

WORLD

Problems of

MARXIST

Peace and Socialism

REVIEW

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**New program
CP of Canada**

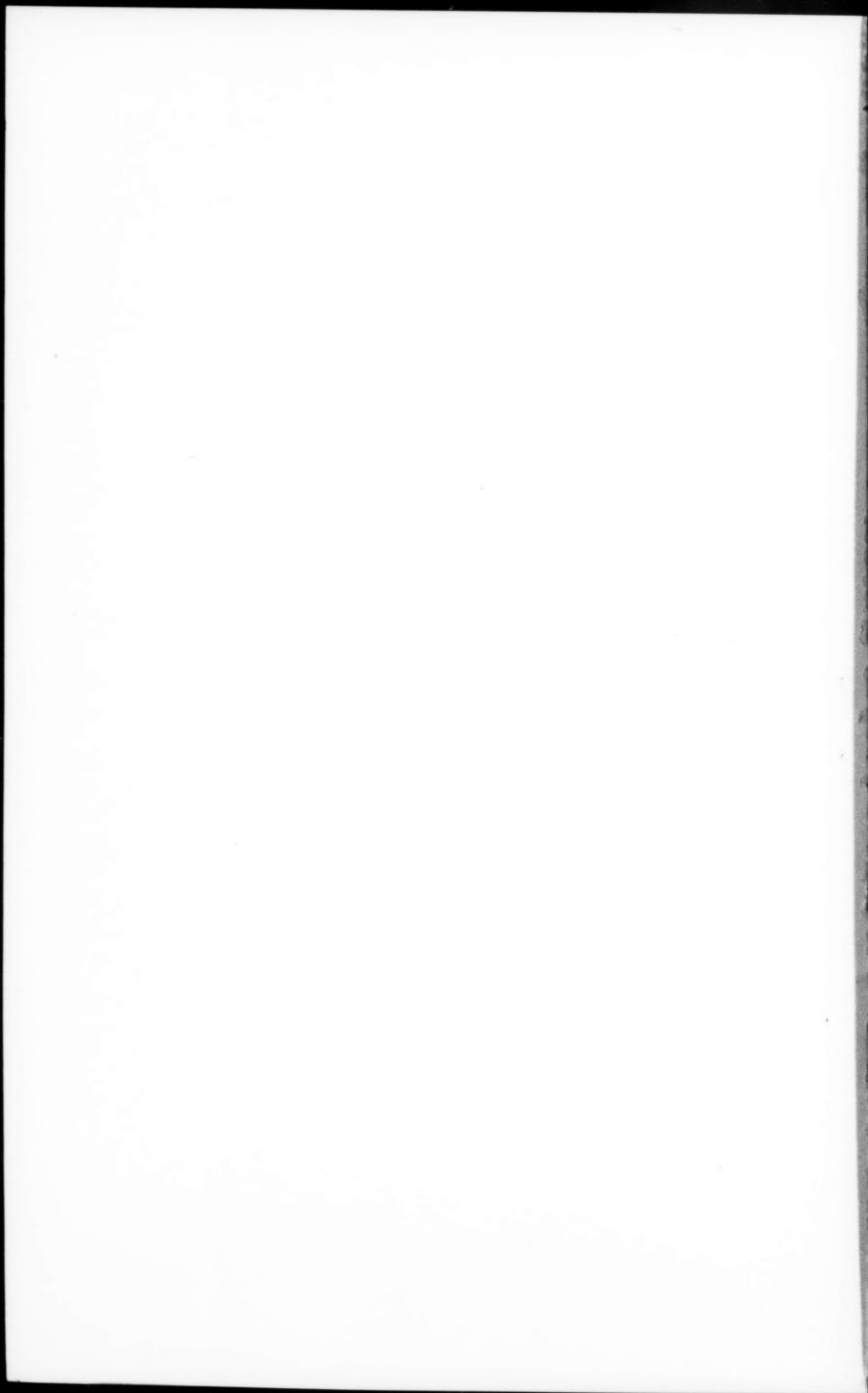
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social revolution**

**Georgi Dimitrov—
revolutionary tribune**

**State-monopoly
capitalism—new data**

**British Communists
face new tasks**

**Contradictions
in Socialism**





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Theoretical and information
journal of Communist and
Workers' Parties

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GEORGI DIMITROV ACCUSES
(montage circulated at time of Leipzig trial)



GEORGI DIMITROV

90th anniversary of his birth

On June 18, 1972, it will be ninety years since the birth of Georgi Dimitrov, leader of the Bulgarian working class and the world Communist movement. Communists and progressives all over the world are preparing to observe the anniversary.

Following is an article contributed to this journal by Todor Zhivkov, First Secretary of the CC BCP, Chairman of the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria. We also publish extracts from Georgi Dimitrov's works, which are still relevant, as the reader will see for himself. They have been selected from this outstanding revolutionary's vast theoretical heritage and concern problems on which he made his greatest contribution to Marxist-Leninist theory. We think our readers, especially youth, will also be interested in the brief account of Georgi Dimitrov's life and work.

Revolutionary tribune and theoretician

Todor Zhivkov

The life and work of Georgi Dimitrov, a great son of Bulgaria, are inseparable from the class struggle of the Bulgarian proletariat and the international working-class movement, from the struggle for the victory of communism, throughout the world.

'Not a single class in history,' Lenin wrote, 'has achieved power without producing its political leaders, its prominent representatives able to organize a movement and lead it' (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 4, p. 370). The working class and Communist movement of the world have produced, and continue to produce, great thinkers and ideologists, leaders and organizers, politicians and statesmen keenly attuned to the march of history.

All these qualities were embodied in Georgi Dimitrov, a printing worker, Communist militant, leader of the BCP, a man the world proletariat had raised to organizer, leader and theoretician of its revolutionary struggle.

I. Georgi Dimitrov began his career at the turn of the century. Active in Bulgaria at the time was the Social-Democratic Workers' Party, member of the Second International, a party holding a revolutionary, Marxist position under the leadership of its founder, Dimitr Blagoev. Dimitrov joined it in 1902. As early as 1909 he was elected to its Central Committee on which he remained to the end of his life.

Dimitrov grew and matured as a proletarian leader in the imperialist epoch, at a time of nascent revolutionary upheavals. He was quick to grasp the laws of revolutionary struggle and was able lucidly to explain them to the workers. A fiery speaker and agitator, he went from town to town, organized public meetings, championed revolutionary Marxism, helped to form local Party and trade union organizations and fostered the proletariat's confidence.

For many years leader of the General Trade Union League and the founder of the trade union press, Dimitrov battled with opportunist theories about the 'neutrality' of unions and resisted attempts to dissociate the unions from the overall struggle of the working class for socialism. He knew from bitter experience of the class struggle that disunity spells defeat for the proletariat and he worked for the formation of strong and close-knit trade unions that could organize the resistance of labor to bourgeois class oppression.

During World War I Bulgaria's Marxists held their own against the spread of chauvinism. They adhered to a consistently internationalist position and showed up the imperialist character of the war, stressing that the working class had nothing in common with the crimes of the bourgeoisie and monarchy. A loyal disciple and comrade-in-arms of Dimitr Blagoev, Dimitrov launched vigorous anti-war activity in the National Assembly and the Sofia municipality. There, too, he came forward as an ardent revolutionary and fine organizer. His forceful speeches met with eager response among the masses, whom they inspired with courage and a readiness for struggle. He was jailed for his revolutionary activity against the imperialist war.

Together with the whole Party and all the working people of his country, Dimitrov hailed the victory of the October Revolution, and was quick to see its historic significance. 'It was the *first* victory of the international revolutionary proletariat over capitalism and imperialism,' he wrote, 'the *beginning* of the world revolution.' Dimitrov revered Lenin and was deeply grateful to him as leader of the Bolshevik Party. He stressed that Lenin's name had 'become a symbol of the international working-class revolution.'

The Bulgarian Social-Democratic Workers' Party (*Tesnyaks*) became a founding member of the Third, Communist International. It was renamed the Bulgarian Communist Party and adopted a new Program Declaration, announcing its adoption of Leninism. From then on the Party and its leaders were faced, more strongly than ever before, with the task of assimilating Lenin's ideas. Dimitrov made a thorough study of Lenin's writings.

Close association with the Bulgarian working class, the trust it showed him, gave Dimitrov strength and helped his early rise to the stature of an international revolutionary leader. He took an active part in founding the International Council of Trade Unions and subsequently the Red International of Labor Unions (RILU), to whose Central Council he was elected from the first. He was entrusted with responsible functions on the Comintern Executive staff and was for many years Bureau secretary of the Balkan Communist Federation.

Dimitrov first met Lenin in 1921 in Moscow. The meeting left a deep impression on him and played a tremendous role in his subsequent development. Contacts with people prominent in the world Communist movement and participation in important forums like Comintern or RILU congresses widened his political and ideological horizons and contributed in vast measure to his theoretical knowledge and practical experience.

On September 23, 1923, he joined Vasil Kolarov in leading the world's first armed rising against fascism. They showed great energy and ability in mobilizing and organizing the insurgent people. Dimitrov's articles on the united front played an important part in the political preparations for the rising.

Compelled to emigrate after the defeat of the rising, Dimitrov linked his work with the Communist International. Work at the post of secretary of the West European Bureau of the Comintern, which guided 25 Communist parties, underground work in Vienna, Paris and Berlin, organization of the international proletariat's resistance to the offensive of capital during the world economic crisis (1929-1933), actions against imperialist preparations for an attack on the Soviet Union, political demonstrations for peace and international solidarity, a search for new forms of combining the fight for socialism with the fight for democracy and of illegal with legal activity, and establishing close links between the Communist parties of various countries and the masses, were the content and meaning of Dimitrov's life in those years.

During the Leipzig trial, at a time when the Nazis were establishing their savage rule over Germany with the blessing and support of monopoly capital, Dimitrov showed himself before the whole world to be a Communist leader of the Leninist type, an intrepid fighter, a man of great erudition and culture who had the deepest faith in communism, a brilliant speaker and polemicist. At that 'trial of the century' Dimitrov turned into prosecutor and presented an indictment of the criminal fascist regime such as had never come from the dock of a bourgeois courtroom. His conduct in front of his Nazi judges was that of a staunch Communist and consistent internationalist who inflicted the first moral and political defeat on fascism and inspired a widespread international movement against imperialism. The wave of anger that rose against the frame-up, the protest meetings and demonstrations, the petitions and appeals, the speeches and articles by the most prominent spokesmen of world opinion - this muster of solidarity showed that

there were forces in the world prepared to resist and to repulse the fascist offensive.

On assuming the leadership of the Bulgarian Communist Party, Dimitrov worked out the fundamental problems of its strategy and tactics and strove to impart a Leninist character to the Party. Led by him, the Party defeated long-standing 'Left' sectarian and dogmatic trends in its leadership and became a party of the Leninist type. It drew continuously on the experience of the Bolshevik Party, improving its ability to apply the principles of Marxism-Leninism in Bulgarian conditions and gaining revolutionary experience. Thanks to Dimitrov's leadership, it established itself as the only leader of the working class, struck deep roots among the laboring peasantry, set up a united front in alliance with the sound forces of the Bulgarian Agrarian League, extended and strengthened the worker-peasant alliance and won a large body of intellectuals for the Communist cause.

Led by Dimitrov, the BCP initiated the formation of the Fatherland Front, united all progressive and patriotic forces and led the guerrilla movement and the working people's struggle against the Nazi invaders and their Bulgarian flunkies. The program of the Fatherland Front became the banner of Bulgaria's salvation by rallying the people's forces. The Party combined the people's fight against fascism and war with the workers' struggle for socialism, and national tasks with the international tasks of the revolutionary movement, and assured the victory of the socialist revolution in Bulgaria.

That crucial period in our history fully revealed the talent and energy of Dimitrov as a master of revolution, his ability to make a specific analysis of specific situations, arouse the working class and other working people and lead them to victory.

II. On September 9, 1944, the working class, allied with the peasantry and with the support of the victorious Soviet Army, launched an armed uprising, overthrew bourgeois rule and took political power. A continuation of the October Revolution, which it repeated in the main points, the revolution of September 9 marked the beginning of a new era in Bulgarian history, the era of socialism.

