending a future day when 'serious things will happen'. What is needed is a *struggle* program for the immediate interests of the people and for their ultimate liberation from capitalist, racist oppression.

Marx and Engels taught that the salvation of the exploited requires an ever-expanding unity in struggle even so much as to retard the downward spiral of exploitation and oppression. This concept is even more acutely relevant today. By contrast the idea of a 'survival program' evokes passivity and demoralizes the people.

'The building of the machine'

In the June 5 *Black Panther*, Huey P. Newton reveals the full nature of his projected Black capitalist course. 'In the past,' writes Newton, 'the Black Panther Party took a counter-revolutionary position with our blanket condemnation of Black capitalism.' Now, however, Newton sees a revolutionary role for Black capitalism.

He outlines a program in which Black Panther clothing and shoe

factories and medical programs will be assisted by 'contributions' from Black capitalists. In exchange, the Panthers will call upon the community to patronize the business of these Black capitalists.

'Black capitalists,' states Newton, will have 'the potential to contribute to the building of the *machine* which will serve the true interests of the people and end all oppression.' (Emphasis added.) One can get an idea of the kind of 'machine' Newton intends to build from the following admission: In the past, he writes, 'we received money for our survival programs from the big white capitalists.'

Perhaps this admission also casts light on some of the reasons why Newton complained, in his April 17 article, that 'our hook-up with white radicals did not give us access to the white community because they did not guide the white community.' It now becomes clear that he prefers instead to have 'access' to white capitalists – whom he identifies not as the exploiters of Black and white workers, but as the 'guides' of the 'white community.'

Newton cannot, however, camouflage the fact that his 'access' to white corporate capital means that he is continuing to serve the monopolists at the expense of Black Americans and all working people. We venture to predict that his new form of accommodation to the white capitalist 'guides' will be exposed far more rapidly than his previous super-revolutionary services to the same forces.

Black people are in a unique position. On top of more than 200 years of chattel slavery, operated by the slave-owner partners of emergent capitalism, they had over 100 years of capitalist exploitation, racism, war and poverty.

And now Newton echoes the monopolists responsible for the oppression and exploitation of Black people who are saying that the problem of the system will be solved if only a few more Black people become capitalists. The capitalists who say this are, of course, the same ones who have set up every type of barrier against those Blacks who have tried to establish small businesses over the years.

Now, in an effort to recruit a section of Blacks to support the ruling class against their own people, the monopolists have offered a tiny minority the illusion of Black capitalism. This is another variation of the tokenism rejected by the Black masses.

Yet we must keep in mind that the Black bourgeoisie is oppressed by the same monopolists who exploit and oppress the Black people as a whole. It is within this context that Communists – who are opposed to capitalist exploitation, whether by white- or Black-owned business – support the anti-monopolist demands of Black capitalists.

With brazen misappropriation and misuse of Marxist terminology, Newton tries to put a revolutionary stamp on his scheme to build a machine that will serve the 'foreign' U.S. monopolists at the expense of the marginal Black capitalists and all Black people – including the most victimized of capitalism's victims, the lumpen-proletariat.

In accordance with Newton's theory of the revolutionary role of the lumpen elements, the lumpen victims will be rewarded with free handouts from the party. In return, they will form a machine that, to understate the matter, can serve no good purpose in the Black liberation movement.

At the same time, Newton proposes that all strata of Black Americans remain within the ghetto enclaves 'pending' revolution. He is asking that they give up the only struggle that can benefit all Black Americans, including the middle classes: a united struggle with all exploited and oppressed people to win the only 'territory' upon which Black people can gain their liberation in the United States – that is, the entire country and its economy.

In the former colonies of Africa and other countries, it was the foreign settler who lived in enclaves within the oppressed peoples' lands. In the U.S., the white corporate oppressors have forced Black people into the enclaves where Newton suggests they remain – until the revolution in which the Black minority frees itself by fighting the white majority. This is the blind alley into which Newton urges Black people. But Black Americans can be liberated only through a joint struggle with all the oppressed and exploited against the white corporate minority.

In Asia, Africa and Latin America, the anti-imperialist phase of the revolutionary process opens the way to the transition to socialism. In the United States, the revolutionary process demands the building of a great anti-monopoly movement – led by contingents of Black, white, Brown, Red and Yellow workers – to break monopolist control of the government. It is the only path offering a perspective for the Black liberation movement – but some 'revolutionaries' refuse to recognize this.

Some look for short cuts ('instant' revolution), while others devise 'survival' programs pending the day when revolution comes magically into being. In actuality, both concepts are anti-revolutionary diversions from the *centrality* of the anti-monopoly strategy in this stage of the revolutionary process.

The future determines its own tactics

To help preserve his 'revolutionary' image while introducing his 'survival program,' Newton makes use of the 'when they are ready to pick up the gun' concept. But, shorn of its rhetoric, this is the equivalent of saying, 'since the masses are not yet ready to pick up the gun, we will table the question of picking up the gun until the masses are ready to put it on the agenda.' This is simply another way of creating passivity and compounding frustration.

The 'when they are ready to pick up the gun' idea has also been expressed by others on the Left. Even some advanced Marxists have reflected views that represent an accommodation to, rather than a struggle against, this concept. But such views are in contradiction to the program of the Communist Party, to the Marxist-Leninist principles on which the Party is based.

In his April 17 article, Newton stated that Cleaver's concept of 'instant' revolution was a 'fantasy.' But the idea of 'picking up the gun when the masses are ready' is no less a fantasy: tomorrow's tactics cannot be determined today. Future struggles, which will be influenced by the outcome of today's will determine the tactics that go on tomorrow's agenda.

Marx, Engels and Lenin fought against ideas that foreclosed the possibility of varying forms of revolutionary struggle in the transition to socialism. They rejected both the Right opportunist illusion that the transition would inevitably be peaceful, and the 'Left' opportunism that proclaimed armed struggle as the only path to socialism for every country.

Today's Right opportunists also predict that armed struggle will not be necessary, while the 'Left' opportunists predict that it will be inevitable. Marxism-Leninism opposes both the *will* and the *won't* of these two faces of opportunism, both of which tend to disarm the mass struggle.

While opposing 'Left' concepts of the inevitability of armed struggle, Communist strategy simultaneously opposes Right opportunist illusions that transition to socialism is possible without the sharpest class struggles combined with the struggles of all the oppressed to curb and defeat the power of racist monopoly.

The 'most extraordinary privilege'

'Super-revolutionaries' are quick to shout 'revisionist' at those who are guided by Lenin's views regarding different paths to socialism.

By contrast, Le Duan, Ho Chi Minh's close comrade and successor, who has been at the center of more than 30 years of armed struggle against imperialism, emphasizes that 'Lenin, like Marx, was much concerned about the possibility of peacefully seizing power by the working class.'

Even before the October Revolution, states Le Duan, Lenin believed that 'Communists should do everything to strive for peaceful transition as long as a real possibility existed, even though the chances are one in a hundred.'

Specifically, after state power had been transferred to the bourgeoisie by the February 1917 revolution, Lenin saw the possibility of a peaceful transfer of power to the working class. 'Lenin,' says Le Duan, 'proposed the tactics of the peaceful development of the revolution. . . . When conditions changed, after July, and there was no longer the peaceful possibility, Lenin changed tactics and prepared for armed revolution.'

Now that the October Revolution has led to a world system of socialist countries headed by the Soviet Union, forming the primary contradiction to imperialism, the possibilities for differing forms of revolutionary transition to socialism are increasing. This also means that forms of revolutionary transition that were rare in Lenin's time may become more frequent in the present epoch.

At the heart of the ultra-Leftists' errors is a lack of understanding of how the socialist countries have altered the prospects for class and national liberation within the prison of imperialism. They maintain, for example, that the Cuban experience represents the only valid type of transition to socialism. As Fidel Castro points out, these ultra-Leftists are a part of a 'whole series of negators of Lenin /who/ have emerged since the October Revolution.' Amplifying this view, Castro states:

'Today there are, as we know, theoretical super-revolutionaries, super-Leftists, veritable "supermen" if you will, who can destroy imperialism in a jiffy with their tongues. There are many super-revolutionaries lacking all notions of reality about the problems and difficulties of a revolution.'

Shortly after the October Revolution, Lincoln Steffens, the U.S. journalist, visited the Soviet Union and said, 'I have seen the future and it works.' And now, as Castro has shown, this revolution not only 'works' for the Soviet people, it works for all oppressed humanity. It is the single most important force in the world working in support of liberation everywhere – a 'most extraordinary privilege' constantly creating 'extraordinary' changes in the revolutionary process on a world scale. It creates new opportunities for class and national liberation struggles that cannot be contained within the pre-conceived molds of pseudo-theorists, or by the desperate acts of neo-colonialist imperialism.

Apartheid— a monopoly weapon

John Marks

I. The Republic of South Africa is a social phenomenon different in many ways from other states. On the one hand, there is White South Africa with all the characteristic features of monopoly capitalism. On the other, there is Non-White South Africa with all the characteristic features of a colony. At every level and in every sphere the difference between Non-White and White South Africa is glaringly apparent.

As the 1962 Program of the South African Communist Party states, White South Africa, whilst maintaining a vicious and brutalizing internal colonial system in respect of Black South Africa, exhibits 'all features of an advanced capitalist state in its final stage of imperialism.' The growth of monopolies, the marriage of finance and industrial capital, the drive for external markets for commodities and capital are rigidly developing. South-African im-

perialism has grown into a special sector of the imperialist world system on the basis of local monopoly and state-monopoly capital.

South Africa advances at a much faster economic growth rate than most capitalist countries. The Gross Domestic Product in 1946 was R1,600m (R1 = \$1.40). By 1969 it had risen to R11,635m. Economic growth was even more dramatic. Total output increased at an average rate of nearly 10 per cent whilst the Gross Domestic Product at constant prices increased at a rate of nearly six per cent – a sustained growth which clearly indicates that the country was well advanced in developing a powerful industrial base.

South Africa today possesses sophisticated and modern engineering, textile, pulp and paper and chemical industries. Together with construction, manufacturing rose to more than 25 per cent of the national product. This kind of rapid growth has only been achieved at a high cost of human endeavor – the labor of Black South Africa intensely exploited. In South Africa the benefits of industrialization have accrued only to the minority of 3.5 million Whites. For the majority 17.5 million Non-Whites, particularly the African majority amongst these, it has meant increased hardships and grinding poverty.

Economically, Non-White South Africa is maintained as a readily-available, cheap reservoir of labor to create the superprofits of the minority White ruling class and to create the welfare and material well-being of White South Africa as a whole. The degree of economic exploitation of the Non-White people is starkly underlined by the wage differential between Black and White workers – on an average about 10 to 1 and even more (e.g., in the mining industry a White worker gets an average of R297 per month; an African earns R18 per month). The African people constituting 68 per cent of the population earn only 12 per cent of the national income. Moreover, they are more heavily taxed than Whites. All Africans over 18 years have to pay a fixed annual tax of R2.50 (\$3.50), plus a local tax of R1 (\$1.40) for every dwelling hut or unit. Whites are exempt from these taxes and levies. All Africans are liable to income tax if their earnings exceed R360 per annum. For Whites the figure is R1,050. Whilst White tax-payers can claim tax relief for dependents, Africans cannot,

Non-White workers, whilst living in and developing the wealthiest and most highly-industrialized state on the African continent, cannot earn enough to feed their families, educate their children, clothe them adequately or protect them against disease and even common illnesses. Recent surveys have indicated that in the urban industrial areas more than 68 per cent of African families live below the poverty datum line. In a land where meat, butter, fruit and eggs are produced mostly through the labor of black workers on white-owned farms, there is an alarming incidence of undernourishment and the consequent illnesses. Thus 40 people die in the country every day from some form of tuberculosis.

II. Thus, within the borders of the country there coexist the worst traits inherent in both imperialism and colonialism. The frankly racist, fascist-type laws are aimed at creating an insurmountable gap between the two main population groups, Whites and Africans and other dark-skinned peoples. South African and foreign monopoly capitalists and the big landowners, who, in effect, rule the country jointly, says the Program of the South African Communist Party, cultivate racial strife and prejudice as their most effective instrument in the insatiable chase after cheap manpower and high profit. . . . The privileges granted to White businessmen, farmers, the free professions and workers, are a means of securing their support of the ruling class of capitalists and the entire South African colonial system.

The indigenous population is subjected to fierce national oppression and exploitation, it is deprived of all elementary human rights and the possibility of participating in the country's political life. Politically, Non-White South Africa has been excluded from participation in the decision-and-policy making centers of Government at local, regional and national level. Non-Whites have no right to vote and only Whites can be elected to Parliament or Provincial and Town Councils. No Non-White South African can sit as a judge or a magistrate, act as prosecutor or serve on a jury. They are completely debarred from the army, cannot become officers in the police force, or serve in the civil service. Whilst education for the White child is free and compulsory, it is neither for the Non-White child. The major political organizations voicing the aspirations of Non-White and, indeed, all South Africa – the African National Congress and the Communist Party of South Africa – have been driven underground. The other allied organizations – the South African Indian Congress, the Colored People's Congress, and the South African Congress of Trade Unions – have been constantly attacked by jailings, house arrests and bannings of all their activists.

All Whites enjoy privileges in South Africa. This gives the impression that the ruling class is a monolithic White power structure. In fact, however, real power is in the hands of the monopolists who own and control the mines, the banks, the finance houses and most of the farms and industries. The gold and diamond mines are owned by seven mining-financial corporations. These seven corporations have close links with British and American imperialist interests. In addition they dominate large sections of the manufacturing industries, own vast tracts of arable land with mining rights in almost every part of the country. In agriculture too monopoly dominates – four per cent of the farms constitute an area of almost 40 per cent of the total White-owned farmland. Thus in mining, industry, finance and agriculture monopoly capitalism dominates the country's economy with close links with state monopoly capital ventures such as Iscor (Iron and Steel), Escom (Electricity) and Sasol (Petrol).

These monopolists are the real power in South Africa. The special type of colonialism to which the Non-White are subjected serves in the first instance to boost their profits. The South African monopolists act as allies and agents of foreign independent interests.

Under the provisions of the Industrial Conciliation Act of 1956, the South African government has instituted a number of measures known as 'job reservation policy.' Certain types of work were declared the exclusive prerogative of White people. However, this policy has an extremely unfavorable effect on the country's economy. According to a recent report of the *Cape Times*, 'manpower scarcity is now demonstrably the major threat to South Africa's economic future.' There are nearly 100,000 vacancies—63,000 in industry and 35,000 in commerce and allied services. The serious labor shortage, coupled with the unwillingness of the government and reactionary White trade unions (led by the South African Confederation of Labor, the trade union wing of the ruling Nationalist government) to relax the practice of Job Reservation and open avenues of employment for Non-Whites, has brought this statement from the Federated Chamber of Industries: 'In the remainder of the 1968-73 programming period manufacturing industry may be expected to perform 20 per cent below its target growth. Since this sector is the single most important in the economy, retardation of this magnitude will have repercussions on the economy as a whole.'

It is precisely the contradiction between the demands of the economy and the restrictions placed on the supply of labor power which, being intensified, is causing serious concern to the White businessmen and financiers. Harry Oppenheimer, multi-millionaire and one of South Africa's leading businessmen, called for an end to bans on employing African and colored labor in a number of trades, declaring that this was the only way to prevent economic stagnation; the labor shortage, he emphasized, was acquiring the scope of a 'national crisis.' Oppenheimer's stand is supported by some influential business and financial circles. The reason is not 'concern' for the indigenous population: their cheap labor yields the capitalists additional profits.

