

WORLD

Problems of

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Peace and Socialism

REVIEW

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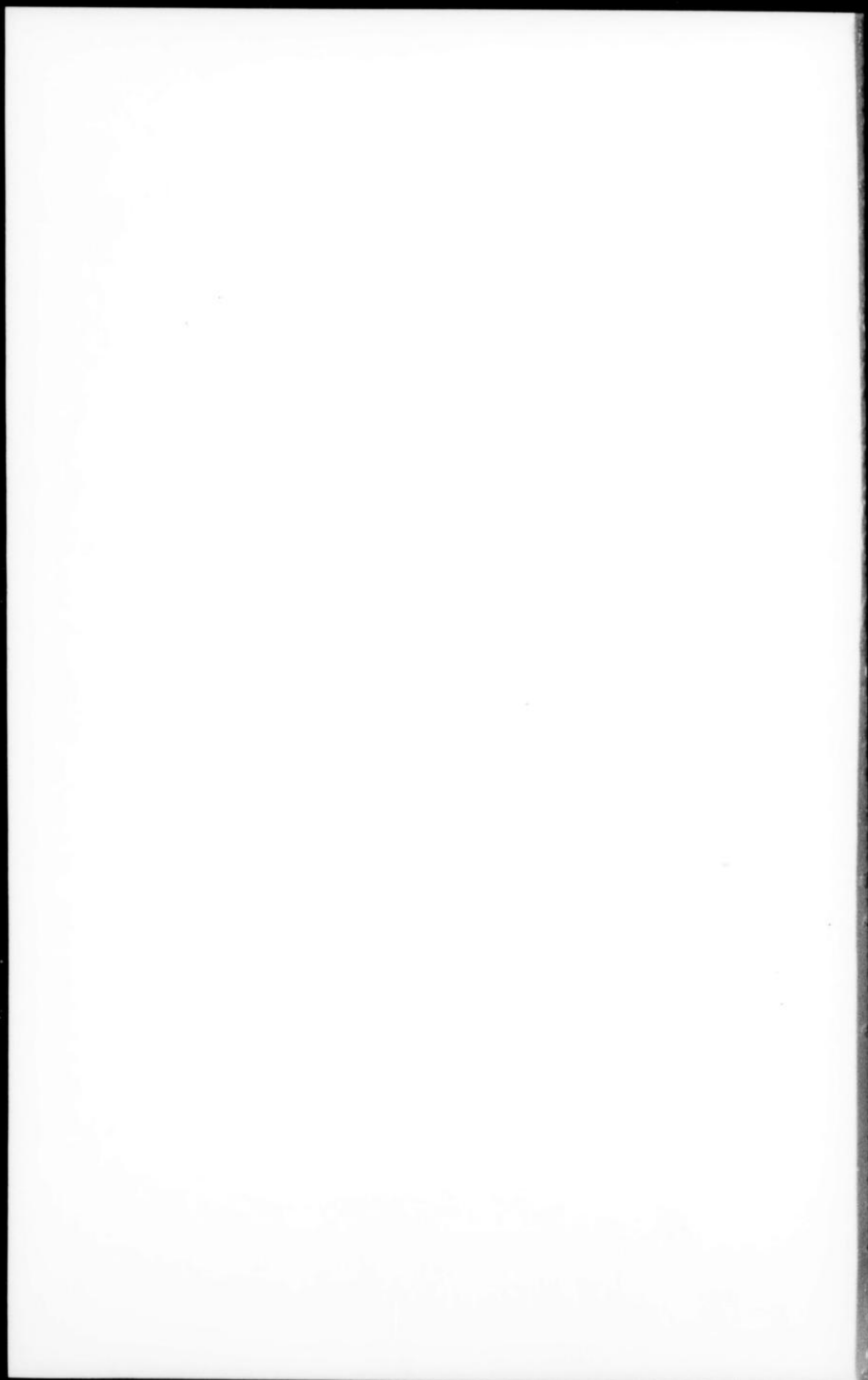
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— bourgeois versions**

**Youth movement in
capitalist countries**

**Agrarian reform in
developing countries**

**Neo-colonialist
division of labor**

**Crisis in
Morocco**





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

Theoretical and information
journal of Communist and
Workers' Parties

February 1972, Vol. 15, No. 2

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Our contributors

<i>Michael O'Riordan</i>	General Secretary, CP Ireland
<i>Luis Carlos Prestes</i>	General Secretary, Brazilian Communist Party
<i>Boris Velchev</i>	Political Bureau Member and CC Secretary, Bulgarian Communist Party
<i>René Urbany</i>	Executive Committee and Secretariat Member, CP Luxembourg
<i>Turdakun Usubaliyev</i>	Member, CC CPSU, First Central Committee Secretary, CP Kirghizia
<i>Manlio Lafont</i>	Executive Committee Member, CC CP Colombia
<i>Georges Cogniot</i>	President, Maurice Thorez Institute
<i>Tuure Lehen</i>	Veteran Communist, Finland
<i>Victor Tyagunenko</i>	Corresponding Member, USSR Academy of Sciences

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- Ninetieth birthday of Georgi Dimitrov
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Communique

on the Conference of representatives of Communist and Workers' Parties on the work of Problems of Peace and Socialism.

A regular Conference of representatives of Communist and Workers' Parties met in Prague on December 14-16, 1971, to review the work of *Problems of Peace and Socialism* in 1969-71. Delegations from the following 63 Communist and Workers' Parties took part: Communist Party of Austria, Socialist Vanguard Party of Algeria, Communist Party of Argentina, Bulgarian Communist Party, Communist Party of Bolivia, Brazilian Communist Party, Communist Party of Great Britain, Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, Communist Party of Venezuela, Guadeloupe Communist Party, Guatemalan Party of Labor, Socialist Unity Party of Germany, German Communist Party, Socialist Unity Party of West Berlin, Communist Party of Honduras, Communist Party of Greece, Communist Party of Denmark, Dominican Communist Party, Communist Party of Israel, Communist Party of India, Communist Party of Indonesia, Jordanian Communist Party, Iraqi Communist Party, People's Party of Iran, Communist Party of Ireland, Communist Party of Spain, Italian Communist Party, Communist Party of Canada, Progressive Party of the Working People of Cyprus, Communist Party of Colombia, People's Vanguard Party of Costa Rica, Lebanese Communist Party, Communist Party of Luxembourg, Party of Liberation and Socialism (Morocco), Mexican Communist Party, Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party, Nicaraguan Socialist Party, Socialist Unity Party of New Zealand, Communist Party of Norway, People's Party of Panama, Paraguayan Communist Party, Peruvian Communist Party, Polish United Workers' Party, Portuguese Communist Party, Rumanian Communist Party, Communist Party of Salvador, African Independence Party of Senegal, Syrian Communist Party, Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Sudanese Communist Party, Communist Party of the USA, Tunisian Communist Party, Communist Party of Turkey, Communist Party of the Philippines, Communist Party of Finland, French Communist Party, Communist Party of Ceylon, Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, Communist Party of Chile, Left Party—Communists of Sweden, Communist

Party of Ecuador, South African Communist Party, Communist Party of Japan.

Having discussed the Report of the Editorial Board and Editorial Council, the Conference gave a positive appraisal of the Journal's work in 1969-71 and noted its contribution to collective Marxist-Leninist analysis of pressing problems of the international Communist movement and world revolutionary development, and to the exchange of experience of fraternal Parties.

The Conference defined the program for subsequent activity of the Journal. The main task of the Journal is actively to facilitate, in close cooperation with the fraternal Parties, continued development of Marxist-Leninist theory, the propaganda of the ideas of international conferences of Communist and Workers' Parties, assist unity of the world Communist and workers' movement and all anti-imperialist forces in the interests of the struggle for peace, democracy, national liberation and socialism.

The Conference emphasized that constant assistance by all Communist and Workers' Parties is the earnest of the Journal's successful functioning. It appealed to all Parties to devote still more attention to their theoretical and information Journal.

The Conference was held in an atmosphere of mutual understanding and fraternal cooperation.



For people's unity, national liberation and for socialism

Michael O'Riordan

The 15th Congress of the Communist Party of Ireland was held in Belfast on October 16-17, against a background of exploding bombs, gunfire on the streets by British troops and the trundling arrival of more military reinforcements from Britain – including, ominously enough, the 22nd Special Service Regiment, experts in counter-insurgency operations and the psychological torturing of prisoners.

The Congress however met in a calm atmosphere. It was marked by the predominance of young delegates. It was also a great international occasion in the life of our Party because of the presence of fraternal delegations from the Communist parties of the Soviet Union, Britain, Bulgaria, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, the German Democratic Republic, Hungary, Poland, Rumania, France, Italy and the USA.

I. The Congresses of our Party seem to have the knack of coinciding with historic commemorative dates. Nineteen months ago, there was held the Special Unity Congress for the reconstitution of the Communist Party of Ireland. Formed in 1933, the party during the period of World War II divided into two parties, the Communist Party of Northern Ireland and the Irish Workers' Party in the Republic of Ireland. There were a number of reasons for that development: the conditions generated by the partition of the island into two states; the involvement of one state, as part of the United Kingdom, in the war, and the existence of neutrality in the other state.

The reconstitution of one united Communist Party of all of Ireland was an important political and organizational achievement, coming significantly a few weeks before the centenary of the birth of that great revolutionary figure, V. I. Lenin.

The 15th Congress was so named because despite the difficulties of the existence of two parties, nevertheless over the years, the Irish Communist movement retained at all times its political unity and continued the numbering of its Congresses since the foundation one of 1933.

The 15th Congress again coincided with another historic anniversary, the signing on December 6, 1921 of the Anglo-Irish Treaty in which, arising out of a preceding five-year period of revolt, mass resistance, rural and urban guerrilla warfare, the British were forced to give a degree of political independence to the major portion of Ireland. However, in order to obstruct the achievement of full liberation, London set out to implement a divisive plan now well known as 'The Partition of Ireland.'

Thus there came into being two states:

– *The Republic of Ireland* (population of 2.9 million) which since 1921, by unilateral legislative acts, has increased its degree of political freedom, but this has been, and is becoming more so, inhibited by strong British monopoly capitalist domination of the economy. The 'Irish' banks are part and parcel of the British banking system, and likewise most of the manufacturing industries, commercial concerns and insurance corporations are owned by the British.

– *Northern Ireland*, with its population of 1.5 million, in the North-East part of the island, was retained by Britain as part of its United Kingdom. It was given a local parliament called 'Stormont' from the name of the place where it is located. This parliament has only limited local powers and is completely subject to the British Parliament and Government.

Supposedly acting on the principle of giving a national minority who professed the Protestant religion the protective rights of British citizenship, the London Government, by the diabolical use of the device of partition not only split the island in two, but by incorporating in the Northern Ireland state a third of the population who were Catholics and who desired to be citizens in one united Irish state, they cunningly cultivated division also in the North.

Thus the members of the national majority became a minority in the artificial state which was created in Northern Ireland. There their position was used to divide Protestant and Catholic members of the working people from each other. Sectarian fears and passions were inflamed. The Catholic minority in the North were discriminated against in employment, and electoral constituencies were gerrymandered in order to give governmental power, on both a state and local level, to the Unionist Party, an appendage of the British Tory Party, and representative of the big landowning and industrial elements.

This state of affairs has been resented by the majority of the people of the whole of the island, and resisted by the minority within Northern Ireland by many forms of struggle, abstention from elections – and when elected – by boycott or obstruction within the Stormont Parliament, by struggles of civil disobedience and non-cooperation, and even by outbursts of armed force by some sections.

Having, over the centuries, instigated division between Protestant and Catholic and having created the state structure to aggravate it, the British have maintained with typical imperialist hypocrisy that

bitterness and tension was a feature peculiar to the Irish people, which, of course, the British decried (!). As was stated in the introduction to the Main Political Resolution at the CPI Congress, that whilst the tactic of 'divide and conquer' may have been invented by Caesar, it had not disappeared with the passing of ancient Rome. On the contrary, it has been perfected and brought to a fine art by the modern imperialists. Division was not a problem caused by Irish temperaments, it is the outcome of a technique of modern capitalism and imperialism which finds application in countries like Cyprus with its age-old history, in Canada with its comparatively recent history, and in the sophisticated society of the largest of the capitalist powers, the USA. Turk against Greek, English against French speaking, white against black, and in our own country Protestant against Catholic – and vice-versa, of course, in all cases.

Meeting 50 years after the physical division of Ireland into two states, the Irish Communists characterized the outcome of the purpose of this British action, which was to enable it to continue its rule in the North, and to strengthen its neo-colonial domination in the South. 'Both states,' said the Political Resolution, 'have been continually plagued with high unemployment, emigration, inadequate housing, low living standards and retarded economic development. After 50 years' existence, both states are monuments of failure to, on the one hand, the policy of Northern dependence on Britain, and, on the other, to indirect 26-County (i.e. Republic of Ireland) dependence.'

This is so because the North is but in fact an underdeveloped part of the British economic scene in which unemployment is always higher than in any part of the United Kingdom. (At present 8.8 per cent of the insured working population are without jobs, with the percentage of males being 10.5 and women 6.0; the degree of the discrimination against the minority can be seen in the percentage for Catholic areas, viz., Strabane 26.9 per cent, Dungannon 19.4 per cent and Derry which has 18.0 per cent unemployed.)

In the Republic of Ireland, the unemployment rate is 7 per cent, which is almost a constant figure there. Here it is relieved by a somewhat higher degree of emigration in search of work to Britain and the USA. The failure to build a better job-giving economy has arisen from the unwillingness of the bourgeois government to challenge the British monopoly domination, and by not doing what many later independent states did by taking over control of the banking system, heavy industry and other vital sectors of the economy by means of state companies.

II. The 50th anniversary of the Anglo-Irish Treaty which factually divided Ireland is not being celebrated in our country; the half a century of the British 'settlement' of the Irish question is being marked instead by an escalating situation of violence in which many lives are being lost, in which British soldiers have even shot down women in the streets, thousands have been forced to leave burning homes, people subjected in the streets and in their homes to baton-

ings and to C.S. gassing by the British troops, and the detention of 500 without trial, under the most brutal conditions.

Why this sharpening deterioration in the situation, now, in the 50th year of Anglo-Irish 'peace'? Throughout the entire period, of course, the situation has never been normal. In the chronic conditions of unemployment and bad housing the Unionist Party Government in its deliberate attempt to split the working people granted some privileges to the Protestant section of the working people. Whenever the danger arose, for them, of Protestant-Catholic unity being established, the government callously encouraged and organized pogroms against the Catholic working people.

This was the situation up to four years ago when the Civil Rights Association was set up to organize both the Catholic and Protestant sections of the people for a democratic change. A unity was established which terrified the Unionist Government whose own monolithic structure was split for the first time, between those who wanted to immediately crush the new united movement, and others whose similar alarm was tempered by the knowledge that over the 50 years changes had taken place in the balance of forces in the world.

British imperialism itself was in a crisis. Most of its once mighty empire was gone, it was contemplating joining the Common Market, and yet at the same time ensuring that Ireland remained a safe and secure place for British investment and market for its goods. (The Republic of Ireland, alone, ranks as the third biggest buyer of British products after the USA and West Germany.) In the preparatory streamlining of her economy, prior to joining the EEC, Britain set out to combine the economy of the two states in Ireland, and to encourage, not a unification of the people, but of the capitalists, on both sides of the border. The two Prime Ministers were encouraged to meet for the first time in the history of the two states, to make a businessman's agreement in the interests of the businessmen of the two areas, and of the British businessmen most of all, who anyway owned most of the businesses they but managed. Britain, whilst still trying to maintain its firm grip on the whole of Ireland, by *partition*, at the same time wanted to bring the island as *one unit* into the Common Market. Herein lay a contradictory problem for them.

Side by side with the schemes of the British, there was the agitation of the Civil Rights Movement, which, as mentioned, split the forces of the Unionist government. The Civil Rights Movement was met by repression in the streets, and it replied with resistance in the streets. In the fierceness of the campaign the political consciousness of the people developed, moving from the demand for elementary civil and democratic rights to the challenging of the whole political and economic role of British imperialism in Ireland. As the Political Resolution of the 15th Congress of Irish Communists said: 'In the new political situation caused by the tremendous resistance of the anti-Unionist forces to increased repression, the

issues of democracy, national independence and socialist ideas have been elevated to a higher level. The anti-Unionist forces have the energy and strength and, given correct political leadership and ideas, can replace the present Unionist administration by an alternative.'

In this manner was projected the strategy of the Communists. We recognize that the present political situation contains great dangers, even the possibility of civil war, but Communists in Ireland do not advocate civil war, rather is it our aim to promote civil unity, and to establish neither a Protestant nor a Catholic supremacy, but to establish the leading role and supremacy of the Irish working class. Dangers there are in the present situation, but at the same time there open up greater possibilities than ever before for the people of Ireland. These possibilities could be realized through the building of a people's alliance simultaneously in the two states and in Ireland as a whole. Such an alliance would lay the basis, first for an united opposition, and later for alternative governments to the Unionist one at Stormont and the bourgeois one of the Republic of Ireland. Thus, the perspective is the fight for the election of two progressive governments, in which there would be, for the first time in Ireland, two governments with similar democratic and anti-monopoly programs, which would bring about an entirely new situation in which the structural problems of forming one progressive government for the whole of Ireland would be tackled in a fraternal and peaceful manner.

What would be the platform of such a People's Alliance?

The first, and major, point would be the fight against entry into the Common Market of either of the two states. In the Republic of Ireland it will be necessary to hold a referendum on this question, as articles in the Rome Treaty conflict with the Constitution of that state. Northern Ireland's citizens will have no say in the matter as their fate will be decided, as part of the United Kingdom, by the British Government. The conditions therefore demand the maximum unity in the fight against the EEC by the peoples of the two states along with the British people.

The integration of Ireland into the Common Market would be a national disaster adding the exploitation of the huge European monopolies as extra burdens to be borne by the Irish people. It would commit the whole of the country to an imperialist war alliance; it would force the abandonment of the Republic's policy of neutrality; accelerate the already high unemployment in the North, force the closing down of many industries in the South, an estimated 20 per cent increase in food prices, and the virtual elimination of the small farmer. In the main sector of our economy, i.e., agriculture, there would be not only depopulation of the countryside, but an actual exodus from the island itself because there is no alternative employment to which a surplus rural population could move to.

It is not without significance that on many of the bullet-marked walls of the Catholic ghettos can be read the slogans which pro-

claim – 'EEC – No!' Equally significant is the fact that more and more of the Protestant workers, small farmers, fishermen and small businessmen are coming out against the Common Market. Thus in the midst of all the division there is the common denominator which creates the basis for united action, for a unity that would be basically anti-imperialist.

Other common demands would be the development of our natural resources by the state and the setting up of new state industries; the division of large estates and cattle ranches amongst the landless and small farmers, with government incentives including provision of machinery, seed, fertilizer and stock on favorable terms for co-operative farming; public ownership of inland fisheries and the equipping of our sea fisheries with the most modern boats and plants for processing, together with training schemes for crews, process workers and marketing staff; intensive development of rural industries using local raw materials, where possible, including food processing, a pharmaceutical and chemical industry, with extra investments in Irish-speaking areas of the country to help maintain traditional communities; the protection of the small and self-employed businessman and the prohibition of foreign-owned supermarkets.

III. Meeting in Congress the Irish Communists examined the present situation not only in the context of Ireland itself, but in the light of the causes of the declining position of British imperialism in the world system of monopoly capitalism over the last 50 years. The Main Political Resolution pointed out that this world system was itself in a state of crisis, which had been caused by the intensification of contradictions between the capitalist powers themselves; by the sweep of the national liberation struggles; the upsurge by the workers in the capitalist countries, 'and by the increasingly proven superiority of the socialist countries – of which the first and most powerful is the Soviet Union.'

The system of imperialism – the source of all Ireland's troubles – is weakening. In all capitalist lands unemployment is increasing, inflation is spreading, and even the USA, the mightiest of all the imperialist states, is experiencing a crisis of the once almighty dollar. It was recognized that as the system of imperialism was being defeated in the field, it was resorting increasingly to an ideological offensive against socialism, mainly in the form of anti-Sovietism, and to attempts to divide the working people by encouraging racial, political and religious sectarianism.

'The ever existing class struggle between Capital and Labor,' the Resolution stated, 'is being fought out in every capitalist country. On a global scale it is taking place between the forces of world socialism and world capitalism. The former has already altered the whole balance of world forces by its ascendancy and provides an example and a material base for the anti-imperialist forces. This is accelerating the inevitable decline of imperialism and creates favorable conditions for the Irish people to advance to full freedom.'

That small countries like Ireland were no longer alone or helpless at the mercy of imperialism was illustrated by the examples of countries like Vietnam, which, supported by the socialist countries and an international solidarity campaign, was able to successfully withstand the aggression of the powerful USA. Likewise there was the example of the other small islands like Cuba, and the ability of places like Cyprus, Malta and Iceland to take determined stands for their rights. All thanks to the change in the world balance of forces which would also enable the Irish people to win through to victory.

IV. The Congress was deeply concerned about a serious weakness in the Irish struggle for national liberation, the existence of a gap between the national revolutionary forces and the labor movement. There is a tendency in the former to ignore the great revolutionary potential of the organized working class movement. In the latter there is a strong economist attitude which obscures the recognition of the role of imperialism in Ireland, and is inclined to fall into the trap that Ireland's problems are internal.

The 15th Congress of the Communist Party of Ireland made a rousing call to the Irish labor movement to recognize the emergence, once again, of the national question, this time in conditions where British monopoly capitalism, though weakening in the overall context of the international capitalist scene, is tightening its grip over all spheres of the Irish economy by means of the merger of financial corporations, by industrial takeovers, large scale property purchases, and by towing behind it the two parts of Ireland into that European monopoly capitalist institution – the Common Market.

There is the vital need for the realization by the labor movement of the leading role of the organized working class movement in the struggle for national liberation. The present situation gives the Irish labor movement, particularly in the Republic of Ireland, a great opportunity to advance the organized working class to its proper leading position.

Though dominated economically, the Republic has the opportunity to challenge the British domination of Ireland. It never had but bourgeois governments who were not prepared to act in a sufficiently resolute manner to Britain, and the present Government, led by Prime Minister Jack Lynch, is in the weakest position of all because of its joint commitment with Britain to join the Common Market. Therefore, there exists the opportunity for the Labor Party, in the present situation, to seize the political initiative by demanding the withdrawal of the Republic's application for membership of the Common Market; the cancellation of the present Anglo-Irish Free Trade Agreement, not only as an act of political and economic pressure against Britain, but also in order to protect the jobs of thousands of workers whose livelihoods are being affected by its provisions, and by indicting the British Government internationally, at the United Nations, for its military and political conduct in the North of Ireland. Furthermore, since religious and quasi-religious

issues are being exploited to divide the people North and South, there should be the drafting of a secular Irish Constitution in which the entire people of the island should be involved in discussion.

The Communist Party occupies a unique position in Irish politics. It is the only working class political organization which exists on an all-Ireland basis, as well as being the only political party which has in its ranks people drawn from both the Protestant and Catholic sections of the working people. It is also both part of the, as yet, separated Irish labor movement and the national revolutionary liberation forces.

The Party's roots in the organized working class movement were shown by the presence of many delegates who are well known trade union figures, at the level of rank and file committees, shop steward organizations, trade councils, right up to the level of national trade union center leadership.

An eloquent testimonial to the respect for the Party's fight for national liberation was given by the presentation of two especially hand-painted handkerchiefs bearing greetings to the Congress which had been smuggled out of Long Kesh Internment Camp and from Crumlin Road Prison. The greetings from the prisoners were two completely independent and spontaneous messages.

The Congress met in an atmosphere of patriotic Irish anti-imperialism. It was not however just an event of national character; the presence of 13 fraternal delegations gave it also a deep internationalist dimension. At the close of the Congress deep brotherly appreciation was expressed at their attendance. It was pointed out that the fighting traditions of our people had a powerful internationalist content, such as the activity of the Irish Section of the International Workingmen's Association; the militant struggle of the Irish Marxist patriot, James Connolly, who fought against the imperialist war of 1914-18; of James Larkin who championed the cause of the Soviet Republic in its grim days of infancy, and of Frank Ryan, outstanding fighter in the international defense of the Spanish Republic. It was unanimously agreed 'that if ever the day should come when we would be less internationalist, that would be the sad day that we would become less Irish.'

V. The fight continues in Ireland. What has been described as 'the oldest struggle for national liberation' goes on. It takes many forms, such as the fight against going into the Common Market; the strengthening of the powerful mass civil disobedience movement whose 'no-rent' campaign has tied the Stormont Government in a knot; and the active opposition against growing unemployment and redundancies.

The Communist Party in both parts of the country has considerable experience in the latter struggle. It was foremost in the 1930s in Belfast in combining the Catholic and Protestant workless into one powerful movement that confronted the batons, bullets and armored cars of the Unionist Government. In the Republic in the 50s, Communists played the leading part in the agitation which

resulted in the unique election of a member of Parliament drawn from and representing the unemployed.

Whole new vistas of struggle have opened up after the 15th Congress. It is not a simple situation, however. In modern history, British imperialism stands not only as one of the oldest imperialist powers, it stands also as one of the craftiest and most cunning, which has created for the whole of the Irish people, in the 1970s, the most complicated of problems. More and more, however, it is being realized that the Britain of 1972 is not the great imperial power of 50 years ago. It is no longer quite as capable as it was a half-century ago of promoting civil war in the South, in order to frustrate the mass movement for independence and to ensure the continuance of its domination in Ireland with the cynical proscription of 'an economy in English lives.'

The previous Congress of Irish Communists, as mentioned, was the Congress of 'Party Unity.' The 15th Congress has laid the basis for 'People's Unity,' the weapon which will end the long domination of imperialism in our country.



Battle of Brazil's communists

Luis Carlos Prestes

It is eight years now that our country has been ruled by a military clique representing U.S. imperialism and its Brazilian partners, the landowners and big capitalists. It is the most reactionary of the military juntas that ever existed in Brazil. It has abolished even its own constitution and saddled the people with a fascist-type police regime under Institutional Act No. 5 of December 13, 1968. Parliament has been inoperative for nearly a year. All legal guarantees have been expunged. It has imposed a tight censorship. Violence and arbitrary rule reign supreme. Torture of political prisoners has become the favorite method of reprisal and intimidation. The death penalty has been introduced for so-called political crimes. Assassinations of 'Communist subversives' are commonplace.

This is arousing anti-dictatorial and anti-imperialist sentiment in all quarters. Mounting resistance to the dictatorship is an important element of the revolutionary, anti-imperialist struggle.

Accumulation of strength

The Brazilian Communist Party's Central Committee meetings in March and September 1971 stressed that accumulation of anti-dictatorial strength is gaining pace. Resolutions were adopted to expand work among the people and fortify united action by democratic and patriotic forces.

In the circumstances, the acceleration of this process is significant evidence that the Party's political and tactical line, challenged in recent years not only by some of our own comrades, but certain detachments of the world working-class and revolutionary movement, has been correct. The controversy was mainly due to ignorance of the concrete situation, particularly the nature and strength of the dictatorial regime that seized power in the reactionary military coup of April 1964, and to a misapprehension of the fact that the working-class, patriotic and democratic movement had suffered a serious defeat and could not but retreat.

The present dictatorship is backed by the North American imperialists. The country's size and population (95 million), her nat-

ural wealth and degree of industrial development, and especially her geographic and strategic situation make it the key to continued Yankee domination in Latin America. Arguing for aid to the regime (to the tune of \$2.5 billion over the past seven years), U.S. ambassador William Rountree told the U.S. Senate that Brazil is an essential support for the United States.

For imperialism loss of Brazil would be tantamount to loss of Latin America. It is therefore trying to make our country a base against other Latin American states and use our people as cannon-fodder for its military ventures.

Maintaining a tight grip on Brazil, imperialism can afford at times to relax pressure in other parts of the continent, less important strategically than our country. It may even make concessions, pretending that it has reconciled itself to the heavy blows delivered by the anti-imperialist forces. Its base in Brazil, it holds, will enable it to seize the initiative, provoke coups d'état through the CIA or even mount outright aggressions, as in the case of Bolivia in August 1971.

The 1964 defeat of the progressive forces caused a decline of the mass movement. However, thanks to our Party's steady and correct political line, the 'gorilla' generals were unable to crush the working-class and patriotic movement. Our retreat was orderly. We preserved our organization, which, though cruelly persecuted, continues its work among the masses. We were aware of the damage of unresisting retreat to the working-class movement, but also knew the unfavorable balance of strength. It would have been a crime to goad people into needless bloodshed.

Brazil differs from other Latin American countries (e.g., Mexico, Argentina, Chile, Uruguay) in several ways, particularly the extremely reactionary character of its state machine, which is an economic, as well as political force (the state is now a big investor and industrialist). Nor should we overlook the fact that slavery was not abolished until the end of the past century, when we proclaimed a republic.

The Communist Party, whose 50th anniversary we shall soon celebrate, was legal for a mere two years, semi-legal for a little over five and brutally persecuted for nearly 43. The reprisals were meant to prevent dissemination of revolutionary literature and the Marxist outlook. While in many other Latin American countries the liberation movement scored impressive victories, the anti-imperialist struggle in Brazil has been driven underground.

This means that available legal opportunities should be more boldly used to establish and consolidate bonds with the masses and rally them for the struggle against the dictatorship, for democratic freedoms. Work with the masses, the political resolution of our Sixth Congress (1967) says, requires 'perseverance in securing united action by all political forces and figures opposed to the regime.'

Against heavy odds, we have been successful in accumulating

strength. Despite our 1964 defeat, reaction proved unable to isolate the Party, to drive it to despair, prod it into reckless ventures, or diminish its influence among the workers.

The people's condition is deteriorating

Fascism is being implanted in a setting of growing discontent. Despite its all-out demagoguery, the people refuse to support the dictatorial regime, principally due to its economico-financial policy. On the pretext of combating inflation, it bows to the demands of the International Monetary Fund, causing a steep drop in wages and salaries, restricting credits to employers, and reducing civil servants' salaries to cut down government expenditure.

The national currency is declining. Before the 1964 coup the U.S. dollar was worth only 600-800 cruzeiros, while in December 1971 it cost more than 5,600, with the Finance Minister saying the cruzeiro rate would drop with the rate and prestige of the dollar. The sustained inflation stands for rising prices and, moreover, for a declining value (related to the gold content of currencies) of Brazilian production in the world market.

The long period of stagnation, however, has given way to industrial growth. The gross 1968 national product went up 13 per cent against 1967, that of 1969 by 9 per cent and of 1970 by 11. This is the result of grinding exploitation, higher taxes and the various funds through which the state is squeezing considerable resources from the population. The regime gets big loans from so-called international banks controlled by North American monopoly capital. Imperialist powers are stepping up investments. U.S., West German and Japanese monopolies reinvest the bulk of their vast profits, and also put in new capital, but to a lesser degree.

In 1971-72, Brazil will get \$1,989 million from abroad to finance projects in education, health, agriculture, transport, power and iron-and-steel, the Minister of Planning announced in Washington recently. What he did not say is that military allocations far exceed the sums earmarked for the above.

The country's foreign debt, in excess of \$5 billion at the end of 1970, continues to climb. If unpaid interest is added, the total debt is at least \$8 billion. As much as \$900 million, or 33 per cent of Brazil's 1970 export revenue, went abroad to cover debts and interest in 1971.

The growth of the industrial output and national product (an average 9 per cent annually) the dictatorship uses for propaganda ends, presenting it as a blessing for the people and a credit for the '1964 revolution.' But it is increasingly clear to our people that the benefits of growth go to the foreign monopolies and their local partners. Derived from more intensive exploitation of workers and other earners, industrial growth stimulates concentration of capital and production, increases unemployment, causes ruin and impoverishment of the vast majority, and tightens foreign capital's grip on Brazil's economy.

For the working class the 'Brazilian miracle' extolled by official propaganda means a decline in real wages. From 1958 to 1969 the size of wage-earners' families in Sao Paulo increased an average 19 per cent, whereas real wages fell nearly 49 per cent. To stop up the breaches in the family budget women and children are compelled to seek employment.

The distribution of the national income in Brazil, the UN Economic Commission for Latin America showed, is among the most unjust in the world. Some five per cent of the gainfully employed population (the most prosperous section) appropriates as much as 50 per cent of the national income, and even the capitalist press acknowledges that economic development is carried forward in the interest of the minority, while the elementary needs of the vast majority are ignored.

Greater concentration of production is pushing up unemployment. Far from increasing, the number of new jobs has dropped (from 589,000 in 1968 to 532,000 in 1969). In one of the north-eastern states with a population of 30,000,000, where a million new jobs are required annually, its governor pointed out, only 40,000 appear.

Health standards are deteriorating. Out of the country's 95 million population, the Health Ministry has announced, as many as 47 million suffer from intestinal worms, and 40 per cent of the 21 million children up to 6 years of age have various psychic disorders due to undernourishment. This disastrous situation is further aggravated by the shortage of doctors. Nearly half the municipalities, the Vargas Institute estimates, have no doctors at all, bigger cities have one doctor per 1,500 population, whereas the north-eastern state of Maranhao has but one doctor per 115,000.

The people are rising

The regime's anti-national and anti-workers' policy is incompatible with the concept of freedom. Terror, torture and violence make people live in uncertainty and fear. A repressive apparatus, comparable only to Hitler's Gestapo, is being built up in the framework of the armed forces.

Working deep underground, the Communist Party is able to operate only thanks to the aid of working people opposed to the dictatorship. People are looking for new forms of struggle to demonstrate their attitude to the regime, and organize and unite all wanting to participate in battling it. The process of accumulating strength is an arduous one. Struggle against a centralized state's strong military-terrorist organization is difficult and long.

Strikes have been declared a crime. But workers are finding new ways of stopping work and advancing demands. Dependent on the Ministry of Labor and corporative in character, the trade union movement is growing all the same. The membership of many unions has increased. Nearly 200 union papers appear across the country, and often manage to outwit the censorship and set forth the working people's demands.

Though the Ministry of Labor and police strike out suspected Communists from the list of candidates to union committees, the results of the National Congress of Industrial Workers, held in November 1970 on the initiative of the National Confederation of Industrial Workers,* the country's biggest working-class organization, show that BCP influence is on the upgrade. The dictatorship had intended to use this forum for demagogic ends. But the resolution adopted by the Congress was distinctly opposed to its wage policy and became a platform for legal struggle. We make good use of it in our work in the unions.

There was also a national congress of bank employees, which, apart from spelling out specific demands, adopted a striking and bold political declaration, stressing, among other things, that 'in a society in which the working people have no access to controlling means of production, they should be provided with social insurance,' that there should be 'an agrarian reform that would raise the purchasing power of the rural population,' that it is essential 'to prevent the denationalization of the economy' and that 'foreign enterprises are assuming control of the country's economy.'

There have been a few strikes recently, particularly in Rio de Janeiro and Sao Paulo. May Day demonstrations are becoming more massive despite police bans. In Sao Paulo, representatives of 21 labor unions gathered on a football field on May 1, 1970, with speakers addressing groups of workers. Many of the assembled were arrested, while a young steelworker, Olavo Hansen, was killed. The storm of protests had the effect of invigorating workers' solidarity and the unity of the trade union movement.

And last year, 26 unions representing 80 per cent of Sao Paulo's workers issued an appeal 'To the Workers and People.' It said: 'All we want is the right not to be mere onlookers of the process in the country. Being the main force, we want no one's guardianship. We demand freedom to participate in this process. We demand freedom of assembly, speech, discussion and the press, the right to suggest ways and means of protecting the national interests, our people and our class. This is why we call on the people to work for the successful effectuation of the resolutions of the Fourth Congress of industrial workers.'

Eager to organize, too, are the masses in the villages: the cruelly exploited farm laborers, tenants and small farmers, whose earnings are below the minimum established by law. More than 1,000 peasant unions representing six million, have sprung up. Many are under Communist influence, with Catholic priests working hand in hand with us. The demand for agrarian reform is more articulate. Small farmers defend their land against encroachments by the big landlords, often with arms. Even the government-controlled National Confederation of Agricultural Workers has no choice but to act in their defense.

The student movement is in ferment. At one time we had

*It should be borne in mind that under present legislation a single national trade union centre is outlawed in Brazil.

considerable influence among students. Then the ultra-Left groups, which raided banks, kidnapped diplomats and hijacked airplanes, managed to win over many of them. Not until their tactics were seen by all to be wrong and harmful did students turn to our Party for guidance and began a struggle for their demands, against reactionary legislation, particularly Decree 477 under which a student may be qualified as a 'subversive element' and suspended for three years from university for the slightest offence. The youth is now better organized and its initiative in the battle against the dictatorship more effective.

The vast majority of the intelligentsia, too, opposes the police regime, sparking the battle against press censorship and organizing solidarity with political detainees.

The Catholic church is rapidly changing its attitude (though at the outset it backed the 1964 military coup), due partly to the decisions of the Second Vatican Council.* Its main concern is to preserve ties with the masses unsatisfied with the dictatorship. In the beginning of 1971 progressive Catholic groups gained the majority in the National Conference of Bishops (a permanent body), which elected a former captive of the regime as chairman. 'An obviously progressive and anti-capitalist trend is building up inside the Church,' stressed a CC BCP resolution in September 1971. 'It opposes social injustice and the imperialist plunder of Brazil.'

Some bourgeois groups are beginning to show alarm over the tightening grip of monopoly capital. The press is calling for measures to protect the middle bourgeoisie.

Progressives nominated by the Brazilian Democratic Movement** were elected to federal and provincial legislatures in the November 1970 elections. A nationalist parliamentary group emerged, helping intensify the struggle against the dictatorship. Meetings held under the auspices of the Democratic Movement in Porto Alegre and Recife evoked a broad response. The so-called Recife Charter set forth a program of struggle for democratic freedoms, independence and social progress against the present regime.

Nationalist sentiment is growing in the armed forces, where covert and overt opposition to the anti-national policy of the dictatorship surfaced under the impact of the Peru events. The dismissal of one of the most reactionary officers from the Ministry of Aviation in November 1971 was but one indication of the increasing division in the armed forces and of the instability of the dictatorship.

Some of the Communist Party tasks

The Communist Party is the only organized political party in the country. Not only does it continuously fortify its bonds with the masses; it is also the main rallying force in the battle against the dictatorship, for the people's interests, for democratic freedoms.

We are aware that the weakness of the mass movement and the

*Held in 1962-1965 to renovate the Catholic Church and adapt it to changing world conditions.—Ed.

**A legal political coalition consisting of the remnants of bourgeois parties, including the Party of Labor, disbanded by the dictatorship. It opposes the present regime on a number of vital issues.—Ed.

absence of other organized parties is an impediment to unifying political trends and building an anti-dictatorship front. But this does not deter us from seeking mutual understanding with political movements and leaders, for we know that the task of the hour is to draw up a common program.

Here is what the resolution of the Party's September Central Committee meeting said on this score:

'We must offer broad sections of the Catholic Church joint struggle against torture, executions, for amnesty and restoration of democratic freedoms. We must offer the progressive Catholic trend joint struggle for a radical agrarian reform and, first and foremost, for the effectuation of the demands of urban and rural workers. . . . We must call on members of legislatures opposing the government to participate in extra-parliamentary actions . . . We must call on political trends and leaders to coordinate action to protect our national interests. While isolating agents of the dictatorship in the mass movement, we must offer groups in the Left movement united action for the demands of the working people, students, etc., based on our tactical line.'

Communists are forming Party organizations in the big enterprises and acquainting people with the Party's political and tactical line. The Party's central organ, *Voz Operaria*, is appearing regularly despite tremendous difficulties. The paper is transported across great distances, sometimes exceeding 1,000 kilometres. And it is read, though people know that if a copy is discovered in their possession they may expect arrest and torture.

Our Party's propaganda and communication facilities are far more modest than those of the dictatorship and U.S. imperialism. They have all the required resources and are undivided bosses of the press, radio and television. They persecute progressive film and stage people. Yet the political and tactical line of our Party is winning increasing support, chiefly because practice has proved it right, because we show firmness in combating opportunism, the inactivity of those who underrate the significance of popular unrest, and combating ultra-Leftism, which has been the gravest threat to the Party's unity in recent years and the biggest obstacle to the unity of the anti-dictatorship forces.

We were compelled to expel some members of the Central Committee in 1967. They held ultra-Left views, began splitting activities, and impeded preparations for the Sixth Congress, which, for all that, was highlighted by unity. They also obstructed our ideological struggle, which had been complicated from the outset by the differences in the world Communist movement.