Dimitrov returned to his country after years of political exile. His tremendous prestige as leader and teacher of the working class and other working people became an important factor for the progress of the socialist revolution in Bulgaria. As General Secretary of the BCP and Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, he directed the intricate and complex process of thoroughly reorganizing every sphere of the country's political, economic and cultural life. The problems which arose daily in the course of the transition from capitalism to socialism were formidable. Our Communists learned from experience that the task was not only to win power but to retain and consolidate it.

Working in a new and extremely tense situation, Dimitrov brought to bear his outstanding qualities of proletarian and popu-

lar leader. Under his leadership our people foiled international reaction's plans for the restoration of capitalism in Bulgaria, defeated the anti-popular opposition and nationalized industry and banking. The BCP asserted its place and role as the nation's leading political force.

Dimitrov's revolutionary acumen and talent as a theoretician, organizer and builder of the new society were especially manifest when drawing up the programmatic tasks for the period of transition from capitalism to socialism.

Lenin's thesis that the economic foundation of socialism must be large-scale industry and an agriculture based on it—a thesis tested and proved in the Soviet Union—enabled Dimitrov to define socialist industrialization as the key task in reorganizing the national economy of a backward Bulgaria.

Special credit is due to Dimitrov for the solution of problems of the socialist reorganization of agriculture. Drawing on Lenin's cooperative plan and the universally valid experience of Soviet collective farming, and creatively applying both, he evolved a concept of reorganizing and developing Bulgarian agriculture on socialist lines. This was accomplished through agricultural labor cooperatives without land nationalization. Dimitrov proved that small private property can be turned into cooperative property and subsequently into property of the whole people. 'With the gradual joining of agricultural cooperatives by poor and middle peasants and the development of machine and tractor stations, and as a result of the prohibition to lease land, the restriction and subsequent prohibition of buying and selling land, and the reduction and eventual abolition of rent by decision of the cooperative peasants themselves (when conditions make that possible), the issue of nationalizing the land will be settled in practice through the whole land being left to the working peasants for permanent use.' Life proved Dimitrov's forecasts correct.

Under his leadership the groundwork was laid for a planned national economy at all levels. He saw the building up of the nation's economic potential and the most extensive economic cooperation with the Soviet Union and the people's democracies as decisive factors for rapid economic progress.

Dimitrov proceeded from the Marxist-Leninist thesis that the new, socialist society can only be built as a result of conscious activity by the masses, and he attached great importance to the cultural and spiritual growth of the masses. An enormous amount of work was carried out with his direct participation to democratize education, eliminate reactionary schools and trends in science, link up the arts with the people's requirements and make cultural values the patrimony of the masses.

Under Dimitrov's leadership, the first socialist Constitution of Bulgaria was drafted. It formalized the historic results of the people's rising on September 9 and was a further step in the development of the people's democratic form of government.

Led by Dimitrov, the working class established a new type of

political relations with other social groups, and the Communist Party entered into a new type of interaction with the other political parties. The Social-Democratic Party merged with the Communist Party on a Marxist-Leninist basis. The Agrarian League made the construction of a classless society its program goal. Other political parties, having fulfilled their missions, joined the Fatherland Front. From a political movement the Front became a united socio-political organization of the people. The BCP became the universally recognized leading force in the intricate process of building socialism as an integral social system.

Central to Dimitrov's multiform activities as builder of the new Bulgaria was his effort to develop and consolidate the Party in a new historical context. He saw the Party's strength in extending and strengthening its links with the masses, in its struggle to promote socialist democracy and the socialist socio-political system, in its ability correctly to define programmatic, strategic and tactical tasks and to ensure their fulfilment.

The progress made in the early years of development were analyzed and generalized by the Fifth Party Congress (1948). Despite his many and exacting duties, Dimitrov invested much energy in preparation of the Congress. His Congress report, summing up past achievements and outlining the main stages of subsequent advance, was the closing chapter of his life, his testament to the Party and the people.

III. The main feature of Dimitrov's manifold activities, the very essence of his life, was proletarian internationalism, the fight for the unity of action of the working class and the Communist and Workers' parties.

Proletarian internationalism has been the unshakable foundation of the revolutionary labor movement ever since its inception. The rousing slogan of the *Communist Manifesto* – 'Workers of the world, unite!' – became the banner of all parties loyal to the working-class cause. 'Capital,' Lenin wrote, 'is an international force. To vanquish it, an international workers' alliance, an international workers' brotherhood, is needed' (Vol. 30, p. 293).

Educated in the ranks of the *Tesnyaks*, who were known for their devotion to proletarian internationalism and who won high praise from Lenin as 'internationalists in practice,' Dimitrov became one of the foremost internationalists of our epoch – both in terms of theoretical elaboration of the problems of internationalism and practical work and leadership. Throughout his life he upheld Lenin's conception of the indivisibility of the class struggle on an international and a national scale. 'Proletarian internationalism,' he pointed out, 'far from contradicting the struggle of the working people of individual countries for national, social and cultural freedom, provides, thanks to international proletarian solidarity and unity in struggle, the support needed for victory in this struggle.'

In Dimitrov's life and work, proletarian internationalism and

genuine patriotism fused to form a single motive power. With Leninist thoroughness he studied the general laws of revolutionary struggle, ever conscious of the need to apply them with due regard to the specifics of each country. Proletarian internationalism, he said, must 'acclimatize itself,' strike deep roots in native soil. A convinced opponent of national nihilism, he said: 'There can be no genuinely popular patriotism without international solidarity any more than genuine international solidarity without genuinely popular patriotism.'

Dimitrov was quick to appraise the new stage which the proletariat's struggle had entered after the October Revolution. The revolution brought into being the world's first socialist state and the struggle to defend and support the 'lodestar of the whole of laboring mankind' imparted a new content to proletarian internationalism. Unity of the proletariat of the capitalist countries with the victorious working class of the Soviet Union was seen by Dimitrov as an earnest of future victories for the international revolutionary movement. This lay at the root of his conclusion that the attitude to the Soviet Union is the principal criterion, the touchstone of the sincerity and honesty of every leader of the working-class movement, every workers' party or working people's organization and every democrat.

A consistent Leninist and determined opponent of dogmatism, set formulas and Right-wing opportunism, Dimitrov made an immense contribution to the formulation of a common internationalist line for the Communists at a time when fascism was on the offensive and the threat of a new world war loomed large.

The new strategic line whose main object was to stop the advance of fascism and prevent war, carried forward Lenin's idea of the dialectical connection between the struggle for democracy and the struggle for socialism. The main condition for stopping fascism and averting war was to establish a united front of the working class of the world in support of the Soviet Union, the proletarian state standing guard for peace. Dimitrov rejected dogmatic ideas that prevented working-class unity and stressed that the only requisite for unity is united action against fascism, the offensive of capital and the war menace. The fundamental idea of the united front was voiced by Dimitrov at the Leipzig trial – he said that '*mass work, mass activity, mass opposition and the united front – no adventurism*' were the alpha and omega of Communist policy.

The policy of uniting the working people and all anti-fascist and anti-imperialist forces in popular fronts bore ample fruit in many countries. Its crowning gain was the victory of the people's democratic revolution in a number of European, Asian and Latin American countries which today are building a socialist society.

Dimitrov's ideas about a united, popular and anti-imperialist front retain their exceptional significance to this day.

History has shown that international proletarian solidarity played a big role in defending and supporting the world's first worker-

peasant state. It has shown that the process of emergence of a number of new socialist states and the formation of the socialist world system was actively supported and, moreover, largely predetermined by the power of the Soviet Union, which by defeating the fascist war machine created favorable conditions for the victory of the popular forces and rendered all-round political, military and economic assistance to the countries that had smashed the chains of capitalism. Today life shows again and, again that united action by the Communist and Workers' parties, the national liberation movement and all progressives of the world is the only force that can resist imperialism, win national freedom and independence for the peoples and guarantee their political, economic and social progress.

And in the Document of the 1969 Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties we can hear the echo of Dimitrov's fervent appeal to expose the imperialist warmongers and stranglers of freedom, for unity of action against them, for world peace.

The principal aspect of united action of the anti-imperialist forces today is the fight against the danger of a thermonuclear war which threatens to wipe out the peoples of the world. As in the resistance to the offensive of fascism and preparation of the Second World War, so in the struggle against imperialism and preparation of a third world war, the main safeguard of peace and freedom is the Soviet Union. This is why Dimitrov's appeal to the Communists of all countries, the international working class and all progressive forces to support in every way the foreign policy of the CPSU and the Soviet state, retains its full force. Active and consistent implementation of the peace program which L. I. Brezhnev set forth in his report to the 24th Congress of the CPSU and which has won the support of the socialist community of nations has already produced notable changes in favor of international detente. There can be no doubt that increasing support for the Soviet peace program by the Communists and all peace forces of the world is the only way to achieve a relaxation of tensions and prevent war.

To end once and for all imperialist aggression, colonialism and neo-colonialism, fascism and racial oppression, it is necessary to fight monopoly capital with the utmost resolve. United action by the Communist and Workers' parties, by all contingents of the working class and other working people, all anti-monopoly and democratic forces can bring about in individual countries democratic changes that will curb the power of monopoly capital, weaken its positions and create favorable conditions for the working-class movement to achieve its ultimate goal, a socialist society.

Many of the ideas which Dimitrov championed found expression and were carried forward in the documents of international meetings, and are creatively put into practice by brother parties. 'Faced with a new threat from the Right-wing forces of the FRG,' said Kurt Bachmann, speaking at the 10th Congress of the BCP, 'the German Communist Party follows Georgi Dimitrov's recommendations by striving to unite all democratic forces.' Dimitrov's ideas

will also be found in the programs of brother parties. For instance, the French Communist Party's Program for a Democratic Popular Unity Government calls for a government that would effect far-reaching anti-monopoly, democratic reforms in every sphere of French society and bring about an advanced democracy as a stage of transition to socialism.

Dimitrov's ideas of a united, popular and anti-imperialist front are vastly important to the peoples fighting for national liberation. 'Your intense struggle to establish the Fatherland Front in the difficult days of World War II and the behests of that outstanding son of the Bulgarian people, Georgi Dimitrov, are of worldwide significance,' said Luis Corvalan, General Secretary of the Communist Party of Chile, at the 10th BCP Congress. 'Life has shown that division of the working people amounts to defeat and tends to strengthen the exploiters' position. Only unity of the working people and unrelenting struggle lead to victory and class emancipation. Creative application of the principles of Marxism-Leninism today is linked with the Communists' fight for the unity of the working class and all the revolutionary forces fighting to abolish capitalism.'

World development today is determined by the socialist world system, the international working class and the national liberation movement. The outcome of the fight against imperialism, for peace and social progress, depends entirely on the cohesion and united action of the three revolutionary world forces of our time. The backbone of this unity is the cohesion of the most class-conscious, consistent and organized revolutionary contingent—the international Communist and working-class movement. The 1969 Meeting, noting that unification of the Communist and Workers' parties is the most important factor for uniting all anti-imperialist forces, confirmed once again that relations between brother parties are based on the principles of proletarian internationalism, solidarity, mutual support, respect for autonomy and equal rights.

Contemporary opportunists try to undermine the unity of the Communist movement by attacking the very essence of the principle of proletarian internationalism—the attitude to the CPSU and the Soviet Union. Their arguments boil down to the allegation that it is no longer the duty of the world Communist and working-class movement to support and defend the Soviet Union, since the Soviet Union is no longer the world's only socialist country as in the past.

Are the opportunists right? Is Dimitrov's thesis that the attitude to the Soviet Union and Lenin's Party is a criterion of proletarian internationalism, outdated? Far from being obsolete, it has gained in importance. To begin with, the Soviet Union is the embodiment of socialism and communism to hundreds of millions of people, to all friends and foes of peace. The allegiance of a country to the socialist world is gauged by how close it is to the Soviet Union's social system and home and foreign policy. It is an open secret that in some socialist countries there have been, and

still are, serious nationalist trends. Not only do they encourage Right and 'Left'-wing revisionism and endanger the socialist gains of the working people and the socialist development of these countries, but grow into anti-Sovietism and undermine the unity and cohesion of the socialist world system.

Secondly, attempts are made in the world Communist movement – under cover of the correct thesis about the autonomy and equality of Communist parties – to rob proletarian internationalism of its substance and meaning. Attacks against the 'hegemony' of the CPSU show beyond doubt that Lenin's Party is the foremost ideological and political force of our time which plays the leading role in strengthening the cohesion of the international Communist movement and is the main obstacle to those who would like to divide the national contingents of the movement and set them against one another.