For these reasons, as the Johannesburg *Sunday Times* wrote, the policy of racial discrimination in employment is proving insolvent. The principle of reserving jobs for Whites is being increasingly violated. Thus in the Post Office about 1,800 Black workers are now filling posts normally reserved for Whites, whilst over 1,400 Black workers are now employed in the railways on works exclusively reserved for White workers, though, of course, their remuneration is still far below what White workers would get.

Special mention should be made of the position of White trade unions. Some of them have been protesting the use of African labor in jobs formerly closed to it. For the sake of temporary economic advantage they have betrayed the international interests of the working class, upholding the age-old colonial concept of 'divide and rule.'

White trade unions in South Africa have by and large accepted the practice of class collaboration between the White ruling class and the White working class to the exclusion of the Non-White working class. The Industrial Conciliation Act of 1956 drastically restricts the rights of all workers to undertake strike action, whilst the Native Labor (Settlement of Disputes) Act absolutely forbids Africans to strike for better working conditions and adequate wages. Since their unions are not recognized, Africans have no powers to negotiate wage demands and settlements.

A majority of the unions are affiliated to one of three coordinating centers: SACTU (the South African Congress of Trade Unions), SACL (the South African Confederation of Labor) and TUCSA (the Trade Union Council of South Africa). SACTU, the trade union wing of the national liberation movement, has virtually ceased to function as a result of jailings, arrests, bannings and house arrests of its leading organizers throughout the country. SACL is, as has been stated, the trade union wing of the ruling Nationalist Party and identifies itself fully with every Government policy, supports job reservation. TUCSA, whilst being non-racial in its composition, has, however, always upheld the principles of 'White guardianship' - responsible Whites should guide and organize the African trade unions to prevent them from undercutting White wage rates and protect them against the influence of 'subversive elements.' The united African workers' struggle for higher wages and better conditions of life and labor is inextricably bound up with the larger struggle for complete emancipation from White domination.

III. In an effort to maintain their rule over 16 million Africans, the white exploiter minority employs not only military, political and economic measures, but also the man-hating ideology of racialism, in which they follow in the footsteps of the Nazis. However, they camouflage this with the apartheid 'concept,' providing for the separate development of the races which, the South African authorities claim, is designed to preserve the 'identity' of African culture. Apartheid is the cornerstone of all governmental policies. Like Hitler's racial 'theoreticians,' the ideologues of apartheid preach the 'ideals' of absolute racial segregation which, as they put it, is the lodestar of South African development. These ideologues proclaim that all Non-White races should develop separately, but under White guidance. According to the racialists, apartheid provides for the 'preservation and protection of native racial groups,' enabling them to 'develop within their own territories as independent national entities.' From childhood White South Africans are instilled with a sense of superiority over Africans and racial prejudices are drummed into them to the point of fanaticism.

One means of implementing racial policies is the geographic isolation of the African population. This provides a constant market of cheap manpower which can be used without running the risk of a political awakening of the oppressed population. Furthermore,

it is subjected to political isolation, which makes it easier for the authorities to suppress anti-racist struggle.

At present the South African authorities are engaged in a campaign of forcible resettlement of Africans from so-called 'White' South Africa into special ghettos: reserves or 'homelands.' The leaders of the racist regime openly declare that of the six million Africans living in 'European areas,' four million 'surplus' persons should be resettled. The latter include non-workers in the first place – old people, children, invalids, housewives, mothers in large families – as well as professionals, such as lawyers, teachers, artists, actors. The government's position is that all African workers in 'White' areas can be there only on a 'seasonal' basis. Holding a job is the only right for living in a given area, and it does not entitle the worker to have his family with him. Under the law on reserves or 'homelands' the government makes a show of granting reserves independence and self-government. This is presented as a 'concession' to Africans and world opinion. Far from promoting the interests of the native population, the 'homelands' are fundamentally contrary to them.

The African reserves are at present split up into 89 separate pieces of land divided among 10 ethnic groups. The Zulu 'homeland' is the most scattered with 29 reserves in Natal separated from each other by white-owned land. The Tswana reserve is formed from 19 separated land units; the Ciskei Xhosa from 17 units, the South Ndebele from 8 units, the Shangaan from 4, the North Sotho, Swazi and Venda from 3 units each and the Transkei Xhosa from 2 units.

The reserves or homelands as they have been designated by the South African regime are scattered and non-contiguous, comprising only 12 per cent of the total land area (to be expanded to 13 per cent later). Thus 87 per cent of the total land area (the most developed) has been annexed as White areas to serve a White population of less than 20 per cent.

The economic circumstances of the African people in the reserves have been deteriorating steadily. In the last two decades the per capita income has actually dropped. Of the 1969 earnings of R53 it has been estimated that approximately R22 only was earned in the reserves themselves. In the Transkei, for example, only 41,700 Africans were employed within this so-called 'Xhosa homeland' in 1969, whilst 155,400 earned their living outside of the Transkei as migratory workers. Again, in the last six years up to 1970 new work in industry has only been created for less than 1,000 Africans in all the reserves. Hence, more than 40 per cent of the economically active men in the reserves are absent at any given time, working in the mines, factories, farms and houses in the so-called 'White areas' as migrant laborers. A cruel 'pass' law is in force. Thus, for a wife to visit her husband in a 'white' area she needs a pass which, under the law, is issued once a year. An African without a pass is summarily jailed.

Resources in the 'homelands' are extremely short. In the circum-

stances of economic dependency on White South Africa, the homelands, even if this were desired and agreed to by the African peoples, can never be politically independent. Those collaborators amongst the African peoples who are being foisted on to the people as leaders are finding it increasingly difficult to explain away the realities of White colonial-type rule as it affects the lives of the African people in the reserves.

According to South African data, more than three million Non-Whites live in or around cities. However, the South African authorities are doing everything to prevent the urbanization of the Non-White population and prevent the growth of the working class. The racist laws are designed to make all cities 'white.' Numerous laws have been passed to keep Africans from entering cities.

A consequence of the country's industrial development is that the influx of Africans into cities and 'white areas' is not decreasing in spite of all government efforts. Finding that it is virtually impossible to halt the urbanization trend and, consequently, the strengthening of the working class, the racist authorities have been seeking to place the processes under their control. They are giving greater attention to psychological influence of Africans living in cities or 'white' areas in the hope of making them obedient workers and servants. Methods employed to this end include artificial 'retribalization,' the restoration of tribal organization and customs for African workers employed in cities. The racists are trying to prevent the growth of the class consciousness of the African working class.

An important place in retribalization plans is assigned to the education system, the main principle of which is that education for Africans should discourage any desire to be like Whites. School curricula are pervaded with a spirit of tribalism and idealize tribal development and backward views, thus shutting pupils off from modern civilization. Institutes of higher learning are also employed for retribalization. Under a 1959 law, higher education in South Africa was placed on a racial and tribal basis. African universities and colleges have been separated from White universities and, in turn, are subdivided into colleges for various tribal groups.

IV. Africans are more and more resolutely fighting against racialism and apartheid. In response the authorities invoke repressions and terror.

The escalation of the fascist regime's repressive measures reflects the acute fears among the White minority ruling class of the liberation movement. The Suppression of Communism Act passed in 1950 banned the Communist Party of South Africa and made membership and furthering the aims of the Party criminal offences. In 1956 the regime arrested and charged 156 leading members of the liberation movement (Africans, Coloreds, Indians and White patriots) and charged them with treason when the Program of principles – the Freedom Charter – of the movement was announced

and being prepared. In 1961, the General Laws Amendment Act provided for 12-day detention without bail. In response to the transition to armed struggle adopted by the then banned African National Congress and South African Communist Party, and the beginning of sabotage as an initial phase of this just liberation struggle, the Sabotage Act was passed in December, 1961. It introduced penalties ranging from a mandatory five-year minimum sentence to a maximum of death.

In 1963, with the escalation of armed resistance within the country, the '90-Day No-Trial' Act was rushed through the White parliament. This Act, which legalized the use of torture by the secret police (the Special Branch), provided for indefinite detention for 90-day periods whilst suspected political activists were held incommunicado. Apart from this provision, detainees could be kept in continued detention, even after serving their sentences. In the words of the Prime Minister, Mr. Vorster, then Minister of Justice, a person can be held in detention 'this side of eternity.' This Act was followed in 1965 by the '180-day Detention Clause' which allowed the State to arrest and detain incommunicado any person who was 'likely' to give material evidence for the State in a political trial. In 1967, in response to the first armed clashes between White Rhodesians aided by South African White forces and the freedom fighters of South Africa and Zimbabwe, the Terrorism Act was passed.

In 1964 the South African racialists executed three of the leaders of the freedom struggle; 15 other political activists had been tortured to death by the end of 1970.

V. Some sections of African political forces in South Africa voice nationalistic and jingoistic views. Their exponents come mainly from the African bourgeoisie. They advance reactionary 'concepts' which, when put to the test, are the same old racialism, only of a different brand. Characteristic in this respect is the stand of the South African Pan-African Congress. With its ideology of chauvinism and racialism it has become an obstacle on the road of the national liberation movement. The policy of opposing different races, attempts to place the white, black or yellow race above all others, share in common an anti-popular, anti-democratic tendency from which only imperialism can benefit.

The South African Communist Party, which celebrated its 50th anniversary last July, is a staunch and consistent fighter against apartheid and racist oppression. For 50 years South African Communists have been applying the revolutionary principles of Marxism-Leninism in the struggle against racialism, for national liberation and social progress. The CP Program states that the main content of the national-democratic revolution in South Africa is the national liberation of the African people and the Party's main efforts have been aimed at rallying and uniting the African majority of the population as the most oppressed and revolutionary force. At the

same time the Communist Party carries on work among different class and national groups, especially among workers and peasants, among the two million Coloreds and half-million Indian population of South Africa. The CP calls upon the toiling people, especially the workers and oppressed Africans, to consolidate their ranks, oppose the tyrannic rule of the White racist minority and work for people's power.

Tories play double game

D. Nokwe

Bourgeois literature goes out of its way to place the blame for the disgraceful state of affairs in the South African Republic on 'die-hard' South African racists, who flout public opinion and disregard the changes in the world of today. This is basically incorrect. It is international monopoly capital, principally British, but also American, that is helping sustain and perpetuate the ultra-reactionary order. The racist regime is anything but isolated. It is part of the imperialist world system, its stronghold on African soil. The monopolies use it not only to exploit the mass of the non-White SA population, but also as a strategic staging area against Free Africa. This is borne out amply by the policy of the men now in power in Britain, who, backed by their NATO partners, are determined to arm the South African racists in defiance of worldwide protests.

In December 1967, Mr. Heath, then leader of the opposition Conservative Party, announced in the Commons that under a Conservative government the arms embargo imposed in 1965 by the Labor government in pursuance of the UN Security Council resolutions, would be lifted. In February 1968, on his arrival in Johannesburg, Sir Douglas Home, now the Tory Foreign Minister, said a Conservative government would not be restricted by the United Nations embargo in supplying arms to South Africa.

It was no accident, therefore, that as soon as the Tories came to power jubilant celebrations were organized by the South African government among Whites, and Hildgard Muller, the SA Foreign Minister, rushed to London for discussions with his counterpart, Douglas Home. On his return, according to a report in the government magazine, *S.A. Digest*, of July 10, 1970, Dr. Muller told pressmen at Jan Smuts Airport that the discussions in London had confirmed his opinion that South African relations with Britain would improve. Soon, in fact, the Tory Government declared its decision to lift the embargo and resume arms sales to, and 'naval' cooperation

with, South Africa. This was followed by an announcement that Britain would sell it Wasp helicopters.

A wave of protests rose across the world against this threat to the security of African countries. Tanzania and other states said they would withdraw from the Commonwealth. The Tory government then backpedalled, pleading that it had only announced an 'intention' and would not decide finally until it has consulted the other Commonwealth members and the OAU. This was a clever, almost classical, British diplomatic stunt to confuse world opinion and play for time. Meanwhile, the South African White regime displayed a suspicious calm, merely branding the protests as 'Communist-inspired.' Pretoria knew that the Heath Cabinet would ultimately effectuate its designs.

Despite London assurances to the contrary, military cooperation between the Tories and the South African racists began to build up. Joint naval exercises were held in the vicinity of Simonstown along the Cape Coast to demonstrate the United Kingdom's adamant intent to consolidate its naval ties with the SA Government. No consultation had been held about these exercises with Commonwealth countries despite their interest in the Indian and Atlantic oceans and the sea route which Prime Minister Heath chose to call Britain's 'vital artery.'

The Cape route, however, happens to be a 'vital artery' in the Southern Hemisphere not only for Britain, South Africa and the Western powers, but for the maritime countries of the whole world. The British claim to supremacy in the Indian Ocean jointly with SA should therefore be qualified as a dangerous provocation. The naval exercises exposed British insincerity concerning 'consultations' before taking any final decision. Prime Minister Heath let the cat out of the bag in his television interview last year. 'We have no sympathy with apartheid,' he said, 'but are going to look after British interests.' Then he called on the Commonwealth countries to 'respect the British Government's decision.'

The vast majority of the Commonwealth countries, however, do not feel obliged to respect British Government decisions going against their national interests and independence. This was made clear at the Commonwealth Conference in Singapore earlier this year. Commenting on it shortly before it opened, the *Morning Post*, a Nigerian government paper, said it gave the Afro-Asian member-countries of the Commonwealth an opportunity to display to the British Prime Minister their disapproval of his decision. Nigeria, it said, was determined to protest and work hand in hand with other countries against British arms sales to Pretoria.

The British rulers were in a difficult spot. Heath's eloquence could not cover up the fact that the British monopolies were deeply involved in the plot against the independence and security of the African states. Soon after the Conference, British Defense Minister Lord Carrington deliberately provoked those who opposed arms sales. If Pretoria requests further arms sales, he said in a radio

interview on March 28, 'we shall have to consider whether in the light of that request it is right for us to do it and in our interest.' This was really a promise to continue forging a military alliance with the Vorster regime, defying protests of many Commonwealth member-countries. Secret talks on this score were conducted in London and Pretoria throughout 1971. Mr. Botha, SA Defense Minister, visited the British capital in June to discuss deliveries of British rocketry.

Much noise has been made about the so-called threat of a Communist or Soviet naval build-up in the Indian Ocean in order to camouflage the true purpose of arming South Africa. One cannot help asking: by what right does Britain claim to be the guardian of the Indian Ocean when she is so many thousands of miles from it? Or is she still living in the 'Rule Britannia!' dreamland? After all, the sea beyond her territorial waters is international, where the ships, navies and fleets of all nations are free to sail. That is a rule of international law, which the British government is arrogantly flouting by making its groundless claims.

Talk about a 'Soviet threat' in different parts of the world, by the way, and particularly in waters washing the African continent, is also used by other NATO powers to cover up their aggressive neo-colonialist designs. Their navies have for years controlled nearly all the sea routes around Africa. Now things have changed. The naval supremacy of the imperialist states is over. The noise they make about a 'Soviet build-up' is meant to vindicate moves to shore up the colonial and racist regimes in Africa, which survive thanks to NATO support, and the policy of dividing the independent African states, impeding their progress.

Not surprisingly, the lie about the 'Soviet threat' is rejected with contempt by the public on the continent. The *Tunisian Action* describes as ridiculous and groundless the claim that arms sales to South Africa are intended to 'protect the Indian Ocean from Soviet penetration.' This argument, the paper says, is supposed to justify oppression of the African population in South Africa and perpetuate apartheid. 'To arm South Africa,' said President Nyerere of Tanzania, 'is to arm the racists.'