The Maoists, it will be recalled, tried to divide our Party. They aided in organizing the so-called Communist Party of Brazil, which was rejected by the people for its blatant anti-Sovietism and now no longer represents anyone. Then came such people as Marighela, who exploited the prestige of the Cuban revolution for their own ends and endeavored to 'perform the revolution' with armed groups

in total isolation from the masses, while at the same time seeking to eliminate the BCP. Harping on Debray's ideas, they maintained that a revolutionary party would emerge from guerrilla struggles and that, hence, action was the prime factor.

Numerous ultra-Left groups sprang up across the country after 1967. Their activity was stridently advertised in the bourgeois press, which tried to implant the notion that the BCP had fallen apart. Yet our Party remained united. Its losses were relatively small.

We are convinced that most of the ultra-leftists, many of whose leaders were brutally murdered by agents of the dictatorship, are simply misguided patriots. We did everything we could to win them over to our side, and have been fairly successful, especially among students, who comprised the core of these groups.

Inexperienced young people despair easily in face of the gloomy outlook under capitalism. They know nothing of the proletarian teaching and the history of the revolutionary working-class movement and are easily swayed to participate in reckless ventures, for the youth is militant and high-minded.

As we Communists see it, the process of isolating and defeating the dictatorship requires expansion of the mass struggle and consolidation of democratic unity. Nothing is to be gained from foolhardy ventures lacking mass support. That will not bring down the present regime.

The struggle ahead, we know, will be arduous. Growing resistance will whittle away the dictatorship's socio-political base, and the more it reveals its anti-people's essence through repressions and atrocities, the more precarious its position will become.

The dictatorship, the political resolution of our Sixth Congress pointed out, may impose on our people the way of armed uprising or civil war. We should therefore prepare the Party and the masses for all forms of struggle.

To use the great Lenin's words, it is difficult to be a revolutionary when the conditions are still unripe for a direct, open, truly massive struggle. But we are sure that despite all difficulties the people of Brazil will perform their revolutionary duty under the leadership of the working class and its Marxist-Leninist vanguard.



Cooperation with the socialists-- successes and difficulties

René Urbany

As in other capitalist countries, the class struggle in Luxembourg is becoming more acute, and involving an ever greater number of people. This underscores the importance of cooperation between the Communist Party of Luxembourg and the Socialist Workers' Party (SWP).

At the beginning of last year a split occurred in the SWP, the second largest party in the country and until 1968 member of the government coalition with the Christian-Socialist Peoples' Party (CSPP). This led to a shift in the balance of political forces. Briefly, here is what happened.

In 1968 the Socialists suffered a serious defeat in the partial autumn municipal elections, a 'trial balloon,' and the pre-schedule winter parliamentary elections. The same thing happened in the 1969 general municipal elections. Out of their 21 seats in Parliament they lost three and forfeited their majority in most of the cities, including the capital. The Communists, meanwhile, were very successful, increasing their vote from 12 to 15.5 per cent, which gave them six seats in parliament. Communist positions in the communes, too, were consolidated.

This accelerated the process of differentiation in the SWP, widening the gap between its Right leadership and party elements close to the trade unions. The party crisis erupted in 1970 after the formation in Esch-sur-Alzette, an iron-and-steel center and second largest city in the country, of a municipal council of Communists and Socialists headed by a Communist burgomaster. The Right SWP leaders, who opposed cooperation with Communists, formed a social-democratic convention (SDC), the nucleus of a new party.

In December 1970 the SWP convened an extraordinary congress. When the overwhelming majority (109 to 47) voted for a resolution condemning the formation of the SDC as a violation of the party rules, the Right leaders and their supporters left the hall. In January 1971 they announced the formation of their own parliamentary faction, which included 6 out of the 18 Socialist deputies. And finally at the Bettembourg Congress on March 14, the Right Socialists founded a new party—the Social-Democratic Party of

Luxembourg (SDP). The Party's candidly non-Marxist, anti-Communist program is a pronounced shift to the right.

After the founding of the SDP, the 56 seats in Parliament were divided as follows: CSPP - 21, SWP - 12, Democratic Party - 11, CP Luxembourg - 6 and SDP - 6. The defeat of the SWP in the elections put the Democrats (liberals) in the place of the Socialists in the government coalition, where the CSPP had been in undisputed control for many decades.

The differentiation among the Socialists is further proof of the conclusions of the 1969 International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties concerning trends among Social-Democrats: 'Facts and the experience gained by the working class in the course of their struggles, and the sharp criticism of opportunist views by the Communist parties - which remains a constant task - deepen the crisis of reformist concepts. A differentiation is taking place in the ranks of Social Democracy, and this is also reflected in the leadership. Some of the leaders come out in defense of monopoly capital and imperialism. Others are more inclined to reckon with the demands of the working masses in the economic and social fields, and in the questions of the struggle for peace and progress.'

It has been many years since the Right Socialist leaders shifted completely to monopoly capital positions. Ignoring the experience of the 20s and 30s, when the workers acted in unity against exploitation and reaction with signal success, the SWP leaders placed themselves at the disposal of the clericals in 1937 and become their political handmaidens and accommodating partners in the government. After the Second World War they were wholehearted adherents of the cold war policy, precipitating the dissolution in 1947 of the National Union government (which included a Communist minister), and formal renunciation of our traditional neutrality, with Luxembourg's subsequent entry into NATO.

For all of 20 years, in the government coalition and on the opposition bench, the SWP has been a zealous guardian of the capitalist system, with the special assignment of influencing the trade unions in the spirit of the specious so-called social partnership theory. It was a strong supporter of European integration, was prepared to relinquish national independence in favor of the Schumann plan and the EEC, and even tried to outdo the CSPP politicians in anti-communism.

The Socialist leaders whipped up an anti-Communist hysteria in the country over the Czechoslovak events of August 1968. They led a so-called national campaign against the Communist Party, which firmly supported the internationalist action of the five Warsaw Pact countries. By order of the SWP leadership, which proclaimed the slogan, 'No Cooperation with Communists,' the municipal councils in Beles and Differdange comprising Communists and Socialists, were dissolved. But the interim municipal elections provoked in both cities brought about events which ended in the final split in the SWP.

The 'trial' elections in Beles and Differdange were a convincing victory for the Communists, whereas the Socialists, CSPP and liberals suffered losses. This was soon followed, and not least due to the serious differences among Socialists, by the CSPP-SWP government coalition crisis. And the 1970 municipal elections in Esch-sur-Alzette were a real triumph for the CPL, with Communist votes rising from 23.7 to 27.9 per cent. The Communists reached agreement on a coalition with Left SWP deputies and were thus able to get the burgomastership for their own representative.

It is important to analyze the reasons for the SWP election defeat and split, on the one hand, and the consolidation of Communist positions and the growing desire for unity among the Left forces, on the other.

The Socialist leaders, blinded by anti-communism, figured in 1968 that the time had come to deliver an annihilating blow to our Party. But they had misread the objective political situation and the sentiments of the people. The illusion of 'social partnership' and the hope pinned on European integration, especially on lower prices following the lifting of customs duties, have vanished almost completely. Greater capitalist exploitation, labor speed-up, and declining buying power while monopoly profits kept rising – all this evoked mounting dissatisfaction among the people.

It is not surprising, therefore, that in the 1968-1971 elections the Socialists were the target of general dissatisfaction and had to pay for old scores. For almost 13 years they had shared responsibility with the CSPP for government, affording the clericals every opportunity to follow a reactionary policy.

Why did the defeat of the Socialists not lead to a redistribution of votes chiefly in favor of the bourgeois parties, particularly, the liberal 'opposition party'? Why did it lead to a significant consolidation of Communist positions? Why was the differentiation in the SWP so rapid and so profound that it made a split unavoidable? It is not immodest at all to say that this was the result of the many years of consistent Marxist-Leninist policy followed by our Party.

Even at the height of the cold war the Communists used every opportunity to fight for the interests of the working people. In Parliament, at enterprises and in the communes they always combined their work for working-class unity with consistent exposure of reformism and opportunism. The daily Communist press played a big part in this, building up continuous political contacts with the working class.

By their daily efforts the Communists won the trust of ever growing sections of the working people and, supported by them, were able to organize joint action. Back in 1965 they succeeded in amalgamating in one federation all the trade unions leaning towards the Socialists and Communists.

Analyzing the political events that accelerated the positive development since August 1968, one should not forget yet another important factor. Thanks to the confidence of the working people,

the Communist Party was able to show the relation between the events in Luxembourg and the international class struggle. The Party always combined its actions against the regime of capitalist exploitation with explanations of the historical inevitability and advantages of the new social system built in the socialist countries. The Communists never tired of explaining the peaceful policy of the socialist community, pointing to the decisive role of the Soviet Union in the struggle for peace and process. The Luxembourg Communists never made a secret of their fraternal ties with the CPSU and their unshakable fidelity to the principles of proletarian internationalism.

Considering the fact that even during the 1968-1969 communal elections the attacks of bourgeois reaction and the Right-wing Social-Democrats, mainly built on international arguments, we cannot help concluding that the successes of our Party were largely the result of its correct class stand in international affairs. If the Party had retreated from its positions on the international plane, the working people would have lost faith in its tenacity in the class struggle at home.

The Communists are fully aware that the successes of recent years are not reason enough to rest on their laurels. On the contrary, fresh effort is needed and the main task is to correctly appraise the present, anything but simple situation and utilize all existing opportunities to attain new success.

The growing political influence of our Party and the split in the Socialist Party undoubtedly offer fresh opportunities for cooperation between Communists and Socialists and for the formation of a united front of Left forces. The first concrete results are already at hand. The principles of cooperation employed in the trade unions are, to some extent being applied in the communes. Esch-sur-Alzette has a municipal council comprising Socialists and Communists; in three other communes of this industrial area – Differdange, Ruemelange and Kasyl-Tetingen – the municipalities are headed by members of the Socialist minority, who are supported by Communists.

Of course, these results reflect but weakly the trend towards unity among the working people, accentuated by the sharpening of the class struggle. They do not correspond to the existing opportunities for building up cooperation and joint action by Communists and Socialists. The prime reason is that the split in the SWP has not completed the process of differentiation among Socialists. After the extreme Right leaders and their supporters were expelled, leadership in the party was assumed by the so-called 'socialists of the center,' mostly former ministers, lawyers and Left petty-bourgeois elements. Under the pressure of events they are making some concessions to the trade unions and other working people's groups in their party. However, they still swear by the idea of 'class cooperation,' reject a united front of Left forces and are doing their utmost to maintain the reputation of the SWP among the ruling bourgeoisie as a party capable of shouldering 'government responsibility.'

The first SWP Congress after the split, held on June 19-20, 1971, did not outline a clear Left course. A rather muddled program document was adopted, which takes no note either of the bitter experiences of the past or of the demands of the present. True, not in many years had the Congress, as it has now, noted that 'class contradictions continue in Luxembourg' and stated its purpose of establishing a 'socialist society,' signifying 'true' democracy, rule by and for the people. However, the ways and means of attaining this goal, as outlined by the Congress, are still within the framework of the old reformist programs. The new Socialist program does not even mention working-class unity – the workers' main and only reliable weapon in resisting and finally overcoming monopoly capital rule. The SWP only stated its readiness to form 'tactical' coalitions with 'other parties,' but declared its opposition to 'ideological and political alliances.' Expressing its point of view concerning the results of the Socialist congress, the CC CP Luxembourg noted the positive fact that the SWP in principle no longer rejects a coalition with Communists. However, the CC CPL expressed its disappointment that the Socialist Party, ignoring past experience, rejected the idea of a united Left front.

The intentions of the present leadership to obstruct broader cooperation with Communists is evidenced, among other things, by the Congress decision to preserve the 'status quo' in the southern communes. On the one hand, this signifies official recognition of the Left coalition in Esch-sur-Alzette, while, on the other, it shows that in Differdange, Ruemelange and Kayl-Tetingen Communists will not be included in the municipal councils they support, which are headed by representatives of the Socialist minority. This is tantamount to violating agreements signed by Socialists in these communes.

Many CC CPL documents stress the necessity of further strengthening cooperation, which has proved valuable in trade union and municipal work, and elevating it to a national level in the political context. Communists have repeatedly stated their readiness to reach agreement with Socialists on a joint program that would protect the working people's social and political rights from monopoly capital pressure, and carry out urgent social reforms.

Speaking at the CC CPL at the end of 1970, Party Chairman Dominique Urbany examined the new processes in the SWP. He mentioned the possible significance of a Socialist orientation on unity. 'The new policy of the SWP, aiming at cooperation with all Left forces, principally the Communists,' he said, 'could also create the prerequisites for the success of both our Parties at the next elections and for the victory of the workers' movement.'

Social contradictions in Luxembourg have become more acute of late and more working people are becoming involved in the struggle. Railway and transport workers, civil servants and employees of the state sector and artisans have held demonstrations in the capital. In the big industries the management refused to

meet trade union demands for a 12 per cent wage increase, and this may precipitate a broad struggle for higher wages. The ferment in the country threatens to undermine the government. An open crisis has been avoided solely because the clericals, who have been in power since the SWP split, were deprived of their traditional 'reserve partner' and are wary of new elections.

In our opinion, this course of events will facilitate the cleansing process in the SWP and a further clarification of positions. 'With or against the working class?' – this is the question facing the Socialists and they are finding it extremely difficult to evade a straight answer.

The community of goals and aspirations of Communists and those Socialists connected with the working class, leads to joint struggles for the people's demands, against rising prices and inflation, for higher wages, broader democratic rights, especially those of workers and their representatives in enterprises, for genuine participation in management, a more democratic system of education, etc. And the more energetically Communists fight in this struggle, serving as a model, the more popular the idea of unity becomes.

Last year's February elections to the production councils confirmed this. At the metallurgical plants where the councils include Communists (CP members head the councils in three of the four largest plants) the Luxembourg Workers' Federation (the united trade union) was able not only to preserve its majority, compared with the United Christian Unions, but also to consolidate its position.

Of course, difficulties and problems also arise after concrete co-operation is established between Communists and SWP members. For instance, during the trade union negotiations for new collective agreements in the big industries, the Communists were not able to defeat the rash Socialist motion demanding that unorganized workers should pay a compulsory contribution to the union.

Communist efforts for cooperation and united action with Socialists should not be allowed to eclipse Party work. Trade union or any other activity cannot be of greater significance than the activity of the Communist Party, and cannot substitute for Party work. To lose sight of the task of consolidating the influence of the Communist Party is to deprive the struggle for unity of its militant, revolutionary content and to doom it to failure. Recent political developments in Luxembourg have shown that the growth of unity is proportionate to the growth of Party influence.

Action in line with the principles of the Marxist-Leninist working class Party is the right guide in distinguishing between permissible and impermissible compromises and avoiding what Lenin described as 'obliteration of any distinction between opportunism, against which we are waging, and must wage, an unremitting struggle, and revolutionary Marxism, or communism' (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 31, p. 69).

To solve the new problems, the Communists must have not only a strong Party organization, but also ideological firmness and soli-

curity. This was pointed out by the 1969 International Meeting: 'This policy of unity affords the working-class movement greater opportunities in the anti-imperialist struggle and makes it possible to bring into this struggle that section of the proletariat which is still unorganized or still follows bourgeois parties. Communists will improve their political and ideological work with an eye to securing working-class unity.'

Ideological firmness is also necessary to continue the struggle against reformism and Right opportunism, which is an obligatory condition in consolidating cooperation with the Socialists and creating a political alliance of Left forces against the bourgeoisie and reaction. Neither will be achieved without effort, without effective ideological work, without wise tactics. But if for the sake of an abstract unity Communists agree to relegate their Party to the background, if they fail to expose the fallacy of reformism from Marxist-Leninist positions, this will not help to clarify the fronts of the class struggle, will weaken their ranks and reduce to naught their success in the struggle for unity.

We are aware that our powerful and treacherous class enemy is alarmed by our successes. He will not hesitate to use all anti-Communist means at his disposal, and will encourage Right and 'Left' opportunists to prevent any further headway by the Communist Party.

The CP success in the last elections and the resultant working-class consolidation prodded the Maoist and Trotskyite groups into feverish subversive activity. These adventurist petty-bourgeois elements focussed their attention on the metallurgical enterprises, handing out propaganda against the Communists and the unions. They are apparently out to confuse the workers and prevent united action and, as the clericalist government newspaper remarked elatedly, 'to force the Communists to fight on two fronts.'

In a resolution dated September 19, 1971, CC CPL described 'Left' activities as aid to the bourgeoisie and reaction and 'a particularly obnoxious variety of anti-communism.' The CC said it was the duty of every Communist to be uncompromising in exposing these adventurists and provocateurs, to fight them no matter where they appeared. In spite of the hue and cry raised by the Right and 'Left' ultras, our Party will continue the struggle for social progress, peace and socialism, the CC resolution said, consolidating the successes of recent years achieved through Marxist-Leninist policy and fidelity to proletarian internationalism. Attaining working-class unity and cooperation of all progressive forces we consider the prime task.



Communists and the youth movement in capitalist countries

E. Blanco: The struggle of Spanish youth is inseparable from the mass movement of workers, peasants, students and intellectuals against the Franco dictatorship, for democratic freedoms.

Spain has a young and dynamic working class: in the June Franco-organized trade-union elections most of the elected were between the ages of 20 and 28, and the same figures hold for Workers' Commission leaders. Our young workers proved their militancy in the recent strike of 100,000 Madrid builders and in strike actions by metal workers. Young workers' commissions have been started in factories with a large proportion of teenagers. Organization is taking root also in the vocational training schools set up by the regime. The harsh regimen, coupled with ideological indoctrination, is meant to ensure that the future worker will not join the labor movement. But last year the 7,000 trainees at one of the biggest centers, Alcala-de-Henares, struck for better conditions and against the ban on meetings.

Young people are active also in Catholic and other legally functioning clubs and in residential areas, where they have organized street demonstrations, rallies, leaflet distribution, etc. Note should also be taken of the role of young workers emigrating to other countries. In France, Switzerland, Belgium and West Germany they take an active part in the fight against capitalist exploitation. On June 20, 1971, they were among the 60,000 who demonstrated in Paris and were addressed by Dolores Ibarruri and Santiago Carrillo.

The peasant youth is having an especially hard time, for Spanish agriculture is following the Prussian path, forcing many young peasants to look for work in the cities or abroad. But in Andalusia and some other regions they have been active in strike struggles, the farm laborers' strike in Cadiz and Seville, for instance.

Education, or rather the woeful lack of it, is causing a good deal of concern. Nearly one million children do not attend school and the new education law has, if anything, made things worse still. Little surprise, then, that there is a mounting movement among

Concluded from last issue of WMR (No. 1, 1972).

secondary school pupils, and it is exerting a definite influence on teachers. Schoolchildren were on the picket line during the Madrid builders' strike. This is but one example of their militant spirit.

The student movement has since 1965 concentrated on the right to assembly and more representation as a means of furthering democratic university reform and giving the students a direct part in the fight against repression and the dictatorial regime. In 1969 the regime countered by ordering permanent policing of all universities, so that today you come across policemen in the auditoriums, libraries and student hostels. But even in these difficult conditions the students have forced the government to consent to elections of student representatives. And the students have challenged the principles governing instruction in the sciences, medicine, philosophy, economics. More, they have combined the fight for these specific demands with the political fight against Francoism.

Since 1965 the Communist Party has been the biggest and most influential force in the universities. Other groups at first tried to follow a different policy, but now accept our Party's leading role.

The newest and most interesting feature of the university movement is, perhaps, its tremendous impact on the intelligentsia—doctors, teachers, lawyers. The new intellectuals continue the methods they used in their student days. These include meetings to discuss their problems and the class implications of their work. During general doctors' strikes the demand was not only for higher pay, but also for overall revision of the medical and social welfare services. The 1970 three-month teachers' strike highlighted the need for radical improvement of the educational system. Significantly, the strikers sought contact with the Workers' Commissions, which gave the strike a clear social coloring. Another characteristic feature: practically all participants in these strike actions graduated university only four or five years ago, but as a rule they are highly skilled specialists. The average age in last spring's strike of psychiatrists was 27-28, and the leaders were in their early thirties.

Young people are well to the fore in the Catholic Renewal movement. That is evident from the anti-Francoist attitude in such organizations as Catholic Youth and among young priests, many of them closely associated with the Workers' Commissions. Young Catholics are prepared to, and do, cooperate with the Communists.

The present level of Spain's movement is the result of our Party's efforts creatively to apply Marxism-Leninism in Spanish conditions. And the youth has been most receptive to the unity policy the Party has consistently pursued over the last 30 years.

The Party tries to follow a flexible and tolerant policy in relation to 'Left' groups, proving to them that there is no party left of the Communists. And when the time for action comes, when the situation is ripe for decisive battle against the regime, it will not be rhetoric that will count, but ability to shape a policy that will carry the movement forward on a revolutionary path. And only the Communist Party has such a policy. The 'Left' is constrained to admit that, even to accept our line.

Marxism-Leninism is exerting an increasing influence on the masses, notably the youth. A large number of progressive publishing houses were founded five years ago and many of them are under Communist direction. All the works of Marx have been legally published and enjoy a wide readership – they are even read by 15-year-olds.

The Young Communist organization is made up mainly of teenagers, boys and girls in the 13-20 age group. It enjoys a wide measure of autonomy, independently analyzes youth problems, implements Party policy among the youth and has its central organ, *Horizonte*, and eight provincial newspapers.

M. Pereira: In an underdeveloped country like Paraguay, ruled, moreover, by Stroessner's military-police dictatorship, the development of the youth movement was bound to have many peculiarities. All our young people are opposed to the regime, but the most militant expression of that opposition comes from the students. Their demands are for university autonomy, lower tuition fees, abolition of the numerous obstacles to higher education. Most university graduates cannot find work in Paraguay and are forced to emigrate.

Latterly, students of Catholic universities and colleges have been more active in the movement. To this should be added that many Catholic priests are involved in the campaign for the release of political prisoners, in the defense of human rights and against persecution of trade union leaders. Many activists of the Rural and Christian League do not hesitate to cooperate with our comrades in defense of the peasants, for agrarian reform, against evictions and unfair prices on farm produce.

Paraguay's population is growing at an annual rate of 3.3 per cent, and there is a vast rural over-population, especially in the lower age groups (70 per cent of the population is under 30). The young peasant lives in abject poverty, with no work and no chance to study. But the young are not resigned to that state of affairs, or to the prospect of joining the growing army of jobless and illiterate, or of quitting the country in search of work elsewhere. The interests and aspirations of youth cannot be reconciled with those of the regime and young people are more and more involved in politics.

Our Party is doing everything to help them find their bearings and to direct their energy along the right path. The student leaders, steeled in the day-to-day struggle against the dictatorship, look to Marxism-Leninism as their guide to revolutionary action. The idea of an alliance with the workers and peasants is rapidly gaining ground among them. There are more pronounced anti-imperialist sentiments among students. The regime has made repeated attempts to halt the growth of the student movement by repression and terror coupled with splitting maneuvers, the organization of all manner of parallel 'centers' and 'federations' led by police agents or venal elements.

A basic indication of growing youth activity is the existence in all bourgeois opposition parties of a youth-led Left or progressive

wing. In last year's elections it was the youth that brought on the defeat of the Liberal-Radical Party candidate, who advocated compromise and reconciliation with the dictatorship, and secured the victory of the candidate who called for active and resolute struggle against the regime.

J. Ruotsalo: Youth and student organizations have become more active since 1968. Despite sabotage by ultra-Left groups, they are forming closer links with the international anti-imperialist movement. One indication of that is the decision of the World Federation of Democratic Youth to hold the next World Festival in Berlin in September 1973, though sceptics have maintained all along that there would be no more festivals.

In Finland, the late 60s saw a revival of the youth and student movement – its response to the economic, political and ideological changes in the country resulting from the growth of state-monopoly capitalism and aggravation of imperialism's general crisis. Some 10 years ago, the reactionary forces exercised a definite measure of restraint in such areas as culture, politics and ideology and in their anti-communism.

Traditional bourgeois ideology came face to face with the sharp criticism of capitalism (though not always from Marxist positions) by the progressive youth, notably young intellectuals. There were trenchant exposures of imperialism, especially its policy in Vietnam and developing countries. All this created a favorable political climate for the rise of the democratic youth and student movement. However, its development was in many ways contradictory. For one thing, lack of organizational unity and ideological clarity had an adverse effect. The working class youth was more or less estranged from the students, who for a long time were influenced by the bourgeoisie, though many young intellectuals leaned towards socialism. The Left forces were oriented chiefly on support of the Social-Democrat party.

We can safely say that, beginning with 1968, there has been a process of radicalization among the youth and students and the unfolding of a mass socialist student movement.

L. Padilla: The students are the most active part of the Bolivian youth movement. This is so because of their large numbers, better organization and higher level of political understanding. Organizations of young workers and peasants are only just beginning to develop. We should bear in mind how difficult life is for the worker and peasant – a miner's average life expectancy, for instance, is 35 years. Young workers and peasants join trade unions and political organizations rather than youth movements. It is therefore hardly likely that the youth movement will grow mainly by recruiting workers and peasants, and the students will continue to play an important part. Consequently, our Party must devote maximum attention to the student movement and its united action with workers' organizations.

There are three main trends in the Bolivian youth movement: Marxist, Demochristian and nationalist, and different groupings within each. The biggest Marxist organization is the Young Communist League.

There has been a marked shift to the Left in the Demochristian and nationalist youth movements. Some young Christian-Democrats, including the leaders of the Bolivian University Federation, took part in the guerrilla action at Teoponte. It ended in failure and many young people were killed, yet the ultra-Left has not yet drawn the necessary conclusions and still fails to realize that revolution is performed by the masses, not by an elite.

Our Communist Party and Young Communist League do not, of course, share these ultra-Left concepts and try to explain their fallacy. But while taking a critical stand, we do not believe that those who hold such concepts are deliberate agents of reaction and imperialism. The infantile disorder of 'Leftism' which afflicts a substantial part of the students both in Bolivia and other countries, has its class roots. To a certain extent it stems from such petty-bourgeois traits as individualism, subjectivism and impatience.

The youth movement in Bolivia, and doubtlessly also the worker and popular movement generally, have acquired much experience in the past year. President Torres was brought to power in October 1970 by a broad mass movement. He intended to assign half of his Cabinet posts to representatives of the Bolivian Labor Center, which includes the University Confederation and the National Confederation of Secondary School Students, that is, the two main youth organizations. In effect, this would have meant a popular government. But the ultra-Lefts were adamant, demanding that the workers make up the majority in the government. Torres' proposal was not immediately accepted, time was lost, and the military managed to 'besiege' the president.

Since then, many in the youth movement have come to see the need to unite political action with the struggle of the workers, peasants, progressive intellectuals, patriotic-minded armymen and other democratic and anti-imperialist strata, with the proletariat retaining the leading role.

N. Chesman: There is clearly a need for a Marxist-Leninist youth organization in the United States today. Some of our experiences over the past year and a half may prove helpful. At the time of the founding convention of the Young Workers' Liberation League we had 400 members. Over 50 per cent of the convention was young workers, over 40 per cent non-white youth; over 40 per cent young women. Our national leadership, which reflects the multinational and multiracial character of our organization, directs our consistent everyday struggle against all forms of racism and chauvinism. Since our founding convention we have more than trebled our actual card carrying membership; our influence in every area of the youth movement has grown way beyond that. We are now the largest revolutionary youth organization in the United States, and the only multi-

national and multiracial organization. We also became the first U.S. affiliate to the World Federation of Democratic Youth in many years.

Our founding came at a time when a large part of youth had been won to the struggle against the war, yet many of the original activists were becoming frustrated and were leaving mass activity for either adventurism or drugs. The majority of Black, Puerto Rican and Chicano youth were in some way active in the struggles of their people, yet the nationalist organizations could not offer them a winning solution. And there was no organization of young workers. So we began to bring the theory and practice of Marxism-Leninism to the youth movement, at the same time developing our own independent role.

We believe the time is ripe for a broad youth front, within which we would maintain our independence, a front led by young workers, black and white. Of course, we are opposed by those who want to organize only the 'revolutionaries.' These 'Lefts' have no confidence in the masses. We continually argue that *only* the masses can win victory. And we have very practical experience in building such a front. For this is the nature of the movement to free Angela Davis. We have formed special Free Angela Brigades in many of the major cities. They go to factories, shops, communities and schools with our literature. There are now many local committees. We have been successful in gaining the support of local elected officials, trade union locals and such organizations as the Young Women's Christian Association. And we point out that the case of Angela is particularly important because she stands for so much. However, these committees and brigades deal with all political prisoners.

Our other major goal is an end to the war in Vietnam. We seek to build a people's coalition for peace and justice and bring young workers, community youth, and students into this coalition. From the very start we have worked within the peace movement for the inclusion of the struggle against racism.

We seek to encourage Left and democratic youth not to remove themselves from electoral struggles. Many young activists say it is not revolutionary to participate in elections. They say you can never win through elections; you can never change the system. However, the truth is that particularly now, with the lowering of the voting age from 21 to 18, young people will look to the elections and the candidates for solutions. The polls indicate that 42 per cent of the new voters consider themselves to be independent. Now this is very important. For these reasons our National Chairman Jarvis Tyner is running for Vice-President in the coming elections, along with Gus Hall the General Secretary of our Party as its presidential candidate.

One of our greatest responsibilities is to fight for a correctly understood democratic line within the Left movement. For obvious reasons, democracy has almost become a dirty word among young Leftists. Many feel that revolutionism is judged by how much you can talk about picking up the gun, or how many windows you can break in a demonstration. Other youth are just very impatient,

don't see the strength of the world revolutionary movement, or of the U.S. working class. They want revolution now. They want a short cut. There is no substitute to building a strong movement.

We need more national organization of the Left, and that means overcoming the tendency among students, black youth, and among young workers to set up small local organizations.

And, lastly, the key to success is bringing the spirit of internationalism to the youth of the United States. In this respect our affiliation to the World Federation of Democratic Youth is very important. Activities against the war in Vietnam are making the youth more receptive to support of youth struggles around the world.

P. Borghini: The question of the student movement is a central one for the Communist parties in the West and also for the Young Communist leagues.

The first question which we must answer is this: is the student movement, such as we have known it since the 'explosion' of 1968, a revolutionary force, a force which we must help to grow and to organize itself, to find a place in the broad front of the working-class movement, or is it, on the contrary, a mere expression of the crisis of the bourgeoisie, a vehicle of anti-communism, and therefore something which we must change radically before 'admitting' it in the revolutionary front?

The answer we have given in Italy is the first one. The explosion of the student movement was a highly significant fact, it marked a decisive break between the young generation and the bourgeoisie and led to an important shift in the relationships between the classes.

Comrade Longo has told us we must transform critique of the 'ideology' of the student movement into a critique of the social and material causes which produce it. In other words, we must understand and clarify the exact nature of the crisis of the school in the capitalist countries and, in doing so, we must help the student movement find its own autonomous way to a permanent and solid organization. Of course, we all know the limits and the serious mistakes of the student movements in 1968-69. They were spontaneous and tried to relieve their own political tensions in what was a merely ideological battle, often on the wrong front (that is, against the working-class organization), showing a very serious and politically costly disregard for the problems of organization, and so on.

In Italy we criticize the student movement, but not in a purely ideological way, that is, denouncing the mistakes of the extremists and hoping that this will eliminate their influence. We have criticized the student movement in an active, in a truly political way, that is, working directly within the movement as Communists, fighting for its unity and promoting its alliance with the working class, an alliance which is not based on words, but is built on two principal points, first, the fight to change the school and its relationship with society and, second, the capability of the working class to be

truly the leading class of society. In Italy now, we have a great wave of working-class struggle, and it is helping the students see the main anti-capitalist and revolutionary force.

The working class is fighting not only for its wages, but also for fundamental structural reforms, including reform of the educational system. This has helped the students correctly to understand the problem of alliance with the workers. The students have taken part in general strikes called by the working-class movement, and have done so not as individuals, but as an independent political force. This has largely been the result of the activity of the Young Communist League.

K. Benmohammed: The past few years have seen an unparalleled intensification of the student political and social struggle in every part of the capitalist world. A 1969 UN survey revealed student 'revolts' in 50 countries. Bourgeois ideologists and propagandists have tried to obscure the character of student actions by presenting them as part of the 'rebellion' of the young generation, the idea being to isolate them from the workers' struggle against capitalism. That the monopolists should be worried by this growth of student political consciousness is only natural. For it is the youth, with its energy, fervor and wrath, that will take over the commanding posts in industry, science, education and the government services.

The student army is growing rapidly. Figures for 20 developed capitalist countries show an increase from 3,563,000 in 1950 to 8,083,000 in 1964, and the figure is greater still now. The students represent a large social group, but the proportion coming from working class and peasant families is still very small: 12 per cent in France; and in Britain, where workers make up two-thirds of the population, only one student in four has a working-class background.

In no capitalist country is higher education on a par with the requirements of the technological revolution and the needs of the nation. Progressive-minded students are campaigning for radical reform of the educational system, its ideological content, methods and programs. They know that the system is reactionary and obsolete, a barrier to the penetration of new ideas, and that its sole purpose is to train docile servants of the monopolies. Criticism of the bourgeois educational system inevitably and logically develops into criticism of bourgeois politics, economics, culture and morals.

Most students protesting against the evils of bourgeois society have not, however, cut themselves free from its social, ideological and psychological tenets. They join the revolutionary movement with preconceived ideas and inadequate experience, do not appreciate the importance of organization and united action, and lack a scientific revolutionary world outlook.

The psychology of most protesting students is individualistic, promoted and enhanced by the ultra-Left. Not all students understand the need to fight for democracy, preferring short cuts. i.e., violence, which they believe, will bring socialism now. Leftist leaders, inspired directly or indirectly by bourgeois ideologists, try to distort the theoretical foundations of revolutionary tactics, which

call for a combination of principled firmness and a flexible approach to reality, the use of all available forms of struggle, organized transition from one form to another in order to consolidate and develop every revolutionary gain.

L. Thomas: The people of Panama, and in particular the youth movement, are at an important crossroads. The fight for genuine liberation and sovereignty has entered a decisive stage. The colonial regime, the imperialist enclave, is in a state of crisis. The anti-colonial explosion of January 1964, the clashes with the occupation forces resulting in many killed and wounded, provide ample evidence of that crisis. And our youth, together with the entire people, is determined to return our territory, re-establish Panama's territorial integrity, whatever the cost.

The military coup upset imperialist plans and undermined the old order. Parliament, used exclusively to provide a semblance of justification for the U.S. presence, was dissolved. The imperialists found their position more precarious than ever. At first they tried to salvage the old institution by handing over power to another oligarchial clique. This time it did not work, the maneuver was foiled by army officers.

But once in power, the military launched a savage campaign of repression against the popular revolutionary movement. Trade unions were banned and their offices closed. The Students' Federation, that well-organized detachment of our youth movement with a membership of 14,000 university and 80,000 secondary-school students, became the target of endless harassment and its leaders were jailed.

The imperialists realized, of course, that they could not control the situation. Their best bet, they thought, was to get rid of the revolutionaries, especially the Communists. It was against this background that ideas liberally laced with ultra-Left phraseology were disseminated. The purpose was to sow confusion, and confusion could only help the people's enemies. The pseudo-revolutionaries did everything they could to instill the idea that, in opposing the military regime, the imperialists and oligarchy had become 'temporary allies' of the revolutionary forces.

The Communists flatly rejected all these absurd ideas, at the same time using every available opportunity to combat the authoritarian and reactionary methods of the military regime. We concentrated the attack on the venal oligarchy and imperialism, both of which are responsible for the crisis.

There were cries of capitulation: Communists were called faint-hearts. This had some effect on the youth and made our work more difficult. But despite the difficulties, and driven into clandestinity, with a large part of its young cadres in prison or exile, the revolutionary student movement – in common with the popular movement in general – gradually began to regroup. And when the university reopened, the underground student movement immediately resumed its activity despite the restrictions imposed by the new, anti-democratic university statutes.

And so, notwithstanding all their efforts, the authorities could not suppress the student movement, were compelled to resign themselves to its existence, even to negotiate with its representatives. This was bound to alarm the imperialists and their servitors, who were using every conceivable means to keep the movement under control. They were alarmed also because, following negotiations with the students, the regime proclaimed a general amnesty of political prisoners, including leaders of the popular movement and Communists. True, the leaders of our Party were ordered to leave the country forthwith, and that order is still in force.

In December 1969 the imperialists and their abettors, having despaired of imposing their control on all the military groups, staged a fascist-type coup. It met with determined resistance from the people, and all CIA attempts to keep developments under control ended in dismal failure. That was a turning point: events took a different course altogether. There was a dialogue involving all groups, and eager discussion of the country's crucial problems. Professors and students drew up an educational reform that would do away with the neo-colonialist orientation, put education on a scientific basis and make it serve the national interest. Overcoming the resistance of the corrupt pseudo-labor union leaders, the workers compelled the enactment of a new labor code that takes their vital interests into account. The farmers' struggle compelled revision of the agrarian code patterned on the late and unlamented Alliance for Progress. Now, instead of small individual plots, the peasants have larger plots cultivated collectively with state assistance, and a guaranteed market.

In negotiating with the USA, the government has announced that it will not accept proposals already rejected by public opinion. This is the first time a Panamanian government has its own firm policy in negotiations with the U.S. and is not prepared to accept any pseudo-reform. It insists on an end to the occupation of part of its territory, dismantling of foreign bases and a larger share of the profits of the Canal and a direct share in its policing.

That determination to win back, at any cost, part of our national territory illegitimately held by a foreign power, has the support of all people and of our youth, but they know that it will not be easy.

G. Toubi: In Israel the Zionist ruling circles have succeeded in leading astray wide sections of the young generation by fostering chauvinistic feelings. It's mainly the youth who have to pay with their blood for the Zionist ruling circles' policy of advancing the predatory objectives of American imperialism in the Middle East and the plans for territorial expansion. But the experience of the young people and the untiring struggle of our Party and Young Communist League have opened the eyes of new sections of the youth. Having realized that they are being deceived, they found their place in the front ranks, demonstrating against the policy of war and aggression, against the oppression and persecution carried out by the Israeli authorities in the occupied Arab territories.

There are good prospects for expanding the camp of the partisans of peace in Israel. Even within the Labor Party (the ruling party in Israel) a discussion has begun on government policy. In this party the fermenting factor is the youth. It is even beginning to come out against the fallacious contentions of Zionism. The young guard of the Labor Party in its conference last year stated that in Palestine two peoples have national rights – the Jewish people and the Palestine Arab people. Prime Minister Golda Meir boycotted this conference and said that she was 'shocked' mainly by the fact that 'this youth has feelings of guilt towards the Arabs.'

Lately some of the young people in the army openly declared their refusal to serve their military term in the occupied Arab territories. Others refused to carry out military orders to fire at Arab civilians in the Gaza Strip, considering these actions to be criminal and inhuman. These manifestations of protest are a new phenomenon among the Israeli youth.

At present Israel is witnessing an unprecedented strike movement. The governmental policy of annexations and war led to a greatly inflated military budget, to an assault of the government and employers on the wages and living standards of the popular masses. Only last year, there were 163 strikes, with 400,000 days lost, in different factories and public services. In many cases young workers were the initiators and organizers of these strikes.

It is against this background of the deteriorating economic situation that one should understand the emergence of the Black Panthers organization in Israel. Young people of oriental Jewish origin decided, in consequence of their humiliation, to fight back for human living conditions and for equality. This movement of the 'Black Panthers' has aroused great concern on the part of the Israeli government. Lately Israeli Prime Minister Golda Meir declared, referring to the 'Black Panthers': 'This matter concerns our very life, for the strength with which we confront our enemies is our unity. There can be no greater disaster than division.' The natural sincerity of this toiling youth who have established the Black Panthers organization, its aspiration to assist all the suffering people, its readiness to listen and learn, all these evoke the hope that their struggle will merge with the more general struggles for peace and social progress.

The policy of the Israeli government hits hardest the Arab youth, who besides everything else, are the victims of the Zionist policy of national oppression and discrimination. We are proud of the fact that the majority of the Arab youth side with the Communists despite the repressive measures of the Israeli authorities.

Not long ago our Central Committee thoroughly discussed the problems of work among the youth in Israel, and pointed to the growing role of the young generation in the life of the country. Our Central Committee instructed all Party organizations to render every possible help to the Young Communist League.

V. Venetsanopoulos: Employment, or rather unemployment, is the most harassing problem for young Greeks. Every year from 60,000

to 70,000 join the labor force, but only a few manage to find a job or are able to continue their studies. The present junta promised a job for every young Greek, so that no one would have to emigrate in search of work. The promise remains a promise: in 1969, 90,000 emigrated, more than the net increase of the population, and the position was about the same in 1970.

