

WORLD

Problems of

MARXIST

Peace and Socialism

REVIEW

April 1971, Vol. 14, No. 4 50¢



**New Soviet
Five-Year Plan**

**Communists
in government**

**Important decisions
in Poland**

**Malady of 'Leftism'
in Brazil**

**Science, ideology,
politics**

**The law
and socialism**



My flight into the cosmos was more than a personal accomplishment. The credit for it goes to communism. I am proud that I am a member of the Communist Party. And through the columns of World Marxist Review I send hearty greetings to all who share my views – to my fellow Communists throughout the world.

Gagarin —

29.4.61.

APRIL 12 IS WORLD AVIATION AND COSMONAUTICS DAY

On that day, ten years ago, Yuri Gagarin, Soviet citizen and Communist, performed the world's first manned space flight. (See articles by Academician Boris Petrov and Cosmonaut Herman Titov in this issue).



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

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journal of Communist and
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Leninism and unity of politics and economics in socialist society

Todor Zhivkov

In our epoch, the course of world events is shaped increasingly by the struggle and competition of two opposite socio-economic systems – the socialist and the capitalist. In some economic spheres the old system is still somewhat ahead of the new. This is understandable: for centuries the developed capitalist countries had been accumulating wealth and mercilessly exploiting the toiling masses of their own countries and the colonial and dependent peoples. Socialism, however, has already proved its undeniable superiority in ensuring steady economic growth, in providing favorable conditions for the flowering of the individual and in securing a planned, comprehensive and purposeful advancement of all spheres of society. This is achieved on the basis of scientific knowledge and the proper use of the objective economic laws. Precisely this accounts for the creative character of policy under socialism and for the role of the Communist Party and the socialist state in its elaboration and implementation.

I.

The trait that bourgeois ideologists and Right and 'Left' opportunists have in common is that they do not understand the objective connection between economics and politics. Politics is either reduced to a fatalistic submission to insurmountable 'historical tendencies' or to demands of partial reforms as opposed to revolutionary struggle. The 'Left' revisionists distort the class content of politics, divorce it from the economic interests of the classes and follow the road of political adventurism.

The only correct answer to the question of the correlation of economics and politics is provided by Marxism-Leninism, which rejects both the idealist interpretation of history and the metaphysical separation and counterposition of those two basic aspects of social life. The determinative role of the economics in the mould-

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ing of policy and, at the same time, the dialectic connection and interaction between them is set out most conclusively and clearly in Lenin's well-known thesis, *politics is a concentrated expression of economics* (Coll. Works, Vol. 32, p. 83).

The economic status of different classes which, in the final analysis, is determined by their relation to the means of production, gives rise to specific economic interests, which can be met only when they also become political. The main purpose of politics is to create the conditions for protecting and advancing these interests.

The unity of economics and politics, however, does not preclude contradictions and conflicts between the two. These may arise between a new, developing economy and an old political superstructure, between reactionary policy and progressive economic trends. In exploiter societies the contradictions and conflicts lead to replacement of the old political power. However fiercely the ruling exploiter class may resist, whatever political means it may use against the progressive forces, the law of *the determinative role of economy in relation to politics* is bound to prevail. The imperialist bourgeoisie is unable to halt or reverse social development.

Under socialism, where no antagonistic classes exist, the policy of the Communist Party and the dictatorship of the proletariat is a scientific expression of the requirements of economic growth and of the basic interests of the working class and all social groups. Through the state, society implements timely policies suiting the needs of the growing economy, avoiding a conflict, a political upheaval. The socialist state's organizational function in the economy is a new, inherently socialist form of the dialectic interaction of politics and economics.

Recognition of the determinative place of economy over politics is not a denial of it; nor does it belittle its role in society. Marxism has nothing in common with vulgar economic materialism or with any of the old or new spontaneity theories. For us Marxist-Leninists *politics plays a most important role in social development*.

With the appearance of the socialist state and the transfer of the means of production into the possession of the people, the working people's main concern centers on developing the productive forces and perfecting production relations, multiplying social wealth and consolidating the nation's economy. 'Our main policy,' Lenin declared at the very outset of socialist construction in the Soviet Union, 'must now be to develop the state economically' (Vol. 31, p. 371).

In socialist society the role of politics is creative and constructive, because,

firstly, it ensures growth of socialist production and all economic

life in line with the sole, objectively defined purpose of satisfying the growing material and cultural requirements of the people to the fullest possible extent;

secondly, it provides the leverage for a planned and continuous process of extended socialist reproduction, enhancement of its effectiveness through the maximum economy of manpower and of material and financial resources, and through scientific and technological progress;

thirdly, it secures mass enthusiasm in labor and mass political activity, with the masses concentrating their efforts on the vital economic, political and social tasks relating to the overall perspective of building a new society.

Whereas the politics of a bourgeois state inevitably reflects the fragmentation and intrinsically contradictory nature of economy based on private ownership, *in socialist society politics reflects the objective laws governing the development of economy as an integrated mechanism. The integrated socialist economy can be served only by an integrated economic policy. No parallel or polarized trends could guide a socialist economy; it requires a single political leadership exercised by a single political center.*

The foes of communism and the anti-socialist forces know this well. That is why they direct their attacks primarily against centralized planned leadership, against the political line followed by Communist parties in developing the economy of the socialist states. They see disruption of the single political line as the way to restoring capitalism.

The single economic policy is worked out and implemented by the Communist Party and the socialist state. That is why negating or underestimating the leading role of the Party and the socialist state, and all attempts at relieving them of leadership in the economy undermine the foundations of socialist society. Such anarcho-syndicalist trends are tantamount to a *de facto* negation of the advantages of economic planning; what is more, they also disrupt the unity of the political system, dividing and even counterposing various groups of working people. An overemphasis on economic guidance can result in blind subordination to the operation of economic laws and unrestricted spontaneous development, ultimately depriving society of the capacity for controlling the process of production in man's interest. This would strip the political leadership of power in the decisive social sphere, for it would become incapable of regulating relations between classes, maintaining cooperation between them and directing their development.

On the other hand, politics divorced from economics invites voluntarism and adventurism. It lacks favorable ground for development, loses the correct class orientation and is forced blindly to

follow the changing situation. In this sense, adventurism in politics is tantamount to spontaneity, while forcing one's will on the economy will lead to inevitable failure and loss of revolutionary gains.

In contrast, substantiating the constructive role of politics, Leninism accentuates the primacy of the political approach to the solution of economic problems. 'Without a correct political approach to the matter,' Lenin says, 'the given class will be unable to stay on top, and, consequently, will be incapable of solving its *production problem* either' (Vol. 32, p. 84). A miscalculation in economic policy may cause considerable harm not only to the economy, but also to the vital interests of classes and social strata, can impair relations between them and the socio-political unity of society. Lenin stressed that Marxists must examine the facts on which their policy is based from the standpoint of science. The Bulgarian Communist Party is guided by this Leninist postulate in its activity.

Today it is possible to assess the full impact of the decisions of the April 1956 Plenum of the CC BCP, and of the policy it worked out, ensuring success for the principles of leadership based on a knowledge of the objective laws operating during the completion of building socialism. Striving to improve the mechanics of our society, the Central Committee concentrated principally on creating a system of social administration that would give broad scope for the operation of the objective laws and secure a high and stable rate of economic and social development.

As Lenin pointed out, scientific political and economic leadership demands, 'first, that the experience of other countries be taken into account . . . ; second, . . . that account be taken of *all* the forces, groups, parties, classes and masses operating in a given country' (Vol. 31, pp. 80-81).

In capitalist society economic activity is measured by the basic criterion of profit. Where the will and interests of monopoly capital hold sway there is no special need to weigh all the complex interdependence of the interests of different groups. Under socialism, on the other hand, the economic and social progress of society as a whole is the decisive criterion, and we measure our economic initiatives from the angle of their correspondence to the interests of the working class, the cooperative farmers, the working intelligentsia and all the other social groups.

Scientific economic and political leadership means that politics should more than just keep abreast of the expanding economy, more than just follow in its wake: it must also create the conditions for the most comprehensive and effective realization of mature trends of economic and social progress. Changes in the socialist economy are gradual, and the Party, society, may not detect them

instantly. This makes policy decisions difficult and adds to the importance of a thorough knowledge of the substance of economic processes and of the trends in economic development. There have been instances in Bulgaria's history of socialist construction where the rapidly expanding economy, rid of capitalist and pre-capitalist relations, required the ruling party and the socialist state to take effective measures in order to bring politics abreast of the economic imperatives. We have had to rectify many things in 'midstream,' to review outdated notions, improving the system and methods of economic management.

The internal and external conditions in which the national economy develops under socialism require a measure of flexibility by the authorities, an ability to measure the effect of an action on the general economic and political tasks. This precisely explains some of the concrete trends in our economic policy. But in no circumstances may the Party and the socialist state trail in the wake of events, nor may they take hasty action, running ahead of, or departing from, the reality.

The best way to draw up and carry out a scientifically grounded economic policy is to make creative use of the experience gained by world socialism and the international Communist and workers' movement, taking due account of the specific conditions of the country. We could not care less for hostile comment that this experience is allegedly 'imposed' on us from outside. Bulgaria has benefited enormously from the creative application of the experience of fraternal parties and countries, and we shall continuously draw from this treasure-house gratefully in future too.

We have always attached special importance to studying and utilizing the experience of the CPSU, under whose leadership victory was achieved in the October Revolution, which effectuated Lenin's plan of building socialism, and is now building communism. The consistent Leninist policy of the CPSU is expressed forcefully in the draft 24th Congress directives for the five-year economic development plan for 1971-1975, a document of great international importance. *Bulgarian Communists view the directives of the 24th Congress of the CPSU as a model of the unity of politics and economics, of a realistic, scientifically grounded program envisaging the fulfilment of a large set of socio-economic tasks of the present stage of communist construction in the Soviet Union.*

Studying the experience of the CPSU and other fraternal parties, our Party finds the answers to many vital questions, thus avoiding unnecessary search and waste of time.

II.

Lenin's postulate that economy and politics form a unity is a

beacon in all BCP activity. This is especially visible at present, when the Party is preparing intensively for its 10th Congress. That Congress will enter history chiefly for adopting a new Party program. *Making constructive use of the achievements of the CPSU in the realm of theory and of its wealth of experience, of the experience of the parties of other socialist states and of the entire world Communist and workers' movement, the Bulgarian Communist Party is drawing up a comprehensive program for building a developed socialist society in Bulgaria on the basis of an objective evaluation of the socio-economic, political and cultural level achieved by the country; the greater all-round strength of the countries of the socialist community and the expanding fraternal cooperation and mutual assistance among them; the balance of forces in the international arena and the trends of the world revolutionary process; the unprecedented vistas that the socialist system offers for the technico-scientific revolution.* Its fulfilment will complete the building of the mature socialist society and open the way for creating the material and spiritual preconditions for the gradual passage to communism.

The new program will crown the arduous search by the Party and its Central Committee for the most suitable forms and methods of aligning the international with the national, of theory with practice and the immediate interests of the working people with those of their longer-term future. Despite the difficulties that inevitably accompanied our efforts in using Leninism creatively as the guide to militant action, we have never lost sight of the ultimate aim of the working-class movement and have never yielded to the temptations presented by transient, time-serving considerations. That, indeed, is where the Bulgarian Communist Party has amassed experience of which it is legitimately proud.

The new Party program will be a logical projection of the creative spirit instilled by the Fifth Party Congress (1948) held under the immediate leadership of Georgi Dimitrov, and, first and foremost, of the Party's April line. It will be a logical projection of the spirit and purpose of the supremely important program documents adopted by the Party at its congresses and plenary sessions, especially the July (1968) Plenum of the CC BCP.

Where we had previously examined only some particular aspect of social development, the July Plenum dealt comprehensively with the question of creating the necessary 'medium' for the best operation of the advantages of the new system of economic guidance. Having thoroughly examined all the factors involved, we arrived at the conclusion that to carry forward the principles of that system to the fullest, we must rebuild and synchronize with them the entire social structure.

When working out the principles of the new system of economic guidance we saw once more that the primacy of the political approach is not confined by any means to merely defining a scientifically grounded economic policy. That primacy is essential, too, in all social spheres, because the substantively correct guidelines of the economic policy have frequently to contend with the inertia and disalignment of the other spheres, either the political or the spiritual. *Hence the conclusion that the formulation and solution of the problems of politics and economy must be complex, and the two must be treated as sub-systems of a compound Party-led social system, on the harmonious growth and operation of which our success ultimately depends.*

We Bulgarian Communists regard constructive use of Lenin's teaching on the unity of economy and politics as essential in mastering and unfolding the technico-scientific revolution. We know that to overcome the historically inherited backwardness of our productive forces we must generate high rates of economic and technico-scientific progress. We regard the technical-scientific revolution as a natural ally that enables us to bypass certain technical stages in production with the aid of the experience of the industrially developed countries and to focus attention on the new and promising.

Economically, *for us the technical-scientific revolution is a way prepared by all the preceding social development for building up the productive forces of mature socialism.* It is a new step forward in transferring man's function of labor to the machine, laying the ground for the future comprehensively automated system of social production. To attain the degree of development assuring the passage to communism, we are naturally measuring our tasks by their degree of importance, giving priority to those that are ripe and practicable.

The draft of the new program outlines the prospect of the country's development in the coming few decades, with the main accent on man, the most important of the productive forces. Under socialism, the technical-scientific revolution is a triumph of man's audacity, a materialization of his creative powers. It is that materialized knowledge which becomes the instrument of practice and offers increasingly favorable opportunities for the existence and development of man. Concern for man has always been the Party's main concern, the sense and substance of all its activity.

We are aware that building a developed socialist society will occupy an entire historical phase in which we shall complete building the material and technical base of socialism, producing the conditions for a further improvement of socialist social relations through the mutual enrichment and gradual fusion of the two forms

of socialist ownership, elevating the spiritual culture of the nation, eliminating the disequilibrium in the development of the separate elements of the social structure and achieving the full flowering of the socialist individual. This historical phase is essential in the advance of our socialist society to communism. The formulation and substantiation of the many forms and methods of achieving the fundamental aims of this phase gives expression to *the mounting significance of the subjective factor, the increasing role of the Party.*

What are the main objectives of Party economic policy in building a mature socialist society?

First, *full utilization of intensive factors and the latest achievements in science and technology.* We are concentrating on the comprehensive mechanization and automation of production processes, all-round computerization of management techniques, extensive electrification, accelerated introduction of chemical technology, more industry concentration and specialization, integration of science and production and a more rational geographical allocation of the productive forces.

Intensive development presupposes substantial changes in the inter-industry and intra-industry structure, priority growth in power and technological pace-setting industries. Let me cite these figures from the 10th Party Congress draft directives for the 1971-75 socio-economic development plan: power output will rise 54 per cent, industrial production 55-60 per cent, engineering goods approximately 100 per cent, and computers and automation appliances will register a ten-fold rise. This, sixth five-year period will see the rise of a new industry, automobiles, a big step forward in ship-building, tractor output, chemicals and petrochemicals, plastics, etc. Translated into reality, the directives will assure continued and intensive growth of the economy, its increased effectiveness, faster progress in science and technology, with the entire process geared to a uniform technical policy.

The Party is paying close attention to all these questions not only because of their vital importance to our socialist economy, but also because they have *profound class, political implications.* Accelerated technological progress and a streamlined management system strengthen the positions of the working class, the most revolutionary class, the ruling class of our socialist society. This creates the necessary requisites for social homogeneity and for the future classless communist society.

There is also the class aspect: economic upbuilding in a given socialist country is a valuable contribution to the anti-imperialist struggle of the international working class.

Bourgeois ideologists have been exploiting the scientific and

technological revolution to bolster their theories of the 'post-industrial society,' the 'technocratic revolution,' etc. All this, of course, has a very definite purpose – to undermine socialism from within, to erode the socialist consciousness of our people through ideological subversion. We are countering these tactics by building up the economy and, in particular, by attaining new levels in technology, which is insolubly linked with increasing the effectiveness of socialist production.

The second main objective of the Party's economic policy in the period of building a mature socialist society is further perfection of socialist production relations and greater homogeneity of our society.

Our experience, as that of other fraternal countries, indicates that development of the productive forces modifies the two basic forms of socialist property – state and cooperative, and, consequently, the entire system of social relations. An analysis of the changes will show that these two forms of socialist property are developed and perfected through interpenetration and mutual enrichment.

Our policy is designed to accelerate and streamline the process by injecting a stronger element of planning, and by more concentration in industry, agriculture, transport and other branches through the establishment of state economic amalgamations and agrarian-industrial combines. Cooperative enterprises will borrow from state enterprises their effective methods of centralism in planning, central and one-man job management, etc., while state enterprises will borrow the cooperatives' know-how in unsubsidized operation, their method of tying personal incomes to performance by the whole collective, worker participation in management, wider use of social factors, election of leading cadres, etc.

The Bulgarian Communist Party's economic policy is predicated on the understanding that socialist society consists of two friendly classes, the working class and the cooperative farmers, and also the people's intelligentsia. These classes enter into specific relations and have their distinctive and common interests. It has consistently been our policy to *accentuate their unity and common interests and cement the worker-peasant alliance.*

That alliance, founded and steeled in harsh battle against capitalism and the monarcho-fascist dictatorship in united action with the healthy forces of the Bulgarian Popular Farmers' Union, has grown and gained in strength in the years of socialist construction. Our success in this should be attributed to the able utilization of Soviet experience, the constructive effort of our own Party, and its dual aim of simultaneous industrialization and agricultural co-operation.

The Party has worked consistently to provide rural areas with

the economic, social and cultural amenities of urban communities. It is our purpose steadily to obliterate differences between farm and industrial work, between the two friendly classes. One way of doing that is by evening out the incomes of cooperative farmers and industrial workers.

Agrarian-industrial combines are now being started throughout the country. Our agriculture is thus being strengthened through concentration and specialization, and this opens a huge area for the scientific and technological revolution. We can say with satisfaction that in Bulgaria the process of converting agricultural into a variety of industrial labor, of raising the village to the level of the town, has already reached a very advanced stage indeed.

The third *main objective* of Party economic policy is to *create optimal conditions for all-round satisfaction of the people's material and spiritual requirements*. And this, the Draft Program says, will be accomplished by raising wages and steadily lowering prices.

Higher living standards are a cardinal social and political goal. Measured against the past, we have fairly good indicators in food consumption. The job now is quickly to eliminate the disparity between available stocks of consumer goods and effective demand, in other words, provide an adequate supply and a wider range of goods to meet rising consumer standards. Much is also being done to improve retail trade, the service industries, housing, health facilities, pensions, etc.

There is the favorite bourgeois propaganda figment that the socialist countries restrict consumption in favor of accumulation. But under socialism there is no irreconcilable contradiction between the two. The very nature of our society, and the basic law of socialism, require a purposive combination of current and long-range goals to assure continuous economic growth and, on that basis, steady improvement of prosperity standards. And fashioning an optional combination of the two is, largely, the very substance of economic and political guidance, based on knowledge and use of the objective economic laws. In economic terms, this means, primarily, *an optimal pattern of accumulation and consumption at every given stage*.

Our economic and social goals are based on our achievements and potentialities and take into account the support of fraternal countries, above all the Soviet Union. Fully aware of the factors that have powered our progress, we are not oblivious to the magnitude of the tasks ahead and the difficulties we will have to cope with. But we know that a free people can surmount all difficulties: we owe the success of all our major undertakings to the devoted labor, knowledge and experience of our working class and people, to the efforts of public and political organizations and to the Communist Party's ability to marshal the nation's energies.

III.

Party economic policy has an incomparably greater part to play, now that we are building developed socialism. Attainment of our chief goals is a serious test, a test of the Party's ability to direct the process of building the new society and strengthen socialism's international positions.

Our Party has the wholehearted confidence of the people, won back in the years of struggle against capitalism and multiplied a hundred-fold in the years of socialist construction.

The Party is fully aware that it will continue to enjoy this confidence if its decisions are based on objective data and correct information and if it categorically rejects all manifestations of subjectivism, which inevitably leads to miscalculation and disorientation.

The Party will continue to enjoy the people's confidence if it does not resort to high-handed and bureaucratic methods, but rather to conviction and education, always explaining to the masses the meaning of its decisions and always heeding their opinions and proposals.

The Party will enjoy the people's confidence if it does not disregard their essential needs and requirements, but carefully studies them and sees to their satisfaction.

The Party will enjoy the people's confidence if it tells them the truth, does not conceal, but consistently resolves, the difficulties that crop up in social development and the negative phenomena and tendencies that appear among some sections of the population.

The Bulgarian Communist Party will cherish and strengthen its prestige and authority as leader of the people. In future too, its main concern – and this is set out in the Draft Program – will be to strengthen mutual confidence and unity of leaders, Party, class, people.

Socialism is the only genuine democracy. Socialist policy cannot be a kind of 'commanding force' with scant regard for objective laws and the people's interests and aspirations. This would make the people mechanical, unthinking executors of a will imposed from above. Such a policy, by its very substance, would be anti-Leninist, anti-Communist and despite all our 'pious wishes' would not lead to socialism, for only socialist democracy can fully activate the main productive force of society and cultivate in the people the qualities needed to build the new life.

Consistent socialist democracy imparts special features to the entire economic management mechanism: worker participation in drawing up directives and worker reliance on the socialist state and its economic levers to assure their fulfilment. *This is the only*

way to secure unity of aims in economic policy and of means in its implementation. Conversely, such unity cannot be achieved if economic management is entrusted to individual work collectives operating on their own: restricted means at their disposal will inevitably restrict their interests and aims.

True to the inviolable Leninist principle of democratic centralism, the Bulgarian Communists are enhancing *the role of the Party in perfecting social guidance of the country in building a developed socialist system*. To this end we have introduced measures that have further accentuated Party leadership as a key element of scientific management, enabling the Party successfully to accomplish its main leadership function of expressing, more fully, through its policy and activity, objective laws and tendencies, finding the most effective forms for organizing the masses and the state, economic and public institutions, assuring ideological and political unity of society and purposive coordination and harmonious development of all its components.

This correct approach – and practice has proved it correct – has greatly helped the country's integrated social and economic development, notably by providing the necessary conditions for structural changes in the economy, more scope for technological progress and the shift to intensive economic development.

However, some problems have still to be solved, and we continue to improve the management system, striving for fuller application of its underlying principles.

The social management system we are now perfecting instills in the worker a feeling that he is master of all the country's wealth as well as of the part at the disposal of his factory. The idea is to foster an atmosphere in relations between enterprises and the state, economic agencies and work collectives, where every person will feel responsible and closely interested in formulating and carrying out measures designed to raise economic effectiveness. To this end we are using the tested methods of moral and material incentives and the great energy generated by socialist emulation. That, too, is what the effort of public and state control is centered on.

The trade unions have a much bigger part to play now. Their function in a socialist society is not only to promote production, but also to safeguard the interests of the working people. Hitherto, this important aspect of trade union activity has received less attention and was underestimated, though our laws and Party decisions give the unions wide authority in this sphere, and they are being encouraged to use it with maximum effect.

Perfection of the social management system and its mechanism is the earnest of continued strengthening of the Party's ties with the people and of enhancing their role in achieving the momentous

aim of completing the building of a developed socialist society in our country.

IV.

The epochal importance of the Marxist-Leninist theory of the conformance of economics and politics stands out vividly in this age of the existence and development of the socialist world system.

The socialist countries' policy is a concentrated expression of their economic structure and principles and of the new character of their relations. Their identical policy aims stem from their common economic and political system. Their Communist parties are working for fuller utilization of socialism's advantages, including those that stem from the existence and development of the socialist world economic system. Today, the only correct political approach to economic upbuilding is to strengthen in every way the socialist world system and effectively combine the efforts of each country with the common effort, and national interests with international duty. The validity of that policy is determined by the fact that *the contradiction between socialism and capitalism is today the fundamental worldwide class contradiction between labor and capital.* Only if predicated on that concept can the policy of the socialist states, directed towards common goals, acquire a deep class significance and enable them to counter imperialism's global political strategy.

The primacy of political approach to their economic relations means that these relations cannot rest on narrow commercial considerations, and still less on unilateral advantage. *Only economic mutual assistance based on genuine equality and reciprocal advantage is expressive of the international class solidarity of the working people and fully accords with the political interests of the socialist world system.* At the same time, broad participation in the international socialist division of labor, specialization and co-operation and CMEA integration, present each country with immense opportunities for high and stable growth rates and higher prosperity standards for its people.

The international policy of the Bulgarian Communist Party, the Draft Party Program declares, is determined by the socialist nature of our society. Bulgaria's national interests, as those of other socialist countries, cannot be separated from its international interests. More, we cannot attain our national goals without coordinating our plans and efforts with those of other socialist countries and, first and foremost, the great land of Soviets. In this respect the experience of the socialist countries, both positive and negative, eloquently speaks for itself and does not require comment.

Identity of political aims makes it incumbent on our parties to

coordinate their foreign policy and cooperate on the international scene. Systematic bilateral and multilateral meetings and consultations and the work of the Warsaw Pact Political Consultative Committee give reality and permanence to the principles of socialist internationalism and allow for a uniform strategy and tactics in the fight against imperialism.

Uncompromising struggle against all departures from Marxism-Leninism, against Right and 'Left' opportunists, for the purity and creative development of Marxism-Leninism, is of decisive importance for the success of our great cause. The need for such struggle, repeatedly stressed in the joint decisions of fraternal parties, stems both from the internal position in individual countries and from the international situation. There is no ignoring the fact that imperialism wants to split our ranks and that some links of the socialist world system can – not without the help of imperialist subversion – be weakened.

As in the past, the Bulgarian Communist Party will combat every ideological subversion on the part of anti-communism, revisionism and 'Left' opportunism. It will fight every manifestation of nationalism and anti-Sovietism. And in this we shall draw on our vast ideological arsenal, but shall also employ economic policy, both domestic and international, aimed at wider and closer cooperation and integration with other socialist countries. *In successfully building socialism in Bulgaria and contributing to the fuller development of the socialist camp as an all-round political, economic, ideological, cultural and defensive community of countries and peoples who have chosen the socialist and communist path, we Bulgarian Communists and working people unswervingly follow the Leninist course of unity of economics and politics both in our own country and internationally.*

The world is the scene of a sharp political struggle. The class battles of today reveal with increasing clarity the main line of division 'between the mutually-opposed forces of socialism and imperialism. Final victory in the people's struggle for peace, democracy and socialism depends on the correctness of the Communist parties' policy, on their fidelity to Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, on their efforts to consolidate the unity of the Communist movement on the basis of Marxism-Leninism.

There need be no doubt that unity of the international Communist and workers' movement will gain in strength and scope notwithstanding all difficulties and imperialist ideological subversion. For politics is a concentrated expression of economics, and the vital interests of the peoples of the socialist countries, of the world working class and working people, demand only one kind of politics – the kind that assures cohesion and united action.



Towards full socialism

Arpad Pullai

I.

Practical, concrete application of Party democracy was the watchword in all preparations for the 10th Congress of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party (HSWP), held on November 23-28, 1970. This was in full accordance with the Party's Rules and policy. And the Central Committee afforded every facility for all Party members, and with the help of Party organizations, also non-party people, actively to share in appraising the Party's activities over the past period and in formulating its policy for the period ahead. It presented its proposals to the membership and made public its Congress theses. In them, the Party tersely but clearly reviewed its work since the last Congress, showed the country's progress, frankly and critically disclosed our main shortcomings and outlined future policy. The theses did not contain a detailed statement of the Party's views on various problems, nor a categorical answer to the questions they raise. They briefly outlined the direction of future development and expressed some thoughts on what had already been accomplished and what had to be accomplished in future. This provided ample material for fruitful discussion and created an atmosphere of lively and constructive exchange of views, enabling Party members to put forward their proposals and criticism and thus take a meaningful part in decision-making.

Furthermore, the Central Committee made the necessary organizational arrangements for such a broad exchange of views. Every Party branch held two meetings. The first discussed the report of the branch committee and the second the CC theses and also elected a new committee and delegates to the Party conference of the given area. More than 90 per cent of the membership attended these meetings and 30 per cent took part in the debate. The Congress Theses were on the agenda of all factory, district, city and regional Party Conferences and were discussed by a conference of the Budapest organization.

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At the request of the CC, the Theses were considered by the Fatherland People's Front Council, the Central Trade Union Council, the National Council of Cooperatives, the National Women's Committee, the Central Committee of the YCL and the Presidium of the Academy of Sciences.

In submitting the Theses for such wide and open discussion the Central Committee's purpose was to bring not only Party members, but the entire people into the work of preparing the Congress so that its resolutions would reflect the opinion of the broad masses and every aspect of the country's experience. Continuing that policy, prior to the Congress the Central Committee summed up the results of the discussion, examined the proposals as generalized at Party conferences and other gatherings, and defined its position on all the questions involved. Many of the proposals made at all these meetings were in one or another way reflected in the Central Committee report, others were sent to the Congress resolutions committee for consideration.

Important, too, was the fact that Congress delegates were given copies of the Central Committee's draft report, setting out the basic data on Party activity, economic and social development and the general state of the nation. The report was published in the Party's central organ and was supplemented by detailed information compiled by the Central Statistical Board.

The fruitful nationwide pre-Congress discussion showed that there was complete unity within the Party and between it and the people, and close identity of views on fundamental questions.

The 10th Congress approved and reaffirmed the Party's policy and practical activity as having well served the interests of the working class and the people generally.

Congress delegates expressed high appreciation of Hungary's achievements, but at the same time candidly discussed weak points in our work, our unsolved problems, criticized negative phenomena in society, and all the things that are impeding more rapid social and economic progress. In discussing our achievements, delegates were careful not to provide any cause for complacency or for overestimating our capabilities. At the same time, however, the Congress objectively, in line with our realistic potentialities and possibilities, mapped out the path of continued advance. The democratic atmosphere at the Congress, the wide publicity given to its proceedings, the open and frank statement and discussion of the country's problems, the solutions worked out at the Congress – all this strengthened the people's confidence in, and heightened their respect for the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party.

II.

Hungary's development is dynamic. The country is confidently

advancing on the socialist path; and its progress in socialist construction has made for a more effective pattern of production relations and public ownership and has strengthened the economic foundation of our system and of working-class power. The overwhelming share of the means of production is socialist property. This finds expression, in particular, in the fact that 98 per cent of the national income comes from the socialist sector.

In the 25 years since liberation, Hungary has become a medium-developed industrial country.

Economic and social progress has wrought a profound change in the structure of our society and in the position of its classes. The country has a new class basis, with more than half of the population, five million, at work, and of this number 72 per cent are blue-collar and white-collar workers, 25 per cent members of cooperatives and only 3 per cent artisans, small tradesmen and professionals working on their own. The changed class structure has completely eliminated class antagonism. The population shift from the rural areas to towns has slowed down to a bare trickle. What we have is a process of smoothing out and gradually overcoming class differences, and community of fundamental interests, friendship, cooperation and mutual assistance are now the principal features of class relations.

Socialism, however, does not preclude interest differences and temporary contradictions, though they do not affect the political foundation of power. Such contradictions are but natural concomitants of socialist development. We should not overlook contradictions that arise despite basically common interests, or underestimate them in policy-making, for if they are allowed to accumulate they can – and this has been proved by our own experience too – lead to social conflict, hamper our forward movement and the proper utilization of the material and moral stimuli of socialism.

The Party carefully studies the problems of social development as they arise, always endeavoring to disclose contradictions in good time and to find the best way of resolving them. The Congress was unanimous in the opinion that the socio-economic tasks of building full socialism call for conscious harmonizing, at a higher level, of the interests of the laboring classes and strata, more effective application of material and moral incentives and a more accurate and tangible expression of society's requirements.

III.

The Congress devoted much attention to continued expansion of socialist democracy which, the Party believes, is a basic requisite of social development.

State-political power in the Hungarian People's Republic is

exercised by the working class in alliance with the peasantry and in cooperation with other laboring classes and strata. Ours is a proletarian dictatorship which, in its Marxist-Leninist understanding, implies the fullest democracy, rule by the majority. It expresses the will of the masses and guarantees their participation in administering state and public affairs.

Democracy is the natural form of socialism, its method of guiding society. The institutions and leaders of socialist society are guided in their attitude to the people by the understanding that their mission is to serve the people, to whom they are accountable. And this holds good even if individual bodies, institutions or individuals sometimes forget that rule.

An effective share in managing state and public affairs is not only the people's right, but is also essential for the proper functioning of government organizations. Hence, continued development of democracy presupposes that various institutions, above all elected bodies, will more effectively exercise public control over political life and economic processes. This will give the people the necessary experience, and also the feeling that they have a meaningful role in governing society, that their participation helps state organizations function in accordance with the aims of socialism.

Social and economic conditions in Hungary and the present international setting show, in our opinion, that it would be untimely to consider restricting the role of the socialist state and to delegate more of its functions to public initiative. Our experience has convinced us that relinquishing or weakening the organized functions of the state can only impede and disorganize things. The development of socialist democracy presupposes simultaneous strengthening of the central authority and more independence to local authority.

Hungary's development has been such that we have only one political party, the HSWP, and we have no intention of changing that. Long years experience have fully confirmed that our one party system makes for good government and for a lively political democratic atmosphere. That being so, the Party attaches much importance to perfecting the electoral system. Universal suffrage and equal elections by secret ballot represent a vast gain for our people. Recent modifications of the electoral law are meant to allow fuller expression and implementation of the people's will. Now nomination meetings enjoy wider competence and can put forward several candidates. The electorate can thus exert a greater influence to assure that the best people are returned to the State Assembly and the local government bodies. Extension of the voters' rights enhances their civic responsibility and tightens public control of all elected officials.

Extending the rights of local and intermediate-level elective

bodies, and perfecting their methods of work, is now one of the central tasks in improving the work of government. And we are convinced that we are taking a long step forward in building socialism and improving the people's conditions by allowing local government bodies, upon which much depends, more independence and responsibility. Besides eliminating much red tape, more responsibility for local government bodies and their development as links in the system of administering the state, as organs of popular self-government, conforms with the principle of democratic centralism which is the very foundation of our state system and of the political activity of its various organs. Central institutions will thus be able to concentrate on the most important matters (from the standpoint of society as a whole) while local matters will be handled by bodies best equipped to work out satisfactory solutions. An important condition here is a steady increase of the material means at the disposal of local government bodies.

Continued perfection of the administration and development of socialist democracy, in particular more independence to local bodies, is, we are convinced, a correct class policy that will strengthen the socialist system.

IV.

The balanced and healthy process of public life is due to the enhanced leading role of the Party in the past four years.

As the Communist vanguard of the working class, armed with the scientific theory of Marxism-Leninism, the HSWP bears responsibility for the destinies of our country and the guidance of our society. It has no intention of ruling by command; it serves the working class, and the working people, never places itself above the people, for it knows that it exists for the people and not vice versa. And our people highly appreciate the Party's efforts and policies; its leading role is accepted by the vast majority of the population.

The Party can discharge its historic mission only because it is guided by the theory of Marxism-Leninism, which it applies creatively. It seeks to solve all problems on the basis of concrete analysis of the given situation and with due account to the experience of the Hungarian and international workers' movement. It teaches Party members carefully to examine the processes at work in society, clearly to see the new problems and to find correct solutions.

The HSWP is concentrating public attention and effort on our central aims. It enlists political leaders, scientists and specialists to study the country's problems and to contribute to their solution. Major problems are the subject of nationwide discussion. Solu-

tions formulated in this way more correctly reflect reality and can rely on mass support and mass participation in carrying them out. The working people accept the Party's leading role because they know that its principles and methods accord with their interests.

The composition of the Party has, in the main, developed satisfactorily, in accordance with the Ninth Congress decisions. The numerical growth of Party organizations corresponds to their growing political influence. Significantly, more than half of the membership joined after 1956: communist ideals and Party policy have won over hundreds of thousands, and many decided to join the Party, one more proof of the Party's deep roots.

Its proletarian character is manifested in its composition – the majority of Party members, about 70 per cent, are manual workers or former workers.

Our cardinal organizational principle is democratic centralism. Strict adherence to the Lenin norms of Party life is the best guarantee against policy distortions and incorrect application of Marxism-Leninism. Our own experience, positive as well as negative, has taught us the consequences of inability to apply Marxism-Leninism in its scientific totality. Deviation from democratic centralism militates against the Party's political unity and makes organized activity impossible. The end result is that the working class loses its militant vanguard, is disorganized, and this hampers achievement of its historic aims.

Democratic centralism implies conscious submission to discipline, which is strengthened by collective discussion and Party democracy. We are devoting much attention to this aspect, for it concerns not only the Party. It has much wider implications, for ours is a ruling Party and promotion of Party democracy is of decisive importance for democracy in all spheres of the country's political and public life. If democracy within the Party is not developed, it is bound to weaken also in society, with the masses steering clear of active politics, and this could do irreparable damage to our cause.

Hungary's Communists are unanimous in approving and upholding their Party's policy. But unity is not something given once and for all; it has to be renewed in preserving political work and comradely discussion. And it is this ideological concord and concerted action of the membership, based on deep conviction and directed towards a single political goal, that is at the root of the Party's strength.

New tasks in socialist construction call for higher standards of Party leadership at every level and in every area, and for more personal responsibility of Party members in carrying out ac-

cepted policies. The Party counts on the dedication of its members, their loyalty to the Communist ideas, their energy, initiative and organization.

In the course of the pre-Congress discussion there was justified criticism of instances of Party policy on more or less important questions not being carried out, or carried out inconsistently, in a distorted way. It is probably true to say that this is the most sensitive point in practical implementation of the Party's leading role. But it also has to be said that such facts are due to inadequate control of how Party decisions are carried out. In recent years the Party has invested much thought and effort in devising solutions for a number of cardinal social problems. That, however, is no justification for inadequate control, and public criticism indicates that such control is not everywhere satisfactory. The Party should devote at least as much energy to control as goes into the formulation of decisions, for, in the final analysis, the effectiveness of these decisions depends on control. Ability to carry out its policy in practice has always been a distinguishing feature of the Communist Party. The tasks facing us, and the confidence reposed in us by the people, make it incumbent on the Party more consistently to check on how its directives are realized. That should become the criterion, a just and objective one, of performance by Party organizations and all our cadres.

The internal situation is calm. In the past four years our people have repeatedly displayed political maturity and patriotism and have actively shared in the country's constructive effort. This should be attributed to the work of the Party, to its ties with the masses. Our achievements in socialist construction stem from our Leninist policy of alliance of all laboring classes and strata, from the unity of our people. And basic to our policy is the effort further to strengthen the worker-peasant alliance, in which the working class plays the leading role, the alliance of all classes and strata and the political alliance of Communists and non-Party people, of believers and non-believers – of all who accept our overall objective, the building of socialism.

This unity policy, combined with sustained Marxist orientation, is a great force, indeed a decisive condition of progress. For socialism cannot be built by Party members alone, for all their Marxist knowledge. Socialist society must be the creation of the people, the fruit of their labors, their common gain.

More independence and responsibility for public organizations and mass movements is an essential condition for strengthening the Party's leading role and multiplying its ties with the masses.

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of working-class power, the triumph of the socialist system, the 10th Congress report says, have produced new conditions for trade union activity. Their principal task, one they are successfully coping with, is defense of working-class political power and the common interests of the people, and support of socialist construction, which is one of the sources of socialism's strength. But the unions cannot confine themselves to that. The socialist state guarantees, and our laws and collective agreements safeguard, the workers' rights, but experience has shown that more than that is needed. For laws, resolutions and agreements defining working and general conditions are carried out by people, and we should not, therefore, rule out individual cases of infringement of a worker's rights, or of conflicts of interest. Under socialism, too, there is still the need for the unions to stand up for the rights and interests of work collectives and individual workers. This imposes a double duty on the unions in a country ruled by the working class; on the one hand, concern for the common interests of the people, and on the other, looking after the interests of trade union members, of each worker. The trade unions have been given more authority and in the past four years have played a bigger political role. The management reform and economic decentralization have enhanced the importance of factory trade union committees and have made for wider shop-floor democracy.

The position of women and youth was another problem that received close attention at the Congress and recently it had also been examined by the Party Central Committee.

The equality of women is, of course, fully guaranteed by law but the Central Committee found that it is not infrequently infringed, that not everywhere is the role of woman in society correctly understood, and not everywhere have material and organizational obstacles been eliminated. And to rectify the situation, the Central Committee instituted a series of measures designed to improve woman's material and social position and to assure stringent observance of her equal rights.