The SA authorities do not bother to conceal the fact that British arms will be used to intensify repressions at home and prepare aggressions against neighboring African states. The interests of South Africa, as the utterances of her top-ranking spokesmen clearly imply, are to maintain apartheid, intensify the brutal exploitation of the majority of the people, carry forward aggressive imperialist expansion in Africa, and by terror impede the anti-imperialist national liberation struggle in South Africa.

The Pretoria-London military alliance, backed by the U.S. and other NATO countries, is, thus, a conspiracy against independent Africa. For its base it has the common exploitative interests of the imperialists. Mr. Heath boldly stated that Britain drew £50 million in dividends yearly from her more than £1,000 million invest-

ment in South Africa and also that South Africa was Britain's third largest customer, accounting for five per cent of British exports. U.S. companies, too, which control 15 per cent of the total foreign investments in SA, pocket similarly huge dividends.

The high rate of profits and dividends reaped from investments in South Africa is possible only because of apartheid – the state doctrine and socio-political system of oppressing and exploiting the African masses. This explains the stake which the international monopolies feel they have in sustaining the racist regime. It is being integrated more and more into the imperialist world system and drawn, in effect, into the aggressive NATO bloc as an 'associated' member. The effort to fortify the racist state is part of the imperialist counter-offensive aimed at regaining the forfeited hold on the African countries. To frustrate this objective is the duty of all progressive, anti-imperialist forces.

Zionism and race discrimination

G. Toubi

Racialism is one of the ugly faces of Zionist ideology and practice.* Zionist leaders usually howl at any criticism of their policies, labeling it at random as 'anti-Semitism.' By this they try to kill three birds with one stone. Firstly, to sweeten any criticism of their policies. Secondly, to foster nationalist feeling among the Jews and, thirdly, to disguise their criminal acts. Nevertheless, one should not be caught by this old trick and whenever necessary Zionism should be unmasked.

The Arabs in Israel for many long years have been the victims of the Zionist practice of national oppression, discrimination and persecution. This policy of national oppression and discrimination against Arabs in Israel shows itself in all spheres of life and constitutes a severe bill of indictment against the Israeli authorities and the Zionist leaders who think that their boasts about humanity will obliterate the facts and lead people astray.

1. Long before the establishment of Israel the Zionist organizations started to carry out their plans for the expropriation of Arab lands and the expulsion of Arab peasants in Palestine. This was the first

*The class substance of Zionism was the subject of an article in this year's May issue: D. Burstein, 'Zionism and Israel's Rulers in the Service of Imperialism.' The present article is confined to an examination of Zionist policy towards the 320,000 Arabs in Israel since its founding in 1948. The criminal conduct of Israeli authorities against the Arab population in territories occupied in the June 1967 aggression is not dealt with here.

step towards depriving the Arab people of Palestine of their national rights.

The Zionist organizations with the protection and help of British colonial rule succeeded in uprooting tens of thousands of Arab peasants from land which they had cultivated for hundreds of years. It will be enough to give two examples – in 1925 the Zionist organizations expelled more than 1,270 Arab families from the fertile valley Marj Ibin Amer which covers an area of 400,000 Dunams. In 1929 more than 2,000 Arab peasants were expelled from the valley near Tulkarem wadi Elhawareth.

Many similar acts of eviction were carried out by the Zionist organizations that established professional fighting brigades under the supervision of the British intelligence service and committed brutal acts of terror against Arabs. One of the Zionist leaders, Ahad Haam, who visited Palestine around this period, wrote: 'The Jews are treating the Arabs very cruelly, depriving them of their legal rights and humiliating them without any reason and, what is still more, they are proud of these acts.' If a Zionist leader could not but make this accusation against his friends, then one can imagine how far the Zionist organizations went in their brutal acts against Arabs in Palestine.

After the establishment of Israel in 1948 this Zionist policy of expropriation of Arab lands and expulsion of Arab peasants acquired new momentum. The Knesset (Israeli parliament) adopted different racial laws aimed at evicting Arab peasants from their lands. The most notorious among them are the following: the law for emergency regulations and security areas (1949); the law for the property of absentees (1950); the law for the control of lands (1953); the law for the lands of Israel (1960); the law for the centralization of lands (1965).

Under the cover of these anti-Arab laws and others, and with the help of the state apparatus, the Arab peasants in Israel lost most of their lands (over 1,200,000 Dunams). Sixteen Arab villages have completely lost their lands. Around the Arab city of Nazareth 2,250 Dunams were confiscated in order to prevent the development of the city; 5,100 Dunams belonging to three Arab villages in the Galilee were confiscated in order to establish the Jewish city Carmeil. An additional 3,555 Dunams were confiscated from 25 Arab villages in the Galilee and were handed over to the Zionist organization 'Hakeren Hakayemet.'

In addition to this Zionist policy of eviction, expropriation and confiscation of Arab lands, the Israeli government follows a policy of discrimination against Arab agriculture. In 1970 50 per cent of the cultivated land in the Jewish sector was irrigated, while in the Arab sector only five per cent of the cultivated land was irrigated. (In Israel the distribution of water for irrigation is controlled by the Ministry of Agriculture). This is one of the main reasons why the agricultural products from one Dunam of land in the Arab sector

barely equal 20 per cent of the agricultural products from one Dunam of land in the Jewish sector.

II. This Zionist policy of expropriation and discrimination against Arab peasants has actually ruined Arab agriculture in Israel and accelerated the process of turning tens of thousands of Arab peasants in Israel into laborers who mainly man the branches based on physical labor, like construction and the public services.

Over 57 per cent of the Arab workers in Israel are 'mobile' and have to travel around, away from their homes, to look for jobs. Many of them live in slums under terrible conditions.

According to official figures the average annual income of an Arab worker in Israel is only 62 per cent of the average annual income of a Jewish worker. One can assume that in reality it is even much less.

Arabs in Israel constitute over 12 per cent of the whole population, but only one per cent of the government employees are Arabs. Many branches of industry are completely closed to Arab workers.

For many years Arab workers were deprived of the right of affiliation to the Histadrut (general trade unions in Israel). Even at present, with the Arab workers admitted to the general trade unions as a result of a long struggle, they are still deprived of the right to elect trade union councils in nearly all the Arab villages.

Arab workers in Israel are actually victims of multiple exploitation – as workers in a capitalist society and as Arabs in a Zionist racist regime. The majority of Arab workers in Israel are deprived of elementary social amenities, such as recreation, or compensations.

In medical services and education there is a clear discrimination against Arabs. Official figures show that less than 40 per cent of the Arab families have medical insurance as against 97 per cent of the Jewish families. Most of the 112 Arab villages in Israel have no medical center.

The Zionist attitude to the question of education among Arabs in Israel was openly set out in the notorious statement of Lubrany, once adviser of the Israeli Prime Minister for Arab affairs. He declared: 'If there had been no Arab students at all it would have been better. If they (the Arabs – G.T.) had remained wood cutters it would have been easier to rule them.'

In the field of education the Zionist policy of discrimination against Arabs is very sharp and is illustrated clearly by the following official figures: 42.8 per cent of Arabs in Israel never attended schools as against 10.4 per cent of Jews; 28.1 per cent of the Jewish population have received a secondary education while among Arabs only 11.5 per cent; 11.9 per cent of the Jewish population received a higher education as against 1.4 per cent among Arabs.

The lack of support from the government to educational institutions in Arab towns and villages is the main reason behind this grave situation. This is evident from the fact that the governmental support to educational institutions in the Arab town of Nazareth is only 2.5 per cent.

The 'emergency regulations' which were exercised in Palestine under British colonial rule are still operative, but are actually applied only against Arabs. The 'emergency regulations' have for many years constituted the main tool of oppression and discrimination against Arabs.

According to these regulations unlimited authority is granted to military governors to carry out arbitrary sanctions against individuals and even to impose collective punishment. A military governor has the authority to arrest anyone for an unlimited period of time without bringing him to court or even without making any charges against him; he has the right to confiscate his property, confine him to his place of domicile or put him under house arrest. The victim of these emergency regulations has not even the right to appeal to higher authorities. Wide areas or a number of villages could be suddenly declared by the military governor as closed areas and such an act in fact turns the inhabitants of these areas into prisoners. All Arab villages in Israel are, in effect, in this very situation.

These emergency regulations are often used as a political weapon against Arab Communists and democrats. Hundreds of Arab Communists and democrats are confined to their places of domicile. The aim of this arbitrary act is to paralyze their political activities and for some the effect is to starve their families since it is very difficult for many victims of such arbitrary orders to find a job.

The nature and character of these emergency regulations were well defined by the Zionist leader Yackob Shapiro, who declared in 1946 immediately after these regulations were published by the British colonial authorities in Palestine:

'The regime which was set up after publishing the emergency regulations in Palestine has no similar in any civilized country... even in Nazi Germany there were no such laws....' I have only to add that this Zionist leader Yackob Shapiro is at present the Minister of Justice in Israel. But when these same laws, which he so strongly denounced, are being applied by him and his government against Arabs, then the matter is different.

The Communist Party of Israel is the only party in the country which has both Arabs and Jews in its ranks on equal terms. Our Party has always fought against the Zionist policy of racialism, oppression and discrimination of the Arab population.

Books exposing racism

WILLIAM POMEROY, *Apartheid Axis. The United States and South Africa*. New York, International Publishers, 1971. 96 pp.

William Pomeroy is well known for his exposes of U.S. colonial policy in the Philippines and Asia. This time the author turns to South Africa which, like Vietnam, he believes can become one of

the planet's hot points. Money and weaponry are already pouring into South Africa from the United States and NATO countries, allowing Portugal and the racist governments in South Africa and Rhodesia to maintain this part of the continent as a racist bastion and a springboard for the neo-colonialist suppression of African peoples.

Pomeroy examines the policy of the imperialist powers in South Africa in close association with their economic interests. In recent decades the United States, Western Europe and Japan have invested heavily in Africa's rich natural resources. Capital investments are flowing mainly into the South African Republic, the Portuguese colonies Angola and Mozambique, South West Africa (Namibia) and Rhodesia. U.S. capital investments are increasing at the fastest rate—in 1956 to 1968 they went up 250 per cent. The author cites figures showing that here the monopolies are raking in their greatest profits. In 1966 the average rate of all U.S. monopoly profits abroad was 10.4 per cent, while in South Africa it was 20.6 per cent.

There is ample material in the book demonstrating that while American and European monopolies and governments hypocritically condemn apartheid and racism in South Africa, they are dispensing generous economic, military and diplomatic aid to Portugal and the racist governments to crush the national liberation movement.

The growing resistance movement in South Africa and the organizations heading the movement are described at some length.

South Africa and the United States, the author says, are the two main centers of racial oppression. The same class forces that support apartheid are behind the racial discrimination in the United States and the brutal aggression in Vietnam. That is why the struggle against American imperialist support of the racist governments in Southern Africa is also a struggle for the abolition of black ghettos and segregation in the United States.

The appendix includes the texts of the Freedom Charter, the revolutionary program of the African National Congress, and the General Declaration of the 1970 Rome Conference, FRELIMO, MPLA, PAIGC.

P. Malaya

Angola, Guinea, Mocambique. Dokumente und Materialien des Befreiungskampfes der Voelker Angolas, Guineas und Moçambiques. Frankfurt am Main, Verlag Marxistische Blaetter GmbH, 1971, 156 pp.

This is a collection on the past and present struggle for independence in Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau). It includes documents of the People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA), the Mozambique Liberation Front (FRELIMO), the African Independence Party of Guinea and Cape Verde (PAIGC) and excerpts from the statements and interviews by the leaders of these parties.

Support from NATO countries and the South African and Rho-

desian racists enables Portugal to maintain control over the colonies. This is the conclusion to be drawn from the numerous facts cited by the leaders of the national liberation movement Agostinho Neto (MPLA), Eduardo Mondlane (FRELIMO) and Amilcar Cabral (PAIGC).

The book analyzes the development of the national liberation struggle under the leadership of mass popular front parties. The reader will undoubtedly be interested in such problems as the relations between parties and the various sections of the population, their revolutionary capability, the strategy and tactics of guerrilla warfare in the specific conditions of the Portuguese colonies. The importance is stressed of propaganda work among peasants and of cultivating national and political awareness among the people. The main work in the field is done by the soldiers of the national liberation army, who make up the backbone of the parties.

Much space is devoted to the socio-economic structure of the liberated areas, the education and health systems, the problem of emancipating women and their role in the struggle for independence. The collection shows that in spite of different methods and forms of struggle, the political platforms of the three parties have a common anti-imperialist, revolutionary-democratic orientation and final goal—to defeat the Portuguese colonialists in a nationwide armed struggle and build a new society free from exploitation.

O. Henri

Angela Davis Parle (Angela Davis Speaks). Paris, Editions sociales, 1971. 93 pp.

The collection contains Angela Davis's appraisal of the goals of her struggle, a short political biography, her speeches in court and articles for the press, introductory lectures to her course on the dialectics of oppression and liberation at California State University, and other documents. The book is a guide to the Black liberation struggle in the United States, the conditions it faces and the methods used by U.S. authorities in crushing opposition movements.

In a Harlem interview, Angela Davis says she joined the Communist Party because it is the only party that fights not only against racism, but also against the entire system of exploitation and violence. Angela Davis believes that the struggle of the white workers, the Black liberation movement and opposition to the U.S. imperialist crimes in Indochina and other areas of the world are inter-related. She exposes the attempt of U.S. authorities to proclaim the anti-racist struggle a criminal act, to conceal the political nature of her trial. 'I am a political prisoner,' writes Angela Davis. 'The government is trying to isolate me and prevent me from working to organize my people and exposing this corrupt, rotten system. That is why they are accusing me of a crime I did not commit.'

The reader will also find the text of an open letter by Charlene Mitchel, Secretary of the Commission on Black Liberation of the Communist Party USA. The Party attaches prime importance to the

unity of all progressive forces in the country, and is the organizer of the struggle for the liberation of all political prisoners and of the defense of Angela Davis and her comrades, the letter says. Communists strongly condemn adventurism, refusal to work with the masses and the anti-communist views of certain Black leaders.

Angela Davis Speaks is an indictment of American imperialism. 'A new voice appeals to us from the United States,' writes Jacques Hily, who compiled the documents. 'This is not the voice of the silent majority and its herald, President Nixon. It is a voice destroying bondage and proclaiming a morrow when freedom fighters will no longer be threatened by the hangman.'

L.G.

WILLIAM MEYER, *Native Americans. The New Indian Resistance*. New York, International Publishers, 191. 95 pp.

The rapidly mounting American Indian movement is an inalienable part of the struggle for national rights waged in the U.S. The story and present-day problems of the Indian resistance movement is told by William Meyer, himself a Cherokee.

The book consists of two parts: a historical outline from the discovery of America to the turn of the century, and a review of the Indians' struggle for their rights in the 20th century.

In recounting the story of mass annihilation of the native American peoples by European colonizers, the author styles the former period as that of 'military genocide,' in the course of which the original population of 12 million Indians was reduced to a mere 250,000 by the beginning of the 20th century.

The second period, which Meyer describes as 'social genocide,' is directly linked with the activities of the Bureau of Indian Affairs. The BIA rules the 600,000 people living on the Indian reservations whose 'special status' does not entitle them to the rights enjoyed by other U.S. citizens and who are virtually deprived of a say in matters concerning their property and lands, education and medical service. The BIA undermines the economic basis of Indian nations by disposing of reservation lands and natural resources as it sees fit: in 1970 alone more than 200,000 acres of reservation lands passed into the hands of lumber companies. The author describes the hard life on the reservations, the unemployment, police persecution, low education standards and poor medical service.