Employers are stepping up exploitation by lengthening the work day and using more speed-up methods. The junta deprived our youth of a very important gain, the 6-hour work day for teen-agers on part-time continuation schooling. One of the most hideous features of capitalism, juvenile labor, has become part of Greek life. Children of 12, 11, even younger, are employed in industry. Enterprises run by the Ministry of Labor employ 27,580 juveniles. Most of the workers of the FRG-owned watch factory at Salonika are in their early teens.

Another problem is occupational training. Technical schools charge from \$10 to \$50 a month. Of course, the youth cannot accept this denial of its right to work and education. It has an active share in the struggles of blue-collar and white-collar workers and has put forward its own demands, among them complete reform of occupational training.

Young workers and students participate in all major battles in defense of democracy and are today among the front-rank fighters against the dictatorship of the Black Colonels and American imperialism. The fascist junta has retaliated by banishing many of these activists to prison and concentration camp, subjecting them to cruel torture at the hands of the secret and military police (ESA) and at the infamous Dionysos special concentration camp. But no amount of fascist terror can daunt our young democrats.

The struggle of the young generation should be seen as part of the overall class struggle. By participating in the revolutionary battles in Greece, or as emigrés in other capitalist countries, the young worker is coming to appreciate that his interests are identical with those of the labor movement as a whole. In countries where young Greeks have found jobs they have learned what life is really like in the 'free world.'

The military-fascist dictatorship wants to 're-educate' the Greek people, 'cure' it of communist sentiments. The youth has been singled out as the main object of this 're-education.' The junta wants to inculcate fascist ideas, bring young Greece closer to the dictatorship, or at any rate 'neutralize' it. To do that, it has set up the Alkimon Corps, a youth organization patterned on those of Hitler and Mussolini. Membership is, in effect, obligatory.

Anyone attending a political meeting, anyone opposed to the dictatorship, anyone taking part in strikes or belonging to an illegal progressive organization is systematically persecuted. In the ideological field, the regime is borrowing much from fascist and imperialist propaganda. Anti-communism, from the very start the junta's official doctrine, goes hand in hand with anti-Sovietism. Yet

the junta claims it as a 'new type of healthy democracy' destined to become a model for the entire 'free world.'

Patriotic youth organizations, including the Young Communist League, are actively combating the regime on the ideological front too. Books and pamphlets are being published illegally as well as the Central Young Communist League journal *Odighitis* and other newspapers.

A. Mendoza: A few words about the World Federation of Democratic Youth. It is a broad international organization comprising, along with Young Communist, political and mass youth organizations of diverse persuasions, but united by a common ideal of solidarity and cooperation in the battle for their rights and demands, against imperialism, for social progress.

Pro-imperialist youth organizations are in a state of profound crisis and are steadily losing influence. That is due in no small measure to the exposure of their leaders' contacts with the CIA.

In the quarter century since its inception, the World Federation has consistently and openly taken an anti-imperialist stance. That is why more and more young people are coming to understand its aims and are seeking contact with it. And the Federation is searching for new forms of work in order to extend the youth anti-imperialist front, forms corresponding to the character of the international youth movement and to the present stage of its development. In this respect the worldwide 'Youth Accuses Imperialism' campaign sponsored by the Eighth WFDY Assembly, was a concrete expression of its efforts to unite young people of various political trends.

The Federation's influence and authority have grown everywhere. It now represents 100 million young men and women throughout the world, united under the slogan of unity and struggle against imperialism. The 10th World Youth Festival has been scheduled for 1973, and like all previous ones will enable the youth comprehensively and concretely to discuss the problems confronting it, and will be a big step towards unity of the young generation.

A. Davance: Many more young people continue their schooling after the obligatory age of 14 years these days. The school age, the Belgian Communist Party demands, should be raised to 16 years. Instruction time, too, is increasing. Young people are getting more information, including social and, consequently, political information. On the other hand, however, most of them do not come to grips with such problems as employment, wages and the like, until much later, and are, therefore, less socially mature.

So, by force of circumstances, we are faced with the problem of *gauchisme*. The Leftist demands are mostly fair if viewed abstractly, but are out of touch with the realities. Leftist elements use the aspirations of the youth, its craving for what could be called 'pure ideals,' for their own ends. Young people are ever ready to dedicate themselves to causes which are not necessarily prompted by their

own immediate interests. Our university students, for example, set out to fight the policy of Minister of Justice Alphonse Vranck, a Social-Democrat, who discriminates against foreign workers and students. One of Vranck's projects, for example, stipulates expulsion from Belgium of progressive foreigners. But what is closest to the hearts of the politically-minded youth are international affairs and the heroism of revolutionary struggle – Cuba and Fidel Castro, Bolivia and Che Guevara, Vietnam and Ho Chi Minh, the Palestine resistance movement, and now the Portuguese colonies.

A distinct interest (chiefly among Christian groups) prevails in the Third World, especially the problem of hunger. The Christian Workers' Youth (*Jeunesse ouvrière chrétienne*), members of which were assaulted by police during peaceful demonstrations over Brazil, is becoming more radical. The police assault gave them new food for thought about the so-called free world and the Christian principles of non-violence.

In sum, the youth is anything but egoistic, and is inspired by the ideals of indubitable justice. In Belgium, at least, it acts selflessly. But its fine motives are often tainted by hostility to political and labor organizations, which it regards as seats of compromise. For us this hostility is unwelcome for two reasons: first, because we represent an organization which is required by the exigencies of the struggle to have a strong and clear structure and, second, because it blends with anti-Communist prejudices planted by bourgeois propaganda.

It may be proper to add, too, that we have not always been at our best in evaluating events occupying the youth. Our restraint over some of Che Guevara's views, for example, should never have put in question his unquestionable revolutionary bravery. Thus, our inflexible attitude abandoned Che Guevara to the Leftists, with the youth branding us as indifferent and weak, or as 'reformists.'

Leftism must be closely studied, and whenever it appears we should ask ourselves if it isn't 'retribution' for some false step of our own.

Continguous to Leftism is the problem of sex. In our country, still strongly influenced by Christian ideas, with even atheists unconsciously thinking and behaving in line with Christian morals, we are witnessing the beginning of a dispute over matters that were once completely taboo – the use of contraceptives, legalization of abortions, and the like. Thinking, albeit wrongly, that the emancipation of the individual begins with sexual freedom, the youth imagines that its posture is revolutionary. And the repressions applied by order of the sinister Vranck do, indeed, create the impression that the youth is right. It would be a mistake to ignore the sexual problem and everything that goes with it. We should explain that struggle against some of the repressions in this area is, at best, but one of the many aspects of public protest. Whereas at present, unfortunately, the matter only elicits annoyance among some of us.

There is the question of organizing the youth and of its political activeness. Only a minority can engage in politics thanks to better training and better information. This is so because information is obtained only by those who want it. In theory, for example, everybody can read *Le Drapeau Rouge*, provided he finds it on sale, and has the courage of publicly reading the Communist Party's weekly.

A word about Belgium's youth organizations. By and large, about 25 per cent of our young people are members of some organization, but only a small number is in the various political unions. We have no comprehensive program for the youth, and fall back on Party programs. Besides, and this we must have the courage to admit, our knowledge of the problems and aspirations of young people is far from sufficient. One way to fill in this blank is to invite more of the unorganized youth to our meetings and discussions.

That, frankly, is the picture of the difficulties we have to contend with. Nor are we sitting on our hands. Some 500 young Communists and a few spokesmen of other progressive movements held a meeting in Brussels on March 15, 1970. Working groups drew up a document with guidelines for the Communist Youth of Belgium (*Jeunesse communiste de Belgique*). We held Angela Davis demonstrations in a number of cities and in the spring of 1972 shall celebrate the 50th anniversary of our Communist youth body. Though it is relatively weak, we are proud that it is the only organized consistently anti-capitalist and anti-imperialist youth movement.

D. Ahrens: In West Berlin young workers and the school and university youth are more deeply involved in class battles these days.

Until the mid-sixties the youth criticized imperialism's outrages mostly as fortuitous 'flaws' in the system, while renouncing socialism. Later, when it began to sink in that, say, the U.S. imperialist aggression in Vietnam was traceable to the very pattern of capitalism as a system (and our Party's political agitation had a lot to do with this), when it sank in that the dismal state of education was not due to incorrect budgetary practices and was prompted by the interest of modern capitalism, and when the bourgeoisie tried to squash youth protests with water canons, clubs, pistols and mounted police, the acceptance of the socialist alternative became stronger.

Several groups of a quasi-Left complexion, solidly aligned with the dominant classes, became more active in the late 60s. They began contrasting synthetic 'models of socialism,' which betrayed their petty-bourgeois stance, to the existing socialism in the Soviet Union, the German Democratic Republic and other socialist countries. They tried to isolate the youth from the Marxist-Leninist working-class party. And in this the capitalist press gave the Leftists succor and comfort, trying to rouse the young people's interests in them. Capitalists are always ready to help people who prattle about socialism while spreading falsehoods about it, who brag about fighting capitalism while confusing the progressive movement, and who vow allegiance to the workers while clinging to their petty-bourgeois elitist approach.

Our Party has always drawn a line of distinction between the ideologues of quasi-Leftist anti-communism and the inexperienced young people unable to distinguish between revolutionary rhetoric and revolutionary action. This firm ideological, political and organizational dissociation from all types of anti-communism in our joint activity with Socialists and Democrats has strengthened our positions among the youth.

Our opponents note with alarm that in the elections to the Chamber of Representatives of the City Senate in 1971, the Socialist Unity Party of West Berlin got most of its votes – as much as 10.3 per cent – from the male 18-24 age group. Indicatively, out of the new members who joined our Party in recent years, 60 per cent are young people, of whom 80 per cent are workers and approximately 8 per cent are students.

While advocating police actions against the progressive youth, the West Berlin CDU endeavors to win over young people by posing as an 'opposition' party and demanding bigger allocations for education, which it, in effect, bitterly opposes when in power. The Right-wing Social-Democratic Party leaders, too, are trying to regain the confidence of the youth, and permit some of its spokesmen to use Marxist terminology, though emasculating it of its real content. Yet they mobilize the entire repressive machinery whenever the youth takes their promise of democratization seriously.

However, these tactics cannot obscure the insuperable contradictions between labor and capital, between the interests of the people and those of the monopolies, for any appreciable length of time. More young people are becoming involved in the battle against monopoly rule, for workers' rights in enterprises, in the economy, in society as a whole.

Our Party regards the working and student youth not as an object of political didacticism, but as comrades in the fight against the modern capitalist system. As we see it, the need for Marxist-Leninist organization is best understood from practice and militant action. And we dissociate ourselves firmly from Right opportunist and quasi-Left postures, either of which rejects the really existing socialism. The battles we waged for a more realistic and, moreover, a correct class approach to the Soviet Union and the German Democratic Republic have helped create a climate that facilitated the four-power agreement on West Berlin.

H. Safari: The youth movement in such countries as Iran, a developing country following the capitalist way, differs in many ways, in form as well as content, from the youth struggles in the citadels of capitalism. This is as it should be, for the social structure and political atmosphere are different.

The movement of the youth, and especially of students, is on the upgrade in Iran. Most of the country's higher educational establishments were closed for nearly seven months in the 1970/71 academic year. The youth problem preoccupied reactionary, as well as progressive circles. The causes of the so-called youth rebellion, and

the methods of dealing with it, are being examined and analyzed.

To understand the youth in countries such as Iran one should bear in mind the ideological and psychological background. Young people there are witnessing the scientific-technical revolution in the world at large and, at once, the gross backwardness of their own countries. They are witnessing the dominance of neo-colonialists, who are ruthlessly plundering the national wealth of their motherland and subject their people to cruel exploitation. They thirst for knowledge, but are deprived of education. On finishing secondary school, most of them are unable to enter university or find a job. Specialists with a higher education, too, are having employment difficulties.

More than 46 per cent of our population, it is estimated, is under 15 years of age. There are twice as many young people entering the labor market as there are aging people retiring on pension. As a result, 1,100,000 are employed a short week only, and with the unemployed added to this figure, the total comprises 1,600,000 or 22 per cent of the gainfully employed population.

Socio-economic factors, however, are not the only explanation for the youth movement, which is a natural result of the revolutionary flux across the world.

The youth and student movement in the developing countries has made mistakes and has not escaped the effects of opportunist influence. There is a wide range of trends among students – Trotskyite, Maoist, anarchist, and the like. Due to their class origins, politically immature students often mix democratic and anti-imperialist slogans with ultra-Left utopian demands, sometimes leading to adventurist actions.

Regrettably, the youth in some countries nourishes the illusion that a handful of young people can push history in the desired direction. Some go to the length of armed rebellion against the existing regime and, as the facts bear out, only sacrifice their lives, sparking still greater reactionary abuses. Nor should we ignore the corrupting influence of imperialist ideologues and their helpers from among revisionists and opportunists.

In the Afro-Asian countries, where the intelligentsia belongs to the privileged section of society, uniting the workers and students in the battle against imperialism, for democracy, is still a very complicated problem. We can safely say, of course, that the vast majority of the youth is against imperialism and its revolutionary feelings are sufficiently strong. What it lacks is political experience and a definite, comprehensive outlook. So it is up to the Communists to educate the youth.

A. Dewhurst: 'For life with a future' is the motto the Communist Party of Canada and the Young Communist League project as a fighting slogan for the working and student youth of our country. By this we mean the establishment of a new and humane social system – socialism. We advance this great future as a realistic demand for the youth to help win as an integral part of a mighty

anti-monopoly, anti-imperialist people's alliance led by the working class under the leadership of the Communist Party.

The youth of our times are living in a world where the imperialist powers no longer can do as they please. The socialist world system is becoming the main determining factor in world development. The youth of today has the example, experience and inspiration of the socialist countries and the heroic national-liberation struggles of the developing countries to draw upon.

Among the young generation of Canada there is a growing rebelliousness, radicalization and desire for change. Young people, whether young workers, students, intellectuals or middle strata, have seen their common aspirations for a creative life undermined by capitalism. This process has been stimulated by the scientific and technological revolution under monopoly control which increasingly limits the creative contributions of young people to society, by the ever-present threat of nuclear disaster, by the immorality of imperialism and of U.S. imperialist aggression, by the growing economic instability and crisis phenomena in the capitalist system, which close the door to employment and a meaningful future and life for growing numbers of young people.

Our young people are very deeply concerned with the growing attacks on democracy and civil liberties, with the various governments of our country closing instead of opening doors for their democratic participation to determine the present and future destinies of our country and peoples.

For all these and other reasons the crisis of capitalism is affecting the young people more directly than the older generation, and they are fighting back with growing militancy.

The Communist Party and the Young Communist League work to encourage the fullest participation of young workers in all the movements and struggles of their class, and work to forge the unity of the working class with the students, to direct this great reservoir of social force into revolutionary channels around the economic, social and political issues of today and tomorrow – for the establishment of an anti-monopoly government as a transitional stage towards achieving working-class power and a socialist Canada.

In his summing-up, *Paul Courtieu*, member of the journal's Editorial Board, said the exchange of opinions was useful and interesting and would doubtless help Communists in their practical approach to the youth.

The Editors have promoted several exchanges of opinion on youth problems, and will, in view of their importance and topicality, devote continuous attention to problems relating to the youth, to winning it over for socialism and fortifying its unity with the working class, with all anti-monopoly and anti-imperialist forces.



Confidence in party's strength

With frequent landings en route, it took us nearly a day to fly from Delhi to Cochin, venue of the Ninth Congress of the Communist Party of India, October 3-10, 1971. Cochin is in Kerala, one of the smallest states of the vast country, but known the world over since Communists came to power there the first time in 1957. For the rest of India it is a model of socio-political progress. Now, after many ups and downs in the class struggle, the state has been ruled for over 18 months by a united front government headed by Communists and including members of the ruling National Congress Party.

The Kerala government has implemented radical land reforms, nationalized vast tracts of private forest land and taken initial steps to nationalize big plantations owned by foreign monopoly firms. More, it has taken bold steps concerning the property of Birla, one of India's biggest monopolists. At state-operated factories, workers are being called upon to participate in management, and an effective battle has been mounted against unemployment, for higher standards of living.

Opportunities and complexities of building a united front

A national force, the Communist Party has held its congresses in different towns. The choice of Cochin for the Ninth Congress is indicative: Kerala's experience of united front government together with Congress members contains many useful pointers for the rest of India. This Achutha Menon, Chief Minister of the Kerala government, pointed out as follows: 'Concrete experience of life has shown that the alternative to Congress rule is not any kind of unprincipled anti-Congress alliance even with the most reactionary elements, but a coalition of all anti-feudal, anti-imperialist, anti-monopoly forces, including those within the Congress. This is the significance of the Kerala experiment.'

The question of building Left and democratic unity embracing progressive forces within the ruling Congress Party was, indeed, the pivot of the political resolution, the draft of which was

submitted to the Ninth Congress. It provoked a long, sharp discussion, highlighted by model party democracy. Delegates discussed it in commissions, whereupon their chairmen reported the accepted and rejected proposals to the plenary sessions. Delegates whose proposals were turned down had a chance of putting them once more before the plenary session. The Party, the discussion showed, is seeking to enlist large sections of the people in a united mass movement against imperialism, monopoly capital and feudalism, for revolutionary democracy and radical changes in society's socio-economic structure. This makes it imperative not only to unite the Left forces, but also to find common ground, as well as to develop common actions, with the progressive and democratic forces inside the ruling Congress Party. Such common actions may sometimes include the Congress organization. Such cooperation implies Communist Party support for progressive moves of the Central Government and criticism of the latter's anti-popular measures, defeating its disposition to compromise with monopoly capital.

To build a united national-democratic front in the coming period, the Party is seeking a correct tactical attitude towards those sections of the national bourgeoisie which are moving, even if partially and haltingly, towards anti-monopoly, anti-feudal and anti-imperialist positions, and towards the vast petty-bourgeois mass who have entered into greater political activity with a pronounced shift to the Left. At the same time, the Party calls for unrelenting struggle against bourgeois ideology.

The national bourgeoisie and its political leadership have come to realize that they cannot rule in the old way or retain their political hold among the masses by altogether ignoring the popular urge for radical changes. Mass pressures for such changes are already mounting within the ruling Congress Party and among the working people supporting it.

Following the massive victory of the ruling Congress Party in the parliamentary elections and its certain radical steps, delegates noted, a far-flung ideological offensive has been mounted with the aim of projecting a new image of the national bourgeoisie as anti-capitalist and as builders of socialism, in order to ideologically disarm and disorientate the working class.

The national bourgeoisie, the resolutions of the Ninth Congress stressed, is determined to keep the country on the capitalist path, which contradicts the basic interests of the Indian nation to an ever greater degree. The central political perspective that the Party placed before the people, therefore, was to put an end to the exclusive control of state power by the bourgeoisie and to bring into existence a government of Left and democratic unity at the center. In such a government power would be shared jointly by parties representing the working class, peasantry, radical middle classes and Left, democratic and patriotic sections of the national bourgeoisie. Given a democratic movement of vast masses, this government could carry through deep-going socio-economic

projects that would ultimately signify departure from capitalism and pave the way to non-capitalist development.

The delegates forcefully stressed the importance of a correct attitude to other Left parties in the country. It is therefore necessary to wage an uncompromising struggle against Left opportunism and the disruptive policy of the parallel Communist Party (Marxist) and the recently formed Socialist Party. While the Communist Party (Marxist) serves reaction by dividing the democratic forces, the new Socialist Party directly helps reaction by echoing many of its slogans. Yet the Ninth Congress noted that the parallel party has some influence among the masses, especially in West Bengal and partly in Kerala. That is why co-operation with it should not be written off, provided it ceases its rabid campaign against the CPI and abandons its blind anti-Congressism. The leaders of the parallel party refuse to listen to the voice of reason. However, it is safe to assume that many of the rank-and-file members will take the correct path of unity rather than follow the false one of division.

Impact of proletarian internationalism

The Congress of India's Communists was a forum of proletarian solidarity. It was attended by fraternal delegates from 22 Communist and Workers' parties and received messages of greetings from another 22. Once again, the CPI declared its loyalty to internationalism. Comrade Dange, Chairman of the CPI, said: 'We are not only a national revolutionary party, working for the great future of the Indian people. We see our people as part of the working people of the whole world. Hence our Party is not only an Indian party, it is also a part of the international Communist and workers brotherhood. Hence it is written on our banner —"Workers of the world and oppressed nations, unite!"'

The resolution adopted by the Ninth Congress on the world Communist movement reaffirmed the Party's adherence to the historic documents of the 1969 Moscow Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties.

The Congress resolution on the international situation pointed out that the battle against imperialism and reaction cannot be conducted without giving a decisive rebuff to anti-communism, the main form of which today is anti-Sovietism. It is no accident that the ideological and political offensive of bourgeois reactionaries, imperialists, revisionists and 'Left' opportunists, converges on one point — anti-Sovietism. In India this is very evident. The historic Treaty of Peace, Friendship and Cooperation signed between the Soviet Union and India immediately became the target of attack both from the Left and Right who wanted to denigrate and distort its significance in the eyes of the people. The Congress emphasized the importance of the Treaty as a powerful instrument fortifying the anti-imperialist forces in India and Southeast Asia.

The significance of the Treaty for the peoples of the Indian subcontinent, for peace and progress in Asia, was stressed by leaders of fraternal delegations. Guy Besse, representative of the French Communist Party, said the Treaty is a gain for all progressive mankind. The audience reacted with stormy applause to the speech of Comrade Kunayev, leader of the CPSU delegation, who said the friendship of the peoples of the Soviet Union and India is as strong as the steel smelted in the Indian furnaces built with Soviet aid. During the intermission following Kunayev's speech delegates sang a recently written song about the Friendship Treaty.

Bangla Desh

One of the main issues in the discussion of international problems was the situation in Bangla Desh. This was natural. The destiny of the Bengalis is linked closely with that of the other peoples of the subcontinent. The Awami League victory in the December 1970 election was a victory for the democratic forces, while the brutal massacre unleashed by the Pakistani authorities against the defenseless people of Bengal was aimed against the forces of progress in the region.

The Ninth Congress listened with rapt attention to the illuminating speech of Comrade Abdus Salaam, General Secretary of the Communist Party of Bangla Desh, who outlined the basic principle of his Party's policy: the right to self-determination of the East Bengali people. The Ninth Congress backed the orientation of achieving this aim by political means. It called on the Indian government to extend official recognition to the popularly elected representatives of Bangla Desh and warned against possible provocations by Pakistani military quarters. The Congress denounced the posture of the United States and China stressing that the leaders of the People's Republic of China, who speak of supporting the national liberation movement and even claim to be its 'leaders,' have now, acting on chauvinist, anti-Soviet, great-power aims, drifted into the reactionary camp, ranging themselves with U.S. imperialism against the people of Bengal.

The outcome of the armed conflict on the subcontinent is common knowledge. Self-determination for Bangla Desh was won in a fierce clash with the military junta of Pakistan supported all along by the U.S. imperialists and the Maoist leadership of the People's Republic of China. The Party Congress was right in its assessment of the possible course of events. The legitimate demands of the East Bengalis have been borne out by developments. To carry the aim to completion is quite possible, provided the unity of the freedom fighters, including the Communists of Bangla Desh, is preserved and strengthened, and ties and cooperation are extended with the progressive forces of the world.

Further consolidation of the Party is the earnest of success

Left and democratic unity is inconceivable without a strong, independent Communist Party that could assume the leading role in

the national-democratic front by its policy and dedicated struggle for the interests of the people.

This is why the Ninth Congress laid the main stress on the Party's political, ideological and organizational consolidation. Its membership has increased by more than 70,000 since the last congress (held in February 1968 at Patna) and now totals 243,238. Yet the lag of the Party's mass political influence behind the growth of its organization, nailed down at the Eighth Congress, still persists. This is due, the Ninth Congress pointed out, to many reasons, including alien class practices, weakening of democratic centralism, non-utilization of the weapon of criticism and self-criticism, under-estimation of the importance of political and ideological education, and penetration of bourgeois vices among some sections of the Party. Some Communists tend to overrate the parliamentary institutions and the possibility of peaceful transition to socialism, which they view as equivalent to the parliamentary path, picturing the perspective of building the National Democratic Front as an electoral combination of different parties instead of a fighting alliance of classes and their organizations forged in the course of militant struggles. The Party must turn to the masses, speakers said, and chiefly to the workers in the factories, to the poor in villages, enlisting the finest of them more actively in its ranks.

During the recent period a struggle has started inside the Party against revisionist and reformist tendencies along with the struggle against dogmatism and sectarianism. In order to build the CPI into a full-fledged mass revolutionary party capable of playing its proper role in the coming period of sharpening class struggles, the Congress decided to take up the campaign for ideological purification, which will eliminate all alien methods, habits and vices. It is a campaign for a radical change in the style of work by liquidating bureaucratism and strengthening collectivism. It will expand Party work among the people, especially among the urban and rural sections.

Fraternal delegates were accorded a rousing reception. During intermissions they were ringed by Indian friends and questioned about things in their countries. The sense of fraternity and the appreciation of the singleness of India's national and international interests was in full evidence here, in the theatre auditorium of Cochin, where all speeches made in English were translated into sixteen Indian languages.

For eight days we listened to the speeches and interventions of delegates, including leaders of all big Party branches. We participated in a parade of more than 40,000 young people in volunteer uniforms, ready to answer the Party's call. We attended a mass meeting of 400,000 people. And we visited the village of Cherai, with a population of 5,000 of whom 70 are Communists. The premises of the local Party branch consist of a modest-sized room in the upper storey of a wooden house. On the walls are portraits

of Marx, Engels and Lenin. On the shelves are books published by the Party. The young Party worker's story about his branch was so enthusiastic and comprehensive that we could not help, here in these modest surroundings, feeling the strength of the Indian Communists and their readiness for battle.

Confidence in the Party's strength and deep faith in its cause resounded in the summing up made by Rajeshwara Rao, the General-Secretary of the CPI. Here is what he said: Many maintain that India is vast, and our Party tiny. But wasn't tsarist Russia vast, too? And wasn't the Bolshevik Party also 'tiny' in comparison at the beginning of 1917? Yet a few months later it won power and became a great Party, because its policy was correct, because it had a strong organization, because it put itself at the head of the working class and peasantry. And that is the example that gives inspiration to the Communist Party of India.

Cochin-Prague

L. Nagy, C. Unni Raja

Unity of working class and people -- earnest of victory

Manlio Lafont

'For unity of the working class and people in the advance to socialism,' that was the slogan of our Communist Party's 11th Congress held in the country's capital, Bogota, Colombia, on December 6-10, 1971. It met in an atmosphere of the democratic forces' mounting struggle against the repressive and anti-Communist policy of the oligarchical government.

The country is under martial law. Constitutional guarantees of bourgeois-democratic rights and freedoms have been repealed. Public meetings require prior permission from the military authorities. *Voz Proletaria*, the Communist daily, is under official censorship. Search-and-destroy operations against guerrilla detachments are being conducted in many rural areas. The main target is the Revolutionary Armed Forces which in October-November repeatedly clashed with the army and police. A few days before the congress the university was again occupied by the military.

The fight for a legal congress

It was against this political background that we fought for a legal congress. The Party felt that a legally held congress would not only have a tremendous impact as a militant action against

tyranny, but would also stimulate the popular movement. And in the fight for legality the Party was joined by MPs representing various other democratic forces. In the end, the government guaranteed the holding of a public congress and even consented to the arrival of delegates from a number of socialist countries. This was the first time a congress of our Party was attended by delegations from 15 fraternal parties, including the CPSU, Socialist Unity Party of Germany and the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia.

However, the Party leadership was well aware of the fickle political situation and, in keeping with a Central Committee decision, it took steps to hold the Congress illegally, should that necessity arise.

Colombia was the scene of major mass actions in 1971. Despite the restriction on strikes there were repeated stoppages in support of pay claims and management fulfilment of contract obligations. The Communist united action policy to consolidate the trade unions was taken up and supported by other forces.

With the bourgeois agrarian reform having proved a hollow promise, the National Association of Farmers (1.5 million members) formulated its own revolutionary program of land distribution, the Peasants' Charter. It organized the seizure of 473 estates (total area 700,000 hectares) in 22 provinces. About 150,000 peasants took part in this action, and though in most cases they were temporarily driven off the land, the movement continues unabated.

The students, too, displayed courage and stamina against the repressive regime. Their fight is for a democratic university reform, against U.S. monopoly control of some universities through the Rockefeller Foundation and similar organizations. And the fight continued practically throughout the year. The government retaliated by arresting and court-martalling many students and closing the National University.

All in all, 1971 was a year of rising popular struggle, involving new sections of the population, against the regime and all it stands for. And though these actions were not always adequately organized and lacked coordination due to the division of the labor movement, they were always militant and persevering. Nor could the popular movement and the growing determination to fight the regime be halted by stepped up repression, martial law, decrees making strikes, civil disobedience and certain other forms of struggle criminal offences, and the harsh verdicts passed down by the military courts. This is a new feature in the class struggle, and for us, Colombian Communists, it was the main consideration in campaigning for a legal Party congress.

Changes in program and statutes

The Congress brought together 200 delegates representing the Party's Central Committee, 32 regional and zonal Party organizations and the Young Communist League. The delegates included

54 workers from local Party branches – an indication of the Party's improved social composition. Also these figures: 84 per cent of the delegates were under 45; 88 per cent had been in the Party from 10 to 30 years; 65 delegates were professional revolutionaries and 27 functionaries of mass organizations; 82 per cent were in one or another way associated with mass organizations.

Congress was not attended by representatives of the Revolutionary Armed Forces and other comrades working underground. But they shared in the discussion and drafting of the resolutions, stated their views and submitted important data and memoranda, including a report on combining all forms of struggle, the basic principles of which were laid before congress.

The four-month preparation took the form of a broad democratic discussion, with thousands of branch and intermediate leadership meetings held throughout the country. The results were summed up at regional conferences and presented to congress.

It discussed certain changes in the Party Program adopted by the previous congress. The idea was to reformulate some of its provisions to bring them into line with the changing situation. There was no question of drawing up a new program. As Comrade Alvaro Vasquez, who introduced the subject, noted, the present Program contains propositions now adopted by other social strata. Of these mention should be made of the following:

- The fight against Yankee imperialism is the all-pervading issue; the only solution for the cardinal problems facing the country is to end dependence on the U.S. monopolies and government.

- There must be radical agrarian reform entailing abolition of latifundism and the relations based upon it; even bourgeois circles, though pursuing other aims, advocate such a reform but evade the question of its practical implementation.

- The profound structural crisis calls for radical measures; this is advocated by practically all political trends and various solutions are being proposed.

- The path of the revolution: on the basis of its experience and analysis of national specifics and traditions, the Communist Party declares that the revolutionary process calls for combining and correctly utilizing all forms of struggle in adaptation to the changing situation.

None of these principles was questioned in the pre-congress discussion, and at the congress itself the main program provisions were reaffirmed anew, with changes to bring them closer to Colombian reality. For instance, the Program notes that increasing foreign penetration in industry facilitates the rise of monopoly groups. At the same time, however, local capital is playing a more noticeable part in Colombia's capitalist development, competing for a place in the home market and thus altering the alignment of class forces.

The Program emphasized the negative role of U.S. government loans as a means of tightening the American stranglehold. Colombia's foreign debt now amounts to about \$2 billion, or nearly

three times the total of all private foreign investments. Colombia is one of the nine biggest debtor countries of the capitalist world.

And the Program reaffirms that the chief contradiction is that with imperialism. In the class struggle it is expressed in the antagonism between the working class and big national and foreign capital. That formulation, which fully conforms with present realities, enables us to counter the utopian theory of a 'national unity of Colombians,' which would sever the fight for genuine national independence from the proletariat's fight against capital.

The Program gives a more precise definition of the role of capitalism in agriculture, emphasizing its inability to solve the agrarian problem. Its attempts at partial reforms do not affect the big latifundia, nor do they alter semi-feudal relations. The process of peasant impoverishment is not accompanied by the emergence of a stable and distinct agricultural proletariat. No less than 1.5 million farm workers have to make do with seasonal jobs. Many are migrating to the towns, only to swell the ranks of the unemployed. Land hunger is bringing the peasants into the National Association of Farmers and impelling them to unite in the fight for land.

In its overall characterization of the political regime, the Program regards it not only as an expression of the existing socio-economic structure, but examines its influence on that structure. It especially stresses the use by the big Colombian bourgeoisie and its North American monopoly partners of the government machinery to accelerate concentration and monopolization. The problem was comprehensively discussed in connection with the 1968 constitutional reform, which gave the President still wider powers and deprived parliament of all initiative in allocating public expenditure. Congress also analyzed the policy of curtailing the workers' rights, including the right to strike, noting that the purpose is to split the trade unions.

Included in the Program are a number of clauses on the struggle against imperialism's ideological offensive, notably the need to combat opportunist, Right-revisionist and ultra-Left trends which in one or another way hamper popular unity.

The changes in the Party's statutes aim primarily at accelerating the building of a mass Communist Party, without which, the Congress resolution says, the revolutionary conditions latent in Colombian society cannot be brought to bear. The discussion of effective educational methods, propaganda and recruitment was based on the experience accumulated since the Party's 10th Congress.

Tactics and political line

Tactical questions figured prominently in the political theses submitted to Congress and in the pre-congress discussion, which was summarized in the report of Gilberto Vieira, the Party's General Secretary.

The existing system of administration formalized in the Constitution is based on political agreement of the two traditional parties, the Liberal and Conservative.* Their representatives alternate every four years as president of the republic. The present, Conservative, president was the last elected in keeping with this agreement. All political parties and groups will be able to nominate their candidates for the next presidential elections, in 1974.

This system operates on all levels of government, central and local, and is complemented by reformist demagoguery combined with outright repression. In fact, Colombia has been under martial law for nearly 20 years now. But at present there is a more clearly expressed class character – the regime stands out as the instrument of the dictatorship of the big bourgeoisie against the working class, peasantry, students and the people in general. This finds expression in mass police raids from time to time, the curfew in a number of areas, restriction of civil rights (for instance, the right of assembly), repressive government decrees, authority for the military to interfere in various areas of national life and indiscriminate use of the judiciary against progressive militants. Militarism has become more prominent too. The top army command remains a reserve trump of imperialism and the oligarchy in their attempts to resolve the political crisis in a reactionary way.

But Congress also drew attention to the changes within the armed forces, noting the spread of progressive and patriotic sentiments in some military circles, and emphasizing that although the army is a weapon against the people, Communists do not oppose all the military, for they are convinced that part of them will share in the emancipatory process.

While emphasizing the strength and scope of recent popular actions, Congress drew attention to a major negative development, namely, the division and disarray of the trade union movement, which prevents the working class from leading the mass struggle. Groups posing as 'revolutionaries' question the Communist policy of united action, opposing to it their own policy of 'ideological unity' as a prior condition for mutual understanding. Some even negate the vanguard role of the working class in the revolutionary struggle. Their argument is that any action in support of vital demands must immediately grow over into a struggle for power. To all intents and purposes, these 'revolutionaries' are breaking up the organizations in which they are active. Congress stressed the need to combat such petty-bourgeois trends, stating that there are distinct possibilities for mutual understanding on concrete issues and for united action with workers still strongly influenced by ruling-class ideology and politics. The united action policy, Congress declared, is becoming a factor in altering the attitude of these workers and some of their leaders who are now gradually coming over to the idea of unity.

*In 1958 the two parties formed a bloc, euphemistically named the National Front to camouflage their political monopoly.

Congress sharply criticized economism as hampering politicalization of the trade unions and limiting their actions to struggle for immediate demands within the framework of repressive bourgeois legality. But it issued a clear call for vigilance, warning against indiscriminate use of the economism label in appraising any concrete action of the masses. The present trade-union structure, it said, based entirely on shopfloor organization, does not accord with the level of Colombia's capitalist development. For a long time the Communists have urged amalgamating the small unions into industry-wide organizations or (with due account to specific conditions) union federations embracing kindred industries.

The supreme form of mass struggle in Colombia is the guerrilla movement. Its kernel is the Revolutionary Armed Forces directed by the Communist Party and led by a member of its Central Committee, Manuel Marulanda Velez. It has had to contend with formidable difficulties in the past few years, caused not so much by the military operations of the enemy, as by his political maneuvers. Reference, primarily, is to the promise of agrarian reform, which engendered illusions among the peasants. Communists in the guerrilla movement are fully aware of their role in our policy of combining all forms of struggle. They know that at this juncture the basic form of struggle—and this is stressed in the Congress resolution—remains mobilization and action of the masses.

The guerrilla movement is the reply of Colombian patriots to the policy of preventive war imposed by the U.S. government through its military mission. And today the movement merges with peasant actions for the land and represents a reserve force against possible repression by the oligarchy, even possible direct military intervention by Yankee imperialism in an attempt to prevent a revolutionary way out of the crisis. Guerrilla operations are part of the people's mounting struggle and facilitate the maturing of a revolutionary situation.

A cardinal task, Congress declared, is the creation of a united popular movement. And the growing isolation of the big bourgeoisie, the disintegration process within the liberal and conservative parties, the mainstay of the regime, and the emergence of new parties and political groups, show that the time is ripe for such a movement.

Accordingly, the Congress political resolution says that the pressing task of Colombian Communists is to find the way to unity of all the forces opposed to the present system. This will lay the foundations for a Patriotic Front of National Liberation. Proceeding from its experience, the Party suggested organizing, in the very near future, a democratic opposition front to bring together all sections of the population who want to see the national crisis resolved along anti-oligarchic and anti-imperialist lines. This front has already become a reality, in one or another concrete form, especially in the provincial assemblies and municipal

councils, whose Communist members have found a common language with representatives of the National People's Alliance, and other opposition groups and trends.

In line with its policy of combining the various forms of struggle, the Party deems it important to participate in elections. Communist activity in the provincial assemblies and municipal councils has shown that elective bodies can be used for a more effective policy of alliance and action against tyranny and also to highlight issues vital to the people. Our Party will put up candidates in the coming April municipal and provincial elections. In fact, preparations for the Congress coincided with the beginning of the election campaign and a number of our mass actions were used to nominate candidates.

These elections will have a very special meaning for the opposition – they could help it retain control of most of the provincial assemblies and municipal councils. And if the opposition forces continue to work for unity, there will be a real chance of victory for a people's candidate in the 1974 presidential elections.

Colombia and Latin America

The upsurge of the mass struggle in Colombia was examined against the background of the upsurge of the liberation movement throughout the continent. It is now perfectly clear that bourgeois reformism, the celebrated 'development theory' much used and boosted by so-called 'representative democracy' governments and military dictatorships under the tutelage of U.S. monopolies, has proved an ignominious failure. Despite the blockade, Cuba continues to build the basis of socialism. In Chile, the working class, led by its parties, has, as a result of class struggle and revolutionary use of elections, become the leading force in the government.

Congress drew attention to the U.S. imperialist tactic of engineering conflicts between neighboring countries. And Congress pointed out that the oil monopolies, the big arms firms and the extreme reactionary oligarchical circles of Colombia and Venezuela are preparing an armed clash between the two countries over control of the rich shelf oil deposits in the Gulf of Venezuela. The Communists of the two countries, reviving the Bolivar tradition of friendship and fraternity, are jointly working to mobilize the masses and democratic opinion and have taken a clear stand based on the principles of proletarian internationalism.

On international issues, Congress reaffirmed its firm resolve jointly with fraternal parties to uphold Marxism-Leninism, and condemned the splitting activity of 'Left' and Right opportunists. The 11th Congress was indicative of the growing maturity of the Communist Party of Colombia. The high political level of the debate, the rich experience brought to us by the delegations of fraternal parties, the collective and planned work of our leadership – all this evoked tremendous interest in the Congress and its

deliberations. The press, radio and television provided varied information of its proceedings. And we believe that, parallel with a firm, principled position on questions of the international Communist movement, our biggest achievement is ideological unity on the central problems of tactics and strategy. This was manifested both in the preparations for the Congress and in its proceedings. And this is the earnest of our Party's success in political work and in its organizational strengthening.



New constitution and the development of democracy in Bulgaria

Boris Velchev

Bulgaria's new Constitution was approved by a referendum on May 16, 1971. The fundamental law of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, it consolidates the victory of socialist social relations, defines the underlying principles of our political system and serves as the legal basis for building a developed socialist society.