How far one can go in setting oneself against the CPSU and the Soviet Union is illustrated by the example of the Mao Tse-tung group. There could hardly be a more striking instance of betrayal of the cause of the international working class and one's own people than the degradation of this group, which has chosen nationalism and poses the Communist Party of China against the CPSU and the world Communist movement, and China against the socialist commonwealth, has adopted an anti-Soviet position and has gone to the extreme of united action with the ruling imperialist quarters of the United States – the worst enemy of communism, the national liberation movement and human progress generally.

IV. Dimitrov was a giant of action and thought, a well-educated, original, profound and creative Marxist-Leninist. His practical activity was inseparable from his theoretical work. His speeches and articles on problems of the day, as well as offering solutions for this or that urgent problem, deal with theoretical problems of tremendous and lasting importance.

As early as the years after World War I, Dimitrov analyzed and gave a scientific definition of fascism as an anti-popular class phenomenon. He noted that fascism is neither a supra-class nor a peripheral phenomenon of capitalist society, as reactionary politicians would have it, but a pronounced form of the dictatorship of the exploiting class, the complete negation of all democracy and all political rights and freedoms for the masses. In the articles he wrote in that period, Dimitrov elaborated his views on the united front and the worker-peasant alliance in the fight against fascism.

In his report to the Seventh Congress of the Comintern, Dimitrov dealt with problems of the united front in the worldwide class struggle and formulated the new strategy and tactics of organizing the revolutionary process in given situations. He also gave a new and profound definition of fascism, which he described as the *open terroristic dictatorship of the most reactionary, most chauvinistic and most imperialist elements of finance capital*. As regards German fascism, Dimitrov pointed out that it was operating

'as the strike force of international counter-revolution, the main firebrand of imperialist war and the initiator of a crusade against the Soviet Union, the great fatherland of the working people of the world.'

Dimitrov's report to the Seventh Congress of the Comintern is one of the most important documents of the world Communist movement of the period between the two world wars, a model of creative approach and of promoting Marxist-Leninist theory in close association with the pressing needs of the revolutionary movement.

The Seventh Congress of the Comintern elected Dimitrov General Secretary, a post he held till the Comintern was dissolved (1943). In that capacity he concentrated on practical measures to help the Communist parties operate the new line and on theoretical elaboration of a number of relevant problems. On the eve of World War II, and particularly during the war, he generalized the experience gained and evolved the concept of extending the social basis of the anti-fascist struggle and establishing national, patriotic fronts, specifically by bringing patriotic-minded sections of the bourgeoisie into the people's anti-fascist movement.

Dimitrov's views on the united front and on united and popular front governments carried forward Lenin's theory of the ways and means of accomplishing the socialist revolution. They gave Communists a clear perspective in the fight against fascism and were proved correct by the victory of the people's democratic revolution at the end of World War II and after it. They still help Communists and revolutionaries to take the right approach to allies and seek unity of action with them in forming united popular and national fronts.

As a Marxist theoretician and General Secretary of the Comintern, Dimitrov did very much for the education and development of prominent leaders and functionaries of fraternal Communist and Workers' parties. He considered that the main task and fundamental duty of every Party and every Communist is to master Leninism, the Leninist organizational, political and tactical principles, and to fight for Communist unity and the purity of Marxism-Leninism. To him, sectarianism and dogmatism were no longer an 'infantile disorder,' as Lenin described them in 1920, but a dangerous 'ingrained evil' which the parties must do away with if they want to accomplish the tasks set before them by historical development. He also warned that as Communist parties extended their effort among the masses towards establishing a united and popular front the danger of Right-wing opportunism would grow and would have to be combated without compromise.

Dimitrov made a most valuable contribution to Marxist theory on problems of the transition to socialism, in particular the class character of people's democratic rule and the economic prerequisites and peculiarities of this transition in various countries.

In working out important problems of Bulgaria's social development, Dimitrov proceeded from Lenin's thesis that there are gen-

eral laws of the transition to socialism, pointing out that they are valid for all countries. 'The distinctive form of transition from capitalism to socialism in our country neither abolishes nor can abolish the main laws governing the transitional period, for they are common to all countries.' He stressed that these general laws were confirmed by the practice of building socialism in the first socialist state, and that the historical experience of the CPSU and Soviet Union, used with due regard to our conditions, *'is the only and best model for building socialism in our country, as in other people's democracies.'*

However, Dimitrov often warned against mechanically applying the general laws of the transition from capitalism to socialism and the great experience of the CPSU. We, he said, must study and discern the peculiarities of development of the people's democracies so as to use Marxist-Leninist teachings as a guide to action.

Until the end of World War II, Soviet power was the only known form of proletarian dictatorship. Developments during and after the war produced a new form, people's democracy. This confirmed Lenin's prediction that different nations will follow different paths to socialism, according to concrete historical circumstances.

The discovery of people's democracy as a political form of the proletariat's dictatorship was the result of collective effort by the Communist parties of various countries. But much of the credit must go to Dimitrov: in his report to the Fifth Congress of the BCP he revealed in great detail the nature, role, functions and prospects of people's democracy as a specific form of transition to socialism and a special form of worker-peasant alliance, with the working class leading.

With his deep understanding of the dialectical connection between the objective and subjective, Dimitrov knew there had to be far-reaching changes in ideology if the economy and social relations were to be changed fundamentally, and in reasonable time. This is why, as well as working on problems of the economy and social organization, he concerned himself with the cultural problems of the revolution. In line with Lenin's class approach, he regarded cultural development under socialism as a two-fold process – resolute effort to eliminate bourgeois ideology in its every form and assert the Marxist-Leninist principles as the basis for the activity of the whole ideological front.

Dimitrov's writings consistently upheld Lenin's concept of the cultural legacy: socialism is the legitimate heir to all the genuine cultural values left to us by previous epochs. He rejected both a nihilist attitude to this legacy and its unprincipled approbation from positions of nationalism or bourgeois traditionalism.

Dimitrov saw socialist culture as a dialectical combination of the achievements of national culture with the cultural achievements of other nations, first of all the socialist countries. He maintained that as far as the cultural sphere was concerned there are 'no superior and inferior nations,' and that every nation is capable of 'making a valuable contribution of its own to the common treasury of culture.'

Throughout his manifold activities as a revolutionary, Dimitrov upheld the purity of Marxist-Leninist theory by combating all attempts to revise it. He considered loyalty to the great theory of Marx, Engels and Lenin and its creative application in conditions of a new, constantly changing reality a sacred duty in the fight for communism, for the people's happiness.

In scientific theory as in any other field, the main thing is, admittedly, not merely to say something new. It is also important that this new be *correct*. Dimitrov wrote articles and speeches to reveal the realities of life to the masses and show the right way to changing life on revolutionary lines. It was his loyalty to Marxism-Leninism and his creative approach to its main principles, that invariably served him as a guide to action, that enabled him to make a very real contribution to Marxism-Leninism – something beyond the ability of self-appointed 'renovators' and 'modernizers.'

The Bulgarian people remember the day in July 1949 when the country learned of the death of Georgi Dimitrov, a fiery tribune, fearless revolutionary and outstanding Marxist-Leninist, the people's beloved leader.

Educated by Dimitrov in a spirit of loyalty to Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, in a spirit of revolutionary irreconcilability and perseverance in achieving its goals, the Bulgarian Communist Party continued the struggle without Dimitrov – according to Dimitrov. Today, 23 years after Dimitrov's death, we can proudly declare that his behest 'to achieve in 15-20 years what other countries, in different conditions, required a whole century to achieve' has been fulfilled.

What seemed incredible has become a reality. In an extremely short historical time the People's Republic of Bulgaria, led by the Party of Dimitr Blagoev and Georgi Dimitrov, drawing on the fraternal assistance of the Soviet Union and cooperating with other socialist countries, has successfully coped with the difficult problems of the transitional period, set up a powerful modern industry and a large-scale socialist agriculture and accomplished a deep-going socialist cultural revolution. Socialism, to which Dimitrov dedicated his life, has triumphed completely and irreversibly.

The 10th Congress of the BCP (April 1971) adopted a new Party Program, a program for building a developed socialist society in Bulgaria, which is the immediate historic task of Bulgaria's Communists. The Party's policy line approved by the 10th Congress is a continuation and a scientific projection of Dimitrov's Leninist policy of building socialism in our country and promoting the victory of communism throughout the world.

The Bulgarian Communist Party, all working men and women, the whole people of our country, who are celebrating the 90th anniversary of the birth of their great son and leader, an outstanding leader of the international Communist movement, are deeply convinced that theirs is the right path. They are following it in proud awareness of the fact that they are marching in the van of human

progress, shoulder to shoulder with the great Soviet people and the peoples of fraternal socialist countries, in a fighting alliance with the Communists and working people of the capitalist countries, with all men on earth who are fighting against imperialism, for freedom and independence, for democracy and socialism.

Dimitrov speaks

I AM DEFENDING MY COMMUNIST IDEOLOGY, MY IDEALS

I am defending myself, an accused Communist.

I am defending my political honor, my honor as a revolutionary.

I am defending my Communist ideology, my ideals.

I am defending the content and significance of my whole life.

For these reasons every word which I say in this Court is a *part of me*, each phrase is the expression of my deep indignation against the unjust accusation, against Communists being charged with this anti-Communist crime, the burning of the Reichstag.

I have often been reproached for not taking the highest Court in Germany seriously. That is absolutely unjustified.

It is true that the supreme law for me as a Communist is the *program of the Communist International, the supreme court – the Control Commission of the Communist International.*

But to me as an accused man the Supreme Court of the Reich is something to be considered in all seriousness – not only in that its members possess high legal qualifications, but also because it is a highly important organism of state power, of the ruling order of society; a body which can dispose of the highest penalties. I can say with an easy conscience that everything which I have stated to this Court and everything which I have spoken to the public is the truth and nothing but the truth. As regards my Party, which has been forced underground, I have refused to make any statements. I have always spoken with seriousness and from my inner convictions.

President: I shall not permit you to indulge in Communist propaganda in this Court. You have persisted in it. If you do not refrain I shall have to prevent you from speaking.

Dimitrov: I must deny absolutely the suggestion that I have pursued propagandist aims. It may be that my defense before this Court has had a certain propagandist effect. It is also possible that my conduct before this Court may serve as an example for other accused Communists. But those were not the aims of my defense. My aims were these: to refute the indictment and to refute the

accusation that Dimitrov, Torgler, Popov, and Tanev, that the German Communist Party and the Communist International had anything to do with the fire.

I know that no one in Bulgaria believes in our alleged complicity in the Reichstag fire. I know that everywhere else abroad hardly anyone believes that we had anything to do with it. But in Germany other conditions prevail and in Germany it is not impossible that people might believe such extraordinary assertions. For this reason I desired to prove that the Communist Party had and has nothing whatever to do with the crime.

If the question of propaganda is to be raised, then I may fairly say that many utterances made within this Court were of a propagandist character. The speeches here of Goebbels and Goering had an indirect propagandist effect favorable to Communism, but no one can reproach them for their speeches having produced such results (commotion and laughter in Court).

Speech before the Court, Dec. 16, 1933.

FASCISTS ARE BARBARIANS AND SAVAGES EVERYWHERE

I have not only been roundly abused by the press – something to which I am completely indifferent – but my Bulgarian people have also, through me, been characterized as savage and barbarous. I have been called a suspicious character from the Balkans, and a wild Bulgarian. I cannot allow such things to pass in silence.

It is true that Bulgarian fascism is savage and barbarous. But the Bulgarian workers and peasants, the Bulgarian people's intelligentsia are by no means savage or barbarous. It is true that the standard of life is not so high in the Balkans as elsewhere in Europe, but it is false to say that the people of Bulgaria are politically or mentally on a lower scale than the peoples of other countries. Our political struggle, our political aspirations are no less lofty than those of other peoples. A people which lived for five hundred years under a foreign yoke without losing its language and its national character, our working class and peasantry who have fought and are fighting against Bulgarian fascism and for Communism – such a people is not savage and barbarous. Only fascism in Bulgaria is savage and barbarous. But I ask you, *in what country does not fascism bear these qualities?*

President (interrupting Dimitrov): Are you attempting to hint at the political situation in Germany?

Dimitrov (with an ironical smile): Of course not, Mr. President. . . .

The Bulgarian people have fought persistently and with all their strength against foreign oppression. Therefore I protest here and now against these attacks on my people. I have no cause to be ashamed of being Bulgarian, in fact I am proud to say that I am the son of the Bulgarian working class.