The last few years have seen a marked upsurge in the Indian struggle for self-determination. The book tells of the various forms the Indian liberation movement takes today, of the organizations most active in it, notably the National Congress of American Indians with a membership composed of some 183 tribes. An extensive bibliography is appended.

V. Talmy



The so-called 'humane' socialism

'Humane' socialism holds a special place among the various non-Marxist theories of socialism. It originated among certain sections of the bourgeois intelligentsia, and there have been attempts to impose it on socialist countries. It is no chance accident, of course, that imperialist ideologists use it for anti-Communist propaganda.

Nearly all adherents of 'humane' socialism, or 'socialism with a human face,' to use another of its appellations, refer to Marx, some even to Lenin, claiming that they are the true interpreters of their ideological legacy. Perhaps that is why some people who lean towards Marxism without really understanding its essence, often fail to see the real philosophical and political content of 'humane' socialism.

'Humane' socialism is a rather diffuse ideological trend. Its followers include men who consider themselves Marxists though in reality they fully subscribe to revisionism (E. Fischer, R. Garaudy, T. Petkoff, L. Kolakowski, G. Petrovic, S. Stojanovic, K. Kosik, O. Sik, and others),* also liberal bourgeois ideologists, e.g., E. Fromm and E. Bloch.

Their philosophical views are a motley collection, with no integral world outlook. And this is only natural for a trend that rejects Marxism's consistent monism and allows for differing 'interpretations' or 'variants' of revolutionary theory. What unites the supporters of 'humane' socialism is a similar attitude towards Marx's ideological heritage, towards Leninism and socialist reality.

I. The 'humane' socialists are united above all by a desire to set Marx, now 're-read,' against Leninism, the philosophical significance of which they negate. Thus Fischer, in one of his recent pamphlets, maintains that there is no such thing as Marxism-Leninism as an integral scientific theory. There is only Marxism: the methodology of examining social phenomena and processes, 'plus the utopia of a classless society in which the state, domination over men, withers away and there begins the kingdom of freedom, of which man is the

*Some aspects of their views have been discussed in this journal, notably in A. Kosing's article 'Modern Revisionism: Its Philosophical and Socio-Political Functions' (No. 3, 1971).

object and aim.' As for Leninism, Fischer separates it from Marxist theory and reduces it to the 'strategy of revolution in a backward country, and also to the view that a close-knit party of professional revolutionaries must inject political consciousness in the masses, effectuate the alliance of workers and peasants, establish and strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat.' (See: Ernst Fischer, *Die Revolution ist anders*, Reinbek bei Hamburg, 1971, p. 51).

These thoughts can lay no claim to originality. And we have quoted Fischer at some length only because he sets out with consummate clarity the very essence of 'humane' socialism.

And so, Leninism is 'separated' from Marxism. What next? The 'humane' socialists must know that without Leninism – which they have tried so hard to distort – modern Marxism is inconceivable. To extricate themselves from this manufactured contradiction, they introduce 'amendments' to Marx's understanding of social life, claiming that they are thereby overcoming a certain 'one-sidedness' of Marxism. That, in fact, is the origin of the idea of a 'new reading' of Marx. And the pivotal point of his 'true' views, we are told, is the 'utopia' of the 'unalienated,' 'integral' man.

Casting aside the infinite richness of Marxist theory, they distort it in the spirit of philosophical anthropologism, contrasting an abstract understanding of man to the concrete historical conditions of his existence. And on this basis the 'humanizers' accuse the Communist parties of the socialist countries of absolutizing the social and political aspects of socialist revolution to the detriment of its 'human' aspects. Hence, their contention that socialism, as it now really exists, is not 'true' socialism, for, they allege, it has been severed from democracy and turned into 'bureaucratic centralism,' 'etatism,' 'dictatorship of the apparatus,' and so on. Man is just as alienated, they aver, even more so in some cases, as under capitalism. (See: E. Fromm, *Das Menschenbild bei Marx*, Frankfurt/Main, 1963, pp. 48, 71).

Essentially these ideas come very close to neo-Kantianism, with attempts to deduce the need for socialism not from the objective trends in the development of material production and the class struggle, but from abstract ideals and ethical concepts.

One can readily detect in the 'humanizers' disquisitions about 'integral' man a resurrection of the Young Hegelian counterposition of the social to the anthropological. But this has no relation whatever to Marx. For even in the early '*Deutsch-Franzoesische Jahrbuecher*' period, in his polemic with pre-Marxian concepts of social development, and later in the *Theses on Feuerbach*, Marx worked on the premise that, by his very essence, man is the sum-total of social relations, and that only by changing reality can he change himself. The social revolution, therefore, is not merely a change of structures external to man, but a change of the very material substance of his being, and, consequently, of man himself. The 'humane' socialists, just as the 'true' socialists ridiculed by Marx and Engels, believe that by attributing to Marx the idealistic theses of their

philosophical precursors, they are overcoming some unspecified 'one-sidedness' in Marxism. Actually, they are only reproducing what Marx rejected and condemned.

But there is no need to dig into past history to bring out the idealistic tendencies of 'humane' socialism. They can be seen in the new vogue, favored by the editors of *Praxis* magazine, of replacing Marx's materialist philosophy by an idealistic interpretation of the 'philosophy of practice,' also in attempts to combine Marxism with Freudianism or the 'philosophy of life' (Fromm), with elements of existentialism (Garaudy), with Bloch's 'philosophy of hope' (Fischer).

Nor can the idea of a 'new reading' of Marx, based on arbitrary interpretation of his early works, which are then contrasted to the works of the mature Marx and to those of Engels and Lenin, lay any claim to novelty or originality. For the idea was not coined by Fischer and other new-fangled revisionists, and not even by Fromm.

The dubious honor of 'rediscovering' Marx from 'humane' positions must evidently go to H. de Man, the Belgian Right-wing reformist who trotted out the idea in the early 30s, soon after publication of the *Economic and Philosophical Manuscripts of 1844*.

But, then, perhaps the 'humanizers' have advanced some fundamentally new and more convincing arguments to substantiate their conception of socialism?

There are no grounds for an affirmative answer. The focal point in their 'new reading' of Marx is alienation. Not only have they failed to understand the role of this category in the development of Marxism and its relation to such crucial concepts as the productive forces and relations of production, interaction of basis and superstructure, value, surplus value, etc., without which Marxism as an integral system of scientific principles would be inconceivable, but have given it a completely false interpretation.

We know that primary to the Marxist understanding of alienation is the objective conversion of human activity and its results into an independent force dominating man and hostile to him. Alienation is associated with historically transient relations inherent in an exploiter society and based on the old division of labor and private property. In his *Economic and Philosophical Manuscripts of 1844*, Marx concentrated on analyzing the alienation of labor. He considered elimination of its material basis, capitalist property and exploitation, the main condition for man's social emancipation.

In contrast, the 'humane' socialists belittle the significance of expropriation of capitalist property and socialist socialization of the means of production, arguing that the socialist countries have not only preserved the old alienation, but have produced new forms tied to political power. The 'humane' socialists, it will thus be seen, disregard the class essence of the state, the fundamental difference between the political power of capital and that of the working class. At the same time, while maintaining that the abolition of all forms of alienation is impossible without abolishing political power, they

confuse the characteristics of socialism as the initial stage of the communist formation with full communism.

The socialist revolution overcomes the main forms of alienation, brings freedom from exploitation and creates the conditions for releasing man's creative potential. But socialism, Marx emphasized, still retains the 'birthmarks' of the old society. This means that some elements of alienation persist, and their elimination is a more or less lengthy process.

But the sphere in which these elements operate and the course followed in their elimination, are not those that figure in the theories of 'humane' socialism. For socialism forms, develops and strengthens a state of a new type as the political organization of the working class and the working people generally. This certainly is not evidence of alienation being preserved. On the contrary, the socialist state is a powerful instrument for eliminating all forms of social oppression and inequality and of upholding and extending the people's revolutionary gains. And only with the progress of communist construction does the state gradually give way to communist self-government. Any artificial prodding of the process can only disorganize the economy and all other aspects of social life and jeopardize the socialist gains. The result would be retrogressive rather than progressive.

And so, the fallacious philosophical views of the 'humane' socialists are transmuted into banal bourgeois slander of the splendid achievements of socialist reality.

II. Eclecticism, abstract slogans and a nebulous positive program are even more characteristic of the 'humane' socialists' political platform than of their philosophical views. But here, too, they hold one thing in common: virulent criticism, even complete negation, of socialist construction. Witness this from K. Kosik, writing in 1968 in the Czechoslovak weekly *Literarni Listy*: 'The difficulties of present-day socialism are due to its inability, so far, in theory and more so in practice, to understand, organize and coordinate its role of historical liberative alternative. . . .'

What are the theoretical foundations of their negation of the international significance of socialist experience? Central to their theoretical arguments are the so-called 'models of socialism.' And by disseminating that concept they evidently hoped to win the glory of innovators applying the principles of scientific modelling to social analysis. It was not long, however, before their 'modelling' was shown to be far removed from science. The 'humane' socialists use this 'modelling' method not to evolve forms of transition to socialism that accord with conditions in one or another country – but to resurrect the old revisionist thesis of a specific, 'national' socialism for each country. This approach signifies a complete departure from Marxist historical-materialist analysis of socio-economic formations. For the very concept of social system – and the Marxist-Leninist classics have made this amply clear – is based on the general,

essential, recurring features encountered in widely different countries passing through one and the same type of development phase. In sum, in its theoretical implications, the 'modelling' theory amounts to negation of the common, objective regularities of socialist construction, and, more especially, to belittling the international significance of socialist construction in the USSR.

The 'Soviet model' of socialism, the 'humanizers' maintain with touching unanimity, is a product of purely Russian conditions and cannot serve as an example for an industrial society, though it is being imposed on all countries. Garaudy rejects, in effect, the experience of the USSR as the first state to build socialism, questions the socialist character of state property in the USSR, etc. (See R. Garaudy, *Le grand tournant du socialisme*, 1969, pp. 108, 143, etc.).

On this question, Garaudy and other opportunists are fundamentally revising Lenin's appraisal of the October Revolution's international significance. Basing himself on a scientific understanding of socialism, Lenin, it will be recalled, foresaw the inevitable repetition on an international scale of some of the basic features of the first victorious socialist revolution. But he trenchantly criticized dogmatic exaggeration of this, its extension beyond these features. He stressed the need for analysis and account of the specific manifestations of the basic regularities of socialism in the peculiar national conditions of various countries, notably those with developed industrial structures.

Accordingly, the Marxist-Leninist parties reject mechanical duplication, or attempts to impose the experience of one or another country, but they also reject nationalistic attempts to absolutize the specifics of socialist construction in one or another country. There is this passage in the 1971 Soviet-Yugoslav Statement: 'The doctrine of Marx, Engels and Lenin, creatively adapted to the specificities of each country, is and will remain the unalterable foundation of the policy of Communist and Workers' parties leading their people and working class in the building of socialist society. The methods of socialist construction, which reflect the experience and development specifics of individual countries, are the affair of their people and working class and should not be counterposed to those of other countries.'

Today, when the working class has the accumulated experience of successful building of socialism in industrial as well as in economically underdeveloped and medium-developed countries, one can see how ineffectual are these attempts to revise the Leninist conception of socialism. The Communists, of course, subject their experience to critical analysis, are aware of shortcomings, disclose and rectify mistakes inevitable in every new undertaking, and more so in an undertaking of such worldwide scale and implications. But genuine scientific criticism can have nothing in common with the bald negation of the tremendous achievements in building the new society.

To real experience the 'humane' socialists oppose their own

'model,' based on the following three elements. First (and central) – the projection into socialist society of so-called ideological and political pluralism, permitting the 'free play' of social forces. Nor is this prompted by a desire to assure freedom for other parties, besides the Communist, in a socialist society. A number of socialist countries have a multi-party system, and Communist parties in capitalist countries have put forth a clear-cut program of cooperation with other parties of the working people in the fight for an advanced democracy and socialism. The point and purpose of 'pluralism' is to overthrow the political system firmly imbedded in the socialist countries and deprive the Communist Party of its leading role. Accordingly, it is not important whether the pluralist 'model' is applied in countries with a one-party or multi-party system – the important thing is freedom of action for the forces hostile to socialism. To believe some of the 'humane' socialists, this is necessary to prevent the bureaucratic degeneration of the Communist Party and assure democracy in every sphere of public life. In practice, however, such 'freedom of action' has always proved a means of undermining the very foundations of socialism and of preparing counter-revolution. No wonder this 'pluralism' is supported by such double-dyed anti-Communists as Morton Schwartz, Zgibniew Brzezinski and others.

The 'humane' socialists do not, obviously, understand the fundamental difference between socialist and bourgeois democracy. That is evidenced by Garaudy's contention that the formal character of bourgeois democracy is due entirely to its restriction to the political sphere. And that view is shared by one of the more zealous advocates of 'socialism with a human face,' E. Goldstuecker. Interviewed by the West German *Spiegel* magazine, he was asked: 'What does freedom mean in a socialist society?' Goldstuecker answered: 'Basically, evidently, the same as in your society. But with this exception: we will not have freedom of ownership of the means of production and its sequel, power and its abuse.'

Apparently, Goldstuecker thinks that this reservation about ownership automatically gives his views a 'socialist' coloring. But lacking in his 'socialist' thinking is the crucial element that distinguishes adherents of scientific socialism from ordinary liberals, namely, the determinative influence of ownership relations on political freedom. He simply 'did not notice' the very important fact that the socialist refashioning of production relations produces a qualitatively new and superior system of socio-political and moral-ethical relations and values. A socialist society that adopts the 'same' freedom as capitalism will quickly find itself faced with the demand, characteristic of bourgeois democracy, for freedom of private appropriation, with all the consequences following therefrom.

Metaphysical contrasting of dictatorship to democracy and revolutionary class violence to freedom, is an overall characteristic of 'humane' socialism. And we can easily detect the influence of bourgeois-liberal philosophical views of man and freedom. But we cannot detect even a grain of Marxism.

A distinguishing feature of many 'humane' socialists is their persistent accentuation of the political problems of socialism and, moreover, out of context with the real tasks of economic upbuilding. It is therefore no accident that whenever they were in a position to influence the policy of a socialist state, this was expressed in an irresponsible attitude to vital economic problems and to the needs of the people. The 14th Congress of the Czechoslovak Communist Party noted that the Right opportunist and anti-socialist views current in 1968 and early 1969 were largely responsible for undermining the system of centralized planning, the growing inflation trends, the serious shortages in supplies to the population, etc.

The second element of the 'humane' socialists' 'model' is renunciation of the leading politico-ideological and economico-organizational role of the Communist Party. Indeed, the main criticism in Fischer's above-mentioned pamphlet, *Die Revolution ist anders*, is spearheaded against Lenin's teaching of the party of the new type. And the harshest criticism is reserved for the principles of democratic centralism and the decisions of the 10th CPSU Congress, which denounced factional activity within the Party. On this point Fischer is joined by Garaudy, the Praxis publishers, Goldstuecker and Sik. At best they concede the Party's role as 'a spiritual vanguard.' But one is at a loss to understand how the Party will fulfil even this role if, according to Garaudy, 'it must not have an "official philosophy" and should not, in its guiding principles, be either idealistic, materialistic, religious or atheistic.' It was this ideological hodge-podge that led Garaudy to outright revision of the Marxist-Leninist doctrine of the party. At first he questioned the Party's organizational principles, but, as Georges Marchais said at the 19th FCP Congress, he soon 'took the path that leads from opportunism to liquidationism.'