The Party has always shown concern for the youth, for it is fully aware of its responsibility for the country's future. The overwhelming majority of young Hungarians support the Party's policy, are animated by socialist ideals and are diligently working and studying. That our young people, and particularly young workers, are better educated, both generally and in their trades, than the older generation is one of socialism's outstanding achievements. Yet much remains to be done by way of educating the youth, promoting its interest in public life and raising its political and production activity and its feeling of responsibility to the country.

V.

The Congress could record successful fulfilment, and in some areas overfulfilment, of the third five-year economic development plan. The underlying principles of our economic policy, approved by the Ninth Congress, have proved correct and effective. Three years have passed since introduction of the new economic management system, and today we can say: the reform has yielded positive results; far from endangering socialist planning, it has raised it to a higher level. The reform has strengthened socialism, produced a more balanced economic structure, raised prosperity standards, improved the general conditions of the working people and enlarged our foreign trade – we have fulfilled all our international contracts. More independence to enterprises has given management and work collectives a higher sense of responsibility, and has led to a better production-market ratio.

National income is up 39-40 per cent on 1965, a higher gain than planned; real incomes are up by an average of 30-32 per cent, real wages per worker rose 17 per cent. A 44-hour work week has been introduced in industry and construction. Social welfare has been extended, with per capita expenditure up 42 per cent in the past four years; more family grants and pensions are being paid and child care grants have been introduced. In 1966-70 we built 320,000 housing units, more than in any of the earlier five-year plans. A distinguishing feature of socio-economic change in Hungary is reduction in the economic-level differential between various regions and more equitable social welfare benefits.

Hungary erased age-old backwardness in 25 years; this should be seen as an epochal achievement of our people. We have entered a period of economic development in which we can set ourselves the very real goal of advancing from a medium-developed to a highly developed industrial country.

Our main political and economic goals for the coming period are set out in the fourth five-year plan adopted by the State Assembly shortly before the Party congress. We shall be concentrating on increasing and streamlining power production, expansion in aluminum and chemicals, larger output of transport equipment, modernizing construction operations, reconstruction of the clothing industry, continued rationalization of freight carriage and wider use of computers. In agriculture, the aim is increased output, particularly of animal products.

Higher effectiveness remains a key goal in all our economic plans, but now it is to be achieved in a different way. The rising requirements of the people, continued and higher-level socialist construction, participation in the international division of labor –

all this makes it imperative to shift to intensive development, with the accent on new technology and the utilization of all new advances in science. This is also necessary considering that our man-power reserve is nearing exhaustion point.

We are continuing to streamline economic management. Its decentralization and more independence to enterprises have already proved productive of results. The Party believes that central management agencies, the government and its executive organs, will operate more efficiently once they are free of day-to-day supervision. Decentralization enables them to concentrate on in-depth analysis of, and solutions for, crucial problems and on perfecting operation in key sectors of the economy.

The building of socialist society must go hand in hand with systematic improvement of prosperity standards, and that is the object of Party policy on living standards, incomes, prices and social welfare. Socialism is being built for the benefit of man, it serves man; everything in our society – economics, culture, science – must be subordinated to man's interests.

We must be able to give people more of the good things of life, and to do this we have to work out a correct ratio between earnings and prices. In the coming years we intend to equalize income-rise proportions of workers, professionals and farmers. Special attention will be paid to improving housing conditions. We are working towards more differentiated growth of incomes in accordance with work done, and we believe this is a just and socialist approach. The income system, with the exception of wages and social subsidies, will be altered and perfected in a way to produce a more even pattern of family incomes.

Realization of our economic plans is inseparable from the extension of international economic contacts. Now, with the rapid growth of productive forces and continued progress in science and technology, development and production processes increasingly transcend national boundaries. International economic contacts have a direct bearing on our economy: 38 per cent of the national income now comes from foreign trade, which rose more than 50 per cent in the third five-year plan and the same growth rate is envisaged for the current five-year period. Two-thirds of our foreign trade is with the socialist countries, but we shall extend economic links with capitalist countries on a basis of mutual advantage. We are also interested in more multiform contacts with developing countries.

Production and technological cooperation with the socialist states, steady enlargement of economic integration of the CMEA countries, primarily trade and technological cooperation with the USSR, offer inestimable opportunities for accelerating our own economic advance.

The Hungarian People's Republic fully supports multiform socialist economic integration of the CMEA countries with full account for the independence of their national economies.

VI.

The 10th Party Congress recorded continued progress in our ideological work. Marxism-Leninism enjoys greater influence; we have more, and better qualified, propaganda cadres; the scientific world outlook of the working class plays an increasingly determinative role in our whole system of education. In 1969-70, over two million people studied under the auspices of Party, trade union and YCL organizations. Marxism-Leninism is winning increasingly secure positions in science and the arts and in public thinking and activity. The social sciences are developing, and Communists working in them are helping the Party study and resolve the current and long-range problems of our socialist society.

The formation of socialist collectivist consciousness, public opinion and socialist ethical norms is an important element of Hungarian public life. And in this area, too, we can look back on significant success: socialist morality has been strengthened, there is closer contact between the individual and the collective, also a higher sense of social responsibility and duty to the community. However, in a transition society bourgeois views and old habits still exist, are sometimes reproduced or temporarily strengthened.

We are waging an unremitting struggle against petty-bourgeois views opposed to our socialist world outlook and our understanding of human ideals. And in this struggle the Party resorts principally to ideological means and to methods of conviction, but it also believes that more vigorous measures are necessary against alien views and habits.

We do not consider Marxism-Leninism a consummated or closed system. Now as in the past, the Party must always be able in a timely way to detect new features and find Marxist solutions to problems as they arise. It considers it its duty both to uphold the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism and steadily to develop scientific theory. In present circumstances, upholding and disseminating Marxist-Leninist ideas and the socialist world outlook entail struggle against diverse hostile and erroneous conceptions. We shall allow no one to place in question the tested and proven fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism, the laws it has discovered, its methods. We categorically reject any pluralization of Marxism, just as we reject the preaching of different trends within Marxism. We are against a dogmatic approach to theory and, equally, all manner of revisionist 'innovations.' Our task is to develop science and assure its optimal application in practice.

Socialist construction requires higher skill and cultural levels. Their attainment is a complex problem and is closely intertwined with another, the formation of socialist consciousness, socialist morality and patriotism. This, in turn, requires improvement of public education. Our schools are open to all young people who have the desire and ability to study. But the Party holds that workers' children should be given every support and assistance in education.

In the arts and culture, the Party will continue its policy of abstaining from administrative measures and interference with the work of artists searching for their own distinctive style. Every artist is free to work in accordance with his own views. But we shall not allow anyone to question the competence of the Party and socialist state on matters of ideological principle. And we shall always support works of socialist realism, works of high art and high idea-content. We shall encourage an atmosphere in which the progressive forces predominate, shall not allow anti-social and undisciplined behavior, cynicism, anything that goes against the collective.

VII.

The numerous meetings and discussions that preceded the Congress, and the Congress debate itself, proved that Party members and our entire working people accept our foreign policy and activity. Now as in the past, we shall steer a principled internationalist course that contributes to peace and democracy and strengthens socialism's international positions. In this way, to the best of our ability, we shall assure favorable external conditions for our people's constructive effort.

The Party's underlying foreign policy principle is close cooperation and unity with the socialist world system in all spheres of endeavor. Continuous development and consolidation of friendship and multiform contacts with the main force of that system, the Soviet Union, is of very special importance for Hungary. We maintain and emphasize that a correct, principled attitude towards the Soviet Union and the CPSU is the touchstone and criterion of the internationalism of every Communist party. Our 10th Congress formulated the principles of Hungarian-Soviet relations in these words: 'The Soviet Union is our liberator, ally, faithful friend and most reliable support in every area of our life and work. Our attitude towards the Soviet Union is clear and unalterable, it rests on a firm, principled, internationalist basis and fully accords with our national interests.'

In the past period the Party and government have extended

political, economic and cultural ties with the Soviet Union and other members of the socialist world system. We are working for cooperation and international unity with all socialist countries, including those with which there are differences.

The HSWP supports every effort for closer united action by the Communist and Workers' parties in the battle against imperialism; it supports cohesion of all anti-imperialist forces. In the battle against the class enemy, we strive for united action of all Communist parties, regardless of possible differences on some political issues. Our Party and government are anxious to promote cooperation with independent Afro-Asian and Latin American countries. We stand for peaceful coexistence of states with differing social systems. And in line with that policy we are enlarging our contacts with capitalist countries. Together with our allies we urge convocation of a European security conference. We are working to eliminate the seats of war, for the settlement of all international issues through negotiation, and for international detente.

The 10th Congress of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party approved the Party's policy, reaffirmed its general line and emphasized that continued effort to build full socialism will be the Party's and people's program for the next four years. The situation at home and internationally favors achievement of that goal.

The Party is pursuing a firm principled policy and is creatively applying Marxism-Leninism. In this it has the active support of the working class and all working people, as was demonstrated anew by the 10th Congress. The Party is confidently directing the building of socialism, thereby fulfilling its revolutionary duty to the Hungarian people and the international working class.



New Soviet five-year plan

Five-Year Plan – the words first resounded throughout the world more than 40 years ago. Some uttered them with hope, others with fear, still others with distrust, even contempt. The Soviet Union's first five-year plan was the first attempt at socialist economic planning, the first plan of its kind in the whole of history. It continued the work begun with the Electrification of Russia Plan, drawn up in 1920 under Lenin's direct guidance and expressive of his ideas and principles of socialist planning. Today many countries have adopted long-range planning and the Soviet Union is discussing the directives for its ninth five-year program to be submitted to the 24th Congress of the Communist Party.

Like all its predecessors, the new plan has aroused worldwide interest. And that is no more than natural, if only because it concerns a country that accounts for most of the socialist community's industrial output and for about one-fifth of the world total. The strength-relation between socialism and capitalism will to a substantial degree depend on fulfilment of the plan.

And interest in the plan is understandable also because workers in the capitalist countries regard Soviet economic planning as the most progressive way of organizing social production and the most just way of apportioning its results. Developing countries, confronted with the complex problems of shaping their present and future, liberally draw on Soviet experience in planning their own economic progress.

The success of the eight five-year plans – the first was launched in October 1928 – has clearly and conclusively demonstrated the superiority of a planned socialist economy. For Soviet plans are fully realistic and achievable. Contrary to all the dark forebodings of our enemies, it was the five-year plans that enabled the USSR, in a remarkably short space of time, to develop from backward, 'bast-sandal' Russia into a powerful socialist state that has to be reckoned with by every one, regardless of political sympathies and antipathies.

Planning can be a realistic and effective economic instrument employed for the benefit of people only in a society in which the means of production are public property. That Marxist proposition has been fully confirmed by experience.

The socialist countries' economic plans are understood and accepted by the men of labor, for they concern the interests and future of every family and, hence, become an inalienable part of life. A perusal of the draft directives will enable Soviet citizens to form a clear picture of their country's future and also to appreciate what it has achieved under the leadership of the Leninist Communist Party.

The framing of economic directives, which define the principles and methods of the socialist economy's development, is one of the biggest, and one of the most important, areas of Party activity. The Party is always mindful of Lenin's injunction that economics is a crucial policy sphere, and accordingly, has always kept economic problems in the center of its attention and has at all its congresses set out concrete targets of economic growth.

Every five-year plan continues the work of its predecessor and is basically similar to it. A reading of the new directives will show that they carry forward the root principles of socialist economics.

The plan directives adopted by the 15th Party Congress in 1927 stressed the need to assure optimal economic proportions and a proper balance between consumption and accumulation, producer and consumer goods, industry and agriculture, etc. In the prewar years and during the postwar economic rehabilitation we had to alter this pattern and to lay more stress on heavy industry.

Now we can fully appraise the efforts of the Party and the people in prewar socialist industrialization and postwar development. Priority expansion in heavy industry gave the country technical and economic independence and strengthened its defense capacity. But at a certain stage it also contributed in a very decisive way to higher growth rates in the consumer goods industries.

For several years there has been a distinct trend to even out growth rates in both these branches. Indeed, that has been a fundamental element of Party and government economic policy. In this respect, as in many others, the draft directives continue the course set by the 23rd Congress for the Eighth Five-Year Plan. The 1971-75 program envisages a growth rate of 44-48 per cent in consumer goods (group B) and 41-45 per cent in producer goods (group A).

But there is this qualifying proviso: Soviet planning agencies have no intention of 'repealing' the law substantiated by Marx that a higher rate of growth in producer goods is an essential condition for expanded production based on technical progress.

However, that general law does not preclude a different ratio in certain periods to meet concrete requirements. That is precisely why in every one of our five-year plans the accent is on targets that meet priority requirements of social development.

In the past it has not always been possible to appropriate the funds needed to enlarge the light industries and to refashion agriculture along industrial lines. But beginning with the mid-fifties investments in agriculture have steadily increased, and in March 1965 the Party Central Committee formulated a series of measures to intensify development in agriculture. They have produced good results: average gross farm output in 1966-70 was 21 per cent above the 1961-65 figure. The trend is continued in the new plan: centralized investments will add up to 82 billion roubles. The figure stands for millions of hectares of newly irrigated land and for hundreds of thousands of tractors and a wide range of other equipment to increase farm output at approximately the same rate as in the past five years, but with a smaller work force.

Every five-year plan is similar to its predecessor but it also has its own distinctive features. The new directives center on social measures, higher material and cultural levels, and production programs are geared to that. This is the formulation given in the directives: *The main task of the five-year plan is to secure a considerable rise in the material and cultural levels of the people through a high tempo of development of socialist production, its higher effectiveness, scientific and technological progress and accelerated growth of labor productivity.*

Our plans are expressive of the purpose of socialist production, namely, fuller satisfaction of the continuously rising material and cultural requirements of society. In keeping with the basic economic law of socialism and its basic policy tenets, the Communist Party sets the rate for improving living standards in accordance with realistic economic potentialities and existing production levels.

Scientifically grounded economic policy plays a much bigger role in the present stage of building communism. Only a party armed with Marxist-Leninist theory, with rich experience in communist transformations, is capable of properly guiding the economy and finding solutions for the problems involved in the continued progress of socialist society. This heightened creative and organizing role of the Party is expressed in the draft directives. The Party's economic policy, its general line, its consistent Leninist course, are embodied in the concrete targets of the five-year plan.

Per capita real incomes will increase substantially, approximately by 30 per cent over the five years. Payment for work done remains the main source of higher income, but, as in the past, the share

of income from social funds will rise more steeply, by as much as 40 per cent. The increased expenditure will be allocated much the same as before, to improve health and education facilities, provide higher pensions and student grants.

With the present scope and level of socialist production, it is only natural that more attention should be focussed on quality. In terms of higher living standards this means, for instance, not only more consumer goods, but of higher quality and wider range.

In short, the plan is designed comprehensively to satisfy the material and spiritual requirements of the people, and in this we have one more manifestation of the humanism of socialism.

The *continuity* of the Party's economic policy is expressed not only in balanced economic development towards a definite goal, but also in the means and methods employed to attain that goal. Higher productivity of social labor was envisioned in Party resolutions away back in the early twenties. And the goal is clearly formulated also in the 1961 Party program. It was reaffirmed in September 1965 by the Central Committee Plenum which called for a maximum rise in the effectiveness of production, and this is now central to the draft directives.

Higher productivity is decisive in raising industrial effectiveness. In the past production was boosted mainly by relying on the extensive type of development. Now, employment growth in production has slowed down sharply. There has been a rapid advance in such non-productive areas as science, education, medical care, culture and the service industries. In the coming years industry will virtually use the same number of workers without, however, lowering growth rates. Under the new five-year plan, 80 per cent of the national income increase and 87-90 per cent of the industrial output gain will come from higher productivity.

Socialism allows for more rational use of available labor power, so that every person can do his job creatively and with maximum effect. This implies steady elimination of manual labor and labor-consuming operations, also unskilled work in all branches of the economy. And to achieve this, the new plan makes provision for the training of large numbers of skilled workers and specialists: no less than 7,500,000 will be trained in occupational schools and courses.

Parallel with higher labor productivity, other factors are being brought to bear to intensify production. Reference is to optimal utilization of raw and other materials, fuel and power, the country's production funds – machinery and other equipment, buildings and installations – and its natural resources – land, water reserves, minerals, forests.

The plan calls for a greater output and application of more effec-

tive machinery, better use of available machinery and plan, both in terms of time and capacity, and higher yield for every rouble invested in the economy – in short, higher output with less expenditure. This is a cardinal factor in the accelerated growth of material well-being. Another factor is a further increase in national income, which is to go up 37-40 per cent.

The *higher* role of intensive factors lends special importance to scientific and technological progress. It will contribute in no small measure to solution of the major socio-economic problems posed by the changing character of labor resulting from replacement of manual work by machines, the design and introduction of fundamentally new tools, materials and technological processes.

A better structure of production, better inter-industry and intra-industry proportions have an important bearing on technological progress. The new five-year plan foresees especially rapid expansion in power, engineering, chemicals, petrochemicals and natural gas, all of which are essential to technological progress.

Many concrete examples of such progress will be found in the text of the draft directives. Here are some of them: the world's biggest blast furnaces of 5,000 cu.m. capacity, dump-truck trailer trains of 120-ton capacity, 100 cu.m. excavators, nuclear power plants with one million kw. generators, 1.5 million volt long-distance power lines.

Technological progress is organically linked with science, and the draft directives single out development of fundamental and applied research with the rapid introduction of results in the economy as a cardinal goal for the next five years. The research program, embracing virtually every area of science, testifies to the country's vast scientific potential. Important tasks are set also for the social sciences, which play no small part in working out the guidelines of socialist development.

Intensive development also implies perfecting economic planning and management. A start on that was made by the eighth five-year plan with the introduction of new planning methods and economic incentives. Now that policy will be carried further with all enterprises and other production and service organizations operating on the economic accountability principle placed under the new management system.

The draft directives provide for conditions that will raise the responsibility, and material incentives, of enterprises, amalgamations and ministries in maximizing production with the minimal expenditure of labor, materials and investments. Management at all levels will have more operative independence, but also more opportunities to draw up optimal plans for making the most efficient use of existing production facilities and improving general operation.

Progressive planning methods are a must for the Soviet economy, and something new is added at each development stage. For instance, the Soviet Union has been constantly perfecting its system of economic balance sheets and in the next five-year period this will be complemented by computerized optimal industry-wide plans. The new five-year program is tied in with the overall plan for geographical allocation of the productive forces up to 1980. And so, every new five-year plan has a closer technico-scientific and economic substantiation.

To be an internationalist in practice, Lenin taught us, means doing 'the maximum achievable in one country for the development, support and awakening of the revolution in *all countries*.'

In common with its predecessors, the new plan is permeated with the spirit of revolutionary internationalism. For the Soviet Union its five-year plans have never been merely an internal, national matter. The Soviet peoples are interested in having all socialist countries attain higher industrial, agricultural, scientific and cultural levels and consistently higher living standards. They want to see the developing countries rapidly overcoming economic backwardness and building an independent national economy. They want to see the mounting unity of the proletarians of all lands in the struggle against imperialism and war, for peace, democracy and socialism.

The Soviet contribution to the development of the socialist world system, the leading revolutionary force and bulwark of the anti-imperialist movement, has been steadily increasing. But in forming closer economic ties with socialist and newly-independent developing countries, the USSR is not acting as a philanthropic benefactor. Its consistent policy of comradely mutual assistance and mutually advantageous cooperation will continue to operate in future too.

The Soviet Union will continue to facilitate in every way intensive economic development in other socialist countries and fuller use of the advantages of the technological revolution. In 1970, the CMEA countries coordinated their 1971-75 plans, thereby allowing for closer socialist division of labor.

The complexity of modern economy, the vast scale of modern enterprises, and the big part played by new lines of production – these are all factors that predetermine the benefits of CMEA economic integration. And practice has shown that joint economic projects yield maximum effect. Various forms of economic cooperation will be employed in the new five-year period: production cooperation and specialization, joint projects to develop fuel, power and raw material resources, technical rationalization of transport and telecommunications. In sum, the object is comprehensive cooperation of the socialist countries in many segments of production and also

in science and technology and foreign trade among themselves and with other countries.

The USSR will assist in the construction of many new industrial units in developing countries and will train personnel for them. With this aim in view, it is extending stable economic, scientific and technical contacts with developing countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America on a basis of mutual advantage. Needless to say, this will do much to consolidate their economic independence.

At the same time, true to its peace policy, the USSR will enlarge economically justified trade, scientific and technical contacts with capitalist countries prepared to cooperate in these fields.

Communists and non-Party people, men and women from all walks of life, had an active share in discussing the draft directives. From the very start the discussion was business-like. It was not confined to suggestions on what else should be put into the five-year plan. The main concern in all discussion contributions was to improve things in one or another sector of the economic and cultural front, to seek out new potentialities for increasing and perfecting economic performance.

'Make every minute count' – that was the appeal of a famed building worker, S. Lubchikov, in an article in *Pravda*, analyzing ways and means of increasing productivity in construction. Next to his article, *Pravda* published one by V. Kafarov, Corresponding Member of the USSR Academy of Sciences, on the training of specialists in chemical cybernetics. Another article on the same page, by trade union official S. Tarasov, discussed construction of more sanatoria for workers in some parts of Siberia.

And that is just one page of *Pravda*. All other newspapers, radio and television carry messages from different parts of the country on the draft directives and they are discussed at workers' meetings. There is a general feeling of responsibility for the country's future, for the growth of its wealth and prosperity. The world can see anew the unbreakable unity of the Communist Party and Soviet people, the strength of socialist democracy.

The Land of Soviets is entering a new period of constructive effort, in which every step forward will be a step to a better life for all our people, and their fresh contribution to the common cause of the revolutionary forces.

I. Dudinsky, O. Sulimov

FIVE-YEAR PLAN PROGRESS

INVESTMENTS (billion roubles, comparable prices)

		1938- first						
1929- 1932	1933- 1937	half 1941	1946- 1950	1951- 1955	1956- 1960	1961- 1965	1966- 1970	1971-1975 (target)
7.3	16.6	17.3	41.2	77.7	146.3	211.3	352	Increase of 36-40%

ELECTRIC POWER OUTPUT (billions of kwh)

1928	1932	1937	1940	1950	1955	1960	1965	1970	1975 (target)
5	13.5	36.2	48.3	91.2	170.2	292.3	506.7	740	1030-1070

OIL OUTPUT (mln. tons)

1929	1932	1937	1940	1950	1955	1960	1965	1970	1975
11.6	21.4	28.5	31.1	37.9	70.8	147.9	242.9	353	480-500

NEW HOUSING (mln. sq. m. of floor space)

		1938- first							
1929- 1932	1933- 1937	half 1941	1946- 1950	1951- 1955	1956- 1960	1961- 1965	1966- 1970	1971-1975 (target)	
56.9	67.3	81.6	200.9	240.5	474.1	490.6	518	565-575	

GRANTS AND BENEFITS OUT OF PUBLIC CONSUMPTION FUNDS

(billion roubles)

1940	1950	1960	1965	1970	Ninth Five-Year Plan (target)
4.6	13	27.3	41.9	64	Increase of 40 %



Argentina: for popular unity, against dictatorship

Geronimo Arnedo Alvarez

November 21, 1970 will go down in Argentine history as the founding day of the National Meeting of Argentiniens (NMA), a broad coalition of democratic, anti-dictatorial and anti-imperialist forces. Delegates to its constituent assembly, held in Rosario, were elected at preparatory meetings in the provinces, towns, villages, workers' quarters, factories, offices and schools, involving Argentiniens of widely ranging political views. Apart from Communists, the movement's national leadership includes Peronists, People's Radicals, Demo-Christians, progressive democrats, Socialists, and independents, leaders of the trade union, peasant and student and civil rights movements, leaders and national wealth protection groups, and others. To assess the significance of the coalition, we must look back at the events of the recent past.

Resistance to the dictatorship

Since 1930 our country has had a long succession of putsches and counter-putsches, organized by imperialism and the local oligarchy in order to hold in check the working class, the popular masses, and to prevent their unity. Out of the past 40 years army men have been at the helm for 27.

When General Onganía came to power in June 1966 after another coup d'état, the Communist Party described his government as a military-civilian dictatorship of the corporative-fascist type, designed to protect the interests of the landed oligarchy, big national capital and the imperialist monopolies.

Not only did our Party produce the right class evaluation of the military dictatorship; it was also the only party that called on the workers, on the people, to fight against it. The other political parties only facilitated its advent to power by either supporting it or assuring it of their confidence. Ex-dictator Peron, living in exile in Madrid, said General Onganía was a sterling,

well-intentioned patriot and a good soldier. The Right Peronist trade union leaders backed the reactionary regime and participated in the festivities marking its inauguration. Small wonder, therefore, that a large section of the public was misled and inclined, at first, to nourish illusions. Quickly, however, the reactionary measures of the new government dispelled all hopes. Now, anti-dictatorial actions by workers and the people have spread to practically the entire country.

At our 12th Party Congress (1963) Comrade Victorio Codovilla formulated the slogan, 'Through Mass Action to Seizure of Power!' Accordingly, the Party unfolded its work in proletarian, peasant, youth, women's and other mass organizations, and among the petty and middle national bourgeoisie upon whose interests the imperialist monopolies have been making considerable inroads. Never did we fail to support the vital demands of all social strata. Acting on the decisions of the Seventh National Party Conference (1967), Party branches centered their efforts on securing joint action in the fight for common demands. Resistance groups, various unitarian movements and coordinating centers encompassing broad social strata, appeared as a result. National feeling and anti-imperialist sentiment is more intense among various segments. The idea of fighting for national emancipation and social justice has gained widespread currency. Our 13th Congress (1969) took notice of this, laying fresh emphasis on politico-organizational work in the mass movement, designed to align the struggle for economic demands with the struggle against the dictatorship, the dominance of foreign monopolies, for people's power.

Past resistance to the dictatorship has shown that all democratic forces must participate in resolving the big problems facing our country. That is why the idea of a major militant coordinating center was welcomed by large sections of the people. The National Meeting of Argentiniens movement is the result of hard effort and joint action by all the people. Mass actions in the provinces of Santa Fe, Cordoba, Tucuman, Salta, La Rioja and Catamarca, involving tens of thousands of people, were evidence of the rising tide of rebellion, shaking the foundations of the dictatorial regime. 'Nothing can stop the powerful march of the organized people!' - these words on posters on the highways leading to Rosario on the day the delegates came to the NMA constituent assembly, sounded symbolically.

The NMA program

The program document adopted by the Assembly says: 'The National Meeting of Argentiniens declares that a radical solution of the country's socio-economic and political problems is tied in

indivisibly with the establishment of a new provisional government consisting of representatives of all civilian and military forces opposed to the anti-people's policy of the dictatorship.' It stresses that the 'new people's power should consolidate the democratic and republican institutions and give them a progressive content.' The minimum program of the NAM lists the following main demands:

- restitution of natural wealth seized by foreign monopolies; nationalization of the key economic branches, the banks, insurance companies and foreign trade; a democratic agrarian reform; fair wages; a democratic housing program;

- obligatory lay education in state schools; development of the system of universities and research institutions; restoration of university autonomy;

- limitation of army activity to its main functions - defense of sovereignty and protection of the country's security;

- an independent foreign policy and establishment of diplomatic, economic and cultural relations with all countries, regardless of their social system.

As we Argentine Communists see it, the NMA could fulfil these tasks. But before doing so it must overcome some intrinsic weaknesses, sure to surface in the struggle. To begin with, it needs greater working-class and trade union participation. The other important thing is to attract peasant organizations into its ranks by propagating its program and principles among the peasants and setting up branches in rural areas.

However, despite the weaknesses, the NMA program and its highly representative make-up, and also the many branches across the country, show that November 21, 1970 is an important milestone on the way to consolidating the anti-imperialist, democratic forces and enlarging the social basis of the Argentine liberation movement.

The Communists' new tasks

We are making a thorough study of the new political situation and want to work out more effective forms in order to overthrow the dictatorship and establish a new political power in harmony with the nation's interests.

This is a tough proposition, for we must still eliminate deficiencies, rectify some of the mistakes, work still harder in the mass organizations and cement their unity. Yet we are sure it is feasible. The NMA came into being amidst rising popular revolutionary sentiment. This augurs an influx of fresh strength attracted by the NMA program, and assures organizational consolidation. The Communist Party supports the movement's main line, giving careful considera-

tion also to the concrete problems of each municipality, district and town. The many branches of the NMA can, in effect, encompass the entire population of every region, focussing effort on the vital demands. Joint actions against the provincial and municipal authorities have paralyzed the police time and again, which may sooner or later set off a general patriotic struggle against the dictatorship, for people's power.

The NMA program corresponds to the people's radical mood; also, it reflects the new demands. Codovilla observed rightly some time ago that a shift leftward is in process among working people. Today, we have every reason to say that this shift is essentially completed.

Political developments in Chile, Peru and Bolivia have shaken U.S. imperialism and the Rightists, while most Latin Americans welcomed them despite the frantic reactionary slander campaign against the spread of the 'Red menace.' The events in Peru, Bolivia and, especially, in Chile have created a good climate for the further growth of proletarian internationalism and closer fraternal bonds among the peoples of the continent.

Ultimate success, however, depends largely on the Communist Party: it must continuously cement its ranks, enroll urban and rural workers, and keep its independent political line.

The present regime is weak. It is racked by internal strife, shaken by the big workers' strikes, by peasant and student actions and the manifestations of the intelligentsia, by the countrywide popular protest. Its inept economic policy is causing resentment. The government is criticized and opposed by large segments of our society. The general discontent is building up into all forms of resistance, creating formidable difficulties for the provincial authorities and deepening the crisis for the regime.

Popular action has not reached its peak yet. But events are leading up to this and the Party and the revolutionary democratic forces must be prepared for it.

Collapse of the reactionary designs

The dictatorship is on the defensive. The masses have seized the initiative and are exerting effective pressure on the government.

President Onganía's removal followed the failure of his 'communitarian movement,' which was to have eliminated the political parties and extended his term of office indefinitely. The new president Levingston's notorious 'political plan,' oriented on 'institutional normalization,' is also creating deep rifts in the government and army, adding to the contradictions in the corridors of power and touching off periodical political crises. Thus, one more dictator

'plan' is discredited. Levingston's government, like its predecessor, is suffering defeat, which shows that reaction's room for maneuver is fast shrinking. The radicalization of the masses is more pronounced. The question of power is now the main political issue pre-occupying the broad masses, the democratic and anti-imperialist forces, and also the pro-imperialist reactionary elements, who are trying desperately to shore up the old order and to avert defeat.

This crucial issue is behind all the political maneuvers of the dictatorship, whose main concern is to fend off the popular forces. Its fears are greater still since the Popular Unity bloc triumphed in Chile. Apart from political maneuvers the dictatorship is now falling back increasingly on its large repressive machinery, but its aggressiveness is clearly no sign of strength.

Yet we cannot afford to underrate the dictatorship's capacity for maneuver. It still holds vantage points, for it controls the state machinery. Popular action, meanwhile, is oriented chiefly against monopoly dominance, with which the people identify the present regime, for the nation's sound political, economic and social forces consider a government ministering to the interests of the International Monetary Fund incompatible with a sovereign, independent and progressive Argentina.

Against monopoly power

The Document of the 1969 International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties says: 'In the course of anti-monopolist and anti-imperialist united action, favorable conditions are created for uniting all democratic trends into a political alliance capable of decisively limiting the role played by the monopolies in the economies of the countries concerned, of putting an end to the power of big capital and of bringing about such radical political and economic changes as would ensure the most favorable conditions for continuing the struggle for socialism. The main force in this democratic alliance is the working class.'

The National Meeting of Argentinians came into being at the height of the popular struggle against imperialist monopoly domination. Its main purpose is to build up a broad patriotic front based on a program for national salvation and uniting all people who have a stake in eliminating monopoly power and securing democratic solutions. The movement must vigorously propagate its program and strengthen its local branches. The only force capable of effecting social reconstruction, Marxism-Leninism shows, is the revolutionary energy of the masses. And this energy is gradually accumulating in the depths of our people.

For Communists, the decisive task of today, as we see it, is to

promote joint action, unite all anti-dictatorship forces, support the common program and strengthen the coordinating centers. We must raise higher the banner of democratic, popular, agrarian, anti-imperialist revolution, expressive of the nation's yearning for freedom.

'The country is in a dilemma,' Codovilla told the 12th Party Congress. 'Either a radical solution of the problems—one that will tear down the material pillars of the oligarchy and imperialism—or economic and political *bankruptcy*.

'Further. To resolve the country's problems radically, it is essential to eliminate the *basic* contradiction, that between the growing productive forces and the relations of production holding back this growth, or, in other words, that between the working class and all the popular masses, *on the one hand*, and the landed oligarchy, the big compradore capital and the foreign monopolies, *on the other*.

'If *this contradiction* is not eliminated, the country's present economic, social, political and cultural degradation will intensify.'

It is the duty of our Party organizations and the Communist youth, we hold, to extend the political consciousness of the masses continuously.

The main difficulties lie ahead

The ranks of the unitarian movement are heterogeneous. The sections of the national bourgeoisie incensed by the dominance of the monopolies, will, by virtue of their class mentality, show restraint with regard to the basic aims set by the working class and the more progressive segment of the movement.

It is to be expected, therefore, that the non-proletarian elements will at some point try to limit the aims of the national and social emancipation movement. This will not come as a surprise, nor are other difficulties to be ruled out, because of the movement's diverse composition. However, conceived as a broad political and social alliance, the NMA will, objectively, help undermine the positions of the imperialist monopolies and clear the path for a democratic, agrarian, anti-imperialist revolution, the path to socialism.

The struggle for hegemony in the national-liberation movement is not yet acute. As the movement grows, we should expect the situation to become more complicated. Voices may resound against Communist participation, and all firm revolutionaries should be ready to meet this challenge. Our Party program, adopted by the 13th Congress, says: 'A new-type popular democratic government is inconceivable without the participation and leading role of the working class, heading all political and social forces that in one way or another oppose imperialist and oligarchic domination.'

Argentine history shows that the bourgeoisie, which has been in power all this time, is incapable of leading the country to progress and of securing its independence. It does not dare carry out radical changes that may impinge on the vital interests of the oligarchy and the imperialist monopolies. Concerned with its narrow class interests, rather than those of the people and the nation, it fights shy of change. So it is up to the national-liberation movement to tackle the whole range of important problems, resolvable solely by the broadest possible coalition of democratic and progressive forces headed by the working class.

The diversity of social groups opposing the imperialist monopolies is very great, encompassing the workers and peasants, the petty and middle bourgeoisie and even some segments of the big bourgeoisie with a material stake in combating imperialist penetration. And though as a class the bourgeoisie has proved incapable of heading a broad national and social liberation movement, this does not mean that some of its strata are incapable of reacting correctly to the predatory imperialist policy. Lenin wrote in his admirable book, *'Left-Wing' Communism - An Infantile Disorder*:

'The more powerful enemy can be vanquished 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 modern scientific socialism *in general*' (Vol. 31, pp. 70-71).

The fight for working-class hegemony

To achieve these aims, the popular movement needs effectively trained Communist leaders. Nor should we neglect the ideological education of non-Communist activists; the leaders of the masses must be helped constantly in their political development. Also decisive is the scope and strength of the working class and peasant organizations, for their activity enhances the role of the proletariat and depresses the influence of the bourgeoisie.

As far as we Communists are concerned, our participation in the NMA calls for flexibility and patience. We are the ones who must elevate the political niveau of the movement and its followers, without, however, adapting to their misconceptions and vacillation. Communists must follow a steady and principled course,

maintaining their ideological and political independence and acting from clear Marxist-Leninist positions in all situations.

Political developments have made an impact on the patriotically minded elements in the army. Many of them have joined the NMA. We are therefore obliged to follow the army situation most closely and to define our tactical and strategic line accordingly. It is essential to win broader army support, for in army circles, too, there is dismay over the dictatorship's policy of handing the nation's wealth over to the imperialist monopolies.

The battle of decision is nearing

Political tension is rising. Obviously, popular action against the dictatorship, for radical socio-political reconstruction, will become more intensive in due course. Hence, we should overlook nothing related to the broad popular struggle. The dictatorship's repressive machinery is no longer able to restrain the masses from going into the streets. And this should, among other things, focus our attention on organizing popular self-defense.

It is patently clear that the regime will not step down of its own free will. It would be folly to think that free, democratic elections are possible under a reactionary government committed to the International Monetary Fund, one that has trampled on the people's democratic gains and is propped up by bayonets. Any 'political plan' it may devise will not be acceptable to anyone but the Rights. The people, on the other hand, want the ground laid for progress, democracy, affluence, national independence and peace.

The band of 'gorillas' that performed the coup d'état aspires to perpetualized political leadership, hoping to suppress the popular struggle for liberation. Yet events have taken an entirely different direction. That is why it is of the utmost importance to begin exposing the designs and maneuvers of reaction. The NMA must inform the people of its own 'political plan, advancing a clear alternative.

It must allow no compromise vis-à-vis the Right forces that profess to oppose the present government. The Right opposition groups have, for their self-seeking ends, published a political document pretentiously entitled, 'The Hour of the People.' Among the signatures under that document are those of the leaders of the People's Civic Radical Union and the Peronist Higher Coordinating Council. While denouncing the dictatorship, they plead before it to hold elections.

A second document, entitled 'Civic Association for the Protection of the Republic,' signed by members of the landed oligarchy and

big bourgeoisie and by a few reactionary army officers, attacks the government, but betrays the intention of maintaining the outdated socio-economic structure, leaving most of the land in the possession of the estate holders and both local and foreign stock companies, and placing big capital, principally the U.S. monopolies, in control of the main economic levers.

The democracy of the two documents is a democracy of the exploiting classes, detrimental to the workers, peasants and intelligentsia, the vast majority of the nation. Both documents declare for the continuance of the senile political structures, blind to the fact that liquidating the old, outdated system and effecting forward-looking changes ranks highest among the nation's priorities.

It is a matter of urgency that Communists and all other patriots should evaluate the situation and tackle concrete measures necessitated by the present political set-up. At our 12th Congress, Codovilla said: 'At all events, it is important that our Party, the vanguard of the working class and the entire people, should learn to use *different forms* of struggle: illegal, as well as legal; non-peaceful, as well as peaceful. *It should be prepared to pass from one form to another in case of a sharp change in the situation.*'

This standpoint fits the present situation completely. The political consciousness of the public is growing, anti-imperialist sentiment is gaining a firmer grip on broad segments of the people, the nation's determination to fight for national and social emancipation is hardening, and the social basis for assaulting the dictatorship is expanding rapidly. *In all circumstances, the way of broadly organized mass action is for us the only correct way.* And that is the way on which the Argentinians are solidly embarked. That is our political line. Practice has proved it correct. The masses have denied support to the adventurist ploys of the ultra-Left elements. They have not fallen for the ultra-Left provocations. Today the chances of building up a broad national patriotic front are very good. The National Meeting of Argentinians is doubtless expressive of a deep-going desire for unity.

The props of imperialism are tumbling

Organized mass struggle is paving the way to victory. Big changes are under way on our continent. The Latin American Communist and Workers' parties have grown, are still growing, in the battles for freedom. The political map is changing visibly under the impact of the movement for national and social emancipation, which is steadily gaining momentum. Latin America is quite obviously becoming the weak link in the imperialist chain. The path of national liberation blazed by heroic Cuba is being taken by other countries.

The peoples of Chile, Peru and Bolivia have knocked fresh breaches into the imperialist system in Latin America, and it is up to the other peoples to widen them.

The developments in those three countries are tilting the balance against imperialism, in favor of the national-liberation movement. The Latin Americans have begun to speak a new language. And it is they who are shaping the course of events, although U.S. imperialism is still a strong and dangerous enemy.

Political developments in Argentina are part of the general revolutionary process unfolding in Latin America. It is therefore the duty of the Argentine Communists to help cultivate fraternal solidarity and proletarian internationalism among the masses, cementing ties with the peoples of the other Latin American countries, and thus coordinating the struggle against imperialism and its satellites.