Speech before the Court, Dec. 16, 1933.

MASS WORK, NO ADVENTURISM

It was alleged here that the burning of the Reichstag was to be the signal for an armed insurrection. Attempts were made to justify this theory after the following fashion:

Goering declared before the Court that when Hitler came to power the German Communist Party had to rouse the masses and take action. The Communists had to act then or never, he said. He stated that the Communist Party had for years been appealing to the masses against the National Socialist Party and that, when the latter attained power, the Communists had no alternative but to do something immediately or not at all . . .

This thesis is attributed to the Communists, but it is not a Communist thesis. It shows how little the enemies of the German Communist Party know it. He who desires to fight his enemy well, must learn to know him. Prohibition of the Party, dissolution of the mass organizations, loss of legality are serious blows indeed for the revolutionary movement. *But this by no means signifies that all is lost . . .*

Given the necessary situation, the German Communist Party, although illegal, can still carry out a successful revolution. The experience of the Russian Communist Party proves this. Despite its illegality and the violence of the persecution to which it was subjected, that Party won over the working class in the end and came to power at its head. The leaders of the German Communist Party could not possibly think that with the suppression of their Party all would be lost; that at any given moment the question was now or never; that the alternative was insurrection or doom. The leaders of the German Communist Party could not have entertained such foolish thoughts. Naturally they knew perfectly well that illegality would entail tremendous losses, that it would mean self-sacrifice and heroism, but they also knew that the revolutionary forces of the Party would increase again and that one day it would be able to accomplish its final tasks successfully. It is absurd to believe that the German Communist Party would at that time plunge into such an adventure. The Communists fortunately are not so near-sighted as their opponents; neither do they lose their heads in difficult situations.

It must be added that, like every other Communist Party, the German Communist Party is a section of the Communist International . . .

The Communist International to which all its sections are directly responsible is a world Party, not a mere organization of conspirators. *Such a world Party does not play with insurrection and revolution. Such a Party cannot officially say one thing to its millions of adherents and at the same time in secret do the very opposite. Such a Party, my dear Dr. Sack, does not go in for double book-keeping.*

Dr. Sack: All right. Carry on with your Communist propaganda.

Dimitrov: Such a Party proceeds with all seriousness and with a

full awareness of its responsibility when it approaches the millions of the proletariat and when it adopts its decisions concerning tactics and immediate tasks . . .

Mass work, mass activity, mass opposition and the united front – no adventurism – these are the alpha and omega of Communist tactics.

Speech before the Court, Dec. 16, 1933.

WHO NEEDED THE REICHSTAG FIRE?

One question has not been elucidated, either by the prosecution or by the defending counsel. This omission does not surprise me. For it is a question which must have given them some anxiety. I refer to the question of the political situation in Germany in February 1933 – a matter which I must perforce deal with now. The political situation towards the end of February 1933 was this, that a bitter struggle was taking place within the camp of the National Front . . .

This struggle taking place in the camp of the National Front was connected with the behind-the-scenes struggle in Germany's leading economic circles. On the one hand was the Krupp-Thyssen circle (the war industry), which for many years past has supported the National Socialists; on the other hand, being gradually pushed into the background, were their opponents.

Thyssen and Krupp wished to establish the principle of absolutism, a political dictatorship under their own personal direction and to substantially depress the living standards of the working class; it was to this end that the crushing of the revolutionary working class was necessary. At the same time the Communist Party was striving to establish a united working class front and to consolidate all forces in resistance to the National Socialist attempts to destroy the working class movement. Part of the Social Democratic workers felt the need for a united front of the working class. They understood it. Many thousands of Social Democratic workers joined the ranks of the German Communist Party. But in February and March, the establishment of a united front meant the mobilization of the working class against the predatory drive of the capitalists and the violence of the National Socialists; it certainly did not mean insurrection or preparations for insurrection.

President (interrupting): You have always stressed that your sole interest was the Bulgarian political situation. Your present remarks, however, show that you were also keenly interested in the political situation in Germany.

Dimitrov: Mr. President, you are making an accusation against me. I can only make this reply: as a Bulgarian revolutionary I am interested in the revolutionary movement all over the world. I am, for instance, interested in the political situation in South America, and, although I have never been there, I know perhaps as much about it as I do of German politics. That does not mean that when

a government building in South America is burned down I am the culprit. During these legal proceedings I have learned much and, thanks to my political capacity for appreciating things, many details have become clear to me.

The political situation at that time was governed by two chief factors: the first was the effort of the National Socialists to attain power, the second, the counter-factor, was the efforts of the German Communist Party to build up a united working class front. In my view, the accuracy of this has been made abundantly clear during these proceedings.

The National Socialists needed something which would both divert the attention of the people from the difficulties within the National Front and, at the same time, break up the united front of the working class. The 'National Government' needed a plausible excuse for its emergency decree of February 28, which abolished the freedom of the press and the inviolability of the individual and introduced a system of police persecution, concentration camps and other measures against the Communists.

President (interrupting): Now you have reached the limit, you are dropping hints.

Dimitrov: My only desire is to explain the political situation in Germany on the eve of the fire, as I understand it to have been...

Once before I stated that I was in accord with the indictment on one point, and now I am compelled to reaffirm my agreement. I allude to the question whether van der Lubbe acted *alone* in setting fire to the Reichstag or whether he had accomplices. The junior prosecuting counsel, Parrisius, declared here that the fate of the accused depended upon the answer to the question whether van der Lubbe had accomplices. To this I answer, no, a thousand times no. Such a conclusion is illogical and does not follow. My *own deduction is that van der Lubbe did not set fire to the Reichstag alone*. On the basis of the experts' opinion and the evidence which has been submitted, I conclude that the fire in the Plenary Session Chamber of the Reichstag was of a nature different from that in the restaurant, the ground floor, etc. The Session Chamber was set on fire by other persons, employing other means. *Although coincident in time* with the fires caused by van der Lubbe himself, the fire in the Session Chamber is fundamentally *different*. Most probably van der Lubbe is the unconscious tool of these people, a tool they have misused. Van der Lubbe has by no means told the truth in this Court and he remains persistently silent. The answer to this question does not decide the fate of the other accused. Van der Lubbe was not alone, true; but neither Dimitrov, nor Torgler, nor Popov, nor Tanev was in his company...

What is van der Lubbe? A Communist? Inconceivable. An Anarchist? No. He is a declassed worker, a rebellious member of the scum of society. He is a misused creature who has been played off against the working class. No, he is neither a Communist nor an Anarchist. No Communist, no Anarchist anywhere in the world would conduct himself in Court as van der Lubbe has done. Genu-

ine Anarchists often do senseless things, but invariably when they are haled into Court they stand up like men and explain their aims. If a Communist had done anything of this sort, he would not remain silent knowing that four innocent men stood in the dock alongside him. No, van der Lubbe is no Communist. He is no Anarchist; he is the misused tool of fascism...

Heller, the police official, read in Court a Communist poem out of a book published in 1925 to prove that the Communists set the Reichstag on fire in 1933.

Permit me also the pleasure of quoting a poem, a poem by the greatest German poet, Goethe:

Lerne zeitig klueger sein.
Auf des Glueckes grosser Waage
Steht die Zunge selten ein;
Du musst steigen oder sinken,
Du musst herrschen und gewinnen
Oder dienen und verlieren,
Leiden oder triumphieren,
Amboss oder Hammer sein.

Yes, he who does not want to be the anvil, must be the hammer . . .

In the seventeenth century the founder of scientific physics, Galileo, was arraigned before the stern Court of the Inquisition which had to condemn him to death as a heretic. With profound conviction and determination he exclaimed:

'Eppur si muove!'

This scientific law later became known to all mankind.

President (curtly interrupts Dimitrov, rises, collects his papers and prepares to leave).

Dimitrov (continues): *No less determined than old Galileo we, Communists, declare today:*

'Eppur si muove!'

The wheel of history . . . moves and moves towards the final victory of Communism.

Speech before the Court, Dec. 16, 1933.

FASCISM AND THE WORKING CLASS

With the development of the very deep economic crisis, with the general crisis of capitalism becoming sharply accentuated and the mass of working people becoming revolutionized, fascism has embarked upon a wide offensive

The imperialist circles are trying to shift the whole burden of the crisis onto the shoulders of the working people. *That is why they need fascism.*

They are trying to solve the problem of markets by enslaving the weak nations, by intensifying colonial oppression and repartitioning the world anew by means of war. *That is why they need fascism.*

They are striving to forestall the growth of the forces of revo-

lution by smashing the revolutionary movement of the workers and peasants and by undertaking a military attack against the Soviet Union – the bulwark of the world proletariat. *That is why they need fascism.*

In a number of countries, Germany in particular, these imperialist circles have succeeded, *before* the masses had decisively turned toward revolution, in inflicting defeat on the proletariat and establishing a fascist dictatorship.

But it is characteristic of the victory of fascism that this victory, on the one hand, bears witness to the weakness of the proletariat, disorganized and paralyzed by the disruptive policy of Social-Democracy, by its class collaboration with the bourgeoisie, and, on the other, expresses the weakness of the bourgeoisie itself, afraid of the realization of a united struggle of the working class, afraid of revolution, and no longer in a position to maintain its dictatorship over the masses by the old methods of bourgeois democracy and parliamentarism. . . .

Fascism in power . . . is the open terrorist dictatorship of the most reactionary, most chauvinistic and most imperialist elements of finance capital. . . .

Fascism is not a form of state power 'standing above both classes – the proletariat and the bourgeoisie', as Otto Bauer, for instance, has asserted. It is not 'the revolt of the petty bourgeoisie which has captured the machinery of the state,' as the British Socialist Brailsford declares. No, fascism is not a power standing above class, nor a power of the petty bourgeoisie or the lumpen-proletariat over finance capital. Fascism is the power of finance capital itself. It is the organization of terrorist vengeance against the working class and the revolutionary section of the peasantry and intelligentsia. In foreign policy, fascism is jingoism in its most brutal form, fomenting bestial hatred of other nations.

This, the true character of fascism, must be particularly stressed; because in a number of countries, under cover of social demagogy, fascism has managed to gain the following of the mass of the petty bourgeoisie which has been driven out of its course by the crisis, and even of certain sections of the most backward strata of the proletariat. These would never have supported fascism if they had understood its real class character and its true nature.

The development of fascism, and the fascist dictatorship itself, assume *different forms* in different countries, according to historical, social and economic conditions and to the national peculiarities and the international position of the given country. In certain countries, principally those in which fascism has no extensive mass basis and in which the struggle of the various groups within the camp of the fascist bourgeoisie itself is rather acute, fascism does not immediately venture to abolish parliament, but allows the other bourgeois parties, as well as the Social-Democratic Parties, to retain a certain degree of legality. In other countries, where the ruling bourgeoisie fears an *early* outbreak of revolution, fascism establishes its unrestricted political monopoly, either immediately

or by intensifying its reign of terror against and persecution of all competing parties and groups. This does not prevent fascism, when its position becomes *particularly* acute, from trying to extend its basis and, without altering its class nature, trying to *combine* open terrorist dictatorship with a crude sham of parliamentarism.

The accession to power of fascism is not an *ordinary succession* of one bourgeois government by another, but a *substitution* of one state form of class domination of the bourgeoisie—bourgeois democracy—by another form—open terrorist dictatorship. It would be a serious mistake to ignore this distinction, a mistake which would prevent the revolutionary proletariat from mobilizing the widest strata of the working people of town and country for the struggle against the menace of the seizure of power by the fascists, and from taking advantage of the contradictions which exist in the camp of the bourgeoisie itself. But it is a mistake, no less serious and dangerous, to *underrate* the importance, for the establishment of fascist dictatorship, of the *reactionary measures of the bourgeoisie which are at present increasingly developing in bourgeois-democratic countries*—measures which suppress the democratic liberties of the working people, falsify and curtail the rights of parliament and intensify the repression of the revolutionary movement.

What is the source of the influence of fascism over the masses? Fascism is able to attract the masses because it demagogically appeals to their *most urgent needs and demands*. Fascism not only inflames prejudices that are deeply ingrained in the masses, but also plays on the better sentiments of the masses, on their sense of justice, and sometimes even on their revolutionary traditions. Why do the German fascists, those lackeys of the big bourgeoisie and mortal enemies of socialism, represent themselves to the masses as 'Socialists,' and depict their accession to power as a 'revolution'? Because they try to exploit the faith in revolution and the urge toward socialism that lives in the hearts of the mass of working people in Germany.