I. The Constitution of a socialist state not only registers and consolidates its gains, but also plays an active positive role in socialist construction. This is fully confirmed by our constitutional practice.

The first Constitution of the PRB was framed under the direction of Georgi Dimitrov and adopted in 1947 when we were just beginning the transition from capitalism to socialism. It consolidated the gains of popular rule and was the legal basis for fundamental structural changes that led to the complete victory of socialist production relations.

With Bulgaria launching out on building mature socialism, there was need for theoretical elucidation of a number of major problems and for new departures in various areas of public life. And the Bulgarian Communist Party formulated in its new program, adopted at the 10th Congress in April 1971, a scientifically grounded definition of mature socialism. It is based on the Marxist-Leninist teaching of the two phases of the communist formation and takes account of our own experience and that of the USSR and other fraternal countries. At this stage we are completing the material and technical basis of socialism, perfecting socialist relations, enriching culture, raising prosperity standards, gradually overcoming uneven development of our social system and assuring the all-round development of the personality. Such is the concluding stage of the first phase of the communist formation; a stage at which socialism reaches its highest point and more fully reveals its superiority over capitalism.

Mature socialism means mastering all the achievements of the scientific-technological revolution to secure a high level of produc-

tive forces. That is the basis for new, qualitative changes in production relations: mutual enrichment and approximation of state and cooperative property with subsequent merger into all-people's property. There is also a companion process – continued change in the nature and relations of classes, social strata and groups. Essential differences between the working class and cooperative peasantry, between physical and mental labor, are gradually obliterated, leading to a socially homogeneous society.

Changes in economic and socio-class structure substantially alter the political organization of society. The state of proletarian dictatorship gradually grows over into a state of all the people, with parallel enhancement and perfection of socialist democracy.

The practical tasks involved in building mature socialism called for a new Constitution that would consolidate these changes and, hence, more closely conform to the new development conditions. That, briefly, is the substance and purpose of the Constitution adopted in May 1971 after a nationwide discussion. It not only accurately mirrors the state of society, but blueprints its continued progress.

The Constitution faithfully reflects the place the Bulgarian socialist state holds in the world today, emphasizing its membership of the socialist community. Indeed that is basic to our independence and development, and Bulgaria is continuously strengthening its friendship, cooperation and mutual assistance with the Soviet Union and other socialist states. It is committed to a policy of peace and mutual understanding with all countries and peoples.

The new Constitution should be seen against the background of developing socialist democracy as the chief direction in the growth and perfection of our system of social administration. And that is only natural, for democracy is intrinsic to socialism and its development is an objective law of the new social system.

In terms of class involvement, socialist democracy is incomparably broader and deeper than the democracy of any bourgeois country. For it is based on public ownership of the means of production and complete elimination of exploitation. This makes for genuine democracy for the working people, that is, for the vast majority. Public ownership allows for a harmonious blend of individual and collective interests with those of the entire people and powers their growing interest in active participation in the management of the state and the economy. 'In the final analysis,' Lenin wrote, "every kind of democracy, as political superstructure in general . . . serves production and is ultimately determined by the relations of production in a given society' (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 32, p. 81).

The leading role of the working class, whose finest representatives are organized in the Communist Party, is an inalienable feature of socialist democracy. And our Constitution lays special emphasis on the leading role, both in society and the state, of the BCP, the Marxist-Leninist vanguard of the working class, the force that directs the creative energy of the masses towards the full triumph of socialism and communism. In this way the Constitution

gives legislative consolidation to the status our Party has won in the long and difficult struggle against capitalism and fascism, for socialism.

The Party's leading role in society and the state assures a profoundly democratic system of social administration. There is the experience of history to show that only the Communist Party, that supreme form of working-class organization armed with knowledge of the laws of social development, is in a position correctly to chart social progress, provide scientific leadership in the building of the new society and give the process organization and planning. That is why the Party's leading role is a law governing socialist construction in all countries.

The Constitution reflects also this specific feature of Bulgarian life: by virtue of history, the BCP is directing the building of developed socialism in close cooperation with the Bulgarian Agrarian Union, its faithful ally and co-fighter for socialism.

The state of the working people of town and country led by the working class holds a central place in the entire system of social administration. And that is understandable, for the socialist state unites all members of society and controls the basic means of production, now the property of the entire people. At this stage, the socialist state is the best means of assuring unity in the direction of economic, socio-political and cultural life, and it is through the state that international contacts and defense arrangements are implemented.

That is why the working people's state is the main instrument in building socialism, and the Party sees to it that progress towards that goal is continuous. Our experience wholly refutes the theory about the state shedding much of its role in the initial phase of communism and eventually playing no role at all. Of course, the state does not remain unchanged, under socialism. It is constantly developing, with its functions improving as mature socialism is built. But central to this process – and this is stressed in the new Constitution – is the uninterrupted expansion of democracy, more efficient organization and operation of the state apparatus and more public control over it.

II. The criterion of democracy in any society is who holds state power and how it is used. In People's Bulgaria all power stems from the people, belongs to the people and is exercised by the people, directly or through elective bodies. The new Constitution is evidence that this system of socialist popular rule is being expanded and adapted to the requirements of mature socialism in the making.

Representative democracy is the principal form of worker participation. The National Assembly and the People's Councils are the political basis of the state, with all other state institutions directly or indirectly formed by and accountable to elective bodies.

The profoundly democratic character of our representative bodies can be seen in the principles governing their organization and func-

tioning, set out in the new Constitution. And the key principles are: sovereignty of the people, unity of state power and democratic centralism.

Sovereignty of the people – all representative bodies derive their authority directly from the people led by the working class; the people are the sole source of power. Elections are in all cases general, equal, direct and by secret ballot, with the franchise extended to all citizens over the age of 18, irrespective of sex, nationality and race, religion, education, nature of work, official, public or property status. Another expression of sovereignty of the people is the constitutional provision that all elected bodies and officials are accountable to their constituents. Important, too, is the people's right to recall elected officials if they do not live up to the trust reposed in them. Lenin wrote: 'No elective institution or representative assembly can be regarded as being truly democratic and really representative of the people's will unless the electors' right to recall those elected is accepted and exercised' (Vol. 26, p. 336).

The principle of unity of state power – all representative bodies having both legislative and executive authority – is still another distinguishing feature of socialist democracy. And the Constitution has a number of clauses guaranteeing that. The National Assembly, the country's supreme representative body, will now have wider functions. They are formulated in the Constitution – examination of basic development problems, enactment of laws, overall direction of home and foreign policy and general supervision of fulfilment of legislative decisions. This makes it a 'working corporation,' the supreme organ responsible for planned direction of social development. Our National Assembly does not merely legislate, but combines legislative with executive functions, in short, exercises supreme administration of the country. The new institution introduced by the Constitution, the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, has much wider authority and functions than the Presidium of the National Assembly which it has now replaced. For the State Council operates on a permanent basis and between National Assembly sessions exercises overall direction of home and foreign policy, draws up government strategy of our social development. It thus assures, especially in periods between National Assembly sessions, coordination of the entire machinery of government and control of all government institutions. It is responsible to the National Assembly.

However, the fact that it has executive, operational functions does not belittle the role of the Council of Ministers, the country's supreme executive and management body. For the Council of Ministers is responsible for implementation of home and foreign policy, is accountable to the National Assembly and subordinate to it and to the State Council when the Assembly is not in session.

The democratic character of our representative bodies is further expressed in the nature and activity of the People's Councils. They

are closer to the people than any other body, are elected by the people and responsible to them for every aspect of their activity. The new Constitution defines them as organs of government by the people, leaning on the people's initiative and participation and working in close contact with political, trade-union and other public organizations. The Constitution stresses that the People's Councils are 'working corporations' which, within their jurisdiction, are free to shape policy and supervise economic and socio-cultural development. They combine national with local interests, planning on an industry-wide and territorial basis and are responsible for the comprehensive development of their particular locality.

Our People's Councils have nothing in common with so-called local self-government in bourgeois countries, which at best deals mainly with purely municipal affairs. Furthermore, in many bourgeois countries social problems are dealt with by governors, prefects, etc., appointed by the central authority to control the local administration. In contrast, our Constitution reflects the enhanced role of the People's Councils in the system of social administration.

Socialist representative democracy is based on democratic centralism. Bourgeois critics allege that socialism contains many features of the bureaucratic centralism characteristic of the capitalist state. Of course, they choose to by-pass the fact that under socialism centralism and democracy form a dialectical unity, that the principal characteristic of centralism is its democracy. For democratic centralism combines the wide and varied initiative of the masses with their concentrated will as expressed through the central authority. This makes it possible to take account of concrete local conditions, fully utilize available material and spiritual resources, promote the initiative, enterprise and activity of local organizations. In this period of building mature socialism, democratic centralism will acquire still greater importance both in form and substance, for more and more people will be enlisted to share in the administration of the state and there will be continuous perfection of the apparatus of government.

Progress in representative democracy is being matched by progress in direct democracy, that is, direct participation of the people in resolving major problems through referendums, nationwide discussions of legislative bills, public sessions of People's Councils, electors' instructions to deputies, and so on. Direct democracy is an effective means of participation in decision-making. And here we can draw on experience and tradition. For example, it was by popular referendum that the monarchy was ended and the People's Republic proclaimed in 1946. In 1971 there was a nationwide discussion followed by a referendum on the draft of the new Constitution. It has become a regular practice to hold national discussions on five-year plan directives and major legislative projects. The most recent example is the nationwide discussion on the sixth (1971-75) five-year plan.

The new Constitution provides for diverse forms of direct democracy on a national and local scale. The National Assembly

determines the issues to be submitted to nationwide discussion or to a popular referendum, and local elective bodies do so on matters within their competence.

A steady increasing role for public organizations is a basic aspect of socialist democracy, and the Constitution expressly defines their place and part in the political organization of society: they are the broad social base of popular democratic power and assist the proper functioning of government institutions and agencies. The new Constitution grants the main public organizations legislative initiative. This applies to the National Council of the Fatherland Front, Central Trade Union Council, Central Committee of the Dimitrov Young Communist League and the Central Cooperative Alliance on all questions pertaining to their activities. The Constitution makes special provisions for the Fatherland Front as the biggest mass socio-political organization, and one that is the embodiment of the alliance of the working class, laboring peasants and people's intelligentsia, the support base of popular rule and a mass school of patriotic and communist education, through which the working people are brought into the administration of the state.

The new pattern of relations between the socialist state and public organizations, as set out in the Constitution, provides for combining state and public interests in the administration of one or another sphere of public life. And in this respect, too, we have built up a fund of experience. For several years now, two central departments based on this principle have been operating successfully, the Committee on Arts and Culture and the Committee on Youth and Sports, which are both state and public bodies. The former, for instance, is elected by a congress of cultural workers and its chairman, a member of the government, is approved by the National Assembly. It is through this Committee that the country's cultural life is directed, with the active participation of the creative intelligentsia. A committee on science, technical progress and higher education will be elected at the forthcoming congress of scientific workers.

The Constitution formalizes worker participation in economic management. The state industry-wide amalgamations started in recent years are independent juridical and economic units guided by the principle of democratic centralism. They combine one-man with collegial administration, with representatives of the trade unions and factory collectives sharing in their management.

This method of state-cum-social management and worker participation in running industry, is an essential element in the continued development of the state and its gradual conversion into a state of all the people and, eventually, transition to communist self-government.

The court and prosecutor's office play a big part in upholding state and public interests and in assuring observance of socialist legality. The organization and functioning of these departments is likewise based on democratic principles. Indeed, the Constitution explicitly provides for public participation in administering justice

(through the institute of public assessors), election of all judges and assessors, their independence and accountability only to the law, equality of all citizens before the law, public trial, and the right of the accused to legal defense.

The object of all these constitutional provisions is to perfect the democratic structure of social administration and in this way create favorable conditions for the building of mature socialism.

III. The prime criterion of the democracy of any Constitution is the position of the individual in society, the degree to which he participates in political, economic and cultural life, and the rights, duties and freedoms the Constitution grants him.

Marxism-Leninism has scientifically demonstrated (and practice has confirmed) that the rights and freedoms of the individual are predetermined by the character and level of social development. Under socialism, with public property replacing private property, the distinguishing feature of the citizen's status under the law is complete equality in ownership of the means of production. In other words, complete equality before the law, ruling out all privileges and restrictions based on national, racial, origin, religious, educational, social or property grounds.

Furthermore, the rights of citizens are greatly expanded and more securely guaranteed in the process of building mature socialism. The Constitution grants every citizen the right to work, rest and leisure, social maintenance, free education and medical aid, participation in administration of the country, etc. It also guarantees equality of the sexes, defends the interests of youth, grants the working people freedom of organization, press, assembly, demonstration, freedom of religion, security of the person, his property, etc.

The essential feature in the rights and freedoms of citizens of a socialist state is their reality. For every right proclaimed in the Constitution is backed by material and political guarantees that follow from the triumph of the new system. For instance, the right to work is assured by the uninterrupted development of our socialist economy. This enables every citizen to acquire the necessary skill, choose a profession and place of work. The right to rest and leisure is assured by reduction of the workday and workweek without reduction of earnings, annual paid holidays, an expanding network of clubs, cultural centers, rest camps, sanatoria, etc. The citizen's rights and freedoms are guaranteed also by socialist economic planning aimed at fuller satisfaction of the people's rising requirements, their bigger part in management, and by state safeguards of their interests.

These constitutional guarantees of the people's rights and freedoms are cogent proof of the new social system's advantages over capitalism. Bourgeois ideologists maintain that socialism suppresses the individual, that everything is done for the collective, for the state, and the individual has no value. The facts, however, are that socialism does not contrast the individual to the collective.

On the contrary, it provides the conditions for the all-round development of the personality. And the determining factor here is the social milieu. Our Constitution provides and guarantees immense opportunities for a free choice of career, for conscious, active and creative participation in advancing our material and spiritual culture and in enjoying all its benefits.

In bourgeois countries freedom of the individual, though formally recognized, is overshadowed by the omnipotence of capital and by the reactionary onslaught on civil rights. In the socialist state any impairment of the rights and legitimate interests of the citizens is contrary to the very essence of the new system. Stringent observance of the individual's constitutional rights and freedoms is assured by the state, public organizations, officials, and by public control.

Of course, freedom of the individual cannot be 'absolute,' cannot exist outside a definite social framework. It has nothing in common with subjectivism or anarchism. Marxists have always combated the fallacious and demagogic slogans of 'full' and 'unlimited' freedom. That concept leads to anarchy, to irresponsible actions that undermine public discipline and the interests of the people and of socialism. Freedom is always insolubly linked with responsibility to society. It is only natural, therefore, that in guaranteeing broad rights for the individual, our Constitution also establishes certain duties. It demands, for example, that every citizen safeguard and multiply the wealth of society, that inviolable basis of the new system, that he engage in socially useful labor, abide by the country's laws, defend his country. The Constitution forbids the founding of organizations directed against the socialist system, propaganda of anti-democratic ideology, incitement to war, etc.

The legal status of the individual formulated in the new Constitution is an expression of the profound democracy and humanism of our new Fundamental Law, and a striking manifestation of the Party's solicitude for the men of labor.

The new Constitution does more than set out the achievements of socialist democracy—it outlines the prospects for its continued development. And inasmuch as the state holds the central place in the system of social administration in the period of building mature socialism, socialist democracy is implemented chiefly in the functioning of the state. By constantly expanding its social basis, the state gradually becomes more expressive of the socio-class unity of society. This, and more effective worker participation in running the country, constitute the objective foundation of the future system of communist self-government.

The Constitution concretizes the Party Program's concept of a more effective system of representative bodies and their greater role in resolving cardinal problems. These include perfection of the electoral system to strengthen the bond between the people and their representatives, development of representative bodies as 'working corporations' with both legislative and executive authority, wider

worker participation in the day-to-day management of the state and the economy, promotion of diverse forms of direct democracy, further increasing the role of public organizations in social administration.

The development of socialist democracy is an objective process, but not an automatic one. It is consciously directed by the Bulgarian Communist Party in keeping with the laws of social development at this stage of building mature socialism. This entails raising the Party's leading role, enriching and developing Marxist-Leninist theory, raising the socio-political consciousness of the masses and the organization level of society.

The new Constitution provides a firm legal basis for marshalling all the forces and energies of the working people in the drive for the triumph of the Communist ideals. Todor Zhivkov, First Secretary of the BCP Central Committee and Chairman of the State Council, told the National Assembly when it adopted the new Constitution: 'The dedicated labor of our people, the building of a developed socialist society in our country, create new conditions and guarantees for increasingly fuller use of existing rights and freedoms, and the necessary preconditions for our people's gradual passage from the realm of necessity to the realm of freedom, to communism.'

Hungary's experience in cooperative farming

Sandor K. Nagy

The socialist restructuring of agriculture is one of the most important, and one of the most complicated, aspects of the building of socialism, especially in countries with sizable peasant populations. The Marxist-Leninist classics repeatedly emphasized that the problem would require careful approach, patience and time.

In solving it the Soviet Union followed Lenin's cooperative plan. And Soviet experience shows that the cooperative policy of the Communist Party and proletarian state involves much more than agricultural economics. Not only because there are other cooperatives besides agricultural, but also because cooperation is a composite element of planned transition from capitalism to communism. This means that the fundamentals of a cooperative policy are inseparable from those of the overall policy of the transition period which, to a large extent, they determine.

The cooperative policies of socialist countries are identical in their main features, but, as Lenin foresaw, there is much diversity

in concrete solutions. This, of course, applies to Hungary, where distinct features in the work of the cooperatives are determined by national tradition and local specifics.

The Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party agrarian and cooperative policy, the vehicle for socialist refashioning of agriculture, follows Leninist principles. We carried out the reorganization of agriculture in agreement with the laboring peasantry and with its active assistance, at the same time strengthening the worker-peasant alliance. Our Party has consistently combated Rightist attempts to soft-pedal the process and Left attempts to accelerate it. The Party drew, and applied all the necessary conclusions from its experience and the development requirements of the cooperative movement.

A long step in that direction was taken by the Agrarian Theses adopted in 1957 and amplified and carried further by Party congresses and Central Committee plenums. Our agrarian policy was codified in the 1967 law on agricultural producers' cooperatives. The 1971 general law on cooperatives is based on our accumulated experience and sets guidelines for agricultural cooperatives in accordance with the new requirements of socialist construction. It defines the legal status of all types of cooperatives, founding procedures, property arrangements, self-management, representation and state control.

The principles evolved by the Party apply to all types of cooperatives – handicrafts, consumer, savings, housing and, of course, agricultural producers' cooperatives, where they were first put into operation and where we have accumulated a fund of experience.

Our cooperative farms account for 80 per cent of the arable, 77 per cent of the agricultural labor force and 70 per cent of gross farm produce. In addition, they are doing much in processing farm produce, building, machine repairs and in a wide range of other services.

Experience has shown that the cooperative farm is the best form of combining the social, group and personal interests of the peasant. Our Party holds that the farms will exist for a long time to come and that it is in the interests of the national economy to provide optimal conditions for their development.

I. The state has a vital stake in the cooperatives developing in accordance with the socialist aims and interests of the whole of society. And to assure that it regulates their economic relations, uses economic incentives and sees to it that they abide by the appropriate laws. But state regulation leaves the farms a wide margin of independence and maneuver.

The economic management reform which, as the 10th Party Congress established, has fully lived up to expectations, has made for deep-going changes in cooperative farm structure and management.

It is important to make the cooperatives owners of the land they cultivate. The peasant retained ownership of his plot in joining the cooperative, now it is buying out all the plots.

Another factor in improving cooperative farming is adjustment

of prices and credit terms. The farms are now able to operate on a paying basis, finance expansion, more successfully discharge obligations to the state and provide material incentives for their members.

The cooperatives have a very large measure of self-management. Neither central nor local authorities can impose obligations on them or demand deliveries, which are determined by contracts with purchasing agencies. The regulations that gave state enterprises certain advantages in dealing with cooperative farms have been repealed.

The reform has made for a new pattern of production planning. Rigid indicators have been replaced by a system of economic stimulators to boost production and sales to the state. There have been changes also in state aid and subsidies and a better ratio between consumption and accumulation funds.

The cooperatives are free to decide what to produce and how to market their product, and here state economic incentives play a big part. Similarly, the farms decide what to specialize in, how to cooperate with other farms and state enterprises. All this is taken into account in the farm's overall plan.

The 1967 law sets obligatory rules for the farms, but these do not impair their managerial and operational independence and job assignments.

In fact, the law acts as an additional stimulator. For now not only material remuneration, but also the size of the household plots, annual paid holidays and pensions are tied to each member's performance. And each member receives a monthly wage, equivalent to 80 per cent of his planned earnings, with the remainder, plus a bonus, paid out at the end of the year. In addition, there is the annual 'dedication bonus,' paid to those who have done most over a period of years to build up the farm.

A larger measure of independence and judicious use of economic incentives create better conditions also for operation of the social factor. All this makes for better job performance and helps educate the farmer in the spirit of socialism.

II. Our planned economy is firmly based on the harmonious development of the two forms of socialist production – state and co-operative. Both share the characteristic features of socialism – public property of the means of production, collective work, payment according to work done, etc. The close link between the interests of the individual and those of the collective and between the collective and the whole of society, is a major source of strength for the cooperatives.

At one time the cooperatives were regarded as a transition form, and moreover one not consistently socialist, as something in between small, private commodity production and public property. This resulted in unnecessary supervision, disregard of the equality principle in relations with state enterprises, and underestimation of the role of the farmers as collective owners of the cooperative.

State property is, of course, the prevailing, predominant form throughout the economy. But the importance of cooperatives under socialism should not be judged in terms only of their socialist property. Both forms, cooperative and state, have their distinct advantages. By bringing together erstwhile small producers, the cooperatives are sometimes more effective in serving society than state enterprises. Experience has shown that they are no less resilient in adapting to new conditions, display more initiative in response to material incentives, employ less administrative personnel. And the cooperatives will continue in a mature socialist economy too. Both forms, cooperative and state, are being brought closer together in the process of economic development, but they are not being merged. For the value of the cooperative system – apart from purely economic factors – lies also in its social function of bringing the mass of the peasantry into the building of socialism and helping to refashion the peasant mentality.

Equality of state enterprises and cooperative farms is a basic principle of our economic reform. And things have changed substantially in this respect – relations between the two are now based on stable mutual interests.

However, very much remains to be done to make the most of the new arrangement. So far the cooperatives have concentrated on building up their fixed assets and could not devote much attention to trade, processing, etc. Now that they enjoy more independence they can expand into these branches and coordinate their efforts with those of state enterprises. In this matter, too, they can rely on state assistance, but the main principle of such assistance is that no one should enjoy a most-favored position on the socialist market and that every function must be delegated to the enterprise best equipped to perform it.

Socialist transformations and merger of cooperatives have led to greater concentration of production. The number of cooperatives declined from 4,195 in 1961 to 2,480 in 1970, whereas average land holdings increased from 1,100 to 2,000 hectares. In 1970 the farms averaged 440 workers and 24 million forints of fixed assets. Larger farms make for more effective use of modern machinery.

Economic modelling is often used to establish the optimal size of a cooperative farm, but the method can prove erroneous, for the farm is treated merely as a combination of machinery and land, in total disregard of the social aspect of cooperative democracy. In determining optimal size account should be taken not only of effective use of machinery and rational organization of work, but also of the conditions needed for the farmer's direct participation in resolving all vital questions.

The cooperatives themselves determine the size of the farms with account to population, natural resources and economic conditions. The present size of the farms is, we think, stable and enlargement will be required only in exceptional cases. Henceforth production will grow through more intensive and efficient cultivation.

Concentration of production, processing and marketing, in line

with technological advances – all this requires closer coordination between farms and also between farms and state enterprises, but with the former retaining their independence. Such coordination is applied primarily in branches where technical progress is especially rapid.

The cooperative combines the collectively-owned farm with individual household plots. In earlier years the latter were regarded as a temporary expediency, but practice has shown that these household plots will for a long time remain an element of socialist agriculture. And they are of no little economic value, accounting as they do for an appreciable share of the country's supply of meat, milk, eggs, vegetables and fruit. Last year their share of gross farm output was 22 per cent and the cooperatives' 48 per cent.

Household farming is based mainly on manual labor, which makes for more employment, augments the farmer's income and supplies a sizeable share of his family's food, thereby somewhat relieving pressure on the retail trading system.

In the past, every family was entitled to a household plot irrespective of how many of its members worked on the farm. Under the new rules, every member of the cooperative is entitled to a plot, ranging in size from 0.3 to 0.6 hectares, depending on his share in the collective effort. This is particularly important in bringing women and young people into cooperative farming.

However, despite all this support of household farming, its productivity is declining from year to year, particularly in meat and dairy products. This is the logical result of higher cooperative production and also of higher living and cultural standards. But it is economically important and profitable that the introduction of new, modern capacities should be attended by maximum utilization of the old ones. Hence, as long as industrialization of cooperative farming is not completed, we shall have to see to it that household-plot productivity does not decline.

Household farming is being modernized and specialized, chiefly in the more technical branches. The process is encouraged by co-operation between the collective and individual members, with the former retaining its leading role. So far such cooperation has been confined to poultry farming, but is now being extended to livestock. This is how it works: the cooperative supplies the animals and fodder, the farmer is responsible for supplying premises and, of course, his labor, and is paid accordingly. The arrangement benefits both the collective and the farmer, but, primarily, it should contribute to the growth of collective farming.

III. Encouraging cooperative democracy as an organic part of socialist government by the people, is a major feature of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party policy. Self-management is expressed in the fact that cooperative directing bodies are elected and that the cooperative farmers shape and control every aspect of policy and activity. As collective owners, they assume responsibility for the cooperative's operation. Now that the cooperatives

enjoy more independence, they have to deal with many problems which in the past came within the jurisdiction of government authorities. All this adds to the importance of the cooperative farm Statutes.

And the Statutes provide that the farm is administered by the general meeting, an elected management board and various commissions. Our Party systematically encourages the farmers to make effective use of their rights, to feel themselves masters of the farm and confident that their opinion will always be reckoned with. The Statutes provide for a secret ballot in electing the management board and control commissions and on such matters as amalgamation or division of the farm, reorganization and liquidation.

Production concentration, more economic independence and more extensive operation, and business ties with other enterprises, have made farm management more sophisticated. General meetings are not always practical, and in such cases departmental or delegate meetings are held to discuss production, organization and payment. There is also an arbitration committee elected by the general meeting to act on disputes within the collective.

The development of democracy and self-management have been helped also by the founding of territorial amalgamations.

The cooperative is the main link in this system, which includes territorial amalgamations, the All-Hungary Council of Producers' Cooperatives, and enterprises jointly run by several cooperatives. This system gives more prominence to the democratic factor in the cooperatives as independent enterprises and accentuates their social functions.

The supreme authority is the All-Hungary Congress of Cooperatives. It meets every four years to discuss fundamental problems, government proposals and recommendations. Between congresses the highest authority is the All-Hungary Council of Producers' Cooperatives, whose opinion is solicited and taken into account in framing legislation affecting the cooperatives. The Council also draws up and submits proposals for supplementing or revising legislation relating to the cooperatives and regularly supplies the cooperative amalgamations with economic information. The amalgamations must discuss every council recommendation though they are under no obligation to put it into practice.

These territorial amalgamations are organized on a voluntary basis and usually unite from 50 to 100 cooperative farms. Their elective bodies act on behalf of the cooperatives and are accountable to them. The advantage of the amalgamations is that they bring the farmer into discussion of general problems and, in this way, into the framing of Party and government agrarian and cooperative policy.

The main function of all elective bodies is to help the cooperatives operate more efficiently through the supply of research data, quality standards, marketing, etc., represent their interests and provide legal aid when necessary.

More independence for the farms means that we must pay more

attention to their special interests, which can clash with the interests of state and other enterprises. Correct solution of these contradictions in the interests of the economy as a whole leads to more effective satisfaction of the requirements of society.

In short, the amalgamations have fully lived up to expectations. They have been instrumental in adapting the cooperatives to the new economic management system, and in assuring equality in trade and contractual relations between state and cooperative enterprises. They have brought the cooperative farms closer together and have initiated many joint projects. Lastly, they have done much to improve the training of cooperative cadres, giving them a better understanding of the new political and economic problems.

Representative bodies and amalgamations deal only with matters delegated to them by the cooperatives. They cannot interfere in the latter's management, nor supersede government institutions. All their activities are on a voluntary basis, with only a skeleton full-time staff.

The Tenth Congress of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party (November 1970) set the task of raising socialist agriculture to a higher level, increasing its effectiveness and improving prosperity standards. The cooperative farms are in a good position to make a tangible contribution to Hungary's economic development. And their role, far from declining, will become more important still in the building of developed socialism.

Morning star of youth

Max Zimmering

'Risen from the ruins . . .' These opening words of the national anthem of Germany's first worker-peasant state apply to Dresden more than to any other city of the German Democratic Republic.

For to speak of Dresden is to speak of the ruins to which it was reduced by the U.S. and British air attack on the night of February 13/14, 1945. One of Dresden's renowned citizens, the writer Gerhart Hauptmann, called the city on the Elbe the 'morning star of youth.' Eighty-three at the time of the air attack, he wrote: 'He who has forgotten how to weep will learn again at the sight of Dresden destroyed.' Indeed, it seemed destroyed for good. Goebbels exclaimed shortly before the collapse of the Third Reich: 'We will leave our successors a legacy that will destroy them.'

That was not to be: the 'morning star' shines again. But we must never forget the past - let it always be a reminder of the forces

responsible for the tragedy of Dresden. And responsibility lies, above all, with the German monopolists, Junkers and militarists who, twice in a single generation, plunged the peoples into a world war. But not only with them.

In his book, 'The Dresden Inferno,' Walter Weidauer, the veteran anti-fascist who took on the Herculean task of directing the city's rehabilitation, tries to explain the motivation behind the wanton destruction. This is what he was told by Marshal of the Soviet Union Ivan Konev:

'This act of barbarity aroused so much protest among progressives around the world that the U.S. and British ruling circles decided to put the blame on others. The bombing of Dresden was not agreed with the Soviet side and the Soviet General Staff had no knowledge of it. I was then commander of the First Ukrainian Front and my armies were the closest to Dresden. I can say with full responsibility that the attack and destruction of Dresden in February 1945 had absolutely no relation to the operations of the Soviet Army. The savage destruction of the city did not help our armies, then or later, when they were on the approaches to the city. For Dresden was not fortified, did not have any particularly important industrial or military objectives or a sizable garrison. The city was full of refugees.'

Dresden's destruction on February 13/14, 1945, was the beginning of the cold war, though the real war was still on. The 'German Florence' was how writer Johann Gottfried Herder described Dresden. And on this German Florence 500,000 bombs were dropped; 35,000 were killed, 75,000 homes destroyed and 100,000 more damaged. To this should be added 114 public buildings, 40 hospitals and clinics, 35 schools and 68 other education and culture units. The 'defenders of Christian civilization' destroyed 20 churches and 8 chapels. Of the city's 30 historic buildings, 11 were reduced to rubble, among them the famous Frauenkirche; 19 other unique buildings, including the Zwinger and the Royal Chapel, were damaged. When the Soviet Army liberated the city on May 8, 1945, the center was a 15 square kilometre area of debris.

With liberation came succor and a new lease of life. Before me is an old document, a memento of those days, Order No. 018 issued by the Military Council, First Ukrainian Front, on May 16, 1945. It has this laconic list: 9,500 tons of grain, 1,115 tons of meat, 512 tons of fats, 30,000 tons of potatoes supplied to the German population by the Soviet Army, and this at a time when millions of Soviet people had to cope with the food shortages caused by the war.

And we remember the men who began breathing new life into the city. On May 12, 1945, there was the first appeal from the new, Social-Democrat Burgomaster, Rudolf Friedrichs, who together with Otto Buchwitz and the Communists Kurt Fischer and Hermann Matern, formed the nucleus of the new city administration. Most

of them had just come out of Nazi prisons and concentration camps. They had but one desire – help the people begin life anew. And if they were able to overcome the terrible chaos left by the retreating SS units, who had blown up the Elbe bridges, this was primarily due to the disinterested assistance of the Soviet Army. Reports of those days repeatedly mentioned Lt.-Gen. Dubrovsky and his assistants.

A provincial administration was set up in the autumn of 1945 headed by Rudolf Friedrichs and Kurt Fischer, and with Walter Weidauer Burgomaster of Dresden. A carpenter by trade, he always referred to himself as a 'builder by calling.' Indeed, building was the very life of the city, which with bitter humor its people described as 'Germany's biggest brickyard.'

Building! Yes, but first Dresden had to be cleared of the rubble, and this could take years. (There was also the spiritual rubble left by fascism.) How to assure an uninterrupted supply of bread, potatoes, gas, electricity, water? And what of the factories, schools, public transport, the health services? The problems were many, the difficulties numberless. They could be surmounted, but only by the concerted effort of the entire population, cooperation of the new anti-fascist democratic parties and unity of the working class. The first step towards such unity, towards overcoming the fatal division in the labor movement, was taken by the Communists and Social-Democrats of Saxony at their unity congress in Dresden early in April 1946.

That was a quarter of a century ago. Today there is a new, socialist Dresden that attracts thousands of tourists.

For many Dresden is a city of the arts. That is only one, albeit important, aspect. Of course, the Zwinger Gallery, now fully restored, and other art treasures give the city a unique character. And from the very start art has been the object of special solicitude by the authorities, and much valuable assistance has come from the Soviet Union. The present Burgomaster, Gerhard Schill, writes: 'The soldiers and officers of the world's first worker-peasant state saved the treasures of the Zwinger and the Green Vault, which the Nazis had left in half-ruined buildings and underground chambers. They were saved by Soviet soldiers, sent to the USSR and after careful restoration returned to our people.'

Now they have been brought to the people and made part of their esthetic education. Kurt Liebmann writes in his preface to the Dresden Album: 'Through forums and informal talks about the Zwinger gallery, through concerts in the gallery halls, we teach people to understand and appreciate art. The gallery is in close touch with Socialist work brigades in the factories, rural cultural centers, the Youth Club and Friends of the Gallery circles. Dresden's theatres, its symphony orchestra, its famous Kreuzchor, the fine arts institute, conservatoire and world renowned Gret Palucca dance school, fully justify the name City of the Arts.'

But the new Dresden is not only a city of the arts. To quote

Burgomaster Schill again: 'Formerly known mainly for its "royal residences," Dresden has become a city of socialist industry, a center of science and technology, of the new socialist culture, a center of international tourism, a city ruled by the working class.'

Rebuilding meant replanning. The old inner-city ring had to be supplemented by broad radial avenues. Dresden is especially proud of the one that begins at the main railway station, passes through Pragerstrasse to the Old Market and from there through Schlossstrasse, the Dimitrov Bridge and the New Market to Unity Square. Stretching for 3.5 kilometers, it gave the city a new dimension.

Visiting foreign architects say that Dresden's planners and builders have found very happy solutions for many of their problems. One of the happiest, perhaps, is the Pragerstrasse, with its new hotels, shopping centers, arcades, fountains and flowerbeds. This complex could well serve as a model for a center in which the modern and traditional are harmoniously blended.

Another new development is the North-South avenue running through the center of the city. On July 3 last year, Werner Koliowski, Politbureau member and First Secretary of the Dresden Party committee, opened the new Rudolf Friedrichs bridge, named after Dresden's first postwar Burgomaster. It was completed four months ahead of schedule in honor of the Eighth Party Congress. Built of reinforced concrete, it is one of Europe's most graceful bridges, and the most modern on the Elbe.

Construction of the bridge and of the 250 meter tunnel at the Pirnaischen Square, and also replanning of all the central squares, has largely solved the city's traffic problem. Computer-controlled traffic lights are being installed everywhere. More modern trams from Czechoslovakia are being put into service.

Dresden's new landmarks are the new television tower overlooking the city, the Rudolph Harbig stadium, the famous Dresden Zoo, the Recreation Park with its Young Guard summer theatre and children's railway. Dresden can well be proud of its unique Hygiene Museum and the contribution it is making to the public health service.

Dresden goods go to nearly 90 markets. The city plays an increasing part in the socialist division of labor within CMEA. We now have such major industries as the Pentacon optical works, a plant producing transformers and X-ray equipment, a packaging-machine factory, the Zentronik combine, whose products can be found in many countries. The new technology is well represented at the Robotron computer combine.

Dresden will accomplish much more in the new five-year plan, with expansion in engineering, electronics, electrical engineering, and in its traditional industry - photographic and cinema equipment.

This will be matched by expansion in cultural facilities and improved living conditions. The plan calls for universal ten-year schooling by 1975, and we are already building new schools, kindergartens and nurseries.

Housing is receiving more attention in keeping with the Eighth Party Congress decisions, and in the current five-year period housing construction will be doubled, and though the housing problem will not yet be fully solved, there will be better housing for thousands of Dresdeners. The decision to rebuild Dresden's Opera House in the next five years has been welcomed by Dresdeners and music lovers the world over.

This progress would have been impossible without the support and assistance of the whole country. The Party Central Committee and the GDR government not only set the targets of the grand construction effort, but provided the means for their attainment. Dresdeners welcomed the decision to rebuild their city as one of the country's finest, the center of the old and young culture, a veritable 'morning star.'

Thaelmannstrasse, Pragerstrasse, the Palace of Culture, the new hotels and shopping centers, are not the only attractions of the new Dresden. There are the people, above all the young men and women who fill the streets, shops, cafes, and they have given new meaning to Hauptmann's city of the 'morning star of youth.' For never before have there been so many young people in Dresden – workers, office workers, engineers, artists, students – 35,000 attend Dresden higher schools.

One of the university buildings deserves special mention. It was once the court house and prison. It was badly damaged in the 1945 raid. Its southern wing, now restored and used for classes, had been the execution-wing – 1,069 prisoners, Germans and foreigners, were done to death here by the Nazis. The executioner was paid 300 marks per head and his assistant 50 marks. Resistance fighter Georg Schumann was executed here with ten of his comrades. A plaque marks the spot where they were killed. Surrounded by flowers, it bears Schumann's last words: 'The Germany of peace and humanity, the socialist Germany, will be built by those who come after us.'

The young people who fill the building now have grown up in the country for which these courageous anti-fascists gave their lives.



Radical agrarian reform is one of the most important problems facing the revolutionary movement. Its significance is determined, first and foremost, by the need to associate millions of peasants with the proletarian cause. The problem is particularly acute in the one-time colonies of the East, where peasants make up the overwhelming majority of the population.

The CPSU has carried out Lenin's plan for the socialist reorganization of the countryside. The Soviet example, above all that of the Central Asian republics, strongly influences the solution of agrarian problems in the developing countries, as theorists of revolutionary democracy and those who put it into practice testify.

We have already reported on the international seminar held in Frunze, USSR, to take stock of the experience of agrarian change in the Soviet republics of Central Asia and Kazakhstan. T. Usubaliyev, First Secretary of the CC, Communist Party of Kirghizia, read a paper analyzing that experience. The contributions of other speakers at the seminar, which form the basis of the ensuing articles, reflect, as the reader will see, different approaches to the agrarian problem which are due to varying geographical and socio-economic conditions and to substantial program and political distinctions.

By-passing capitalism

Turdakun Usubaliyev

I. The national liberation movement has made remarkable headway over the past decade – from the abolition of colonial tyranny

to struggle against all social oppression. A primary condition for revolutionary change is to solve the agrarian and peasant problem. Of the two billion people living in the rural areas of the planet, the peasants of Asia, Africa and Latin America account for more than 1.5 billion. 'The central issue of the revolutionary process in Asia and Africa today,' Leonid I. Brezhnev said at the 1969 International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties, 'is that of the attitude of the peasantry, which make up a majority of the population.'

There are appreciable points of similarity in socio-economic structure and agrarian relations between the new Asian and African states and pre-revolutionary Central Asia and Kazakhstan. Hence the experience of the Soviet Eastern republics, which had to solve many of the problems now facing the developing countries, may be of considerable interest to the latter.

The October Revolution was a turning point in the life of the peoples of tsarist Russia, many of whom it enabled to move from feudal relations on to socialism in a short time, skipping the capitalist stage of development.

Due to the predominance of pre-capitalist socio-economic relations the peasantry in Central Asia and Kazakhstan was the biggest, and in a sense the decisive, social force. This circumstance determined the direction and scope of general democratic changes and the Communist Party's policy in these regions. It was essential to approach each nation according to its development level and its peculiarities. In fighting against the feudal lords and bourgeois elements, we had to decide on the forms of promoting relations with the working people and forging a close alliance between them and the working people of Russia. 'We are confident,' Lenin said, 'that, by systematically pursuing our policy of close alliance, we shall achieve greater success . . . in our relations with the peoples of the East' (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 30, p. 326).