On our continent the high tide of revolution is rising. And nothing can stop it. No longer does imperialism, now in decline, shape the future of the peoples. *'Imperialism can neither regain its lost historical initiative nor reverse world development,'* says the Document of the 1939 International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties. *'The main direction of mankind's development is determined by the world socialist system, the international working class, all revolutionary forces.'*

Communists in government

Aarne Saarinen

The Communists of Finland have been in the government ever since spring 1966, along with the Social Democrats and the Center Party. The general election in March 1966 was a turning point in domestic politics but it is not primarily to election returns that the present government coalition owes its origin. The political prerequisites of its formation developed gradually, as a result of political struggle, social development and the accumulation of experience over many years.

The Finnish working class is so strong and its political and trade union organizations so effective that the bourgeois parties, unable

to rule the country by themselves, have for decades leaned on the Social Democrats for support. This is important.

The Democratic Union of the Finnish People, whose main component is the Communist Party, was barred after 1948 from framing and carrying out government policies. However, it retained a fairly large following among the masses. The Social-Democratic Party (SDP), which was in the government with bourgeois parties for years, committed itself to bourgeois policies and, in the late fifties, to an extreme Right, anti-Communist and anti-Soviet policy, which told on its popularity and caused a split in its ranks.

In the latter half of the sixties the working class grew stronger still. On the other hand, the SDP leadership early in the last decade had to take some account of the lessons of the past and to swing slightly to the left, at least outwardly and tactically. There is a mounting trend among the Social Democrats, especially the youth, in favor of cooperation with the Communists and better relations with the Soviet Union and the CPSU.

In accepting cooperation with us, the SDP leadership believed that it would be able to set the tone. It expected to bind the Communist Party to a bourgeois, Social-Democratic government policy and in this way reduce the influence of our Party and the people's democratic movement and the support we enjoyed among the masses. President Kekkonen played a considerable part in bringing about the Social Democrats' decision to cooperate with the Communists.

Why the communists entered the government

The SDP success in the 1966 election earned the Social Democrats and Communists a parliamentary majority, which, in turn, paved the way for a coalition government of Left-wing parties and the Center. There were several reasons for our Party's decision to go into government.

To begin with, we had long insisted on forming a democratic government of the parties backed by the masses. We considered that it would take greater account of the interests of the working people and indigent citizens and be more consistent in pursuing an active peace policy and in promoting relations with the Soviet Union. Finland had such a government between 1944 and 1948, which signed the Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance with the Soviet Union and quickly achieved signal results in improving the economic and social condition of the working class.

Second, the experience after 1948 showed that the division of the labor movement and the lack of cooperation among its organizations had been detrimental to all working people. No noteworthy

socio-political reforms had been effected in the country for ten years and as to those carried out earlier, they, too, were in jeopardy. In line with a Central Committee decision of 1954, we did our best to improve relations with the Social Democrats foster unity of action of worker Communists and Social Democrats and unite trade union organizations. However, it took the SDP ten years to opt for cooperation. Needless to say, we used the new opportunities when this came about.

Third, the Communist Party considered that a Center-Left government could do more for better Finnish-Soviet relations. We also hoped that the situation would enable us gradually to turn government policy against the monopolies. This, of course, required massive working-class support.

Fourth, we maintain, as we always have, that as members of government we can strive more effectively to debar Right-wing representatives of the bourgeoisie from direct participation in shaping government policy.

To sum up, the Communists resolved to go into government so as to work for a more stable economy, the gradual reduction and ultimate abolition of economic and social inequality and for greater democratic rights. We joined the government to promote a policy of peace and extensive Finnish-Soviet cooperation, especially trade and other economic relations meeting the principal interests of Finland.

The Party has always realized that these objectives cannot be achieved without struggle, without conflicts with the overlords of the economy, the officialdom and political reaction. Indeed, it is hard to avoid antagonisms even between coalition government parties. However, this need not disrupt cooperation. We must patiently seek solutions to disputed issues.

Problems

Communist participation in government raises certain problems worthy of special mention. Our Party and the people's democratic movement as a whole were affected by the decrease in Communist votes after the 1966 election – a trend noticeable even before 1966. It is true that other ruling parties were faced with the same adverse trend, but our Party and the Center were hit hardest, while the SDP found itself in a somewhat better position.

Looking back, we must recall that in 1948 our movement suffered a bad setback although our participation in the government coalition at the time benefited the people and the working class in many ways. One reason for the loss of votes by the Communist Party and Democratic Union was, in our view, that the reactionaries had

frightened away part of the electorate by stressing the growth of the 'Communist danger' which they said was aggravated by Communist participation in government, since the Communists now had their hand on the 'levers of power.'

There were many other reasons for the drop in votes cast for us. One of them was the illusion that our participation in the government, even as a minority, must bring about appreciable changes at an early date, especially in the condition of the working class. Since this did not happen people were disappointed and began to identify the Communists with other ruling parties. Now this was something entirely different from the previous view on the Communist Party, which for almost two decades had been regarded as the only really serious opposition force. There was some reason for the above identification, for at first Communists often refrained from accentuating problems born of the antagonisms actually existing between us and other ruling parties.

Big changes in economic structures and population composition and an unfavorable economic situation made for a considerable increase in unemployment at the very beginning of Left-Center cooperation. An unbalanced state economy and a considerable foreign trade deficit had been inherited from the past. The government, however, did not take adequate steps to remove the effects of the crisis and to combat unemployment. This was resented by the people and furnished the opposition on the extreme right with a pretext to foment anti-government feeling.

The broad-based government of all left-wing parties formed in 1966 led to a more pronounced polarization of forces. Some of the voters who had backed the SDP and the Center Party shifted their support to the extreme right National Coalition Party, the most outspoken defender of big capital's interests. Some of the one-time supporters of the Communist Party, mostly unorganized people in strained circumstances, threw their weight behind Vennamo, the petty-bourgeois peasant party that posed as the defender of 'the poor and forgotten people.' So did numerous backers of the Center Party.

There are nine political parties in Finland, eight of which are represented in parliament. Of course, they all battle for influence among the electorate. However, the press and other mass media are controlled chiefly by the bourgeoisie and this makes it difficult to supply truthful information about Communist policy and the people's democratic movement.

Party influence over the masses was affected tellingly by our internal differences which developed long before we went into the government. Leftist and dogmatic views manifested themselves in the Party along with revisionist trends. We also had differences

over tactical matters, including methods of making government policy in a number of fields.

It will be remembered that in 1969 our Party was on the brink of an open split. The Party encountered serious difficulties, especially during the election campaign. The loss of votes aggravated inner-Party differences. However, the Extraordinary Congress in February 1970 took a decisive step towards restoring Party unity. Since then Communist influence on national politics has been increasing in step with the growing strength of the Party.

The main contradictions between the Communist Party and other ruling parties are concerned with economic policy and, to some extent, with social maintenance measures which we think have not always been satisfactory or in keeping with potentialities.

It must be said in all fairness that we have yet to impart an anti-monopoly character to government activity. Of course, we could not have expected a sweeping offensive against monopoly in view of the policy of the SDP and Center, both of which steer clear of a radical renovation of society. Yet our program and immediate objectives call for a policy of radical change. This is the most difficult problem of cooperation among the government coalition parties and it has created more than one critical situation. At the close of last year there was even the possibility that the government would collapse.

Useful experience

For all the problems and difficulties, Left-Center cooperation in the government has produced positive results. Specifically, we have won progressive changes in budget appropriations. Spending on education and culture in 1971 will go up 74 per cent, health and social maintenance 40 per cent, housing and territorial planning 300 per cent and industrial development 148 per cent as against 1966.

True, the cost of living has increased by 20 per cent since 1966 due largely to the devaluation of the markka in autumn 1967. But then price increases since April 1968 have been rather slight. The cost of living went up six-odd per cent from April 1968 to October 1970. In the same period, per hour wages in industry increased by more than 20 per cent. Unemployment, which grew in the early years of the coalition government, has been decreasing ever since 1968. This has meant an improvement in the condition of the working class. However, taxes have gone up.

It must be stressed that capitalist profits show a much greater increase than workers' incomes. This is the case, first of all, in the woodworking industry, which still supplies the bulk of industrial

exports. Our Party draws special attention to this reality and insists that steps be taken to curb capitalist profits and to make super-profits available to government agencies for use in the state sector of industry and for greater aid to small and medium enterprises, above all in developing areas. These Communist demands are strongly resisted by the other ruling parties, which only advocate half-hearted and temporary steps to impose taxes on the big capitalists.

A welcome result of government activity is the rapid growth of the state sector of the economy, first of all the power, metal-working and chemical industries, due in great measure to cooperation with the Soviet Union, which is helping us, in particular, to build two atomic power stations. Finland plans to purchase electric locomotives and natural gas from the Soviet Union.

The coalition government has carried out some reforms of social and labor legislation and is now implementing a democratic reform of education.

Relations between social classes have changed since the present government took over. The rupture between the Communists and Social Democrats in the cold war years and long afterwards deeply affected the workers and complicated progress in the class struggle. In many factories worker Communists and Social Democrats working side by side held opposite views. It took Communists much effort to normalize the situation in the enterprises. Recent years have seen some progress in unifying the working class, due in part to Communist participation in government. It is now a fairly frequent occurrence for worker Communists and Social Democrats to form essentially identical views on social and political issues and to express readiness to uphold their demands in common. Even those SDP leaders who resent this cooperation cannot upset it easily. We regard greater mutual understanding among workers as a most important gain of the past years. This and sustained efforts in other fields have resulted in trade union membership doubling in late years. The trade union movement is stronger than ever. Our task in the fight for the class interests of the working people is to transform workers' cooperation into effective unity.

New inner political trends make themselves felt particularly in the mass movement for higher wages that has been going on ever since last year. Large sections of the working class seek both higher wages and better working conditions. Besides, they put forward demands of a general nature. An attempt was made to nullify them when a 'package solution' of economic policy problems was proposed on behalf of the President of the Republic, with the SDP and SDP-led trade union leaders accepting the proposal. This provided, among others, for continued price regulation, the imposition

of a temporary tax—in view of the economic situation—on the woodworking industry and a three-markka minimum per hour wage. As our Party saw it, the proposal was more in line with the objectives of the big companies than with the working people's demands. Accordingly, we took a firm stand against it. Our position helped the working people to win a bigger pay increase than envisaged by the 'package solution' plan.

Our position tended to cause a grave crisis in the government. In parliament, too, we opposed bills based on a 'package solution' of economic policy problems. Under the circumstances the other ruling parties and Prime Minister Karjalainen showed an earnest desire to come to terms. The menace of a government crisis was eliminated in such a way that the Communists and People's Democrats did not have to relinquish their position on economic policy. This settlement of the crisis was not easy—an indication of the peculiar character of the present political situation at home.

Political campaigning for the vital interests of the working class added to Communist prestige and the masses have lately been giving us greater support. Political development at home over the past months has revealed that our Party properly expresses the views of the masses. A united popular movement has arisen in the country whose demands coincide with the goals set by the Communist Party in regard to economic policy and collective bargaining. It involves hundreds of thousands of workers, office employees and officials. The SDP rank and file and non-party people have joined in it along with the Communists. The employers and bourgeois and SDP leaders had to go back largely on their original plans regarding both wages and some aspects of government policy.

The Right was understandably angered and confused. All anti-Communist forces have been set in motion now. The SDP leaders who refused to back the demands for higher wages and for new terms of collective bargaining approved by the Central Organization of Trade Unions found themselves in a predicament. Many supporters of the SDP rejected the policy of its leadership and backed the Communists. This prompted some Social-Democratic papers to accuse the Communists of trying to split the trade union movement. We emphatically reject this accusation, as the Central Committee pointed out at a recent meeting.

The Communist Party considers that the surest means of repulsing the offensive of Right-wing forces is steadfastly to follow a policy of raising the working people's standards of life. Regrettably, the Communists have so far been unable to win the support of other ruling parties on this point.

A most valuable result of Communist participation in government is our country's foreign policy of peace and progress in relations

with the Soviet Union. It is one of the main reasons why we are in the government coalition, though, had we proceeded from certain tactical considerations and the good of the Party in its narrow sense, it would in many cases have been preferable for us to be in opposition.

I have already mentioned some aspects of Finnish-Soviet economic cooperation. Very important in this respect is the Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance between the two countries which last summer was prolonged for twenty years. The Finnish government has taken an active stand on the issue of European security. Identifying itself with the viewpoint of the socialist countries, it proposed a European security conference and announced its willingness to have it held in Helsinki. A fairly large body of Finnish opinion vigorously advocates the idea of safeguarding European security and convening an appropriate conference. On Communist initiative a Finnish Committee for European Security has been set up representing diverse political parties. This means that what is being done in our country for European peace has the support of the masses.

On the other hand, official Finnish policy is often rather passive when it comes to the aggression in Vietnam, the situation in the Middle East and other areas of tension. It shrinks only too often from actively supporting the anti-imperialist forces, specifically in the UN and its agencies, on the plea of neutrality. In many cases Finland merely sides with other Nordic countries. Our Party has repeatedly criticized these shortcomings of the government's foreign policy.

Finland is an associate member of EFTA. Its economy depends largely on foreign trade. Capitalist countries account for over 80 per cent of our foreign trade and the socialist countries for less than 20 per cent, of which 15 per cent falls to the Soviet Union's share.

Right-wing forces are trying to tie the Finnish economy close to the West, and the Nordek plan was laid partly to this end – it was to have served as a general springboard for the Nordic countries' entry into the EEC, and, first of all, make it easier for Finland to join the latter. We succeeded in foiling the plan.

The Communist Party considers that the government and the coalition parties should take effective steps to regulate foreign trade. Credits and purchases should involve countries with which we can carry on a balanced trade, that is, primarily the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. Some economic relations with capitalist countries should be severed because they are detrimental to Finland and new links should be established with socialist countries. This is the way to a more balanced foreign trade.

Increasing Communist influence on Finnish politics depends first

of all on strengthening the Party and its links with the working people. The Party today is a mass organization with 45,990 members, of whom women make up 23.2 per cent. Industrial, building and municipal workers account for 58.5 per cent of the membership, office employees and service industry workers 6.6, farmers 7.2, small private employers 2.3, students, intellectuals and others 3, pensioners 12.7 and housewives 9.7 per cent. The Party comprises 17 district and 1,342 local organizations and 155 autonomous groups. To strengthen itself organizationally, it concentrates on work among industrial workers and on recruitment. Characteristically, many of those who have joined the Party in the recent period are under 30 years of age.

Communists strive for constructive action in the labor movement. They intend steadfastly to further cooperation between all Left-wing forces and the Center with a view to promoting peace, good-neighbor relations with the Soviet Union and a democratic home policy. Although it is in the government and bears a definite responsibility for its policies, the Communist Party will never agree to any measures militating against the aspirations of the working class. We are certain that so long as they are prompted by the interests of the majority of the working people, the parties speaking for the working class can agree on a common line in promoting a peace policy and on the ways and means of solving numerous economic and social problems.

In the van of class battles

Emanuele Macaluso

The Italian Communist Party celebrated its 50th anniversary at a time when its policies and initiatives are in the focus of inner political encounters and debates. Its strength, prestige and activity in society are fruits of the ability shown over the past fifty years to represent and defend the interests of the working class at any juncture, to work for the formation of a broad system of social and political alliances around the working class with due regard to the general interests of the nation and to build up unity with the world Communist and anti-imperialist movement.

Our Party came into being at the time of the collapse of the Second International, under the impact of the October Revolution in Russia. The Italian Communists parted company with the Socialist Party which, being nominally a member of the Third International, remained in bondage to its old ideological, political and organizational views, was paralyzed by barren maximalism and collaborationist reformism, by division and confusion, and proved unable to lead the powerful movement of the masses demanding deep social and political changes.

Faced with a reactionary bloc of big manufacturers, bankers, agrarians of the North and big landowners of the South, the ISP was unable to raise the workers' immediate demands above the level of corporativism. Its agrarian policy was wrong too, for it denied the peasants' desire to own land and ignored the problem of the South as a big national problem of capitalist development.

Lastly, the Socialist Party did not appreciate the international significance of the October Revolution and Leninism. This is why, at the Leghorn Congress in January 1921, the maximalist majority which said it 'supported the Third International' preferred to preserve unity with the reformists. As a result, the Left wing, the Communists, seeking consistent implementation of the 21 conditions of admission to the Communist International, broke away from the Party.

The young Communist Party, born in a political and social storm, passed through difficult times. Its sectarian leadership under Amadeo Bordiga proved unable promptly to take the political initiative of restoring the Party's links with the masses and with other anti-fascist parties, whereas fascism saw in the Communist Party its main enemy whom it must destroy.

From 1921 to its Third Congress (Lyons, 1926) the Party went through a process of development and transformation as it fought class battles. The assumption of leadership by the Gramsci group helped the Party to overcome the infantile extremism shackling its political activity. Gramsci realized that in a country like Italy, held down by a fascist dictatorship, there was no repeating the same path the Bolsheviks had followed in Russia in 1917. A careful study of Lenin's teachings showed the need to initiate a revolutionary process that would be longer and more complicated in its own way. 'For the first time,' Palmiro Togliatti reminisced, referring to the theses of the Lyons Congress, 'a party of the Italian working class tackles the problems of the country's social structure and the development of the labor movement, doing it coolly and on the basis of a strict historical and scientific analysis, even though it confines itself to general affirmations of principle and to direct polemic with the ruling class and the government. It makes an accurate analysis

of the Italian capitalist system, its inherent weaknesses and their political implications, and the entire reactionary policy of the Italian bourgeoisie. The Party places fascism in this context and gives a precise definition of it to proceed to just as strict an analysis of the class and political forces which the objective situation itself is urging on towards a socialist transformation of society, and the allies that the working class wins in fighting against capitalism.'

It will be seen that these lines contain the prerequisites of a more complete elaboration of the Italian road to socialism. We would like to recall the 'second birth,' as it were, of the Party as a reference point of our present policy. It is also important to note that the Party's history in the trying and glorious years of the fight against fascism did not always follow this line – it was characterized by retreats and advances, setbacks and gains.

This policy came up against mistakes and distortions in the world Communist movement and in our own Party in a turbulent and complicated period. However, those mistakes did not shake the Party's fundamental positions – it was invariably linked with the Communist International and the anti-fascist struggle in Italy, which enabled it to play the leading role in the national liberation war.

During the liberation struggle against fascism the Party became the nucleus of a new democracy, a magnet for new generations of workers and intellectuals, the lodestar of all Socialist, lay and Catholic forces striving for a new society. This aspiration was to find expression later, in the winning of the Republic and a democratic Constitution which does not reproduce previous models of bourgeois liberal democracies, but lays the groundwork of an advanced democracy paving the way for socialism.

The ICP had to adjust its policy and organizational structure to the changes that had come about. This is why Togliatti spoke of a 'party of the new type,' an organized and mass party, a party of struggle and government that could pursue a policy encompassing all key aspects of national life. In October 1944, speaking to members of the Party cadre in Florence, he said: 'We need a precise program with regard to every problem of national life if we want to fulfil our function. We must familiarize the whole people with this program and must begin at once to carry it out.' Hence the need of a mass party, Togliatti said, and not of a 'more or less large association of propagandists engaged in only publicizing our general and ideological goals.' What was needed, therefore, was a party as a political organization capable of establishing direct links with the working people in diverse conditions, urging them to join in social and political struggles, in the fight for reform and democracy, so as gradually to alter the balance of class forces and win political and cultural hegemony for the working class. Consequently, a mass

party is not a mere quantitative phenomenon but a new form of participating in politics, of making policy and establishing links with society. It is a method of asserting oneself, not as the sole instrument of democratic and socialist struggle, but as a force that can join up with other social, political and ideological forces to form a new historical bloc leading the country.

An essential function of the party of the new type is, therefore, to seek an ever more explicit interconnection between democracy and socialism and win support for this perspective from both the working class and other social groups with different ideological legacies, primarily broad Catholic masses.

In recent years we have been advancing along this road through some of the fiercest social and political battles, defeating repeated attempts inspired by U.S. imperialism to stamp out democracy in our country and push back the Italian working-class movement.

The post-war disruption of international anti-fascist unity had immediate national implications. The democratic government born of the liberation struggle split and anti-communism was rekindled to camouflage the capitalist reorganization of Italy with the aid of U.S. monopolies. The Italian Socialist Party split and a Social-Democratic Party was founded. In 1948 an anti-Communist coalition won the elections and tried to eliminate the ICP. In the wake of the elections, on July 14, 1948, an attempt was made on Togliatti's life. Then came repressive measures, the trade union movement was split and there began an onslaught on the Communists, who were fighting for jobs, peace and democracy. Thousands of Communists were jailed, others were shot down by police and by hirelings of the big landed proprietors. However, a deep-going change had already taken place in the country. Abolishing democracy was out of the question, the Communists had consolidated their positions in national politics, and scored gain after gain. Their fight made it possible to foil more or less carefully disguised authoritarian clerical-fascist coups in 1953, 1960 and 1964. Attempts to establish an authoritarian order were followed by or intertwined with reformist maneuvers to force back and isolate the ICP but they, too, fell through.

Center-Left governments of the Christian Democratic, Socialist, Republican and Social-Democratic parties alternated for eight years. The ISP rejected united action with the Communists and set out to cooperate in government with the Christian Democratic Party (CDP). In 1964 it split and its Left wing founded the Italian Socialist Party of Proletarian Unity (ISPPU). Furthermore, the ISP gradually moved to a merger with the Social Democrats of which the Socialist rank and file took a critical view and which has not stood the test of the past three years' social and political struggles. The Center-Left plan to integrate the working class into the capitalist system failed, as

did its endeavor to ensure the development of the country, especially of the South, by neo-capitalist methods, destroy the ICP system of alliances, bring the trade unions under its sway and stabilize the political situation in parliament and local government to its own advantage. These schemes of reaction were frustrated by the workers, peasants and students.

The image of the United States as a country allegedly guaranteeing peace and democracy, which in Kennedy's days enjoyed some credibility, was destroyed by the disgraceful resurgence of racialism, the brutal war of aggression in Vietnam, support for Israel against the Arabs and the negative effect of the U.S. stand on a European détente.

Italian youth fought with determination for peace, against imperialism, and fostered class and internationalist awareness among the younger generation. The fight against imperialism is the main aspect of our entire strategy of democratic advance to socialism, for the changing balance of world forces is checking attempts at imperialist intervention, while the policy of peace helps to consolidate broad alliances. We owe progress in this fight to our autonomy within the world Communist movement, which enables us to achieve anti-imperialist unity with the socialist countries and the peoples fighting for liberation, and on the other hand, to chart our advance to socialism in keeping with our concepts and the characteristics of our society. This line was carried forward at the 12th Party Congress in Bologna.

The past three years in Italy have seen a considerable expansion of social and political struggles. This period opened with the June 1968 general election in which the ICP won about a million more votes. The Communist vote exceeded 8.5 million, or 27 per cent of the total, and the ISPPU polled over 1.4 million votes, or 4.5 per cent. In other words, 31.5 per cent of the electorate voted for the Left-wing opposition. The Left wing of the ISP and CDP gained stronger positions. Moreover, the Socialists regained some features of a class party after breaking with the Social Democrats. They registered noteworthy successes in the latest regional and municipal elections (June 1970). As for the Social Democrats, they re-emerged as a small pressure group given to provocation and isolated from the working people, a group in the service of capitalism and imperialism.

The 1968 election upset the earlier political equilibrium. It was immediately followed by a period of social battles that have been going on ever since.

In December 1968 the Sicilian farmhands launched powerful actions demanding new collective agreements, shorter working hours, a new law on agricultural labor employment (granting extensive powers to the trade unions) and the setting up of farmhands'

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committees that would take part in specifying the proportion of workers needed on estates. The struggle took extremely sharp forms. In Avola, Siracusa Province, police fired on strikers and killed two. Nevertheless, the fight, organized, unitary and persistent, continues and the big landowners are compelled to give in. Similar actions took place elsewhere.

The students, for their part, have been campaigning against authoritarian practices in the universities. They demand a reform of higher education and democratic rights, and while there is an occasional sign of extremism and infantile impatience, the movement is shaking the very foundations of the old class school.

Industrial enterprises were the scene of significant struggles that stand out from previous postwar actions. The working people demanded a substantial wage increase, a shorter working day, a new qualification scale, the putting of blue and white collar workers on an equal footing with regard to sickness benefits, the abolition of overtime except for emergencies, the right to hold union meetings on the premises, the right to formalize every aspect of labor relations through shop contracts, and so on.

In those strenuous class struggles the trade union federations – GICL, ICWPU, ILU* – were at one, and this unity is growing at the local level. Other working people and the students make common cause with the working class. The working people's political demands are backed by not only the Communist Party and ISPPU, but by the Socialist Party and the Left-wing Christian Democrats.

The government, which in the summer and autumn of 1969 was composed of only Christian Democrats, was divided and paralyzed because its conservative wing went along with the employers while some ministers, on the contrary, backed the working people. The Right-wing Christian Democrats and Social Democrats, Liberals and fascists mounted a campaign to make people believe that Italy was torn by unrest and its economy was on the brink of dislocation. It was in that atmosphere that bombs exploded in some banks of Rome and Milan; there were killed and wounded. The provocations were plainly engineered by the Rightists to mislead public opinion, intimidate the middle strata and bring about a 'strong' government that could suppress the people, doing so, however, with the ISP. The Christian Democrats, unable to re-establish a government with the Socialist, Republican and Social-Democratic parties, made an appeal to these parties and succeeded after a protracted crisis in restoring a Center-Left government in spring 1970. However, this government

*GICL (General Italian Confederation of Labor) is influenced mainly by the ICP, ISP and ISPPU; the ICWPU (Italian Confederation of Working People's Unions) is under Christian Democratic influence, and the ILU (Italian Labor Union) includes members of the Republican, Social-Democratic and Socialist parties.

did not last, for the Socialists rejected the role which the Rightists expected them to perform.

The workers won important concessions from the employers. They emerged from the struggle stronger than before and gained in social standing. The requisites of a further advance to organic unity of the three federations were there and the Left-wing opposition – the ICP, ISPPU and ISP and the Left wing of the CDP – moved closer together.

It is particularly indicative, however, that the working people and their unions do not consider the battle to be over, as the general and social demands put by them to the government show, first of all the demand for a new housing policy guaranteeing a fair rent, which implies an urbanization reform withdrawing urban lands from the sphere of private profiteering. The working people insist on a tax reform that would crack down on big fortunes and reduce taxes on wages; a reform setting up a unified system of medical care, nationalizing the pharmaceutical industry and abolishing parasitism in the form of private clinics, the big profits made by numerous doctors, and bureaucratic squandering; a policy of developing the South through an agrarian reform and industrialization to reduce emigration from the South and overpopulation of the North, which the working people are made to pay for through higher charges for all services. What is needed ultimately is a new economic policy controlled by democratic programming based on the option of the masses, representative local, regional and national bodies and the trade unions, and not by the big monopolies, housing profiteers or the interests of agrarian and bureaucratic parasitism.

The struggle for these demands is assuming a markedly political character, with the masses calling for a new policy. The reaction of the employers and the political Right-wingers in and outside the government is very sharp. On the eve of a big strike called by the GICL, ICWPU and ILU in support of the demand for reform the Rumor government, constituted with difficulty, tendered its resignation. In summer 1970 there began a government crisis full of uncertainties and endangering the very existence of democratic institutions. The Right-wing Christian Democrats and Social Democrats tried again to dissolve parliament and hold new elections amid tension and fear. These adventurist maneuvers were countered by a broad front of political and trade union forces uniting the Left-wing opposition and the opposition within the government coalition. Right-wing adventurism was struck a crippling blow. Had this not been the case, Enrico Berlinguer, Deputy General Secretary of the ICP, said at the November 1970 meeting of the Central Committee, 'the very destinies and prospects of the mass movement would have been seriously imperilled. There might have come a change, as in

France after the political retrogression following the movement in May and June 1968, from the peak to a long period of ebb.' Due to the social and political battles of the past months, the working-class movement has taken a qualitative leap. It has turned out to be impossible to throw the working class back.

The re-establishment in August 1970 of a Center-Left government under Emilio Colombo came as a blow to the extremist wing of the CDP grouped around Rumor, the ex-Premier, and Piccoli, secretary of that party (both relinquished their posts one after the other). On the other hand, the moderates in the government majority managed to stave off a swing to the left but had to agree to elections (held on June 7, 1970) to the regional government bodies envisaged by the Constitution but non-existent until then. The elections confirmed the considerable power of the ICP and other Left-wing parties. They brought the ISP gains in comparison with the Social Democrats and dealt another blow at the previous alignment of political forces. Indeed, the campaign of Right-wing Christian Democrats and Social Democrats designed to force the ISP into foregoing the establishment of giunte (local administrative bodies) in coalition with the ICP and ISPPU failed in many regions, communes and provinces. The Left controls regional governments in Emilia-Romagna, Tuscany and Umbria and there is a substantial increase in the number of communal and provincial giunte formed jointly by the Left-wing parties, and on the other hand, a very considerable reduction of administrative bodies representing the Christian Democrats, Socialists, Social Democrats and Republicans. In general, new relations are shaping between our Party and other Left forces.

Meanwhile, parliament discussed and solved another ticklish problem that had repeatedly generated political tension – the problem of granting Italians the right to divorce. This problem had become an instrument of blackmail used by Right-wing Christian Democrats against Left-wing Catholics and ACLI (Christian Associations of Italian Working People, which maintain extensive links with the workers and youth and which in late years have been fairly active in the fight against capitalism, for trade union unity). In this case too, the ICP policy was explicit and consistent. It made no concessions to either the anti-clericalism of a bourgeois or petty-bourgeois shading or the blackmail of the clericals, and showed useful initiative among the Left forces, lay and Catholic alike. This made the CDP revise its extreme and obstructive attitude. The divorce law was passed by parliament. It is an important civil reform that, moreover, produced no moral or political upheaval in a country like Italy which has strong Catholic traditions and, moreover, is the seat of Papal authority.

In recent months the Italian bourgeoisie and leading groups of

the CDP and SDP have launched a counter-offensive. They have unleashed a terror campaign in the economy and their press has raised a hue and cry, alleging that trade union actions paralyze industry, higher wages reduce the competitive capacity of national products, and shorter working hours plus the abolition of overtime prevent effective organization of labor and the full use of plant. In other words, the employers are trying to turn developments back – they cannot stomach the new collective agreements. At the same time the government, after a violent and sustained campaign in parliament, with the aid of its parliamentary majority secured approval of a law decree raising taxes on consumer goods and providing for 'stimulating assistance' to big manufacturers. The monopolies and banks put up the prices of necessities through financial and market maneuvers and predicted a slump entailing widespread unemployment.

Unable to secure the dissolution of parliament, the Right moved fascist gangs into the political arena – they are on the rampage in factories and universities. In Reggio di Calabria the Right has been experimenting – under the pretext of strong manifestations of local patriotism over the issue of the capital of Calabria, a new region (the choice has fallen on Catanzaro) – with long-range and extensive forcible action by fascists against republican institutions and Left-wing parties. Some civil servants are in obvious collusion with the fascists and connive at subversion. Thus the political struggle has largely assumed a more radical character.

In this situation the policy of democratic unity in which the ICP has persevered in late years, striving to prevent isolation of the vanguard of the working class and other Left-wing forces, is proving particularly effective. Indications of this are the big anti-fascist demonstrations all over the country in February following the assassination of Malacaria, a worker Socialist, in Catanzaro. The crime was perpetrated by fascists who threw bombs at an anti-fascist meeting to provoke a clash. The activity of certain small Left-extremist groups denying the need of Left unity is often unreasoning and occasionally provocative. They regard the ICP and ISPPU as their chief enemy, slander the trade unions and their unity and prophesy 'decisive' showdowns as they manipulate handfuls of students to dissociate them from the workers. They ignore the peasants and scorn all intermediate sections and all action in their favor.

Events in the past year have revealed that the 12th Congress of the ICP was right in calling for an early democratic solution of the national crisis. This objective cannot be achieved without resolute intervention by the ICP. A problem of which the masses and even the political forces are keenly aware is that of reconsidering the

attitude to the ICP. This is a result of our initiative and strength. The Party's position does not imply, contrary to Leftist allegations, our 'inclusion' in a government majority against which we are fighting with determination. On the contrary, our Party as a great working-class and popular force faced with a government that cannot solve the country pressing problems must seek a radical change in the present policy and bring about a new government majority as an alternative to the present majority.

It is along these lines that the fight for structural reforms in industry, development investment, agriculture, housing and public health is gathering momentum. Our strategy does not see these reforms as a means of 'adjusting' the present system, which is the aim of the government. In fact, we consider that we must fight for a qualitatively new course of development based on a deep-going transformation of social and political relations. Consequently, this is not a trade union campaign but a political struggle although we must stress the paramount importance of the united trade unions themselves calling for reform and not merely raising the traditional issues of collective bargaining.

This, then, is the sphere in which a new system of social and political alliances can be set up and in which the Party is carrying on its mass struggle. The fight for reforms requires greater democracy and greater power for the masses in the factories, rural areas, universities and society as a whole.

The battle for a new political and social turn in Italy necessarily involves struggle for a new foreign policy. The government introduces certain timid steps in this direction that take only partial account of democratic opinion. Among these are steps meeting the demand of the Left for the recognition of People's China, better relations with all socialist countries of Europe aimed at promoting security, and cooperation with the Arab countries and all peoples fighting for their liberation. However, U.S. imperialist meddling in Italian affairs is still strong and in some respects even decisive. It is not accidental that the government position on the Vietnam war is unchanged in spite of statements by the ISP and the Left wing of the CDP, and that so far the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, the Korean People's Democratic Republic and the GDR have not been recognized.

The war in Vietnam is expanding and has now engulfed Cambodia and Laos. Nixon's so-called initiatives and proposals for peace in Indochina turned out to be a diversion intended to counter the peace proposals of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam and to camouflage the extension of aggression.

Recent events in the Middle East showed that the U.S. position is to encourage the aggressive and expansionist objectives of Israel.

In Europe the United States took a hostile and suspicious view of steps towards a détente in the form of treaties between the Soviet Union and the FRG and between Poland and the FRG, as well as of talks between the two German states.

Against the ugly reality of U.S. policy, Italian foreign policy is still dependent and the existence of U.S. bases in Italy still restricts Italian sovereignty.

The position of Italy in the Mediterranean is of special interest. Among its neighbors are, on one side, fascist Spain and Portugal, the black colonels' Greece – virtually a U.S. colony – on the other, the Arab countries and Israel in the south and east. An independent Italian position could stimulate the anti-fascist fight in Spain, Portugal and Greece and a new policy towards the Arab states. The ICP sides in the anti-imperialist struggle with the peoples fighting for independence and peace. We support the struggle of the peoples of Indochina, the Arab countries, Africa and Latin America and must support it even more vigorously. We will continue the fight for a détente in Europe, for cooperation and security, for friendship with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. We will go on campaigning for full recognition of the GDR, a requisite of anti-fascist and peace policy. The Europe we aspire to is not a Europe of the Common Market and monopolies but a continent of all European nations intent on transforming it into a great peace force and motor of liberation of the peoples oppressed by European capitalism.

We are not so blind as not to see what we have predetermined by our struggle and what I have described as a positive shift in Italian foreign policy. We know, however, that this is not enough. To solve the problems facing it, our country needs greater independence and initiative in respect of NATO. This is necessary if Italy is to help eliminate military blocs, secure a new role in Europe and the Mediterranean and guarantee full democratic development at home.

Recent developments in Italy cause concern to the U.S. imperialists. An American paper reported that the State Department watched with distaste the changes in Italy, where it believed they were making spaghetti with Chile sauce. It is precisely Left-wing unity that disturbs Nixon.

Founded 50 years ago, our Party is a force playing an active part in national life and the working-class and anti-imperialist movement. Its dialectically interconnected characteristics – internationalism and a national and democratic spirit – are becoming ever more pronounced. The Party has had to pass through hard trials but has preserved and strengthened its links with the masses. This is an essential requirement which should guide the Party. It is a pre-

requisite for looking confidently forward to progress of the political struggle in Italy, of effecting in our day a political and social turn and paving thereby the way for a free, democratic and organized socialist society that can guarantee the multiplicity of political and ideological forces, trade union organizations and cultural centers, a society in dynamic, constructive and dialectical progress. This society will not come of itself, nor will it set in overnight, but we are already working for it by making our political and ideological contribution and by establishing positive relations with other forces advancing in the same direction. This is what Gramsci's writings and activities, until his death in prison, called on us to do in building up our Party. It is what Togliatti urged through his struggle and his activity leading up to the Yalta Memorandum, which he finished a few hours before his death. The Italian Communist Party remains loyal to this behest.

Important decisions in Poland

Janusz Roszkowski

Last December Poland was the scene of grave events. An increase in commodity prices sparked unrest in some of her coastal cities. In many enterprises workers downed tools. There were street demonstrations, and there were dead and wounded. Buildings were damaged, even destroyed. In some cities, anti-social hooligan elements, who usually take advantage of any chance to act with impunity, became involved in disturbances of public order. This should not obscure the fact, however, that the matter chiefly concerned the workers, their sense of protest and their bitterness.

The decisions of the Seventh Central Committee Meeting of the Polish United Workers' Party, held December 20, 1970, arrested the dangerous course of events and enabled the next, Eighth Plenum, February 7-8, to assess the developments, pinpoint their causes and chart the further course.

What lay behind the tragic December events?

The answer is provided by the materials of the Eighth Plenum, its two days of debate and the exhaustive report by Comrade

Edward Gierek, First Secretary of the Central Committee. The Plenum showed that the December crisis should not be ascribed exclusively to the bitterness roused by the price increases and the way they were effected. It had been fermenting for a number of years and its main source is traceable to the weakening and serious impairment of the ties between the Party leadership, on the one hand, and the working class and other working people, on the other. Discontent had been mounting over the economic and social policy and over the methods of Party and state leadership. Party members and activists, too, were increasingly critical of the prevailing policy, but all criticism was dismissed as groundless.

In recent years, gaps had appeared between the capacities of the different industries. Consumer production was neglected, of which the working people were made painfully aware by the unsatisfactory agricultural performance in 1969 and 1970. The annual growth of real wages, estimated by the central statistical agency at about two per cent, was, in effect, inconsequential. Actually, there was a slight decline in the real incomes of some wage-earners. Certain other social problems, too, became more acute, such as housing, which lagged behind the growing need.

While taking note of this, however, we should not overlook the considerable positive results of the nation's labor, that of the working class, the farmers and the intelligentsia, which stack up as an achievement of Party policy.

The achievements, Comrade Gierek stressed at the Eighth Plenum, are considerable. The nation's efforts have not been in vain. Approximately 1.5 million new jobs were created in the past five years. Many industrial enterprises were built and put into operation. The country's fuel, power and raw materials resources were appreciably expanded. We have begun producing many new types of commodities. The machine-to-man ratio in agriculture is visibly higher. The foreign trade turnover has gone up 50 per cent. We have new higher educational establishments and new secondary schools.

However, the social cost of these achievements was too high. Investments, for example, went up 50 per cent in the past five years, whereas the national income increased a mere 34 per cent. In many economic fields the deficiencies were accentuated by the absence of a long-term concept of socio-economic growth with new perspectives for the working class and the rest of the nation. A sense of anxiety was gradually rising among different segments of our society. Due to deficiencies in some sectors of our ideological work harmful revisionist notions began to appear in relation to socialist construction, the role of the Party, and other issues. An ideological vacuum always fosters erroneous views; therefore, to

combat revisionism, we must assure the creative development of Marxist-Leninist theory and work out the topical problems of building the new society.

Regrettably, the perfectly correct decisions of the Fifth PUWP Congress (1968), which set the direction in the country's economic development and called for improvements in ideological work, were not put into practice consistently enough.

The Party's previous leadership indulged in arbitrary methods, adopting important decisions, many of them crucial for the country, without any conclusive scrutiny of the issues concerned and without the essential deep-going discussion. In so doing, it assumed many executive functions that were properly in the competence of the government. Decisions taken in defiance of the basic norms of collective leadership gravely impaired the economic system and, among other things, prejudiced the moulding of the correct public attitude.

The Eighth Plenum was as yet unable to produce an exhaustive evaluation of the developments. For all this, its decisions, and the speeches made at the Meeting, showed that the causes are rooted in the deviations from the correct Party policy and the Leninist norms of Party activity. The general line of building socialism under the Party's leadership, however, has been, and is, correct and beyond question.