Fascism acts in the interests of the extreme imperialists, but it presents itself to the masses in the guise of champion of an ill-treated nation, and appeals to outraged national sentiments, as German fascism did, for instance, when it won the support of the masses of the petty bourgeoisie by the slogan 'Against the Versailles Treaty!'

Fascism aims at the most unbridled exploitation of the masses, but it approaches them with the most artful anti-capitalist demagoguery, taking advantage of the deep hatred of the working people against the plundering bourgeoisie, the banks, trusts and financial magnates, and advancing those slogans which at the given moment are most alluring to the politically immature masses. In Germany—'The general welfare is higher than the welfare of the individual'; in Italy—'Our state is not a capitalist, but a corporate state'; in Japan—'For Japan without exploitation'; in the United States—'Share the wealth,' and so forth.

Fascism places the people at the mercy of the most corrupt and venal elements, but comes before them with the demand for 'an honest and incorruptible government.' Speculating on the profound disillusionment of the masses in bourgeois-democratic governments, fascism hypocritically denounces corruption (for instance, the Barmat and Sklarek affairs in Germany, the Stavisky affair in France, and numerous others).

It is in the interests of the most reactionary circles of the bourgeoisie that fascism intercepts the disappointed masses who desert the old bourgeois parties. But it impresses these masses by the severity of its attacks on the bourgeois governments and its irreconcilable attitude to the old bourgeois parties.

Surpassing in its cynicism and hypocrisy all other varieties of bourgeois reaction, fascism adapts its demagogy to the national peculiarities of each country, and even to the peculiarities of the various social strata in one and the same country. And the mass of the petty bourgeoisie and even a section of the workers, reduced to despair by want, unemployment and the insecurity of their existence, fall victim to the social and chauvinist demagogy of fascism.

Fascism comes to power as a *party of attack* on the revolutionary movement of the proletariat, on the mass of the people who are in a state of unrest; yet it stages its accession to power as a 'revolutionary' movement against the bourgeoisie on behalf of 'the whole nation' and for the 'salvation' of the nation. (one recalls Mussolini's 'march' on Rome, Pilsudski's 'march' on Warsaw, Hitler's National-Socialist 'revolution' in Germany, and so forth.)

But whatever the masks which fascism adopts, whatever the forms in which it presents itself, whatever the ways by which it comes to power –

Fascism is a most ferocious attack by capital on the mass of the working people;

Fascism is unbridled chauvinism and predatory war;

Fascism is rabid reaction and counter-revolution;

Fascism is the most vicious enemy of the working class and of all working people!

Report to the Seventh World Congress of the Communist International, August 2, 1935 – The Fascist Offensive and the Tasks of the Communist International in the Fight for the Unity of the Working Class Against Fascism.

CONTENT AND FORMS OF THE UNITED FRONT

What is and ought to be the basic content of the united front at the present stage? The defense of the immediate economic and political interests of the working class, the defense of the working class against fascism, must form the *starting point and main content* of the united front in all capitalist countries.

We must not confine ourselves to bare appeals to struggle for the proletarian dictatorship. We must find and advance those slogans

and forms of struggle which arise from the vital needs of the masses, from the level of their fighting capacity at the present stage of development.

We must point out to the masses what they must do today to defend themselves against capitalist spoliation and fascist barbarity.

We must strive to establish the widest united front with the aid of joint action by workers' organizations of different trends for the defense of the vital interests of the laboring masses. This means:

First, joint struggle really to shift the burden of the consequences of the crisis onto the shoulders of the ruling classes, the shoulders of the capitalists, landlords – in a word, onto the shoulders of the rich.

Second, joint struggle against all forms of the fascist offensive, in defense of the gains and the rights of the working people, against the destruction of bourgeois-democratic liberties.

Third, joint struggle against the approaching danger of imperialist war, a struggle that will make the preparation of such a war more difficult.

We must tirelessly prepare the working class for a *rapid change in forms and methods of struggle* when there is a change in the situation. As the movement grows and the unity of the working class strengthens, we must go further, and prepare the transition *from the defensive to the offensive against capital*, steering toward the *organization of a mass political strike*. It must be an absolute condition of such a strike to draw into it the main trade unions of the countries concerned.

Communists, of course, cannot and must not for a moment abandon their *independent work* of Communist education, organization and mobilization of the masses. However, to ensure that the workers find the road of united action, it is necessary to strive at the same time both for short-term and for long-term agreements that provide for *joint action with Social-Democratic Parties, reformist trade unions and other organizations of the working people* against the class enemies of the proletariat. The chief stress in all this must be laid on developing *mass action*, locally, *to be carried out by the local organizations* through local agreements. While loyally carrying out the conditions of all agreements made with them, we shall mercilessly expose all sabotage of joint action on the part of persons and organizations participating in the united front. To any attempt to wreck the agreements – and such attempts may possibly be made – we shall reply by appealing to the masses while continuing untiringly to struggle for restoration of the disrupted unity of action.

It goes without saying that the practical realization of the united front will take *various forms* in various countries, depending upon the condition and character of the workers' organizations and their political level, upon the situation in the particular country, upon the changes in progress in the international labor movement, etc.

These forms may include, for instance: coordinated joint action of the workers to be agreed upon *from case to case* on definite occasions, on individual demands or on the basis of a common plat-

form; coordinated actions in *individual enterprises* or by *whole industries*; coordinated actions on a *local, regional, national or international scale*; coordinated actions for the organization of the *economic struggle* of the workers, for carrying out *mass political actions*, for the organization of *joint self-defense* against fascist attacks; coordinated action in rendering *aid to political prisoners and their families*, in the field of struggle against *social reaction*; joint actions in the defense of the *interests of the young and women*, in the field of the *cooperative movement, cultural activity, sport, etc.*

It would be insufficient to rest content with the conclusion of a pact providing for joint action and the formation of contact committees from the parties and organizations participating in the united front, like those we have in France, for instance. That is only the first step. The pact is an auxiliary means for obtaining joint action, but by itself it does not constitute a united front. A contact commission between the leaders of the Communist and Socialist Parties is necessary to facilitate the carrying out of joint action, but by itself it is far from adequate for a real development of the united front, for drawing the widest masses into the struggle against fascism.

The Communists and all revolutionary workers must strive for the formation of elected (and in the countries of fascist dictatorship – selected from the most authoritative participants in the united front movement) *non-partisan class bodies of the united front*, at the *factories*, among the *unemployed*, in the *working-class districts*, among the *small towns-folk* and in the *villages*. Only such bodies will be able to bring into the united front movement also the vast mass of unorganized working people, assist in developing mass initiative in the struggle against the capitalist offensive, against fascism and reaction, and on this basis create the necessary *broad cadre of united front activists* and train hundreds and thousands of non-Party Bolsheviks in the capitalist countries.

Joint action of the *organized workers* is the beginning, the foundation. But we must not lose sight of the fact that the unorganized masses constitute the vast majority of workers. . . . In 'normal' times this mass does not, in the main, participate in political life. But now this gigantic mass is coming into motion more and more, is being brought into political life, is active on the political scene.

The creation of non-partisan class bodies is the *best form* for carrying out, extending and strengthening the united front among the rank and file of the masses. These bodies will likewise be the best bulwark against any attempt of the opponents of the united front to disrupt the growing unity of action of the working class.

Report to the Seventh World Congress of the Communist International, August 2, 1935.

THE NATURE OF THE PEOPLE'S DEMOCRATIC STATE

The nature of people's democracy and of the people's democratic state is determined by the following four characteristics:

a) The people's democratic state signifies power by the working people, the vast majority of the population, with the working class playing the leading role. This means, first, that the power of the capitalists and big landowners has been overthrown and the power established of the working people of town and country under working-class leadership; as the most advanced class of modern society, the working class plays the leading role in the state and in public life. Second, it means that the state is a weapon in the working people's fight against exploiter elements, against all attempts and tendencies to re-establish the capitalist system and domination of the bourgeoisie.

b) The people's democratic state is the state of the transition period, its mission being to lead the country to socialism. This means that, though the power of the capitalists and big landowners has been overthrown and their property taken over by the people, the economic roots of capitalism have not yet been extirpated and capitalist elements remain, develop and try to bring back capitalist slavery. Consequently, the advance to socialism is possible only if there is an irreconcilable class struggle against the capitalist elements ending in their complete elimination.

Only by steadily advancing to socialism can the people's democratic state strengthen its positions and discharge its historic mission. If people's democracy abandoned the fight against the exploiting classes, ceased to suppress and oust the capitalist elements, the latter would inevitably gain the upper hand, undermine the foundations of people's democracy and lead it to its doom.

c) The people's democratic state is built and developed in co-operation and friendship with the Soviet Union, the land of socialism. Just as our country's liberation from imperialism and the creation of our people's democratic state were possible only thanks to the Soviet Union's assistance and its liberating mission in the war against fascist Germany and its allies, the continued development of our people's democracy requires the retention and strengthening of close relations and sincere cooperation, mutual assistance and friendship between our country and the great Soviet Union. Any tendency towards weakening cooperation with the Soviet Union is aimed at the very foundations of our people's democracy.

d) The people's democratic state belongs in the democratic, anti-imperialist camp.

Only by participating in the united democratic, anti-imperialist camp headed by the powerful Soviet Union, can each people's democracy uphold its independence, sovereignty and security against imperialist aggression.

From Central Committee Report to 5th Congress,
Bulgarian Communist Party, December 19, 1948.

Chapters from Dimitrov's life

Family of revolutionaries

Free at last from five centuries of Turkish rule, the Bulgaria of the 1880s, the time of Georgi Dimitrov's birth, ranked among Europe's most backward countries. The Russo-Turkish War of 1877-1878 had for Bulgaria the same effect as a bourgeois-democratic revolution. Traditions of the revolutionary and liberative movement, and a yearning for democratic reforms, were running high. But the bourgeoisie at once established a regime of grinding exploitation.

Dimitrov was born in a little village, Kovachevtsi, on June 18, 1882. His parents—hard-working, but poor—taught their children to be honest and brave, and to abhor violence and injustice. Driven by poverty, the family moved to Sofia soon after Georgi's birth. Not until several years later, however, were they able to build a little house in the outskirts of the capital. Now a museum, the Dimitrov home still retains the atmosphere of Georgi's youth.

His father, Dimitr Mikhailov, crushed by hardships and poverty, died in 1913. His mother, Parashkeva Doseva, had learned to read



Here Dimitrov was born

with her husband's help, and later, fulfilling Party assignments, was glad that she could read addresses and find streets where underground trysting places were located. All her life she was eager to help her children in their revolutionary work. In 1933 when Dimitrov was in Moabit prison, she went unhesitatingly to attend his trial in Leipzig and Berlin, despite her advanced age. Her fiery speech at a mass meeting in Paris helped start the international campaign for Dimitrov's release.

Her courage gave him strength in the dark days of the battle . . .

The Dimitrovs had many children. One of Georgi's brothers, a capable trade union functionary, lost his life in the 1912 Balkan

*Based on the manuscript 'Georgi Dimitrov. A Biography,' prepared by the Institute of History, Bulgarian Communist Party. Also used were the two-volume 'Spomeni za Georgi Dimitrov' (Remembrances of Georgi Dimitrov), Sofia, Partizdat, 1971, and 'Istoriya na Bulgarskata komunisticheska partiya' (History of the Bulgarian Communist Party), Sofia, Partizdat, 1969.

War. Another brother was in a Bolshevik organization in Odessa and died in banishment in 1916. The third brother was killed by the Bulgarian police during the unrest of April 1925. Dimitrov's two sisters, too, participated in the revolutionary movement.

As a boy, Georgi was an avid reader and was especially fond of tales about the Bulgarian national-liberation struggle and exploits of revolutionaries.

He did not finish school; he had to help his family and at twelve became a compositor. 'It's like a miracle,' he told his sister of his first impressions in the printshop. 'You set letter after letter, and get a word. You set word after word, and get a line. Then out comes a newspaper, or a book . . . And setting down the letters you are always reading. It's like going to school.'

Childhood was over. Dimitrov embarked on a workingman's life. The working class was his teacher and mentor.

Son of the working class

Georgi Dimitrov had a taste of grinding exploitation, but also learned of workers' solidarity in the struggle. Among workers, he became steeled as a fighter for the truth, and gradually acquired a Marxist outlook, developing as a union leader and Communist.