The Party, led by Lenin, evolved the theoretical foundation and practical procedure of solving these problems. Lenin stressed that the peasants, as well as being toilers, have a small proprietor's mentality and must be prepared step by step for the adoption of socialist principles. He insisted on modifying our tactics in the outlying regions of Soviet Russia and on taking account of national distinctions. Speaking to the Second All-Russian Congress of Communist Organizations of the East (1919), Lenin urged devising effective forms of alliance between the working class and the working and exploited masses of the East, a large proportion of whom lived in medieval conditions. Peasant Soviets, the people's government bodies set up in Central Asia and Kazakhstan in the transitional period, were one of these new forms. They included progressive members of the then small intelligentsia.

Settling the national question was indispensable if proper relations were to be established between the Soviet state and the peasants. The tsarist regime and the Russian bourgeoisie had brutally exploited the peoples of Central Asia and Kazakhstan.

The tsarist government wanted to prevent the national consolidation of these peoples and to check the growth of their national awareness, so as to make it difficult for them to launch a liberation movement. Accordingly, the territories inhabited by Uzbeks, Tajiks, Turkmen, Kirghiz and Kazakhs were artificially carved up without regard to ethnic boundaries or national interests, to be incorporated in various administrative areas.

Lenin's policy, based on class unity of the working people, helped consolidate nations and bring them closer together on the principles of proletarian internationalism and equality, which in the end led to the formation of the USSR. The Soviet state began, from the first, in the incredibly difficult conditions of struggle against domestic and international counter-revolution, to implement a fundamentally new national policy. The purpose of this policy was to destroy the social and economic roots of oppression and remove the main causes of national distrust and enmity. It was in this way that the trend towards dissociation was gradually overcome, with the liberated peoples striving ever more strongly for unity.

II. The paramount economic, social and political task of the new government in the Soviet republics of Central Asia and Kazakhstan was to effect an agrarian reform abolishing colonial and feudal landownership. Lenin said: 'We regard the land question, the question of improving the living conditions of the peasants, who constitute the overwhelming majority of the population, as one of fundamental importance' (Vol. 33, p. 392).

Agrarian changes were carried out in line with Lenin's famous Decree on Land. The decree announced the abolition of private landownership throughout the country and made the land the property of the whole people. The socialization of the principal means of agricultural production undermined the economic foundation of the power of landed proprietors and *bais** and provided favorable conditions for the advance to socialism. Special significance in this arid zone attached to water, the sources of which were controlled by the feudal overlords.

In 1918, the principles of the Decree on Land were legislatively concretized to accord with Central Asian conditions. However, their implementation met with considerable difficulties. The shortage of competent personnel devoted to the revolution was much greater than in central Russia. To make things worse, reactionary elements speaking for the feudal landlords and *bais* had wormed their way into agrarian agencies. As most of the peasants, especially the nomadic stock-breeders, were politically, socially and culturally backward, the Moslem clergy, communal leaders and tribal chiefs retained much of their influence over war, the *Basmachi's*** armed struggle against Soviet power, and

*Upper section of the rural community in Central Asia and Kazakhstan, combining the characteristics of peasant and petty feudal lord.—Ed.

**Members of an armed counter-revolutionary nationalist movement in Central Asia, 1917-1926.—Ed.

kulak resistance) made it imperative to show flexibility in carrying out changes in the land and water system.

The resolution of the 10th Party Congress on immediate tasks in settling the national question stressed that 'all mechanical transplanting of central Russia's economic measures which are only applicable at a higher level of economic development, into the outlying eastern areas must be rejected.' Feudal and semi-feudal relations in Central Asia and Kazakhstan were therefore abolished by stages and took more than ten years.

The first stage (1918-1920) saw the expropriation of the farms of big *bais*, former officials of the colonial administration and Russian capitalists. However, due to the conditions prevailing at the time, in particular the fact that anti-Soviet elements were still entrenched in the state apparatus, many of the confiscated lands were back in the hands of their former owners. The success of agrarian changes depends not only on the nature of political power but also on the ability of the administrative apparatus to effect decisions. Our own and international experience shows that a state apparatus infested with pro-landlord and pro-kulak elements cannot carry out a radical agrarian reform.

The next stage of agrarian reform began in 1920, after the civil war. Its main purpose was to do away with the remnants of colonial landownership and introduce equal land tenure for local peasants and settlers. The lingering inequality in this respect hampered agricultural progress and complicated relations between nationalities. Warning against great-Russian chauvinism towards the indigenous Turkestan* population, Lenin wrote in 1921: 'Win confidence . . . win it three times and four times; show that we are no imperialists, that we shall tolerate no deviation in this direction.

'This is an issue of world significance, we may safely call it that.

'We must be extremely strict here.

'This will have its effect on India, on the East, it is no joking matter, we must be a thousand times circumspect' (*Complete Works*, Russ. ed., Vol. 53, p. 190).

The Ninth Congress of Soviets of Turkestan proclaimed all lands and water resources to be state property, prohibiting their purchase, sale and lease and establishing the procedure of effecting reforms in the land and water system. It provided for the confiscation of land exceeding established proportions. Confiscated land was distributed among the sharecroppers who tilled it, then farm-hands and lastly land-hungry peasants. Part of the land was used for setting up state and collective farms.

From 1917 to 1925, the land estates of the Emir of Bokhara, khans and former high officials, as well as part of the *waqf* lands, were confiscated and transferred gratis to the peasants. This improved the peasants' condition. However, the problem of land

*Vast region in Central Asia, which after the October Revolution encompassed the Turkestan ASSR (1918), and the Bokhara and Khorezm People's Soviet republics (1920).—Ed.

hunger had not yet been solved and diverse forms of feudal, usurer and semi-capitalist exploitation in the countryside had yet to be fully abolished.

These tasks were accomplished in the third stage of agrarian changes, from 1925 to 1929, after the national-state delimitation and formation of national republics of the Kazakhs, Kirghiz, Kara-Kalpak, Tajiks, Turkmen and Uzbeks as components of the Soviet Union. The agrarian reform in our multinational country was directly linked with a democratic solution of the national problems, which meant removing all vestiges of colonialism and feudalism in land ownership and tenure.

III. The agrarian reform was preceded by careful preparations with the object of specifying land rights and organizing land development. Democratic machinery was set up accordingly. Land and water commissions were formed, each commission including not only representatives of the local Party and government bodies and experts, but also peasant delegates elected by the villagers' general meeting. They were in constant and direct touch with the working people. This helped to rectify mistakes made by administrative agencies and to reveal tracts of land still held by feudal lords, usurer merchants and bais.

An agrarian reform is not, of course, limited to purely administrative work. Its success depends in very large measure on the peasants' political activity. In a number of Central Asian areas the reform was not completed until 1928 or 1929, that is, eleven or twelve years after the October Revolution, for only by then had we raised the political consciousness of the peasant masses to an adequate level. Class organizations of poor peasants brought into being at the time played a big role in creating a new social and psychological climate. Those were associations uniting landless and land hungry peasants and progressive middle peasants. They took an active part in preparing and carrying out the agrarian reform – consolidating rural Soviets, helping to enforce agrarian laws, organizing economic aid to working collectives, abolishing the kulaks' privileges and redistributing land. The poor peasants' 'aid groups,' which stimulated the activity of the masses, made a notable contribution too. The reform was preceded and accompanied by a propaganda campaign.

The main provisions of the reform were discussed by rural Party and other organizations, district peasant conferences and villagers' general meetings. The peasants had time enough to think over and discuss the principles of the reform and the procedure of its implementation and to suggest amendments. This was done on the principle of democratic public discussion. Evidence of the property status of each peasant was checked at general meetings, in the presence of all peasants. This enabled the Party organizations and government agencies concerned to know, take into account and influence the peasants' sentiments.

While the reform was being carried out, the Party defeated 'Leftist' attempts to rush through uncompleted stages of social development and ignore the distinctive past of the Soviet East and the specifics of the economy and culture of its peoples. The Party acted on the counsel of Lenin, who said that the expropriation even of the big peasant farms cannot be the immediate task of the victorious proletariat if the material and social conditions for socializing them are lacking. (See Vol. 31, p. 158.)

We also defeated a Right-wing nationalist trend which virtually rejected the general laws of socialist development on the plea that 'national specifics' must be respected, denied the existence of exploiting elements in pre-capitalist social formations and alleged that the working people's interests dissolved in the 'overall national' interest.

We know by experience that an agrarian reform aimed at really ending feudal landownership can be successful only if carried out, not on the principle of 'class peace' – of 'pleasing both the sheep and the wolves' – but through class struggle against the feudal lords by the peasants led by the revolutionary party.

The land and water reform in the republics of Central Asia and Kazakhstan (1925-1929) fully abolished the landed property of feudal lords and capitalists, ex-officials of the colonial and feudal administration, rural and urban merchants and usurers, and restricted the holdings of bais and kulaks. Part of the poor peasants became middle peasants, and most of the one-time sharecroppers and farm-hands set up their own farms.

This social revolution destroyed the feudal system that had developed in the Eastern areas over the milleniums. It substantially limited the exploitation of poor peasants. Agrarian changes improved the material condition of many peasants and helped to increase employment in rural areas. The incipient migration of ruined peasants to the towns was stopped.

IV. Changes in the countryside were not confined to the redistribution of land, though this is the basis of every agrarian reform. As soon as Soviet power was established in Central Asia and Kazakhstan, Party and government bodies set about strengthening peasant farms economically.

One of the principal conditions for this was to do away with merchant and usurer capital. The earliest measures under the agrarian reform were intended to close the accumulation sources of this capital. Private agricultural credit was gradually replaced by government and cooperative credit. Loans in cash or in kind (seed, livestock, implements, etc.) were granted to individual and collective farms on a strictly class principle, which prevented the credits being used by the well-to-do to the detriment of poor peasants. Direct trade exchange between town and country was started to force private go-betweens and usurers out of the market. Specialized government organizations regulated the supply of manu-

factured goods and farm machinery in exchange for farm produce. Thus the superiority of socialist relations between the state and the working peasantry was demonstrated in practice.

Economic relations between them were based on advance contracting. Contracts provided for measures requiring joint efforts by the peasants—extending the sown area, improving irrigation, and so on—and helped the peasants to realize the necessity for collective farming. State purchasing agencies, by signing contracts with peasant farms, introduced planning into agriculture and exerted a regulating influence on the market.

The taxation policy also helped to consolidate peasant farms. Exploiting elements had to pay higher taxes, which made for restricting their sphere of activity and for eliminating them gradually, whereas the collective farms were granted favorable terms.

The conditions in which the agrarian reform was carried out did not yet permit the complete elimination of farms systematically using the labor of farmhands and share-croppers. A selective survey made in Uzbekistan after the reform revealed that the republic had over 100,000 sharecroppers and farmhands. Furthermore, over half of the farms were small and inefficient. In four regions of Uzbekistan, 68 per cent of the peasant farms had no livestock at all or only one head each and hence could not operate on their own. A farming system had to be set up without delay that would guarantee rapid economic progress in Central Asia and Kazakhstan. This could only be done by reorganizing agrarian relations on socialist principles, through the peasants associating in production cooperatives of their own free will.

At the beginning of our revolution, in 1919, Lenin warned against the illusion that the problems of building socialism could be solved rapidly and easily. 'The experience of the revolution,' he said, 'shows that changes in the form of government are not difficult, that it is possible to oust the ruling class of landowners and capitalists in a short time, if the revolution develops successfully it may be done in a few weeks, but the reorganization of the fundamental conditions of economic life, the struggle against habits that in the course of hundreds and thousands of years have become second nature to every petty proprietor is something that requires many long years of persistent organizational work after the exploiting classes have been completely overthrown' (Vol 29, p. 523).

The ground for a socialist offensive all along the line was cleared by the land and water reform and the development of diverse forms of cooperation ranging from primary (supply-and-sales, credit) to production cooperatives. Poor peasants were encouraged to join cooperatives and as members they contributed two or three times less than well-to-do farmers. Moreover, they paid their contributions by instalments whereas the well-to-do had to pay theirs at once. Economic and organizational measures made it possible to form the backbone of the cooperative system from the working section of the peasantry.

First to become widespread were supply-and-sales cooperatives, the simplest in form and method. By purchasing his produce from the peasant and selling him goods at fixed prices, they helped to eliminate private capital and increased the influence of the state over peasant farming. Then came credit cooperatives as well. In granting a credit to a cooperative, the uses to which the credit should be put were specified and it was indicated how this should be done and whose interests it should benefit. The cooperative assumed responsibility for distributing the credit accordingly.

Primary cooperatives helped to introduce planning into rural trade and safeguarded peasant farms against the impact of the private market. The development of supply-and-sales cooperatives and credit cooperatives assisted the rise and spread of cotton-growing, grain, fruit and vegetable, stockbreeding and other peasant cooperatives. Their economic and organizational structure made it possible to keep the peasants' personal interests in harmony with the public interest.

Coupled with revolutionary democratic changes, the development of cooperatives made it possible to abolish pre-bourgeois (merchant and usurer) forms of exploitation, prevented capitalist trends in small-commodity farming and paved the way for large-scale socialist agriculture.

V. Complete collectivization in the late twenties and early thirties ended capitalist, feudal and bai influence in the economy.

The socialist sector gained the upper hand throughout Soviet agriculture. The socialist system of farming that came into being all over the country amounted to a revolution in economic relations and in the peasants' way of life. Thanks to Lenin's cooperative plan, millions of peasants were delivered from kulak bondage, from ruin and poverty.

Collective farming helped to solve numerous problems: discarding extensive, low-yield and low-profit crops in favor of intensive, high-yield and high-profit ones, bringing new lands under the plough, building irrigation systems, raising labor productivity and sharply increasing agricultural output. Collectivization was preceded by comprehensive political and organizational preparations over a long period during which we consolidated village Soviets, Party and other mass organizations and launched agronomical and political classes for rural activists and educational work among the peasants.

Collectivization was carried out on a voluntary basis, by patiently persuading the peasants of the advantages of socialist farming. We saw to it that the principle of material incentive was respected, that collective farming combined harmoniously with individual peasant farming and the interests of collective farms, with those of the state as a whole, and promoted self-government on the collective farms.

A distinctive feature of collectivization in Central Asia and

Kazakhstan was that it was necessary, as well as eliminating capitalist elements, to uproot survivals of a pre-capitalist, patriarchal-communal way of life. Besides, the diversity of socio-economic conditions called for different collectivization methods in relation to nomads, peasants and settlers.

In the case of nomads and semi-nomads, collectivization led to a settled way of life. The state extended increasing material aid to the nomads prepared to settle on the land. Where nomads camped in great numbers for a long time, the state set up trading stations to supply consumer goods and other necessities. The stations purchased animal products from the nomads, gradually forcing out private traders. Their personnel explained the nature and meaning of cooperatives to the nomads and helped them to see the practical advantages of cooperatives. Gradually consumer and supply-and-sales cooperatives were established on the basis of trading stations. The exploiting section of the nomadic population was made to pay high taxes and steps were taken to limit private property in livestock and the use of hired labor.

In this way we went over from extensive to intensive farming, making large areas available for cultivation and increasing the output of animal husbandry. The settlement of nomads and semi-nomads was very important in industrializing Central Asia and Kazakhstan, for it provided extra manpower which we drew into industrial production, thus bringing part of the rural population into new forms of labor.

Collective farming went a long way to remove tribal prejudices that had held the people captive for centuries. The traditional tribal commune gave way to collectives united on the territorial principle and linked by common economic interests. Our experience tells us, however, that age-old traditions and customs cannot be rejected indiscriminately. For example, mutual assistance in labor (called *ashtar* by the Kazakhs, Uzbeks and Kirghiz and *yevar* by the Turkmen), once common between neighbors or relatives, helped to consolidate collective farming and acquired a new social meaning. Positive traditions, reshaped in keeping with the requirements of socialist development, played a noteworthy part in offsetting negative survivals of the past.

VI. The introduction of socialist relations allowed full scope for the productive forces in agriculture as well. The irrigation of the Golodnaya and Karshi steppes in Uzbekistan, the cultivation of the Yavan area in Tajikistan, the opening of the Karakum Canal in Turkmenia and the cultivation of vast expanses of land in Kazakhstan made it possible to set up many hundreds of new, highly mechanized state and collective farms. As against 1913, total output in the five republics—Kazakh, Kirghiz, Tajik, Turkmen and Uzbek—has increased as follows: grain, from 4 million to 24.5 million tons, or more than six-fold; cotton, from 661,000 to 6,554,000 tons, or almost ten-fold; meat, from 674,000 to 1,324,000 tons, or

twofold. Output of potatoes, vegetables and fruit has grown many times over.

The experience of the Soviet Union, including its Central Asian republics and Kazakhstan, shows that social progress in general and in rural areas in particular directly depends on industrial progress. The new production relations that took shape as peasant farms joined cooperatives could not for long be based on the use of primitive implements. Industrial progress largely removed the contradiction between the need for rapid agricultural advance and the archaic technical base of farming.

Industrialization laid the groundwork for the steady growth of production and altered the social character of the countryside and the nature of farm labor. In Tajikistan and Uzbekistan alone, farmers today use 148,000 tractors, over 30,000 cotton-picking machines and over 500,000 other machines. Socio-economic distinctions between workers and peasants are gradually disappearing. 'The growing productive forces of agriculture,' said L. I. Brezhnev at the 24th Party Congress, 'the gradual transformation of agricultural labor into a variety of industrial labor, the rising cultural standards of the countryside and the remolding of life in rural areas all lead to a change in the peasant's social character and mentality.' The peasant's work is more and more like that of the worker. The number of collective farmers using machinery is growing and their educational standard is improving.

These achievements are of special value to the peoples of Central Asia and Kazakhstan. Among the 140 million people inhabiting Russia in 1921 those of Turkic stock who had not gone through the capitalist stage of development by the time the October Revolution began numbered 25 million. They had no industrial proletariat or hardly any. Yet this did not prevent them from joining in the new common trend of development with help from the Russians and other fraternal peoples of our country. In striving for national and social freedom, the working people of Central Asia had a loyal ally, friend and guide in the Russian revolutionary proletariat.

Revolutionary democratic measures ended the patriarchal-feudal way of life and the influence of its principal exponents. This greatly changed the alignment of social forces, accentuated the main line of the class struggle and created the requisites of the poor and middle peasants adopting socialist economic forms, skipping capitalism.

With the completion of *collectivization*, socialist relations triumphed definitively.

Industrialization radically changed the class structure of the Central Asian republics and Kazakhstan. It provided the economy with a powerful base and helped the victory of the social forces striving for the revolutionary transformation of society on socialist principles.

The cultural revolution in Central Asia and Kazakhstan gave rise

to a genuinely popular culture national in form and socialist in content. It brought into being a new workingman free from every form of oppression, one who is a politically conscious member of the new, socialist society.

Bourgeois ideologists talk a great deal about quests for a 'third' way of development for the peoples of Asia and Africa. The real purpose of these neo-colonialist quests is to prevent the newly free peoples from taking a socialist road and to keep them in the sphere of world capitalism.

However, these peoples want to rid themselves of economic dependence, technological and economic backwardness and poverty as early as possible—they do not want it to take centuries. And this makes Lenin's theory of non-capitalist development, and the experience of the peoples who have pioneered this road, particularly important today.

The practice of building socialism in the republics of Central Asia and Kazakhstan has not only proved the possibility of once backward peoples advancing rapidly to socialism, skipping capitalism, but has indicated the concrete lines, forms and methods of this advance. We see this as the most significant aspect of our experience for the worldwide revolutionary liberation process.

To be sure, non-capitalist development in a number of Afro-Asian countries will not amount to a repetition, let alone an exact replica, of the development of the Soviet Central Asian republics. Every epoch gives rise to a vast variety of forms and methods of social development. We are convinced, however, that new states can take into account and use much of the experience of the Soviet Union's Eastern republics to solve their own economic, social and cultural problems in building the new society.

Land reforms in Southern Yemen

Mohammad Haiten Ali

Agrarian reconstruction is the focal point of the national-democratic revolution in the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen.

Land had always belonged to the state. The state's sovereignty and supreme ownership extended to all lands, regardless of the prevailing forms of ownership and tenure. Following the secession of the country's southern part and its break-up into sultanates and sheikdoms, most of the land fell into the hands of the traditional authorities and feudalists. In the meantime, the gradual rural

stratification produced a stratum of rich peasants owning means of production and living off the toil of the small peasant and farm laborer. Part of the land fell into the possession of the imamate.

On the eve of independence there had evolved an element of rich landowners – sultans, sheiks, emirs, mullahs and tribal chiefs allied with the merchants and higher bureaucracy. At the other pole were peasants owning (or renting) dwarf plots and middle peasants, among whom the process of stratification was still under way. The nomad herdsmen, whom in their many years of rule the colonialists never even tried to convert to a settled way of life comprised a special group.

I. November 30, 1967, the battle of the peoples of Southern Yemen against the British colonialists culminated in the proclamation of independence. And in 1968 (five days after the abortive reactionary coup of March 20) an agrarian reform law was promulgated to shore up the government's positions by half-hearted modifications that left intact the pillars of the prevailing land relationships. A limit of 25 feddans per person was set for holdings of irrigated land and of 50 feddans for non-irrigated. Feudalists were allowed to keep their movable and stationary possessions. Making no distinction between ownership and tenure, the law enabled the exploiting element to conceal part of its possessions. Furthermore, the big landowners evaded confiscation of surpluses by transferring land to members of their families.

Distributed land had to be paid for, which tended to create a kulak stratum, fired the acquisitive instinct of the peasants, and impaired the perspective of cooperative farming. The reform administrators had no strictly defined powers, and, moreover, consisted mostly of reactionary elements. The small peasants and farm laborers were given no part in carrying out the reform. This inhibited their class consciousness in the confrontation with the exploiters. The exploited mass was given the impression that the redistribution of land was not a rectification of their legitimate rights, but an act of goodwill and charity by the men in power. The ruling element deliberately complicated the reform, provoking conflicts among peasants. As a result, abuse piled upon abuse in the course of what was from the outset a half-hearted and inconsistent reform. Only an insignificant portion of the confiscated land was allotted to peasants. Bribery and favoritism were rife, and as a rule the allotments were parcelled into plots too small for the peasant's needs. Moreover, implements were not provided, and many peasants were compelled to let the land lie fallow or to lease additional plots. Authority in farming cooperatives and other peasant associations that sprang up at the time was captured by landowners and rich peasants, who used them to promote their own interests.

In sum, the 1968 agrarian reform only sharpened the contradic-

tion between the peasant mass and the exploiting upper crust and precipitated unrest. The new stage in the revolution begun by the June 22 Movement in 1969 was highlighted by a Left victory in the National Front. Thereupon, the land problem, which required urgent solution, received high priority. Administrators from the landowner and rural bourgeois milieu were purged from ministries and institutions connected with agriculture. Officials who had employed coercion against peasants – taken their land, deprived small and middle peasants of irrigation, imposed duties or harassed them with lawsuits – were dismissed.

Following the economic gains made by the revolution, peasants intensified their demands for the land of semi-feudalists and rich peasants. Poor and middle peasants refused to pay the land rent to the big landowners. But their actions failed due to poor organization, dispersion, and lack of leadership. Gradually, the movement died down.

To sustain the peasants' revolutionary sentiments, the National Front, the country's ruling party, began forming village committees of members of the peasant movement. The committees surveyed land to identify the big holders and rich peasants, following up with a census of landless peasants and farm laborers. The peasant mass helped willingly. The class struggle grew sharper, escalating at times to armed clashes.

The National Front supervised the peasant committees and aided them in their multiplying functions as advocates of a thorough agrarian reform grew in number. It oriented the committees on problems of the present day and sought to prevent excesses. Despite mistakes, due mainly to the fact that some committees struck out on their own, the National Front generally succeeded in channeling their work in the desired direction.

Gradually, initiative passed to those directly interested in a radical agrarian solution. This naturally precipitated reactionary attempts to hold up the reform and obscure the class contradictions. At village meetings landowners paraded as advocates of reform, insisting that its effectuation lay in the sole competence of government bodies. They tried to prevent peasants from participating and to seize the initiative, as was the case after the 1968 law. If their attempts failed, we owe this to the National Front, which correctly relied on the peasant mass, using force to suppress the barefaced foes of the reform.

II. In view of the sharpening of the class contradictions a radical solution was imperative. Either the big landowners would have a free hand, with the National Front limiting its social basis to the reactionary strata and condoning suppression of the democratic movement, or the agrarian reform should be carried out to the full. The latter approach won: a decision was taken to proceed with the reform in accordance with the new law, adopted in November 1970 after its draft was approved by poor peasants and farm labor-

ers, envisaging limited landownership and distribution of land surpluses among small peasants.

At local level the reform was handled by peasant committees headed by National Front representatives, who followed a standard policy and prevented anarchy. Meetings were called, in which all interested persons could take part, discussing land distribution and registering the general opinion. For the peasants this was a novelty. They flocked to the meetings, enabling the committees to maintain close ties with the masses.

The National Front saw to it that the peasant movement should not come under the influence of reactionary elements, and combated petty-bourgeois ideology. This does not go to say that mistakes were totally avoided – there was a certain amount of confusion and a certain amount of extremism, due to lack of experience in directing mass political actions. Some mistakes made by the committees were due, among other things, to the insufficient cultural and political grounding of their members to petty-bourgeois concepts and poor knowledge of the country's laws.

Shortcomings are being remedied on the march. As the reform advances (so far it has been carried out in an area of 87,000 feddans), the cooperative movement advances too. We have 17 farming cooperatives with a membership of 17,000. They have set out to increase production with modern farming methods, and to expand the irrigation system. The peasants are learning to work in common. The general cultural level is gradually being raised. Given favorable objective and subjective conditions, the agrarian reform in the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen will make good headway.

Reconstruction of Guinea's agriculture

Souare Mamadou Kaba

In Guinea farming is the occupation of more than 80 per cent of the gainfully employed population. Stressing the importance of agriculture in the present stage, President Sékou Touré, General Secretary of the Democratic Party, described it as the cornerstone of planned harmonious development, the cardinal factor of rapid general progress.

The Democratic Party has come to grips with a number of difficult agrarian problems inherited from the colonial period. Extensive crop farming is being superseded by intensive, requiring

a higher order of productive forces and techniques. The other challenge is presented by the pernicious consequences of the colonial policy of cultivating solely export crops, which has reduced food production and is a cause of soil erosion. Colonial plunder coupled with excessive taxes, forced labor and obligatory deliveries of farm produce created extreme poverty in the villages. Peasants could not acquire even elementary implements.

At present, the state is trying to provide the farmers with technology and to boost the yields.

Soon after independence, land was made state property and a series of laws was issued to regulate various agrarian procedures. Colonial land regulations were repealed in 1959. The right to own land was conferred on its tillers and government bodies were constituted to control land deals – sale, tenancy, transfer, and the like. A ceiling was set on private holdings, and tenants not cultivating their lots for six consecutive months were obligated to return them to the state.

These and similar measures enabled the government to begin economic planning and to set the most desirable ratio for the development of industry and agriculture.

Viewing national industry as decisive in the battle against backwardness, the Democratic Party holds, however, that industry will not grow if not supported by intensive farming. This was the principle followed in the first (three-year) and second (seven-year) economic development plans. The three-year plan (1960-1963) envisaged modifying the agrarian structure, raising productivity through mechanization, increasing the cultivated area, and improving the living standard and cultural level of peasants. Steps were taken to expand cooperation and fortify the organizational basis of farming cooperatives. 'Nothing but collective effort,' said the report on the three-year plan, 'will enable the peasants to raise their living standard rapidly and protect them from survivals of social exploitation.' The structural principles for cooperatives, recorded in the model charter, were finalized by the Sixth Congress of the Democratic Party.

Important for our agrarian reconstruction are the state farms, which are centers of modernization formed on the nationalized colonial and other foreign-owned plantations, plus those organized with government funds. They provide cooperatives and peasant farms with machinery and other implements, and also grow export crops. In effect, they are model farms demonstrating the advantages of progressive farming techniques. In sum, the effectuation of the first plan saw considerable headway in restructuring the country's system along cooperative and state lines.

In the seven-year plan, too, agriculture came in for its due share of attention. The main objective was to continue the reconstruction, promote the cooperative movement and increase food and export crop areas to meet the needs of people and industry.

The cooperative movement ran into difficulties due to a lack of

trained personnel and the general cultural backwardness. A new approach to agrarian reconstruction was outlined by the Eighth Democratic Party Congress.

We have opened schools for mechanics and machine operators, have started an educational reform to link instruction and work, and many of our schools are being reorganized with an accent on agriculture. Steps are being taken to raise the cultural level of the rural population, including a nationwide counter-illiteracy campaign, education in local dialects, and development of a national alphabet. The aggregate of these measures comprises a program adopted by the Eighth Congress of the Democratic Party of Guinea for repatterning the colonial agrarian structure and laying the groundwork for modern agriculture.

Farming cooperatives in Egypt

Fathy Abd el-Fattah

Egyptian agriculture has old traditions of so-called natural cooperation traceable to geographic and historical factors. The fellahin have since time immemorial almost exclusively depended on the waters of the Nile. And they had to work together, digging canals and ditches, or blocking the floods. Since the inception of agricultural civilization in Egypt, water for irrigation was, in a way, collective property requiring collective development and use.

The Nile was regarded as the property of Egypt's supreme ruler. He appropriated the adjoining land—in exchange, as it were, for the public right to use its waters. Until the latter half of the 19th century, in other words, private landownership was, in effect, nonexistent.

The Egyptian fellahin worked out a unique system of collective labor, reflected to this day in their way of life.

I. Before the 1952 revolution and the first land reform in September of the same year we had 1,727 farming cooperatives. Modern forms of cooperation, however, which appeared in the country in the 1920s, were accorded a hostile reception by local, as well as foreign, landowners. However, fearing the possible emergence of a truly massive democratic cooperative movement, they began joining and trying to gain control over the cooperatives, which were chiefly credit societies that engaged neither in farming and mechanization nor in marketing, and merely served as intermediaries between the

producers and the agricultural bank, which allocated more than 80 per cent of its loans to landowners and kulaks.

The bank was reorganized and its charter revised in 1941. Credits and other banking services to cooperatives increased in volume. But with loans granted only against land or other securities, the small producers became still more dependent on the big landowners, who acted as guarantors. Thus, until 1952 the big landowners remained the dominant force resisting the development of a truly massive cooperative movement. Furthermore, land was distributed most unequally. More than 94 per cent of the farms under five feddans owned 35 per cent of the cultivated arable, while the remaining 6 per cent owned 65 per cent.

The September 9, 1952 land reform set a 200-feddan maximum per family. In July 1961 this was reduced to 100 feddans and in November 1969 to 50 feddans. As a result, farms of less than 5 feddans came into possession of something like 57 per cent of the total area by 1965.

One of the main objections to apportioning the largest estates among the poorest and the landless fellahin was that atomization of holdings would reflect negatively on the agricultural output, depressing productivity. For this reason the agrarian reform stipulated that anyone given 3-5 feddans of land is obliged to enter a cooperative directed by an officer of the Agrarian Reform Ministry. This was to help the new proprietors, lacking experience and knowledge, to organize and run their farms, learn progressive techniques, and gain access to farming implements.

The 1962 National Action Charter stressed that farming cooperatives were not simply credit societies, but envisaged joint production, a method that has stood the test of time. The fellah is protected from money-lenders and middlemen, who used to appropriate a large part of the fruits of his labor. Cooperatives enable the fellah to employ the latest machinery and scientific techniques, help him market his produce, securing the best possible income for expended labor, and are gradually also beginning to provide social and cultural services.

This was a step forward for the cooperative movement. Cooperatives formed in the agrarian reform have a number of common features:

1. No members own more than 3-5 feddans of land, which precludes seizure of controlling posts by estate owners and kulaks.

2. Considerable assistance and supervision of the state: questions of crop rotation, irrigation, use of fertilizers and insecticides, and the like, are handled by an agronomist and under the supervision of the Agrarian Reform Ministry (while sowing, harvesting, and all intervening jobs are performed individually by the fellahin, who are responsible for their own plots). The Ministry also maintains centers supplying cooperatives with farming machinery.

3. Produce in excess of the fellah's own requirement is sold to the cooperative, with the proceeds credited to his account after deduction of the cost of services performed by the cooperative.

Cooperatives are the main agents in selling the chief crops – cotton, onions, beans, rice, tomatoes, etc. The new ones, operating under the auspices of the Agrarian Reform Ministry (they total 554) cannot as yet be described as production cooperatives, for they combine features of large-scale production with those of small-scale individual farming. But they have helped to increase yield per feddan by some 15 per cent for corn, 19 per cent for cotton and 20 per cent for cereals.

II. Apart from cooperatives formed during the agrarian reform, we still have the traditional credit societies founded on the old land. But as a result of new legislation (1960, 1961, 1963 and 1969) they have undergone considerable changes.

At present there are some 4,340 reorganized credit societies with nearly 1,500,000 or four times as many members as in 1952.

In 1964 the Agricultural Credit and Cooperative Bank was entrusted with the effectuation of, and control over, the general policy of farming credits. Its operations are expanding, though since 1962 it has been giving loans exclusively to cooperative bodies. Interest has been abolished. By an earlier decision, loans to small farms are granted against the harvest, and not against property which had formerly made the poorest fellahin dependent on rich peasants and big landowners. The fellahin spend loans not only for seed, fertilizers and insecticides, but also on machinery for ploughing, irrigation and harvesting, intensifying stockbreeding, and other farming needs. As many as 980,000 landholders, all members of cooperatives, of whom 80 per cent (735,000) were small and middle peasants, obtained loans from the bank in 1964.

There is also a third, more progressive type of cooperative, experimentally organized in two governorships – Kafr-esh-Sheikh and Beni-Suef – in 1963-1964. Its main feature is the accent on collective use of land with members retaining rights of ownership. This helps avoid the difficulties created by parcelling. For nearly 70 per cent of the fellahin still own dwarf farms of less than one feddan, while many others, in excess of one feddan, are partitioned into two or three plots. The experimental cooperatives are a step closer to collective land tenure, extended mechanization and joint marketing of all produce. There are now 429 such cooperatives with some 1,300 tractors, or more than owned by the credit societies. It has been planned to extend this progressive experience to other governorships within five years, but for some reason the plan has stalled.

By virtue of the agrarian reform and the subsequent measures, guidance of cooperatives has been largely taken over by democratic forces. This applies chiefly to cooperatives with all members owning no more than 3-5 feddans of land. In the credit societies, on the other hand, the fight for supremacy in the executive councils is not yet over. Big and middle landowners were highly influential until the early 60s. In 1963 a law was passed that not less than

four-fifths of the council members should be owners of less than 5 feddans, which greatly reduced the influence of the big proprietors.

The actual power in the cooperatives was held by representatives of the Agricultural Ministry. However, this proved an impediment to developing the cooperatives into really massive democratic organizations. Recently, a supreme cooperative council was formed to provide leadership to district and provincial councils. This is a step in the right direction, promoting democratization.

Farming cooperatives have contributed greatly, especially in recent years, to the improvement of collective production, supervision and control of farm credits and marketing. But they can do much more. The vast majority are not production cooperatives. Hence, big hopes are pinned on the newly cultivated land (about one million feddans), where progressive types of production cooperatives are to be founded.

The needs of Ceylon's peasants

Dissanyaks M. Jaieratne

Some of the acute agricultural problems left over from our colonial past are still unsolved. Take land tenure. Imperialist companies still own most of the cultivated arable, including 15 per cent of the most fertile, best irrigated land in the country. The rest of the arable is considered state property. It is officially accepted that with the prevailing system a farm of less than 5 acres cannot be profitable. Yet most of the tenants have plots of less than one acre and do not make a living.

Feudal agrarian relations of the classic type are non-existent, but the bulk of tenants are economically dependent on the landowners. Until recently, the latter appropriated half, if not more, of the tenants' harvest. Now their share has been reduced to one-quarter. Furthermore, owners have been stripped of the right to redistribute plots among tenants at their own discretion.

The change in agrarian relations and distribution of state land was envisaged under the Paddy Lands Act passed by Solomon Bandaranaike's government. It limited land rents and set easier terms for hire of farm implements. However, these and several other measures designed to improve the condition of peasants were boycotted by landowners and reactionary officials, and were not consistently practised. Tenants, who had a stake in the reform, could not take part in its effectuation.

The process of land distribution launched in the 60s is still uncompleted. For a fee, peasants are allotted a plot of 4 acres to grow chiefly rice. For this the state receives a modest annual rent. However, individual cultivation under the existing system is not fitted to solve the agrarian problem. The peasants are too poor to acquire machinery. It should be born in mind, on the other hand, that in the present socio-economic conditions mechanization of agriculture would only add to unemployment, which now affects more than 500,000 people.

One of the most urgent problems is water. The odd irrigation system was destroyed during the colonial period. Most of the man-made reservoirs have dried up and cannot be refilled due to the disrepair of the canals. Farm production has therefore declined in large areas. The government has begun restoring the irrigation system in the dry northern part of the island.

The present government of Sirimavo Bandaranaike is taking steps to alter the rural social structure. Cooperatives are being formed to lend seed, supply machinery and to organize harvesting. But they are not production cooperatives, and peasants still run small individual farms. The government is planning to buy the big tea plantations and convert them into cooperative farms.



Neo-colonialist division of labor

Victor Tyagunenko

The national liberation movement has demolished the system of colonial relations based on non-economic coercion and the exploitation of the less developed countries as an agrarian and raw materials appendage of the industrial powers. But changing circumstances led to changes in imperialism's colonial policy. Stressing this feature, V. I. Lenin pointed out that the 'colonial policy of previous stages of capitalism is essentially different from the colonial policy of finance capital' (*Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism, Coll. Works, Vol. 22, p. 260*). For all the variety of methods and means employed these days by the imperialist powers, we are witnessing a general tendency to convert the former colonies and dependent countries from an adjunct to the national economies of the metropolitan states into a component of the capitalist world economy as a whole.

The erosion of the colonial economic structure of the developing nations is clearly irreversible, and imperialism is therefore trying to 'master' its processes and to find and control their main trends with the purpose of establishing a new division of labor, rightly described as neo-colonialist by progressive economists. The neo-colonialists want to exploit in their own strategic interests the desire of former colonies and semi-colonies to overcome their age-old technical and economic backwardness.

The developing countries are industrializing against tremendous odds. And they have made some significant structural progress. Between 1955 and 1969, for example, their power production increased 310 per cent, heavy industry almost 250, and manufacturing industry 150 (against 110 per cent in the developed countries). The structure of manufacturing has changed: in 1948 heavy industry accounted for 29.8 per cent of output, and for 45 per cent in 1969. The developing countries' single-minded effort to speed up economic growth is compelling the imperialists to look for round-about devices and to adapt to the new conditions.

New monopoly strategy

The expansion of the manufacturing industry in the new states is

followed closely by the neo-colonialists. On the pretext of 'concern' for the development of the former colonies and semi-colonies they are carrying forward a 'modernized' version of imperialist expansion. Asian, African and Latin American countries are given economic aid. Joint enterprises or affiliates of imperialist monopolies are set up. Apart from the aforementioned strategic aims, this is prompted by several factors: first, the socialist countries' aid in developing crucial industries in the formerly enslaved countries, second, inter-imperialist competition, and, third, the stake of certain imperialist business and political groups in the development of some industries in economically backward countries.

The point is that the old policy of narrow agrarian and raw-materials specialization, assigned to the developing countries, is becoming unrealistic. None but the 'old' colonial monopolies are interested in narrow specialization. For monopolies in new industrial fields the still extant colonial economic structure of the developing states is a brake to intensifying exploitation through modern techniques abreast of the scientific and technical revolution. They need big markets, a few highly productive industries, and reasonably skilled labor. All of which is lacking or almost lacking in the economically backward countries. However, new developments are taking place, and the 'new' monopolies are determined to be in on the ground floor and capture the most advantageous positions.

These two trends in relation to the developing countries now clash. The old-style colonialists, events show, are beginning to lose ground. In many developing states imperialist monopolies are already making visible inroads in a number of manufacturing fields. This applies first and foremost to the relatively developed Latin American states, India, Turkey, Iran, and the Philippines, where imperialist states and monopolies participate in metal-making and metalworking projects and projects in electrical engineering, chemicals, automobiles and fertilizers, domestic appliances and consumer goods. The process is building up rapidly. In Eastern Africa, for example, the monopolies are trying to gain control over iron-and-steel and chemicals, and in Equatorial Africa over non-ferrous metals and transport engineering.