Third, and last, the 'humane' socialists exaggerate the role of the intelligentsia, affirming that, in this age of technological progress, it and not the working class is the vehicle of the revolutionary-historic initiative. On this issue, the 'humane' socialists are clearly influenced by the bourgeois-apologetical concepts of the 'industrial society.'

The unfolding scientific-technological revolution is substantially altering the structure of present-day bourgeois society, but the change is not in the direction claimed by the revisionists. The past few decades have seen a sharp rise in the educational and professional standards of the working class. The rise of new industries and wide mechanization of agriculture have brought new elements into its ranks. Also there has been a tempestuous increase in the ranks of the intelligentsia, and a rapid process of differentiation, converting a sizeable section into wage-earners whose interests are increasingly approximating those of the working class. These effects of the scientific-technological revolution – analyzed in statements of the international Communist movement – heighten the proletariat's role as the main force of the revolutionary transformation of modern society and offer fresh opportunities in the struggle for democracy and socialism.

The only thing that can be built out of the main politico-ideological components of 'humane' socialism is a Social-Democratic 'model.' And the introduction of this 'model' in the socialist countries would jeopardize the revolutionary gains of the working class, and in developed capitalist countries would facilitate the spread among the proletariat of Right-wing reformist illusions. No wonder the new-fangled 'humanizers' of Marxism often use 'democratic socialism' as a synonym of 'humane' socialism. Conversely, the Right-wing Social-Democrats often describe their model as 'humane socialism.' That is more than a terminological coincidence. The principles of abstract humanism—bourgeois in their very substance—have long become a weapon in the fight against the communist ideology. Back in 1936, Leon Blum, leader of the Right-wing French Socialists, published a pamphlet, 'Humane Socialism,' larded with attacks on scientific communism and proletarian dictatorship. The only difference between reformism, which has long since broken with Marxism, and the latter-day 'humane' socialism is that the 'humanizers' base their case on certain, wilfully misinterpreted, propositions of Marx.

What are the social and gnosiological causes of the spread of such non-Marxist theories in the labor movement?

Revision of the cardinal tenets of revolutionary proletarian socialism, coupled with a subjective desire to remain on Marxist positions, is not a new phenomenon. Its roots should be sought in the class structure of bourgeois society, which constantly breeds and injects into the proletarian ranks fairly large petty-bourgeois and middle-strata groups. Their world outlooks crops up again and again in the ranks of the broad workers' parties (Lenin, Vol. 15, p. 39). And the forms in which this is expressed change with the change of historical conditions.

There is a relatively new social cause for the spread of 'humane' socialism: the sharp increase in the army of wage labor, primarily, by the influx of intellectuals who, objectively, are drawing nearer to the proletariat. However, this objective process is appreciated by the intellectuals usually after a time lag or inadequately, especially in countries where reformist influence is strong. True, intellectuals are aware of the many evils of bourgeois society, but they cannot yet see the class nature and roots of capitalist alienation and cling to the illusionary freedoms of capitalism.

Doubtlessly, the spread of 'humane' socialism is influenced also by gnosiological factors, particularly failure to appreciate the complexity of the building of the new society, the fact that the ultimate aim of communism is reached through long and difficult struggle. In real life there is never an absolute, metaphysically understood identity between the logical picture of socialism and its concrete historical development, between the ideal (as a form of 'advance reflection' of reality) and reality itself, between the subjective desire to see socialist society in all its fullness and the objectively restricted possibility of its achievement for each given generation.

Failure to understand the real, living dialectic of the logical and historical in the development of socialism, absolutization (at times even dramatization) of their non-equivalence, can be a factor in the rise of similar views among intellectuals in the socialist countries, though the objective conditions for the emergence of these non-Marxist views have, in the main, been eliminated. There is, also, the influence of bourgeois ideology, which imperialist propaganda does its best to inject.

One can detect in 'humane' socialism speculation – conscious or unconscious – on some of the real problems of socialist development. They provide a distorted reflection of the complicated process of finding optimal forms of socialist construction that accord both with socialism's general principles and the concrete conditions obtaining in the given country, and the objective difficulties of fashioning a new type of international relations. The 'humane' socialists are especially active in playing up errors and shortcomings in the realm of political democracy stemming from the personality cult and subjectivism, both of which have been trenchantly condemned by the CPSU.

One can explain the sources of these erroneous views. But to explain does not mean to justify.

An analysis of the 'humane' socialists' philosophical and political views will show that their theories can only serve to divert the masses from the revolutionary struggle for a new, just society. The path from Lenin and Leninism 'back to Marx,' who moreover is interpreted in a Social-Democrat or Left-bourgeois way, from the proletarian revolutionary understanding of the world to the abstract and utopian ideal of 'integral' man, is bound to lead to anti-Marxism and anti-Leninism. And rejection of socialist experience objectively leads these 'humanist critics' into the ranks of the anti-Sovietes and anti-Communists.

But that should not be taken to mean that all the 'humane' socialists' assertions are patently false and reactionary. Nor are we surprised to see, for example, that Fromm's criticism of alienated society and some of his other philosophical postulates strike an answering chord among American intellectuals animated by humanistic ideals and opposed to the aggressive policy of their government. For them, acquaintance with Marx's ideas, even in their 'humanistic-existentialist' interpretation, can be a means of understanding the more anti-human and anti-democratic facets of the bourgeois mode of production and way of life.

And it is not unlikely that some adherents of 'humane' socialism subjectively want to reconcile their views with Marx and Marxist behavior. To quote Lenin (in *Materialism and Empirio-Criticism*), 'these people are better than their theory, but we must not justify outrageous theoretical distortions of Marxism' (Vol. 14, p. 324).

'Humane' socialism. . . . The very combination of the two concepts, each of which is dear to all progressive-minded people, leads one

to ask: can there be a socialism that is not humane, that does not embody the ideas of genuine political and social liberation of the working people?

Paradoxical though it may seem, all these ineffectual attempts to separate humanism from socialist reality and contrast humanistic ideals to the building of socialism, have brought together Right and 'Left' revisionists. The latter disparage humanistic ideals as a concession to the bourgeoisie and distort, in their own way, the revolutionary humanism of Marxism-Leninism.

Communists reject all these false views. By their work they clearly demonstrate the true humanistic character of socialist construction. Marxism-Leninism has absorbed all that was best in the humanism of the past; it has inherited its democratic and socialist elements, has critically reconstructed and enriched them and has raised humanism to a qualitatively new level. It has armed the working people with a scientific understanding of the ways and means of achieving economic, social and political emancipation, and of creating the classless communist society that will open to every person limitless vistas of progress.

Communism, Marx said, is humanism in practice. Guided by Marxism-Leninism, the socialist countries are the embodiment of this real, developing communist humanism – humanism in deeds and not merely in words.

V. Peri

On sources of socialist conceptions in developing countries

Letter to the editor

It is with great interest that we read the articles in your journal critically analyzing the ideological trends popular in the developing countries.* We are prompted to express our views on some of the problems you raise.

I. It is our belief that the present-day socialist theories of revolutionary democrats have a history and that they have forerunners in the revolutionary democratism in tsarist Russia (Belinsky, Chernyshevsky, Herzen, Dobrolyubov) and in the Eastern countries en-

*See Nos. 6 and 9, 1971.

slaved by imperialism at the dawn of the 20th century (Sun Yat-sen in China and others).

Examining the emergence of socialist conceptions of a petty-bourgeois type, we proceed from the fact that 'to the crude class conditions corresponded crude theories' (Engels, *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific*). The erosion of feudal relations, the aggravation of the class struggle, the gradual change in the class structure of society caused by the growth of capitalism, the instability of the broad petty-bourgeois masses – all this was the social source of revolutionary democratism in Russia and other countries. Lenin praised the theoretical and political activity of revolutionary democrats of the past, but also showed their inconsistency and contradictions. Analyzing the ideological heritage of Russian revolutionary democrats, Lenin, in his work *What Is To Be Done?*, called them the forerunners of the proletarian party in Russia.

Lenin's thoughts about Sun Yat-sen's socio-political and philosophical conceptions are very important for our analysis. Lenin regarded him first of all as a representative of the revolutionary peasant democracy, noting his militant and sincere democratism which gave expression to his 'warm sympathy for the toiling and exploited people, faith in their strength and in the justice of their cause' (Coll. Works, Vol. 18, p. 164). Describing Sun Yat-sen as a socialist by virtue of his subjective aspirations, Lenin pointed to the petty-bourgeois inconsistency of his ideology and his mistaken view that the peasantry represented the main political force.

The essence of the socialist theories of present-day revolutionary democrats is determined by the peculiarities of social life in countries where the non-proletarian and semi-proletarian strata predominate. Revolutionary democrats strive to improve the plight of the exploited, advancing radical programs impregnated with the spirit of struggle against imperialism and seeking to avoid or at least limit the development of capitalism, the source of the working people's oppression and social misfortunes.

Naturally, there are fundamental differences between past and present revolutionary democracy, due mainly to the existence and development of the socialist countries. The socialist world system, the uppermost achievement of the workers' and Communist movement, exercises a tremendous influence on the development of the socialist conceptions of present-day revolutionary democracy. That is why qualitatively new conditions have appeared for the spread of socialist theories in the developing countries.

This leads to the serious problem of a balance between internal and external sources of influence upon the ideology of present-day revolutionary democracy. Some writers tend to give precedence to the external source. They are only partly right. Indeed, due to the absence or weakness of Marxist-Leninist parties in almost all socialist oriented countries and the eclectic ideological views of the ruling national-patriotic parties, the external influence on their ideology is fairly strong. This is temporary, however, and we be-

lieve that sooner or later the internal source will take precedence.

II. A scientific classification of the socialist theories currently popular in the developing countries will doubtless help to understand the role and place of revolutionary-democratic ideology. Here the authors of the articles in WMR are absolutely correct. We should like to propose our own classification, fully aware of the fact that placing complex and constantly changing conceptions into one or another category is in substance conditional. We believe that the following trends may be singled out.

1. Traditionalistic, strongly influenced by various utopian ideas and accentuating national exclusiveness. It includes, for example, 'Khmer socialism' in Cambodia, 'pragmatic socialism' in Nigeria, 'African socialism' in Senegal, and others. This trend exaggerates national and historical conditions and stresses the distinctive psychic and physical qualities of a people. Traditionalists underscore the unique character of the economy and the long-existing forms of communal ownership, believing this to be the initial stage of socialism, with the peasants as the carriers of the socialist principle.

2. Liberal-democratic, popular chiefly in the developing countries of Asia and Africa. The theories of this trend call for a 'socialist welfare society.' They offer no radical socio-economic reforms which would finally lead to the abolition of capitalist property, property inequality and exploitation. All persons would be allotted private property, with all attaining prosperity. The idea of a 'moral revolution' is proposed, meaning an ethical development of society and every individual. In other words, the ideologues of this trend propose a social, economic and cultural-educational reform of bourgeois society as a universal remedy against all evils.

However, in spite of the ideological shortcomings of the reformist liberal-democratic socialist doctrines, they play a definite role in the developing countries. On the basis of these doctrines some Asian and African countries, India, for one, implement progressive measures supported by the Communist parties.

These two trends in socialist thought reflect the contradiction between the objective need for radical socio-economic and political reforms transcending the capitalist framework and the inability of the ruling circles to discard the principles of capitalist ownership.

And, finally, there is a third trend, which resolves this contradiction – the revolutionary-democratic conception of socialism in which socialist ideals are expressed in a specifically national context, and which contains certain elements of Marxism-Leninism and recognizes the necessity for a social revolution and socialist transformation of society.

We realize that neither the classifications in the WMR articles nor the trends which we have formulated convey the existing complexity and variety of ideological life in the liberated countries. Besides, there are no insurmountable barriers between these trends. The revolutionary-democratic ideology includes some weighty elements of other here classified trends of socialist thought, such

as exaggeration of national traits and historical conditions, a stress on the moral-ethical side of ideology, attempts at reconciling socialist theory and religion, and a non-class approach to the problem of building a new society. Besides, there are differences between the world outlook of various exponents of revolutionary democracy. For instance, the program documents of the Burmese leadership have no direct ties with religion and, therefore, tend to be secular, while in many countries religion has not been separated from the state and is reflected in legislation and the programs of ruling parties and regimes.

III. We should like to refer to the program documents of the Burmese Revolutionary Council to illustrate the essence of the socialist theories of present-day revolutionary democracy. The political declaration, 'Burmese Road to Socialism,' was obviously inspired by scientific socialism. The document shows that the Burmese Socialist Program Party rejects capitalist development in favor of the socialist perspective. Pointing out that people cannot be delivered from social evils as long as ruinous economic systems of exploitation of man by man exist, the Revolutionary Council proclaims its determination to advance to socialism with the people of the Union of Burma.

The Burmese revolutionary leadership declared its aim of establishing a socialist economy, by which it implies '... proportionately planned development of the national productive forces.' The most important branches of the economy must be in the hands of the state, cooperative societies or collective amalgamations. Every able-bodied citizen, it says, must contribute his utmost to the economy and the material and cultural values must be distributed in accordance with the quantity and quality of expended labor. The document rejects the bureaucratic bourgeois parliamentary system and advocates a democratic government apparatus, stressing that 'it is mainly the peasants and workers who are the vanguard and guardians of a socialist democratic state' and that the Revolutionary Council will lean upon 'an alliance of peasants and other working people comprising the nation's overwhelming majority.' As we see, the leadership of the Burmese Socialist Program Party proceeds in its analysis of the objective laws of socio-economic development from several propositions of historical materialism. The replacement of socio-economic formations, the dialectics of the productive forces and production relations, the basic capitalist contradiction, the antagonistic nature of the formations preceding socialism, and the role of the people as society's main creative force are all viewed by the leaders of the Burmese Socialist Program Party from basically materialistic positions.

The document, however, is far from being a consistent program of scientific socialism. It contains no appraisal of modern society in Burma, nor does it mention class contradictions and the class struggle – the main motive force of social progress in an antagonis-

tic formation. The entire nation is viewed as a monolithic political force. Notwithstanding the fact that the Burmese proletariat is comparatively well developed, that it has traditions of revolutionary struggle, the authors of the document identify the peasants as the regime's main social support. Socialism is understood as a society economically secure and morally ameliorated, with all living in peace and prosperity. The influence is evident of 'ethical socialism' with its advocacy of a classless 'moral principle' and 'quietism' – a religious-ethical withdrawal from reality through spiritual self-perfection.

In socialist-oriented countries a complex and contradictory evolution is taking place of the conceptions of social development towards a more profound understanding of modern socio-political and philosophical problems. A difficult and gradual transition is under way among progressive revolutionary democrats from learning a few isolated tactical slogans and economic principles of Marxism, still a far cry from a scientific understanding of Marxism, to the assimilation of Marxism-Leninism as a complex and indivisible world outlook, a process that may span an entire historical epoch.

G. Kim, A. Kaufman



Motive forces of socialist revolution

Kostas Pafitis, Hamid Safari

The previous article for students of Marxist-Leninist theory dealt with the interaction of the three main revolutionary forces of our time.* In this article we shall deal with another cardinal topic – the motive forces of socialist revolution. It involves many complicated questions that cannot really be answered once and for all. The fraternal parties deal with them to suit the concrete conditions of their countries. The strategy and tactics of Communist parties is based on the general principles of Marxism-Leninism. Here the authors have singled out only some of the issues relating to the motive forces of socialist revolution, primarily in developed socialist countries, which, as they see it, are the most relevant in the present situation.