His extraordinary gifts and range of interests quickly attracted the notice of his mates in the printshop. It did not take long for him to learn his trade and set any kind of newspaper text. Angrily or jubilantly he would then relate the content to his comrades.

His baptism of fire came when he was thirteen, during the general printers' strike in Sofia. Soon he became a member of the leadership of the Printers' Society. A trade-union library was founded on his initiative, and he initiated improvements in working conditions. It was also due to his efforts that the Printers' Society was admitted to the International Printers' Union.

Following the 1898 Mayday demonstration, Radoslavov, a bourgeois politician, wrote an article slandering the workers and advocating reprisals. Dimitrov, then only sixteen, defied threats and refused to set the text. The writer was compelled to delete parts of the article. And in 1915 as a parliamentary deputy Dimitrov protested against abuse of censorship. Radoslavov, who had become Prime Minister, recalled that once Dimitrov had seen fit to censor his article. 'Then, just as now,' Dimitrov replied calmly, 'I was defending the interests and honor of the working class, whereas you, then and now, are suppressing the opinion of the laboring masses.'

Always and everywhere he learned

Dimitrov's graduation papers, as he liked to say, were not issued by any university authorities, but were the fruit of struggle. 'Always, everywhere, I learned,' Dimitrov said. 'I learned working in the printshop. I learned when in prison. And I learned during the Leipzig trial.'

He began learning Marxism from a popular edition of Marx's

Capital and the *Communist Manifesto*. He also read G. V. Plekhanov's *The Monistic View of History*, Dimitr Blagoev's *What Is Socialism and Has It Any Roots in Bulgaria?*, and other Marxist works. After a hard day's work in the printshop, Dimitrov attended lectures by Blagoev and Kirkov, the Bulgarian revolutionaries and Socialists, at the workers' club, where he also studied mathematics and astronomy, and learned Russian and German.

Rakhmetov in N. G. Chernyshevsky's *What Is To Be Done?* was his favorite fictional hero. 'I wanted to be firm and steadfast, fearless and dedicated,' he wrote later, 'and to steel my will and character in battling difficulties and hardships, dedicating my life to the workers' cause. In short, I wanted to be as I pictured to myself that sterling hero of Chernyshevsky's novel.'

Dimitrov's own library contained some 3,000 books—many works by Bulgarian, Russian, West European and other writers, and some in the authors' own language. But political and Marxist-Leninist literature predominated. Marx's *Capital* he had in Bulgarian and French, and Lenin's *Two Tactics of Social-Democracy in the Democratic Revolution* in Russian. He also had Karl Liebknecht's book, *My Court Trial*, which he possibly recalled during his own trial in Leipzig.

In 1906 Dimitrov married Lyuba Ivoshevich, a gifted proletarian journalist and poet. For nearly thirty years she was his loyal friend, sharing his hard life of revolutionary, a dependable companion and helper in his tireless and versatile work. She died in his absence: he was then in a fascist prison.

Active in the revolutionary labor unions

While doing union work in the Printers' Society, Dimitrov joined the Bulgarian Social-Democratic Workers' Party in the spring of 1902, and plunged with redoubled energy into the battle for the workers' interests. The club of the Sofia Party branch became for him a second home. At 22 he was elected secretary of the Sofia Workers' Council of the newly-founded General Workers' Syndicalist Union, and in 1909 secretary of the entire Union. He devoted himself heart and soul to union work, was always among the workers, directing their struggles and organizing demonstrations.

He was central figure in the strike movement, which became more bitter and stubborn with the passing years. In the summer of 1906 he headed the strike committee of Pernik coalminers, his firmness and courage giving inspiration to the strikers, with the result that many of their demands were met. It had been a good lesson for the miners and for young Dimitrov. In 1909 he led a strike in the match factory, and the following year barely escaped with his life when fired upon as he addressed striking copper miners. Calling on members of neutral and reformist unions to join the printers' strike in 1910, Dimitrov exposed the opportunists' views, stressing the importance of labor unity 'under the banner

of revolutionary socialism.' This standpoint attracted a large mass of workers to the Syndicalist Union, while an unprincipled scrimmage for power was under way in the reformist unions.

Dimitrov wrote many brochures and articles on the union movement, analyzing its tasks and emphasizing the need for bonds with the Marxist workers' party. He helped put out a trade-union page in *Rabotnicheski Vestnik*, the Party's central organ, and for a number of years edited the trade papers, *Compositor*, *Miner* and *Telegraph and Postal Worker*, calling on workers to contribute to the proletarian press.

Dimitrov was an ardent advocate of united action by workers of different countries. He organized collections for strikers in Sweden (1909), Germany (1910), Belgium and Rumania (1911), and other countries, and attended international trade union conferences.

A Communist develops in battle

Dimitrov joined the Bulgarian Social Democratic Workers' Party at the height of the struggle between the Tesnyak Socialists, the revolutionary Marxist trend headed by the Party's founder Dimitr Blagoev, and the opportunist petty-bourgeois trend. He did not hesitate to side with the Marxists, as evidenced by his first article in the June 12 and 19, 1903 issues of *Rabotnicheski Vestnik*, 'Opportunism in the Unions,' and was active in the Party's battle against the petty-bourgeois faction of anarcho-liberal intellectuals.

In 1909 Dimitrov was elected to the Party's Central Committee, a member of which he remained until the end of his life.

He took a prominent part in the Party's struggle against the bourgeois governments' Balkan policies, and exposed the young capitalist states' nationalism and lust of conquest, the rivalry among the big imperialist countries, and imperialist attempts at setting the Balkan peoples against each other by fanning chauvinist sentiment. The workers must not give their lives for alien interests, he pointed out, but should organize for class struggle, which was on the upgrade. 'We are preparing all-out for this only kind of liberative war,' he said, 'which will assure lasting peace, freedom and happiness for all peoples, in place of the death and destruction wrought by the present wars and bloody adventures.'

In 1913 Dimitrov was elected to the National Assembly, and was then re-elected again and again, save for the years of emigration. His ardent speeches in parliament are still exciting today, for they came from the heart and advocated the workers' cause.

Though during the First World War the Bulgarian Party had not yet absorbed all Lenin's ideas on war and peace, it took a firm internationalist stand. Speaking on behalf of the Tesnyak deputies, Dimitrov told parliament that the Socialists would not only oppose additional military allocations, but objected to military allocations in general. 'We who are against war, who are decidedly against militarism,' Dimitrov said, 'are prepared to make sacrifices if our country's independence and freedom are imperilled. . . . But we shall not donate a single centime or a single drop of blood for a

policy leading to the country's perdition, and not to guarantees of freedom and independence. That is our central idea, that is our principle.' It was a truly internationalist attitude contrasting radically with the betrayal of the opportunist leaders of the Second International.

Dimitrov articulately opposed placing the burdens of the war on the people. He exposed the criminal policy of the Bulgarian bourgeoisie and monarchists, fought for the people's social rights, promoted labor legislation and worked against unemployment. He travelled across the country, inspiring and organizing working people everywhere. 'The only way of safeguarding the future peace,' Dimitrov wrote in February 1917, 'is to substitute socialism for capitalism. Nothing but socialism can show mankind the way out of the dead end into which it was led by the bourgeoisie. Peace is inconceivable without socialism.'

The light of the October

The Great October Socialist Revolution echoed and re-echoed across Bulgaria. A dedicated propagandist of its ideas, Dimitrov wrote: 'Along with Marx and Engels, the great founders of scientific socialism and authors of the *Communist Manifesto*, Lenin has immortalized himself in the history of the workers' liberation movement by the gigantic undertaking of the Russian socialist revolution in Russia, the application in practice of the principles of the *Communist Manifesto*, and the establishment of the Soviet proletarian state.' Despite persecution and censorship, the Bulgarian Party broadly propagated the slogans of the October Revolution. Many of its members were arrested. Despite his parliamentary immunity, Dimitrov, too, was sentenced to three years' imprisonment. Meetings protesting his arrest swept the country. The nation demanded Dimitrov's freedom. He, too, battled vigorously for release, writing letters to the national Assembly and the Minister of Justice. Some three months later, the authorities were compelled to let him out of prison. And though subsequently arrested several times, nothing could force the staunch revolutionary to his knees or break his revolutionary spirit.

Discontent over the senseless war, the corruption and hunger, mounted. The Agrarian League, with many peasants on its rolls, entered the struggle. The Party, however, underrated the League's political weight. And when the soldiers turned their bayonets against the culprits of the national disaster in the autumn of 1918, the Party again looked on passively, failing even to rally support for the rebels. Dimitrov, who was then in prison, was dismayed: he insisted on closer contacts with the Agrarian League and on aiding the soldiers' insurrection. Regrettably, his advice was ignored.

In 1919, the Bulgarian Party took part in inaugurating the Third, Communist International. At its next congress it was renamed the Bulgarian Communist Party (of Tesnyak Socialists) and adopted the basic postulates of Lenin's teaching on imperialism.

A big railway strike and the supporting general political strike, which Dimitrov described as 'the most magnificent act of working-class political solidarity with the railwaymen,' were the peak of the revolutionary wave sweeping the country at that time. The government was determined to suppress the strike at any price, and turned the country into an armed camp. Dimitrov, who had headed the railway strike, went underground. However, he remained in the thick of the battle, inspiring confidence among the workers.

He was elected the Party's delegate to the Second Congress of the Comintern and set out across the Black Sea with Vasil Kolarov and the other delegates in a fishing-boat. Rumanian borderguards spotted and arrested the gallant band of Communists, but protests by Bulgarian and Rumanian workers and representations by the Soviet Government compelled the authorities to release them.

Meeting with V. I. Lenin

The Agrarian League government formed in the spring of 1920 was under the delusion that it could build an independent peasant regime, and spurned collaboration with the Communist Party in combating reaction and the monarchy. The Party, too, would not abandon its hostility to cooperation with the League. This divided the nation's democratic forces. Reaction gained ground.

In this complicated situation, the BCP groped for answers to many a vital problem.

Delegated to the Third Comintern Congress, Dimitrov came to Moscow in February 1921. There, he met and spoke with Lenin.

Lenin was impressed by Dimitrov's account of the progress and difficulties of the BCP and the enthusiasm roused by the October Revolution. But when Dimitrov remarked that the BCP was ready to take over power, Lenin advised to concentrate on building up the Party as the vanguard of the working class, forge a worker-peasant alliance, chiefly with the poor and middle peasants, and gain more influence in the army. 'That,' Lenin said, 'is now the most important, I would even say the decisive thing for your Communist Party. Beware of over-eagerness, tread with care, and work indefatigably to assure complete victory for the revolution in your country.'



**V. I. Lenin and Georgi Dimitrov,
Moscow, 1921**

Dimitrov's meeting with Lenin made an ineradicable impression on him. More, it was determinative in the ideological evolution of the Bulgarian Party.

The Third Comintern Congress decisions, too, epitomized in the slogan, 'Go to the Masses,' had a strong bearing on the further growth of the Bulgarian Party: in 1922, Lenin's united front tactics endorsed by it were adopted by the Fourth Congress of the BCP.

On returning home, Dimitrov worked for a united proletarian front and for greater Communist influence among the working people. He elucidated the new situation and the new forms of the proletarian struggle. He was one of the first to point out that the people of Bulgaria should follow the Comintern and Party slogan, 'For a Worker-Peasant Government.'

At the head of the September rising

On June 9, 1923, the big bourgeoisie carried out a military coup and set up a fascist regime. At local levels, Communists and Agrarians acted in unison, rendering armed resistance. However, defining the coup as a collision between the rural and urban bourgeoisie, the BCP Central Committee declared itself neutral. The favorable chances of crushing the fascist dictatorship before it gained a more secure foothold were thus missed. Dimitrov, too, fell in with the erroneous standpoint of the Central Committee. However, a few months later the Marxist core of the Central Committee called for an armed uprising.

This change of heart was brought about by Comintern criticism. The BCP was advised to seek closer ties with the Agrarian League, organize joint resistance to fascism and set up a worker-peasant government.

Vasil Kolarov, then General Secretary of the Comintern Executive, returned to Bulgaria to explain the Comintern viewpoint and participate in his Party's revolutionary struggles. Dimitrov quickly shed his doubts. In early August, the Central Committee resolved to concentrate all efforts 'chiefly on countryside preparations for a massive armed uprising.' The immediate task was to forge a united front of workers and peasants, and to rally the democratic and progressive forces. Dimitrov, and principally his articles for a united front, played the decisive role in the Party's change to Leninist positions. Party workers spurning a united front, he pointed out, forget that liberation from fascist oppression was inconceivable by working-class strength alone and that all working people should be drawn into the battle against the rule of the reactionary bourgeoisie.