At the end of 1970 several leading U.S. corporations notified the Indian government through the Agency for International Development that they were interested in a 'free trade zone' in India. They would build mixed enterprises, they said, specializing in export goods for the United States and other countries. American firms are also eager to tighten their hold on India's home market, and demand marketing rights in India before they consent to embark on joint projects. This sort of thing they have already achieved in the Philippines.

Despite the patently egoistic nature of such projects, 'participation' in industrial development, especially in manufacturing, coincides to some extent with the interests of the developing countries and objectively can be used by them, though only within limits,

to overcome their technical and economic backwardness. The neo-colonialists, on the other hand, are doing what they can to steer the process into channels on a scale and in forms that would sustain, even increase, the subordinate place of the developing countries in the capitalist world economy. More, they are trying to justify this approach with 'theory.'

'New international division of labor'

In view of the changing industrial structure of the imperialist states (growth of new industries) and the Asian, African and Latin American countries' desperate need to raise industry, the neo-colonialists have devised a theory of a new division of labor to make the most of the favorable conditions in developing countries for labor-intensive industries, with the developed countries engaging in the capital-intensive fields. Detailed technico-economic studies favor cutting back consumer industries in the industrial nations, while expanding them in countries of the Third World, provided the latter give up the idea of building up their heavy industry. The purpose of this far-reaching operation was set forth in 1963 in a leading West German economic journal (*European Economy and the Developing Countries*, No. 6). The time has come, it said, to go over to a new international division of labor, practicable through a gradual modification of the industrial structure. For this it is important to transfer labor-intensive industries to the developing countries – and this not only to reduce production costs, but also to obtain big markets for the industry of developed states.

Naturally, the neo-colonialists' prime concern is to secure markets for their goods. But the theory is expounded from an ostensibly abstract, impartial angle, and is in no way associated with the relations of production reigning in the capitalist world economy. In fact, however, every kind of division of labor between countries cannot but reflect (and express) the system of economic and socio-political relations in the countries concerned.

In the capitalist world international economic relations essentially amount to a handful of highly-developed capitalist powers seeking to subordinate smaller and economically backward countries. Bourgeois economists have theoretical explanations for this. The prominent Dutch scholar, J. Tinbergen, for example, says in his study, 'International Economic Integration,' that 'in order to maximize world income we must . . . let every country have the industries in which it has the highest comparative advantages. It seems probable that the developed countries will have to leave to the developing ones the labor-intensive industries of relatively small optimum size, whereas the former will hold on to the industries requiring a relatively large amount of research and highly developed skills and having a large optimum size.'

Let's see where this takes us. The great majority of former colonies and dependent countries are still lashed to the capitalist

world economy. They are told to confine themselves to small-scale and as a rule low-profit industries, while the imperialist states monopolize the highly-efficient fields based on the latest scientific and technical achievements. Which will quite obviously cause continued backsliding and all the consequences this entails. These recommendations, made in the name of an abstract 'world income,' can hardly serve the interest of the peoples concerned, for their share of that income, already negligible, would continue to shrink as they fell farther and farther behind.

That is what the neo-colonialist theories of a new national division of labor really amount to, as admitted by *Fortune*. 'Many economists point out,' it says, 'that a strong element of self-interest is already present, though generally unrecognized. If the developed countries let in more labor-intensive agricultural and industrial products from the under-developed countries, they will be able to shift part of their work force into higher-technology industries. Such a shift can only lead to higher average productivity and augment income levels in the developed countries.'

The idea of a new international division of labor therefore implies, in effect, that the scientific and technological revolution should bypass Asian, African and Latin American countries. For this, too, the ideologues of neo-colonialism have a 'scientific justification.'

Policy of backwardness

The press likes to discuss the gap between the economically developed and developing nations in per capita production. Certainly, this is important. However, a much more serious problem from the point of view of future social development is the ever widening gap in production potentials and labor productivity.

It is estimated that in the mid-18th century labor productivity was about the same in most countries. Today in many countries of Asia and Africa and in some Latin American countries it tails behind the highly developed states by a factor of 20, 30 or even 50. The scientific and technical revolution, which has involved mainly the highly developed nations, is widening the gap still more. The backslide is increasing rapidly, which means that the production facilities of the developing countries are falling behind, making for continued low profitability and, consequently, low competitiveness, thus creating favorable conditions for imperialist monopoly expansion and opening up new channels for intensifying exploitation of the peoples of these countries and undermining their political independence.

The neo-colonialists are eager to consolidate their advantages. Notably, they exploit the objective fact that the development of certain manufacturing industries in the developing countries creates a market for obsolete and physically worn equipment, selling which has become a serious problem. Sale of this plant to developing countries enables the imperialist monopolies, first, to accelerate the

replacement of re-equipment in their own factories and remain competitive, second, to hitch the development of Asian, African and Latin American countries even more strongly to the economy of imperialist states, and, third, to emphasize the 'concern' of the imperialist powers for the industrialization of developing countries.

One of the main theoretical arguments is that old equipment is relatively cheap and hence does not require much capital. U.S. economist B. Kindleberger, for example, refers to historical facts, stating that the Japanese textile industry grew into a major economic branch with used English machines. Another neo-colonialist ideologue, Rudolf Blitz, writes: 'It is quite conceivable that much used equipment, whose maintenance has become too expensive for the most developed areas, would be more suited for the less developed areas than new equipment.' The author declares that the relatively low productivity of obsolescent machinery makes it possible, firstly, to employ more manpower and, secondly, to accelerate industrialization (even if below the top standard) with less investment.

Such recommendations sound reasonable for countries with limited currency reserves and a vast manpower surplus. And not surprisingly, international sales of used machinery are mainly to Asian, African and Latin American countries. However, the proponents of the recommendations could not care less for the economic interests of countries trailing behind (due to imperialism) in technical and economic development. What they are after are higher monopoly profits. Their main interest is in reducing production costs by economizing on equipment in imperialist countries. Sale of obsolete machinery at reduced prices is advantageous for the monopolies, for it enables them to recoup the outlay for new equipment swiftly by virtue of the high rate of depreciation, while selling old but still usable plant at prices much higher than those of scrap in Western markets.

These imperialist 'theories' and practices impede the developing countries' drive against economic backwardness, for higher labor productivity and socio-economic progress. To be sure, in some cases obsolescent equipment may be profitable and even yield temporary economic advantages. However, experience shows, marked acceleration of economic development, modern industry and a significant rise in agricultural productivity are inconceivable without modern machinery. Saving foreign exchange by acquiring obsolescent equipment can only increase economic backwardness and dependence on imperialist countries.

From theory to practice

The theories here examined have a very definite objective: to convince the developing countries that backwardness and dependence on imperialism are the consequence of objective economic laws. As for the imperialist monopolies, their interest lies in transferring labor-intensive and technologically simple manufactures to the

developing states and thereby sharply reduce costs through use of cheap manpower and gain an advantage in the competitive markets. The motto of the day is: 'Produce in developing countries, market in developed countries.' The monopolies are making the most of the experience of the old colonial companies, learning from them how to intensify labor and save on wages. They are taking advantage, too, of their knowledge of natural resources. This helps them to tighten their grip on the manufacturing industries of Asian, African and Latin American countries. A favorite practice is setting up enterprises with incomplete production cycles.

The U.S. monopolies are the most active. They were the first to transfer electronics production to where they could get cheap manpower — Mexico, Hong Kong and, especially, Japan, and U.S.-dominated territories, such as Taiwan and South Korea (with Japan passing over some of its contracts to other countries). The U.S. Scientific Corporation, for example, ships to Seoul the parts for integrated circuits; these are assembled and brought back to the United States for installation in computers. The saving in wages is enormous: South Korean workers receive but one-eighth of the wage paid workers in California.

The automotive industry was quick to follow suit. Ford Motors signed a contract with Tokye Shibaura Denki to make engines for 1971 Ford models. Manufacture of many parts and units was thereupon transferred to other Asian countries.

This precipitated a competitive struggle between monopolies of different countries. The West German Rolley Werke, for example, locked in a competitive battle with Japanese firms marketing their product at less than half the price, retaliated by building a factory in Singapore, where wages are one-sixth the West German level and two-thirds that of the Japanese.

Not to be outdone, 40 Japanese companies built plants in Thailand in the past few years, where labor costs are one-third of the Japanese level.

Lately there has been a minor boom in tropical food processing, which is highly labor-intensive. That is the reason why the monopolies are building more and more canneries in developing countries. Mexico, for one, has become a center of U.S. factories processing berries, especially fast-frozen strawberries, Kenya and the Philippines for factories tinning pineapple, etc. The combination of a climate favorable for vegetable and fruit farming in the developing countries, the high percentage which wages represent in the cost of processing, and the effective marketing machinery (chain stores, established trade marks and advertising facilities) yield the monopolies a huge profit.

Building plants making certain types of equipment, units and parts, the monopolies create the impression of promoting industrialization and diversification in the developing countries. These projects, it is true, provide additional jobs, extend exports of manufactured goods, enhance the general indicators of economic growth, and the like.

But, as a rule, the plants are not an organic part of the nation's industrial-economic complex. They are tied by a thousand threads to the parent enterprise (company management) and are often just its technological extension (affiliate or even workshop). Though the breaking down of the labor process objectively raises the productivity of social labor, it is the monopolies that are almost the sole winners.

Opening their doors to the monopolies for this division of labor, the developing countries can indeed somewhat enhance economic growth. But by so doing they take the risk of being dominated, and will then find it hard to extricate themselves from the meshes of dependence—a dependence not only on the order of the foreign firms, on its supply of raw materials or semi-finished goods, the vagaries of foreign fashions, but also on the technique of production, which is completely controlled by the foreign monopoly. It is enough to disrupt just one of the many technological links for the whole enterprise to be reduced to a state of paralysis. Leaving aside non-economic pressures, economic and technical ties, the basis of industrial specialization, are much stronger than ties of ordinary commodity exchanges. It is harder to rupture them by purely political action.

The strategic gain for the neo-colonialists is self-evident. Techno-industrial subordination of developing countries through the 'new international division of labor,' permits the imperialists to influence the general economic and socio-political development of the dependent country. Its attempts to start manufacturing industrial goods independently for export to developed countries will be fiercely resisted. The monopolies keep the developing countries in ignorance about production techniques, market prices and other commercial information, default delivery of packaging, and the like. The *Fortune* article says in so many words: 'It seems clear, at any rate, that the developed countries will not open up their markets in any significant way until they feel it is in their interest to do so.'

The policy of integrating the liberated countries into the capitalist economic system is, thus, connected with neo-colonialist changes in the pattern and form of the international division of labor. Monopoly capital views control over industrial development in the former colonies and semi-colonies as the principal means of consolidating capitalist relations there.

The struggle for economic independence, against the imperialist strategy of perpetuating the inequality of liberated states in the capitalist international division of labor develops inevitably into a negation of the capitalist way as a way that leads, in effect, to re-colonization, in combating which the peoples of the former colonies and dependent countries can rely on the all-round support and assistance of all anti-imperialist forces, and primarily the peoples of the Soviet Union, the other socialist countries and the international working-class and Communist movement.

West German monopolies in Latin America

Marcos Martin

President Heinemann of the FRG visited Venezuela, Ecuador and Colombia in March 1971. Foreign Minister Scheel, who went with him, added Bolivia to the list. Heinemann set foot on Latin American soil seven years after his predecessor, Luebcke. Those were eventful years for the continent. Cuba's vanguard role and international prestige increased. The fight against imperialism gathered momentum in other countries. A people's government came to power in Chile. Peru launched progressive reforms. Panama firmly resisted the diktat of Washington. Democratic sentiment grew in the armed forces. Many bourgeois governments of the continent began to take a more determined stand against Pan-American policies. In other words, while Luebcke toured the continent at the very beginning of the anti-imperialist movement, Heinemann saw some of the fruits of this movement.

Tactical distinctions

The U.S. and West German imperialists have a vested interest in preventing Latin American countries from winning genuine independence, which would enable them to effect far-reaching democratic changes paving the way for the socialist transformation of society. But while pursuing one and the same goal, they use different tactics. The U.S. imperialists employ mostly crude and undisguised methods to curb the liberation movement. The West German monopolies, however, try to adapt themselves to, and influence, the new processes on the continent.

Heinemann and his party visited – not accidentally – countries that are parties to the Andean pact: Chile, Bolivia, Ecuador, Colombia and Peru. It is with these countries that the United States has fallen out over both economic problems and world political issues. Late in March 1971, a meeting of 240 U.S. companies in Bogota resolved to suspend all new investment in the Andean pact countries.

The attitude of the FRG is somewhat different. Early in 1970 direct West German investments in the five countries accounted for DM256m. out of the DM3,280m. invested all over Latin America. Bonn is anything but sympathetic to the revolutionary and anti-imperialist reforms taking place in, say, Chile or Peru. However, it still goes on exporting capital to the area. Indeed, its 'goodwill' mission, led by the Federal President himself, was intended

to fill the 'vacuum' left by U.S. imperialism. West Germany may shrink from new sizable investments in these countries but it will certainly try to exert political pressure upon them. Its guiding principle in this case is to avoid what it sees as the negative experience of U.S. investors.

The West German monopolies hold that since Latin American countries refuse to continue as markets for manufactured goods of foreign make and mere suppliers of raw materials, it is profitable to help them develop their own manufacturing industries under West German control. And since there is growing protest in these countries against the activity of foreign monopolies, these must be converted into 'mixed enterprises' involving domestic capital.

Remembering all this, West Germany's monopolies occasionally comply with demands of Latin American countries to disguise the imperialist character of their activity and put pressure on them. For all its tactical ruses, West German imperialism never abandons the idea of undermining the struggle of the continent for democratic change and genuine industrialization.

FRG and USA: cooperation and rivalry

The U.S. monopolies' penetration into Western Europe after the war gave rise to competition between the FRG and United States and, on the other hand, promoted economic relations between them. West German capital holds strong positions in some corporations and enterprises. A big corporation of this kind in Latin America is Deltec International, a trust founded in 1969 through the merger of International Packers and Deltec Pan-American. It has huge investments in the meat-packing, food, sugar and other industries and comprises financial and building organizations and insurance companies. Associated with it is a group of banks - Commerzbank, Deutsche Bank, Bayerische Bank and Verisbank.

West German interests in Deltec International are represented by Paul Krebs, its director, board member of Deutsche Bank. In 1969 alone, the trust granted Latin American countries loans totaling \$143m. Its headquarters are in Nassau, Bahamas, where it also has its main financial company, the Deltec Banking Corp., with branches in Bogota and Buenos Aires, Caracas and Lima, London and Madrid, Mexico City and New York, Paris and Santiago, Rio de Janeiro and Toronto. The trust sells its products through its own trading network in 100 countries.

The West German monopolies' partnership in this trust is a landmark in their drive to capture a privileged position on the continent. While the export of foodstuffs from Latin America before 1968 was almost a monopoly of British and U.S. capitalists, today they have to share it with West German interests.

There are other instances of West German and U.S. monopoly partnership. However, as Bonn's economic leverage in the capitalist world increases and the DM gains strength, a trend towards

mounting competition between the two is making itself felt. The predominance of U.S. investors and their influence on the continent are still beyond question. But West German imperialism is stepping up its activity. Its continued offensive may bring about changes in the political situation and a realignment of forces within the ruling faction and the domestic bourgeoisie, which seeks links with various imperialist powers the more effectively to stem the growing popular movement for democratic reform.

A tidbit for monopolies

In the middle of 1970, *Die Zeit* urged the monopolies to invest in Latin America. Examining the general situation and the growing opposition to the U.S. on the continent, it offered the monopolies advice on how to steer clear of the 'mistakes' made by the U.S. *Hannoversche Allgemeine Zeitung*, for its part, wrote that U.S. economic aid was being criticized throughout Latin America, which meant that the continent would seek aid in Europe and the FRG would have a 'splendid opportunity' to penetrate into the area.

Bonn not only 'sympathizes,' but acts. West German investments in Europe, Africa and Asia have lately shown a relative decline against a noticeable increase in the case of Latin America.

Geographical distribution of direct private investments by West Germany

	1968	1969
	(per cent)	
Latin America	16.4	18.6
Europe	56.4	55.6
North America (including Canada)	16.5	16.6
Africa	6.0	5.4
Asia	3.5	2.7
Australia and Oceania	2.1	1.1

Unlike U.S. capital, the bulk of West German private capital in Latin America is invested in heavy industry and chemical production (38.6 per cent of the total), as well as in banks and insurance companies (6.7 per cent). West German monopoly investments in mining and consumer goods are rather small – 2.5 and 5.4 per cent respectively. Direct private investment by the FRG all over the continent went up from DM1,500m. in 1964 to DM3,300m. in 1969.

In *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism* Lenin revealed the immense role which bank capital plays in monopoly policy. He called special attention to the activities of German capital and the fact that credits to dependent countries were stipulated by a variety of conditions. Joining issue with Landsburgh, a bourgeois economist, Lenin wrote that the capital export 'to countries financially dependent . . . have grown *more rapidly*, if only slightly, than exports to

the countries which are financially independent . . . ' and that 'the increase in exports is connected with . . . swindling tricks of finance capital . . . ' (Vol. 22, pp. 291 and 292). Lenin's view of the role of the 'usurer state' assumed by the imperialist powers is applicable to present-day relations between West Germany and Latin American countries.

West German bank capital is an instrument of monopoly penetration into Latin America. By early 1963, the biggest West German banks had branches or agencies throughout the continent. In 1967 and 1968 they increased tenfold the total of loans granted to foreign countries. On the other hand, there is a trend towards cooperation with domestic banks. A highly placed spokesman of Dresdner Bank (the bank retains its old name), which has branches all over Latin America, said cooperation with national banking systems made it unnecessary for the bank to set up branches. In other words, he called on West German capital to seek partnership in Latin American banks and financial corporations.

This tactic of 'partnership' led to many local banks losing their national identity. Thus, Deutsche-Suedamerikanische Bank (a branch of Dresdner Bank) and Rockefeller's Chase Manhattan Bank gained a controlling interest in the Banco Argentino de Comercio, Lar Brasileiro, Banco Continental (Peru), Banco de Comercio de Bogota (Colombia), Banco Mercantil y Agricola (Venezuela) and Banco del Atlantico en Centroamerica. The same spokesman of Dresdner Bank said this had enabled the bank to acquire a larger market and more influence over the continent's political and trade centers and provincial towns. This was done through the 250 branches of associated Latin American banks.

This trend is vastly profitable to the West German monopolies, as the operation of Deutsche Transatlantische Bank shows. A statement released by this bank in 1968 pointed out that close partnership with big Latin American banks was most beneficial and that, as a result, earnings had surpassed all expectations. In 1960, the bank's own capital in Argentina was 60m. pesos and the total of deposits almost as high. In 1969, the figures rose to 800m. and 10,000m. pesos respectively. Over the last few years the bank has opened eleven branches in Argentina.

Bonn uses government loans and credits to sell West German goods on the Latin American market, control the main sectors of the economy, obtain contracts for the construction of government projects and strengthen the positions of its monopolies on the continent. The activity of Kreditanstalt fuer Wiederaufbau is revealing. Credits granted by this bank enabled West German firms to sign a number of profitable deals for the construction of plants and the delivery of equipment and materials. This and other West German private banks have in the past three years granted loans for the construction of an atomic power station in Argentina, a dam in Ecuador, hydro-electric stations in Colombia and Honduras, a post-office in Brazil and an up-to-date telephone network in Paraguay. These projects will enable West German monopolies to sell plant

and will bring them big profits. And to this should be added profit from operations with Latin American securities.

The overall result is that a number of Latin American countries are badly indebted to Bonn. Argentina, for one, owed Bonn DM1,500m. in 1969.

Ideological conditioning

Imperialism strives in various countries to cultivate social forces prepared to serve its purposes. The United States undoubtedly has the lead in this respect. It sets up institutions which spread bourgeois ideas in the trade unions and among the social and political forces of the continent and train agents of monopoly capital for key posts in the government or economy of the country concerned.

The West German monopolies follow the same line. In Argentina, as indeed in other American countries, they have for years been using people of German descent, among whom they foster chauvinist sentiments. The idea of a 'Greater Germany' is impressed on the minds of both school children (there are about 200 German schools on the continent) and adults. Anti-Semitism persists although it is no longer advocated openly.

West Germany's monopolies use as instruments of expansion the Goethe Institute and Humboldt Foundation, which are active in the sphere of education, science and culture, as well as the social maintenance fund of enterprises set up by West German industrialists and the Carl Duisberg-Gesellschaft fund. This company trains so-called 'social assistants' who are expected to 'mediate between employees and management.' Characteristically, this is also the objective of the top leaders of the yellow unions in Argentina, who operate chiefly through Right-wing Peronist groups and advocate class conciliation. The Friedrich Ebert Foundation is instrumental in indoctrinating trade union officials, scientists and the intellectual community generally.

For political reasons, the West German CDU subsidizes Latin America's Right-wing Christian Democrats. The Konrad Adenauer Foundation grants large sums for the political training of 'Social-Christian' activists. In Argentina these funds are distributed through the Economic and Social Development Foundation, which has set up a Social Research Institute to train technological and managerial personnel.

Many of those trained in this way held high positions in the reactionary government under Onganía. One of them, Krieger Vasena, may be said to symbolize the interlocking of U.S. and West German imperialist interests. In 1967 President Onganía appointed him Minister of the Economy. Before assuming this post Vasena was President of the mixed Argentina-West German Chamber of Commerce. During his term of office there were more takeovers of private enterprise by foreign, mainly U.S. and West-German, monopolies. He was relieved of his post in 1969 following powerful popular pressure.

There are other facts of the same nature. For example, the post of Foreign Minister in the same cabinet was held by Juan Martin, Vice-President of the mixed Argentine-West German Chamber of Commerce. Carlos Correra, manager of Marathon, a branch of the Thyssen corporation, was Finance Minister and Roque Grunauer, member of the Social Research Institute, headed the Ministry of Labor. However, not one of them – nor others like them – was able to keep his post because of the regime's extreme instability, the growing strike movement and general popular discontent. In 1970 the military had to remove Onganía and in 1971, Levingston. The attempts of Right Christian Democrats, subsidized by West German monopolies, to develop a movement backing the dictatorship miscarried.

The Brazilian oasis

The West German monopolies have for years regarded Brazil as an oasis for their investments. Owing to the dictatorial regime under General Médici, they now rank third in Brazil, after the United States and all the capitalist countries of Europe put together.

Volkswagen, one of the major automobile exporters in the capitalist world, has built one of Latin America's biggest automobile plants in São Bernardo do Campo. It controls 80 per cent of the Brazilian car market and 50 per cent of the truck market. Its annual sales amount to DM1,800m. Through numerous joint-stock companies, it is already elbowing out its American 'friends.' It plans to do the same elsewhere on the continent. It has branches in Guatemala and Honduras, Nicaragua and Costa Rica, Panama and Colombia, Ecuador and Peru, Bolivia and Chile, Guiana and Mexico, as well as assembly plants in Uruguay and Venezuela.

Another firm active in Brazil's automotive industry is Mercedes-Benz do Brasil, a mixed company selling almost \$200m. worth of products annually. It has lately absorbed the Sofunge de São Paulo steel plant. Kloeckner-Humboldt-Deutz, which is next in importance, makes as many as 500 heavy trucks a month. Seventy per cent of the country's engine output is controlled by Robert Bosch, the biggest monopolist in Latin America in this field.

The West German companies' share of foreign investments in the iron and steel industry is 50.4 per cent against the United States' 7.4 per cent. Active in this industry are Krupp, Mannesmann and Thyssen. BASF, a successor to IG Farben, Bayer do Brasil, a company controlled by West German capital, Chemische Werke and Hoechst play a prominent rôle in Brazil's chemical industry. The fact that West German monopolies have been authorized to prospect for uranium and thorium in Brazil is worthy of special note. To conclude, it should be borne in mind that 41.5 per cent of West Germany's private investments in Latin America are in Brazil.

Another Eldorado

After the 1966 coup in Argentina the military regime provided

particularly favorable conditions for the operation of foreign, particularly West German, monopolies. The economic policy pursued within the framework of the International Monetary Fund landed private enterprises in a deep crisis. Over 100 Argentine companies barely escaped failure by selling their shares to foreign companies. More than half of them were absorbed by U.S. capital. The West German monopolies, which placed second, seized control of Argentina's big tobacco factories and chemical, woodworking and paper enterprises. In collaboration with Chase Manhattan Bank, Deutsche Suedamerikanische Bank established control over Banco Argentino de Comercio.

Numerous mixed enterprises sprang up in the iron and steel industry, such as Aceros Ohler (former Militar de Aceros), half of whose shares are controlled by Ohler Eisenhandel Theobald Pfeiffer. Indymet, a manufacturer of electric cable, had to sell the greater part of its stock and came under the control of the West German Kabel- und Metallwerke, Gutehoffnungshuette.

West German monopolies are also making their way into the manufacture of trucks and buses. Half of Argentina's truck fleet and about 60 per cent of its buses were made by Mercedes-Benz. The firm expects to make trucks for the armed forces. Thyssen, Robert Bosch and other West German tycoons are the biggest manufacturers of diesel locomotives, accumulators, spring, engine parts and special grades of steel. Operating in the chemical and pharmaceutical industries are successor companies of IG Farben - BASF, Bayer and Hoechst. Krupp is active too - it has an estate of 37,000 hectares in Salta Province and an airfield of its own.

In all, the West German monopolies control or hold shares in over 80 large enterprises in diverse industries of Argentina. Special mention should be made of the Siemens corporation, which had undertaken to build an atomic power station in Atucha. This is a new and big gain for West German imperialism. The project is of more than commercial importance to the FRG, since it gives the contractor an opportunity to do practical research in atomic energy - the station staff will include a number of West German specialists. Siemens, with 20 per cent of the Latin American electric and electronic equipment market, is trying to gain access to Argentina's rich uranium and thorium deposits. The West German atomic research center in Karlsruhe has established close links with the Argentine National Commission for Atomic Energy.

Trade expansion

West Germany's exports to Latin America grow in step with its investments. Bonn is prominent in Latin America's foreign trade today, holding second place after the U.S. as a supplier. But while trade between Latin American countries and the United States has been declining, their trade with the FRG has gone up more than 100 per cent since 1953. Throughout the postwar period, most

Latin American countries have had a favorable balance of trade with West Germany, but now the situation is changing.

The main items of West German export are machinery, measuring devices and precision instruments. Latin American exports, however, are made up above all of cocoa, coffee, tea, ores, oil and oil products, meat, fruit and wines.

West German monopolies have lately been trying to seize the arms market in a number of Latin American countries. They have repeatedly offered to build munitions plants. In Argentina an offer to this effect was made by the Henschel and Boelkow monopoly groups and the Dornier company, which showed readiness to grant licences for the manufacture of aircraft at the Cordoba plant. And while none of these offers was accepted because the Pentagon is against a large war industry on the continent, the very fact that they were made is indicative of Bonn's intentions.

Washington's strategy in Latin America, whose national armies it would like to make an appendage of the Pentagon and a repressive agency on the home front, has aggravated the contradictions between the Latin American military establishment and the geopolitical plans of the State Department. As a result, the governments of numerous countries, prompted by diverse considerations, want greater freedom in purchasing armaments and insist on placing orders for their manufacture not only in the United States, but also in West European countries. This has enabled the FRG to claim its cut. Specifically, it has sold the armed forces of Argentina a large batch of heavy trucks and remote-controlled anti-tank missiles and reached agreement on the delivery of two modern submarines. It has also sold four mine-layers to Brazil.

In sizing up the present activity of West German monopolies in Latin America, it is safe to say that they have a powerful trade, financial and propaganda machinery on the continent that is functioning very flexibly, carefully studying the potentialities of each country and taking account of its economic, political and social situation. Active on the continent today are the Flick group, the successors of IG Farben, Krupp, Siemens, AEG, Deutsche Bank and other West German firms and banks which in the past played a direct part in touching off the two world wars. Theirs is the highest concentration of capital in Latin America and they are also the biggest monopolies in the FRG. The revival of the positions of German imperialism on the Latin American continent is a new aspect of the alignment of aggressive forces in the world arena.

Right and liberal nationalist groups on the continent, who occasionally criticize certain aspects of U.S. imperialist policy, are again putting forward 'Germanism' as a model to be followed. It might be recalled that this was the slogan under which the Nazi regime in the 30s tried to bring Latin America under its sway.

West Germany's monopolies are out to strengthen their positions at a time when the liberation movement in Latin America is

going from strength to strength as it enters the phase of struggle for genuine independence. Seen in this light, the position of West German monopolies on the continent is as precarious as that of their U.S. counterparts.

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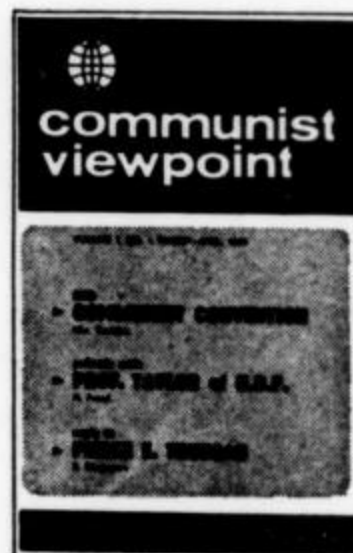
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Political crisis in Morocco

Ahmed Al-Marrakchi

An abortive coup took place in Morocco on July 10, 1971. That day the King was celebrating his 42nd birthday at Skhirat, a palace thirty kilometres from the capital. The event drew 650 notables – princes, high dignitaries of the realm, diplomats, and persons who had arrived for the occasion from abroad. At 2:00 p.m. military cadets from Ahermaemou led by Colonel Abadou broke into the festively decorated palace and occupied it, killing a number of civilians and military men. They arrested the King, who agreed to abdicate. Next they captured the buildings of the Ministry of the Interior, General Staff and Radio Rabat and broadcast for five hours the news of the overthrow of the monarchy.

The coup seemed to have succeeded but the death of General Medbouh, one of the leaders of the conspiracy responsible for keeping the King in custody, reversed the situation. The King, regaining freedom, transferred all military and civil power to General Oufkir, the Home Minister, who crushed the rising in a few hours. All the leaders of the conspiracy were arrested and shot without trial after 36 hours' questioning.

The Moroccan monarchy, over 1,000 years old, was almost toppled in a matter of hours by the army, regarded as its mainstay. What were the reasons?

I. The country is in the throes of a severe crisis affecting every segment of society. Not one of the hopes which the people pinned on independence has materialized. The land is still owned by feudal lords and latter-day planters, and jobs are scarce in the towns. Over two million children are compelled to stay out of school. The cost of living is mounting while wages and salaries are frozen. The prices of necessities, in particular grain and flour, have increased considerably of late and rent has gone up by half or even doubled.

Democratic freedoms are grossly flouted. While the pro-imperialist press is indeed free, patriotic and progressive papers are either banned or strongly hampered, and often their issues are confiscated. All public meetings are prohibited. Strikes are

brutally suppressed and political leaders and trade unionists are persecuted, jailed and tortured. More and more students become victims of political repression or administrative penalties. The regime acts against the people and ignores their demands.

The people refuse to resign themselves to this. In March 1965 they launched a struggle which assumed the character of a semi-rebellion. Their action was drowned in blood by General Oufkir acting on the King's orders. Nevertheless, the people have been fighting ever since, with varying intensity. In 1971 the greatest militancy was shown by the miners, textile workers, garment workers and flour-mill workers. The peasants demonstrated their militancy by offering armed resistance to unlawful exactions (about a dozen people were killed in Ouled Khalifa). In spite of repression, the students have now joined in struggle. They are critical of the educational system, the fact that few people have access to education, the anti-popular policy of the authorities and their abuses. Militant action also involves other social forces.

Thus diverse sections of Moroccan society show in increasingly active forms their desire for change and challenge the monarchical regime's attempts to force democratic parties and organizations to their knees.

The Liberation and Socialism Party has been outlawed. Leaders of the National Union of Popular Forces are again being tried in Marrakesh. The Istiqlal party, while still allowed to operate like the National Union of Popular Forces, is under constant attack, which prevents its normal activity. The Moroccan Labor Union (trade union federation) and especially the National Union of Students are persecuted.

The national movement has been unable to stave off the recent years' dangerous trend of development—some organizations are inactive or engage in limited activities, mainly journalism. Others have too narrow a social base or lack the means of implementing their programs. The opportunities of uniting all opposition and revolutionary force in one national front, Al-Qoutla al-Watania, were not used. It was only the vanguard of the working class that called for sincere and effective unity and for an end to inaction and sectarianism, and warned against a deepening of the crisis if the national movement abates.

Although the organized forces of the nation were unable to change the situation, they flatly refused to collaborate with the authorities. The ruling top found itself in isolation and this prompted the regime to strengthen its links with imperialism by throwing the country's doors open to it, both militarily and economically. It signed secret agreements with the United States re-establishing military bases in Morocco in exchange for financial 'aid.' France, too, was enabled to improve its position.

In an effort to fill the political vacuum surrounding it, the regime, increasingly influenced by imperialism, helps feudal elements and the bureaucratic bourgeoisie to bolster their positions.

The rapid growth of a bureaucracy, that modern variety of the class of compradores, led to the rise of a numerous military bureaucratic bourgeoisie. We have so many generals that one might think we were going to conquer Spain.

This bourgeoisie is offered remunerative posts, including ministerial, with dividends and salaries accruing to them for outright sinecures. This, however, did not remove the inherent contradictions. The crisis deepened. And this explains why, a few months before July 10, there were persistent rumors about a 'strong and incorruptible military government.'

II. The army, 100,000 strong and equipped according to modern standards, realizes its strength. But it is not a homogeneous body. Its high command is in the hands of men who used to wear French or Spanish colonial uniforms. Some of them helped Franco to strangle the Spanish Republic, others served the French colonialists in Indochina. Nearly all of them declared for a protectorate and are still linked with imperialism. The middle echelon of army officers came to the fore after the winning of independence. Many of them have risen from the people even though they belong to wealthy families. As for the NCOs and privates, they belong to ordinary families. Some of them have received a secondary education and are not unfamiliar with socio-political problems.

Devolving on the army, along with the glitter, is dirty police work. It resents its leaders and its repressive function. It is rent by internal discord and antagonisms – a reflection of the general trend prevailing in the country and the Arab world at large.

Colonels Abadou, Chelouati and Fenniri, General Bougrime and other Left Radicals, following the example of Egyptian and Libyan colonies, saw the seizure of power by the army as a means of ending the monarchy and altering the country's general political orientation. It was they who launched the coup and went on the air to announce the fall of the monarchy. They were followed by the cadets, who fought for their leaders' slogans to the end. The operation was timed to coincide with the sumptuous and expensive festivity with guests from all over the world at which the highest dignitaries presented themselves as wealthy revellers – the idea was to heighten the cadets' class awareness and pave the way psychologically for proclaiming a republic.

However, the Left radical group in the army made a bad mistake by mechanically following foreign examples and ignoring Morocco's political parties, which remain an important factor for all their difficulties and drawbacks. This is why the conspirators sought no allies among civilians. It led to another mistake that was just as bad – forming an alliance with army officers of Right radical leanings.

The latter consider that the regime's policy, universal corruption, luxury, and fortunes made by scandalous methods pose a serious threat to the monarchical system as a whole. They are attached to

the monarchy and loyal to the feudal lords, to whom some of them belong by origin, but they believe the regime is ill and must be purged, curbed and strengthened through a military dictatorship. Their views are akin to a Prussian-style, feudal-landowner ideology. They boast of a Spartan and even ascetic way of life and 'moral purity,' and recognize only the authoritarian form of social relations. In their person the time-worn feudal system opposes the bourgeoisie. They are more royalist than the King.

The Right radical trend in the army differs substantially from the Left radical one. But in laying bare the evils of the regime, the two trends often find themselves at one, being prompted by a common caste spirit. Hence their alliance in July which at first sight seems so illogical.

Lastly, the liberals, who dread social upheavals because they may bring on a powerful popular movement, advocate a 'white revolution.' Theirs is not a patriotic trend, nor do they propose to resist the bourgeoisie. They simply want a redistribution of fortunes in their favor. Their struggle is due to rivalries and helps to preserve the system of privileges, oppression and exploitation.

The above classification is somewhat sketchy because it only outlines the main and, moreover, interconnected trends among the army's discontented. In addition, the loyalty of generals to the regime proved fairly easy to shake. The attempt at a coup showed that alliances between these forces, marked by double-dealing, deceit and betrayal, were formed naturally and simply.

It was not surprising, therefore, that spokesmen of all these trends reached agreement to seize power. But had they achieved their purpose, they would have encountered great difficulties from the first. They would have begun to oppose one another, with the disintegration of their alliance as an inevitable result.

The ill-fated coup of July 10 was not the first in Morocco. Similar attempts were made earlier, by various elements dabbling in politics who went it alone or leaned on various political factions for support. They all failed and their leaders were executed without trial or publicity. General Medbouh was already involved in a conspiracy in 1963 and denounced its organizers.

Military coups seem very attractive and promising in countries where the maturing of a national democratic revolution has been held up. This socio-political situation is typical of numerous countries, and ever since World War II it has been typical of virtually all Arab countries. Similar phenomena are in evidence in Africa and Latin America.

In many countries the national movement is unable to take the organizational form of political parties and, more important still, these countries have no revolutionary vanguard or only a weak one. The desire for change, which finds no outlet among the civilian population, translates itself into action by military groups which therefore may be a revolutionary force. Yet numerous army officers are motivated by a caste spirit and tend to ignore

and, moreover, try fully to eliminate, existing political organizations, even if these play an important role.

In Morocco, too, the army tries to assume political responsibility in view of the absence of well-organized parties, of their weakness or their setbacks. This is one of the root causes of the army's attempted coup on July 10.

III. July showed that the army is not the unshakable mainstay of power but an explosive component of the monarchical system. It is obvious now that the army is not a monolith and that even the high command is involved in its internal squabbling and its actions against the regime. A sizeable part of the army rose against the very foundations of the regime while the majority watched developments, waiting for the conspirators to win so as to join them. It has been decapitated by now – besides the approximately 20 generals and colonels who were killed July 10-12, the ensuing massacre resulted in the death of dozens of officers and NCOs. The atmosphere is one of universal suspicion which, coupled with the purge that is going on, will undermine army prestige and discipline still more and aggravate antagonisms in army quarters.

The police, for its part, showed such inaction that it is hard to say whether it was carrying out orders or merely waiting for the outcome of the battle. It should also be borne in mind that the police has specialized in repression against political opposition parties and that this dirty business had corrupted it. Accustomed to covering up the most glaring crimes of the regime's big men, the police proved unable to defend it. Thus the regime's two main pillars – the army and police, built up at the cost of so much energy and so much money made by exploiting the people – are crumbling.

One of the important political aspects of July was undoubtedly connected with the people's reaction. How the people feel about the monarchy is well known. Their genuine attachment to it during the fight against foreign occupation gradually declined, giving way to increasing coolness, above all in the recent period, marked by the arbitrary methods of royal absolutism. The Skhirat events revealed this only too clearly.

Foreign correspondents wrote that the people were indifferent and refused to commit themselves in any way. But that it not true. To be sure, the people kept to themselves in the difficult hours when the outcome of the coup was not clear, but those who were among the people saw how joyfully the news of the overthrow of the monarchy was welcomed – it meant that they approved of the action being taken and condemned the regime. The miscarriage of the coup threw the people into a state of depression aggravated by anger at the brutal reprisals.

If that was how the people really felt, say some, why didn't they demonstrate in the streets, which could have been of decisive help to those storming the Skhirat Palace? There are three important reasons for this:

1. Morocco has been under martial law for over five years. All political action by the people is brutally put down.

2. After capturing the radio station and announcing the fall of the monarchy, the conspirators continuously urged calm and vigilance while Radio Tangier, which remained loyal to the monarchy, denied the announcement. The result was a certain confusion, which discouraged the people from immediate and direct action.

3. The organized political forces did not step in: taken unawares by the sudden action of the generals and colonels, they had no idea what was behind it. Nevertheless, patriotic and progressive elements in some cities, such as Rabat and Meknes, took to the streets to express their joy.

The regime certainly realizes its isolation in the face of an army that has become dangerous and a people that is opposed to it.