I. The social basis for revolutionary movements in these closing decades of the 20th century is unusually broad. The masses in the capitalist countries have become more active politically. Their search for solutions to the many complica-

ated social problems is much more intense. However, the nature and the immediate main-springs of the anti-monopoly actions of different classes and social groups are highly varied, and their importance for the revolutionary struggle not the same. This brings us to the first question in our examination of the motive forces of revolution: Which class is the leading force in the struggle for socialist reconstruction?

The answer is important, because it shows the watershed between the Marxist-Leninist conception and the views of Right and 'Left' opportunists.

Marxist-Leninist analysis of socio-political relations and the world alignment of class forces shows that the working class stands in the center of the present epoch. Its role and significance have increased still more since the emergence of the socialist world system – the main creation of the international working class. It is the working class that heads the battle for the deliverance of mankind from exploitation, from class and national antagonisms,

*See WMR, September 1971. – Ed.

for the socialist transformation of society.

Why has the role of the main motive force fallen to the working class?

Let us recall some of the conclusions of Karl Marx, Frederick Engels and V. I. Lenin. They did not confine themselves to establishing and denouncing the fact of exploitation; they showed the essence of exploitation and proved that in contrast to other oppressed classes the proletariat cannot liberate itself without destroying all exploitation of man by man, all forms of oppression. The founders of scientific socialism predicted that the weight of the working class in society will increase with capitalism's further development, that in the revolutionary struggle it will rally to its cause all working people and all exploited, while the social basis of the bourgeoisie will gradually shrink. Marx, Engels and Lenin identified the objective and subjective factors that make the working class capable of defeating the bourgeoisie and building socialism.

The basic Marxist-Leninist postulates about the leading role of the working class in socialist revolution and in building the new society have stood the test of time. They were confirmed by the victorious October Revolution in Russia, by the existence and successful development of the world system of socialist states and the hegemony of the working class in the present worldwide struggle against imperialism, for democracy and socialism.

Foes of communism maintain that Marxists overlook the lat-

est changes in the structure and position of the working class, which, they aver, have reduced to naught its revolutionary role. However, their contentions are wide of the mark. It was the Marxists who defined the character and consequences, and the true social sources of these changes, which have nothing in common with what capitalist ideologists and opportunists would have us believe.

The structure of the working class, its living conditions and conditions of struggle have, indeed, undergone substantial changes in recent decades. These occurred under the impact of a number of different factors, of which the confrontation of the two world systems, socialism and capitalism, is the most determinate, exercising a strong influence on all aspects and processes of present-day political, economic and social development. It is the confrontation that lies at the root of many of the peculiarities in the modern development of imperialism.

The economic and scientific-technical achievements of the socialist world system and the elimination of colonial regimes, coupled with the pressure of the working-class movement (of which more later), are compelling the capitalists 'to buy off' revolution: to make economic and social concessions to the working class and to devise less crude, camouflaged forms of exploitation, oppression, and the like.

The scientific-technical revolution is causing deep-going changes in the production basis and social structure of modern capitalism. Let us take a closer

look at the structural changes this has caused in the working class, for of late the matter has been the object of the keenest speculation among opportunists and bourgeois ideologues, the object of an acute ideological clash.

The concentration of production and centralization of capital speeded up by the scientific-technical revolution gives impulse to the proletarianization of capitalist society, encompassing progressively broader strata of mental, as well as physical, workers. At present, hired labor comprises 91.8 per cent of the gainfully employed population in the United States, 90.2 in Britain, 80.7 in the FRG, 75.6 in France and 60.7 in Japan. Due to the objective requirements of the scientific-technological revolution, the percentage of highly-skilled labor is rising steadily. At the beginning of the 20th century skilled and semi-skilled workers in the developed capitalist countries barely amounted to two-thirds of the general proletarian mass, whereas now they amount to nearly nine-tenths. Not only does the working class grow in number; its educational and professional standard, and its cultural and spiritual level, too, are rising. The concentration of workers in mammoth enterprises is greater than ever. Combined with the proletariat's tenacity in defending its class interests, these new qualities are adding visibly to its politico-moral prestige in society.

Modern capitalism uses the vast potential of present-day production, science and technology to step up exploitation,

boost monopoly profits, fortify its machinery of repression, suppress the revolutionary movement and spark aggressive wars. This leads to an exacerbation of all the old contradictions of capitalism and breeds new ones. What we see is not simply a sharpening of the contradiction between labor and capital, but a growth of the antagonism between the interests of the working class and other working people, on the one hand, and the financial oligarchy, on the other. The front of acute class battles is expanding steadily.

No other class of capitalist society possesses the rich experience of revolutionary struggle that has been accumulated by the working class. The political consciousness of the working class is reflected in its better organization and the integration of its militant sections with other segments of working people in Communist and Workers' parties fighting against imperialism, for peace and social progress. And the high degree of the workers' organization is also reflected in the growth of the trade union movement fighting against monopoly domination, for the workers' essential interests.

Capitalist ideologists and opportunists aver that society is 'deproletarianizing' and that the working class, whose numbers, they estimate, will decline to a mere three to four per cent of the population in the developed capitalist countries by the end of the century, is becoming less and less revolutionary. They use this false assumption to try and prove that the revolutionary-

historical initiative is passing from the working class to other social forces. For the concept 'working class,' Roger Garaudy, for example, substitutes 'new historical bloc,' consisting of the intelligentsia and the middle strata, F. Marek the 'revolutionary intelligentsia' and Herbert Marcuse the so-called 'unintegrated' strata and classes – national minorities, emigrés, lumpenproletarians, students, and the like.

Not only do the authors of these conceptions distort the essence of the occurring changes; they also betray a faulty knowledge of the basic postulates of the theory they set out to refute.

Marxists never regarded the strength of the working class, its mission of leader in socialist revolution, as deriving solely from its numbers, though from the point of view of numbers, too, the working class is now a huge force. Lenin substantiated the thesis that the strength of the working class is, as a rule, immeasurably greater than its percentage in the population.

Furthermore, to say that the numbers of the proletariat are declining under the impact of the scientific-technical revolution is to ignore the increasing structural complexity and diversity of the modern working class. What declines is only the number of workers in the old, 'traditional' branches of industry. Yet Marxists never restricted their conception of the working class to some particular section of it. In step with the growth of social production, with the emergence of new industries and spheres, changes

also naturally occur in the structure of the proletariat. It is, indeed, one of the principal consequences of the scientific-technical revolution that new sections have appeared in the working class engaged in manual, but also to an ever greater degree in intellectual, labor, though capitalist statistics usually choose to overlook this fact. Despite this, however, the essence of the proletariat as a class of hired workers deprived of means of production remains unaltered, just as the essence of capitalist exploitation, based on extraction of surplus value, also remains unaltered.

'Left' opportunists try to shore up the contention that the workers have lost their 'revolutionary spirit' with charges of 'embourgeoisement.' They capitalize on the improvement of the living standard of some sections of wage-earners in the 50s and 60s, distorting the reasons for it and its underlying social meaning. In fact, higher wages are the result of a long, bitter, organized struggle, and equally of the fact that modern imperialism is trying to adapt itself to the new conditions wrought by the confrontation of the two opposite systems – socialism and capitalism. The monopolies, it may be proper to note, are more than recouping their forced concessions by securing a rise of profits faster than that of wages through steep intensification of labor, greater exploitation and more refined techniques of robbing the working people materially and spiritually.

The changes in the condition of the working class have not altered its status of an op-

pressed class nor blunted its antagonism toward the bourgeoisie. This is borne out by the dynamics of the strike movement. The number of strikers in all capitalist countries totalled 36 million in 1965, 57 million in 1968 and 64 million in 1970. In the first six months of 1971, more than 30 million people took part in strikes in the industrially developed capitalist countries alone. To be sure, the class struggle is different in character and intensity from country to country at different times.

Furthermore, we cannot afford to overlook some weaknesses of the present-day labor movement in the developed capitalist countries. Labor is influenced by the internal situation, the new methods of bourgeois social demagoguery, anti-Communist propaganda, and the like. This is the reason, despite the general growth of militancy and class consciousness, why pro-capitalist and reformist sentiments and illusions still survive, and are among some sections even stronger than before. Right opportunist trends, too, have surfaced among some elements, and extremist ultra-Left ideas are also current.

It would be an unpardonable mistake, therefore, to confuse the objective historic role of the working class as the gravedigger of capitalism and maker of a classless communist society with the actual revolutionism of its various sections or national contingents in each concrete historical situation. Karl Marx warned us against this years ago. Yet this is precisely the mistake the present revisionists

commit by contending that the proletariat has lost its 'revolutionary spirit.' To say this is to shun the arduous and painstaking work of arousing the workers' class consciousness in countries where for various reasons they still do not perform their progressive vanguard role in political affairs.

The consolidation of Communist parties in the labor movement is the guarantee that the proletariat will carry out its historic mission. Only a united, militant organization closely linked with the masses and structured along the principles of democratic centralism, Lenin emphasized, can rally the working class, all working people, for revolutionary struggle, uphold their interests and direct their efforts in preparing the seizure of power.

The Communists are drawing the working-class mass into active struggle against capitalism. The prime issue, in this context, is the relationship with the Social-Democrats and workers' organizations under their influence. Moved by concern for the unity of the working class, lacking which success in the struggle is impossible, Communists are looking for ways of cooperating with Socialists and Social-Democrats. Due to Communist initiative, some progress has been made in this respect. While championing solidarity of all contingents of the proletariat and its political and trade union organizations, Communists never go back on their revolutionary, Marxist - Leninist convictions, nor do they ever stop criticizing the ideology or practice of reformism or of Right or 'Left'

opportunism. 'This policy of unity,' the 1969 Meeting stated, 'affords the working-class movement greater opportunities in the anti-imperialist struggle and makes it possible to bring into this struggle that section of the proletariat which is still unorganized or still follows bourgeois parties.'

The working class of capitalist countries has become more organized in late years. It shows militancy and unity in its struggle for democratic and socialist ideals. This enables it to lead other working people, who take inspiration from its example, staunchness and devotion.

II. What are the social classes and strata interested, along with the working class, in ending the capitalist system and transforming society on revolutionary lines?

The proletariat cannot win power, nor can socialism be built, without close alliance with the non-proletarian sections of the working people. These sections are objectively interested in socialist change by virtue of their economic and political condition.

Lenin's statement that the peasant class is an important ally of the revolutionary working-class movement is as valid as ever. Led by the proletariat, the peasants can fight actively for the socialist reorganization of society, even though they may vacillate from time to time. Under the impact of the scientific and technological revolution, the peasantry in the capitalist countries is becoming more and more differentiated as small and medium farmers are ruined.

Some countries show an increase in the rural proletariat. Large numbers of people migrate to the towns. During the past two decades the proportion of those engaged in agriculture has dropped by roughly 50 per cent. The percentage of peasants varies greatly from one state-monopoly capitalist country to another. Whereas U.S. and British farmers make up between four and six per cent of the gainfully employed population, their French, Italian and Japanese counterparts account for more than one-fifth. However, there is more to it than the proportion of peasants or the important role they play in material production. There is also the fact that the condition of the peasantry as a whole is still determined by mounting monopoly oppression.

This is why the peasants' struggle is spearheaded against the monopolies and the anti-peasant policies of bourgeois governments. In upholding their demands, they often use the same forms and methods as the working class — strikes, demonstrations, meetings. In the spring of 1971, Belgian farmers held a powerful protest demonstration against the agricultural policy of the Common Market, French wine-makers protested against the government's policy on wine prices, and so on. And the peasants are more and more inclining towards united action with the working class as they realize that only in alliance with it and under its leadership can they solve their vital problems.

Now for the intelligentsia as an ally of the working class.

Once it was only the foremost members of the intelligentsia that took part in revolutionary struggle against capital. Today this struggle involves wide circles of the intellectual community. In the course of the scientific and technological revolution the intelligentsia, formerly a rather small group, has become one of the most numerous social strata recruited from every class or segment of society. Those engaged mainly in mental labor in the principal capitalist countries make up from 30 to 45 per cent of the employed. Still more important is the fact that the bulk of the intelligentsia is becoming a direct object of exploitation by big capital. This means that the intelligentsia's social interests dovetail more and more with those of the working class. The 1969 Meeting of Communist and Workers' parties stressed that 'the alliance of workers by hand and by brain is becoming an increasingly important force in the struggle for peace, democracy and social progress.'

There are a number of objective obstacles to the intelligentsia's realization of its new social condition, of the fact that it has become a contingent of the army of wage labor. Specifically, vanguardist and elitist sentiments are strong in its midst. In other words, the changing condition of the intelligentsia does not always give rise to corresponding ideological or social psychological reactions.

It must be borne in mind that while the social composition of the intelligentsia has broadened, the proportion of members of the privileged classes

has declined. Now most intellectuals come from the urban and rural middle strata. As they join in active revolutionary struggle they bring in, not only their knowledge and energy, but the inevitable burden of prejudices born of a petty-bourgeois social environment and the peculiarities of its formation.

A noteworthy feature of the socio-political struggle in the capitalist world today is the marked militancy and scope of youth, and particularly student, action. Increasing sections of the younger generation, to which the future belongs, link their ideals and hopes with the socialist system. The ideologists and policy-makers of imperialism are terrified by the fact that today not only working youth but educated young members of the propertied classes openly adopt anti-capitalist positions. Communists regard the upsurge in the youth and student movement as an important factor in the overall anti-monopoly struggle. They neither conceal nor try to play down the political and ideological divergences, some of them serious ones, they have with the so-called New Left movement, which unites a section of the opposition-minded youth of capitalist countries. The youth movement can succeed only if consciously and inseparably linked with the revolutionary struggle of the workers. Communists, the 1969 Meeting noted, propagate in its ranks the ideas of scientific socialism, explaining the danger of various pseudo-revolutionary ideas which could influence young people and seeking to

help young people find the right path in the struggle against imperialism and for their interests.

Speaking of the extension of the social basis of the proletariat's class struggle and the anti-monopoly movement in the recent period, mention must be made of changes among so numerous a section of working people as women. The proportion of women in capitalist production is growing. More and more emphatically, they demand an end to all discrimination in pay, complete equality in civil rights, proper mother and child care, etc.

Sizeable groups of Christians are joining ever more actively in the fight against imperialist aggression, for peace and democratic rights.

These movements, merging with the struggle of the working class and other working people, add to the revolutionary forces of today. Thus the recent decades' changes in the social structures of the developed capitalist countries objectively contribute to the formation of broad anti-monopoly coalitions and the strengthening of the alliance of the workers, peasants, intellectuals, and urban and rural middle strata.

III. The practical experience of the revolutionary movement has shown that success in struggle will hinge on alliance of the proletariat with other exploited classes and strata and on taking account of the internal contradictions of the capitalist class in the country concerned, as well as on the ability to reckon with the alignment of world forces and with the pecu-

liarities of the situation of this or that country in the system of states, including neighbors.

'The more powerful enemy can be vanquished,' Lenin pointed out in *'Left-Wing' Communism - an Infantile Disorder*, 'only by exerting the utmost effort, and by the most thorough, careful, attentive, skillful and obligatory use of any, even the smallest, rift between the enemies, any conflict of interests among the bourgeoisie of the various countries and among the various groups or types of bourgeoisie within the various countries, and also by taking advantage of any, even the smallest, opportunity of winning a mass ally, even though this ally is temporary, vacillating, unstable, unreliable and conditional. Those who do not understand this reveal a failure to understand even the smallest grain of Marxism, of scientific socialism in general. . . . And this applies equally to the period *before* and *after* the proletariat has won political power' (*Collected Works*, Vol. 31, pp. 70-71). This statement retains all its validity.