The grave deficiencies of the previous leadership tended, gradually but surely, to impair the ties between the Party, the working class and all society, between the Party leadership and the Party rank and file. This was the situation when the decision was taken last December to adjust prices, envisaging a considerable increase in food prices without appropriate compensation for those wage-earners who were hardest hit, while lowering the prices of some commodities. The tension was accentuated by incorrect evaluations and decisions when workers' demonstrations broke out on the coast.

However, the Party proved strong enough to cope with the crisis. Important political and personal decisions were taken by the Seventh Central Committee Meeting, relieving the tension. Four comrades were removed from the Political Bureau of the Central Committee, and Wladyslaw Gomulka resigned. Comrade Edward Gierek, who enjoys considerable authority and popularity and has for many years headed the Party organization in Silesia, Poland's most highly developed industrial region, was elected First Secretary of the CC PUWP. Comrade Piotr Jaroszewicz, who had been Deputy Chairman of the Council of Ministers for a number of years, became the Chairman. New people were inducted into the Political Bureau.

The new Party and government leadership has resolved many of the especially urgent and persistent problems in quick time. The

wages of low-paid brackets, family allowances and pensions were increased last December, raising the incomes of nearly five million people (out of Poland's total population of 33 million—*Ed.*) by a total 8.6 billion zloty. Soon after the Eighth Plenum, the Political Bureau and government ruled to restore food prices as of March 1 to what they were before the December increase. This was possible thanks to extensive Soviet aid. Previous increases and wage allowances remained in force. Efforts were redoubled to improve living and working conditions, with special concern for women in industry. The 1971 plan was amended to secure a more harmonious growth of all branches of the economy, also envisaging a substantial expansion of the housing program, which has become an element of our long-term economic policy.

The priorities facing the new leadership are many. To begin with, there is the crucial problem of expanding production and raising the productivity of labor, the main factor assuring a continuous improvement of the living standard and of social security.

Another priority, on which the Eighth Plenum focussed much attention, is to frame the strategy for further socio-economic development in the coming ten years (until 1980), as well as the next five. This period, which will witness a technico-scientific revolution in the country's economy, must provide employment for the biggest postwar contingent of the younger generation and win a fitting place for Poland in the international division of labor. Outlining these important tasks, Gierek stressed that they must and will be fulfilled, and, naturally, in close cooperation with the Soviet Union and other fraternal socialist countries. Highly topical is the question of the international division of labor in the CMEA framework. Poland wants a higher degree of specialization in production and seeks joint enterprise with other socialist countries in the extraction and use of raw materials, as well as joint efforts in industry. Recent trade, economic and technico-scientific cooperation agreements and protocols provide a good basis for the growth of the Polish economy.

The main accent in the long-term strategy outlined by the Eighth cc Plenum is on the up-dating of production and technical reconstruction, including investment in the engineering, electronics, electrical equipment, iron-and-steel, chemical and consumer industries. We must resolve problems relating to the production of crucial machinery, equipment and other items, in which our economy aspires to a high degree of specialization.

The Eighth Plenum dealt in detail with the further long-term development of the Polish countryside. Our policy so far has visibly boosted farm production, and the Party will continue to project its main principles in close contact with the United Peasant Party.

A variety of measures is envisaged to help increase output and, in so doing, carry forward socialist changes in the countryside.

Listed high in the development program is the elaboration and effectuation of economic reforms and reforms in the activity of the state as a means of accelerating all-round progress. It is planned, among other things, to deal with the question of working time, paving the way for a gradual reduction of the work day in the near future, with a five-day work week in the longer term.

Defining the trend and concrete aims in socialist construction is crucial if the enthusiasm, energy and dedication of the younger generation of Poles, now entering on their working careers in large numbers, are to be utilized to the full. Within five years, 1.9 million new jobs must be provided for them, and they must be given general and specialized knowledge to keep abreast of present requirements. Also on the agenda is the question of universal secondary education, to be introduced throughout the country in the next ten years, for we must bring up our young citizens as selfless patriots and builders of their socialist homeland.

Success in building socialism is linked closely with the development of socialist democracy. A special accent is made on this in the materials of the Eighth cc Plenum. It stands to reason that the democracy of a socialist country can have nothing in common with what bourgeois ideologists imply by democracy. 'Drawing on the finest progressive and democratic traditions of the Polish people,' Gierek said at the Plenum, 'our system projects its own forms of democratic life, the rock-bottom content of which is expressed in Lenin's idea of mass participation in the country's administration.' We must develop and enrich the forms of this participation in all organizations and institutions in order that it should expand and become more meaningful. The development of different forms of socialist democracy will stimulate joint action by the masses and enhance common concern for socialist construction and the country's future.

Of the utmost political importance are the right methods of leadership and everything done to cement the leadership's bonds with the working class and the Party rank and file. The high-level bodies follow a definite plan, and the public is kept informed of their work and, in particular, of the work of the Central Committee's Political Bureau. The expertise of scientists is being enlisted more frequently in dealing with the more essential problems, and we are doing our best to enhance the role of parliament as the people's representative organ.

The leadership's recent efforts and the emphasis on close links with the masses have been acknowledged by the working class and the public at large. Trust in the Party is being expressed not

only in declarations supporting the new leadership, but also, and this the Eighth Plenum had urged most forcefully, through production results, undertakings and initiative. There is every reason, therefore, to expect a considerable rise in the output of commodities in short supply at home, and also of export goods.

The Eighth Plenum examined the question of Party building and the correct fulfilment of the Party's historical function as the nations' leading political force in the fight for a better future, for socialism. Here is a far from complete list of the important aspects in Party work discussed: education of Party members on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and in the spirit of internationalist ties with the socialist countries and all world forces of progress and peace; ideological struggle against hostile theories and views; correct application of the principles of democratic centralism; concentration of the work of the Party and its leading organs on the crucial tasks with the closest possible regard for the expertise of specialists. This should improve the work of the entire Party, paving the way for further socialist construction and progress in all spheres. Also, it is the guarantee against mistakes and deficiencies in government and public activity.

The decisions of the Eighth Plenum note that it is as yet impossible to produce a conclusive evaluation of the policy of the former leadership. Too little time has elapsed. This applies principally to the role of Comrade Wladyslaw Gomulka. While acknowledging his past services to Party and country, the Plenum noted that the grave errors of the recent years, which brought about the political crisis, coupled with the incorrect methods of dealing with that crisis, preclude Gomulka's further participation in the Central Committee. In view of his absence from the Seventh and Eighth Plenums for reasons of health, his membership in the Central Committee was suspended.

The Eighth Plenum also removed comrades Zenon Kliszko and Boleslaw Jaszczuk (relieved of membership in the Political Bureau by the Seventh Plenum) from the Central Committee for mistakes in their work. Also, the Plenum accepted the resignation of a number of other comrades from the Political Bureau and the Central Committee.

While discussing the recent developments, the Eighth Plenum had its eye on the future. Moved by concern for the coming years, it decided to move up the Sixth Party Congress, which will outline the concrete perspectives of development and frame directives for further socialist construction in line with the interests and aspirations of the working class, the people as a whole.

The main foreign policy issues, too, were elucidated. People's Poland stands beside the Soviet Union and the other fraternal

socialist countries in the fight for world security and peace, for the advancement and unity of the socialist states and the world Communist movement. It will continue to work for closer ties with the fraternal socialist countries and for all-round economic cooperation in CMEA, promoting dependable integrational bonds.

Hand in hand with the other Warsaw Treaty countries, People's Poland works on unremittingly for an easing of European tensions. It also continues to work for broader relations with states of other social systems. With the conclusion of the Soviet-FRG Treaty on August 12, 1970, which made a start in normalizing relations between the socialist countries and the Federal Republic of Germany, and by virtue of the firm position of the PPR, a Polish-FRG treaty was signed last December concerning principles of normalizing relations between the two countries. This is highly significant for European security.

The PUWP maintains and extends contacts with other Communist parties. In recent months, representatives of our Political Bureau and the Secretariat of the Central Committee paid friendly visits to the fraternal parties of the Soviet Union, the German Democratic Republic, Czechoslovakia and a number of others. Poland is receiving considerable and valuable aid from the Soviet comrades. Talks with the leaders of the CPSU reaffirmed our identical views on all key issues.

'Our Party,' Comrade Gierek said at the Eighth Plenum, 'is part of the world Communist movement, which is mankind's vanguard in the struggle for progress, social justice, the freedom of the peoples, and peace. We shall extend internationalist relations with the other Marxist-Leninist parties and do our best to cement the unity of our movement.'

The far-reaching changes introduced in the life of the Party and country by the decisions of the Seventh and Eighth PUWP Central Committee meetings have revitalized the work of Party branches and are paving the way for a further enhancement of their daily activity.

Malady of 'Leftism' in Brazil

Assis Tavares

Seven years ago Brazil found itself under an anti-national, anti-popular regime. The 1964 coup replaced a bourgeois democracy by a fascist-type military dictatorship, which uses every method, including terror, to suppress the people's will for democracy and national freedom. The fight against the dictatorship is considerably handicapped by ultra-Leftist groups rejecting Lenin's theory of the revolution and trying to direct the movement against the dictatorship towards isolated actions unsupported by the masses.

The Brazilian Communist Party's fight against Leftism and sectarianism has been going on for years. Ultra-Leftist and sectarian views became widespread in the Party as far back as the late 1940s. They were struck a telling blow by the Fifth Party Congress in 1960.

The evolution of the Brazilian democratic movement from 1958 to April 1964 proved the policy adopted by the Fifth Congress to be correct. Based on a deep analysis of national realities, this policy helped to organize mass resistance to the oligarchy and imperialism, the people's worst enemies. The reactionaries were alarmed by its success and, abetted by the U.S. imperialists, stepped up their subversion to abolish bourgeois democratic rule, which allowed the people's mass movement to develop.

Sectarianism and Leftism turned out to be tenacious, though revolutionary practice had proved our policy right. Even shortly before the 1964 coup we had to fight those who held sectarian or Leftist positions in or outside the Party and brought grist to the mill of reaction. We condemned the adventurist stand which Francisco Juliao took on the peasant leagues in 1962. This legal form of peasant struggle and organization in the north-east fostered the revolutionary movement in rural Brazil. Juliao wanted to turn the leagues into bridge heads of a peasant guerrilla war.

The Party also combatted adventurist trends in the movement of army sergeants and NCOs. These trends made reactionary subversion among the servicemen easier and weakened the Goulart government and the united democratic, anti-imperialist front.

However, we did not combat sectarianism and Leftism firmly enough because the Party leadership was not always consistent

and, indeed, departed from the Fifth Congress line. Leftist trends were not eliminated and they affected the alignment of class forces before the military coup. The ease with which the gorillas took over showed that sectarianism and Leftism in the Brazilian revolutionary movement had contributed in their own way to the success of the coup.

After April 1964 the struggle against the Left deviation took new forms. The triumph of reaction gave rise to erroneous and harmful concepts characterized by opposition to Lenin's theory of the revolution. Some Leftists wanted to launch armed action 'at all costs and in any form' and to start a guerrilla war in the countryside according to Régis Debray's precepts, never stopping to think whether it was warranted by objective and subjective conditions.

The fight against Leftism and adventurism in the Party was particularly intensive before and during the Sixth Congress. The first plenary meeting held by the Central Committee after the coup, in May 1965, decided on mass struggle against the dictatorship, which was betraying national interests. However, certain members of the cc and State Party committees who called for a Leftist line disapproved of the cc decision.

It was the difficult period of building up a Communist underground. Nevertheless, we ensured extensive discussion of the cc theses and published in *Voz Operaria* 17 supplements setting out the opinions of hundreds of Party members. Records of pre-Congress discussions were also published by the Party committees of some states and by individual Party organizations. By far most of the Communists condemned the ultra-revolutionaries' adventurist concepts – a reaction revealing their increased political consciousness. The illegal Sixth Congress met successfully in December 1967.

Many of the members who held incorrect positions and worked for a split were expelled from the Party and set out to form 'direct action' groups that have become more active over the past three years.

The Party took an explicit and principled stand on them. 'We Communists,' *Voz Operaria* commented in October 1969, 'realize the desperation and impatience of honest revolutionaries in the action groups that abound in our country today. We acknowledge that there are numerous objective and subjective reasons for this revolutionism, above all among inexperienced youth still unfamiliar with the history and lessons of the revolutionary labor movement. We are certain, however, that this is not the road to success in the fight against the dictatorial regime. To this end it is first of all necessary, as Lenin said, to win the millions for revolutionary action. Marxism-Leninism does not flatly reject any form of struggle.

But violent actions will in no way benefit the revolutionary process unless they help the masses to a higher degree of awareness and organization and are supported by a strong organization of the working people capable of consolidating the successes achieved through these actions and of preventing the reactionaries from regaining the initiative and oppressing the masses still more.'

Once again reality proved us right and the Leftists wrong – one has only to compare the objectives of 'action' groups with the results achieved by them to see this. Leaders of these groups held that raids on banks and small police and military units carried out in the cities should be the prelude and starting point for a rural guerrilla war. They expected expropriation of cash, arms and transport from the government and private individuals and the training of people for military operations to clear the decks for massive armed action in the country. One of these leaders, Carlos Mari-gheila*, claimed that guerrilla war in the Brazilian countryside would begin in 1969. The kidnappers of the U.S. Ambassador to Brazil in September 1969 stressed that taking a diplomat of the U.S. monopolies prisoner was one in a 'series of operations of the revolutionary war that is expanding day after day and must even this year go to its next stage, a rural guerrilla war.' Yet in spite of armed actions and the expropriation of substantial funds – over one million dollars – the activity of ultra-Leftist groups has produced no guerrilla war in the country.

Perhaps the Leftists merely miscalculated by setting too early a date for the beginning of revolutionary war? No, that is not the point. Pious wishes cannot spark off a guerrilla movement in the countryside any more than spectacular actions. The rise of such a movement hinges on definite objective and subjective factors, specifically on the attitude of the agricultural workers and the bulk of the peasantry. To maintain that a widespread guerrilla war can break out in rural Brazil in isolation from the mass movement of the people against the dictatorship is wishful thinking.

Actions in the cities by heroic groups constitute, in the Brazilian Leftists' opinion, 'preparation for a peasant guerrilla war' and at the same time make for the awakening and mobilization of the urban population against the dictatorship. Practice has shown, however, that Leftist activity, far from promoting this struggle, prejudices it. The Leftists take a scornful view of action by the masses – from action in support of elementary demands to democratic and anti-imperialist struggle by the whole people. They sow dangerous illusions by suggesting that freedom can be won through action, not by millions of Brazilians, but by a handful of heroes,

*Former Communist leader expelled from the Party in 1967 for public attacks on it. Killed by police in Sao Paulo, November 1969. – Ed.

and breed passivity among the population and a tendency to adjust. In other words, Leftist concepts by no means help to raise the political and organizational standard of the mass movement in general and the movement against the dictatorship in particular.

The present anti-national and anti-people's regime is not really as weak as some ultra-Leftists believe. It can only be overthrown by the joint effort of all who want to end it. This is why *activity to isolate and disrupt the regime and to muster and unify all anti-dictatorial forces is particularly important today.*

The Sixth Party Congress described the fight for democracy as a key task. 'The struggle for the democratic freedoms,' we read in its Political Resolution, '... links up with mass struggle on all levels, from campaigns for the most elementary demands to decisive battles for power. Every victory, whether big or small, and even every defeat in the fight for the freedoms adds to the experience of the masses.' Untimely and ill-advised actions merely play into the hands of our people's oppressors.

Analysis of the political situation in Brazil invites the conclusion that ultra-Leftist activity has created a situation unfavorable to the democratic forces. The trend towards division that made itself felt among the regime's backers, particularly in the armed forces, has slowed down. The government takes fascist-like steps on the pretext of combating 'Left'-wing* terrorism. A censorship which bars all reports on meetings, strikes and other actions by the working people, intellectuals and students allows Leftist activities to be amply covered by the press, radio and television. Nor is this accidental. The followers of the dictatorship take advantage of Leftist activity to justify the escalation of repression against all anti-dictatorial forces, breaches of legality and the suppression of elementary democratic liberties. The battered bogey of 'Communist terrorism' is being used again to rally the reactionary forces, especially the officer corps, mainstay of the regime.

Reaction stops at no provocation. Late in 1967 mysterious elements in São Paulo began to explode bombs, raid banks and carry out other acts of terrorism. Public opinion learned by mere chance that they were the handiwork of Sabato Dinotos, a police agent, who admitted it in the press. His gang, linked with the São Paulo police department, was out to build up political tension in the state and pave the way for greater police repression.

After the Leftists had begun to raid banks, gangs of common criminals became visibly more active and posed as 'terrorists' during many raids. The regime immediately seized on this development in an effort to talk the people into believing that the ultra-

*Marighella, for one, described terror as the right form of fighting the dictatorship. See 'Les Temps Modernes,' No. 280, Paris, 1969. — Author's Note.

Leftist groups were made up of the dregs of society and were as bad as any bandits' gang.

However, there is more than that to the harm the Leftists are doing to the revolutionary struggle. The military and police regime uses force on a scale unprecedented in our national history. This logically leads various sections of the population to the conclusion that the people will sooner or later have to set force against force. But since the Leftists calls for the use of force and actually use it regardless of conditions, many infer that to use force is wrong in any circumstances and hence the only proper form of fighting the dictatorship is the non-violent one. This opinion is thoroughly wrong and harmful. The anti-dictatorial forces must be prepared to use any form, including armed struggle, as the Political Resolution of the Sixth Party Congress clearly states.

Why is it that a few hundred anti-dictatorial fighters have accepted an anti-Leninist concept of the revolution and have chosen adventurism? The question should be answered with due regard to internal and foreign political factors. The regime's terrorism against patriots arouses legitimate hatred for the people's oppressors, and hence calls for immediate armed action against the dictatorship bring response from some revolutionary-minded sections of the population.

The sharpening of social struggles in Brazil is due not only to the rule of a brutal dictatorship but to the interminable shelving of urgent problems of the people.

Account should also be taken of certain inner political circumstances, such as the difficulty of promoting a mass movement against the dictatorship, especially since Institutional Act No. 5* became effective.

However, the rise of Leftist groups following an unproletarian line detrimental to the revolution was due above all to the influence of petty-bourgeois ideology inevitable in the revolutionary movement of a country like Brazil. 'The setback sustained in 1964,' the Political Resolution notes, 'brought out many of our weak points. More clearly than ever, it revealed the disastrous effect which a false concept manifesting itself above all at crucial moments of our life has on our ranks, from the leadership downwards. This erroneous, essentially petty-bourgeois and putschist concept of the revolutionary process sees the revolution as a product of top groups or the Party and not as a mass phenomenon. It imbues our action with a sense of petty-bourgeois haste, and diverts it from the perspective of persistent effort to achieve tactical and strategic goals by mustering forces and winning hegemony for the

*One of the military's most reactionary decrees. Adopted in December 1968, it did away with the last vestiges of democratic liberties. — Ed.

proletariat. These and other unproletarian ideas give rise to serious mistakes and deviations in our policy due to our theoretical limitations and inadequate knowledge of Brazilian reality. At the root of these concepts is, first of all, the strong influence of petty-bourgeois ideology in the Party.'

Foreign political factors, including the ideological offensive which U.S. imperialism has been carrying on in our country for years, have, for their part, contributed to the spread of petty-bourgeois views. Unable to discredit Marxism-Leninism, the ideologists of imperialism promote theories 'correcting' it, and often manage to influence vacillating revolutionaries.

The U.S. imperialists and Brazilian reactionaries try to profit by differences in the world Communist movement. They strive through the mass media, as well as through the universities and schools, to bring disarray into the ranks of Brazilian revolutionaries, especially now that the Communist Party, forced underground, cannot openly refute allegations of the enemies of Marxism-Leninism. The reactionaries' ideological subversion benefits from the attitude of the Chinese Communist Party leadership, which confuses and misleads the revolutionary movement and fosters ultra-Leftist sentiments.

The Brazilian Communist Party takes a principled stand on ultra-Leftist activity. However, our rejection of it was first misinterpreted by some people in the anti-dictatorial movement, who even called us 'opportunists.' Criticism ran high when ultra-Leftists carried out a series of spectacular actions, such as the kidnapping of the U.S. Ambassador. The Party did not, however, yield to petty-bourgeois spontaneity and gave cogent reasons for its stand on Leftist actions. Many of those who accused us of opportunism have now joined the Party and back its strategy and tactics. But a number of intellectuals and students are still undecided. The Communists must therefore make clear, by giving specific examples, why our policy is correct while Leftist theory and practice are wrong.

The Sixth Party Congress rejected the Leftists' concepts and exposed the implications of their activity. 'The group which seeks to split the Party and impose an adventurist and Leftist orientation upon it,' the Political Resolution says, 'is merely coming out against the historic advance of our Party, serving as an instrument of the same backward concepts foreign to Marxism that did us so much harm in the past, if not as an instrument of forces deliberately striving on the national and international scene to destroy the Party and impose on the proletariat a political direction contrary to its doctrine and its class organization. This group upholds a policy disregarding objective conditions or implying the existence or imminence of a revolutionary situation that only exists in its imagination. It wants to revive, by putting a "new" guerrilla

mantle on it, the concept of a revolution made from adventurist seats of insurrection dissociated from the real mass movement. It wants to substitute a militarized alignment for the Marxist-Leninist Party. Our Party, loyal to the principles of Marxism-Leninism, remains with the masses, mobilizing, organizing and educating them.'

This description of Brazilian Leftists, given over three years ago, is still valid. The only comment we can make is that ever since the guerrillas' defeat in Bolivia the more prominent Leftists of Brazil have been less zealous in urging the creation of rural guerrilla seats. One indication of this is what Carlos Marighella told *Front*, a French periodical, in November 1969. The miscarriage of the theory of guerrilla seats prompted the Leftists to concentrate on adventurist actions in the cities.

The Communists of Brazil condemn the Leftists' refusal to understand that history is made by the people. The Leftists' assessment of the political situation in the country is deeply marked with subjectivism. They propose actions at variance with reality, the extent of the people's preparedness for struggle and the degree of their political consciousness and organization. Kidnappings, bank raids and other acts of terrorism must, in their view, promote the mass movement. They argue that under the dictatorship the people's struggle cannot expand unless backed by armed groups.

We know from practice that mass action can be organized even in present conditions. But as the regime invariably retaliates by resorting to police brutality, the Communist Party considers it necessary to organize working people's self-defense – an 'important factor in preparing the masses for higher forms of struggle,' according to the Political Resolution. Forming self-defense groups has nothing to do with Leftist ideas reducing the fight against the dictatorship to isolated actions by small armed groups.

As a result of their subjectivist estimation of the political situation at home, the Leftists' policy is contaminated by voluntarism. It is based on directives and slogans which the masses refuse to support. When studying ultra-Leftist records, one cannot help recalling Engels' remark about the French Blanquists. 'What childish naiveté,' he wrote, 'to put forward one's own impatience as a theoretical argument!'

In trying to support their practice with theory, the Leftists minimize the role and significance of our working class, now more than ten-million strong. The urban middle strata, commercial and service industry personnel and civil servants, for their part, have grown in numbers and their condition is becoming similar to that of the proletariat. While the Leftists do not openly deny the leading role of the working class in the Brazilian revolution, their concept of the struggle inevitably results in underrating it. They reason along

the following lines: 'The decisive battle will be fought in the strategic, that is, rural areas, not in the tactical ones, that is, the towns; the towns are a complementary area of struggle and all struggle in them takes inspiration from the rural guerrilla front.' This formula clearly underestimates the role of the working class and certain sections of the urban population whose numbers are steadily growing and, on the other hand, mechanically copies the experience of other countries, where the revolutionary process took place in other conditions and with a different level of socio-economic development than in Brazil.

Capitalist development in our country has involved rapid growth of the cities, which in 1965 accounted for half of the country's population. While the rural population is scattered over a vast area, the urban population, which is growing through massive migration from the countryside, occupies a relatively small area. Indeed, about 20 million people, or 22 per cent of the entire population, live in Sao Paulo, Rio de Janeiro, Belo Horizonte, Salvador, Recife, Porto Alegre and their suburbs.

There are a number of reasons for the Leftist underestimation of the proletariat's role, including the still inadequate commitment of the working class to the fight against the dictatorship. Imperialist propaganda insists that the working people in the capitalist countries are 'going bourgeois.' The lack of powerful labor actions in the recent period in Brazil has lent some credibility to this allegation. It should not be forgotten, however, that the people distrust the regime and are opposed to it. The workers go on fighting against its policies. They strike and demonstrate. True, these actions are few owing to the prevailing atmosphere of intimidation. The fact that the working class does not yet play a decisive role in the fight against the dictatorship as is the case in, say, Argentina next door, is due to certain subjective and objective causes. Only the blind would fail to see that this is a passing phenomenon.

Our fight against petty-bourgeois concepts that underrate the role of the Brazilian proletariat as the main motive force of the revolution is inspired by both Marxism-Leninism and the recent experience of the class struggle in Brazil. Whoever has kept careful track of events in the years 1961-1964 knows that the more reactionary pro-imperialist forces bent on overthrowing the then constitutional government were aroused to action because they were frightened by the workers' growing involvement in politics. We remember how the reactionaries raged over the mounting strike movement, the strengthening of democratic trade unions or the formation of associations of agricultural workers.

The difficulties of organizing and mobilizing the masses today have caused confusion among those intellectuals and students who

lack experience and have a faulty knowledge of the theory of revolutionary struggle. It is only natural that some of them should give in to imperialist and reactionary influence.

The Leftists regard the students and intellectuals as the main motive force of the revolution. That is why Leftist concepts gain currency primarily in these segments of the population.

What is the ultra-Leftist groups' attitude toward the Brazilian Communist Party? Prior to the Sixth Congress they were engaged in divisive activity and tried to impose an adventurist line on the Party. Seeing that they could not split the Party from within, many of those who held Leftist and sectarian views set out to form ultra-Leftist groups.

Some of them broke with the Party, affirming that a working-class party was no longer needed. 'Our main activity,' Marighella said, 'is not to build a party but to launch revolutionary action.'

Certain of the daring operations carried out by Leftists caused a stir both at home and abroad. However, the dictatorship replied with unprecedented reprisals. The torturing and killing of political prisoners and their kin became a common occurrence. Clashes between the ultra-Leftist groups and a reaction gone berserk revealed the former's organizational weakness. Many of them were routed. This is further proof that the revolutionary struggle cannot succeed without a strong working-class party guided by a correct revolutionary theory.

The ultra-Leftist groups have from the outset opposed Lenin's theory of the party and adhered to a position incompatible with the principles of proletarian internationalism. They view the Brazilian revolution in isolation from the world revolutionary process and extend their hostile stand on the Brazilian Communist Party to other Communist parties, particularly the CPSU, often going as far as to back imperialist propaganda's slanderous attacks on the Soviet Union and the world Communist movement.

We have said that Leftist activity in Brazil is prompted by a petty-bourgeois ideology. Under the guise of creatively applying Marxism-Leninism in Brazilian conditions they dish up an eclectic hodgepodge of utopian socialist, anarchist and Blanquist propositions. That is why combating the 'infantile disorder' of Leftism in the revolutionary movement is still one of the Brazilian Communists' main ideological tasks.



The Editorial Board of this journal asked Academician Boris Petrov, Hero of Socialist Labor, to comment on progress in space exploration. It also asked flier-cosmonaut Herman Titov, Hero of the Soviet Union, to tell readers about Yuri Gagarin. Titov was Gagarin's stand-by for the flight of Vostok I and accomplished a 25-hour space flight on board Vostok 2 that same year.

Space exploration: progress and trends

Boris Petrov

Man's pioneering space flight was a turning point in the progress of civilization. It ushered in the era of manned space exploration. Yuri Gagarin's heroic deed has gone down in the history of science and culture along with the launching of the first sputnik.

The first decade of space travel abounds in outstanding achievements. It saw the launching of various earth satellites and automatic stations designed to probe into the universe, circle the moon or land on its surface, the construction of moon satellites and the sending of automatic interplanetary stations to Venus and Mars. As time went on manned space flights became more exacting and spaceships more sophisticated. Ships manned by one cosmonaut were followed by ships carrying crews of two or three, there came group flights by two and three ships, and automatic and manual dockings in space. The first experimental orbital station manned by a crew of four was built and cosmonauts crossed from one ship into another. An important development was Alexei Leonov's stepping into open space in 1965, the first ever. Among the more noteworthy events was the landing of the first U.S. expedition on the moon and the manned flights of Apollo 12 and 14.

A new stage in space exploration with automatic apparatus was opened by the flights of Luna 16, which brought samples of lunar soil to earth, and Luna 17, which landed Lunokhod 1, a self-propelled vehicle, on the moon.

The first decade of the space age brought numerous scientific discoveries considerably extending our knowledge of space, the moon and the planets of the solar system.

From the early ventures into space, which may be described as reconnaissance, scientists moved to systematic exploration with the aid of rockets. The results made it possible to set new and more ambitious scientific tasks and plan integrated experiments that will help to solve many a riddle of nature.

Space navigation is beginning to bear practical fruits. Communication and television through earth satellites are becoming part of man's daily life. Weather satellites are gaining in efficiency. Scientifically based plans have been laid to use space technology in practice. Scientists of various countries join efforts to carry out integrated experiments.

The way for Yuri Gagarin's flight was paved by the implementation of a vast space program in the Soviet Union. The early earth satellites, the first automatic interplanetary stations and spacecraft carrying animals made it possible to prepare a manned orbital flight with a high degree of dependability. A prominent part in the drawing up and realization of this program and in subsequent space projects was played by Academician S. Korolyov, chief designer of space rocket systems and ships, Academician M. Keldysh, the eminent scientist who made a fundamental contribution to the elaboration of space problems, and their colleagues in charge of large teams of assistants.

April 12, 1961 became a historic date. Gagarin's flight will for ever remain the greatest achievement of science and technology, an instance of supreme courage. We are thinking of the pioneer of space as we celebrate the tenth anniversary of this event which brought fame to the Soviet Union. Gagarin was an outstanding Soviet man, a Communist who gave his life serving the people. He became a hero.

The International Aeronautical Federation has instituted a Gagarin Gold Medal which it awards to cosmonauts for record achievements in peaceful space exploration.

In the early years of space exploration the two leading space powers, the Soviet Union and United States, set themselves similar tasks. They created requisite facilities and made experiment after experiment. Their efforts towards exploring the moon and the planets largely coincided. The object was to obtain initial information about heavenly bodies and to devise various types of craft for

flights to our natural satellite and farther afield. The success of the series of automatic stations comprising Luna, Venera, Mars and Zond and the American Ranger, Surveyor, Lunar Orbiter and Mariner revealed the high efficiency of automatic apparatus for sustained research.

Having gained adequate experience in solving key problems of space travel and brought powerful technical facilities into being, each of the leading space powers then took its own road, which is perfectly logical and understandable. The range of space objectives open to exploration had widened considerably and both countries had to choose priorities.

Scientists generally tackle a much greater number of problems than can or should be solved within a definite period. Space exploration is expensive and it is therefore important to determine with the utmost accuracy the strategic objective which should receive primary attention. On the other hand, it is not always easy to foresee the lines of research likely to produce the greatest scientific and practical effect.

Hence a space program must be flexible and diversified, and must provide for extensive quests in new, often unexplored fields. Nor should it be forgotten that to attain this or that objective, it is essential to have dependable and economically justified space systems.

The Soviet space program is determined by economic requirements and the exigencies of scientific and technological progress. It covers diverse spheres of exploration stage by stage.

In exploring the moon and the planets of the solar system, the Soviet Union today gives first place to automatic devices which clear a path for man as perhaps in no other field of human endeavor. An automatic apparatus, whose possibilities are increasing from year to year, is a real pathfinder of the universe. In the foreseeable future it will virtually be the only means of directly exploring the outer reaches of space and the planets. Nor should the economic aspect of the matter be discounted – an automatic apparatus is much less expensive than a manned one.

While giving due credit to automatic devices, we must not make an absolute of their significance or potentialities. They are our dependable assistants but they cannot cope with every task nor take man's place throughout. A man on board an orbital ship can not only reveal the origins of natural phenomena, such as the eye of a typhoon or the source of a forest fire, but direct instruments towards them and take appropriate decisions.

Manned flights make up a small fraction of flights of automatic apparatuses for the time being but their importance is immense. At

the present stage of the Soviet space program, near space is the main area of manned flights. It is to the earth's neighborhood that manned ships and research systems, transport ships and orbital stations calculated to operate over a long period are sent up. In exploring near space and carrying out observations of national economic significance, man's direct participation is particularly effective, combined, of course, with the use of automatic devices. In deciding on space priorities, we put the interests of science and economy first.

Whereas the first decade saw man fly into space and work there, the second decade will be one of methodical research by means of orbital laboratories. Technology will evidently follow the line of building bigger and more elaborate orbital stations for scientific and technological investigations and experiments. It will design sufficiently versatile laboratories and specialized stations, such as astronomical, astrophysical or radioastronomical extra-atmospheric orbital observatories. The latter may be entirely automatic or be manned periodically. The problem of building large orbital stations requires much preparatory work and sophisticated experiments in assembling stations in orbit and in piloting several spaceships.

The Soviet Union has carried out successful tests to solve this problem. It has effected two automatic dockings of Cosmos satellites and a docking of two manned Soyuz ships and established the first experimental orbital station, two cosmonauts crossing from one ship into another through open space for the first time. During the group flight of Soyuz 6, 7 and 8 the crews manually carried out numerous maneuvers and made important scientific and technological experiments, in particular testing welding apparatus in space. Experiments in autonomous space navigation hold a big promise. Soyuz 9 explored from space the earth and near-earth space, and made scientific, technological, medical and biological experiments to ascertain the impact of a long space flight on man's physique and his working capacity. Afterwards the flight experts investigated the process of man's re-adaptation following a long period of weightlessness.

The flight of Luna 16, the taking of a sample of lunar soil by means of an automatic drill and its delivery to earth by a moon-to-earth rocket afford great opportunities of exploring the moon and subsequently the planets of the solar system with automatic devices. This flight proved that valuable scientific information on various areas of the surface of other heavenly bodies can be obtained by launching automatic stations, which are much cheaper than manned ships. The construction of Lunokhod 1 and the testing of its efficiency on the moon's surface for several lunar days and nights show that space navigation has acquired a fundamentally new

means of exploring the moon's surface—a travelling automatic laboratory. The operation of Lunokhod 1 brought much experience in solving navigational problems. The new tested method it employed may be made the basis of remote control of planetary craft.

An important discovery of this century, the laser, opens up vast prospects for space travel and for exploring the moon and the planets. The first laser moon-locator experiments were carried out by U.S. and Soviet scientists as early as 1962 and 1963, when the distance between the earth and the moon was ascertained to within 150 km. Soviet tests of a special laser in 1966 helped to measure the distance to the bottom of Flammarion, a lunar crater, to within several hundred metres. The Lunokhod 1 French-made laser reflector made it possible to measure the distance between the earth's surface and the position of the lunar vehicle to within one metre.

Measurements of the distance to the moon, carried out with so high a degree of precision, afford ample opportunities for both space mechanics and the solution of numerous problems of geodesy and geodynamics. They will help us to specify the parameters of the lunar orbit, investigate librations and secure new data on the surface of the moon, as well as to conduct exact geodetical measurements and even explore such barely perceptible phenomena as the continental drift or the movement of the earth's poles.

The delivery of the French laser reflector to the moon and the Soviet and French scientists' joint laser experiment is a milestone in Soviet-French cooperation in space for peaceful purposes. Coupled with the Americans' use of a laser reflector delivered to the moon by U.S. astronauts, these experiments contribute notably to man's knowledge of space and the earth.

The significance of lasers for space communication and the transmission of scientific information in space, where the use of lasers is in no way hampered by the earth's atmosphere, clouds, fogs and precipitation, can hardly be over-rated. The higher the electromagnetic frequency the greater the amount of information that can be transmitted, other things being equal. Use of the coherent electromagnetic waves emitted by a laser provides tremendous opportunities for establishing high-capacity communication channels between space apparatuses, orbital stations, spaceships, satellites and stations situated on the moon or the planets. These channels may be used for transmitting scientific information, control commands, television, telephonic communication and other purposes. To be sure, we will first have to overcome numerous difficulties, find new technological solutions and design new perfected apparatuses. But nowadays the interval between a discovery and its utilization is shorter and many ideas that once seemed dreams are fast becoming reality.

The challenging scientific and technological problems of today call ever more often for integrated research and the simultaneous use of diverse facilities of space technology – satellites, orbital and automatic interplanetary stations, instruments operating on the surface of the moon and eventually the planets of the solar system, and various instruments and observation devices for earthbound stations and observatories. Such integrated investigations and experiments make it increasingly urgent for scientists and experts of various countries to cooperate in space. The socialist countries have for years been setting an example of effective integrated experiments, as when they launched Intercosmos 1 and 4, earth satellites carrying apparatus designed in the GDR, the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia, or when joint observations on earth were conducted in Bulgaria, Hungary, the GDR, Poland, Rumania, the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia.

The early years of the space age, and the first decade of the era of space travel, when key problems were solved and pioneering discoveries made and when cosmonauts accomplished numerous flights, supplied a wealth of information. Analysis of this information plus prognostication of the development of this branch of science enables us today to concretely envisage further exploration in the interest of science and the technological and social progress of mankind.

A feat that astounded the world

Herman Titov

Man's first venture into outer space – an undertaking that defied the imagination. The drone of the engines, the ground rocket lost in clouds of smoke, and then the take-off.

I am often asked 'What were your feelings when Gagarin took off?'

My feelings and thoughts before and during Yuri Gagarin's flight can, in a way, be compared with the thoughts and feelings of a pilot seeing one of his comrades take off on a new model plane. It

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is customary for us carefully to watch his movements, the plane's behavior at take-off and touchdown, in fact every detail, and draw conclusions for ourselves. It was the same before Gagarin's flight. When the rocket was being prepared I was engrossed in the technical details, followed the countdown and Gagarin's movements. When the rocket tore away from the launching pad and began its ascent, I carefully watched control system recordings.

But once the spaceship was on its way there was a feeling of emptiness, a feeling every airman knows only too well. Time and again you'll be talking to one of your comrades and a few minutes later he would be off on a venturesome flight. How was he making out? How were things likely to go? Always the same questions, the same concern.

Frankly speaking, there was simply no time to reflect on the significance of Gagarin's flight. No sooner had he taken off, than Nikolai Kamanin and I boarded a plane and were on our way to the landing site. I was sorry to leave ground control, but Kamanin said: 'We'll be in touch there, too.'

Listening to the reports from outer space we tried to form a picture of the flight's progress. We could single out details that had a meaning only for the specialist, for those of us who were preparing for our own cosmic voyages.

The velocity of the rocket increases rapidly, but so does the load the spaceman has to cope with, and on a spaceship the stress period is a long one.

Can man stand it? Experimenting with animals on space vehicles, our scientists found that a properly trained man can.

But would that be confirmed in practice? Reports from the ship indicated that Gagarin was coping successfully. This was a great relief to all of us.

I had read much about weightlessness, and as a fighter pilot had actually experienced it to a certain degree. But how would Yuri fare when the ship was in orbit? The answer came with every new report:

'9.48 hours; flight going well . . . feel well, in good spirits. . . .

'Turned on solar orientation. . . .

'Flight proceeding normally, orbit according to plan. . . .

'Feeling excellent, flight continues, now over America. . . .

'Can see Earth horizon, beautiful sight.'

But the most important, and I would say the most complex, stage was still ahead, breaking out of orbit and landing.

Will everything work as expected? Though the braking and landing systems had been repeatedly tested in flights with animals, there was always the possibility of some untoward complication. Would Gagarin manage if he had to use the manual landing device?

I recalled our joint training sessions and decided: 'Everything will be all right.'

Then came the radio message: the Vostok, Gagarin's ship, had performed a successful landing at 10.55 hours.

From the landing area Yuri Gagarin sent this message: 'Please inform Party and government that landing was normal, I feel well, was not hurt during flight.'

When we reached the landing area, I found Yuri surrounded by a tight group. There was no getting near him. Nevertheless, I began pushing through the crowd, undaunted by the surprised and disapproving looks of the scientists and space experts who had come to witness the touchdown. Yuri saw me and came over to shake hands. We stood there hugging each other and hitting each other out of sheer joy.