The Party made common cause with the sound forces of the Agrarian League and launched preparations for an armed uprising. The CC BCP set the date of the rising on September 23, 1923. Kolarov and Dimitrov were made members of the Chief Military-Revolutionary Committee. A 24-hour protest strike was to have been held in the capital on the eve of the uprising, but did not spread to all enterprises due to wholesale arrests, which put the Sofia military-revolutionary committee out of action. As a result,

in some districts the rising began before the scheduled hour. Weighing the situation, Kolarov and Dimitrov decided against changing the plan; they were determined to use all available means to overthrow the fascist regime.

The center of the rising was in north-west Bulgaria. The arrival there of Kolarov and Dimitrov roused the enthusiasm of workers and peasants alike. After several days of fighting almost the entire region came under insurrectionist control, and a worker-peasant administration was instantly established. Dimitrov displayed consummate skill and will power in directing the armed struggle.

But the September rising was defeated. Kolarov and Dimitrov were sentenced to death in absentia. Compelled to emigrate, they wrote an 'Open Letter to the Workers and Peasants of Bulgaria,' analyzing the reasons for the defeat and calling on the workers and peasants to retain their faith. 'Heads high! The bloody revenge of the whiteguard scum dreading to lose its grip on power will never succeed in crushing the fighting spirit of Bulgaria's working men! The defeat will teach us how to win!'

Sacrifices and the jointly spilled blood cemented the unity of the country's progressive forces. A burning hatred of the fascist dictatorship was passed down from generation to generation. The significance of the September rising was duly assessed by the Communist International.

Years in exile

In the early years of his exile Dimitrov lived under assumed names almost all the time, changing addresses continuously. But while obeying the rules of secrecy, he conducted strenuous work.

A BCP Committee Abroad was formed in Vienna at the end of 1923. Headed by Dimitrov, it applied itself to rehabilitating and uniting the Party, badly hit after the September rising. Dimitrov fought off the 'liquidationists,' who branded the September rising as folly and wanted to rupture ties with the Comintern, and combated those over-eager CC members who scorned patient Party work among the people and called for revolutionary terror against the reprisals of the fascist regime. Unfortunately, the efforts of Dimitrov, deprived of immediate contacts with his Party comrades, were not completely successful. The BCP fell prey to sectarianism.

The years of banishment saw Dimitrov's development into a prominent leader of the world Communist movement. Soon after coming to Vienna he was elected secretary of the Balkan Communist Federation, and was made representative of the Comintern with the Austrian Communist Party, helping it combat factionalism. 'We Austrian Communists,' Johann Koplenig later recalled, 'respected and loved him not only as the great revolutionary fighter that he was, but as a friend and a warm-hearted man. Everything he did was alive, full of movement, contagious, and

abounding in vitality and faith in the working class and the victory of the workers' cause across the world.'

When working in the Executive Committee, Dimitrov was put in charge of the Comintern sections in Poland, Finland, Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia. He fought to block a coalition between the Trotskyist opposition in the Soviet Communist Party and opposition elements in other fraternal parties. The battle against Trotskyism Dimitrov regarded as a battle 'for the survival of the Communist International.'

Dimitrov was also highly active in the international trade union movement. A member of the Executive of the Red International of Labor Unions he contributed greatly to the elaboration of the problems of trade union unity. Speaking at its Fourth Congress in 1928, he called on the working class to wage an 'irreconcilable and merciless struggle to the end' against fascism, that 'mortal enemy of the proletariat and the class unions.'

Early in 1929 Dimitrov moved to Berlin, where he was placed in charge of the West European Bureau of the Comintern Executive. He was highly active in consolidating the Communist movement and rallying the masses against fascism and the war danger. His contacts extended to 25 parties and a number of international bodies. He held conferences to discuss and coordinate anti-war actions and Communist activity among unemployed.

The Leipzig Trial

Returning to Berlin from Munich on February 28, 1933, Dimitrov learned of the Reichstag fire and of the charges against the Communists. Knowing the political situation in Germany, he had no doubt that this was a monstrous Nazi provocation. And he knew its purpose: not at all sure of winning the March 5 elections, the Nazis needed some pretext to crush the democratic forces, especially the Communist Party of Germany.

The day after the fire came the presidential decree on 'Defense of the People and State.' It abolished all democratic freedoms, giving the Nazis a 'legal' basis for their attack on the Communists and all their other political and ideological opponents. Ernst Thaelmann was arrested on March 3. On March 9 Dimitrov was arrested at the Bayerischer Hof Restaurant together with the two other Bulgarian Communists, B. Popov and V. Tanev. A waiter had pointed them out to the police.

The Nazis were triumphant—they had three Bulgarian Communists, the Chairman of the Communist parliamentary group, E. Torgler, who had voluntarily come to the police to refute the malicious anti-Communist slander, and also the Dutchman van der Lubbe, arrested on the day of the fire and presented by the Nazis as a 'Communist.' Feeling that they could now act with impunity, the Nazi chieftains decided to stage a public trial.

At the very first police interrogations, Dimitrov refused to sign the record, declaring that he had no trust in the German police. In a letter to the police investigating authorities, on March 20, he declared that, as a Communist, he could not possibly have any part, direct or indirect, in such an anti-Communist act, and that the Reichstag fire was the work either of some insane persons or of sworn enemies of communism.

Dimitrov was put in the Moabit, a prison notorious for its harsh regimen, and kept handcuffed. Later he was to recall that very often, particularly at night, the handcuffs were so tight that his hands became numb. This lasted five months, but no amount of torture could break this courageous Communist. He turned his prison cell into a 'study.' He made a thorough study of German law, including criminal law, German and world history, the nature of wars, philosophy, perfected his knowledge of German, read hundreds of pages of Goethe, Shakespeare, Byron, Sophocles, Dante, Cervantes, Moliere. . . . He was systematically and thoroughly preparing for the political battle against fascism, exposing the testimony of hand-picked witnesses and the trickery of the fascist prosecutor. Given the bill of indictment, he denounced it as an 'unheard-of machination.'

Fascist propaganda was doing everything to convince the world that the trial would be fair and impartial. But in many countries there was already a powerful protest movement against the frame-up. The Communists were well to the fore in this struggle. An international committee in defense of the victims of German fascism was organized and joined by renowned scientists and cultural personalities. Prominent jurists organized the London counter-trial which effectively exposed the Reichstag fire as a fascist provocation.

The trial of Dimitrov began on September 21, 1933, at the Reichs Court in Leipzig. Dimitrov took the stand on the third day, which happened to be the 10th anniversary of the September rising in Bulgaria. And he gave a vivid picture of this revolutionary struggle in which he himself had played such a prominent part. His exposure of the political essence of the fascist regime and his defense of communism transformed the trial. Dimitrov made the dock a revolutionary tribune; he turned the trial into a trial of fascism.

His courage and revolutionary staunchness aroused admiration in every part of the world. Support for Dimitrov came from all sections of the population. Even the bourgeois press could not but admit that here was a man of outstanding courage and ability.

On October 10 the trial was transferred to the Reichstag in Berlin. The Nazis hoped to get the verdict they wanted by bringing in new witnesses from among Nazi Reichstag deputies, police stooges and criminal elements. Dimitrov's cross-questioning foiled that plan.

And then Goering and Goebbels took the witness stand. Goering,

then Prime Minister of Prussia and President of the Reichstag, entered the courtroom dressed in a storm-trooper uniform and surrounded by his entourage. His arrogant self-confidence was broken by Dimitrov's very first questions. Among other things Dimitrov showed the glaring contradictions between his evidence and that of other witnesses. Goering was enraged: 'Get out, you scoundrel!' he shouted. The presiding judge expelled Dimitrov. As he was led out, he dealt his last blow: 'Are you afraid of my questions, Herr Prime Minister?' There was much laughter, and a fresh stream of invective from Goering.

Goebbels hoped that his propaganda expertise would make up for the bad impression created by Goering. He was, he said, prepared to answer every question put by the accused. But Dimitrov's questions compelled Goebbels to admit that the Nazis were destroying Communists and Social-Democrats, were trampling on all the laws and all the rights of the people. Fearing more exposures, the presiding judge cut short the proceedings.

The trial resumed in Leipzig. On December 16, 1933, Dimitrov made his famous concluding speech before the court. He proved beyond a shadow of doubt that the Communists were in no way involved in the Reichstag fire, called on the working people to fight fascism and outlined the strategy and tactics of the Communist movement. The speech was a fitting finale to his heroic fight at the trial.

Sentence was pronounced on December 23, 1933: Dimitrov, Popov, Tanev and Torgler were acquitted, van der Lubbe, that wretched stooge of the Nazi arsonists, was sentenced to death. But the Nazis had no intention of releasing the Communists. Dimitrov was taken to the Berlin Gestapo prison and it was clear that the fascists were out for his life. For two months the anti-fascist forces of the world fought to save Dimitrov and his comrades. On February 15, 1934, the Soviet government granted Dimitrov, Popov and Tanev Soviet citizenship and demanded their immediate release. The Nazi government had to comply.

In the Soviet Union

On February 27, 1934, Moscow radio announced that Dimitrov and his comrades had been released and were to arrive in Moscow later that day. They were given an enthusiastic welcome at the airfield, there were touching scenes of friendship and admiration. Florimond Bonte, then *Humanité* correspondent in Moscow, recalled: 'When the hero of Leipzig alighted from the plane he was greeted with the strains of the Internationale.'

The whole world rejoiced at the release of this courageous revolutionary. Messages of congratulations and good wishes were coming from every country. Dimitrov maintained friendly contacts with Maxim Gorky, Henri Barbusse, Romain Rolland, Paul Langevin, Thomas Mann and Leon Feuchtwanger, and worked for freedom for Ernst Thaelmann, Toivo Antikainen.

The Soviet press carried articles, reports, letters, photographs about the hero of the Leipzig trial. Dimitrov received thousands of telegrams and letters. He visited many factories and collective farms. His speeches and articles were not only expressive of his gratitude to the Soviet Union for winning his freedom from fascist prison and welcoming him as one of its own. Emphasized in them was the vast role the first socialist state plays in the world revolutionary process, in the battle against the fascist offensive and the war menace.

Dimitrov's words retain all their validity today: the attitude towards the Soviet Union, he said, is the *touchstone* of the sincerity and integrity of every workers' leader, of every workers' and Communist party. 'In the present international situation,' he declared, 'there can be no *truer criterion* for distinguishing between *friend* and *foe* of democracy and peace than the *attitude* to the Soviet Union.'

Dimitrov was near and dear to the Soviet people. In 1937 he was elected to the USSR Supreme Soviet and in 1945 was awarded the Order of Lenin.

Seventh Comintern Congress

In view of fascism's victory in Germany and the direct danger of war, the Comintern Executive Committee decided to convene the Seventh Congress. Its task would be to define Communist Party tactics in the new conditions. Preparation of the main report was entrusted to Dimitrov, who had been elected to the Executive Committee Presidium shortly after his arrival in Moscow.

The line to be followed by the Communist movement was worked out by its prominent leaders. Dimitrov made an important contribution to the theoretical substantiation of Comintern policy. The united front and united working-class action, he pointed out, were now all-important. Accordingly, there could be no wholesale denunciation of Social-Democracy as social-fascism, nor a negative attitude towards all Social-Democratic functionaries and their treatment as deliberate traitors of the working class. Dimitrov emphasized the need to change the methods of Comintern leadership and work, allowing more independence and initiative to the parties. The Executive Committee agreed with these proposals and sent out a directive to the Communist parties to prepare for the international proletarian forum.

The Seventh Congress opened in Moscow on July 25, 1935, attended by 518 delegates representing 65 Communist parties and a number of international organizations. Dimitrov's report, 'The Fascist Offensive and the Tasks of the Communist International in the Fight for the Unity of the Working Class against Fascism,' set out a strategic plan and flexible tactics for the Communist parties. Dimitrov defined fascism as the '*open terrorist dictatorship of the most reactionary, most chauvinist and most imperialist elements of finance capital.*' He posed in a new way the problems of relations

with Social-Democrats and Left trends, trade union unity, the united anti-fascist front of the youth, and work among women.