Take the question of utilizing the contradictions between diverse sections or parties of the bourgeoisie. The bourgeoisie has never been a monolithic class, and today it is more differentiated than ever before. The struggle between bourgeois political parties is becoming more acute, and crises of bourgeois governments are more frequent. Antagonisms between the all-powerful top monopolies and the mass of medium and small capitalists are mounting. The working class and Com-

munists take account of these antagonisms and draw those groups of the propertied classes whose interests clash, if only temporarily, with the interests of the top monopolies, into the general democratic movement, a component of today's fight for socialism.

In a number of developed capitalist countries, we witness sweeping militarization. Imperialism, playing the role of strangler of democratic freedoms, tends to fascisize social and political life. Faced with this great danger, the working class and Communists rally all sections of the population, including those who do not share their position or ideology, for the fight against imperialism.

The world revolutionary movement is expanding as the international positions of socialism grow stronger. The socialist world system is the leading revolutionary force of our time. It increases the strength of all who fight for peace and socialism, for its steadily growing economic and defense power enables it to curb imperialism and limit its possibilities of exporting counter-revolution, to resist the policy of imperialist aggression, to champion peace and to give every support to the peoples' revolutionary and liberation struggle. The gains of the socialist countries hearten the working people of the capitalist countries fighting for social progress. But, of course, only socialist revolution, carried out by the working class and the

people, can eliminate the bourgeois system.

The national liberation movement is an ally of the international working class. While their tasks are different, they have a common enemy, imperialism. Previously the colonies and semi-colonies were a reserve of imperialism. Now that the colonial system has fallen, it is far more difficult for capitalism to impose economic bondage on peoples and plunder them. The national liberation movement is delivering ever more telling blows to imperialism. It has become an important revolutionary force of our time.

The imperialists often join efforts to fight the socialist world system, the international working class and the national liberation movement. However, they do not thereby remove inter-imperialist contradictions, which are aggravated by rapid progress in science and technology. Now as in the past, these ineradicable contradictions are an additional source of strength for the revolutionary movement.

Increasingly bitter class struggles in the developed capitalist countries show that the maturing of both the material and socio-political prerequisites of the socialist revolution is continuing. Their utilization will depend in decisive measure on the ability of the working class to unite itself and to unite all anti-monopoly forces in a broad coalition and give them leadership.



Klement Gottwald

75th birth anniversary

Bearer of the noble ideals of the revolutionary movement of our age and champion of the vital interests of all working people, the working class has absorbed, developed and enriched all revolutionary and progressive traditions. It is animated by a keen sense of revolutionary, class and national pride. It has proved capable of rallying the masses for socialist revolution and of building socialism. It has created the Marxist-Leninist party, that militant vanguard, organizer and leader of the revolution and of socialist construction.

In Czechoslovakia the party was led for a quarter century by an outstanding revolutionary, Klement Gottwald. A worker, outspoken and modest, his perseverance, intelligence and knowledge made him not only the leader of the Communist Party and proletariat of Czechoslovakia, but also a prominent figure in the international Communist and workers' movement. His life was dedicated to the workers' cause, to socialism and proletarian internationalism.

Gottwald was anything but a narrow politician. He was a man of vision, an outstanding Marx-



ist. He knew how to apply Marxism-Leninism to find creative solutions for the problems of his Party. For him the working class, socialism and internationalism were not abstract concepts: he always related them to the concrete conditions of the struggle, to the policy of the Communist movement, shaping his actions accordingly. It was this that won him the trust, respect and affection of our Party, the Czechoslovak workers and other working people. He enjoyed the confidence of the international Communist movement

and was respected even by his political opponents.

The finest chapters in our Party history are intimately associated with Klement Gottwald. It is no accident that in attacking the fundamental values of the socialist revolution, socialist society and the CPC, bourgeois reaction, Right-wing opportunists, our enemies of every hue, center their efforts on discrediting Gottwald both as individual and leader. But no one has succeeded in denigrating his role in Czechoslovak history. For in the minds and hearts of our working people, socialism and Gottwald are synonymous, embodying our past, present and future.

Lenin repeatedly stressed that the proletariat can win its fight against the world of exploitation and want only by producing leaders both bold and staunch. The Czechoslovak proletariat produced just such a leader in Gottwald, who was true to the workers' cause to the last day of his life.

Men are best judged by their behavior in critical situations. And in such situations, at crucial crossroads, I would say, when the course of the Party, the working class and people had to be accurately charted, the vast revolutionary experience, political acumen and patriotism of Klement Gottwald stood us in good stead.

He employed his political experience, augmented by his keen sense of justice, in the battle which decided who would lead the Czechoslovak working class. Gottwald fought that battle jointly with other comrades at the Fifth Party Congress in 1929. Extricating the Party from

a deep crisis, the Congress defined its tasks and policies. The decisions of that congress have lost none of their validity. Gottwald pointed to the priority need for bringing in new cadres, younger men, and infusing new blood into the Party. He emphasized that in all Party work we must overcome reformist traditions, eliminate opportunism and show constant concern for the revolutionary purity of the Party's ranks.

The Fifth Congress was a historic turning point in the Party's development and also a milestone in the life of Klement Gottwald. His election to the leadership signified more than just the expulsion of Jilek and other renegades: it was a complete change in the Party's political, organizational and theoretical activity. The 30s, a time of economic crisis, when the Party continued to fight for the progressive character of the republic and against the mounting menace of fascism, fully corroborated the correctness of the policy of Gottwald and the new leadership elected at the Fifth Congress, their call for a change from opportunist passivity to Bolshevik activity. It was not only necessary and correct, but also successful.

That was over 40 years ago, but the enemies of our Party cannot reconcile themselves to the results of the Fifth Congress. Nor can they forgive Gottwald his parliamentary speeches in December 1929, in which he called for an extension of the class struggle against the bourgeoisie and for a reorientation of foreign policy. In later years our Party, and under its leadership

all progressive workers, all patriots, gave practical expression to the words Gottwald addressed to the Czechoslovak bourgeoisie: 'We will work for the victory of the Soviet Union and for your defeat!' That became a reality in the struggle for a united and popular front, in the steadily increasing strike actions in opposition to fascism and in defense of the republic. Our Party's experience was a major contribution to the development of the international workers' movement in which Gottwald played a conspicuous part.

By mastering the Leninist method, our Party became an active contingent of the Communist movement, a firm and strong supporter of the Comintern and a staunch champion of friendship and cooperation with the Soviet Union. Gottwald's election to the Communist International Executive Committee, the general staff of the Communist movement, was a tribute both to Czechoslovak Communists and to the sterling qualities of their leader.

Strengthening the Marxist-Leninist character of the Communist Party was always Gottwald's main concern. For he knew that the destinies of the country, the revolution and socialism, depended on the strength of the Party. Following Lenin's example, he trained all Communists in the spirit of high revolutionary discipline and vigilance. Today, too, our Party members hearken to his voice, his injunction, that every Communist should devote his strength and knowledge to the Party and help achieve its revolutionary aims. Gottwald espe-

cially stressed the need to explain to the young generation in what difficult conditions of capitalist oppression the pioneers of the workers' movement created a party that led the workers' struggle against capitalism, for social emancipation. 'The Party is everything,' he said. 'In the hard times of capitalist oppression the fighters for the workers' cause formed the Party to lead the working class in the battle against capital, for social emancipation. In the difficult period of Nazi oppression, when others flinched back, the Party as a whole stood its ground and fought for national liberation.'

Faced with the fascist threat to Czechoslovakia's national independence, our Party placed itself in the van of the struggle in defense of the republic. It was the only party to raise its voice against the betrayal of the big bourgeoisie and against Munich, calling on the people to resist and trying to compel the government to ask for Soviet aid to repulse Hitler. During the war the Party led the people in their fight for national liberation and lost 25,000 of its finest sons and daughters. The people saw in the Communists the most resolute opponents of the capitalist system, the most fervent patriots and friends of the Soviet Union.

With the growth of the Party's popularity there also grew the popularity of its leader, Klement Gottwald. History judges men not by their subjective intentions and political plans, but by their results. Munich, the occupation, the war and the liberation of the republic - these were

all tests for Czechoslovak political personalities and the one who emerged from them with honor was Klement Gottwald.

The war changed the image of the world, the balance of forces between capitalism and socialism. The Soviet Army's heroism, the decisive role of the Communists in the national liberation movement, in the Slovak national rising, the Czech Resistance which reached its culminating point in the Prague rising, mass participation in the fight against the fascists—all this opened up for liberated Czechoslovakia new, revolutionary vistas. Mindful of the bitter fate of labor movements after the First World War, Gottwald prepared the Party for new revolutionary battles. He regarded the program of national democratic revolution as the road to socialist revolution.

Renewal of national life, expropriation of big capital, agrarian reform, the emergence of the new, people's democratic system signified that the national democratic revolution had begun to grow over into socialist revolution in the specific conditions of Czechoslovakia. In this industrial country, with its strong bourgeois-democratic and parliamentary traditions, complex social structure, the remnants of the old exploiting classes and a large petty-bourgeois element, the Communist Party directed the fashioning of working-class power and strengthened the proletarian dictatorship.

The prewar republic was torn by national contradictions encouraged by the bourgeoisie, which was eager to weaken proletarian class unity. For the

bourgeoisie knew that if the struggle shifted to the social sphere, this would endanger capitalism. Gottwald's policy of equal rights for Czechs and Slovaks based on national emancipation, which he upheld against the virulent opposition of reactionary factions, produced an enduring internationalist front of all the forces of democracy and socialism. The constructive and patient policy of the CPC solved and accomplished the political, social and national tasks of the national democratic revolution and won the support of the majority of our people.

The building of a socialist republic was pioneered by hundreds of thousands of Communists. And the people could see that they were fighting not only for class interests, but were ardent patriots devoted to building a new and better society. So in the crucial political combat of February 1948 the people sided with the Communists, with Gottwald.

February 1948 was the acme of Gottwald's political skill, the culmination of nearly 30 years of the Party's struggle to change the nature of the republic and its foreign policy orientation. In the course of this clash, objectively inevitable, the Party made full use of the political position it had won in the national democratic revolution and had further strengthened in the 1946 elections. It brought to bear its greatest asset, the political trust and support of the people and the economic and political assistance of the Soviet Union.

For the first time in the history of the revolutionary workers' movement, the Communist Par-

ty, led by Gottwald, employed parliamentary methods to consummate the socialist revolution. The subjective and objective conditions were favorable. On the one hand, there was the mounting revolutionary pressure of the working people, which clearly and vigorously supported the Communists, and on the other a more distinct orientation on alliance with the USSR. The Party skilfully used both of these factors to thwart the counter-revolutionary putsch, defeat bourgeois reaction and establish a regime of people's democracy.

In February 1948 the Czechoslovak Communists enriched Lenin's teaching on socialist revolution and proletarian dictatorship. Our Party made a weighty contribution to communist strategy and tactics, thereby fulfilling its internationalist duty to a movement from which it had sprung and the support of which it always enjoyed. In February 1948 the Czechoslovak people made a clear option—henceforth Czechoslovakia was to be an inseparable part of the community of socialist states, part of the revolutionary vanguard of the modern world.

The Party is the guarantee that our people will never allow themselves to be diverted from their chosen socialist path. That is borne out by the experience of 1968-69. Individuals, some of them holding top positions, did not stand the test. But the Party as a whole did not betray Marxism-Leninism, and thanks to the internationalist aid of our friends and allies, it withstood the test and, having purged its ranks, is again the leading force

in our socialist society. That was confirmed by our 14th Congress.

Concern for the unity, ideological purity, strength and combat ability of the Party was an important feature of all Gottwald's work. He taught Party cadres always to abide by democratic centralism and never to lose contact with the Party membership and the workers. Fidelity to Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism multiplied the Party's strength, gave it a correct orientation in all the complexities of the revolution and in building the foundations of the new society.

Gottwald always took into account the momentous lessons of the victorious Bolshevik Party. For him it was a source of inspiration. He drew on its rich experience. And in the Soviet Communist Party and the Soviet Union he found a sheet anchor in the most difficult times.

The lessons of more recent years show that we could have avoided many mistakes if we had been more attentive to the behests of Klement Gottwald, who time and again emphasized that the link between Czechoslovak and international reaction was no more an accident than that between the enemies of the May 1945 revolution and the sabotage and espionage activities against Czechoslovakia's security and the Soviet Union. He pointed out that the reactionary forces would always try to weaken our alliance with the Soviet Union, and would use every conceivable fabrication to discredit our political, economic and military links with the world's first socialist country.

Gottwald's warnings are still topical. We are true to his behests. We regard them as central to our revolutionary achievements. We see in them the guarantee of our national freedom and sovereignty. We shall always be with the USSR, for it assures us freedom and the possibility to build our life in accordance with the freely expressed will of our people.

Unremitting educational work within the Party and among the masses has always been a cardinal principle for our Party and its Central Committee led by Gottwald. He showed constant for the Party's unity, but at the same time warned us against resting on our laurels, against relying only on our own forces in disregard of our closest allies. His slogan, 'With the Masses,' translated into practice in all our day-to-day activity, won the Party powerful support among our working people. Revolutionary determination, initiative and enthusiasm in building the new life — these were the characteristics of Gottwald's leadership. And he never missed a chance to explain and uphold the Party's policy and Czechoslovakia's friendship with the Soviet Union. He was adamant in combating every manifestation of bureaucracy and highhandedness as a menace to the unity of the Party and its bonds with the people.

Our Party reaffirms its faith in these principles. After the 1968-69 crisis we are returning to Gottwald's slogan, 'With the Masses.' We know that this is the only way to strengthen and deepen the Party's authority and the people's confidence in its

policy. That confidence is the very basis for popular initiative and effort. It brought us impressive successes in the early years of the revolution and socialist construction and today, too, it is the motive force of our development.

Together with the working class the Communists carried out a victorious socialist revolution. Their task was to give the new social system a clear program and perspective, to provide practical proof that socialism is workable in an industrial country despite its strong bourgeois-democratic traditions and the considerable experience of participation in the political life of bourgeois society with its specific social structure.

Klement Gottwald demonstrated his skill as political helmsman, master of revolutionary strategy and tactics, not only when the revolution was still in the making, but also in the period of socialist construction.

He sought new forms and methods of applying the general regularities of socialism in the new conditions. He enriched them with the experience of the masses, the thoughts of thousands of the country's finest people, the progressive traditions of our society. And on all achievements he left the imprint of his creative talent.

At the Ninth Party Congress he introduced a program which became the guideline for more than one generation of Communists. This was the program of building the material and industrial base of socialism and developing the productive forces in every branch of the economy. His words that we must run our

economy better than the capitalists, have a very topical ring today. Fulfilment of this task will bring us closer to the full victory of socialism.

We must never forget the fact that a severe struggle is taking place in a world divided along class lines. The reactionary forces have been defeated, but not eliminated. Only the forms and methods of the struggle are changing. This lends importance to Gottwald's appeal to strengthen the unity and viability of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia. He knew that in future, too, the enemy would mount his attacks primarily against the Party. And he knew that the only way to counter these attacks is by ideological work among the masses and by active struggle. He knew the crucial importance of preserving the Party's Marxist-Leninist purity, and fully implemented the Bolshevik principles of democratic

centralism, inner-Party democracy, party criticism and self-criticism. For suppression of criticism can only damage the Party and facilitate the infiltration of hostile elements. For the Party as a whole and for each of its members, his behest: 'Don't be carried away by victory and don't lose your head at times of reverses and defeats,' is as relevant as ever today.