It can safely be said that after April 12, 1961, a day now widely known as the dawn of a cosmic era, no other man in the whole of this planet was the object of such love and admiration. His feat epitomized all that was best, all that had been created by human genius. And to risk a cliché, his was a feat written in golden letters in the annals of history. But even gold cannot fully express its grandeur.

For us cosmonauts, Yuri Gagarin was a close friend and comrade. This boy from Smolensk Region was destined to blaze the trail into outer space. His own trail in life was like that of many thousands of others, of the many youngsters who traversed the usual but, at the same time, heroic path. Yuri's erudition, his knowledge of space technology, his ability quickly to find his bearings in any situation, were complemented by his personal charm.

The 108 minutes it took the Vostok to circle the planet were indicative not only of its speed. They were the first minutes of the cosmic era, and as such they shook the world.

After his cosmic orbit, Yuri started an 'earth orbit,' travelling throughout our and foreign countries – everyone wanted to see the world's first cosmonaut. He was asked to address workers and scientists, school-children and students, was interviewed by a small army of journalists, and visited 30 foreign countries. His intensive public activities did not, however, distract him from what had become the work and purpose of his life. He shared in the preparation of every new flight. His dream was of flying to distant planets and he felt sure he would be entrusted with that mission. It was this that inspired his famous cosmic flight and all his other work.

His life, vivid in achievement and promise, was cut short by a tragic accident. On the day it happened in March 1968, the whole world shared with us cosmonauts our grief over this terrible loss.

From one orbit of the planet to a 25-hour flight, from a several days' flight to the group journey of Voskhod, and then to the first walk in space by Alexei Leonov—these are all 'space marks' in cosmonautics. A new stage was ushered in with the Soyuz ships, the experimental orbital stations and also the American Apollo flights.

Parallel with manned flights, automatic stations have been used to explore outer space, and here, too, the achievements are truly epochal.

And there will be many more. For equipped with modern technology, and using sophisticated automatic devices, telemechanics and electronics, man can boldly venture farther out in space. The horizons of cosmonautics are as limitless as is the universe itself.



Mongolia's path from feudalism to socialism

Many ex-colonial countries are still at a low development level. Some are at the pre-capitalist or early capitalist stage with significant survivals of feudalism, even of tribal structures. Does this mean that they will have to travel the tormenting path of capitalist development before launching out on the building of socialism? The Marxist-Leninist answer is No, in our age the capitalist path is not obligatory or inevitable. In our time nations that have not gone through the 'school' of capitalism can bypass capitalism in their advance to socialism.

Nor is this merely a theoretical proposition. We have the experience of the Mongolian People's Republic which this year will be celebrating the first half-century of its people's revolution. With the support of the Soviet Union and the world Communist movement, Mongolia was the first underdeveloped country to choose the non-capitalist path and, helped by the fraternal socialist countries, passed from feudalism to socialism in the lifetime of one generation.

Her experience was the subject of a Round Table discussion in Ulan-Bator arranged by the Central Committee of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party (MPRP) and World Marxist Review. Taking part were D. Molomzhamts, Political Bureau member and secretary of the MPRP Central Committee, B. Lhamsuren, alternate Political Bureau member and Central Committee secretary; public leaders, scholars and front-rank workers. The journal was represented by L. Becerra (CP Honduras), C. Unni Raja (CP India), Ts. Davagsuren (MPRP) and others.

The discussion was opened by Ts. Davagsuren, member of the MPRP Central Committee and its representative on the journal's Editorial Council.

In his speech of welcome, B. Lhamsuren said the Mongolian people's revolution, a component of the world revolutionary process, fundamentally altered the country's history. Mongolia's ex-

perience is proof that the non-capitalist path to socialism enables ex-colonial countries to wipe out age-old backwardness and achieve social progress at an optimal pace and with minimum tribulations. Mongolia's experience also shows that fidelity to Marxism-Leninism, close ties with the international Communist movement, cooperation with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries are essential conditions for successful development along the non-capitalist path.

TURNING POINT

'The only correct path for every toiler of your country is the struggle for political and economic independence in alliance with the workers and peasants of Soviet Russia. This struggle cannot be waged in isolation and to be successful it must be led by a party of Mongolia's arats.'

(Lenin, in a talk with a delegation of the Mongolian People's Republic)

Reality of the new path

These words of Lenin, uttered in November 1921, three months after the Mongolian revolution, have been fully corroborated by history. Mongolia's record over the past half-century is one of the most interesting experiments in history. And it is no accident that it has become the subject of close study in many developing countries, where the progressive forces are working to make all the benefits of modern civilization and culture a reality for this and succeeding generations.

What was Mongolia's starting point on the difficult road to socialism? Pre-revolutionary Mongolia, B. Shirendyb, President of the Mongolian Academy of Sciences, said, was at the stage of early feudalism and was ruled by a theocratic regime. The main pursuit of the people was nomad stock-breeding. There was nothing resembling industry and, of course, no working class.

Production relations were based on feudal property – the feudal owned the herds, the land and also the arat (peasant) serfs. The latter also had cattle, but were dependent on the feudal for pasturage.

Foreign capital penetration, begun at the turn of the century, exerted a certain influence, prompting herdsmen to exchange animal products for manufactured goods, chiefly of Russian import. But trade was impeded by the pattern of social relations – tribute to the feudals, endless levies and repayment of feudal debts to foreign firms were a heavy burden on the arat. The feudals became richer, the arats poorer.

Such was the objective economic cause of the sharpening social

conflict between the arats, on the one hand, and the feudals and the foreign money-lenders and tradesmen with whom they were closely associated, on the other. In the end, economic and political struggle led to the people's revolution, of which the arats were the chief motive force.

Gaining momentum under the influence of the Great October Revolution, the national liberation movement steadily acquired a distinct anti-feudal and anti-imperialist character.

Analyzing the historic conditions of Mongolia's transition to socialism, B. Khurmetbek, director of the Higher Party School, emphasized the importance of breaking colonial contacts with the world capitalist economy and establishing close political and economic relations with the Soviet Union, and subsequently with other socialist countries. Favorable international conditions created the possibility of successful struggle against national and social oppression. But this possibility had to be made a reality, and this depended on internal factors, primarily leadership by the People's Revolutionary Party.

However, important as specific conditions might be for countries that set foot on the socialist path, they do not alter, let alone vitiate, the common laws governing the development of the new system. There is no such thing as 'special' paths for backward countries advancing to socialism, paths that supposedly rule out class struggle, social revolution and proletarian dictatorship in one or another form.

The character of any social revolution, S. Norovsambu (Mongolian State University) said, is determined by the concrete socio-economic contradictions it sets out to resolve. In Mongolia there was the contradiction between the productive forces and the feudal production relations. But it was intertwined with another, the contradiction between the requirements of progressive development and imperialist colonial policy. Foreign capital controlled a considerable share of the national wealth. Representatives of the ruling class in the imperialist countries grossly interfered in Mongolia's internal affairs in an effort to keep the feudal system alive. This predetermined the identity of aims of the democratic, anti-feudal revolution and of the national-liberation struggle, freedom both from feudalism and imperialism. We describe the Mongolian revolution, the speaker said, as a people's revolution because it was performed by the arat masses. At the initial stage its central task was to combat feudalism and colonialism, but at the same time it was anti-capitalist, becoming the starting point for transition from feudalism to socialism without having to go through the capitalist stage.

The role of the MPRP in implementing the Leninist theory of non-capitalist development was discussed by Ts. Namsarai, editor of *Namyn amydral* (Party Life), organ of the MPRP Central Committee. The program statement adopted by the Party's Constituent Congress in 1921 declared that it would seek fundamentally to refashion Mongolia's socio-economic life. The statement said: 'Mongolia will not follow the tormenting path of capitalism earlier traversed by other countries; it must develop as a genuine people's state in conformity with modern international development.' The Party's basic tasks at the democratic stage of the revolution were defined in the second program adopted at the Fourth Congress in 1925.

The Party's policy was to carry out the revolution, safeguard the gains of the toiling people against encroachments by external and internal enemies, develop the economy, culture and education, secure higher living standards. This policy was decisive in implementing the Leninist doctrine of non-capitalist development.

At first, the MPRP was predominantly a peasant party. But speakers emphasized that in this age, when the transition to socialism has become the main trend of world development, the more radical and far-seeing representatives of the non-proletarian strata in underdeveloped countries can, given certain conditions, gradually go over to the positions of the working class. Indeed, this was characteristic of the foremost Mongolian revolutionary democrats who founded the MPRP.

Assimilation of Marxism-Leninism was neither an easy nor short process. Proof of that can be seen in the fierce struggle within the Party in the 1920's, between proponents of Marxism-Leninism, on the one hand, and national deviationists and Right and 'Left' opportunists, on the other. But gradually, step by step, the Party overcame the survivals of petty-bourgeois ideology.

Having described the revolutionary situation as it had then developed in Mongolia, D. Dash (Party History Institute, CC MPRP) noted that the success of the people's revolution in this peasant country was possible because it could draw on the experience and all-round assistance of the Soviet working class and its Communist Party. The alliance of Mongolian arats with the working people of the Land of Soviets was the principal external factor in the triumph of the people's revolution. This was a specific form of international alliance of the working class and peasantry.

The MPRP has consistently been guided by the principles of socialist internationalism, S. Damdinsuren (Party History Institute) said. The establishment of fraternal ties with the international

Communist movement and with other socialist states was not a fortuitous development. It was a historical necessity stemming from the unity of our people's international and national tasks. As early as in the summer of 1920, Mongolian revolutionaries contacted the Soviet Communist Party and the Communist International. The First Party Congress decided to invite a permanent Comintern representative to Ulan Bator, and somewhat later our Party was admitted to the Comintern with consultative vote. This gave us direct contact with the World Communist movement and signified our acceptance of the ideological leadership of the Communist International.

Close links with the world Communist movement and its vanguard, the CPSU, enabled the Mongolian Communists, despite inadequate political experience, to solve the major problems of the revolutionary struggle from positions of scientific socialism and proletarian internationalism.

Transition stages

The experience of several socialist-oriented newly-liberated countries shows that many features of Mongolia's people's revolution are in one or another form repeated in other countries, B. Baldo, director of the Party History Institute, remarked. For the non-capitalist path necessarily presupposes liquidation of feudal relations, the winning of economic independence, restriction and ousting of capitalist elements, development of the state sector of the economy, cooperation of peasant farms, cultural revolution and, as a result of these processes, laying the foundations of socialism.

Non-capitalist development presupposes, first, the deepening and consummation of the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal revolution and, second, its gradual growing over into socialist revolution. We can therefore speak of two stages in the Mongolian revolution.

In the first, general democratic stage that followed the repeal of serfdom and abolition of the monarchy, the country's economy was predominantly based on individual, arat farming. The land with all its deposits was proclaimed the property of the entire people. A state sector in the economy came into being. Foreign capital was ousted. The nascent elements of national capital were under state control. This stage culminated in the complete abolition of feudal relations.

In the late thirties and early forties the transition began from the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal stage to the socialist. The central task here was socialist transformation of the economic and social structure. This was formulated in the Party's third program approved by its 10th Congress in 1940. The state sector was

rapidly expanding, the working class was growing, and socialist industry was coming into its own. The culminating point was reached with the organization of arat cooperatives.

Mongolia's experience in overcoming her multi-element economy was discussed by U. *Kambar* (Higher Party School) and Ts. *Balkhazhav* (Party History Institute). Both emphasized that a multi-element economy is inevitable in the transition period. The number of the elements, their structure and place are highly specific in countries passing from feudalism to socialism. At the time of the people's revolution there were these elements in the Mongolian economy: feudal, foreign capital, national capital, the subsistence and partly commodity production of the arats. The revolution created the conditions for the rise and growth of the socialist economic formation.

The following is a brief account of these diverse elements and their destinies:

Feudalism was the chief impediment to economic progress and its liquidation was the immediate goal of the people's revolution. Land nationalization, begun in 1921 and legislatively consolidated in the 1924 Constitution, was a telling blow to feudalism's economic position. But it could not rid the country of feudal relations, for with the prevailing system of nomad cattle-farming, pasture land was largely controlled by the rich herdsmen—even after the revolution the feudals owned a considerable part of the cattle. In 1928 they made up only 4.1 per cent of all the farms, but accounted for 45 per cent of all the cattle. To deprive them of this economic stronghold, in the thirties we confiscated feudal cattle and other property.

Foreign capital in the early twenties controlled practically all commodity and money turn-over. Home and foreign trade were in the hands of foreign commercial and usurer capital which had sunk deep roots in the Mongolian economy, ruthlessly exploited the people and drained the country of a large part of its national income. Cooperation with the USSR, the emergence of a cooperative and state trading system and state monopoly of foreign trade, made it possible to oust foreign capital.

National capital was represented by private traders, rich arats and artisans, the 'bourgeoisified' section of the feudals, the Lamas, members of the old bureaucracy, etc. Capitalist elements were systematically restricted through taxation, prohibition of new private enterprises, restrictions on private employment, etc. In the end, they were completely ousted with the development of the state and cooperative sectors. All this enabled Mongolia to bypass capitalism.

Private arat economy. The revolution freed the arats of serfdom, with the result that they became small-commodity producers. But

with private property there was bound to be class differentiation. Accordingly, the Party followed a flexible policy, restricting the rich upper crust, supporting the middle arats and giving every assistance to the poor arats and farm laborers. Subsequently, when the conditions for this had matured, it set out to bring the arats into cooperatives.

Socialist economy. The MPRP and people's-democratic government concentrated all their efforts on building up the socialist economy. At first, the state and cooperative sectors had only the small enterprises inherited from the feudal state. Later on consumer and artisan cooperatives were started, also a state trading system and banking and credit agencies. Later still the socialist sector was strengthened with the organization of industrial enterprises, state farms and a transport and communications system.

The reorganization of agriculture and agrarian relations along socialist lines was discussed by D. Dugar, Director of the Economics Institute, and B. Bazarsad (Higher Party School). Once feudal relations had been abolished, the arats became the sole owners of the country's basic wealth, its cattle. But that was not enough for the rapid development of the productive forces and the building of socialism – private ownership of cattle had to be abolished too.

The Party and government began by strengthening the small arat farms, particularly by giving them the cattle confiscated from the feudals, plots for their free use and by organizing a modern veterinary service. The state farms and machine-cattle stations started at about the same time helped the arats appreciate the advantages of large-scale socialist farming. Besides, the state supplied them needed implements, granted poorer arats long-term credits to purchase cattle, and helped those who had suffered from elemental disasters.

In combination, these measures reduced the number of poor farms. In the fifties, the middle arats made up nearly two-thirds of the rural population. Favorable conditions were thus created for bringing the arats into socialist cooperatives.*

Comrade Dugar drew attention to two specific features of cooperative farming in Mongolia. First, when the agricultural associations, or cooperative farms, were first started, the state gave them large tracts of nationalized land in perpetuity. Second, the organization of cooperatives did not entail 'de-kulakisation,' for in the favorable international setting, and with the well-to-do arats loyal to the people's government, it proved possible to admit

*This is discussed in more detail in B. Balzhinnyam's article 'Cooperative Agriculture in the Mongolian People's Republic,' in No. 7, 1966 of this journal.

them to the cooperatives on the same terms as the middle and poorer farmers.

Restructuring of the economy led to the emergence of modern industries and of a working class, the main force in the building of the new society. Mongolia's working class, B. Tudev (History Institute of the Mongolian Academy of Sciences), said, was spared the hard struggles that are the worker's lot in capitalist countries. Nor did it rise out of the impoverished peasantry, as is the case in capitalist countries, but through enlistment of free manpower from arat and cooperative farms. Subsequently, there appeared a new generation of workers. In the revolutionary years, the working class has become the vanguard of our toiling population, the main force in the struggle for socialism.

Revolutionary transformations were carried out against the background of hard class struggle. Suppressing the resistance of the overthrown feudals, Mongolia's working people, led by the MPRP, successfully solved the problems of non-capitalist development. Exploitation and the exploiting classes were eliminated, private property abolished, giving way to public property of the means of production as the economic foundation of the new system.

Describing the overall result of Mongolia's development, Y. Tsedenbal, First Secretary of the MPRP Central Committee, said at the 15th Party Congress: 'The Mongolian people performed the historic transition from feudalism to socialist society. This signified the triumph of the Party's general line of leading the country to socialism without having to go through capitalism.'

ON THE SOCIALIST ROAD

'Following the victory of the socialist revolution in many countries, the building of socialism on the basis of general laws is proceeding in various forms, which take into account concrete historical conditions and national distinctions.'

(Document of the 1969 International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties).

Building the material and technical basis

Revolutionary transformations enabled Mongolia, in a historically short span, to advance from economic backwardness to a modern agrarian-industrial structure. Its economic development level is still lower than that of the European socialist and developed capitalist countries, nor is that surprising, for it is difficult in a half century to accomplish what took other countries several centuries.

At the initial stage of the revolution, the Mongolian Communists

battled against and overcame the Leftist and adventuristic theory of development by 'leaps.' Instead they chose sustained, stage-by-stage building of the material and technical basis of socialism, and in this had the support of fraternal countries. This policy proved correct and fruitful and has significantly contributed to international experience in building a socialist economy through non-capitalist development.



*A new
clothing
factory in
Ulan-Bator*

The central economic aim now, *P. Nergui* (State Planning Committee) said, is to complete the building of the material and technical basis of socialism and make Mongolia a full-fledged industrial-agrarian country.

Assistance from the Soviet Union and other socialist countries played a big part in industrial development, but the main source was Mongolia's own accumulated wealth. In 1966-70, the accumulation fund accounted for nearly 30 per cent of national income. The Party regards accumulation not as an aim in itself, but as a necessary means of building up the economy and raising prosperity standards.

Gross industrial output increased more than 650 per cent in 1950-1970, employment rose by more than 200 per cent and basic economic assets by 180 per cent in the past ten years alone.

The most pressing economic problem now, Minister of Fuel, Power and Geology *M. Pelzhe* said, is priority expansion of the country's fuel and power resources. The coal industry already meets Mongolia's main requirements. The organization of a single power grid has provided a reliable supply for the entire economy and paves the way to electrification of agriculture. Mongolia has everything needed for rapid expansion in fuel and power, and this is an important factor in industrialization. This problem, the speaker said, is being successfully solved.

In 1961, the 14th MPRP Congress decided to develop industry in

the Darkhan area so as to make fuller use of its mineral and raw material resources, and start processing farm produce.

Describing how this was done, *Ch. Suren*, Chairman of the Darkhan City Council, said that Darkhan was a symbol of the friendship and cooperation of socialist countries. Its development has been greatly assisted by the Soviet Union, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, the GDR, Hungary and Poland. Engineers and other specialists from these countries have done much to train our workers, giving them the benefit of their knowledge and experience.

Part of
Geralt Zam
cooperative
farm



Mongolian industry was built up in the process of industrialization, *L. Gurzhav* (Mongolian State University) emphasized, adding that the cardinal task is to heighten industrial efficiency. We are always mindful, he said, of Lenin's behest that the most important factor in the triumph of the new society is higher labor productivity, and in recent years more than half of the industrial output gain has come from higher productivity. Producer goods now make up 51.3 per cent of total industrial output, but we attach great importance also to expansion in the light and food industries which cater not only to the home market but are important for our export trade. Mongolia is now shifting to a new system of economic planning and incentives.

Industrialization gave the country the material basis for reorganizing agrarian relations along socialist lines, *M. Dash*, Minister of Agriculture, said, and cattle farming accounts for 80 per cent of all agricultural output. Most animal products come from cooperative farms which, on an average, have 60,400 head of cattle each. But a very big part is played also by the state farms, the first of which were started in the early thirties. Today they are large-scale enterprises equipped with the necessary machines. The average size of a state farm is 178,000 hectares; the average herd is 26,000 and average assets work out at 11,500,000 tugriks.

The state farms are the main producers of cereals, potatoes and other vegetables and of pedigree cattle.

At the beginning of 1970 the country had 5,125 tractors, 1,767 harvester combines and 2,456 trucks working on the farms. Modest figures, but they show that in rural areas too modern machines are coming into their own.

Progress in the rapidly developing agricultural sciences was described by *D. Moyobu*, director of the Cattle-Breeding Research Institute.

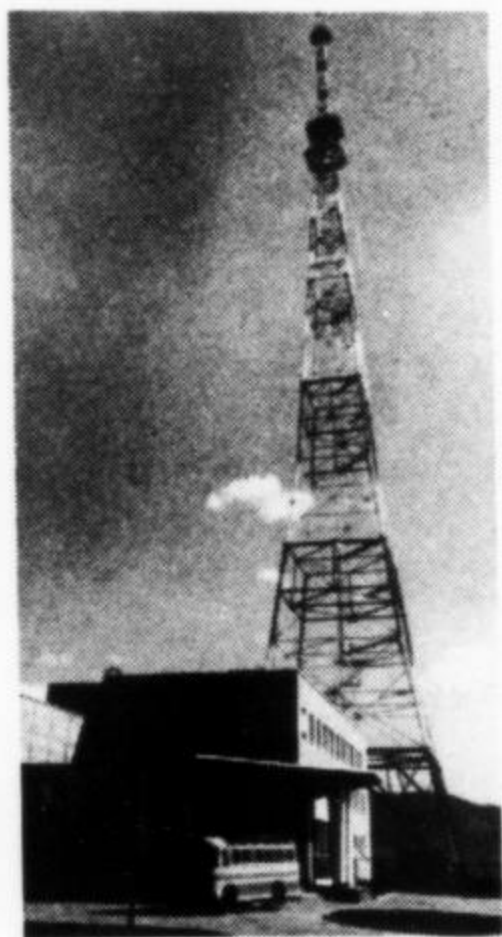
New people of the new Mongolia

Educating the man of socialist society is a many-faceted process, and by no means an easy one. This is doubly so in a once feudal country. The nomadic way of life, plus centuries of isolation from the outside world, religious prejudices, disease and hunger – these are all but memories of a sad past.

Socialism has truly regenerated the people. Their way of life has changed, they enjoy a much higher standard of living. Half the population live in urban communities. Rural conditions are changing too.

But what of the new people, what are they like?

Several of them addressed the Round Table. *Zh. Otgontsagan*, a worker, Hero of Labor, alternate member of the MPRP Central Committee. I come from a poor arat family, he said, I have been working at the mine for 25 years and have mastered the trade of timberer, driller, hewer, operator of a Donbas coal combine and have taught these skills to 49 men. I am proud to work in a mine; my job has opened new vistas.



TV center.

Another speaker, *Ts. Amgalan*, a woman worker at the Ulan-Bator clothing factory and Deputy Chairman of the Grand People's Hural. Our factory, she said, was built in 1941 with the help of the Soviet Union and was greatly expanded in 1960-67 and re-equipped with assistance from the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic. The clothing we make is exported to many socialist countries. Most of the workers are women. In 1930 women made up less

than one per cent of workers in industry, today the figure is 46.5 per cent.

Our state farm, its director, Hero of Labor D. Arya said, was started in 1927 with only three full-time workers and a few seasonal herdsmen. Now we have 1,200 permanent workers. We got our first tractor in 1937, now we have 452, plus 115 combines and many other machines, and we have the skilled staff needed to run them.

Living and welfare conditions are steadily improving. We have a 10-year and two elementary schools with a total attendance of more than one thousand, and a hostel for some of the children. More than 100 of our workers attend evening classes and many have gone on to continue their studies in the university. Our day nurseries and kindergartens care for 200 children. There is a library, a club, several cinema projectors, a broadcasting unit, a telephone exchange, hospital, first-aid unit, pharmacy, hotel, shops, bakery, etc. We are now building new flats, complete with central heating and all modern amenities.

Hero of labor R. Minzhur, Chairman of a cooperative farm, said the first cooperative in his aimak (region) was started in 1936 with only 10 members. Incomes were still very low. Now there are 16 cooperatives in our Arkhangai aimak uniting 13,000 families. The aimak has more than a million head of cattle.

*New
housing
in
Ulan-Bator*



Inculcating a socialist attitude to one's work, Comrade Minzhur said, requires constant attention and effort. Leading comrades in the Party, government and the economy should devote all their talent and skill to this.

Cultural revolution

The cultural revolution, B. Ligu (Ideological Department, CC MPRP) said, has helped us educate the builders of socialism. In Mongolia it had its specific features due to the very strong influence of the Lamas, and practically universal illiteracy, a situation further compounded by our vast territory.

It required many years to liberate the arats of religious superstition, teach them to read and write, build up a cultural and educational network, bring the written word, newspapers and books to the people. In 1969 we had 423 libraries, 11 theatres and 485 cinema units. Mongolia publishes 21 magazines and 30 newspapers. There is a radio in every home and television is being brought to many parts of the country.



*Mongolian
State
University*

In these 50 years of popular rule, *D. Bombosuren* (Minister of Education) said, we have accomplished very much in education as in other fields. Significantly, the first primary school was established in the year of the revolution, the first seven-year school two years later, in 1923, and the first secondary school in 1938. A new alphabet was introduced. In 1932, only 12 per cent of children were attending school; today everyone can attend and we are going over to compulsory seven-year schooling. We now have 572 schools, 24 technical schools and institutes and a university with post-graduate studies up to doctorate level.

G. Rinchinsambu (Ideological Department, CC MPRP) remarked that modern literature and art can rightly be described as the child of the people's revolution. The emergence of modern literature and art signified a leap in the development of our national culture. It became the task of revolutionary art to rise from the traditional folklore and the old literature and depictive arts to the highest stage, i.e., socialist realism.

In this half-century Mongolian art has travelled a long and meaningful road to become the truthful mirror of our socialist life. Its growth has been especially rapid in media that enjoy wide popularity and help to disseminate new ideas. In literature, this applies to poetry, to popular song in music, graphic art and portrait in painting, and drama in the theatre. A theme that has a very wide appeal is the history of our people and their revolution.

Mongolia has trained a new creative intelligentsia. The creative arts developed by enriching age-old traditions and drawing on the finest achievements of world culture, primarily of the socialist countries. Our people can now read the world's literary classics in their own language and see masterpieces of world and Soviet opera, ballet and drama, in their own theatres. To this might be added that many works of Mongolian writers have appeared in other languages, Mongolian music is performed abroad, the canvases of our artists are on display in some of the world's museums, and Mongolian films are often demonstrated on the screens of other countries.

The Mongolian People's Republic has a fully modern health service, G. Magsarzhav (Council of Ministers), told the Round Table. We did not inherit a single medical institution from the feudal system. In fact, before the revolution epidemics – plague, typhus, small-pox, etc. – took an appalling toll of life. Or this figure: half of all infants died before reaching the age of one. Significantly, the speaker remarked, not only the first school, but also the first public hospital was started in 1921. Our first medical school was inaugurated in 1929 and the university medical college in 1942.

Today Mongolia has more than 100 hospitals, hundreds of rural medical centers, special mother-and-child facilities, maternity wards, anti-epidemic stations, nurseries and kindergartens, pharmacies and a pharmaceutical factory. There are ten higher and special secondary medical schools, a medical research institute, and one doctor for every 560 of the population. Medical care is free, including doctors' visits to any part of the country. Health expenditure amounts to about 10 per cent of the national budget, or 140 tugriks per capita.

Higher living standards, better medical care and integrated mother-and-child services have made for a steady growth of the population, which since the revolution has practically doubled.

Development of Party and state

The MPRP became the Marxist-Leninist vanguard of the people in the process of leading the country to socialism. Lenin said in his conversation with delegates from the Mongolian People's Republic: 'There is much work ahead for the Mongolian revolutionaries in building up the state, economy and culture, and in forming out of herdsmen elements a proletarian mass which, subsequently, will help to "transform" the People's Revolutionary Party into a Communist Party.' And faithfully following that injunction, the MPRP has invariably been guided by Marxist-Leninist ideology, has applied the organizational principles of the new-type proletarian party and

has maintained close ties with the international Communist movement. The MPRP showed the masses through their own experience that its ideology and policy were right, gradually winning the non-proletarian strata for socialism.

The Party's role in society and its methods of work have not remained static; they have changed with the succeeding stages of revolutionary struggle, *B. Altangerel*, First Secretary of the Ulan-Bator City Party Committee, said. The Party's leading role increases with the development of socialist construction.

Mongolia's Communists are now enthusiastically working on accomplishment of the tasks set by the Party's Fourth Program adopted at its 15th Congress in 1966 and aimed at completing the building of socialism.

The MPRP represents the foremost section of workers, cooperative arats and employees. In the first half of 1970, some 60 per cent of new members in Ulan-Bator were workers. Party organizations can fulfil their leading and guiding role and assure full utilization of the advantages of socialism only by further improving their work and devising better forms and methods, and that requires creative study and application of the rich experience of fraternal parties.

Party educational work, *B. Tserendorzh*, Secretary of a somon* Party Committee said, is a focal point in the activity of our Party branch. Party members engaged in production – they make up more than 60 per cent of total membership – are well to the fore in the socialist emulation drive for higher efficiency, higher output, higher profitability and better conditions.

Raising general educational levels is an important aspect of Party work. Our goal is for all adults below the age of 50 to acquire the equivalent of four-year schooling, and to do that we run adult schools and consultation courses. Some ten years ago no one in our somon could boast of higher education; today over 47 per cent of those under 35 have a secondary education and some are university graduates. One person in four is studying.

In admitting new Party members, the speaker said, we are careful to recommend only conscientious, politically alert people dedicated to their work and of high moral integrity.

Several other speakers emphasized that, as part of its leading role in society, the MPRP directs the work of state and public organizations in plan fulfillment. The Party attaches much importance to raising the role of the trade unions in planning and managing social production. It is doing much also to help the Revolutionary Youth League, its active assistant in the communist education of the young generation. Uppermost in all aspects of Party

*Somon is the primary administrative division in rural areas.

activity is ideological work, for Marxist-Leninist theory is the scientific foundation of the Party's policy and practice. The main works of Marx and Engels and the complete works of Lenin have been put out in Mongolian translation. There is unrelaxing effort to improve Party study classes and the functioning of all ideological institutions.

The chief instrument in the revolutionary refashioning of the country, *E. Avirmed* (Mongolian State University) said, is the people's state and the democratic local authorities, the People's Hural, formed in the process of demolishing the old and building the new machinery of government. The Hural is the political foundation of the Mongolian People's Republic.

The people's state was born of the 1921 revolution. It was not at first a proletarian dictatorship, but a democratic dictatorship of the revolutionary arats; its alliance with the working class of the Soviet Union enabled it to discharge the functions of a revolutionary-democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry in the specific conditions of Mongolia.

With anti-feudal transformations completed, with the emergence of the working class and with Mongolia's entering upon socialist construction, the functions of the state became those of a proletarian dictatorship based on alliance of the working class and toiling arats and closer international links with the socialist world system and the world Communist movement. The state began to play a much greater organizational role in economic and cultural development.

Discussing the process of democratization in Mongolia, *R. Mikhail* (Council of Ministers Legal Committee) remarked that the process gained momentum as the building of the new society unfolded. In 1921, when the revolution was spearheaded against imperialism and the need was for mobilization of all the patriotic forces, when religious and monarchistic views had yet to be overcome, the monarchy was retained, but restricted and stringently controlled by the people's government. The Republic was proclaimed in 1924 and the Constitution adopted that year deprived the feudals of political rights, introduced the democratic franchise for the working people and instituted the system of people's Hural. The exploiting element and the Lama hierarchy were denied the franchise.

The new, 1940 Constitution was expressive of the next stage of democratic development corresponding to the transition from the general democratic to the socialist stage of the revolution. The Constitution consolidated the revolutionary-democratic gains of the people: the Mongolian People's Republic was proclaimed a working people's state (of arats, workers, intellectuals) committed to the

building of socialism. With the remnants of the exploitive classes eliminated, the electoral system was altered to provide for direct general elections by secret ballot, and the right to recall deputies.

The completion of collectivization signified the triumph of socialist production relations. This made for a stronger alliance of the working class and the cooperative arats and for socio-political unity of the entire people. A new stage in the development of socialist democracy was thus ushered in. And the 1960 Constitution, reflecting these changes, guarantees all citizens wide democratic rights, enabling them to share in the administration of the state and society.

PART OF THE SOCIALIST COMMUNITY

'The Mongolian People's Republic is an inseparable component of the socialist world system. Its successful advance to the complete triumph of socialism is possible only in close alliance and friendship with the countries of the socialist camp.'

MPRP Program

Mongolia's experience is conclusive proof that the passage from feudalism to socialism without having to go through capitalism is inconceivable without all-round cooperation with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. Close political, economic and cultural ties with these countries are an objective necessity, D. Surezhav (*Unen* newspaper) said. In revolutionary Russia the Mongolian people saw not only a good neighbor, but a country that would save them from colonial oppression. And friendly links between Mongolia and the USSR initiated a new type of relations based on socialist internationalism, disinterested assistance to formerly backward countries and mutually advantageous cooperation of sovereign and equal states.

Without the Soviet Union, Mongolia could never have developed as an independent, let alone socialist, nation, B. Tseden (Party History Institute) declared. In 1934-39, under the gentlemen's agreement of 1934 and the 1936 mutual assistance protocol, the Soviet Union assumed responsibility for the defense of the Mongolian People's Republic in the same way as it would defend its own, Soviet territory. This gave our people a reliable shield against imperialist aggression.

For its part, Mongolia gave the Soviet Union every assistance within her means. During the Great Patriotic War, we mobilized all our forces to hasten victory over the Nazi aggressor. We built the Mongolian Arat tank column for the Soviet Army, also an air squadron, and supplied more than 400,000 horses on advantageous

terms. Our people sent the Soviet soldiers trainloads of food and warm clothing as gifts. And side by side with the Soviet Army our own fighting men took part in routing the Japanese forces of aggression.

The 1946 Treaty of Friendship and Mutual Assistance and the Economic and Cultural Cooperation Agreement played an outstanding role in the country's development. The new accords, signed in 1966, are also being successfully carried out.

Soviet economic assistance, B. Zhamyan (Light and Food Industry Ministry) said, made possible comprehensive industrial development, a key factor in laying the material and technical foundation of socialism in a formerly backward country. And Soviet assistance has been of exceptional importance in organizing and developing such leading industries as fuel and power, mining, metal-working, light, food and also in introducing modern techniques in all branches of the economy. Special mention should be made of Soviet assistance in training skilled personnel. Indeed, without this assistance it would have been quite impossible to train a working class out of nomad arats in so short a time.

Mongolia's economic cooperation with other socialist countries was discussed by D. Zhugder (Commission for CMEA Affairs). Mongolia's membership in CMEA (she joined in 1962) gave her an active share in the international socialist division of labor, in specialization and cooperation in production, in coordination of economic plans and in pooling economic experience and know-how. Drawing on these factors and making maximum use of her own resources, Mongolia has made long strides in economic development.

The CMEA countries grant Mongolia credits, supply producer goods, cooperate in building industrial and agricultural enterprises. Engineers and technicians from the USSR and other socialist lands work side by side with Mongolian workers.

Socialist cooperation makes for a more optimal economic structure and for a new approach to industrialization problems. Mongolia found it more expedient to start comprehensive economic development not by building heavy industry, but rather by relying on other socialist countries for needed equipment and concentrating on new methods in agriculture and accelerating development of farm machinery and processing industries. The socialist division of labor allows us to use our manpower and other resources to expand industries for which there is abundant raw material and favorable economic conditions.

Other socialist countries are cooperating with Mongolia in building and operating a number of enterprises. Our first modern factories were joint Mongolian-Soviet and were later turned over to

the Mongolian People's Republic. They played a big part in laying the foundations of our socialist economy, shaping our modern economic structure and training our working class.

Several other speakers emphasized the importance of making rational use of economic assistance from more developed socialist countries and combining it with effective utilization of domestic resources, with new prospects arising from socialist economic integration.

Foreign trade is still another factor in Mongolia's socialist development and in raising living standards. *D. Natsagsambu* (Foreign Trade Ministry) who spoke on the subject, remarked that the first trade agreement with the USSR (1923) was of an entirely new type, based on genuine equality and mutual advantage. Trade relations with other socialist countries were formed in the mid-fifties.

Continuous economic growth, the speaker said, is reflected in our import pattern. Mongolia buys abroad machinery and other equipment, agricultural and building appliances, medicine and consumer goods. In 1948 producer goods and rolled stock made up only 10 per cent of our imports, now the figure is 50 per cent, but there has also been a sizeable increase in consumer goods.

Our main exports are wool and woollen textiles, cattle, meat and meat products, hides and leather, grain, furs, timber and the products of mining. Of late, we have also begun exporting such industrial goods as cement, bricks, round timber, leather goods and footwear.

Foreign trade and other economic ties have become substantially broader in recent years. Mongolia now trades with 190 foreign firms and organizations of more than 20 countries on four continents.

Cultural contacts were discussed by *D. Tserendorzh* (Ministry of Foreign Affairs). Here expansion has been especially marked in relations with the USSR. Cultural exchanges began with other socialist countries in the fifties.

The aim of all these changes, the speaker remarked, is to promote cooperation in science and education, culture and the arts, public health, the press, radio, television and sport. Mongolia sends students and post-graduate students to the USSR and other socialist countries, maintains a regular exchange of text-books and curricula, scientific information, literature, cinema films and exhibitions. Exchanges of theatrical companies and sports groups are increasing. Mongolia's cultural contacts with 25 countries help towards closer friendship among peoples.

Mongolia's foreign policy, discussion speakers emphasized, is premised on a Marxist-Leninist understanding of the nature of the present era, the trend of world development and the prospects of

the socialist world system. The Mongolian People's Republic wants enduring peace for its work of socialist construction, is anxious to strengthen the unity, friendship and cooperation of the socialist countries. It supports the national-liberation movement and all the revolutionary forces of our time. It makes its contribution to the preservation and consolidation of world peace and security.

Participants in the Round Table discussion emphasized that in these 50 years of non-capitalist development Mongolia has carried out fundamental socio-economic changes, laid the foundations of socialism, made significant headway in the economic and cultural fields and in raising national living standards. The history of People's Mongolia fully confirms the Marxist-Leninist proposition that the socialist reconstruction of society is based on a number of common laws valid in all countries. But Mongolia's experience also proves the need to reckon with the sum-total of the concrete conditions in which these laws are manifested and shows some specific features of transition to socialism in countries starting from pre-capitalist economic and social structures. The successful building of socialism in these countries – and this too has been fully confirmed by Mongolian experience – is possible only in close political and economic alliance with the socialist world system.

WANTED -- BACK ISSUES

Following back issues of WMR are required:

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December 1958 Vol. 1 No. 4	April 1966 Vol. 9 No. 4
January 1964 Vol. 7 No. 1	June 1969 Vol. 12 No. 6
January 1970 Vol. 13 No. 1	

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Western Europe: small countries vs. world monopolies

The small but economically developed countries strongly represented in the international division of labor may be singled out as a separate group in the capitalist world. Lenin classed them as the 'small privileged nations' (Vol. 22, p. 339) compromising 'links in the chain of operations of world finance capital' (Vol. 22, p. 264). Though exploited by the giants of international monopoly capital, they, too, are not averse to exploiting other nations and display eagerness in participating in the international circulation of capital. This applies first and foremost to countries such as the Netherlands, Sweden, Belgium, and Switzerland, which are contiguous in many important economic fields to the biggest imperialist powers, their highly specialized economies and orientation of labor-consuming, high-quality production, coupled with an appreciable dependence on foreign markets, providing a field of operations for such international mammoths as Unilever, Volvo, Philips, Solway, Nestle's, and others.

A much similar but somewhat particular place in the world capitalist market is held by the relatively less developed countries – Austria, Denmark, Finland and Ireland. Their share of 0.5-1 per cent in the world capitalist output may not be large, but their industry and agriculture are largely intensive and their technico-scientific equipment of a high standard, so that they compare to the bigger and developed West European countries in, say, per capita production, etc. Denmark, for example, surpasses the Federal Republic of Germany, France and Britain, while Finland and Austria surpass Italy.

In the reports below, attention is focussed chiefly on the economic and social consequences created by the penetration of international monopolies. Continued monopoly expansion is creating considerable anxiety, with the multiplying number of home-made commodities carrying the trade marks of foreign firms seen as a distinct threat to the economic independence and the sovereignty

of the small countries. The fight against international monopoly penetration is shifting into the political spotlight, with Communist parties as the most active of its organizers.