Its first impulse was to destroy 'subversive' elements through terror, with the aid of loyal troops. Official reports speak of the shooting of 10 high-ranking officers but well-informed sources say there were 50. Nor is it known what happened to the 1,400 cadets who stormed Skhirat and of whom only several dozens went over to the King. Paradoxically, the regime now puts the blame squarely on General Medbouh, denying the key role of the colonels. It is suggesting that the action against it was taken by frankly Rightist elements. This is due to political reasons, for the regime has a stake in stressing the error of the conspirators, who fully isolated themselves from the masses.

The confusion of the royal court is evident in contradictory utterances and improvised measures. But that is not all. There is a political conflict over the 'problem of Oufkir.' Mention should be made, first of all, of the highly suspicious passivity of the forces of law and order which for more than a decade took orders from none but Oufkir, as Minister of the Interior and security chief. General Oufkir, who misses nothing and who had close friends among the conspirators, such as Colonel Chelouati, had disclosed so many Left 'conspiracies' and had so many progressives sentenced to death or hard labor that he could not possibly have failed to notice it when a real conspiracy was hatched against the King, all the more because, from what he himself said, preparations for it had been going on for two years.

The only explanation is that Oufkir had secretly hoped to turn a military coup aimed at renovating the country into an ordinary palace revolution in his own favor that would vest him with full civil and military powers. But he miscalculated. The very first thing the King did once the danger was over was to concentrate power in his own hands. 'Everyone must now return to his direct duties,' he said. And Oufkir was stripped of his extraordinary powers and, moreover, lost the all-powerful Ministry of the Interior. He became Minister of Defense but he is faced with a hostile army which will hardly forget how brutally it was dealt with.

Needless to say, this conflict is not the rulers' only trouble. There are growing economic, social and political problems the regime cannot cope with.

IV. The regime's confusion and its obvious inability to solve the problems plaguing the country are bound to rob it of the little confidence it has enjoyed in the Arab world so far.

The progressive forces, being well informed of the Moroccan people's staunch fight and the increasingly harsh economic and socio-political conditions they are placed in, have a strong confirmation of the justice of the people's demands.

The reactionaries are alarmed at the instability of the Moroccan monarchy – something they had no inkling of. The panic shown by King Hussein of Jordan (everyone knows how hazardous a course he has chosen) is a striking proof of his alarm.

Lastly, it is worthy of note that neutralists (or those posing as neutralists) have sent the King messages expressing 'sympathy' but avoiding the slightest political allusions, and hence amounting to a purely diplomatic gesture.

How the Moroccan regime will act in the circumstances is hard to say at this writing. The King's statements to date have been ambiguous and vague and his moves inconsistent. It is not unlikely, however, that the regime will be rent by opposite trends – towards greater toughness and toward liberalization. The country's rulers must be aware of the hazards of a tougher line. Perhaps they will weigh the possibility of a certain liberalization for fear of a new crisis and from a desire to break out of their political isolation at home and abroad. In the final analysis, much will depend on the pressure of public opinion and the action of organized forces.

V. Military coups virtually involve none but certain closed sections of society. Their roots do not reach into the people's struggle, nor do they serve the people's interests. The social changes they occasionally produce are rather superficial and intended to win the sympathy of definite sectors. This means that the working-class and progressive movement cannot link its fortunes with coups as a method. The working class must not commit itself to an undertaking which is initiated outside it in the interest of the ruling classes, fully disregards the demands of labor and may be directed against the people.

This is not to say, however, that a sectarian stand should be taken on the army. 'In recent years,' said the resolution of the Third National Congress of the Moroccan Communist Party (1966), 'the reactionary forces have been using the army to suppress the people. But our men and officers, even professionals, are in the vast majority of cases of modest origin and linked with the people by many bonds. This common origin and these bonds should lead the army and people to a common goal, an era of democracy and progress. Thus our army will be able to become a genuine army

of and for the people.' The events of 1971 proved this estimation correct.

The working class – even though it does not control the army's actions – should always be prepared to uphold the people's interests and add new forces to a nascent anti-feudal or anti-imperialist movement. In so doing, however, it must avoid many pitfalls, for the masses are exposed to the influence of three equally demobilizing political trends: wait-and-see tactics, 'Leftism' and opportunism.

Wait-and-see tactics proceed from the fact that the opposition parties making up the national movement, unable to overcome their difficulties, have failed to achieve victory for the national democratic revolution. Adherents of these tactics look to the army as a new force on the historical scene. They regard its defeat as accidental – the technical efficiency shown by the army in carrying out the operation tends to blind them, leading them to the conclusion that a new group of army officers will eventually accomplish the change.

Accepting these arguments in part, 'Leftist' elements see the July events as a fresh reason for them to attack the revolutionary and progressive forces, talk big about 'revolution' and put forward irrelevant slogans which breed confusion.

Opportunists, for their part, see the main danger at the moment in the political role which some army officers would like to play, and urge strengthening the regime.

All these trends renounce struggle for the people's socio-political objectives and surrender to those in power. They must be combated with the greatest determination. It is very important not to allow the masses to give in to passivity. The universal indifference to the regime is a positive phenomenon and a new factor for unity, for it expresses a fundamental contradiction between the people and the monarchy. However, to be merely indifferent would mean taking a step back.

The people's political consciousness has advanced greatly in this brief period. Political demands gave expression to socio-economic requirements. Nor was it the army officers who prompted the people; it was the people's own experience, which bore out what the real revolutionaries had been telling them for years. But the people will become mature and ready for revolution – in the context of the general disintegration of a system doomed by history – only as a result of sustained ideological work and organizational leadership by a working class fighting in unity with all progressive forces.



Social revolution as seen by bourgeois ideologists

'The revolution became a fact,' Lenin wrote when, in the summer of 1905, the revolutionary movement in Russia was on the rise. 'It was no longer necessary to be a revolutionary to acknowledge the revolution.' The revolution became a much-discussed topic and even spokesmen of the liberal bourgeoisie had to recognize it. 'They do so,' Lenin noted, 'not because they are revolutionaries, but despite the fact that they are *not* revolutionaries' (*Two Tactics of Social-Democracy in the Democratic Revolution*, Coll. Works, Vol. 9, pp. 125-126).

The above suggests the reasons for the bourgeois ideologists' increased interest in the problems of social revolution today. The world revolutionary process is of such a depth and breadth that no one can ignore it.¹

Today it is not only capitalist ideologists but also politicians who speak of 'revolution.' In his State of the Union message, delivered on January 22, 1971, President Nixon called for 'opening the way to a new American revolution, a peaceful revolution.' What Nixon means by a 'new American revolution' is a certain extension of state and city powers, chiefly greater state and municipal budgets. Similar statements are made by the leaders of other capitalist countries. They use the term 'revolution' to give weight to insignificant reforms of a system of government upholding monopoly capitalist interests.

We will deal with some current trends of bourgeois social thought as reflected in writings published on the threshold of the seventies.

Pointless abstractions

'The bourgeoisie's recognition of the revolution,' Lenin wrote, 'cannot be sincere, irrespective of the personal integrity of one bourgeois ideologist or another' (op. cit.). One recalls this statement as one reads the numerous works of bourgeois sociologists and politologists. Bourgeois thinking distorts the nature and laws of social revolution beyond recognition. It often reduces the very concept to a pointless abstraction.

The 'sociology of revolution' is one the main trends of bourgeois social thought today. It arose at the turn of the century and broke with the democratic traditions of bourgeois political theories of the revolutionary period of the 17th and 18th centuries. Works by B. Adams, G. Le Bon, C. Ellwood, A. Bauer and others, who dreaded the approaching proletarian revolution, offered recipes for perpetuating the capitalist system. This trend became active as a result of the victory of the October Revolution and the emergence of socialism as a reality. L. Edwards, P. Sorokin, G. Pettee, C. Brinton and other authors, professing to make an unbiased investigation of social revolution, misrepresented its laws and virtually denied its historic role. G. Pettee wrote that 'Western' (that is, bourgeois) thinking had taken a sharp turn to anti-revolution.² Bourgeois sociologists and politologists today carry on this line of their predecessors.

A favorite device used by 'classics' of the 'sociology of revolution' was to substitute artificial patterns for the laws of revolutionary development. Present-day 'experts' go much further. C. Brinton's *The Anatomy of Revolution*, brought out in several editions, contained – along with absurd deductions, such as the one about 'Thermidor' being inevitable – some correct ideas, reflecting the actual course of bourgeois revolutions of the past. Today's bourgeois sociologists and politologists often have no such link with reality and indulge in a pseudo-scientific playing with terms. Here are a few illustrations borrowed from recent books.

Why Men Rebel by Ted Robert Gurr, an American professor of politics, is concerned with the cause of political violence, including revolutions. The key point of his concept is 'relative deprivation,' or RD, which he defines as a perceived discrepancy between men's value expectations and their value capabilities. 'Value expectations,' he writes, 'are the goods and conditions of life to which people believe they are rightfully entitled. Value capabilities are the goods and conditions they think they are capable of attaining or maintaining, given the social means available to them. Societal conditions that increase the average level or intensity of expectations without increasing capabilities increase the intensity of discontent.' Furthermore, 'the greater the intensity of discontent, the more likely is violence.' These trivial contentions, which divert one from investigation of the causes of revolution, make up the substance of Gurr's concept.

The text, almost 400 pages long and illustrated with graphs and formulas that are evidently expected to lend the book academic respectability, bristles with banalities such as these: 'The potential for collective violence varies strongly with the intensity and scope of relative deprivation among members of a collectivity.' 'Any decrease in the average level of value capabilities in a collectivity without an accompanying decrease in value expectations increases the intensity of relative deprivation.' 'Regime coercive control varies strongly with the loyalty of coercive forces to the regime.'³

Gurr's would-be scientific speculations are no exception in bourgeois sociology. 'The higher (lower) the social want formation in any given society and the lower (higher) the social want satisfaction,' write J. and R. Feierabend, two American sociologists, 'the greater (the less) the systemic frustration and the greater (the less) the impulse to political instability.'⁴ This vague thesis is supplied with numerous formulas and tables. It all looks like bona fide research. In reality neither the thesis nor the far-fetched set of arguments trotted out in support of it throws any light on the causes of revolutions or other forms of socio-political contest between social forces.

Just as pseudo-scientific is *A Study of Revolution* by Peter Calvert, a British bourgeois sociologist. Take, for example, the formula 'quantification of revolution' - ' $Rn^2 = Bm^2$,' where n and m respectively stand for the numbers of revolutionary and government forces, and R and B for their respective 'fighting values.' This is unscientific and useless for the student of real processes.

The salient characteristic of the book, as indeed of other books on 'revolution,' is probably the effort to class a vast number of insignificant political coups under the head of 'social revolution.' Calvert puts the October Revolution on the same footing with the military coups in Latin America. Surely it is not difficult to substantiate any deduction by using arbitrarily selected data as does Calvert, saying that 363 'revolutions' took place between 1901 and 1960. All these 'sociological' exercises could be dismissed as a curious fact had they not pursued a very definite class aim - distorting the meaning of social revolution. Revealingly, the author's preface says that the more this concept has been used, 'the vaguer its meaning has become.'⁵

A tendency to submerge the concept of social revolution in loose definitions is evident in a series of investigations carried out by the Center of International Studies at Princeton University and recorded in the book *Internal War*. Its editor, Prof. E. Eckstein, defines 'internal wars' as 'attempts to change by violence, or threat of violence, a government's policies, rulers, or organization.'⁶ This definition covers almost any government crisis, even one followed by a negligible change of policy. The author lumps together real revolutionary changes, coups d'état and cabinet reshuffles.

Deliberately vague definitions of revolution are occasionally used with an eye to robbing it of all positive meaning. Things are carried to a point where the distinction between revolution and counter-revolution disappears. The dividing line,' J. Meisel writes, 'has become blurred, almost invisible. A revolution begins with the demand for radical change and ends in the 'conservative' stage of 'consolidation.' 'Counter-revolution turns into another revolution.'⁷ The objective purpose of mixing up concepts, as bourgeois sociologists do, is to lump together progressive and regressive changes so as to reject all change.

In defining the nature of revolution, they do not generally spell out its economic or class aspects. They say nothing about change in property forms or the transfer of political power to the new, rising class. This is inevitable since bourgeois sociology generally approaches society from an abstract standpoint.

The meaning and function of social revolution can be understood, provided the history of society is seen as the development and succession of socio-economic formations. Social revolution is a form of transition from one formation to another. Its economic purpose is to end antiquated property relations hampering social progress. In an antagonistic society, this is done through class struggle. The issue of power is central to any social revolution and transfer of power to the progressive class is the content of the decisive, political stage of a social revolution.

The class struggle may go through periods of retreat of the revolutionary classes, restoration and counter-revolution, and political compromise and fresh offensive. This is why a social revolution often extends over a long period and is not accompanied by one but several political revolutions each of which defeats the tendency of the reactionary classes towards restoration and completes what was begun by the previous revolution. Disregard of this dialectic of social revolution is the fundamental methodological drawback of bourgeois concepts, which do not help one in studying revolutionary processes, any more than in understanding their role and function in social development.

'Modernization' instead of revolution

Another typical tendency of bourgeois sociology and politology is to substitute technological for social revolution. It is on this methodological basis that various 'modernization' theories are conceived.

Prof. R. Tucker of the USA reduces the Marxist-Leninist theory of revolution to an aspect of the more general theory of "modernization." According to this theory, Tucker writes, 'what is most important in Marx is not his theory of the decline and fall of capitalism. Rather, it is his account of the rise and early development of bourgeois society.'⁸ It will be seen that bourgeois professors are willing to acknowledge the importance of Marxism, but only insofar as it defines the role of capitalism in 'modernizing' society. They flatly reject the theory of the socialist revolution. Tucker makes Leninism out to be a version of the 'modernization' theory for economically backward countries. A. Said and D. Collier reason along similar lines.⁹ These views are spearheaded against the theory of socialist revolution. They virtually deny that it has a social content of its own and present it as a means accomplishing the historical task fulfilled by capitalism in the West. From what bourgeois sociologists say, the purpose of the social revolution is not to effect the transition to socialism but to end economic backwardness.

The effort to present the vanguard of modern social revolution, the Communist movement, as a political current typical of economically underdeveloped countries is prompted by the 'doctrine of backwardness.' 'The countries with large Communist parties, however,' writes Prof. S. Lipset of Harvard, 'remain among the less modernized of the big nations'¹⁰ The idea is clear—contrary to the facts, the author would like the Communist movement to be seen as an exponent of working-class interests at only a relatively early stage of capitalist development. Bourgeois ideologists claim that this movement loses its social roots as industrial progress goes on. They seem to forget that mass Communist parties are gaining in membership and strength today and that this is also the case in many economically developed countries.

'Modernization' in this sense rules out social revolution. The latter is robbed of its subject and hence becomes impossible. Social evolution is regarded as the only method of change in a developed 'industrial society.'

The author of another version of the 'modernization' theory, which misinterprets the content of the present epoch, is Prof. M. Halpern of Princeton University. In his opinion, the great revolutions of the past (meaning the French bourgeois revolution and the October Socialist Revolution) were mere 'symptoms of a more profound, underlying revolution of modernization.'

Now what is 'modernization' supposed to mean? Due to the high rate of social development, Halpern writes, 'man and all the psychological systems by which he has so far organized his life, are persistently being rendered incoherent. Elements are being destroyed and the linkages between them disconnected.' The need is to combine stable social links with rapid and constant changes. 'The revolution of modernization.' Halpern maintains, 'for the first time raises the opportunity and need . . . to create systems which derive their stability from their intrinsic capacity to generate and absorb continuing transformation.'¹¹ It follows that the important thing is not the socio-economic content of systems but a mechanism capable of reacting promptly to scientific and technological changes.

Zbigniew Brzezinski performs the same operation by substituting a technological content for the social content of the present epoch. He describes the meaning of the changes taking place in the world, with all the difficulties and problems attending them, as emerging from the industrial age to enter the age of 'technetronics.' 'Today,' he writes, 'the most industrially advanced countries, in the first instance the United States, are beginning to emerge from the industrial stage of their development. They are entering an age in which technology and especially electronics—hence my neologism "technetronic"—are increasingly becoming the principal determinants of social change, altering the mores, the social structure, the values, and the global outlook of society.'

Brzezinski says that technology and electronics directly deter-

mine changes in the social structure and superstructure of society. In this way he dissociates the system of production relations, the economic basis of society, from the mechanism of social progress. Through this arbitrary operation he removes the objective criterion of class distinctions and socio-economic systems. Technology and electronics are supposed to progress outside existing social class relations and the struggle of social forces, including the ideological sphere, which expresses class interests.

Modern technology and electronics, Brzezinski says, confront people everywhere with common problems. This is why 'the concern with ideology is yielding to a preoccupation with ecology' and a 'new global consciousness' comes into being.¹² In Brzezinski's view, technology overshadows every sphere of social being and consciousness. Technological progress is becoming the main factor and substance of current history. Processes lose their social class content.

To be sure, the technological revolution raises a number of new problems, including those of mastering new control systems, regulating the growing flow of information and protecting the natural environment. What man needs at this stage is, among others, a flexible technological economic mechanism that can effectively assimilate scientific and technological changes. However, success in accomplishing this task hinges primarily on socio-economic changes and the establishment of socialist forms of social organization.

Yet it is only from the standpoint of technological progress that bourgeois ideologists tend to view capitalist contradictions today and the prospects of solving them. Everything is reduced to the distinction between 'industrial' and 'post-industrial' society. The former is said to be affected with all the evils of capitalism while the latter is alleged to be free from them. One finds these ideas, for example, in *The Year 2000* by Herman Kahn, director of the Hudson Institute, and Anthony J. Wiener, one of his associates.

The two authors attribute the inherent contradictions of capitalism not to capitalism itself, but to industrialism, to the fact that the economy absorbs the whole energy of society. 'Post-industrial society' relieves all its members of material cares and de-emphasizes the economic criterion, so that genuinely human values are regenerated. As a result, there would be no more 'obvious "contradictions" from which revolution presumably arises.'¹³ Presenting capitalism, even if it has made economic progress as against the previous stage, as a society free from contradictions is at best wishful thinking or utopia. However, it would be more accurate to describe that as a misrepresentation of capitalism.

The temptation to blame the technological revolution for the evils of capitalism is great. R. Wielder, an American sociologist, alleges that rapid industrial progress contributes to the spread of a spiritual malady — more and more people suffer from a lack

of purpose. Technological progress, while leading to important improvements, creates psychological difficulties, causes dissatisfaction and anxiety and arouses the desire to find a scapegoat.¹⁴

In other words, Wielder traces the roots of general dissatisfaction, political instability and revolutionary sentiment to technological advance.

A. Toffler's *Future Shock* is one of the latest sociological best-sellers. Its author advocates what he calls the 'super-industrial revolution.' In his view, mankind today is faced with the unprecedented problem of social flux. The scientific and technological revolution is challenging man's very ability to adapt to a fast-changing situation. This is the main reason for the 'future shock' at the root of crisis phenomena in American society.

Toffler strips the crisis of contemporary capitalism of its social meaning. He contends that as the 'super-industrial revolution' goes on the very concept of property is becoming meaningless and the conflict between capitalism and communism is reduced to 'comparative insignificance.' In other words, the social revolution, as Toffler sees it, is losing its significance, being entirely superseded by the 'super-industrial revolution.'¹⁵

Arthur Schlesinger, the American historian, follows the same line, affirming that our age breeds problems irrespective of property system or ideology. 'If the crisis seems today more acute in the United States than anywhere else,' he writes, 'it is not because of the character of our economic system; it is because the revolutions wrought by science and technology have gone farther here than anywhere else. As the nation at the extreme frontier of technological development, America has been the first to experience the unrelenting shock and disruptive intensity of accelerated change. The crises we are living through are the crises of modernity. Every nation, as it begins to reach a comparable state of technical development, will have to undergo comparable crises.' Schlesinger sees in unrest, confusion and even violence the price that has to be paid for progress, the 'birth-pangs of a new epoch in the history of man.'

This argument mixes up different aspects of the problem. Indeed, the United States is ahead of other capitalist countries for many technological revolution indices and U.S. experience will be valuable to countries taking the same road. It is the country where the contradictions that plague capitalism in the technological revolution are more obvious and more pronounced than anywhere else. Hence, its socio-political crises require closer study if the processes that sooner or later will involve other developed capitalist countries are to be understood. In this sense, the historical experience of present-day America is instructive for a whole zone of the globe and undoubtedly sheds light on the contradictions of our epoch.

On the other hand, contrary to Schlesinger's view, the United States is not leading in social progress. This is indirectly admitted

by Schlesinger himself, who writes that the factors brought into being by the technological revolution 'are placing increasing strain on inherited ideas, institutions and values.' He notes that to solve the crisis 'means social justice as well as racial justice; it means a far broader measure of participation in our great organizations and institutions; it means the determination to enable all Americans to achieve a sense of function, purpose and potency in our national life.'¹⁶ But surely this is impossible without radical socio-economic changes, without a social revolution. The scientific and technological revolution, far from eliminating this necessity, makes it imperative by aggravating capitalism's contradictions.

Flight from reality

Theories expressing the views and sentiments of radical petty bourgeois, intellectuals and students have gained some currency in bourgeois sociology and politology. The concept of Herbert Marcuse, the American sociologist, is fairly well known. It sharply criticizes modern capitalism—the methods it uses to manipulate people's consciousness and to impose on society consumer values, a conformist atmosphere and spiritual emptiness. However, the ideology of petty-bourgeois radicalism can grasp neither the dialectics of the world revolutionary process nor the historic role of social forces, first of all the international working class and socialism as a reality, which blaze new trails.

Because he denies the revolutionary character of the proletariat and the gains of socialism, Marcuse cannot grasp the objective content of the social revolution of our age. Profound pessimism is typical of petty-bourgeois radicalism. The road to liberation is the 'negation of the entire Establishment,' which has enslaved man. But how is this to come about if the mass forces opposed to capitalism have, according to Marcuse, become victims of their own 'repressive' instinctive requirements and values and have been neutralized? Marcuse withdraws from the political sphere to the domain of aesthetic values accessible to a narrow intellectual elite. He urges apolitical protest in 'surrealist forms.' He makes 'revolution' conditional on forming 'the human sensibility which rebels against the dictates of repressive reason, and, in doing so, invokes the sensuous power of the imagination.'¹⁷ Surely this flight from the real class struggle to the realm of illusion means complete surrender to modern capitalism. Any objective analyst is bound to come to this conclusion.

Marcuse's ideas are carried forward in Charles Reich's theory, which may be called the 'revolution of consciousness.' 'There is a revolution coming,' he writes. 'It will not be like revolutions of the past. . . . It will not require violence to succeed, and it cannot be successfully resisted by violence.' Its task is to destroy the power of the 'Corporate State.' In describing the power system of this state, Reich in effect castigates state-monopoly capitalism. He

vividly portrays modern bourgeois society's lack of ideas, its spiritual emptiness, the deep crisis of the American way of life. 'In this world, to one beginning a life, there are no open roads for the body, the mind, or the spirit, only long, hard, paved freeways to nowhere.' Reich reveals the decay of the vital values under capitalism, which arouses in people one passion only – the thirst for gain – and cultivates philistine, indifferent, apolitical attitudes.

The inference is evident: there is a need for far-reaching socio-economic changes that will alter the course of social development and put the gigantic resources of scientific and technological progress at the service of society and not the state-monopoly elite. But Reich draws a different conclusion. He calls for a 'revolution in consciousness, which means that every individual must change his perception of reality and his world outlook. The new consciousness would influence society, not 'by direct political means, but by changing culture and the quality of individual lives, which in turn change politics and, ultimately, structure.' Reich believes consciousness to be the 'moving part of the engine of change.' And this is how a 'new revolution' that 'will not be like revolutions of the past' will come about, or so Reich thinks.

Of course, consciousness plays a tremendous role in social revolution. In stressing this, Lenin said that without a revolutionary theory there can be no revolutionary movement. Thus the question is of consciousness as a reflection of the conditions of the life and struggle of the progressive class and a generalization of its historical activity on the international scene. Yet to Reich the new consciousness is the unformed expression of a spontaneous rebellion of young people against the 'Corporate State.' In essence this is not even consciousness but a behavior rejecting the habitual way of life and making an anarchist challenge to the system: extravagant clothes, pop music, the ability simply to live 'one's own life according to one's own needs.' 'The new generation,' Reich writes, 'must make their revolution by the yeast theory; they must spread their life.' He goes so far as to describe even marijuana as a 'maker of revolution,' saying that 'it takes people outside the enclosed system,' releases them from domination of their thought and 'makes *unreal* what society takes most seriously.'

It is noteworthy that theorists of Left radicalism and even some liberal bourgeois ideologists regard this point as the most vulnerable in Reich's concept. Commenting on it, Marcuse wrote that the 'goal cannot be attained by an ostrich policy.' T. Hayden of the 'New Left' remarked that 'to believe a system will change simply through a new "consciousness" is utopian. There is no change possible without program, organization, struggle and conflict.' John Galbraith, for his part, thinks Reich's ideas may become 'a cover for self-indulgent idleness,'¹⁸

Advanced social consciousness only becomes revolutionary in intimate connection with the class struggle, with politics. It cannot of itself alter existing social relations. To do this, it must

become the consciousness of the social force which its objective situation in society enables to sweep away an outworn order and clear the ground for the new system through revolutionary action. Consciousness is a factor of struggle. Reich, however, suggests keeping out of struggle and politics. He says that political contest 'is a fight on the enemy's ground, a fight which the Corporate State is sure to win.'

Just as Herbert Marcuse retreats before the alleged insurmountability of the conformist trends of 'consumer' capitalism, so Charles Reich bows before the alleged omnipotence of the 'Corporate State' machine. Reich pins all his hopes on the prospect of this machine destroying itself, failing automatically. 'It is our theory,' he writes, 'that the State itself is now bringing about its own destruction. The machine itself has begun to do the work of revolution.'

The fundamental error of Reich as a Left radical theorist is that he sees no class forces or interests in today's bourgeois state. To his mind, this state operates by the force of its own inertia, as it were, and is hostile to all social strata. This makes the class struggle pointless, there being no enemy to fight against. 'We,' he writes, 'are all employees of the Corporate State and, what is more, exploited employees who sacrifice ourselves, our environment and our community, for the sake of irrational production. There is no class struggle; today there is only one class. In Marx's terms, we are all the proletariat, and there is no longer any ruling class except the machine itself.' This approach clearly rules out social revolution in its scientific meaning. Nor is it accidental that, in speaking of the new consciousness, Reich implies society as a whole, ignoring class distinctions. Rid of its secondary trappings, his concept may be put as follows: people must be told that the existing society is poorly organized, and when they have realized this everything will change of itself.

Petty-bourgeois radicalism, rejecting the Marxist-Leninist theory of revolution, takes us back to naive and utopian, pre-Marxist theories that have long been refuted by the historical experience of the revolutionary movement.

As for the practical program put forward by Reich, it boils down to the idea of refusing to submit to the 'Corporate State.' The whole system, he writes, 'collapses the moment people refuse to obey. . . . When Americans refuse to buy what the State wants to sell - economically or politically - and refuse to produce by striving for the goals set by the State's organizations, the wheel will have no power to turn, and revolution by consciousness will have become a reality.' Such is the logic of petty-bourgeois radicalism, which is divorced from political reality and rejects struggle based on knowledge of the objective logic of development of the class society.

To this we may reply that the monstrous and heartless machine so vividly described by Reich serves and submits to the interests of monopoly capital. What is needed to resist it is not the isolated

efforts of individuals who have come to realize its injustice but a mass organized political army of revolutionary forces capable of effecting far-reaching economic, social and political changes. Such an army can only be brought into being, consolidated and trained for decisive action in the course of practical political struggles, which is what Communists call for and what experience has shown.

There is virtually nothing revolutionary in Charles Reich's appeal 'to work for the betterment or transformation of society through almost any job, even though the job is located right within the Establishment.'¹⁹ What can be achieved by operating only within the system of state-monopoly capitalism is, at best, partial reforms. It can only amount to a slight refurbishing and modernization of the system of capitalist exploitation and will bring about no revolutionary changes, which require an all-out offensive by the masses against the Establishment from without. It is only in close connection with preparations for this offensive that the activity of progressive forces within the Establishment has any positive meaning.

Petty-bourgeois radical concepts, while outwardly revolutionary, are a far cry from revolution. They fully transplant the impulse for revolutionary change from the sphere of material production and social class relations to that of pure consciousness. Revolution is made the mission of a thinking elite. The masses, who are in the final analysis the only motor of social revolution, are debarred from it.

Left radical concepts of revolution are not a step forward but a big step back in social thought. They may have some progressive significance only as a theoretical reflection of the search for a path to the scientific revolutionary ideology by sizable sections of the radical intelligentsia.

Lenin stressed that 'revolution is a profound, difficult and complex science' (Vol. 27, p. 198). Mastering it in theory and practice is no easy task. Marxists have to accomplish this task through grim ideological and political struggles. Bourgeois sociology tries to refute the Marxist-Leninist science of revolutionary transformation of the world by resorting to vague abstractions or travesty of revolution, and often launching an open attack. Both theoretically and in terms of practical policy, sound criticism of bourgeois concepts from Marxist-Leninist positions is essential if the revolutionary forces of today are to accomplish the tasks facing them.

Y. Krasin

1. Dozens of books on social revolution have been published in the West in recent years. Here is a sampling: C. Johnson, *Revolutionary Change*. 1966; J. H. Meisel, *Counter-Revolution, How Revolutions Die*. 1966; *Revolution*. Ed. by C. J. Friedrich. 1967; R. Wielder, *Progress and Revolution*. 1967; R. C. Tucker, *The Marxian Revolutionary Idea*. 1969; T. R. Gurr, *Why Men Rebel*. 1970; P. Calvert, *A Study of Revolution*. 1970; C. A. Reich, *The Greening of America*. 1970; R. Nungesser, *Pour une nouvelle société. La révolution qu'il faut faire*. 1970; *When Men Revolt and Why*. Ed. by C. Davies. 1971; *Towards Revolution. The Revolutionary Reader*. Vol. I-II, 1971; *Revolution. Readings in Politics and Society*. Ed. by K. Kumar. 1971; A. Said and D. Collier, *Revolutionism*, 1971. In addition there appear new editions of such 'classics' of the 'sociology of revolution' as L. P. Edwards, *The Natural History of Revolution*, and C. Brinton, *The Anatomy of Revolution*.

2. *Revolution*. Ed. by C. J. Friedrich. New York, 1967, p. 30.
3. T. R. Gurr, *Why Men Rebel*. New Jersey, 1970, pp. 13, 24, 60, 251.
4. *When Men Revolt and Why*. Ed. by C. Davies. London, 1971, p. 236.
5. P. Calvert, *A Study of Revolution*. Oxford, 1970, pp. 43, VII.
6. H. Eckstein, *Internal War*. New York, 1964, p. 1.
7. J. H. Meisel, *Counter-Revolution. How Revolutions Die*. New York, 1966, pp. 31, 32.
8. R. C. Tucker, *The Marxian Revolutionary Idea*. New York, 1969, p. 108.
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10. S. Lipset, *Revolution and Counterrevolution*. London, 1969, p. 235.
11. M. Halpern, *Journal of International Affairs*. 1969, No. 1, p. 57; *Revolution*. Ed. by C. J. Friedrich. New York, 1967, p. 183.
12. Z. Brzezinski, *Between Two Ages. America's Role in the Technetronic Era*. New York, 1970. pp. XIV, 61.
13. H. Kahn and A. J. Wiener, *The Year 2000*. New York, 1968, p. 379.
14. R. Wielder, *Progress and Revolution*. New York, 1967, p. 287.
15. A. Toffler, *Future Shock*. New York, 1971, pp. 186, 220-221.
16. *Newsweek*, July 6, 1970, pp. 29-30.
17. H. Marcuse, *An Essay on Liberation*. Boston, 1969, pp. 25, 30.
18. *The Con. III: The Controversy: The Critics Look at the Greening of America*. New York, 1971, pp. 17, 22, 19.
19. C. A. Reich, *The Greening of America*. London, 1971, pp. 2, 138, 13, 245, 217, 219, 191, 223, 139, 228, 231, 234, 272.

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Comrades, struggles, books

Tuure Lehen

Tuure Lehen (born 1893), founding member of the Communist Party of Finland, worked in the Comintern and fought in the Spanish civil war. He is the author of a series of works on Marxist-Leninist theory and the class struggle in Finland. His recollections, published here, were recorded by our correspondent.

I wish to warn the reader from the outset that he will find neither startling facts nor confessions in this account of mine. What I have seen, gone through and pondered on is typical of one whose life career has been linked with the revolutionary movement. And if I decided to reminisce, it is only because the working class, its policies and ideas, have been central to my life and work.

I was born into a worker's family and this shaped my future. I spent my childhood in a workmen's settlement and to me as to most of its inhabitants, to enter the active period of life meant joining the labor movement.

I was fifteen when I became technical secretary of the local workers' society. There was no separate youth organization at the time and the working class carried on its entire political activity within the framework of its party (originally called the Workers' Party, it was renamed the Social-Democratic Party of Finland at its Third Congress, 1903). I tried my hand at writing for the press, sending items on the workers' life to a local paper. I began to read Marxist writings – the first of them was the Communist Manifesto, translated into Finnish in 1905. The workers were deeply impressed by the Manifesto, for it answered questions agitating them. About the same time I read Engels' *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific*.

The writings of the founders of Marxism reached Finland somewhat late. Before that the workers were fairly well familiar with the works of Kautsky, who still adhered to a Marxist position and upheld Marxism against Bernstein and other revisionists. Utopian socialist literature was widely read and Robert Ingersoll's atheist pamphlets enjoyed popularity.

Lenin, who visited Finland in 1905, showed deep interest in our country and its working-class movement. He wrote about the

Finnish people's struggle for their rights. Paradoxically, however, his works were little known in Finland at the time for a number of objective reasons. Otto Kuusinen was correct in saying that they were first read in Finland in 1917.

It was not until after 1917 that I had the opportunity to engage in a serious study of Lenin. *Materialism and Empirio-Criticism* undoubtedly played the greatest part in moulding my world outlook. The book, which I subsequently translated into Finnish, gripped my imagination. It was, and remains, an outstanding creation of Marxist philosophy. True, Lenin, who was a very modest man, said he did not consider himself a professional philosopher, and this is seized on by those who would like to minimize his contribution to philosophy. The fact that among them are some fair-minded scholars is apparently due to their faulty knowledge of Lenin's writings.

Another book by Lenin which helped in shaping my views was *The State and Revolution*. It analyzes problems of the proletariat's struggle for power and it helped us to reveal the mistakes of the Finnish revolution, which ended in the workers' defeat. We are also indebted to it because it shows up the indefensibility of reformist concepts of the advance to socialism.

This prompts me to say a word about Lenin's estimation of Kautsky, which I have lately studied in working on the history of the Finnish working-class movement at the beginning of the century. I have discovered that some present-day analyses of the history of the working-class movement try to prolong Kautsky's Marxist period, so to speak, by describing some of his opportunist views as Marxist. Because Lenin did not before 1914 give a comprehensive critique of Kautsky, these analysts infer that Kautsky did not slide into an opportunist position until after 1914, when the imperialist war brought out the bankruptcy of the leaders of the Second International. Yet Lenin makes it perfectly clear that Kautsky began to drift away from Marxism earlier than that. In *The State and Revolution*, for example, he criticized *The Road to Power*, a pamphlet published by Kautsky in 1909, noting that Kautsky's 'evasions of the question . . . omissions and equivocations "in analyzing the state" inevitably added up to a complete swing-over to opportunism' (Coll. Works, Vol. 25, p. 482).

In studying Lenin, I have repeatedly turned to *The State and Revolution* and in the early 50s I wrote a pamphlet on it entitled *The People and the State*. This work of Lenin is among the greatest achievements of Marxist thought. The opportunist writers' recurrent contention that *The State and Revolution* was a reflection of purely Russian conditions is entirely groundless. The book is a manual of revolution for all countries.

What induced me, like other Finnish revolutionaries, to study Lenin was reality itself, the need clearly to understand the problems raised by the revolution and civil war in our country. On arriving in Moscow in the spring of 1917 to study Russian, I took advantage of my letter of introduction from the leadership of the Social-

Democratic Party of Finland addressed to 'all Socialists.' It enabled me, in particular, to visit the editorial offices of Moscow papers. I interviewed Bolsheviks as well as Mensheviks and Socialist Revolutionaries. I could often be seen in the square in front of Hotel Dresden (now Sovetskaya Square) where public meetings were often held as elsewhere in Moscow and you could acquaint yourself with the views of diverse parties. I wanted to know their attitude to the Finnish question and it was not long before I satisfied myself that the Bolsheviks were real defenders of the interests of the working class and genuine internationalists. I wrote about my interviews and conclusions to *Sosialidemokraatti*, a paper appearing in Pori, Finland.

During the civil war I was secretary of the Council of People's Delegates, as the revolutionary government was called, among whose members were Otto Kuusinen and Yrjö Sirola. In the closing weeks of the war I was secretary of the central staff of the Red Guard, whose supreme commander was Kullervo Manner, chairman of the revolutionary government. After the defeat of the revolution I crossed into Soviet Russia along with numerous Red Guards. I spent the summer of 1918 in Moscow. Having acquired some knowledge of Russian, I worked in the Finnish Social Democrats' Foreign Organization, on whose basis the Communist Party of Finland (CPF) was eventually founded.

The workers had been looking forward to the founding congress of the CPF—they needed a Marxist-Leninist party. Despite the reign of white terror, the Party won influence in a surprisingly short time. Specifically, it gained a leading position in the trade union movement. The bourgeois state tried through repression to prevent the Communists from gaining ground among the working class. The fact that the Party maintained close links with the masses in the face of constant persecution showed how greatly it was needed.

The record of the working-class movement in Finland, as well as in other countries, confirms the significance of the party of the new type. Had Lenin, the Bolsheviks and the Social-Democratic Left failed to show revolutionary resolve and courage, and had they not broken with the opportunists and founded the Communist International, the working-class movement would have been threatened with a lapse into reformism. To go along with the opportunists on the plea of misconceived unity would have meant that the Marxists were renouncing the responsibility to the working class they had assumed of their own accord. Now as in the past, Communists cannot acquit themselves honorably of their tasks unless they combat every manifestation of opportunism.

In Finland as in numerous other capitalist countries, the working-class movement is faced with two alternatives, the Communist and the Social-Democratic. For a long time the Social-Democrats opposed the Communists and identified themselves with the bourgeoisie. Would the struggle for socialism have gained if our Party

had abandoned its views in favor of Social-Democratic policy and ideology? Nothing could be more unnatural. Our Party goes on fighting for its principles and the unity of all sections of the working-class movement on a class basis. And it has proved right. In recent years the Social-Democratic Party has reversed its tactics and has been cooperating with us in the fight for the pressing interests of the working class.

Why the reversal? The main reason was that the Social-Democratic leaders were finding it more and more difficult to maintain their line before the rank and file. In the end they resolved to adopt new, unquestionably more fruitful tactics towards the Communists. Numerous Social Democrats regard the new line, not as a tactical ploy, but as a sincere attitude to the Communists as class brothers, an indication of the constant urge for unity of the working-class movement.

Indicative in this respect is Rauno Setälä, a young writer who has advanced from a bourgeois world outlook to Marxism-Leninism. Recently he published a book that caused quite a stir in Finland. In it he says very correctly that the Finnish Social-Democrats took very long to do what the bourgeois Center Party did immediately after the war. The Social-Democratic leaders' change of tactics, Setälä writes, 'cleared the atmosphere in the Social-Democratic Party and provided some scope for Left trends.'

Let us go back a few decades. After the founding congress of the CPF (August 1918), which I was fortunate enough to attend, I volunteered for service in the Red Army. I served in it till early 1927 and then worked in the Communist International for ten years. I came to know both the staff and working methods of the organization, which for a quarter of a century was the heart and soul of the world revolutionary movement.

Our enemies did their utmost to smear the Comintern. They made numerous attempts to falsify its history and principles, alleging that its entire activity was wrong and detrimental to the labor movement. From what some authors wrote, the Comintern was an organization controlled by the Soviet Communists who imposed their views on all, acted regardless of national conditions, made standard plans based on abstract ideas, blocked all discussion and stamped out all creative thinking. These are all barefaced lies. To be sure, the Soviet Communists played a leading role in the Comintern, but they owed it to their immense prestige and their actual leverage in the movement, gained through service in the working-class cause. It was only natural that people in the Comintern should lend ear primarily to the more experienced parties.