That was convincingly evident in the events of the recent past. Many had forgotten about it, and this led the Party and the country to the brink of catastrophe.

Klement Gottwald never pretended to be infallible. He was a modest Communist, a true son of his people and class, a patriot and internationalist.

His work lives on and our Party and people will always draw inspiration from his behests.

Vasil Bilak



SEVEN-PARTY STATEMENT

The distinguishing feature of the present situation in Latin America is the sharp rise of the liberation struggle and the Leftward shift among the masses. That is the main conclusion drawn in the joint statement of Communist Party representatives from Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Paraguay, Peru and Uruguay who met to 'exchange information and views on common Latin American problems.'

The Cuban revolution, the Popular Unity victory in Chile, the radical reforms in Peru, the statement says, are significant of a deep-going, qualitative change of the overall situation on the continent. There is a growing feeling among its peoples of common destiny, and successes in one country are an inspiration to the peoples of other countries. The growing antagonism between the Panamanian people and government, on the one hand, and the United States on the other; popular actions in Uruguay, the growing mass militancy in Argentina, Colombia, Ecuador, Venezuela,

Costa Rica and other countries; the Brazilian people's resistance to the fascist-type military dictatorship; mounting opposition to Stroessner in Paraguay — they are all indications of an irreversible revolutionary process.

But, the statement emphasizes, 'imperialism is not prepared to accept defeat. Faced with intensified mass actions, notably in the South, U.S. imperialism helped by the more reactionary governments, especially that of Brazil, which is seeking to convert the country into an operational base against other peoples, is using every available means to force governments to reverse their policies, as evidenced by the events in Bolivia... The fascist coup in that country has plainly shown the scope of the Yankee plot and has fully exposed the CIA and its sinister plans.'

The seven parties appeal to all patriots, irrespective of philosophy and religion, to unite in a resolute effort to ward off the U.S. imperialist menace. Such unity, the statement emphasizes, will create the conditions for fresh victories so that each people will shape its own future in a Latin America in which the balance of strength will change in favor of the progressive anti-imperialist forces.

ARGENTINA

Thousands of Party members shared in the National Fighting Fund campaign, collecting 241 million pesos instead of the planned 220 million, and this in spite of the economic crisis and

the manufactured anti-Communist hysteria.

The Fighting Fund campaign coincided with another, the second Codovilla recruitment drive: 15,000 joined the Party and YCL, including 10,000 workers, and the Party membership now stands at over 100,000. The Party plans to increase the circulation of its illegally published newspaper, *Nuestra Palabra*, to 40,000.

GREAT BRITAIN

Scottish shipbuilders' leader James Reid has been elected Rector of Glasgow University for a three-year term, defeating both his Conservative and Labor opponents. This is the first time the students of a university with strong conservative traditions have elected a worker and member of the Communist Party.

HUNGARY

A recent Forum TV program, when televiewers can telephone questions to the studio, was devoted entirely to youth and its problems. Questions were answered by Party Central Committee Secretary A Pullai, YCL Secretary I. Horvath, Labor Minister G. Lazar, Deputy Minister of Culture and Education J. Gosztony, Vice-President of the State Assembly G. Varga, and author L. Gyurko.

DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF VIETNAM

In an interview for *Unita*, the Italian Communist paper, Prime Minister Pham Van Dong ex-

posed President Nixon's maneuvers in evading a positive response to the seven-point peace plan presented in Paris by the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam.

International opinion, Pham Van Dong said, and diverse political circles in Washington and Saigon have welcomed the plan as a fair and reasonable basis for a settlement, and that is a big diplomatic victory. Nixon's evasion maneuvers are meant to soften the pressure of public opinion, especially in his own country, and continue the 'Vietnamization' policy and the neo-colonialist war in Indochina. But that tactic can only make Nixon's position still worse and face the aggressors with even more disastrous consequences. The Vietnamese will persevere in their military, political and diplomatic struggle until victory is won. The formidable difficulties we shall have to overcome will make our victory all the greater.

Replying to a question about the recent visit of a Soviet Party and Government delegation led by N. V. Podgorny, Pham Van Dong said it was a 'vivid demonstration of the indestructible friendship between the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the Soviet Union, between the Working People's Party of Vietnam and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.' The joint statement and agreements signed during the visit are 'a powerful incentive for our people in its struggle, but also a stern warning to the American imperialists.'

COLOMBIA

Communist members of regional and municipal councils met under the chairmanship of General Secretary Gilberto Vieira (a member of the Cundinamarca regional assembly), to discuss policy in next year's elections. It was decided that Communist deputies will concentrate on the following issues: oil nationalization, repeal of the emergency, general wage increase, united front against the present government.

PANAMA

Interviewed by a correspondent of the Czechoslovak news agency, Ruben Dairo Souza, General Secretary of the Panamanian People's Party, described the popular campaign for control of Canal shipping. The 1964 clashes in the Canal Zone sharply aggravated relations with the United States. Negotiations were resumed this year.

The present government, which came to power in 1968, has rejected the U.S. proposal, insisting on complete sovereignty over the Canal Zone, larger royalties, review of America's status in the Canal Zone and the future of its military base. The government's stand has wide popular support.

Public pressure has forced it to carry out several progressive measures – enactment of a new labor code incorporating major trade union demands, partial agrarian reform. There is a wide movement for nationalization of the big estates.

POLAND

At a general workers' meeting at the Lenin Steel Mills in Nowa Huta, questions put by workers – there were about 3,500, mainly on social and economic matters and Party life – were answered by the First Secretary of the Cracow Regional Party Committee, the Minister of Heavy Industry, executives of the steel industry, officials of the Regional Council and of the management. Such dialogues between high-ranking officials and the people are very popular in Poland.

SALVADOR

The Peruvian Communist paper *Unidad* recounts a talk with Schafik Jorge Handal, a leader of the Salvador Communist Party. For 40 years, he said, Salvador has been ruled by terrorist military dictatorships, and this naturally makes things hard for the Party. The country is fully dependent on foreign, chiefly American, capital; over half the population is illiterate; there are only 15 doctors per 10,000 of the population, and the average life span is 27 years.

The Party, Handal said, is working towards a broad alliance of anti-imperialist and anti-oligarchical forces but is especially concentrating on unity of the working class.

TURKEY

Suleyman Ege, one of the directors of the Socialism and Knowledge Publishing House, has

been sentenced to 7½ years imprisonment for putting out a Turkish translation of Lenin's *State and Revolution*. The charge against him was 'communist propaganda.'

PHILIPPINES

The first issue has come out of *Political Review*, an English-language magazine published by a confederation of anti-imperialist worker, peasant, student, women's and youth organizations, also writers, scientists and businessmen. The editors say their object is to expose American imperialist intrigue in the Philippines and all over the world. While presenting the views of the organizations comprising the confederation, the magazine will work for closer ties with the anti-imperialist movement in other countries.

FINLAND

The position within the Party, the causes of differences on certain questions, preparations for next spring's Party Congress, were discussed by the Party Central Committee. The main speakers were Party Chairman A. Saarinen and Vice-Chairman T. Sinisalo.

In an unanimously adopted statement on economic issues, the Central Committee expresses concern over present economic policy as not corresponding to the people's vital interests. It appeals to Party members and supporters to protest against any moves favoring big capital, calls for vigorous action against the Right-wing offensive, for additional wage increases, more jobs, against higher rents and

attempts to bring Finland into closer contact with the European Common Market.

FRANCE

The Communist Party Central Committee has adopted the program for a democratic government of popular unity. Explaining its implications at a press conference, the Party's Deputy General Secretary, Georges Marchais, said the aim was to build a new society advancing towards socialism. It would abolish social inequality and all forms of exploitation and oppression of the masses.

The Party calls for nationalization of key sectors of the economy, democratic reforms in taxes, education, administration, and introduction of proportional representation. The program also contains concrete social measures designed to raise living standards.

L'Humanité has published a digest of the program and it has been put out in pamphlet form — eight million copies — for nationwide discussion.

CEYLON

'The Communist Party is initiating a campaign to consolidate last year's victory of the people and to popularize the Party's way out of the crisis now confronting the country,' writes *Mavbima*, the Communist weekly.

The main demands will be: immediate restoration of civilian rule; re-establishment of civil rights, including freedom of assembly, demonstration and press; nationalization of banks and key private industries; a

ban on export of capital, profits and dividends.

SWITZERLAND

The Swiss Party of Labor topped the poll in Geneva, winning three seats in the National Council, one seat more than in 1967.

The Communist press reports the beginning of the new academic year in Party education.

HUNGARY

More than 140,000 Party members are studying Marxist-Leninist theory in Budapest this year. Among the new books published for study classes are manuals, collections of Party documents, and methodological aids. It is expected that 600,000 Party members and non-members will be studying Marxist theory and topical problems of Party policy in this academic year.

CUBA

A new Party school in Havana will train functionaries from among active members. The curriculum includes works by Marx, Engels and Lenin, Cuban history, etc. The inauguration ceremony was addressed by Machado Ventura, Member of the Party Central Committee.

POLAND

Hundreds of thousands of Communists and non-Party activists are involved in the Party's study program. Many new textbooks have been published, including a book dealing with Party policy in the ideological and political field.

In pursuance of the Ninth Plenum decisions, many Party organizations in Warsaw, Lodz, Katowice and other areas have included study of the 24th CPSU Congress in the curriculum.

The Central Party School has been reorganized into the Higher School of Social Sciences under the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party. The school will have a social research institute.

SOVIET UNION

In Moscow, more than one million are involved in Marxist-Leninist education—study classes and other forms. Many are studying economics in Communist Work Schools, Economic Knowledge Classes and People's Scientific-Technical Universities. The Marxism-Leninism University run by the Moscow CPSU Committee has this year a total enrollment of about 24,000 in its 14 departments.

FRANCE

The press reports widespread interest among Party members in the study of Marxist theory. Factory nuclei have organized evening classes for beginners, and district committees are arranging for higher-level training in 8-15 day courses. The Central Party School will provide 1-4 month study courses for Party functionaries. In Paris, 800 Party members attended a series of lectures on the crisis of state-monopoly capitalism and its financial difficulties, the national liberation movement and the class struggle, the prospects for an agreement between Communists and Socialists.



SOVIET-CHINESE RELATIONS — AN INTERNATIONALIST VIEW

Relations between the Soviet Union and China affect not only the vital interests of their peoples, but have a far-reaching influence on the international alignment of class forces and on world affairs generally. That lends special value to Marxist studies of these relations. This one* will doubtlessly attract the reader, for it is based on facts, documents (some here published for the first time) and the testimony of Soviet and Chinese participants in events of the not so distant past.

The authors convincingly show that the alliance of China's revolutionary forces with the USSR, and through it with the world revolutionary movement, was a cardinal factor in the victory of the Chinese revolution. The same can be said of the Soviet Union's disinterested political, economic, military and diplomatic support in consolid-

*P. B. Borisov and B. T. Koloskov, *Sovetsko-kitaiskiy otnosheniya 1945-1970* (Soviet-Chinese Relations, 1945-70). Mysl Publishers, Moscow 1971. 479 pp.

ating the People's Republic of China as a sovereign state and helping its economic and cultural progress. Other socialist countries, too, and the international Communist and workers' movement contributed in no small measure.

The authors analyze Soviet assistance to the PRC between 1949 and 1960. In this period the Soviet Union helped build more than 250 major industrial units, the foundation of China's modern industrial structure, enabling it to start production of aluminum, engineering goods, mining and metallurgical equipment, synthetic rubber, automobiles, tractors, aircraft, electrical and radio equipment, modern weapons, etc. Soviet assistance also helped expand production capacities in major branches of the economy. Also these figures: more than 10,000 Soviet experts were working in China during this period; about 2,000 Chinese experts and about 1,000 scientists had been to the Soviet Union to draw on its know-how, over 8,000 Chinese were trained in new skills and over 11,000 Chinese students were studying in Soviet higher schools. In a little more than ten years the USSR gave China, virtually free of charge, 24,000 sets of technical specifications and rendered other assistance in such fields as science, public health and culture.

It should be borne in mind that this assistance was rendered at a time when the Soviet Union was itself healing the terrible wounds inflicted by Hitler's war. And this significant detail: in enabling China to draw on its rich experience, the

USSR was careful to warn it against the mistakes it had had itself to contend with in the past.

All this infused in the Chinese people, who for centuries had been taught to distrust the foreigner, a feeling of fraternity with the USSR, a feeling which China's finest sons, from Sun Yat-sen to the Chinese Communist internationalists, had always sought to cultivate.

The new, socialist-type relations between the two countries, the authors stress, were the result of a complex and at times contradictory process in which resistance from the nationalistic and anti-socialist element in China had to be overcome.

Why have Soviet-Chinese relations deteriorated in the past ten years? The authors emphasize, rightly, that the answer must be sought in a broad international context and, primarily, in the context of the anti-imperialist struggle and the need for cohesion of the three main revolutionary forces of our time: the socialist world system, the international working class, and the national liberation movement.

While fully aware of the significance of the ideological differences with the present Chinese leadership, the Soviet side has always maintained that they must not be carried over to inter-state relations. And in this book we have a detailed account of the patient, constructive steps the CPSU has been taking to eliminate the tension between the two countries and their Communist parties. Of special interest is the authors' account of the work of Soviet

experts in China and the Soviet Union's efforts to normalize the situation on its frontiers with China.

The anti-Communists have been at pains to prove that restoration of friendship and cooperation between the two countries is impossible because of the allegedly irresolvable clash of national interests. But there is the proof of history, the authors say, that there are no objective reasons for estrangement, let alone confrontation, between the USSR and the People's Republic of China. The requirements of their successful development, as also that of the world revolutionary process, create the necessary conditions for friendship and cooperation.

A country like China cannot remain sealed off from the rest of the world, and, consequently, from the world revolutionary process and the beneficial influence of the progressive forces of our time. The CPSU has always cultivated in the Soviet people a feeling of friendship and deep respect for the Chinese people, its history and culture, its work of revolutionary reconstruction. The Soviet Union has consistently upheld the Chinese people's legitimate interests in international organizations, has always insisted on, and now welcomes, the restoration of China's legitimate rights in the United Nations. The USSR has rebuffed all imperialist attempts to provoke a worsening of relations between the two countries.

That policy towards normalization and re-establishment of good-neighbor relations and friendship was reaffirmed by the 24th Congress of the CPSU. G.S.

WORLD MARXIST REVIEW

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Dear Friends, Happy New Year! May 1972 bring you continued progress in the fight for Peace and Socialism, good health and happiness.

The Editors thank all readers for their letters and suggestions. We shall take them into account in the coming year. We hope to improve the contents and make-up of the journal, make it more interesting to readers in all countries.

Our contributors

<i>Erich Honecker</i>	First Secretary, Socialist Unity Party of Germany
<i>Henry Winston</i>	National Chairman, CP USA
<i>John Marks</i>	Chairman, South-African CP
<i>Vasil Bilak</i>	Member Presidium and CC Secretary, CP of Czechoslovakia
<i>Guy Besse</i>	Member Political Bureau, French CP
<i>Georges Cogniot</i>	President of Maurice Thorez Institute
<i>Giorgos Savvides</i>	Chairman Central Control Commission, AKEL
<i>Arne Pettersen</i>	Member CC Secretariat, CP of Norway
<i>George Toubi</i>	Member CC, CP of Israel
<i>D. Nokwe</i>	Head of Political Department, African National Congress (South Africa)

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