Resistance by the people and the Communist parties of the small countries to the monopolies and their plans of further internationalizing the system of imperialist oppression and exploitation through closed blocs like the EEC, and their infractions against sovereignty, is an important part of the effort to normalize relations and erect a European security system.

Standpoints on this score are set out below by writers from Austria, Sweden, Denmark, Finland and Ireland, who took part in a London conference of 15 West European Communist and Workers' parties which examined aspects of the working-class struggle against the background of rapidly proliferating extra-national companies. The conference recorded the mounting mass resistance to the monopoly capital policy of encouraging this and of expanding the Common Market membership.

SOME SALIENT FIGURES, 1968/69

	Austria	Sweden	Den- mark	Fin- land	Republic of Ireland
Population, '000,000	7.4	7.9	4.9	4.7	2.9
GNP, \$ per capita	1,550	3,230	2,540	1,710	1,020
Percent in gross home product:					
Industry	50.3	45.2	39.6	39.2	33.5*
Agriculture	8.1	5.9	9.1	15.3	19.5*
Services	41.6	48.9	51.3	45.5	47.0*
State expenditure, percent of GNP	30.6	35.9*	29.5*	27.4	27.7**
percent of GNP	1.3	4.2	3.0	2.6	1.3

* 1967

** 1966

AUSTRIA: MENACED BY WEST GERMAN MONOPOLIES

Franz Hager

Despite the contradictions racking the imperialist world, the extra-national monopolies are trying to coordinate strategy in order to buttress the moribund capitalist system in the historic confrontation with socialism. Meanwhile, inter-imperialist competition is becoming increasingly acute. In Western Europe, for one, the

countries of the European Economic Community are seeking to outrival each other, especially in the field of external economic expansion.

Austria has long been a rewarding area for foreign investment, chiefly for German capital, which has held most of the commanding heights since the country's annexation by Hitler in 1938. Following the defeat of the fascist Reich and regained independence, it is true, the influence of German monopoly capital declined somewhat, since heavy industry, in which it had been most active, was nationalized. But a mere ten years after the war, West German capital renewed the expansion, and in another ten years forged into top place among the investor-countries.

FOREIGN INVESTMENTS IN AUSTRIA

	<i>Percentage and Place</i>			
	1961		1968	
FRG	9.5	(5)	25.1	(1)
USA	27.9	(1)	19.7	(2)
Switzerland	13.7	(3)	15.7	(3)
Britain	15.2	(2)	9.0	(4)
Benelux	12.8	(4)	8.1	(5)
Italy	7.2	(6)	7.1	(6)
France	5.8	(7)	4.5	(7)
Sweden	2.6	(8)	2.6	(8)

Having thrust ahead again and eager to dictate its will to the other Common Market partners, German imperialism is also determined to invade spheres outside that alignment. It is stepping up its expansion in Austria, and wishes to incorporate that country's economic potential into the EEC, using it, among others, to fortify NATO.

In this, the chemical monopolies, the three successors to the notorious IG-Farben – Badische Anilin- und Soda-Fabrik, Farbwerke Hoechst, Farbenfabriken Bayer – and Degussa are cast in the main role, and by now account for a substantial portion of Austria's chemical industry. Their appetite is whetted chiefly by the nationalized enterprises, especially the Austrian Nitrogen Works and the Austrian Oil Administration.

Also deeply involved are the West German electrical equipment giants – Siemens, Osram, AEG, Gruendig, Bauknecht, etc., which hold sway over practically the entire Austrian electrical industry, including the important state-owned Wiener Schwachstromwerke and Elin-Union.

To conceal its expansionist aims, foreign capital operates chiefly

in the guise of limited liability companies, which, conveniently, are not required to publicize their annual reports. As many as 1,193 such companies (more than 45 per cent of the total), with assets of 4.48 billion Austrian shillings (70 per cent of the total), were foreign-controlled at the end of 1967. Foreign investors also frequently operate as ordinary stock companies, with 126 (assets totalling 4.1 billion Austrian shillings) out of the registered 510, representing 13.8 per cent of the total stock capital, being under foreign monopoly control by 1968. All in all, 40 per cent of all Austrian companies (including the limited liability class) are in the full or part possession of foreign capital.

That the grip of the foreign monopolies is tightening is revealed by the growing labor force in firms with non-Austrian capital. At the beginning of 1968 more than 110,000 white- and blue-collar workers (18.8 per cent of the industrial labor force) were employed in enterprises with a more than 50 per cent share of foreign capital, and as many as 140,000 (23.8 per cent of the total) in enterprises with an under 50 per cent foreign interest.

In 1968-1970 foreign (principally West-German) capital made still greater inroads into the Austrian economy. FRG investments totalled DM 1.1 billion (against 660 million at the end of 1967 and 924 million at the end of 1969). Out to seize key positions in the progressive industries, the West Germans are assaulting nationalized industry, the backbone of the Austrian economy. The country's neutrality is gravely imperilled by this stepped-up expansion, the capture of important areas in the state sector by foreign monopoly capital, amounting, in effect, to denationalization, and by the attempts to draw Austria into the Common Market, backed by a definite section of the home bourgeoisie.

Serving the Austrian bourgeoisie

The policy of the West German monopolies is hindering Austria in using her possibilities as a neutral country to help reduce European tensions; it is a policy fostered in the post-war, among other things, by factors of an internal nature, chiefly the inability of the bourgeoisie despite the favorable situation of the past 20 years to resolve the main economic problem, that of reducing the gap between Austria and the highly-developed West European industrial states. Dreading social upheaval, the bourgeoisie was reluctant to let nationalized industry stand at the head of the economy. For it the state sector was mainly a means to its own self-seeking goal – higher profit. This caused weaknesses in the economic structure, precipitating a shortage of internal investment capital, which fact was used by Austrian capital with connections

in West Germany as an argument in favor of enlisting the aid of FRG capital – a course ultimately proclaimed as the sole remedy.

The FRG monopolies have substantial support from the parties on the extreme right, with one of which, the so-called Austrian Freedom Party, the present one-party Socialist government is collaborating closely.

The FRG monopolies have substantial support from the parties on the extreme right, with one of which, the so-called Austrian Freedom Party, the present one-party Socialist government is collaborating closely.

West German expansion was also facilitated by the Socialist Party's 'social partnership' ideology and policy. The outcome of many years of Socialist cooperation with the home bourgeoisie, this policy has been an inducement, in a way, for FRG monopoly capital. Though the Socialist Party is now trying to shift the blame on the Austrian bourgeoisie, it still wants to create the impression that the influx of foreign capital will have the ultimately useful effect of up-dating home industry and creating new jobs.

With the penetration of foreign capital, the outflow abroad of surplus value is increasing and the competitive capacity of Austrian commodities in the home and foreign markets is dropping steadily. In the long term, this may depress employment, especially in times of crisis. The Socialist Party, however, blandly continues to encourage the international monopolies and grants them greater scope for operation.

All too many Austrian workers are afflicted with illusions roused by the coming to power of a Socialist Party government. And all too often they overlook the implications of such concepts as 'nationalized property' or 'monopoly capital property.' The 'social partnership' ideologues are still able to exercise their debilitating influence, because the workers' thinking and actions are mostly confined to their own factory. Not always do the workers see the possibilities of a qualitatively new level of struggle on the scale of an entire concern, the activities of which cross the borders of countries, even of whole regions.

It is one of the most important objectives of the Communist Party of Austria, therefore, to deliver the working class from the pernicious influence of the 'social partnership' ideology and rally it for new militant action.

The Communists' national and international duty

It is farthest from our mind to belittle the consequences of the expansionist policy of any, especially the American, monopolies. But, all the same, the attitude to West German monopoly capital

is the decisive criterion in evaluating the political forces, because its penetration is quickly becoming the crucial factor for the life and future of the nation. Our active stand on this issue is, therefore, of benefit to the country's interests, to those of the working class, and, moreover, to the efforts of relieving tension in Europe.

The Party rejects the idea of Austria's association with the EEC and is fighting against the country's economic and political subjugation to West German capital. Instead of a unilateral Common Market orientation, we are working for broader commercial contacts with all countries, East and West, without EEC discrimination.

Among the priorities the CPA lists fuller use of home capital, though in principle we allow for certain forms of foreign participation, e.g., when home resources are exhausted or cannot be brought to bear quickly enough, it may be useful for the nationalized industries to accept outside credits and loans through the mediation of the state. However, we emphatically reject any financing of the nationalized sector through the stock market, that is, by selling shares.

To protect economic and political independence, we hold, co-operation with other countries should not be tied to terms jeopardizing the independence of national enterprises. Important, as we see it, is multilateral cooperation with the socialist countries, as borne out by successful cooperation between a number of Austrian firms and enterprises in socialist countries, for it may prove a dependable support in combating the expansion of FRG monopoly capital.

Our Party will be the more effective at national and international levels, the better it coordinates its activity with that of other fraternal parties. With capital undergoing an intensive process of internationalization, the Communist parties and workers of different countries will hardly achieve enduring results in the fight for their international aims, as well as the interests of their own country, unless they coordinate action on a bilateral or multilateral basis.

Coordinated action is also necessary in fighting for social demands. The international monopolies are imposing working conditions and wage policies on an international scale. That is why, while taking into account the peculiarly national problems and the conditions in which our parties operate in different countries, it is also important to remember that common forms and methods are increasingly relevant in the social sphere as we unfold the struggle against the *diktat* of the international monopolies. There should be broader action for employment security at the level of the international concerns, for in a crisis the threat of unemployment will loom large not only in countries importing, but also those exporting capital.

The CPA has amassed experience of action in conflicts between West German employers and Austrian employees. Provoked by the FRG employers, who tried to curtail Austrian labor legislation, the workers' social gains and the prerogatives of the production councils, these conflicts, and their causes, will doubtless multiply.

The facts of our life necessitate a system of permanently effective links between the various detachments of the world Communist movement and their organizations in the extra-national concerns. The internationalization of capital should be fought in common, and it is up to the fraternal parties to coordinate the methods and forms of fighting it. New possibilities and tasks are thus arising for our Party branches in production, which we regard as the main conductors of our policy.

SWEDEN: EXTRA-NATIONAL ENTERPRISES AND NATIONAL INTERESTS

Urban Karlsson

Extra-national enterprises are increasingly prominent in the Swedish economy. Although their share in our industrial output is still a mere five per cent (i.e., approximately equal to that of the state-owned enterprises), the steeply growing trend is not to be slighted. About 1,000 foreign enterprises have been established in our country since the beginning of this century, with as much as half of them in the ten years 1955-1965.

Most of them are American-owned and employ a third of the 75,000 wage-earners working for foreign employers. Here are a few of the biggest foreign-owned enterprises (the figures are of their labor force, in thousands):

Svenska AB Philips	4.4	Netherlands
Allmanna Sv. Stadnings AB	3.5	Denmark
Svenska Dataregister AB	2.0	USA
Unilever	2.0	Netherlands
Standard Radio	2.0	USA
IBM	1.7	USA
AB Findus	1.6	Switzerland
Svenska Shell AB	1.5	Britain
Svenska Esso AB	1.4	USA
Aug. Stenman AB	1.4	Britain

Nearly half their labor force are white-collar workers. Production is highly specialized, and technology highly sophisticated. Another feature: a high grade of investment per employee.

Seventy-five per cent of the labor force in the foreign subsidiaries are employed in metal-working, especially electrical appliances, electrical equipment, computers and automobiles.

Harry Johansson estimates in his book, 'Utlandsk foretagsetablering i Sverige' (Foreign Enterprises in Sweden), that their assets went up 58 per cent in 1962-1965, against a mere 35 per cent in the case of Swedish enterprises, with the foreign enterprises operating chiefly in the promising technically-advanced industries – computers, electronic equipment and petrochemicals.

Of late, Swedish monopolies, too, are considerably active abroad. Again, this applies principally to metal-working. Swedish capital is invested chiefly in Western Europe, most of it in the Common Market countries. The growth of investment in the EEC zone exceeds the growth of exports, whereas the ratio is reversed in the case of the Free Trade Association countries. The common feature is transfer of export production to subsidiaries abroad, thus evading customs and other trade barriers and winning scope for a variety of lucrative manipulations.

Swedish investments abroad are expanding rapidly: from 1960 to 1965 they went up 80 per cent with employment rising 50 per cent. The number of foreign-based enterprises doubled, reaching the 450 mark. They employ 500,000 in Sweden and 200,000 abroad, with 21 firms accounting for 26 per cent of the export. The rate of employment growth in the subsidiaries abroad was four times as high as in Sweden.

The continuously growing investments abroad add to the power of the monopolies. And they have used this power against the Third World countries. Many of the extra-national enterprises were founded, and thrived, on a predatory exploitation of Third World natural wealth. The latest example is Swedish penetration through Grangesbergsbolaget into Liberia.

As things stand now, the extra-national enterprises have a big stake in Sweden's entering the European Economic Community, which would enable them, among other things, to remove obstacles to the free flow of capital, establishment of new enterprises, and the movement of manpower.

With EEC help, some maintain, European enterprises could compete against the American. But that is only a half-truth, for it is an established fact that U.S. interests participate increasingly in many European enterprises. Strictly speaking, the battle is not between European and American interests, but between giant non-national monopoly groupings.

For the extra-national enterprises Sweden's entry into the Common Market would multiply opportunities for uncontrolled manipulation. No longer would they need to trouble about national

interests and could occupy themselves completely with the question of where they get the highest profit.

Our present legislation dates to times when Swedish enterprises had to be protected from foreign competition. Monopolies active chiefly outside Sweden are hardly affected by it. The avowed EEC aim – to remove obstacles hindering the free movement of manpower, services and capital between member-states – could not suit them more completely.

At present, the monetary law, designed to regulate the movement of capital to and from Sweden, is the government's most effective instrument for restricting the extra-national enterprises. But the government is using it half-heartedly and is much too generous to capitalists exporting capital. And nothing is being done to plug the legal loopholes.

The unquestionably highest priority is to prevent Sweden's entry into the EEC. To combat the expanding influence of the extra-national monopolies and their drive to get the country into the Common Market, people employed in their enterprises in various countries must act in concert.

Recently, a Swedish newspaper described the workings of the Italian daughter firm of L. M. Ericsson, which has numerous subsidiaries outside Sweden, naturally coordinating their operations in the scramble for the greatest possible profit. Is there anything like the same coordination, we may ask, between the L. M. Ericsson employees in the different countries? No, none at present.

To be sure, coordination is difficult, if only because the Ericsson enterprises operate in different countries. But whatever difficulties there are, they should be overcome in order to prevent the employers from buttressing their positions. Nor is time to be wasted in making the first contacts. Trade union bodies active on an international scale should join efforts in forging unity for the battle against the monopolies. To neglect the matter is to pander to the capitalists.

Communist workers should take the lead in making and fortifying international links, enhancing proletarian solidarity and enriching its concrete forms. In Sweden, too, though trade union membership there is much higher than in the EEC countries, union strength is reduced due to the operation of extra-national groupings. That is why contacts should be at different levels: that of enterprises, trade unions and international union centers. This is essential if the monopoly offensive is to be repulsed.

Also, it would be useful to take full advantage of government and Riksdag decisions, existing legislation and structural reforms to fight the expansion of extra-national firms. If the ruling quarters are not called to order, monopoly power will only increase, especial-

ly economically. In the present situation, passivity means added strength for big capital, while action means added strength for the people.

DENMARK: TO PROTECT NATIONAL SOVEREIGNTY

Ib Norlund

Our struggle for the immediate, as well as long-range, interests of the working people requires, as a political necessity, that we should analyze the new methods of domination and operation used by the capitalist monopolies. As a result of the general crisis of the imperialist system, these methods are changing swiftly.

The appearance of multi-national concerns is creating contradictory and highly complicated problems, not all of which have as yet been exhaustively examined. The more reason is there to study them fully and collectively and to draw definite practical conclusions.

Our Party, its specialized commissions, are occupied with several of these problems. However, we are not able to venture an all-embracing analysis at present. In this article, we merely intend tentatively to formulate some questions, requiring, we hold, the fullest clarity.

To begin with, a few remarks concerning the situation in Denmark, which motivates our preoccupation in the matter. Denmark is very poor in raw materials and therefore dependent on foreign trade to a high degree (it has the world's highest per capita export rate). Capitalist monopolies in industry and agriculture developed, in effect, as importing and exporting enterprises, and are still largely commodity exporters oriented on a generally superior quality level. Export of capital is not very great.

Concentration of capital is proceeding at a high rate. Not only small, but even a few of the biggest enterprises, have closed down as a result. To a considerable extent, this is caused by the penetration of foreign capital through take-overs, mergers and reorganization. Government policy is to 'attract foreign capital' by special accommodation, an extraordinarily high interest rate, etc.

Available statistics, however, give a rather incomplete picture. Economists estimate that not less than one-third of Danish industry is under 'essentially foreign influence.' Foreign share capital in industry and commerce is estimated by one observer to amount to about 15 per cent. A rough indication is the distribution of foreign capital, of which some 35 per cent is U.S., 22 per cent Swedish, and about 15 per cent British – as the three biggest. West German capital, too, is reinforcing its positions. These developments are traceable mainly to the activities of international firms. Hence,

the problem of multinational concerns arises principally in this context, for the external activity of the Danish monopolies is no more than secondary. Danish firms with considerable interests abroad are the East Asiatic Company, Danfoss, Sadolin and Holmblad, Dyrup, Naerum Nylon and Novo.

All this presents a serious danger to our national sovereignty. Apart from political and military consequences (NATO policy, etc.), it is fraught with harmful consequences in the economic sphere.

The increasing payments deficit, which reached a record high in 1970, is the most critical area in Denmark's economy. And export of the profits of foreign capital is a contributing cause. Among the possible consequences of this deficit could be the subordination of Denmark's economic policy to World Bank directives. The monopolies and the government, meanwhile, are utilizing the deficit as a pretext for attacking the living standard of the working people under slogans of 'restricting consumption' and operating an 'incomes policy.' But this will not solve the deficit problem, the real roots of which, of course, they do not want to eliminate.

But the main threat to our sovereignty comes from the increased efforts of drawing Denmark into the Common Market. Foreign capital is playing the leading role in this drive, and the government is inclined to accept the idea. Resistance, however, is mounting in many quarters, as reflected within most parties. With subordination to the EEC connoting more of the kind of government measures which the working class has fought most strongly in the battle for its daily interests, there exists an objective foundation for linking the national and economic struggle.

Hence, fighting the Common Market issue is the most urgent and dominant form of the struggle against the power of the multinational concerns.

The role of the national state. In spite of the objective tendencies towards internationalization of production, societies are still directed through the national state. These also still constitute the units of international policy. And that the international monopolies have to take into account. To be sure, there exists (especially in the Common Market) the tendency to build 'multi-national state machines,' but it is only incipient so far.

How, in the present stage of the development of capitalism, to define the sovereignty of national state machines in the economic field? The answer to this question is highly relevant to the perspectives of our struggle against state-monopoly capitalism. As a corollary, we would also need to define and clarify the meaning of the concept of 'national economy.'

Perhaps, a national economy could be defined as a field in which the conditions of economic life are determined by state decisions

concerning the application of such instruments as currency, budget policy, trade policy, etc. Sovereignty consists in the freedom to make such decisions.

Although state-monopoly capitalism uses this sovereignty to promulgate decisions which the working class must combat, it is nevertheless in the interest of the working class to uphold sovereignty, the possibility of making national decisions. If the decision-making is moved farther away, the possibilities of democratic pressure, of forcing concessions, diminish.

The struggle against state-monopoly capitalism must, among other things, take the form of demands that the instruments of the national economy should be used in the interest of the working people. In view of the critical disproportions created in the national economy by the policy of the bourgeois government, our party suggests a set of sovereign measures, including control of imports and trade policy, aimed at securing equality in commercial relations, further changes in the system of taxation, and other measures furthering a democratic, anti-monopoly policy.

As we see it, this is a realistic policy for a country vitally dependent on foreign trade, even in a world where internationalization of production is in full swing.

Possibilities of winning equality in international economic relations. The international firms and closed monopoly blocs are obviously obstructing this. They are distorting the international division of labor, violating its objective demands, and using it to exploit the weaker links, among which the smaller countries. Even the Common Market protagonists admit this by arguing that EEC membership will yield a measure of 'co-influence,' which is better than nothing. Yet everybody knows the illusory nature of the 'co-influence' granted by the Rome Treaty, especially the case of small countries.

It is therefore decisive for equality in economic relations to eliminate the dominance of the international monopolies and uphold the right of the national state machines to prescribe restrictions on international firms. This is feasible, provided the people act in concert through strong democratic movements, displaying class militancy and building broad anti-monopoly alliances.

But the struggle for equal rights in economic relations must also be waged on the international scale. In this respect, the increased power and influence of the socialist world offers new possibilities. Especially, this applies to Europe, half of which is already socialist, and adds to the importance of the socialist countries' proposal to examine the question of equal all-European economic and technical cooperation at a conference of European states.

A further study should be made of the possibilities of combatting

international monopolies created for the West European Communists by the existence of the socialist world. In our opinion, this would also necessitate use of the experience of the fraternal parties of the socialist countries in this very urgent research.

The role of U.S. monopolies in Europe. Some regard the development of West European integration and the proliferation of multinational concerns in Western Europe as a token of a distinctly 'European' capitalism. Others indicate, however, that U.S. monopolies are reinforcing themselves in Europe under cover of 'European' integration. Undoubtedly, we could point out tendencies leading in both directions. It seems to us, however, that this aspect needs further study. Attention should be centered on the new methods used by U.S. monopolies. Hence, in extending the struggle against multinational concerns it is essential to incorporate the experience of the fraternal parties of the U.S. and Canada.

Information on multinational firms. Concrete steps for Communist unity in the struggle against multinational firms are of particular importance at the present stage. To build up unity of action in subsidiaries in different countries we must first know which enterprises are internationally linked. Therefore, we would propose that a project be launched to map out the more important, if not all, multinational concerns.

Unity of action against the extension of the EEC. Our Party regards struggle against the projected enlargement of the EEC as a top priority in the present-day struggle against international monopolies in Europe. With due consideration for the different situations in different countries, it would benefit our struggle if common standpoints and actions were worked out by the fraternal parties of the EEC-countries and those countries that are under pressure to enter the Common Market.

Joint action by the Communist parties appears necessary, because the Social-Democratic parties are being used to a considerable extent to promote EEC enlargement, despite the important and increasing opposition within these parties. Obviously, the Social-Democratic parties of the EEC countries will press for the acceptance of the EEC by the parties of other countries. They will help them fight the opposition and provide an 'argument' in favor of entering the EEC by pleading 'the necessity of reinforcing the democratic forces within the EEC,' and the like. Steps in this direction are already in evidence.

To be sure, the question of multinational firms transcends that of the Common Market. However, the projected enlargement of the EEC is part of the monopoly drive to shore up positions, in particular by establishing or expanding multinational firms. This is why the Danish Communists regard the campaign against their country's

involvement in the EEC as part of the general struggle against the growing domination of the international monopolies.

FINLAND: THE THREAT OF INTERNATIONAL CAPITAL

Matti Peltonen

The specific point in Finland is that international monopolies play a far less prominent role in her economy than is the case in some of the other West European countries. Not only is this due to the special international situation of our country, but also to the nature of her legislation, which limits direct foreign investment in national firms.

Yet the visible activity of some international monopolies cannot but attract public attention. Many national companies have contractual relations with foreign extra-national monopolies. Some even are named after the foreign parent firms, e.g., Hoest-Fennica, Finland ICI, Finland Siemens, Leo-Fennica, etc. The subsidiaries of the biggest foreign oil companies and automobile concerns are quite obviously international. Much of the foods and chemicals are produced by the Anglo-Dutch Unilever concern, although its links with Finnish capital are as yet insufficiently explored. In 1962, the Finnish Stromberg and the Swedish ASEA, which are two major electrical firms, projected a far-reaching program of cooperation, which, if it were fully implemented, would, in effect, put the Finnish partner under the control of Marcus Wallenberg, the Swedish tycoon. However, the program was firmly resisted by the public, and the deal collapsed.

It is highly important for the country and our Party that the activity of the international monopolies should be studied. Of late, however, we have not been able to devote enough attention to analyzing the international ties of various firms due to our preoccupation with urgent inner-political problems and the vital task of cementing our ranks.

Finland's economic development shows by implication that the trend towards the internationalization of capital, highlighting developments also in other West European capitalist countries, is on the upgrade. The big bourgeoisie and quarters close to it have already raised the question of encouraging the import of foreign capital and spoken in favor of providing foreign companies with greater opportunities of direct investment in Finnish firms. Up to a point these demands are linked with the possible extension of the European Economic Community. Our Party is firmly opposed to Finland's association with the Common Market in any way or form. Our stand is motivated by the present general political situation,

the country's foreign policy, and, equally, by economic and commercial considerations. True, Finland has suggested to the EEC that negotiations should be opened concerning a possible adjustment of commercial problems on the basis of a special agreement. It is hard to say, however, what the results will be.

That Finnish firms, too, are eager to expand extra-nationally, is increasingly obvious. The big companies are looking for suitable investment opportunities abroad. Take this one example: a Finnish textile firm has opened a daughter enterprise in Portugal, where wages are less than one-tenth of the workers' incomes in Finland and where practically no funds are set aside for the employees' social wants. 'Finnish' textiles produced in Portugal reach our home market, and naturally at lower prices by far than those of similar domestically-produced wares. Portuguese-Finnish textiles can also go to the markets of the other European Free Trade Association countries unimpeded, bypassing customs barriers and yielding added profits to the capitalists.

The Finnish firm's enterprise imitates similar operations by big capital in other West European countries. Some Swedish textile firms have shifted production to Finland, where wages are relatively lower. One thing is certain, these methods tend to increase unemployment and depress wages in the countries exporting capital.

Internationalization of capital, the growth of extra-national monopolies and, as a consequence, stepped up exploitation of working people and curtailment of their vital rights – all this thrusts to the fore the necessity of countering the designs of international capital with a concerted international effort by the working class, by all working people.

IRELAND: OBJECT OF EXPLOITATION

Betty Sinclair

Ireland, which includes the Irish Republic (26 counties) and Northern Ireland (6 counties) is not one of the nations which determines the construction or development of the multinational firms, excepting that both parts of the country through the policies of their respective governments, have sought to persuade in other capitalist countries multinational firms to set up branch factories in both parts of the country.

In Northern Ireland some 60 per cent of the labor force is employed by multinational firms having their origin outside Ireland. More and more local industry loses the impetus and the government, despite the demand from the trade unions for public ownership of industry, is placing its whole reliance on the setting up of

such subsidiaries. Names of firms such as Goodyear, Michelin, Dunlop-Pirelli, Autolite-Ford, Hoechst, Courtaulds, ICI, St. C., Bridgeport Brass, Du Pont, etc., are well known in the area. The Belfast Aircraft Factory (6,000 workers) is controlled by the British Government (69½ shares). The Belfast Shipyard (9,000 workers) is up for sale to the 'best bidders,' and in the field are Onassis (Greece), Swan Hunter (Great Britain), and others.

In the past 15-20 years, the effect of the multinational firm has also been evidenced in the field of distribution. Big multiple stores, i.e., Marks & Spencers, British Home Stores, C.&A., Woolworths, Littlewoods, Boots (Chemists) Ltd., along with Weston Ltd., account not only for the vast bulk of distribution of consumer goods. They also indirectly employ tens of thousands of Northern Ireland workers in the manufacture of goods for their branch stores, command the services of large sections of the farming industry.

Branch firms have come and gone in Northern Ireland and have caused much bitter disappointment to those who thought they had a future there. A few years ago, the BSR (G.B.), closed their two factories in Derry within the hour and threw 2,000 workers on the street; Spaldings (U.S.) are in the process of closing (250 workers). In a word, multinational firms do not hesitate to pull out when it suits their head office.

Early this year, after one week's notice, the firm of Walker-Celedon Ltd., Belfast Woolen goods manufacturers, closed their doors on 200 workers. The Braidwater Spinning Mill, an old textile firm, on January 8, 1971 paid off 130 workers. Over the past few months the factory's employment figure dropped from almost 800 to 470. Now it will go down to 340. The 81-year-old Larne Weaving Co. (N.I.) is to close and 110 persons, including 30 new, will lose their employment. The Rover-Triang Co. (G.B.) closed down in January and 250 workers were out. Production is being moved to factories in Great Britain. A similar step was taken in 1969.

Allied to all the above has been the fate of old established Northern Ireland firms. The linen industry has suffered severely and only one firm, Ewarts Ltd., could be said to have kept its separate identity, i.e., Northern Ireland. Practically all the others have become part of international firms, with head offices elsewhere, or have gone out of business altogether.

The banks in Northern Ireland are all dominated by the British 'Big Five.' Financial policy is determined in Britain. The Northern Irish Government has little or no freedom of action in fiscal matters. All decisions on major spending are determined by the British Treasury in Whitehall. There is little or no defense, through Parliament, for local industry and commerce. The government has been permitted to allow more than generous inducements to per-

suade the multinational firm to come in – it is estimated that about £300 million has been spent in this way.

The latest figure given of U.S. direct investment stood at £200 million, but this does not cover insurance, oil refinery, banking (recent import) and other forms of commerce. It is not possible to obtain correct figures for the inflow or outflow of capital. The government covers up as much as possible to assist the companies concerned. But it is known that in the 1950s there was £400 million of local capital invested outside Northern Ireland, and one can only assume that this process has continued.

Profits from the multinational firms are in the main sent out of the area. If the firm wishes, or wished to expand, the government was, and is, lavish in its grants for such a purpose. (It has been alleged that at least two of the multiple stores do not even do their banking in Northern Ireland – the cash goes by courier each evening to London banks). The draining of the profits from the area can have no other effect than to impoverish the economy and prevent any expansion. Some 70 per cent of goods are manufactured for export with only 30 per cent for the home market, which has seen no real or appreciable development in the last 50 years, and which is further dragged down by chronic unemployment (average seven per cent of insured persons), and emigration (running between 6,000-7,000 a year).

One can say without fear of contradiction that the multinational firms will not solve the economic problem of Northern Ireland. Figures for 1967 show that whilst 65,000 'new jobs' had been gained, some 70,000 'old jobs' had been lost in ship-building, textiles, farming, etc. Between 1958 and 1968 the number of wage earners in manufacturing industry dropped from 148,000 to 139,000. But it is these very firms which attempt to dictate policy in industry and elsewhere. There exists a Northern Ireland Chamber of Commerce but the dominating body is the Northern Ireland branch of the Confederation of British Industries.

Undoubtedly such firms are a threat to the sovereignty of individual states. But they constitute an even greater threat in an area such as Northern Ireland where the state has no real sovereignty.

The trade union movement in Northern Ireland is faced with serious tasks. Attracted because of cash inducements, unemployment and lower earnings, the multinational firm has had to learn that the trade union movement is strong in their 'adopted' country.

The position in the Irish Republic is somewhat different to Northern Ireland. There exists there a sovereign government which can dictate about the economy. Since 1920 when the state was formed, the financial links with Britain have never been completely broken.

It was only during the period of the 'Economic War' (1932-1938) between Eire (as it was then known) and Britain, that there developed significant sectors of public industry, i.e., electricity, sugar beet, etc., to an extent of 20 per cent of the economy. But Britain was, and remains, the main market for the export of goods (mainly livestock, etc.).

After the ending of De Valera's rule – which coincided with the post-war drive of the monopolists and international firms, the entry of the latter was assured by the businessmen headed by Lemass, the new Prime Minister, and by changes in legislation which removed the restriction of foreign ownership in Irish companies.

This coincided with the hopes of Irish businessmen to enter, with Britain, the EEC. And soon after, the signing of the Anglo-Irish Free Trade Agreement which laid the newly-developing industrial sector of the economy wide open to British industry and exports. Thus were linked both industry and agriculture to face the very much stronger British economy.

The process of the entry of other foreign interests was much slower and later – and, as yet, not so strong in its employment capacity as in Northern Ireland. But, over recent years, the momentum has grown. To such an extent as to force the Irish Transport and General Workers' Union, with a membership of 150,000 and mainly in the Republic, to convene a conference in 1969 to discuss 'Multinational Companies and Conglomerates – the Problems for Trade Unions.' It was pointed out that the total of U.S. manufacturing subsidiaries was then 67.

There has been the announcement of the U.S. pen firm, Scripto Inc. (ball-point and fibre point pen manufacturing plants) moving from the U.K. to factories at Shannon and Limerick. The latter area embraces the Shannon Free Airport Development Company Ltd., and offers advantages to private (foreign) industry only comparable to a very backward colonial country.

There are other subsidiaries in an early stage of development, West German, Japanese firms, etc. Their object can be understood by the decision of Mitsui Ltd., Japanese mining and smelting company, which plans to establish a £2 million manganese dioxide manufacturing company in the Irish Republic which would provide the company with a foothold in Europe, major market for the Japanese product. The new factory will be in Cork. The manganese dioxide will be imported from Ghana.

As in Northern Ireland, the inducements to the international firms from the public coffers are very high. Mining of ores, silver, copper, etc., is carried out by Canadian-U.S. firms – the raw materials carried out of the Republic to be processed elsewhere. Ship-building, carried on at Cork, has been heavily financed by the

government, but is controlled by a Dutch concern, Verholme. Also in Cork there is a Ford factory and a Sunbeam steel rolling mill.

But, as in Northern Ireland, this use of public money to attract 'the international firm' has not solved and cannot solve the problems of the economy. Unemployment remains consistently high, around 60,000 persons, and emigration runs at about 14,000 annually. Never highly industrialized, those industries that do exist are seriously threatened by take-over or extinction, and the government has already taken steps to allow international firms to become near-dominant partners in some of the publicly-owned industries; e.g., Heinz Ltd., were allowed to come into Erin Foods Ltd.

It is recognized by an ever growing sector of the people that the entry of the international firms is indeed an ever more powerful threat to the sovereignty of the Irish people as expressed in the Irish Republic. There is the growing awareness among trades unionists, but their warnings have to compete with the growing desires for employment and the effort to avoid emigration. The political forces on the left are also becoming more aware of the dangers.

There is going on, on the part of the imperialists, a ceaseless and restless quest for markets and profits. It behooves our parties, therefore, to sit down calmly to examine just what is happening, how our respective countries are affected, and, in the context of our own conditions, to work out the best way to mobilize the anti-monopolist forces in our own countries.

It is imperative, firstly, that links are forged between fraternal parties so that knowledge is gained by the workers of Ireland of the conditions of work and wages of the workers of the parent company.

We have also to develop ways and means of building up an international industrial front.

We should also attempt to assess the stage of the struggle so that our guidance of the struggle against monopoly capitalism and the international firm will not be attempted to be solved on the basis of Left-wing adventurism nor Right-wing conciliation with the forces acting against the working class.

The Communist Party of Ireland recognizes that international firms bring little of real meaning to the sovereignty or national culture of our country. We have plenty of examples that such firms come and do not aid, but detract from, our struggles and aspirations in this field.



Aspects of struggle for independence in Asia and Africa

Hamid Safari

The battle of the Afro-Asian countries against imperialism and neo-colonialism, for the consolidation of national independence, involves a large range of internal and international problems. As we see it, the role of the peaceful coexistence policy in the struggle for independence and in the solution of the vital issues of the developing countries' economic progress ranks among the most important.

I.

The imperialist 'cold war' policy of stoking up international tensions has been extremely harmful to many liberated countries and has retarded their normal development. Being part of the world capitalist economic system, they were faced with the alternative of either continuing their one-sided Western orientation, shying away from business contacts with countries of the socialist community and thus resigning themselves to extreme socio-economic backwardness, or helping improve the world political climate and at the same time benefitting from the international division of labor to accelerate their economic growth. In other words, the alternative was one of either backing or opposing the peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems, which makes up the core of the foreign policy of the Soviet Union and other socialist states.

From the day the Soviet state came into being, its foreign policy has successfully countered imperialist abuses in international relations and has directly influenced the course of the peoples' struggle for freedom and independence. It was this to a considerable degree that accelerated the collapse of the colonial system of imperialism, for the first time in history providing the peoples of the Third World with the possibility, with reliance on the might of the socialist community, of successfully fighting against imperialist oppression.

The fight for peace, national independence, democracy and social-

ism is the general line of the world Communist and workers' movement. Today, it is being conducted in a world where the relation of strength has changed in favor of peace and socialism. Experience shows that the peoples are fully able to make imperialism accept the form of struggle best suited to their interests, i.e., peaceful coexistence. For peaceful coexistence, being a system of international relations between states with different social systems, is at the same time a special form of the class struggle on an international scale.

The fact that many developing countries have accepted the principles of peaceful coexistence as the basis of their foreign policy is indicative of socialism's mounting prestige as a socio-economic system and of the triumph of the Soviet Union's Leninist foreign policy.

The principles of peaceful coexistence, however, have to be asserted in a grim struggle against aggressive imperialist circles who rely on force in the historic contest between capitalism, on the one hand, and socialism and the national-liberation movement, on the other. In effect, the 'Left' opportunist groups merge with them. Denying the possibility of preventing world war before the final victory over imperialism and discounting the importance of the connection between the anti-imperialist struggle of the Third World and the growth of the world socialist system and of the labor movement in the capitalist countries, they deliberately distort the nature of the peaceful coexistence policy.

It is important to emphasize that peaceful coexistence presumes the continued development of the class struggle in the capitalist countries. What is more, it also facilitates joint anti-imperialist action that undermines the foundations of the old world and paves the way for the revolutionary transformation of society. 'The socialist revolution,' Lenin wrote, 'will not be solely, or chiefly, a struggle of the revolutionary proletarians in each country against their bourgeoisie - no, it will be a struggle of all the imperialist-oppressed colonies and countries, of all dependent countries, against international imperialism' (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 30, p. 159).

The liberation struggles in Asia and Africa show that revolutionary and anti-imperialist movements can be successful and achieve victories in conditions of peaceful coexistence. Nor is this a question only of preventing wars. As stressed in the document of the 1969 International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties, the policy of peaceful coexistence favors a positive solution of economic and social problems in the developing countries.

Based as it is on respect for sovereignty, non-interference in the internal affairs of other states, rejection of force as a means of imposing this or that social order and respect for the right of all

peoples to freely choose their socio-economic and political system, the principle of peaceful coexistence works against colonialism and neo-colonialism. It constrains imperialism, limiting its ability of exporting counter-revolution and creating favorable external conditions for progressive change. Also, it facilitates economic and cultural relations between states based on complete equality, i.e., ruling out every kind of predatory policy and exploitation of the weak by the strong.

Whereas a cold war atmosphere and international tensions are conducive to interference in the internal affairs of new nations, forcing them to stay within the framework of the world capitalist economy, peaceful coexistence creates objective conditions for the liberation of peoples from imperialist oppression.

II.

Mutual confidence is the bedrock for economic, technological, commercial and cultural cooperation between states, and peaceful coexistence helps towards establishing it. An example is the evolution of relations between the Soviet Union and other socialist states and the Afro-Asian nations, especially in the past decade. It had been a difficult process, for anti-Communist prejudice implemented among the ruling circles and various sections of the population by decades of imperialist propaganda, had to be overcome, and this could not be done solely by the counter-propaganda of the progressive forces in the developing countries. The utter groundlessness of the prejudice was proved as cooperation in different economic and cultural spheres expanded.

In our view, relations between the USSR and a number of developing countries in Asia and Africa have progressed to the point of lasting brotherly friendship. The main objective in the Soviet Union's relationship with the developing states is to give them disinterested aid in building a new life and ensuring their genuine political and economic independence.

'Our purpose,' L. I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CC CPSU, said, 'is to help the peoples of the liberated countries solve their economic development problems, build up a national industry, train their own personnel, etc. This kind of assistance reduces the dependence of new nations on imperialist monopolies and helps strengthen the general anti-imperialist front.'

In view of the frenzied attempts of imperialist circles and ultra-revolutionaries to distort the essence of Soviet policy with regard to the peoples of the Third World, we shall deal chiefly with the content and structure of Soviet aid to developing countries.

As of January 1, 1970, the breakdown of aid by branches was

(per cent): industry 72; agriculture 6; geological prospecting 9; health 5.