The Comintern strove to take constructive account of the situation in each particular country. In fact, this was one of its fundamental principles. It combined thoughtful application of general principles to individual parties with patient effort to win people and parties who could play a revolutionary role in their countries. For instance, it gave much attention to the Czechoslovak and Nor-

wegian parties, two of the biggest parties of the time. The Communist Party of Czechoslovakia was a very large party, yet its leader, Bohumir Smeral, admitted that the Party would fight for socialism provided it did not require sacrifice. It took the Comintern a great deal of effort to help the CPC rise to a Marxist-Leninist plane.

Developments took a different turn in the case of the Norwegian Workers' Party. In 1923 it withdrew from the Comintern, with the result that it split and the Communist Party of Norway came into being. As for the leaders of the Workers' Party, they went on pulling it to the Right until it became a typically Social-Democratic party that distracted a substantial part of the working class from real struggle for socialist changes.

The CPF was a section of the Comintern. Among its delegates to the Comintern were Sirola and Kuusinen, then secretary of the ECCI. The history of our Party was inseparable from that of the Comintern. This was, and still is, an important reason for its strength. The traditions of the Comintern, the revolutionary schooling it gave and the analysis it made of numerous issues of the class struggle and of Communist strategy and tactics are most valuable today. It was the Comintern that worked out the problem of combating fascism and war, evolved united and popular front tactics and analyzed many other problems that are still relevant. Incidentally, this disproved the claim that the Comintern and Communist parties made no contribution to Marxism-Leninism after Lenin's death.

Our Party sets great store by the history of the Comintern. A chapter of this history, one particularly near to me, was the aid to the Spanish revolution. It was above all the Spanish Communist Party that organized resistance to fascism and as for the Comintern, an international organization, it led and coordinated the solidarity movement of the Communists and other progressives of the world.

The Comintern and its member parties played an exceptional role in forming the International Brigades, which fully proved their worth in battles for the Spanish people's freedom. I wish to stress the moral value of their operations. When in Spain I was well aware of it, for I saw time and again how grateful the Spanish workers and peasants were to the Soviet Union and the Comintern.

There were many Finns in Spain. The very fact that they made their way to the battlefield was a feat, for they had to sail from port to port without papers, and virtually without money, until they reached the Pyrenees. However, these difficulties in no way dampened their enthusiasm or their desire to join in the common fight against fascism. The ranks of the Finns who fought in Spain are thinning. Not so long ago we paid our last farewells to one of them, Onni Hukkinen. He was a guerrilla in Spain and operated in the fascist rear for two years. Revolutionary solidarity of the Communists and anti-fascists of all countries is the best tribute to his memory and to that of other internationalists who hastened to the Spanish people's help in their hour of trial.

In Spain, where I went under the name of Markus, the Communist Party assigned me, as a functionary of the Comintern, to Albacete base, where the International Brigades were being formed. At a time when every day and hour counted, it was necessary promptly to enrol every volunteer who arrived (one brigade, which had been in the battle of Madrid since November 1936, was already formed). We were short of command personnel. My job was made easier by the fact that I knew many of the comrades arriving from various countries. Some of them soon showed themselves to be able leaders. During my stay in Albacete another four brigades were formed.

After a few months' work at the base I asked to be sent to the front for combat duty. I found myself in a German brigade which included numerous acquaintances of mine, and took charge of combat training: I fought in the Guadalajara sector, the Brunete sector west of Madrid and elsewhere. Shortly afterwards I was transferred to a Spanish division in which I became adviser to the commander.

In Spain we Communists were members of one international family and it never occurred to anyone to insist on drawing boundary lines between the various parties. This would have been pointless and, indeed, would have handicapped everyone in that tense situation. The Comintern's call for unity and closer cooperation between Communist parties is as valid as ever. Whatever the forms of international cooperation between Communists, an invariable requirement is that it be effective and that opportunism or nationalism never be allowed to erode the Communist movement.

The problems with which the Comintern concerned itself are still there even though they now present themselves in a different light.

The years after the war in Spain have been, first and foremost, a period of research and journalistic work. I write books and articles on history, philosophy and the fight for peace. One of the books of that period is *The Ideology of the Working Class*, published in 1950 and translated into Russian and Swedish later on. In it I expose the ideas of Eino Kaila, a Finnish Right-wing philosopher who advocates a 'profoundly spiritual life,' a concept virtually calling for the suppression of the revolutionary movement and presenting all revolutionaries as criminals. This concept was also publicized by the Social-Democratic press of the time, and served it as the basis for advocating renunciation of the class approach.

I mentioned the book because the issues examined in it are under discussion now. I am happy to note that people show interest in the Marxist point of view. On the other hand, I cannot but deplore the scarcity in Finland of Marxist treatises on topical ideological problems. Our opponents are trying to regain lost positions. They are rehashing old ideas, which suggests how poorly off they are ideologically. The new is said to be something old that has been thoroughly forgotten, and this fully applies to their arguments. Nevertheless, we must not allow the enemy the luxury of

testing the correctness of this saying in ideological contests with us. I have just published a pamphlet on Kuusinen as the man who pioneered Marxist thought in Finland. It tells about the early activity of the eminent Finnish Marxist and his work as editor of *Sosialisten Aikakaustelehti*, the first Marxist journal in Finland.

I know from my participation in the struggles of the Finnish working class and analysis of their theoretical aspects that the class struggle in our country has always followed its general laws. We have problems of our own, of course, but they do not at all upset the relationship between the general and the particular in revolutionary struggle as defined by Marxism-Leninism. Hence there is no room in our country for any theories of a 'Finnish way' or 'Finnish socialism.'

We in Finland are witnessing a new phenomenon – a keen interest in Marxism on the part of young people, first of all students, as well as intellectuals. Among those who seek the Communists' advice and argue with them are historians, philosophers and mathematicians. They are openly sympathetic to us and help us in many respects. This is an indication of a general trend, the younger generation's interest in our Party. It is truly gratifying to see how irresistibly Marxism-Leninism is advancing.

Paul Langevin

(1872-1972)

Progressive-minded people everywhere join French workers and progressives in commemorating the centenary of Paul Langevin, a great physicist, materialist thinker, patriot and Communist.

Langevin's work reached its zenith in his investigation of magnetism and the theory of relativity. His research at the turn of the century paved the way for the discoveries of Albert Einstein, who acknowledged Langevin as his predecessor. Langevin's substantiated theory of an electromagnetic rather than mechanical conception of the world was a telling blow both to 'physical idealism' and to metaphysical materialism, the crisis of which in the age of the new revolution in the sciences was one of the causes of activation of idealistic philosophy. In his *Materialism and Empirio-Criticism*, Lenin referred to the researches of Langevin and other leading scientists, gave an interpretative generalization of their ideas and with remarkable foresight showed that science was steadily advancing to higher stages in the cognition of nature, devising a more sophisticated and accurate picture of the world and thereby fully vindicating dialectical materialism.

Paul Langevin was born January 23, 1872 in the modest family

of a Paris artisan. Closely associated with the people, he was educated in a spirit of respect for the Paris Commune and became an active champion of democracy, human rights and the ideas of freedom.

It was only after World War I that Langevin, already a mature thinker, became conscious of the insistent need directly and actively to share in the political struggle and combine his scientific work with public activity. One of his first and memorable actions was his public defense, in 1921, of the French sailors who mutinied in protest against the war against young Soviet Russia. He chaired the first mass meeting in defense of those who refused to desecrate the 'somewhat hazy but nevertheless beautiful dawn of this long-awaited new day.' Such was Langevin's attitude, and it earned him the inveterate hatred of the reactionaries.

A year before that, at the height of the big transport strike, Langevin courageously came out in *Humanité* against the government's policy of using students as strike-breakers.

Langevin was already a dedicated democrat in politics and a progressive thinker in science. How did he become a Marxist thinker and a Communist fighter?

The evolution of his views (and this took a long time) was shaped by three factors: his work in physics, his public activity and family influence. That, at any rate, is the conclusion of this author, who for many years was a close friend of Langevin and his family.

From the very outset he took up the cudgels against idealist scientists and philosophers who, guided by Heisenberg's principle of uncertainty, attributed a mysterious 'free will' to elementary particles, and consequently, to all nature. He persistently combated the view that matter vanishes with the disintegration of the atom. Not for a single moment did this great scientist, this confirmed foe of obscurantism, the founder, in 1930, of the League of Rationalists, retreat from the principle of cognizability of the world.

For a man who was fond of quoting Epicurus and Lucretius, spontaneous materialism became the stepping stone to the Marxist-Leninist world outlook. And one of the intellectual centers that played no small part in fashioning his views was the Materialist Research Group, which he founded after 1935. It included progressive scientists, among them members of the Communist Party. His ardor found expression at its monthly meetings, held in his large study of director of the School of Physics and Chemistry.

Long years of thought and work in physics, the dialogue with himself, led Langevin to dialectical and historical materialism, and this he stressed in the speech he made at the National Communist Party conference in Gennevilliers on December 26, 1938: 'To your Party has fallen the honor of closely uniting thought and action.

'A Communist, it is said, must constantly learn. I want to say that the more I learn, the more I feel myself a Communist.

'In the great Communist doctrine developed by Marx, Engels and Lenin I found the answer to questions relating to my own science, and I would never have found it without this doctrine.'

Another source of Langevin's ideological evolution was his rich experience of public activity in France and other countries. He travelled widely. Visiting China in 1931 and 1932 as a League of Nations expert on education, he witnessed the savage Japanese attack, launched with Western connivance, on the main Chinese ports. This did more than rouse indignation – it fortified his determination to fight imperialism, and Langevin publicly condemned the League of Nations for leaving China to the tender mercies of the aggressor.

There is no underestimating family influence. In the 30s several of his children were already Communist Party members. The greatest influence, however, was exerted by his son-in-law, Jacques Solomon, a young talented theoretical physicist with a remarkable capacity for abstract thought and a profound knowledge of the works of Marx, Engels and Lenin. For a long time Langevin had an instinctive distrust of philosophical systems, which was natural for a scientist whose views were formed at a time when positivism held sway among naturalists in the West. But in his discussions with Solomon and the latter's friend, Politzer, he saw that every 'crisis' in physics is overcome through resolution of contradictions, that dialectical philosophy corresponds to reality.

All this explains why Langevin did not remain on the side-lines when Hitler came to power in Germany and when the fifth column became active in France. He put all his energy into the struggle, abandoning – now for all time – the quiet of his laboratory which he had always so cherished. After the Amsterdam International Anti-War Congress (1932) and the Paris Anti-War Congress a year later, Langevin joined Romain Rolland and Henri Barbusse at the head of the World Anti-Fascist Committee in Paris. And one might recall the role that committee played in exposing German fascism, mobilizing the workers of Europe to fight the Hitler menace and bringing the proletariat and other anti-fascist forces closer together.

For Langevin, presidency of the Committee was not merely an honorary position. The author, who acted as secretary of the Committee, can testify to his indefatigable and painstaking work. And this, moreover, was attended by his efforts to found and strengthen the Popular Front. He never refused to assist the organization of a meeting, or an article for an anti-fascist paper and was always prepared to advise representatives of the democratic movement.

Langevin was among the foremost champions of just causes. He came out in defense of Dimitrov and Thaelmann whom the Nazis kept behind prison bars, Republican Spain, Czechoslovakia, betrayed in Munich by the Anglo-French imperialists. Among French intellectuals he fought with vigor and perseverance against those blinded by pacifism and against the pseudo-theorists of appeasement, who were playing into the hands of Hitler. The surrender of the Western bourgeoisie to Hitler deeply shocked him: 'Common sense fortified by the lessons of history should clearly teach us that bowing to force can only lead to more cruel domination of

force, and every tragic day we live through is proof of that, if proof were at all necessary' (July 1938).

Langevin's political activity did not interfere with his creative work as philosopher and scientist. He was anxious to provide a tribune for young scientists and artists who subscribed to materialism, to Marxists and those leaning towards Marxism, to Popular Front militants. And to do that, at the advice of Solomon and Politzer and with the help of other progressive personalities, he founded the magazine *La Pensée* in the winter of 1938-39, intending to make it the clarion of progressive intellectuals.

Then came the war of 1939, the inevitable sequel to Munich. The French bourgeoisie was waging a phoney war against Hitler and a real war against the French people and the French Communist Party. Early in October the police raided the World Anti-Fascist Committee. In a dignified but firm protest to the Prime Minister, Langevin emphasized it was criminal to dissolve the committee at a time when the country was supposed to be fighting Nazi Germany. He posed embarrassing questions to the government—its only reply was to step up repressions against democrats and their organizations. The Communist MPs were haled before a military tribunal. Langevin was one of the witnesses who appeared before it on March 29, 1940 to defend the Communists and expose the government. Though not a Party member, he told the tribunal that the anti-fascist struggle had convinced him that the Communists were more than any others concerned for the 'common weal, the ideal of social justice, and the greatest resolve to achieve it through the material and moral transformation of the world.' He emphasized, too, that the Communists represented the most noble moral values and that he shared their ideals.

The phoney war was the prelude to France's debacle and its occupation by the Nazis. But Langevin did not quit France. He felt that, even in these conditions, the fight on the home front must continue. And he was proud that the fascists had singled him out as scientist Enemy Number One. On October 30, 1940 he was arrested and thrown into a filthy cell for criminals, a cell without light and with no possibilities to read and write. Yet he continued his researches, using bits of paper on which he wrote with a matchstick dipped in the pulverized charcoal prescribed by the prison doctor. The German colonel, one Boemelburg, who interrogated him said he was 'just as dangerous to Hitlerism as the 18th century French philosophers had been to the monarchy.' Langevin was proud of that comparison.

His arrest was the signal for the Resistance in academic circles. Joliot-Curie protested by suspending his lectures at the College de France. On November 11 the students demonstrated in the center of Paris and were dispersed by police fire. The Soviet Union offered Langevin refuge. In prison he received letters from France's most distinguished scientists, expressing their friendship and solidarity. The protest became international and the Nazis, after some hesita-

tion, released Langevin from his prison cell in which he had spent 38 days. He was sent to Troyes, where he was to live under police surveillance.

Living in exile, he angrily rejected the cynical proposals with which the fascists hoped to bring him into their 'war effort.' He was the inspiration of the university Resistance, which issued illegal leaflets, organized militant actions and in May 1941 actively shared in founding the National Front. But Langevin was to be subjected to more trying ordeals: in 1942 his daughter and son-in-law were arrested, both had been active in the Communist underground. Solomon was executed on May 23 and Helene banished to Auschwitz. Two of his grandchildren, Michel and Bernard, were arrested towards the end of the occupation, when they were only 16. Today both are members of the Communist Party.

The heroic death of Jacques Solomon, with whom Langevin had close family and ideological ties, was a terrible blow to the 70-year-old scientist. His health deteriorated, but he remained at his battlepost. In the spring of 1944 there was the danger that he would be shot as a hostage. He left his place of exile with a false identity card and the franc tireurs and partisans secretly brought him across the Swiss frontier. He was so weak that he had to be carried across the Juras.

He returned to France on September 22, 1944, shortly after liberation.

His first concern was to implement a decision made two years earlier. He came to Jacques Duclos and applied for membership in the Communist Party: 'I have come to take the place of my spiritual son Jacques Solomon.' In the Communist ranks he took his place side by side with Frederic Joliot-Curie, who had joined the Party in the grim days of 1942. On March 3, 1945 Langevin was honored at ceremonies in the Sorbonne on the occasion of his 73rd birthday. Addressing an audience that included many of France's renowned scientists and scholars, he said: 'From the very emergence of the Soviet state I have been closely watching this stupendous experiment. It aroused in me a passionate interest, for here was a state committed to justice and relying on the achievements of science. And as I learned more of its underlying ideas, my link with it became more close, culminating in my recent joining the French Communist Party.'

Langevin was elected to the Paris Municipal Council on the Communist ticket. He represented a district populated mainly by students and university instructors where before the war Solomon had been first secretary of the Communist Party.

But Langevin had other duties, too, and one of the most difficult was presidency of the ministerial commission on educational reform. The final draft of a democratic reform was compiled after his death by another outstanding Communist, Prof. Henri Wallon, a distinguished psychologist. In 1947 there was an abrupt change in government policy, the Communists were ousted from the govern-

ment on orders of the U.S. monopolies, reaction was in the saddle and educational reform was, unfortunately, consigned to oblivion.

Langevin showed remarkable initiative and activity as head of the France-USSR Society. Towards the end of his life he repeatedly emphasized that the scientist must bear responsibility for the vast potential of science being used not for destruction but in the service of man. Langevin pointed to the need to abolish the 'monstrous and fatal' gap between the colossal strides in science and the woe-fully slow social progress in countries that had not yet come to socialism.

Paul Langevin died on December 19, 1946, after a short but painful illness. The people of Paris paid their respects in a manner never before witnessed. He is buried in the Pantheon with the great of France.

Paul Langevin fully merits the words of the great Russian poet Nekrasov: 'A beacon-light of reason.' And he was a beacon of reason in our age of transition from capitalism to socialism, the collapse of imperialism and the victory of socialist revolutions. He lived in the first half of this age and left us at a time when socialism had gone beyond the confines of one country to become a world system. And in this age the beacon of reason cannot but merge with the beacon of Marxism-Leninism.

That is why we can say that the life of Paul Langevin is highly typical. His gradual transition from active struggle for democracy to communism, from spontaneous to dialectical and historical materialism, is symbolic of the path followed by thousands. Today there are many young Communist scientists in France. For it is in Marxism-Leninism that the great progressive, rationalist national tradition has found its embodiment. Of course, conscious transition to Marxism-Leninism, to the ideas of communism, is not always a straight and smooth process. But it is an inevitable one; it is developing and progressing and Langevin's work, the sterling example of his life, are bearing fruit.

Georges Cogniot



A book on Soviet foreign policy

The interest aroused by the history of Soviet foreign policy is understandable. The point is not only that knowledge of this history provides a deeper insight into world policies today. There is also the fact that the experience of implementing socialist foreign policy principles constitutes an ideological asset of world socialism and the international Communist movement. This fundamental work on the history of Soviet foreign policy in the 1945-1970 period* published a short time ago helps to generalize this experience. Its authors and editors set themselves the task of disclosing, on the strength of a wealth of historical and documentary evidence, the character of Soviet foreign policy as a policy entirely in the service of the people, its revolutionary firmness in upholding the interests of socialism and, at the same time, its flexible and realistic approach to international problems.

The reader is offered a vast panorama of historical events covering the last quarter century. Soviet foreign policy was most active in that period. The book presents it in its manifold aspects—thousands of diplomatic moves, participation in bilateral and multilateral negotiations and conferences, the signing of treaties and agreements, notes, statements, exchanges of delegations, state visits, economic cooperation, aid, in particular military aid. The authors' exposition of this material in systematized form is of unquestionable scientific value. It enables the reader to judge the Soviet position on every international issue and shows how socialism's foreign policy influences world development.

The authors make a detailed survey of the foreign policy objectives of the CPSU and the Soviet government in the post-war years: creating, in common with other socialist countries, international conditions favorable to building socialism and communism; strengthening the cohesion, friendship and brotherhood of the socialist countries; supporting the national liberation movement and

**Istoriya vneshnei politiki SSSR* (A History of Soviet Foreign Policy). Part Two, 1945-1970. Edited by B. N. Ponomarev, A. A. Gromyko and V. M. Khvostov. Authors: A. M. Alexandrov, A. I. Blatov, V. F. Grubyakov, A. F. Dobrynin, I. N. Zemskov, V. L. Israelian, M. S. Kapitsa, I. K. Koblyakov, L. N. Kutakov, A. A. Roshchin, S. P. Sanakoyev, V. M. Falin and V. M. Khvostov. Moscow, Nauka, 1971, 519 pp. Part One, which investigated Soviet foreign policy in the 1917-1945 period, appeared in 1966.

cooperating with the developing countries in various forms; maintaining the principles of peaceful coexistence; resisting the forces of imperialist aggression, and sparing mankind a new world war.

Considerable attention is given to the formation and progress of the socialist world system, the outstanding development of the last quarter century. This event was 'a most important advance predicted by Lenin - towards turning the dictatorship of the proletariat from a national into an international factor capable of decisively influencing world politics' (p. 56). The formation and consolidation of the new system of European and Asian countries was greatly facilitated by the policy of the Soviet Union, which has always seen its primary internationalist duty in fostering the development of world socialism.

The monograph demonstrates this conclusively. The Soviet Union countered imperialist attempts to destroy the national sovereignty of the newly established people's democracies. Its foreign policy was an important factor for the victory of the Chinese revolution in 1949, as that country's leaders admitted and stressed in the past. 'Had the Soviet Union not been there,' Mao Tse-tung wrote, 'had the anti-fascist Second World War not ended in victory, had Japanese imperialism not been defeated and had the people's democracies not come into being . . . the forces of international reaction threatening us would undoubtedly have been stronger by far than they are now. Could we have won out in those circumstances? The answer is clearly no.'

The book points out the significance of the Warsaw Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance signed in 1955 by eight European states in safeguarding their security and ensuring their political consolidation. It reveals the role of Soviet foreign policy in strengthening socialism in Cuba and defending the socialist gains of the people of Europe and Asia.

With the formation of the world socialist community, the Soviet Union broke through the capitalist encirclement it had been in ever since 1917. Its foreign policy moved into a new field. This is depicted, among others, in a section of the book that analyzes economic cooperation within the socialist community and the beneficial role of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance, set up in 1949. The progress made by the CMEA countries in economy, science, culture and standard of life, and their growing economic, scientific and technological contacts made it possible in 1971 to adopt the Comprehensive Program for deepening and perfecting cooperation and promoting socialist economic integration.

Relations of a new type have developed between the socialist countries, the authors note. Based on the principles of socialist internationalism, they express themselves in both cooperation on an equal footing and extensive mutual assistance.

Facts given in the book show that in fulfilling its internationalist duty to the Communist and working-class movement, the CPSU directs Soviet foreign policy towards maintaining socialist gains

and defending the common cause of the working people of all countries. Whatever the enemies of socialism may say, the concept of socialist international relations is gaining ground.

A number of chapters concern the Soviet Union's support of the national liberation struggle and the Soviet policy of friendship and cooperation with one-time colonies that have taken the road of independent development. The abolition of the infamous colonial system of imperialism is due in substantial measure to Soviet effort.

The peoples won their national independence in battle. 'Imperialism,' the authors write, 'retreated fighting. In a number of cases, it could not have been overcome but for the support which the peoples fighting for national liberation had from the Soviet Union and other socialist countries' (p. 282). The Soviet Union helped the Arabs to foil imperialist plans of expansion – in Egypt in 1956, Syria in 1957 and Lebanon, Iraq and Jordan in 1958. It assisted the peoples of Algeria and Indonesia, of Laos and the Congo, in their fight against colonial regimes. These are only some facts showing that Soviet foreign policy hastened the liberation of Asian and African peoples from colonial tyranny.

The 60s were marked by growing cooperation between new states and the Soviet Union on the principles of equality and mutual benefit. By the end of 1970, the Soviet Union had diplomatic relations with 75 developing countries. With some of these it has economic, trade, cultural and other agreements. The book reveals that cooperation in various fields between new national states and the Soviet Union promotes the independence of these states and increases their ability to resist imperialist and reactionary intrigues and persevere in their chosen policies.

Throughout the last quarter century Soviet foreign policy has been faced with the formidable task of curbing imperialist aggression and safeguarding world peace, of preventing the U.S. and other imperialists from plunging the world into a new war.

The reader may see for himself that it takes consummate skill to accomplish this task in a changing situation. The past 25 years have seen many world political crises caused by imperialist aggression and often threatening mankind with nuclear disaster. It took a skilful combination of firmness and flexibility, restraint and caution, perseverance and readiness for reasonable compromise, to preserve peace and uphold the historic gains of the peoples. And great coolness and resolve were needed to resist provocations, defeat the plots of aggressors and effectively support peoples under attack. Soviet foreign policy has been able to resolve world political crises in favor of peace and socialism because it is realistic and takes proper account of its potentialities, the alignment of class and strategic forces in the world and the prospects of world development. The combination of genuine love of peace with staunch

resistance to imperialist aggression has been particularly manifest in recent years. The book gives a detailed account of Soviet support to the people of Vietnam fighting against the U.S. aggressor. It is common knowledge that Soviet aircraft, missiles, artillery and firearms, ammunition and other war supplies are delivered to Vietnam, which also gets considerable economic aid. The authors show the Soviet role in strengthening the defenses of the Arab countries resisting aggression. They show that the Soviet Union advocates lasting peace in the Middle East in line with the Security Council resolution providing for the withdrawal of the Israeli aggressors from the occupied Arab territories.

The role of the Soviet Union as a fighter against imperialist aggression and a bulwark of peace has grown notably since World War II. This is due, in particular, to far-reaching changes in the strategic situation in the world. 'The time is long past,' the authors write, 'when the armed forces of the United States could strike at the Soviet Union from their bases on foreign soil—in Europe and Asia—while Soviet armed forces could effectively strike back at only the allies of the United States, American territory proper being hard to reach' (p. 484).

U.S. imperialist policy is examined at length to reveal its adventurous character and the folly of Washington's claim to 'world leadership' and to demonstrate the failure of imperialism's foreign policy doctrines. Deep-going changes in the situation compelled U.S. imperialism to renounce the policy of 'rolling back communism' by delivering a nuclear blow. Other concepts which in the cold war years underlay the foreign policy of imperialism withered away, too. The change in the balance of forces in favor of socialism forced a revision of imperialist foreign policy concepts. Bankrupt concepts were replaced by new ones, such as 'flexible response' or 'limited war.' These, too, are directed against the socialist countries. However, recent developments, especially the trend of the Vietnam war, have shown, the book stresses, that these new strategic doctrines of U.S. imperialism are coming to grief, too.

On the other hand, qualitative changes on the world scene did not necessitate revision of the Soviet foreign policy doctrine of peaceful coexistence. This is an indication of the sincerity of the Soviet effort for durable peace. It shows that Soviet foreign policy is principled and accords with the objective development trends of international relations.

The disarmament problem holds a prominent place in Soviet foreign policy. The reader is told how the Soviet Union has been working for a ban on the manufacture and use of weapons of wholesale destruction and for disarmament, how it exposes the policy of those who, contrary to the interests of mankind, use every subterfuge to block disarmament. The CPSU and the Communist parties of other countries, for their part, combat from positions of principle attempts to demobilize the masses through Left-sounding, pseudo-revolutionary talk and to suggest that the socialist coun-

tries and the peace forces generally cannot foil imperialist plans nor achieve lasting peace. 'Peace on earth,' the Meeting of Communist Parties said in its unanimously adopted 'Appeal in Defense of Peace,' 'cannot rest on a "balance of fear." Lasting peace is inconceivable without a cessation of the arms race . . . It is necessary to work, consistently and perseveringly, towards general and complete disarmament.'

The struggle for disarmament, against militarism, is in keeping with the class character of the socialist state, opposed to wasting colossal material resources and the labor of millions for military purposes. The CPSU has lately proposed a number of realistic measures to this end. They include a conference of the five nuclear powers, a reduction of military budgets, the complete discontinuance of nuclear weapon tests and the establishment of nuclear-free zones. 'The fight for disarmament is a difficult matter,' L. I. Brezhnev said. 'On this as on numerous other foreign policy issues, we come up against stubborn imperialist resistance. Nevertheless, we do not regard the proposals put forward by the 24th Congress of the CPSU as propaganda slogans, but as action slogans reflecting political objectives which are becoming ever more attainable in this epoch.'

The Soviet policy of peace is an active one, and this is particularly so in respect to the challenging problem of European security. The book gives a detailed description of the Soviet policy of easing tensions on the continent. The Soviet-West German and Polish-West German treaties afford new opportunities in this respect. The four-power agreement on West Berlin was a notable advance. The settlement of this problem with due regard to the legitimate interests and rights of the GDR may be seen as a milestone in the effort to establish lasting peace in Europe. The authors write about the initiative of the Soviet Union and other Warsaw Treaty countries to convene an all-Europe conference on security and cooperation. In describing the big foreign policy gains of the Soviet state, above all in recent years, they also point to the difficulties that have to be overcome and to international problems that have yet to be solved.

In the light of the Soviet foreign policy record, the peace program advanced by the 24th Congress of the CPSU may be described as a logical new and higher stage of the struggle for lasting peace. This makes the book's analysis of post-war Soviet foreign policy particularly valuable in understanding the present foreign policy line of the CPSU and the Soviet state.

A. Yakovlev

BOOKS IN BRIEF

La Fondation du Parti communiste français et la pénétration des idées léninistes en France. Cinquante ans d'action communiste (1920-1970) (Foundation of the French Communist Party and Spread in France of the Ideas of Lenin. 50 Years of Communist Activity. 1920-1970). Paris, Editions Sociales, 1971. 334 pp.

This is a report in book form on the colloquium on the 50th anniversary of the French Communist Party held by the Maurice Thorez Institute in 1970. For French Communists study of their Party's history is closely connected with the present ideological and political struggle. It is not surprising, therefore, that Politbureau members Georges Marchais, Etienne Fajon, Roland Leroy,, Central Committee members and Marxist scholars Georges Cogniot, Jean Fréville and Claude Willard participated in the colloquium, which was attended by 29 delegations of fraternal parties and Institutes of Marxism-Leninism.

The FCP was founded as a mass party in 1920 at the Tours Congress. The Party's roots are imbedded in France's revolutionary traditions and the broad protest movement against the first imperialist war. Decisive in this was the influence of the October Revolution and the ideas of V. I. Lenin. G. Cogniot and V. Joannes describe FCP history as a history of struggle against Right and 'Left' opportunists whose petty-bourgeois postures rejected the leading role of the working class which Maurice Thorez called 'the inspirer and natural leader of all anti-capitalist forces.' In his criticism of Garaudy's revisionist views, E. Fajon said modern revisionism negates the specific features of the working class and its leading role, and attacks the principles of democratic centralism in the Party. The FCP is a mass Party, speakers stressed, because the economic demands and revolutionary goals of the working class have become the demands and goals of the Party, and because by proposing the idea of a Popular Front in 1934 it erected a barrier to fascism, and has always been true to Lenin's idea of combining struggle for democracy with the struggle for socialism. For the working class and all working Frenchmen the FCP has preserved all the progressive elements of the national tradition.

The FCP has always combined its patriotic duty with internationalist responsibilities before the world Communist movement. Defending national interests, it opposed the occupation of the Ruhr in 1923 and the war in Morocco in 1925, and supported the Spanish Republicans in 1936. French Communists demonstrated their solidarity with the people of Vietnam and Algeria. The FCP has declared that 'the people of France would never fight against the Soviet Union,' and that 'the cause of the USSR is the cause of the international workers' movement.'

The book shows that today, too, the FCP is indicating to the workers' movement the way ahead.

In his closing remarks at the colloquium, Deputy General Secretary of the Party, Georges Marchais, said the struggle for an advanced democracy means restricting the power of the financial oligarchy through socio-economic measures and effective participation by the people at all levels of government and economic management.

P. Hentgès

D. RUBIN. *How a Communist Club Functions*. New York, New Outlook Publishers, 1971. 28 pp.

A Communist Club is the basic organizational unit of the CP USA. Established according to the industrial principle (shop club) or community principle (neighborhood club), they are the Party's link with the working class, the masses of the people.

The author, Daniel Rubin, Organization Secretary, CP USA, sets forth the principles of club organization, the clubs' tasks and methods of work. He shows how they can act as organizers and leaders of working-class struggle. Addressed to grass-roots party workers, the book sets the task of enrolling new members to the Party and their ideological education. As organizers of the workers' struggle for economic demands, against racial discrimination, for better living conditions, the clubs help cement the unity of all working people.

V. Talmy

V. ROMAN, *Eseuri despre revolutia stiintifica si tehnica* (Essays on the Science-Technical Revolution). Bucureşti, Editura Politică, 1970. 563 pp.

The social consequences of the science-technical revolution are being analyzed the world over.

Rumanian scholar Valter Roman offers an original approach to the problem of the new relations between science and society, industry and technology in the two socio-economic systems. The essays span the period from 1954 to 1970 and reflect the evolution of the author's outlook.

Valter Roman covers a wide range of topics, such as modern natural science as a powerful factor of progress, the interaction between natural and social science, problems of socialist democracy, scientific management of society and organization of research, future trends and developments in science and technology. He examines the influence of social and science-technical revolutions on historical progress and shows its characteristic features under capitalism and socialism. The book attempts to outline the features of the civilization arising as a result of the science-technical revolution, contending that the capitalist system, based on exploitation and aggression, is not able to realize the opportunities offered by this revolution and is incompatible with the new civilization.

A special chapter is devoted to the transformation of science into a direct productive force. The author stresses that science should be viewed as a factor penetrating all elements constituting the

productive forces, is embodied in them, materializes in them and imparts to them a powerful potential. Valter Roman criticizes the technocratic theories of science-technical revolution, stressing the need for a creative Marxist elaboration of this problem.

The author's approach to the question of the advantages of socialism merits a closer look. 'The new socialist social system,' he writes, 'must demonstrate its superiority over capitalism in the *all-round* development of the productive forces and production relations, social organization, planned management, and in the cultural, ideological and political domains.'

The scope and complexities of the science-technical revolution, the advancement of knowledge and its rapid assimilation by industry all place new problems before society. Roman's book is a contribution to the study of these problems. G. Voicu

A. KARENIN, *Filosofiya politicheskogo nasiliya* (The Philosophy of Political Coercion). Moscow, International Relations Publishers. 1971. 303 pp.

This book by a Soviet international affairs expert is a critical analysis of one of the most influential foreign policy and international relations schools in the United States, known as the school of 'political realism.'

The views of the 'political realists' revolve around the concept of power (or force). They claim that the struggle for power constitutes the goal and content of all political relations. And proceeding from this premise, notes Karenin, the 'realists' attempt to find the most effective way of pursuing the anti-Communist course of the United States on the international arena.

The book deals with a wide range of authors, many of whom are involved in one way or another in America's global policy trends. The most prominent representatives of this school are authors of several U.S. foreign policy doctrines, such as the 'flexible response' doctrine in conditions of the so-called nuclear impasse (i.e., America's loss of nuclear monopoly), the 'bridge-building' policy, the 'bi-polar' doctrine in international relations, the theory of 'mutual deterrent' or 'balance of fear,' the 'limited wars' and 'erosion of socialism' concepts, etc.

The author analyzes these concepts, exposing their class implications – a desire to adapt U.S. imperialist foreign policy to new conditions where the balance of class forces in the world has shifted in favor of socialism, with opportunities for international expansion significantly narrower.

By comparing the views of the 'political realists' the author shows that there are serious differences in their theories and policies. The attempt to classify the various trends, especially theoretical, of 'political realism' was not too successful, because the author failed to pinpoint the appropriate criteria. Political realists are divided into three groups. One trend (which in the author's view

includes Hans Morgenthau, George Kennan, William Fulbright, Arthur Schlesinger and others) sharply opposes a nuclear war as a means of solving foreign policy problems and criticizes the administration's Vietnam policy from liberal positions. Its antipode is the group of Professor Robert Strauss-Hupé of Pennsylvania University, preaching anti-communism, exaggerating U.S.-Soviet contradictions and clamoring for a military victory in Vietnam. In between are theorists advocating various blends of the conceptions of the liberal realists and the Pennsylvania realists. This middle group includes such people as Gen. Taylor and Henry Kissinger. V.P.

American Labor and the Indochina War. The Growth of Union Opposition. Philip S. Foner. New York. International Publishers, 1971. 126 pp.

The author, professor of History at Lincoln University, Pennsylvania, shows the development of organized opposition of American labor to the aggression in Indochina, from the first protest marches in which rank-and-file union members took part in 1965 to the mass anti-war demonstrations of 1969-1970.

Only a few years ago, he writes, many participants in the anti-war movement regarded the American working class as too hopelessly backward and reactionary to expect it to come out against the Indochina war. This view owed itself in large measure to the stand of the AFL-CIO leaders, notorious for their rabid anti-communism and unquestioning support of the cold war and aggression in Korea and Indochina. Moreover, a substantial section of the working class had long held the view that the war was a guarantee of jobs and high wages.

Over the last few years, however, substantial shifts have taken place in the thinking of the American proletariat. This is confirmed by public opinion polls, which indicate that the percentage of people opposed to the Indochina war is higher among the working class. A reflection of the mounting anti-war sentiment was the National Labor Leadership Assembly for Peace in November 1967, at which trade unions from all parts of the United States came out against the Administration's aggressive policies and openly joined the anti-war movement. At the National Rank and File Action Conference in June 1970 it was pointed out that the Indochina war was 'a major cause of repression and recession.' The Conference set up a National Coordinating Committee for Trade Union Action and Democracy. The author expresses confidence that the alliance of labor and other anti-war forces will achieve its aim of stopping the Indochina war.

V. Walter

NEW BOOKS

(Books listed here are in the language of the country of publication)

MARX, K. *Myslenky o statu a revoluci* (Thoughts on State and Revolution). Prague, Mlada fronta, 1971. 240 pp.

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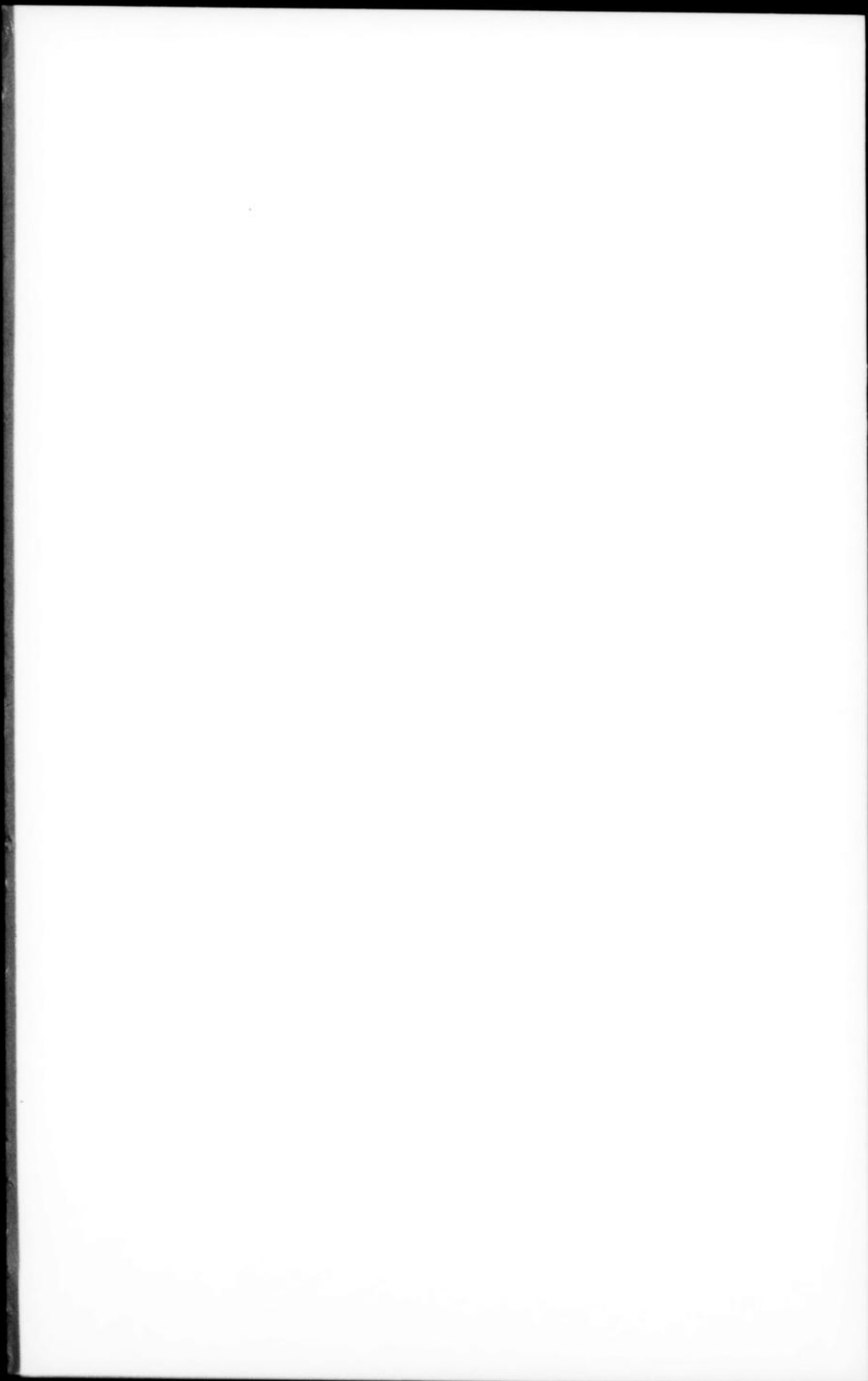
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