Out of the 260 industrial projects going up with Soviet aid 44 are in engineering and metalworking, 44 in power, 27 in iron-and-steel and non-ferrous metals, 23 in chemicals, oil refining and gas, 9 in building materials, 59 in the light and food industry, and 54 in other fields.

This shows that Soviet aid is mainly centered on the industrialization of the developing countries, many of which have already been helped in this way to lay the foundations of heavy industry. In Ceylon, for example, the Soviet Union has helped build an iron-and-steel mill, a tire factory and other industries. The *Ceylon Daily News* wrote on March 26, 1967, that the socialist states were, in effect, the only countries to help Ceylon launch its national development program.

A characteristic feature of Soviet economic aid to Iran is the establishment of industrial enterprises that lay the foundation of a national heavy industry and help solve the nation's major economic problems. The enterprises include a steel works at Isfahan, the first in Iran, an engineering plant in Arak, a hydraulic project on the Arax, non-ferrous metals enterprises, the trans-Iranian gas pipeline, and others.

Addressing graduates of Iran's Technological Institute, the Shah of Iran said: 'Every Iranian should rejoice over the commissioning of the Trans-Iranian gas pipeline, because now our national wealth no longer burns up uselessly. . . . Natural gas will pay the cost of our giant projects, such as the steel works at Isfahan, an engineering plant and a number of other major projects which are being built with the aid of the Soviet Union.'

Soviet help to India, Pakistan, Afghanistan, Sudan and other Afro-Asian countries is of the same nature. In India alone more than 60 major projects were built or are going up with Soviet co-operation. In 1970 total Soviet economic and technological aid to developing countries was six times greater than in 1968. The bulk goes into creating and strengthening the state sector, whereas the imperialist powers are seeking to restrict it, thus obstructing the achievement of economic independence. The latter fact is illustrated by the case of the countries which continue to follow the aggressive foreign policy of the United States. The Manila journal, *Philippines Free Press*, listed specific examples in its January 1971 issue of how dependence on U.S. monopolies retards the development of the oil industry, trade and other branches of the economy. Today, it wrote, the Philippines are reaping the fruit of their stupid policy of kowtowing to American foreign policy. Before it is too late, it went on, steps should be taken to shake off this dependence and start

developing extensive commercial and economic relations with the Soviet Union and other states of the socialist system.

In the past 10 to 15 years economic links between the USSR and Afro-Asian countries have been developing at an unprecedented rate of intensity. In 1955 the Soviet Union had economic and technological cooperation agreements with only India and Afghanistan; today it has agreements with 18 Asian and 20 African states.

'We are very pleased with our cooperation with the Soviet Union,' the Shah of Iran said in an interview to a National Broadcasting Corporation correspondent. 'In place of the bad relations and endless restrictions that we had before, our border with the Soviet Union has now become one of peace and cooperation.'

At a ceremony dedicated to the commencement of filling the man-made reservoir impounded by the Mil-Mughan Dam, the Iranian Minister of Hydraulic Resources and Power said: 'Formerly we had only heard of peaceful coexistence. Today we are witnessing how this principle is successfully implemented.' This means that not only the peoples, but government officials, too, refer to peaceful coexistence as a means of accelerating economic development.

III.

The logic of the facts is stronger than any other logic. And the facts show that the 'cold warriors' have failed primarily because of the constructive policy of the socialist states based on Lenin's principles of peaceful coexistence. Nowadays, no one can deny that it is their efforts that facilitate improvements in the world situation and effectively advance the economic development of Third World countries.

Many Asian and African states encounter persistent imperialist opposition to their independent policies in the best interests of their peoples. Against this, the peoples are closing their ranks, and stepping up anti-imperialist action.

Modern world development is complex and many-sided. The revolutionary and democratic forces heading the struggle of the Afro-Asian peoples must carefully study the specific features of our epoch, taking into account the social changes in the world and in each country. Marx pointed out that the interests of the revolution should be promoted in a way which corresponds to changed circumstances (Marx in a letter to Kugelmann, August 23, 1866).

The socio-economic processes in the Afro-Asian countries are altering the alignment of class and political forces and add to the opportunities for extending the mass anti-imperialist movement. The policy of peaceful coexistence is an important part of the general struggle of the revolutionary and democratic forces on all

continents. Only on this basis can we correctly define our place in the world revolutionary process.

More than ever before, the progressive forces require a clear program, a correct strategy and flexible tactics that correctly reflect the interaction of the various revolutionary streams.

The policy of peaceful coexistence has also influenced relations between the imperialist powers and the developing nations. Deprived of the chance to continue imposing its will on the peoples of Asia and Africa, imperialism is forced to adapt itself to the changing alignment of world forces. However, though international circumstances have compelled the imperialists to accentuate the economic factor, they have not as yet rejected the military-political form of expansion. Experience shows that the methods and means of imperialist policy may change, but not the essence. It is important, therefore, for all progressives in Asia and Africa to expose the neo-colonialist policies of imperialism and help expand the mutually advantageous contacts with the Soviet Union and other socialist states.

Imperialism has always been the source of all the misfortunes of the peoples of Asia and Africa. For this reason the fight against imperialism is of primary importance for all revolutionary and democratic forces. And being the common struggle of all peoples, it requires a united front.



Science, ideology, politics

Friedl Fürnberg

Man's long history has never seen a period of such rapid and revolutionary development of science as the present. Powerful growth of the productive forces has brought into being a technology forming the basis of continuous progress in research which, in turn, has an increasing effect on material production. Nor has history recorded a period in which science thrust so deep into politics or scientific problems assumed so markedly ideological and political a character as today.

This goes on against the background of struggle between labor and capital, socialism and capitalism. The working class has achieved historic results by winning state power and building a socialist society, first in Russia and then in a number of other countries. The Soviet Union, the first workers' state, proved its vitality and victorious might during world War II. The fight between capitalism and socialism is spreading to ever wider areas of the globe, taking new forms and pervading the life of all mankind.

A component of this struggle is the ideological contest closely linked with political relations in modern society and greatly influencing its development. This contest takes a variety of forms in clashes of the most diverse ideas, doctrines, concepts and views. Behind this multiformity however, two opposed trends are readily discernible, one aimed at defending and justifying capitalism ideologically, and the other at proving the need to overthrow capitalism by revolutionary means and to establish a new, socialist system.

Marxist-Leninist ideology, based on scientific knowledge of the objective development laws of the material world, has been proved correct in every respect by the historical practice of the world revolutionary movement, by the peoples' fight for national independence and freedom, for socialism and communism. This explains its growing impact on millions throughout the world, striking fear into the heart of the bourgeoisie, arousing its hatred for the revolutionary ideas of Marxism-Leninism and impelling bourgeois and revi-

sionist ideologists to attack these ideas more fiercely than ever.

First and foremost, they question the fundamental Marxist thesis that society must necessarily and inevitably advance to communism. Marx and Engels did not come to this conclusion through abstract speculation but through scientific analysis of the nature and laws of social development. 'Communism as the positive transcendence of *private property*, that *human self-estrangement*, and therefore as the real *appropriation of the human* essence by and for man; communism therefore as the complete return of man to himself as a *social*, (i.e., human) being – a return become conscious, and accomplished within the entire wealth of previous development. This communism . . . is the *genuine* resolution of the conflict between man and nature and between man and man, the true resolution of the strife between existence and essence, between objectification and self-confirmation, between freedom and necessity, between individual and the species. Communism is the riddle of history solved, and it knows itself to be this solution' (Marx, 'Economic and Philosophical Manuscripts of 1844').

In assailing the thesis of the inevitable victory of communism, bourgeois and revisionist ideologists today use the device of setting science and ideology against each other, alleging them to be mutually exclusive and disputing the scientific content of Marxism on this ground. At the 14th International Philosophical Congress (Vienna, 1968) bourgeois philosophers contended that every form of ideology is merely a variety of 'false consciousness' and that ideology, unlike science, 'does not correspond to reality.' According to G. Albert, a West German philosopher, it boils down to various 'directions' – orders, rights and duties said in advance to be 'just.' The purpose of every ideology is 'theoretically to justify prevailing social forms' ('Akten des XIV. Internationalen Kongresses fuer Philosophie.' Universitaet Wien, 1968, Bd. I, S. 489-499).

The scientific character of Marxism is also denied by Karl Popper, one of its demolishers now in vogue. 'Thanks to dialectic,' he writes, '... Marxism has established itself as a dogmatism which is elastic enough, by using its dialectical method, to evade any further attack. It has thus become what I have called a reinforced dogmatism' ('Conjectures and Refutations,' London, 1963, p. 334). Having arbitrarily imputed dogmatism to Marxism, Popper denies it a scientific character.

Present-day revisionists proceed from similar positions in denying the scientific content of Marxism. H. Lefebvre, for instance, resorts to the following artificial method: 'What is Marxism? . . . An ideology (the ideology of the proletariat)? Or a science?' ('Probleme des Marxismus heute', Frankfurt-am-Main, 1965, S. 93). These are, to his mind, the alternatives ruling out the possibility of interconnection and unity of the two concepts.

What is more, bourgeois and revisionist critics of Marxism have lately insisted more and more on 'de-ideologizing' social doctrines in general and Marxism in particular. Trying to make capital of the powerful progress of science and technology, they allege that it surmounts all ideology and even means 'the end of ideology.' Their manifest purpose is to rob Marxism of its revolutionary substance, its proletarian class content, and to disarm the working class ideologically. These attempts are typical of contemporary revisionism, which fully links up with the bourgeois world outlook in combating Marxism-Leninism.*

Lenin described revisionism as an international phenomenon as far back as 1908. He wrote that owing to an intricate intertwining of economic, historical and political processes throughout the world, 'every more or less "new" question, every more or less unexpected and unforeseen turn of events, even though it change the basic line of development only to an insignificant degree and only for the briefest period, will always inevitably give rise to one variety of revisionism or another' (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 15, p. 38). This is all the more valid today, when the world is locked in a bitter struggle between capitalism and socialism, when events develop so fast and when there occur the most unexpected turns and contradictory situations.

Lenin noted that revisionism is inevitable due primarily to its class roots in contemporary society. To be sure, this does not always explain, let alone justify, the evolution of those who change sides and desert from Marxism to revisionism. There are numerous reasons for metamorphoses of this nature, which it is not really important to trace in each particular instance. But when revisionism wins the upper hand or strengthens its influence, if only for a time, in a party that regards Marxism-Leninism as its foundation, it is no longer a mere accident but a phenomenon having deep roots that were not detected in time and were therefore not combated with requisite determination.

Today's revisionists claim that they are 'restoring Marxism' as a science in contrast to what they often call 'Stalinism.' Taking advantage of the exposure of the personality cult by the 20th Congress of the CPSU, they deny – in the same way as the bourgeoisie and Social Democrats, those frank enemies of Marxism – that the phenomena in question by no means flowed from Marxism-Leninism but ran counter to it. This was clearly established, made public and overcome by the Communists themselves, first of all by those of the Soviet Union. Under the pretence of combating 'Stalinism,' the

*See A. Kosing, 'Modern Revisionism: Its Philosophical Implications and Socio-Political Functions,' in previous issue of this journal. – Ed.

revisionists attack the fundamental tenets of Marxism and its continuation by Lenin. They accuse the Communist parties of 'neo-Stalinism' – again in concord with the bourgeoisie and Social Democrats – and ignore or falsify many writings of Marx and Lenin.

The recent period has seen the emergence in various Communist parties of people (mostly expelled from their parties by now) mounting a frontal attack on Marxist ideology. One of them (the rest hardly differ from him) is Ernst Fischer. He first launched such an attack in 1965 in *Weg und Ziel*, theoretical journal of the Communist Party of Austria, and then carried his anti-Marxist views forward in subsequent writings, especially in the book 'Art and Co-existence.'

Fischer alleges that Marx called every ideology 'false consciousness' and that 'in Stalin's days Marxism was reduced to an ideology and simplified thereby' whereas it is, 'after all,' a science (*Weg und Ziel*, No. 5, 1965).

The assertion that the term 'Marxist ideology' was first used in Stalin's time is an outright falsification needed to jettison Marxism-Leninism on the pretext of combating Stalin and his mistakes. Fischer knows, of course, that Lenin spoke time and again of the ideology – the integral world outlook – of Marxism, whose ideas and principles express the interests of the proletariat, of millions of working people. Thus Fischer takes a stand against Lenin although he does not do so openly for fear of exposing himself in the eyes of his readers.

But even the reference to Marx is wrong because Marx only called 'false consciousness' primarily ideology not based on scientific knowledge, meaning bourgeois ideology and certainly not his own ideas and deductions. Otherwise it would not have been said, in particular, that communism is 'the riddle of history solved and it knows itself to be this solution.'

Now perhaps Marx and Lenin were wrong, or perhaps new deductions must lead to a change of position by the Marxists?

'The modern working-class movement,' Fischer writes, 'needs Marxist practice, but does it need a rigid ideology?' And he answers: 'A monolithic ideology does not contribute to a timely and objective knowledge of new realities and cannot exist long' (ibid.).

Thus, a 'rigid' ideology turns out to be harmful to only the *modern* working-class movement. As for the past, Fischer generously agrees to sanction it. Yet his arguments are indefensible. Marxist ideology has never been rigid, any more than it is rigid today. This would have been contrary to its essence. Marxist-Leninist ideology is entirely based, as has been noted, on analysis of objective reality, which continuously develops and undergoes changes that must be carefully studied if we are to reveal the

meaning of new phenomena. The need to carry forward and contribute to Marxist ideas by no means implies, however, that its fundamental principles must be revised as regards either the historical development of society or its prospects, its law-governed advance to communism.

Yet this is precisely what the revisionists have sought at all times. There is nothing original about their present attempts to uphold old revisionist positions by taking advantage of new developments.

Today's revisionists claim, for example, that coexistence of the capitalist and socialist states means merely economic and political competition. In reality, however, this 'competition' is not a sports contest but a grim class struggle in which the imperialists use the whole range of fraudulent and forcible methods. Wherever possible, they resort to armed force to create a situation fraught with the danger of a major war. While the masses are fighting against imperialism, the revisionists preach the need to surrender the stronghold known as Marxist ideology, alleging that it has become a hurdle to progress. Fischer, for his part, thinks it is necessary to 'coexist ideologically,' to put oneself in the place of those who differ and discuss problems with them 'immanently' and not 'from without.'

No political movement shows greater readiness for discussion than the Communist movement. Knowing full well that the motive power of history is the class struggle and not discussion, Communists believe, nevertheless, that discussion can open the eyes of millions to their class situation and help them to realize their true interests and the way of upholding them. This makes discussion a weapon against capitalism.

Marxists have never said they knew everything. They are willing to learn from those who differ and have done so more than once in the past decades. Lenin repeatedly stressed that we can learn even from the enemy, and surely this applies all the more to friends. However, it is by no means a question of ideological coexistence but of a necessary aspect of the fight against bourgeois ideology, which is, in fact, 'false consciousness' and hence is wrong in terms of science and practice.

To make amends to us for calling Marxist ideology 'false consciousness' (if not entirely), Fischer says that, strictly speaking, there exists no such thing as bourgeois ideology, either, and that the latter has been invented by Communist dogmatists. What does exist under capitalism, he tells us, are numerous, often conflicting ideologies. 'In imperialist Germany under Hitler,' he writes, 'there asserted itself an ideology fundamentally different from that prevailing in the likewise imperialist United States under Roosevelt, and the ideology prevailing in Britain is not identical with that

existing in Portugal' ('Kunst und Koexistenz. Beitrag zu einer modernen marxistischen Aesthetik.' Hamburg, 1966, S. 4)

A great discovery, revealing that bourgeois ideology takes diverse forms, changing continuously according to time and place, and that under capitalism one philosophical system comes into fashion as another goes out! However, this fact was evidently no secret to Marx, Engels or Lenin. Their writings deal with it at length, showing that it is due to the multiformity of capitalism, that its historical development varied, and could not but vary, from country to country, and that economic, ideological and political survivals of the past often play a notable part.

The multiformity of ideology has always prompted the revisionists to deduce a policy of class conciliation, which they expect to justify their desertion to the class enemy, the bourgeoisie, since they consider themselves spokesmen of the working class.

Bourgeois ideological theories and concepts today are more varied than ever before and ideological discord among the bourgeoisie is enormous. This is indicative of a deep spiritual crisis of bourgeois society reflecting the general crisis of capitalism as an economic and political system. An increasingly marked characteristic of some forms of bourgeois ideology is that they all renounce progressive ideas and traditions, re-appraise accepted values, go from one extreme to another and eclectically combine heterogeneous elements some of which are entirely accidental and unconnected.

For all the eclecticism and multiformity of bourgeois ideology, it invariably serves to justify and defend the capitalist social system and exploitation and oppression and to promote the fight of the bourgeoisie against the working class, socialism and Marxism-Leninism.

Revisionist ideologists, minimizing the role and significance of the working class in modern society, pose the intelligentsia against it. However, they are neither clear nor at one regarding the exact meaning of 'intelligentsia.' Fischer and others have borrowed the concept of 'freely soaring intellectuals' from various critics of Marx and launched the appeal to unite them for the salvation of mankind. 'To be the connective tissue of not only the nation but the whole of mankind,' he writes, 'is the common task of anyone who has the courage and right to call himself an intellectual' (op. cit., p. 80). In other words, these self-styled messiahs maintain that the intellectuals are a sort of cohesive substance joining all classes together.

This thesis, the kernel of modern revisionist concepts, virtually repeats what petty-bourgeois intellectuals said long ago. What is new and really unexpected is that the writer was once a Marxist and still considers himself one. The Social Democrats, as everyone knows, advocate various theories of social partnership and class

cooperation, or in effect the same as the revisionists, except that the terms used are different. The political implications of these views are only too obvious.

The revisionists resent the fact that the Communists prefer to abide by the concepts of Marx, Engels and Lenin about the intelligentsia, regarded by them as a social group which must decide on whose side it wants to be in the fight between the working class and the bourgeoisie, capitalism and socialism. That section of the intelligentsia which resolves to uphold the cause of the working class and socialism can and must strive, along with the revolutionary workers and all peace forces, to win other sections of the intelligentsia for joint action in defense of peace, for struggle to free the oppressed peoples, extend the people's democratic rights and bring about social changes. In this way the intelligentsia can contribute to the solution of important national and international problems and its role will steadily grow. Those who suggest that the intellectuals must play the role of spiritual managers and serve as the 'connective tissue' of mankind are dissociating them from the working class and the Communist movement. Fischer's political practice over the past years has shown that he wants just that. His *ideology*, which he represents as the enemy of all ideology, gives rise to a *policy* directed primarily against the socialist countries and Communist parties.

It may seem strange at first sight that Right-wing revisionists often assume the role of spokesmen of rebellious students, of the so-called 'New Left,' and so on. Yet this is quite logical in the light of their attempts to fight against the Communist parties, which they call 'neo-Stalinist power machineries' suppressing free opinion, discussion, etc. However, most of these attempts have failed completely.

For a variety of reasons, the number of students in the capitalist countries has grown substantially and goes on growing. With most students the problem of a livelihood is becoming more and more serious, especially since studies are taking ever longer and students remain materially dependent to almost the age of thirty. Nor should it be forgotten that in the capitalist countries the universities generally were, or still are, strongholds of conservatism. Among the most restless elements are, understandably enough, students of the social sciences, both because these sciences are preferred by those who already have the makings of 'restlessness' and because study of the social sciences, of social history and philosophical and economic thought, is apt to have a revolutionizing effect on youth.

Experience shows that so long as the students fail to establish links with the struggle of the working class they are defeated, or waste their energy in fruitless, often harmful individual actions,

including acts of terrorism. On the other hand, recent developments in a number of countries have revealed that a large number of students are correctly taking the road of joint struggle with the working class and the Communist parties, which always yields good results.

Right-wing revisionists today question the socialist character of the Soviet Union and the people's democracies. They put the United States and the Soviet Union on the same footing and contend that every 'power machinery,' in either an imperialist or a socialist state, is hostile to the intellectuals, whom it regards as an 'impediment.' They themselves claim recognition as a 'third,' and the only real, 'socialist' force, linking up in this respect with their 'Left'-wing counterparts, with whom they are even willing to conclude a political alliance. The experience of political struggle shows, however, that in reality the revisionists, for all their claims to the role of a socialist force, have excluded themselves from the real socialist movement, the revolutionary struggle of the working class, from Marxism-Leninism.

When justly accused of betraying the revolutionary principles of Marxism, they generally reply that they have been and still are Marxists and that we Communists have no right to write them off as revisionists and apostates. Indeed, they ask, what is the criterion of a Marxist? Who is the supreme arbiter who can rule on this with authority, especially since the rise of differences among the Communist parties themselves? Of course, it is in the interest of the revisionists to call themselves Marxists — after all, this makes it easier for them to seek their political goals and mislead the workers, intellectuals and students. It is not for nothing, therefore, that the revisionist R. Havemann says *everyone is competent* to decide who is a Marxist and who is not.

Contrary to these essentially relativist assertions, Marxism-Leninism offers an objectively correct, decisive criterion of the truth of theories, ideas, concepts or views. This criterion is social practice in its broad comprehensive sense. Marxism has repeatedly been proved correct by the practice of revolutionary struggle for socialism and national liberation. It has won over millions of people and become the dominant idea of progressive mankind.

Marxism-Leninism has achieved results of decisive importance to society, the revolutionary working class and other working people. Communist parties study these results by analyzing new developments, the evolution of society and the experience of their own struggle. They draw up programs (regarded as unnecessary in our day by Fischer and others) which are and must be carefully discussed and voted on in keeping with the democratic principles of inner-Party life. Party programs must become an effective guide in

ideological, economic and political struggles. How correct program provisions are is tested by revolutionary practice, by the history of modern society.

But, our revisionist sages argue, have there been no cases of whole parties being wrong? Yes, there have, but that was because they did not take into account all the facts and the experience gained through practice, with the result that occasionally even a Marxist party abandoned Marxism. What happens in such a situation is that either the mistakes are corrected, sometimes through a painful process, under the impact of hard facts that in the past were overlooked or were not taken into proper consideration, or a new party adhering to Marxism-Leninism comes into existence.

The victory of the socialist revolution in a number of countries gave rise to new problems. New problems are also posed by the national liberation movement in one-time colonies, which has to hew a road to socialism in very special conditions. A new situation and dissimilar conditions for the struggle of the working class for socialism have also taken shape in the capitalist countries due to their increasingly uneven development. This logically produces corresponding distinctions and calls for a varying approach to problems of strategy and tactics and to the Communist party's entire policy depending on country.

Bourgeois ideologists and politicians regard distinctions in tackling specific problems as signifying the 'end' of Marxism-Leninism as one doctrine. Their aim is to reduce the significance of Marxism-Leninism and its influence over the masses and to prevent them from joining in revolutionary struggle under the banner of Marxist-Leninist ideas.

The revisionists of today still extol 'national socialism,' which is the antithesis of Marxism and the counter-revolutionary character of which has been amply proved by historical experience. They also speak of a 'national Marxism,' saying that it is 'humane' and 'democratic' in one case and 'dictatorial' and 'bureaucratic' in another. Again, there is nothing new about this, for we heard much the same decades ago from the Social Democrats. The only difference is that this time the revisionists cite the conflicts and disputes actually existing in the world Communist movement. And they ask: which version of Marxism is correct, then? Or are perhaps all versions correct? This formulation implies that Marxism in one country must differ fundamentally from Marxism in other countries.

The world Communist movement is working to re-establish and strengthen its ideological unity. Life has shown that this objective is anything but illusory despite the allegations of the revisionists, who seek to split and disrupt the revolutionary forces. Ideological unity on Marxist-Leninist principles is in keeping with historically

necessary development, and this applies to individual parties as well as to the movement as a whole. The task of the Marxist-Leninist parties of the working class is, therefore, to do all in their power to strengthen this unity.

Marxist-Leninist ideology, based on solid scientific foundations, is inseparable from the policy of the Communist parties expressing the fundamental interests of the working class in its struggle to remake society on revolutionary lines.

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Who profits from persecution of communists in Iraq

Ara Kachadoor

There is this inscription on a marble headstone at the Baghdad Martyrs Cemetery:

'Jusuf Suleiman Jusuf (Faheed), Iraq working-class leader, General Secretary of the Iraqi Communist Party, fell in the national fight against imperialism. Executed by the imperialists February 14, 1949 after a frame-up trial.'

Faheed and two of his heroic comrades, Zaki Baasim and Husein al Shabibi, together with many more devoted patriots, were victims of the infamous 'black regime' of dictator Nuri Said. He was a sworn enemy of democracy, and had only contempt for the people and bestial hatred for all patriots, especially the Communists, whom he singled out as his bitter enemies. The July revolution put an end to the monarchy. The insurgent people overthrew the dictator who had used wanton terror against all opponents of reaction and imperialism.

That was more than ten years ago. The people curse the men responsible for the death of Faheed and his comrades. In a country of republican freedoms, they want to forget the night-

mare of the reactionary regime. Blue-and-white-collar workers, farmers, students, and all young Iraqis look with hope to the dawn of the new life and the opportunities it affords them. They want to see free patriotic initiative applied in public and political life; they want wide democracy. But the forces opposed to the people, the reactionaries, have not laid down their arms and continue to aim their blows at the patriotic forces.

News has come of the death of two Communist party members, Kadhem Al-Jassim and Aziz Hameed. They were sincere patriots, staunch fighters for the people's freedom and happiness, undaunted defenders of the interests of the working folk. They were done to death in a Baghdad prison. In the statement issued in October 1970 denouncing their illegal arrest, the Communist Party said they had been brutally tortured at the Kasr Al-Nihaya police station. Neither relatives nor friends were allowed to make contact with them.

A short while ago, Major Majied Al-Abayachi disappear-

ed. The authorities claimed they knew nothing of his whereabouts and denied that he had been arrested. But from people who had been released from prison it was learned that he had been kidnapped, thrown into jail and tortured. It has now become the practice for unknown persons, who refuse to present any credentials whatever, to arrest Iraqi citizens, keep them in jail without any charges and torture them at Kasr Al-Nihaya and other secret prisons. New torture techniques are now being used.

Many delegates to the Eighth Congress of the Democratic Party of Kurdistan and guests from other parties were arrested, among them Dr. Mohamed Salman Hassan; Salman Al-Azzawi, a Central Committee member of the National Democratic Party and Abdul Illaa al-Nasrawi, leader of the Arab Socialist Movement. All of them were subjected to torture.

In reply to the public outcry for an end to the repressions, high-ranking Baath and government officials announced that all patriots were to be freed. Some were released, but not Kadhem Al-Jassim and Aziz Hameed.

In June 1969 Communist Party Central Committee member Sattar Khidair was murdered and another Party activist, Abdel Amir Saaid, was kidnapped in September of the same year. Nothing has been heard of him since. Somewhat later, on March 21, 1970, Mohamad Armad Al-Khidare, a leader of the democratic teachers' movement was murdered.

In the spring of 1969 many

patriots were thrown into the torture chambers. The list includes Ahmad Mahmood Al-Hallak, Aziz Feil Jemad and Meti Hindu. Again, high-ranking Baath and government officials claimed that they 'had no knowledge' of this, adding that, 'such actions are detrimental to patriotic unity in combating the dangerous plots of the imperialists, Zionists and reactionaries, who have stepped up their activities in an attempt to achieve their goals in the Arab world.'

Our Party, all patriots and democrats, condemn these repressions and restrictions of trade union freedoms.

Our Party Central Committee has drawn attention to the fact that reactionary elements are trying to capture commanding positions in the army and government, professing loyalty to the Baath Party while not abandoning their plots. And it is no chance accident that they have intensified their offensive and are resorting to terror, persecution and harassment.

What they fear above all else is an enduring alliance of democratic parties and organizations, unity of all anti-reactionary and anti-imperialist forces. For the emergence of such a democratic national front would mean defeat for those in Iraq who do not want to eliminate feudalism, or introduce progressive reforms in industry and agriculture, find a just and final solution for the Kurd problem and strengthen fraternal bonds with Arab and other peoples actively fighting imperialism and Zionism.

To achieve its ends, Iraqi

reaction wants to cancel out all the positive gains won after the coup of July 17, 1968. For the reactionaries know only too well that without discord among the patriotic and democratic forces, they stand no chance whatever. Hence, the persecution of democrats and patriots, the terror against Communists; and the ceaseless attempts to set the Communists and the Baathists at loggerheads. Isolated from the mass of the people, suspicious and hostile towards all democratic parties and organizations, the Baath Party would play no important role and its government would be easy prey for the forces that speak for the feudal, industrial and commercial interests, for the top bureaucracy and top military, all of whom are inveterate foes of democracy.

The best part of the Baathists are friendly towards the Communists and do not shy away from contacts with them. But among influential Baathists there are many who cannot shed their ingrained anti-communism and are prepared to cooperate with anyone in ousting the Communists from public and political life. These vestiges of old tendencies are the only explanation for the authorities' refusal to curb rampant reaction or to do something about this flagrant violation of law. More, it would be naive to believe that the security service instituted this campaign against Communists and sympathizing patriots without the knowledge of the Baath Party and the government.

The present regime, which on the whole is of an anti-imperia-

list and anti-feudal nature, is a dictatorship that does not have broad democratic support. Reactionaries are exploiting the fact that the government has retained intact the anti-democratic laws of earlier regimes and, indeed, has still further impinged on the rights of the people, for instance, by promulgating an anti-labor law that forbids strike action in the public sector. The government has also retained the old police apparatus to smash mass parties and suppress all patriotic activity.

Yet we are often told that the Baath Party favors a broad democratic national front. But the Baathists reject the principle of ideological and organizational independence of the components of such a front. More, they deprive them of opportunities for legal public activity, claim monopoly leadership of the trade unions, peasant, student and other organizations with scant regard for the views and desires of their members.

The Second Communist Party Congress emphasized that the democratic movement and the parties involved in it can save the country from a take-over by reactionary elements. A high level of the mass movement is a decisive factor in Iraqi progress.

And if there is to be unity of the democratic movement, there must be an end to the repressions, to the persecution of patriots. The experience of the national-liberation movement shows: no country can win genuine independence and progressive development if it is committed to anti-communism.



Lenin's creativity

In the spring of 1921, fifty years ago, the Bolshevik Party launched out on the New Economic Policy (NEP), which became a distinct period in the development of the Soviet state. And for us today, this transition from the policy of 'war communism,' necessitated by the Civil War and the imperialist intervention, to an economic policy oriented on peaceful construction, is certainly not of mere academic interest. Although NEP and all its specifics, imposed by the concrete historical and national conditions, is a thing of the past, many of the principles and methods implicit in the proletarian state's policy framed then by Lenin, are really dateless.

NEP was an extraordinarily capacious and multi-sided conception. It referred to the Communist Party's strategy and tactics following the seizure of power, and to the theory and practice of building the new society, reaching into the realm of politics, economics and ideology. It would therefore be impossible to examine the multiplicity of NEP implications and aspects in one article. Hence, we shall concentrate on but a few relevant problems.

I.

The idea of a new economic policy, the way its principles were developed and effectuated, is a unique model of the scientific approach to the complicated problems of building socialism, of how to conceptualize creatively in concrete historical circumstances; it is a model of daring revolutionary action.

NEP is, first and foremost, a timely political solution found with masterly skill in an inordinately difficult situation.

The young Soviet Republic was then in truly desperate straits. Its economy was dislocated. Food and consumer goods ran short. And at home and internationally the situation was strained.

Lenin had an extraordinary capacity for sensing the political and economic pulse. He saw that 'war communism' was increasingly in collision with the interests of the working people, for it lacked the essential stimuli for surmounting the economic difficulties and improving the condition of the workers and peasants. Peasant discontent over the food requisitioning which denied them the induce-

ment of boosting output, impaired the social basis of the proletarian dictatorship and jeopardized the worker-peasant alliance. Here and there across the country, the counterrevolutionary forces made the most of this to organize anti-Soviet mutinies.

A new policy was necessary to stimulate rehabilitation and economic growth, and meet the people's vital needs as quickly as possible, on the one hand, and to consolidate the social basis of Soviet power, on the other. Lenin and the Party proved capable of formulating this policy. Nor did they do this by the armchair method; they made a deep study of and summed up the interests and mood and experience of the masses, weighed the matter, discussed and experimented.

Here are a few features of Lenin's style of work when formulating the New Economic Policy.

On December 22, 1920, the opening day of the Eighth All-Russia Congress of Soviets which adopted the GOELRO electrification plan, Lenin addressed the Congress in the morning and a sitting of the Bolshevik faction in the afternoon, while in the evening he attended a conference of non-Party peasant Congress delegates gathered at his request by M. I. Kalinin. He took down what the peasants said and had the notes circulated among Central Committee members and People's Commissars. He compressed the speeches into a mere two to five lines, but the abbreviated transcript fully conveyed the high pitch of the peasants' urgency and listed all their troubles (See Lenin, *Com-*

plete Works, Russ. ed., Vol. 42, pp. 382-386).

In the next few days, Lenin visited villages near Moscow and in the Kremlin received peasant delegations and envoys from different parts of the country, and devoted the closest attention to letters coming from peasants. He engaged local functionaries in conversations, and sought the advice of CC and government officials returning from trips to other localities.

In February 1921, on instructions from the Party's Central Committee, the *Pravda* ran a discussion article, 'Requisitioning or Taxing?' By order of the Political Bureau, the requisitioning system was repealed in 13 central gubernias.

The decision to do so had been thoroughly weighed before its unanimous adoption by the 10th Party Congress (in March 1921). No less unanimously was it welcomed by the vast majority of people in our huge country, for they saw it as a step promoting their interest.

Politically, the New Economic Policy solved the problem of the relationship between the working class and the peasants in the transition period, drawing the multi-million mass of peasants into socialist construction. Also, it provided the answer to the question of how to strengthen the ties between the Party and the masses after the seizure of power. The essence of the New Economic Policy, Lenin said, 'is the alliance of the proletariat and the peasantry, the union of the vanguard of the proletariat with the broad mass of the peasants' (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 33, p. 171).

Economically, NEP was a set

of measures assuring proper guidance of the economy, with many of its fundamental guidelines transcending the time limits of the transition period. It was a striking example of how to resolve the nation's economic problems, how to single out the correct economic levers and stimuli to secure a steady growth of production and an improvement of the standard of living.

The replacement of the food tax for the system of food requisitioning was the main link, which, once seized, pulled along the rest of the chain. But having found the solution, Lenin and the Party did not take it for granted that the new policy was thereby finalized as an integral system. Its elaboration had only begun, and was carried forward firmly, perseveringly and consistently, assuring quick results.

There was the question of controlled and temporary use of private capital—this in the interest of the peasants, who could not wait until the large-scale state-operated industry was rehabilitated. Capitalists tried to regain full possession of their enterprises, but the Soviet government stood firm: they could have them on lease only, and, moreover, just those enterprises which the state was then unable to re-start on its own and which had not been leased before to worker cooperatives.

Having thus resolved the two most urgent issues of the new policy, Lenin and the Party tackled the third, no less difficult and important: that of organizing the administration of state industry in the new conditions. As a first step, enterprises were put on a profit, that is, the cost-

accounting, basis (1921). This was followed by the question of how to use the commodity-money relationship during the transition from capitalism to communism. In this area, too, Lenin elaborated substantially on the Marxist postulates relating to the transition period. Then, organizational measures were adopted, with trusts and syndicates devised as a flexible and democratic means of running industry (1922). The final step in forming the system was the monetary reform, begun in 1922.

Meanwhile, and especially in 1921 and 1922, methods were devised to provide material incentives for workers and specialists, a matter in which Lenin showed a deep interest. Thus, the moulding of the socialist economic system, begun in 1918 and interrupted by the Civil War, continued during the New Economic Policy period. The next step was Lenin's cooperative plan for the countryside.

The Bolshevik Party regarded NEP as a long-term policy oriented on the socialist reconstruction of society. 'Economically and politically,' Lenin wrote, 'NEP makes it fully possible for us to lay the foundation of socialist economy' (Vol 33, p. 252). It was designed to buttress the worker-peasant alliance, consolidate the dictatorship of the working class and develop the country along socialist lines. Allowing capitalism to exist within definite limits, with the commanding heights in the economy, NEP provided the right setting for the struggle between the socialist and capitalist elements, assuring the victory of the former, the elimination of the

exploiting classes and the building of socialism in the USSR.

II.

The New Economic Policy facilitated the solution of the fundamental issues of passing to socialism and the ways and means of building the new society. These issues arose before the Bolsheviks in the wake of the October Revolution, and had even previously been explored in theory. Lenin's stand was clear from the beginning. In his pre-revolution book, 'The State and Revolution,' he wrote: 'The first fact that has been established most accurately by the whole theory of development, by science as a whole – a fact that was ignored by the utopians, and is ignored by the present-day opportunists, who are afraid of the socialist revolution – is that, historically, there must undoubtedly be a special stage, or a special phase, of transition from capitalism to communism' (Vol. 25, p. 459).

The rate and forms of transition to socialism were objects of a bitter controversy at the beginning of 1918. There were two distinctly different standpoints. The platform of the 'Lefts' (who were then also opposed to the Brest Peace) in effect reflected the inclination to 'establish' socialism overnight. The main thing, as they saw it, was to hasten the expropriation of private property, though the banks, the big enterprises and societies had already been nationalized. Lenin and the majority at the Seventh Congress held a different view. He set it out conclusively in two of his works – 'The Immediate Tasks of the

Soviet Government' and '“Left-Wing” Childishness and the Petty-Bourgeois Mentality' – written in the spring of 1918.

In the confrontation with the 'Lefts' in the spring and summer of 1918, Lenin won the day for a socialist construction policy, which, as the experience of other socialist countries proved, was of international relevance. This course envisaged a gradual transition without leaping across necessary stages, by normalizing economic activity, establishing public control and proper accounting in production and distribution, using the foremost achievements of large-scale capitalist technology and organization, employing bourgeois specialists (under workers' control), and the like. The Agricultural Tax Decree adopted on October 30, 1918, was a logical projection of this plan.

The outbreak of the Civil War and the imperialist intervention hindered the effectuation of this original plan. Due to the war, attention was concentrated on the needs of the fighting forces, while the normal requirements were consciously curtailed. The proportions in the economy were forcibly altered, with resources devoted almost totally to a single, narrow purpose. This could not be done by ordinary economic methods, necessitating a system of military-administrative regulation, eventually known as 'war communism.'

'War communism' was a special kind of policy, dictated by the specific conditions in revolutionary Russia. That is why, precisely, Lenin stressed so many times that it was not obligatory, even as a temporary measure, for other countries embarking-

ing on socialism in other conditions. The Party terminated 'war communism' when it became unnecessary.

Lenin wrote: 'Not directly relying on enthusiasm, but aided by the enthusiasm engendered by the great revolution, and on the basis of personal interest, personal incentive and business principles, we must first set to work in this small-peasant country to build solid gangways to socialism by way of state capitalism. Otherwise we shall never get to communism, we shall never bring scores of millions of people to communism. That is what experience, the objective course of the development of the revolution, has taught us' (Vol. 33, p. 58). This appreciation of the lessons of life, this concern for the wants of the working people, are typical of Lenin. Even in 'A Great Beginning,' the well-known article which Lenin wrote in 1919, i.e., at the height of 'war communism,' he pointed out that the task was to 'lead the whole mass of the working and exploited people, as well as all the petty-bourgeois groups, on to the road of new economic development,' warning that this would be very difficult, 'for it cannot possibly be fulfilled by single acts of heroic fervor; it requires the most prolonged, most persistent and most difficult mass heroism in *plain, everyday work*' (Vol. 29, p. 423).

The same idea underlay the New Economic Policy. While devising new political solutions, Lenin was always faithful to the basic, determinative and universal aspects of socialism which he had formulated earlier, in his pre-revolution theoretical works, and which were based in their

entirety on the theory of Marx and Engels.

It was no more accidental that in his pamphlet, 'On the Food Tax,' written in 1921, he referred to his '“Left-Wing” Childishness and Petty-Bourgeois Mentality' of 1918 than that he referred to a pre-revolution article dating to 1917, 'The Impending Catastrophe and How to Combat It,' in his 1918 pamphlet. We thus see a single, though continuously developing plan of building the socialist economy carried forward through all the crucial turns of history – the October Revolution, the Civil War, and the introduction of NEP. Most fully, however, was it elaborated during NEP. Comparing Lenin's writings of different years, we see that the solutions of 1921, though formulated in response to burning socio-political and economic problems, were not merely tactical or overnight moves seized upon empirically. They represented the fundamental principles of Lenin's Party applied creatively to the changed situation. In the autumn of 1921, in a report entitled, 'The New Economic Policy and the Tasks of the Political Education Departments,' Lenin showed that the policy known as 'new' really contained more elements of the old than our previous economic policy did' (Vol. 33, p. 61), that is, the policy of 'war communism,' thus underscoring the direct connection between NEP and the policy Lenin designed in 1918.

We may ask: was not the situation then uniquely specific and 'purely Russian'? Would it be legitimate to ascribe international significance to the Soviet Russian experience of that

time? Was not the economic policy of that time designed exclusively for that country with its predominantly small-scale peasant economy?

Not at all. A thorough and objective analysis will show the reverse. To be sure, NEP reflected at least two of the specific features of Russia's situation: first, the predominance of the small-scale peasant economy, requiring especially close attention to the agrarian question, and, second, the poverty and dislocation of the country, requiring a temporary and state-controlled revival of private enterprise in certain secondary economic fields. This specific, however, though it gave urgency to the questions of economic policy, did not determine all its content. Its basis of principle, that of buttressing the worker-peasant alliance, is universally relevant. Referring to the welding of the workers and peasants in a dependable economic union, Lenin stressed that 'this is not merely a task for Russia alone, it is a world task,' that 'it is a task which all socialists will face,' and that 'we are helping to work out' the forms of this alliance 'when we work on the implementation of our New Economic Policy' (Vol. 33, p. 177).

Referring to the economic problems, Lenin describes the two sides of NEP, distinguishing the specific from the universal. 'In particular,' he wrote, 'a free market and capitalism, both subject to state control, are now being permitted and are developing; on the other hand, the socialized state enterprises are being put on what is called a profit basis' (Vol. 33, p. 184). Amplifying on this 'other side,' he em-

phasizes in many of his works the role of local initiative of making the enterprises pay, of profit and profitability. And though the hardships of the past, necessitating the use here and there of private capital, are long over, Lenin's principles of accountability and profit still rank among the most effective levers of socialist production, as evidenced by the present economic reforms in the socialist countries.

III.

The first socialist society was built in anything but ideal conditions, most of them unanticipated in theory. But in all the stages of building socialism in the Soviet Union, Lenin's postulates were always theoretically topical and vital.

Creative development of Lenin's principles in different times and in different conditions may be observed not only in the Soviet Union, but also in the other countries of the socialist world. And an impartial examination of the facts will surely show that national forms of building socialism, no matter how distinctive, will not be effective unless they rest essentially on Lenin's ideas.

Framing the correct economic policy with an eye on the historic and national conditions brings us face to face with the imperative of avoiding 'Left' aberrations and preventing any deviation to the Right. The dogmatists that they are, pseudo-Left politicians are still trying to exploit Marxism-Leninist principles out of context to vindicate their arbitrary 'leaps' and their scorn for the vital material interests of the masses. The Right opportunists, too, use the

same method; e.g., they absolutize some of the aspects of NEP, whereas NEP was a system of closely dovetailing measures. And though commodity-money relations were part of that system, the Party lost no time in building up economic planning in the new conditions.

In practice, as well as theory, Lenin always warned against over-accentuating particular aspects of a socio-political process. The Party's policy, he said, should be conceived as a complex of inter-related actions. Even before the Revolution, Lenin called attention to a passage in one of Bukharin's articles, to the effect that revolutionary social-democracy wants to organize the new social production as 'centralized, i.e., as the technically most progressive' system. Nothing more was said in the article about socialist production and, underlining these words, Lenin made the following marginal note: 'Incorrect, incomplete' (*Complete Works*, Russ. ed., Vol. 33, p. 333). Here, too, Lenin was true to himself: whatever is incomplete and one-sided is incorrect. At all times, Lenin promoted the only effective approach to directing social and economic development, that of combining centralism with democracy. It was not accidental that on the eve of the 10th Party Congress, during the discussion over the trade unions, Lenin came to grips with the anarcho-syndicalist as well as the centralist-bureaucratic trends.

NEP was an important stage in the evolution of democratic centralism, and therein, too, is its timeless significance. Centralism was secured by retaining

large-scale industry in the possession of the state and by overall state planning, which, in effect, began with the GOELRO electrification plan. At the same time, mass economic initiative was encouraged. By aligning personal material interest with the interest of society. Lenin and the Party effectively enlisted in socialist construction not only the advanced workers, but the entire mass of working people.

Lenin's plan of building the socialist economy, of which NEP was an essential part, has proved its worth in a number of countries. Epitomizing the visionary powers of the Communist Party, stemming from its basic knowledge of the laws of social development, the essential ideas of the plan still help to resolve problems arising in socialist construction.

The present-day economic policy of the Soviet Communist Party is also closely related to the principles Lenin worked out in 1921-1923. While noting that NEP was largely necessitated by the specifics of the times, L. I. Brezhnev stressed in his report, 'Fifty Years of Great Socialist Victories': 'At the same time, Lenin looked far into the future. Even at that time he worked out socialist economic principles that also retain their significance in our day.' The knowledge acquired through the experience of the world's first working people's state is used by Communists of other socialist countries, as well as those of the Soviet Union. And it is still vitally needed by all Marxists fighting for the transition from capitalism to socialism, by those who are building the new society. O. Lacis



The law and socialism: anti-communist views and the reality

Of late, foes of Communism have fallen back on one of their old favorites, that of portraying socialism as a society where legality is allegedly non-existent and the citizen's rights are disregarded. The effort is centered chiefly on distorting the present-day socio-political scene in the USSR. A number of readers have written us from capitalist countries, asking us to describe the true treatment of law under socialism and, particularly, the role and place of law in Soviet society. Below is an article on this subject by V. Tumanov, Dr. of Law.

In the early decades of the Soviet state, capitalist propagandists took advantage of its economic backwardness to mount a frontal attack against socialism as, chiefly, a socio-economic system based on common ownership and planning. In due course, the socialist economic system passed the test of time, became the symbol of rapid and all-round social progress, winning acknowledgement across the length and breadth of the globe. In these circumstances, postwar bourgeois ideology is displaying an obvious tendency to shift the accent in its attacks against the theory and practice of socialism to the realm of political organization. One of the main areas picked by anti-communism in its criticism of socialism is the question of law.

That question is of the utmost

ideological and political importance. Lenin described the question of the state as 'the focus of all present-day political questions and political disputes' and ranked it as second only to the 'foundations of economic science' (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 29, pp. 484, 472). What Lenin says here is also applicable to law, because law is intimately associated with the state and expresses the interests and the will of the dominant classes. True, down through the centuries the social consciousness of the people conceived law as the antipode to the abuses of the exploiters, as a vehicle of social progress and democracy, as champion of the man and citizen. Lastly, law is also related to the future of world peace.

It was with proclamations of the rule of law that the bour-

geoisie once fought against feudalism. Frederick Engels described the legalistic outlook as the 'classical outlook of the bourgeoisie.' And although subsequently the imperialist bourgeoisie's treatment of law and legality witnessed substantial negative changes, including fascism's outright rejection of the rule of law in favor of the 'rule of strength,' capitalist ideology still endeavors to parade as the proponent of legality. Extensive use is made of the cliché that socialism and law are allegedly incompatible or, at best, that 'socialism undervalues law.'

Capitalist ideologists maintain that this attitude to law is implicit in the Marxist teaching. The 'reason' they invoke is the Marxist postulate that law (together with the state) will wither away in the future communist society. And if the Marxist stands for the withering away of law, he is, hence, an enemy of law. That is the primitive construction which anti-Communists put on the matter. To follow this logic, anyone who says that 'man is mortal' may be described as a man-hater. The postulate relating to the withering away of law is an evaluation of it in historical perspective, not from the standpoint of its role in a class society organized as a state. The importance of that role was never denied by Marxism.

Referring to the 'withering away of law,' anti-Communist writers try to create the impression that it implies the withering away of such elements of the legal superstructure as legality, law and order, human rights and freedoms. That is still

another logical perversion, because in referring to the withering away of law, Marxism implies not the disappearance of the rules of social life, of the rights and freedoms of man, but the disappearance of state compulsion as a specific feature giving juridical embodiment to the norms of social life.

To prove that Marxism is 'inimical' to law, none other than J. Edgar Hoover, head of the U.S. Federal Bureau of Investigation, invokes the 'Communist Manifesto.' Just look, Hoover rants, how critical Marx is of law. Yet he conveniently forgets to say that the Manifesto examines not law in general, but bourgeois law and principally those of its institutions which assert the domination of the exploiter minority over the working majority. Criticism of bourgeois law is not a denial of law in general. Marxism raises the issue of replacing bourgeois law with a new, higher type of law, whereas Hoover tries to portray this as a rejection of law and espousal of arbitrary rule. In so doing, he demands that the American Communists, being Marxists (and therefore, as he puts it, 'enemies of the law'), should forfeit the protection of the law and Constitution. Thus 'critical' explorations of Marxist theory lead to the practical conclusion that political persecution of Communists and other democrats is justified.

Let us note in passing that Hoover and many others are laboring in vain to portray the Marxist criticism of bourgeois law as anarchistic. The struggle for peace and democracy fought by the working people in capi-

talist countries, by the Communist and Workers' parties, encompasses a struggle, too, for democratic legality, progressive law, realization of democratic constitutional gains, and legislative reforms to restrict monopoly domination. Conversely, the anti-democratic aspirations of the imperialist bourgeoisie materialize in attempts to reject the impediments of legality.

Anti-Communists even try to construe that the Marxist postulate about law being conditioned by the economic system implies that law, according to Marx, is a 'second-rate' category, an appendage entirely dependent on economy and of no consequence to society. In fact, however, Marx, and Lenin too, emphasized the active influence of law on social life in general, and on economic development in particular. Precisely for this reason, they urged the workers to formulate their economic and political demands in legal terms. To acknowledge the importance of a social institution, it is certainly not necessary to proclaim it as 'first-rate' or 'fundamental.' The fact that law is conditioned by the socio-economic system of society does not detract from its independent social value in the eyes of Marxist-Leninists. As such a value, law countervails arbitrary rule and lawlessness. Though over the centuries law did not always, in content, stand for the needs of progress, the principles of democracy, equality and freedom could not be asserted without law, just as it would be impossible to build socialism without it.

Why do the anti-Communists make their excursions into the

field of Marxist theory of the state of law? In substance, they associate a distorted exposition of this theory with the existing socialist system, in order to portray it as 'a legal imperfection.' To socialism they impute the intent to eliminate the form of law as quickly as this can be done, and then, on the pretext that law is 'withering away,' to abandon the principle of legality and other juridical principles in the state's administration of society.

In fact, however, the development of society in the Soviet Union and the other countries of the socialist community is witnessing a continuous elaboration of the new law, which plays a substantive role in the building of socialism and communism. The first Soviet codification was completed five years after the October Revolution, with codes for all the main classes of law – civil, criminal, procedural-criminal, procedural-civil, land, labor, marriage, family and guardianship. Modern history has no other examples of the high rate at which Soviet law was formulated and systematized following on a profound revolutionary upheaval. In large measure, this accomplishment was due to the active participation and advice of V. I. Lenin, who, by the way, was a jurist by training.

Socialist law is historically the highest type of law, if only for the fact that it juridically formalized the new, progressive system of social relations, debarring all forms of exploitation, appropriation of another man's labor, enrichment without work, that is, everything incompatible

with the socialist principle, 'from each according to his ability, to each according to his work.' Socialist law expresses the will of the working majority, and that of the people as a whole. It is democratic as regards the legislative process (among other things, due to the broad enlistment in it of the public and nationwide discussion of the more important bills).

Not only does socialism impart to law a progressive social content; also, it broadens its horizons, its role in society. The new society does not regard law as merely a means of settling conflicts, although its protective function is by no means denied. Important organizational and constructive functions, particularly in the sphere of social production, are delegated to law. As conceived by the classical bourgeois liberalism, law resembled traffic rules, showing how the traffic should move, but by no means indicating who should move, and for what purpose. In the socialist setting, the answer to these questions, too, is fully provided. Law regulates the functioning of the socialist economic system as a whole, and stipulates the concrete, plan-determined rights and obligations, of which the participants in the social process of production are the bearers. The first legal forms of state economic management and planning were worked out in the Soviet Union.

Socialist law is an important factor in the dynamic growth of Soviet society. It stands to reason, however, that the constructive role of law does not mean that the universal fact, according to which law cannot be of

a higher grade than the economic system of society, is thereby invalidated. For example, in fixing the measure of the emolument for work, law cannot make it higher than the attained level of social wealth permits. However, given the objective preconditions, it facilitates the emergence and consolidation of the new social relations to which the legislator consciously aspires.

Anti-Communist propaganda maintains that the bourgeois state is based on law and is 'ruled by law,' whereas it associates socialism with totalitarianism, inasmuch as it denies the primacy of law over the state. That is the thesis, among others, which is proclaimed during the annual law observance days in the United States, a function of a distinctly anti-Communist complexion.

From the standpoint of socialist theory and practice, it is needless to artificially 'elevate' law over the state in order to enhance its prestige. Both these social institutions are linked indivisibly, and do not exist separately. Socialist doctrine and practice do not consider it right to postulate the primacy of law as the sovereign bearer of power (because it is the state which 'transfers' the social into the legal). But it does attach cardinal importance to what is, in effect, a different question: legality in state administration, precise and undeviating observance of law by all the units of the state mechanism. Socialist legality is one of the basic principles governing work of all organs of state. In that sense they are all 'subject to law.'

The CPSU and the Soviet state acted on their own initiative in revealing and condemning the violations of legality stemming from the personality cult and alien to the nature of socialism, and took steps to rule them out in the future. In particular, conclusive criticism was levelled against the politically harmful views and postulates of A. Y. Vyshinsky, which led to departure from some important democratic procedural norms guaranteeing the rights of citizens.

Officials guilty of grossly violating socialist legality were prosecuted and replaced by new, honest and competent ones. The organs protecting Soviet law function under the control of the state's representative institutions. Publicity was considerably expanded of the activity of the state apparatus, and representatives of the public participate in its work. Underscoring the connection between law and politics, socialist theory and practice oppose the simplistic assumption that this is a go-ahead for political measures violating the legality principle.

A vast amount of work was done in the Soviet Union in the fifties and sixties to improve legislation and to invigorate the legal basis of our society. Some outdated juridical acts were repealed, others were substantially amended and complemented. The general cultural standard and law-consciousness of the population has risen. A second codification was carried out in all the principal legal fields in accordance with the Constitution. The new code reflects the new level of socialist social relations and, also, the federative charac-

ter of Soviet socialist statehood. In conformance with the All-Union Fundamentals of Legislation, each constituent republic adopts its own codes in the principal fields of law, taking account of local peculiarities.

The measures taken to strengthen legality speak of the strength of the socialist system and of its profound intrinsic democracy.

This does mean, of course, that the possibility of departures from the strictures of socialist law, occasional miscarriages of justice, and the like, are absolutely and totally ruled out. That is why the Party, the state and the public devote unremitting attention to the protection of legality and of the rights and freedoms of citizens.* In substance, this is facilitated by the condition of the socialist society – the higher standard of living, the level of education and culture, the improved style and method at all levels of the state apparatus and its closer ties with the public. More energy and time are being devoted – at the lowest and the highest instances – to a thorough and impartial examination of the grievances, complaints and requests of individuals.

A further extension of the juridical and other guarantees of the rights of citizens, particularly of their protection in courts of law, is under examination. The matter is being discussed in legal periodicals and the general press.

Protection of the rights and

*A brief general account of the rights and freedoms of citizens in socialist society may be found in the supplement, 'The Political System of the Socialist Countries,' to *World Marxist Review*, No. 8, 1970.

freedoms of citizens presupposes stringent observance of established legal obligations. 'For us,' Engels noted, '*equal obligations* are a particularly important complement to the bourgeois-democratic *equal rights*, depriving the latter of their specifically bourgeois meaning' ('Critique of the Social-Democratic Program of 1891').

To protect the rights and legitimate interests of citizens, of society as a whole, the socialist state applies legally provided compulsion to persons offending against the law. Failing this, there can be no legality, no judiciary. There are no classes and no social groups in present-day Soviet society that would be hostile to the Soviet system. Yet occasional criminal acts, including acts of an anti-state character, still occur. Their nature, and the causes behind them, are by and large different from those in bourgeois society. Their dynamics tends to decrease, and the absolute and relative quantitative characteristics are incomparably lower than in the bourgeois world. Highly diversified work is carried on in the country to prevent and eliminate crime. And it is done on the basis of the law.

As time goes on the old anti-Communist, especially the anti-Soviet, clichés are becoming less and less credible. That is why bourgeois propaganda is trying to 'reanimate' them and goes out of its way to spot 'new' signs of 'political terror,' 'mass persecution of intellectuals' and other similar 'lawlessness' allegedly reigning in the Soviet Union. To do so, the bourgeois champions of law and

freedom (the concrete class orientation of which they, naturally, pass over in silence) are compelled to portray criminals as 'political refugees,' victims of 'national persecution,' and the like. One of the most recent pretexts for anti-Soviet insinuations, for example, was the fact that a few persons who had planned an armed highjacking of an airliner, were tried and sentenced in the Soviet Union. Punishment in accordance with law of criminals who committed a socially dangerous act (and, by the way, the criminal law of most capitalist countries qualifies air highjacking as a grave crime) was thus portrayed as an act of national discrimination and an offence against the equality of citizens.

The more 'perceptive' champions of capitalism also use more subtle methods of ideological propaganda. Acting in the spirit of the now fashionable theory of convergence, they look for institutions and categories in the latest Soviet legislation that are allegedly borrowed from bourgeois law. In so doing, they totally ignore the socio-economic and political content of these judicial forms.

There are, indeed, some forms in socialist law that resemble bourgeois forms in appearance. But that is not due to imitation or convergence. It is due either to certain economic circumstances (e.g., the reflection in civil law of some of the features of commodity production and exchange) or, quite frequently, to the fact that socialist law naturally uses and projects the best elements produced in the realm of legal forms throughout

man's history.

Socialist law and legality are indivisibly linked with democracy of the new type. Its development presupposes, firstly, a further consolidation of legality in the administration of the state and all other spheres of social life and, secondly, a steady extension of the rights and freedoms of every Soviet individual, his or her more active participation in the economic, political and cultural affairs of the country, and guarantees for his

varied interests and requirements. 'Every Soviet citizen,' L. I. Brezhnev said, addressing the electorate, 'should be sure that his life and health, his property, his rights, his dignity and tranquility are under the dependable protection of the state.'

That, precisely, is the substance of the matter. Socialism is building up a new, superior type of law, which organically combines the interests of society as a whole and the personal interests of citizens. *V. Tumanov*



The button

News Item: Colorado Springs – Scores of radio and television stations in the United States went off the air for up to 40 minutes after receiving on their news wires an erroneously transmitted presidential proclamation of a 'national emergency.' The incident generated anxiety and confusion across the nation.

My name is Wayland Eberhardt. I am an American and not very old – I've just turned 50. These past 15 years I have been working with super - sophisticated technology. All I have to do is press buttons, white, yellow, green.

It's all part of the technological revolution, and it's a great thing, believe me. Why, I can see the day when you won't have to use any physical or mental exertion to do your own job, even run the country.

Let's say one of us, an ordinary American, *homo sapiens vulgaris*, is sitting in his swivel chair with a row of buttons at his right hand. He presses the yellow one and a scientific expedition is on its way to a distant planet – a PR expert, two starlets and three battalions of Marines. He presses the green button and a computer gives

him a precise calculation of what he owes in Federal and local taxes. Then he can press the blue button and a movie will flash on a wall-to-wall screen, and what's more, you can change the plot, even bring in new actors, by pressing some more buttons.

Of course, it's all a dream. But in my mind's eye I can see myself watching a James Bond movie. James falls into the toils of an insidious Red plot, but I press the end button and Agent 007 makes short shrift of the enemy.

But what's this! I have pressed the end button, the red one with the warning on top: 'Use only in an emergency.' It's going to be some mess.

'Melvin, what's happened? How did I happen to get into this inferno?' Over the radio the voice had an eerie, sepulchral sound. 'I am still young and I stand a good chance of being re-elected next year.'

'Mr. President, I am afraid it's too late to discuss that.'

'It's never too late to report to your President. I want to know what's happened!'

'A slight misunderstanding. A

guy named Eberhardt pressed the wrong button.'

'Wrong button? What have you done about it?'

'I made a bee-line for the shelter and that's where I am now.'

'I'm not asking you about the shelter.'

'What is it you want to know, Mr. President?'

'What are you doing to prevent such tragic errors?'

'I've given orders that they shall never be repeated.'

'That's right, Melvin. Orders are the heart and soul of military discipline, even if they are not carried out.'

There was a pause before the voice came back:

'That doesn't help me much.'

'But you can take comfort in the fact that the international conflict has been resolved and there is to be an emergency presidential election next Tuesday.'

The embarrassing silence that followed was ended by the operator:

'Your time is up, you're keeping other people waiting.'

The line went dead.

No need to tell the reader that this is all sheer phantasy. Eberhardt's dreams are still very far from reality. U.S. Marines are not dispatched to distant planets. Their destination is much nearer: countries that had the temerity to declare themselves independent of the State Department and the CIA. The

American tax-payer does not have to use a computer to learn how much he owes the government – the tax collector takes care of that, and he can be just as effective as a computer.

And, of course, there is no need for a special presidential election next Tuesday. Besides, Mr. Nixon can speak to Mr. Laird over an ordinary phone. They can also meet face to face.

And it wouldn't be a bad idea if at their next meeting they discussed a question that is agitating people's minds in every part of the world: how to prevent the 'errors' which more than once have brought the world to the brink? People have not forgotten the time when nuclear bombs fell (but happily did not explode) at Palomares, or the smash-up of a U.S. plane carrying H-bombs in Greenland, or the wrong radar reading – a flight of geese was mistaken for inter-continental rockets! – that sent nuclear bombers towards the boundaries of the Soviet Union. Eberhardt's 'error' belongs in that category too.

There is logic to it all: the more 'errors,' the greater the danger of the fatal, irreparable 'error.' Do we have to wait for some Eberhardt to press that fatal button? Would it not be better to support the initiative of the peace forces and press another button, the one that would stop the arms race, and all aggressive actions, and give the world complete disarmament?

John Lafter

Papa Doc's black and white magic

Black magic – *magic as practised in league with the Devil.*

White magic – *magic or sorcery through divine agency.*

Dictionary definitions

The Great Electrifier of Men's Souls, Protector of the People, Benefactor of the Poor, Rectifier of Errors – these are some of the fancier of the many titles of Haitian ruler Francois Duvalier, more commonly known as Papa Doc.

Presumably some of these titles will be passed on to his successor, son Jean-Claude. At 22 he is a first-course law student and has six cars. The more skeptical might object that these are hardly the qualities needed to govern a country. But, then, Jean-Claude has another asset, a very decisive one, his father.

And in Haiti Papa Doc can accomplish the impossible. For instance, he made his son 'younger' when it was found that the boy could not manage to finish secondary school at a reasonable age. But now, with recourse to Black magic, he will probably double young Claude's age, for the Constitution explicitly provides that the President shall be at least 40. Alternatively, Papa Doc can amend the constitution or, for that matter, give the country a new one.

Papa Doc is also a great believer in white magic and a past master at political sorcery. And

the Haitians have seen plenty of both since he came to power in 1957. In 1961 he proclaimed himself re-elected, and in 1964 appointed himself president for life. Now, by another stroke of magic, he is transforming the republic into a hereditary monarchy which, he says, is best suited to 'the thoughts and ideas of the 20th century, the age of technology.'

But this confirmed believer in technology has reduced Haiti's economy to a disastrous state and its people to abject poverty. Per capita power output in the land of this Great Electrifier is one of the lowest in the world – on many a night even the capital is plunged into darkness. The average life span of Dr. Duvalier's subjects is about 32 years. Nine-tenths of the population are illiterate.

To keep the country in subjection, Duvalier has instituted a reign of terror carried out by his personal police, the Tontons Macoutes (Macoute, a folklore character, was a slayer of infants), who are helped – and often surpassed in brutality – by women terror squads, the Fillettes-Lalo. Wholesale arrests, house searches, torture, executions are all part of the Haitian scene. The prisons are always full.

Papa Doc and his regime are despised throughout the world, but he has been in power for 14 years now. How has he man-

aged, by white and black magic? Even official circles in the United States take a dim view of this murderous dictatorship in a nearby country. And a dim view in Washington usually means a quick ouster. But not this time.

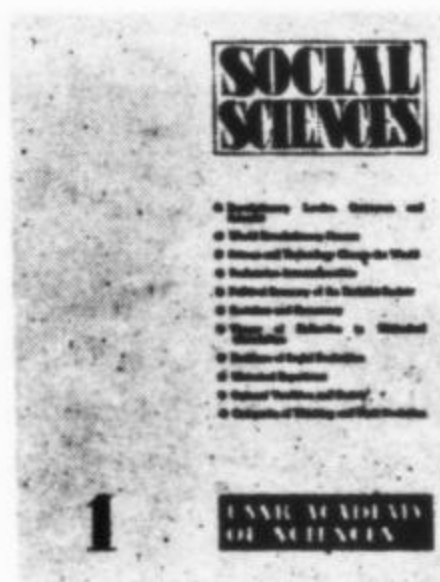
The explanation, apparently,

is that Papa Doc can count on favor in such places as the CIA, the State Department and several more. After all, the reactionary forces do not want to lose a man who has officially proclaimed his regime 'the Western Hemisphere bastion against communism.'

Ives Lumiere

new from the ussr

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ARGENTINA

The Victorio Codovilla Enrolment has already brought 3,500 new people into the Communist Party. It will last till January 6, 1972, when the membership is expected to have increased by 15,000. Today the Party has over 100,000 members.

DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF VIETNAM

The 19th Plenary Meeting of the cc, Working People's Party of Vietnam, discussed tasks in the fight against U.S. aggression, for national salvation, and steps to intensify economic activity and strengthen socialism in the North.

The meeting pointed out that the task of the Party, people and armed forces was to advance to complete victory, free the South, defend the North and bring about peaceful reunification of the country. The people are ready to fight shoulder to shoulder with the fraternal peoples of Laos and Cambodia and expel the U.S. aggressor from Indochina. They will constantly contribute to the solid-

arity of the socialist commonwealth and the world Communist movement, the meeting stated in a communique.

The Central Committee resolved to launch a broad movement for higher productivity of labor and for economy and closely to combine constructive effort with military operations, economic development with national defense. The meeting called for efforts to promote production, deal more effectively with the problems of food supply, clothing, housing, education and public health and at the same time to multiply the sources of accumulation, produce more export and achieve a balanced economic growth.

The main task in agriculture is to raise labor productivity, improve cooperative management, consolidate the state farms materially and technically and take measures for the early provision of irrigation facilities, the manufacture of artificial fertilizers, improve grain strains and create new opportunities for intensive farming.

To accomplish these tasks, the communique said, it is essential to strengthen the leadership of Party committees, improve economic management and heighten the militancy and efficiency of the Party membership and cadre.

PERU

A recent seminar on political education held in Lima was attended by members of the Political Commission, cc of the Peruvian Communist Party, central and district Party committees, members of the Central

Committee's national commissions in charge of organizing and trade union work, and Communist Youth leaders.

The seminar discussed the situation in the world Communist movement and problems of the ideological struggle, and Party building.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

The Presidium of the Czechoslovak Committee for European Security met recently in Prague. It commended the activity of the enterprise committees set up on the initiative of the Central Council of Czechoslovak Trade Unions to promote worker interest in problems of European security. The committees are made up of representatives of Party, trade union, youth and women's organizations and the League of Anti-Fascist Fighters. The committees use local press and broadcasting facilities of enterprises, trade union and youth meetings, club lectures and forums to carry on their work. They cooperate with other organizations in holding meetings of activists that are addressed by spokesmen of the Central Council of Trade Unions and the Czechoslovak Committee for European Security.

Early last December the Central Council of Trade Unions sponsored a meeting of delegates from 33 major enterprises of Bohemia and Slovakia to discuss the international situation and problems of the struggle for European security. The meeting heard accounts of the activity of enterprise commit-

tees, whose number has already reached 40 and goes on growing.

STRUGGLE FOR UNITY

VENEZUELA. The cc of the Communist Party, which held its Second Plenary Meeting in February 1971, resolved to support the initiative of the People's Electoral Movement and the Republican-Democratic Alliance aimed at setting up a Popular Front.

The meeting called on the Communists and all working people to participate in the setting up and work of people's committees which should become centers fighting for the people's demands, against imperialist and oligarchic domination, in defense of the nation's riches and national sovereignty.

The Central Committee stressed the Party's determination to seek unity of action with all democratic and patriotic forces in order to establish a powerful Popular Front that would deliver Venezuela from U.S. companies and make it genuinely independent.

GREECE. The 15th Plenary Meeting of the cc, Communist Party of Greece (February 1971), discussed, in particular, the situation in the country and the membership's tasks. K. Koliyanis, First Secretary of the Central Committee, said in his report that actions against the junta were multiplying and anti-dictatorial and anti-American sentiment was on the rise. The reason why the struggle has not yet become widespread is the lack of unity among the forces

opposed to the dictatorship and shortcomings in the Party's work among the masses. This prompted the meeting to pay special attention to problems of anti-dictatorial unity and Party building.

NORWAY. Provincial organizations of the Communist Party and Socialist People's Party have begun to cooperate in preparation for the communal elections to be held in autumn. The press reported the formation of a joint electoral bloc of these parties in the Stord Commune. It is believed that there are opportunities for such cooperation in every commune of Finnmarken Province.

URUGUAY. The country's progressive forces have formed a Broad Front. The founding meeting was attended by delegations of the Communist Party, Christian Democratic Party, People's Government Movement, Blanco People's Progressive Movement, FIDEL (Left Liberation Front), Socialist Party, National Party and a group of independents. All speakers stressed that the Broad Front would fight against the oligarchy and reaction, which had brought the country to a crisis and made it subservient to foreign monopoly interests.

The Broad Front is a result of the struggle for genuine democracy, against the government's repressive policy, that the working people, students and intellectuals have been waging for years. Its foundations were laid by FIDEL, brought into being in 1962. The election victory of the

Popular Unity bloc in Chile had a strong impact on the progressives of Uruguay.

The first plenary meeting of the Broad Front elected a Provisional Executive Committee of eleven, including R. Arismendi, First Secretary of the Communist Party's cc. The Committee adopted a founding declaration saying that the main purpose of the Broad Front is continuous political struggle and not merely election campaigning.

The declaration expresses the conviction that a just society meeting the interests of the nation and of progress cannot be built under a regime dominated by big capital. Dissociating from this system is a necessary condition for replacing its antiquated structures and winning real national independence.

FRANCE. The Communist Party, Socialist Party, Convention of Republican Institutions, United Socialist Party, General Confederation of Labor and French Democratic Confederation of Labor have jointly set up the French Committee for support of the Popular Unity bloc of Chile. Its purpose is to disseminate information about the program and the measures taken by the Chilean government and to foster French democratic solidarity with the Chilean people.

ECUADOR. Progressive political parties, trade unions and student organizations have set up a committee to form a patriotic national sovereignty front. The committee will strive to bring into the front diverse anti-imperialist forces of the country with the object of fighting for the nation-

nalization of foreign companies exploiting the resources of the nation, against the piratical fishing in Ecuadoran waters by vessels of U.S. monopolies.

Speaking at the Catholic University of Guayaquil, P. Saad, General Secretary of the Communist Party's Central Committee, said that the present situation could only be resolved by forming a popular and democratic government representing all fighters for national independence and social progress. He called for the unity of democrats irrespective of political views and religious beliefs, and of everyone else who wants a change in the situation at home and the condition of the people.

JAPAN. In the course of preparations for elections to local self-government bodies the Commu-

nist Party reached agreement with the Socialist Party to put forward joint lists of candidates in some prefectures. Last January K. Miyamoto, Chairman of the Presidium, CC CPJ, said that the Communist Party was willing to establish a standing united front with any forces accepting the three fundamental principles advanced by the CP: first, dissociating from the Japanese-U.S. military alliance and guaranteeing the neutrality of Japan, second, fighting against big capital's policy and pursuing a policy of protecting the people's life, and third, fighting against the revival and strengthening of militarism, for a democratic parliament.

T. Narita, Chairman of the Socialist Party's Central Executive Committee, said his Party was 'agreeable to K. Miyamoto's statement.'

DIARY

Our editorial offices were recently visited by Comrade Franz Muhri, Chairman of the Communist Party of Austria, Comrade Erwin Scharf, Member of the CC CPA Political Bureau and Central Committee Secretary, and Comrade Friedl Fuernberg, Member of the CC CPA Political Bureau, who were in Prague on the invitation of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia Central Committee.

In a communication to the Editorial Council and members of our staff, Comrade Muhri described the balance of forces in his country after the coming to

power of the Socialist Party government. Also, he told of the struggles of the Party for the vital interests of the workers and all working people. The speaker dwelt at length on inner-Party issues after the 21st CPA Congress, the Party's ideological work, and present tasks of the Austrian Communists and the work of the Communist youth organization.

Comrade Muhri also gave his impression of the talks with leaders of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, the trip across the country and encounters with its working people. Following the communication, the speaker replied to questions.



A DEVIOUS MOVE

A book by a group of British sociologists, 'The Affluent Worker in the Class Structure'* attracted the attention of the bourgeois, as well as the Communist press, because its writers endeavored to produce a critique of the fashionable 'conceptions of the 'embourgeoisement' of the working class (S. Lipset, W. Rostow, T. H. Marshall, P. Sweezy, R. Dahrendorf, H. Marcuse, and others). That, by the way, is not the first attempt at a critical approach to this problem. There was a number of papers by U.S. sociologists in the early sixties, criticizing some of the conclusions of bourgeois ideologists relating to the changes in the social structure of modern society.**

The writers picked the workers of Luton, a town in southeast England, situated at a distance from the old industrial centers and boasting higher wages and higher employment

*J. H. Goldthorpe, D. Lockwood, F. Bechhofer, J. Platt. *The Affluent Worker in the Class Structure*. Cambridge University Press. 1969. This is the third volume of a large-scale sociological study of the modern working class.

**S. M. Miller and F. Reissman. *Are Workers Middle Class?* *Dissent* (Autumn 1961); R. F. Hamilton. *The Marginal Middle Class: A Reconsideration*. *American Sociological Review*, 1966, No. 2.

than in other areas, as the object of their examination. They investigated the life and working conditions of a large group of chiefly skilled workers in three large modern enterprises – a motor works, a chemical factory and a bearings plant. Strikes are rare there. The administration employs a system of psychological and technico-organizational measures known as 'human relations in industry.'

It would seem, in other words, that ideal conditions obtain there for the 'embourgeoisement' of the working class. Yet on examining the psychological aspect of the workers' labor, their relationship with members of other brackets (office workers, junior technicians), their daily requirements and their social ideals, the writers drew the following conclusion: 'Increases in earnings, improvements in working conditions, more enlightened and liberal employment policies, and so on, do not in themselves basically alter the class situation of the industrial worker in present-day society.'

As the writers see it, 'trends of change in modern industry are not in fact ones which operate uniformly in the direction of reducing class differences and divisions.' The worker 'remains a man who gains his livelihood through placing his labor at the disposal of an employer in return for wages,' and the relative improvement of the living standard, changes in the structure of consumption and residence in 'middle-class' neighborhoods 'do not lead on, in an automatic way, to the integration of manual workers and their families into middle-class society.'

Denying that improvements in their material situation inevitably cultivate political conservatism among the workers, the writers discovered that 'manual workers can attain relatively high standards of living and still remain strong adherents of Left-wing or labor-oriented parties.' It would be a mistake to suppose, they write, 'that the economic and social attributes characteristic of vanguard groups within the industrial labor force are incompatible with their continued adherence to the traditional forms of working-class collectivism.' All this, they hold, is sufficient ground to question the 'embourgeoisement' concept.

This exhausts the positive element in the book. Having rejected 'embourgeoisement' as an overly tendentious concept, the writers employ more subtle arguments to substantiate what is an identical political conclusion, for the sake of which that concept had been invoked – the conclusion that the workers have 'forfeited' their revolutionary role. The reactionary complexion and fallacy of this latter notion have already been shown in Marxist literature. So we may confine ourselves to just the following.

The revolutionary quality of the modern working class is denied in the book on the evidence of an individual questioning of Luton workers. Their answers are in themselves interesting and instructive, providing prolific material for an examination of that field of social psychology definable as 'ordinary consciousness.' It is an established fact, however, that in capitalist so-

ciety not all workers, and not always, have a clear idea about the role of the proletariat in social development. More, not all working people are able to independently define the basic interests of their class: the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism, the building of a socialist, communist society. 'The question is not what this or that proletarian, or even the whole of the proletariat at the moment considers as its aim,' Marx wrote. 'The question is *what the proletariat is*, and what, consequent on that *being*, it will be compelled to do' (Marx, 'The Holy Family'). That is the difference between the objective class identity of people and their class consciousness.

Bourgeois ideologists are trying to exploit a certain improvement in the living standard of working people in the developed capitalist countries to cultivate 'consumer' ideals among the working class. At the same time, methods are being devised to 'integrate' the workers in the system of state-monopoly capitalism. That is an obstacle to the development of the workers' class consciousness. But the facts show that the workers' struggle is in present-day conditions becoming more and more purposeful and consistent. Even in countries where reformism is still dominant in the labor movement, there has been of late an appreciable growth of political activity. And it is this tendency that highlights the development of the working class in the present day.

It strikes the eye that nowadays bourgeois and reformist ideologists increasingly avoid

direct, head-on attacks against Marxism - Leninism (in particular, against the postulate of the world-historical mission of the working class), and prefer devious, camouflaged flanking attacks. That is why, precisely, the views of the writers of the book under review are worth a particularly close and critical examination. Besides, as Lenin

repeatedly stressed, any analysis of the processes and phenomena relating to the social psychology of the masses, presupposes an obligatory knowledge of empirical material, obtainable also from bourgeois sources. From this standpoint, the collective work of the British sociologists is of interest.

L. White

BOOKS IN BRIEF

Mezhdunarodnoye kommunisticheskoye dvizhenie (The International Communist Movement). A survey of strategy and tactics. Moscow, Politizdat, 1970. 415 pp.

In recent years a number of text-books have been published in the USSR for Communists studying Marxist - Leninist theory. Among them is this book, 'The International Communist Movement,' prepared by a group of researchers of Moscow's Institute of Social Sciences under the editorship of V.V. Zagladin.

The book covers a wide range of topics, providing an exposition of the fundamentals of Marxist-Leninist revolutionary strategy and tactics and touching on practically the entire set of questions relating to the activity of Communist and Workers' parties in the present conditions. Attention is devoted, too, to the problems of socialist revolution and its various forms, and of the different approaches to attain the main aims of the

movement. Right and 'Left' opportunism are subjected to well-grounded criticism.

The considerable factual material and well catalogued passages from the documents of international Communist conferences, the decisions of Party congresses and the speeches of Party leaders - all this will undoubtedly help the reader to obtain a fairly comprehensive idea of the world Communist movement, its problems and outlook.

A. Masyagin

G. CHATTOPADHYAY. *Communism and Bengal's Freedom Movement*. Vol. 1 (1917-1929). New Delhi, People's Publishing House, 1970. 179 pp.

The book deals with an investigation by a group of Indian Marxist historians headed by Shri Gautam Chattopadhyay, a prominent researcher. It tells of the founding of the Communist Party of India, of which the revolutionaries of Bengal, the country's most developed industrial area, became the nucleus. It is one of the first works on

the history of the CPI, and covers prolific factual material: reports of the colonial administration, press reports, and recollections of Communist veterans.

Of interest are the passages devoted to the influence of the Great October Socialist Revolution on the development of the liberation movement in India. The book deals also with the participation of Indian Communists in the work of the Second

Comintern Congress, focussing attention, among other things, on Lenin's discussion with N. N. Roy, the head of the Indian delegation. Though the book criticizes Roy, who underrated the role of the national bourgeoisie in the battle for political independence and the tactics of a united anti-imperialist front, the writer, regrettably, failed to set out Lenin's arguments, so relevant today, in sufficient detail.

M. Ahmad

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