Dimitrov delivering report to 7th Congress of Communist International, Moscow, August 2, 1935

He appealed to Communists 'always and everywhere to be with the masses.' He elucidated the problem of the popular front, united and popular-front governments, and the anti-imperialist front as transition forms to proletarian dictatorship. He dealt with the pressing problems of the parties' ideological work and exposed fascist demagoguery, nationalism, chauvinism and racialism.

Dimitrov disclosed the main factors in assuring peace and in curbing the imperialist aggressors. These factors were, first and foremost, the Soviet Union, its Red Army, the proletariat of the capitalist countries, the peasantry and all other sections of the working people, the broad masses, who do not want war, the colonial and semi-colonial

peoples now passing to more determined struggle against their imperialist masters, a number of capitalist countries now interested in preserving peace. It was not enough to want peace, he declared, peace must be fought for, and he emphasized the Communists' mobilizing and leading role in the fight for peace.

Dimitrov attached more importance to strengthening the Communist parties and to the fight against both the Right danger and 'Left,' sectarian and dogmatic deviations.

At the close of the Congress Dimitrov was elected General Secretary of the Communist International.

Comintern General Secretary

Dimitrov's years as General Secretary of the Comintern were years of intensive activity by this supreme organ of the international Communist movement. It was in this period that the tasks of the Communist parties before and during the Second World War were creatively worked out. All Comintern activity was re-organized and contacts with fraternal parties improved. Dimitrov closely followed international developments and the position in the various parties, was in touch with international organizations and in correspondence with many prominent anti-fascists. He directed the *Communist International* magazine and closely followed the work of the Foreign Languages Publishing House. He wrote many articles

on problems arising in the various parties and requiring principled solutions.

To all this multiform and complex activity Dimitrov brought his outstanding organizational ability. His approach to all problems was profound, his examination thorough. He was demanding of himself and his associates. All these qualities were complemented by his humane attitude and sincerity in relations with others. He had a way of putting one at ease, of helping one discuss things candidly. Even in the most tangled questions he could always grasp the main, central, point. Everyone who worked with him remembers his friendliness, his warmth, his captivating smile. His personality expressed both a strong will and a warm heart.

Dimitrov did much to help the Spanish Republic. On his initiative a proposal was made to the Socialist International for joint action in support of Republican Spain. He was one of the organizers of the volunteer International Brigades. In explaining the character of the revolution in Spain, he showed that the Spanish people were fighting for a democratic, anti-fascist state in which the popular front would have a decisive influence. 'Theoretically it would perhaps be right to say that this is a special form of the democratic dictatorship of the working class and peasantry at the present stage,' he wrote. Dimitrov's elucidation of the state of people's democracy was of vast importance for Communist party activity during and after World War II.

When that war broke out, the Comintern Executive Committee Presidium issued an appeal in which it examined the international situation and defined the war as imperialist. In his writings Dimitrov emphasized that responsibility for the imperialist war lay with the bourgeoisie of the capitalist countries. The key task of the world proletariat, he wrote, was to build a united front of the working people and combine their struggle with the movement of colonial and dependent peoples, rally all the revolutionary forces around the great land of socialism, which was upholding the cause of peace. After Nazi Germany's treacherous attack on the USSR, Dimitrov demanded that the Communist parties in the capitalist countries start a broad movement in support of the Soviet Union's just war against fascism, organize a mass national liberation and anti-fascist movement.

On Dimitrov's initiative, radio contact was established with each Party. He saw to it that radio broadcasts were used to promote unity of the anti-fascist forces. He directed the organization of groups of political exiles, their training and dispatch to various countries where they played an active part in the Resistance. Dimitrov also devoted much time and effort to political re-education of prisoners of war.

The war laid an imprint on the life of all Comintern workers. The tension was immense, many worked round the clock. And Dimitrov, now getting on in age and in poor health, set an example for all.

In Moscow he married his second wife. He was particularly fond

of his son Mitya and the daughter of the Chinese Communist Wang Ming, whom he was bringing up. Mitya died in 1943 at the age of seven. This was a terrible blow to Dimitrov and he found consolation only in intensive work.

The Communist International was dissolved on May 15, 1943, by decision of its Executive Committee. But even after that Dimitrov maintained contact with the foreign bureaus of various Communist parties, helping them carry on their activities in the new conditions. The Comintern's Leninist traditions and wealth of experience, he said, would always be a source of inspiration to the world Communist movement.

People's Democracy, the road to socialism

Under Dimitrov's leadership, the Bulgarian Communist Party overcame its sectarianism shortly after the Seventh Comintern Congress and consummated its development into a party of the Leninist type. It worked out a popular front program, established contact with democratic parties, reorganized the work of the YCL and won wide influence in the trade unions. After the Nazi attack on the Soviet Union, it appealed to the Bulgarian people, again on Dimitrov's initiative, to 'prevent the use of our territory and our army by the German Nazis . . . and give every possible support to the Soviet people in their difficult struggle.' The Party organized and directed the armed anti-fascist struggle and founded the mass Fatherland Front. It was in these days that Dimitrov's 1944 pamphlet, 'Wherein Lies Bulgaria's Salvation?', with its incisive analysis of the crisis caused by the pro-German policy of Bulgaria's rulers, clearly showed the way out, the road to salvation. Speaking for the Foreign Bureau of the Party's Central Committee, Dimitrov called for unity of all the democratic and progressive forces and for armed struggle to overthrow the corrupt monarcho-fascist regime.



Dimitrov addresses bereaved partisan families, Sofia, May 6, 1947

It was overthrown on September 9, 1944 by joint action of the guerrilla forces and patriotic elements within the army and with decisive support from the advancing Soviet Army, which the people welcomed as liberators. Bulgaria was now ruled, in Dimitrov's own words, 'by the vast majority of the people, the toilers of town and country, with the active leading role of the working class and its Communist vanguard.' The beginning was thus laid for socialist revolution in Bulgaria.

But Dimitrov warned that the bourgeoisie, still in control of the country's economy, would try to regain its lost positions. He

advised the Fatherland Front, made up of divergent classes and strata, on how to preserve its unity. And he pressed for Bulgaria to join in the war against fascist Germany and demanded mobilization of the entire people to assure final victory over fascism. And it was thanks to Dimitrov's leadership that the Fatherland Front government consolidated its position and the Communist Party its leading role.

Developments in Bulgaria demanded his presence, and he returned to his homeland on November 4, 1945. He was given a rousing welcome when he appeared in Sofia's National Theatre to address a meeting on the anniversary of the October Revolution. 'It is 22 years since I last set foot on Bulgarian soil,' he said, addressing his words to the people of Bulgaria. 'But I am sure you will not for a moment doubt that throughout all these years, through all my travels and work, I did not for a moment stop thinking and working for the cause of my people, its future, happiness and prosperity.' And Dimitrov spoke with deep affection of the Soviet Union, of the need for closer ties with it. He called on all Bulgarians to vote for the Fatherland Front at the coming elections. There thus began a new chapter in his dedicated effort to build a socialist Bulgaria.

And in this effort, the legislation confiscating illegally acquired property, the agrarian reform law and the law on abolishing the monarchy and proclaiming the republic, all framed under his direction, were of especial importance in strengthening the economic and political foundation of people's democracy. The republic was endorsed overwhelmingly in a national referendum and the Communist Party scored a brilliant victory in the elections to the Grand National Assembly. A coalition government was set up with Dimitrov as Prime Minister. As head of government he displayed remarkable statesmanship, prevision and close knowledge of the people's life, interests and aspirations. He devoted much time to framing the new constitution which, based on the principles of people's democracy, opened wide vistas for social development. Bulgaria's treaties of friendship, mutual assistance and cooperation with the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies were, Dimitrov emphasized, historic landmarks. 'Friendship with the Soviet Union,' he said, 'is as vitally necessary for the Bulgarian people as the sun and air are for every living organism.'

In his report to the Party's Fifth Congress, Dimitrov outlined the country's development towards socialism. He elucidated the problems of people's democracy and clearly defined the ways and methods of building socialism in his own and other countries that had chosen the socialist path after World War II. This and other of his speeches are a valuable contribution to understanding the role of the working class and the Communist Party in socialist society.

His memory will never dim

Dimitrov's whole life, the talents with which he was so generously endowed, the experience he had acquired in the Party, were all

devoted to the struggle, to the people, to communism. He died on July 2, 1949, and people came from many countries, friends and comrades from 23 fraternal parties, to pay their last respects. 'Following Marx, Engels and Lenin,' Harry Pollitt said, 'Dimitrov has left a deep imprint on the world revolutionary movement which time will never erase.'

His body rests in the white marble mausoleum in the center of Sofia. It is surrounded by flowers brought here in token of gratitude to this fearless fighter, staunch Communist, man of a big heart. Such was Georgi Dimitrov.



Faithful to workers' cause

Kurt Bachmann

The Duesseldorf Congress of the German Communist Party (November 25-28, 1971) took proud yet sober stock of the Party's gains. It pointed out that the GCP, linked by bonds of solidarity with the world forces of peace, democracy and social progress, had achieved notable advances since its Essen Congress (1969).

Those two years were a period of fruitful efforts for peace, democracy and socialism throughout the world. They saw imperialism, the chief enemy of mankind, suffer new reverses while socialism continued to strengthen its positions and the peoples' anti-imperialist movement made appreciable headway. In the Federal Republic of Germany, too, the impact of socialism, the growing effort of various sections of the workers, intellectuals and youth for social change, and the activity of progressive forces created a more favorable climate for peace and democratic progress. This is an important aspect of West German life.

This positive trend is partly due to the GCP, whose ideological, political and organizational strength has been growing in step with the strength of the working class and the struggle of youth and students. Our Party has already won thousands of new members. It has become a political factor in West German life by championing and applying the ideas of Marx, Engels and Lenin with the aid of its newly-formed groups in the enterprises and hundreds of factory newspapers, and by working successfully in the schools and universities. To become a mass party, it will have to work hard over a long period, but Communist influence among the working class and other working people, as well as among the students, has increased considerably.

The GCP is always where the masses, young people and women are fighting for their social and political interests. Communists are invariably at the head of strikers. In the democrats' fight against neo-Nazism, the Party has made a name for itself as a real anti-fascist force. On numerous occasions it has shown itself to be an advocate of peace, détente, and recognition of the German Democratic Republic under international law. During demonstrations against the crimes of U.S. imperialism, for solidarity with the

peoples of Indochina, our Party showed supreme loyalty to the idea of friendship among nations and the principles of international class solidarity.

The Duesseldorf Congress met at a time when the working class and other democratic forces of the FRG had acquired new opportunities for effective action and when, on the other hand, social contradictions and the class struggle were intensifying. An important aspect of the Congress was that it enabled the West German working class and all democrats to see clearly in the new situation. The class struggle from above, big capital's dictates and aggressive methods, has to be countered by a class struggle from below. Central to the Congress and its resolutions is the need to change the political balance in favor of the working class, peace, democratic progress and socialism.

The lines and objectives of West Germany's social development and the future of the country are becoming central to the political and ideological struggle. The discussions on socialism have not bypassed the Federal Republic. Today it is fashionable to speak of socialism. Even enemies pose as socialists to mislead the younger generation by falsifying socialist ideas. Among other things, they tell young people there are numerous varieties and 'models' of socialism.

The starting point of the theses 'The GCP Against Big Capital, for Peace, Democratic Progress and Socialism,' unanimously approved by the Congress, is the idea that the working class must win political power in alliance with other working people if a socialist system is to be established. The new system must be based on public ownership of the principal means of production. It calls for planned and rational use of public wealth and its continued growth for the benefit of the people. The GCP seeks a democratic renovation of state and society, an anti-monopoly democracy that would provide the most favorable conditions for advancing to socialism. A democracy of this nature is unthinkable without a radical change in the alignment of forces in favor of the working class, without establishing, under its leadership, state power exercised jointly with other anti-monopoly forces.

The Party's main task, re-emphasized by the Duesseldorf Congress, is to establish still closer links with the working class and this should determine the Party's entire activity in the coming period. To achieve success in struggle, the Party must build up its influence among the masses and on public opinion. Its prestige among the workers and young people has grown since the Party was founded but not enough to lead to a decisive upsurge in the struggle and radical change in the balance of forces in favor of democracy and social progress. This makes the Congress slogan 'Strengthen the GCP' highly relevant. It is not prompted by narrow, partisan considerations, for building up the Party is not an end in itself but a means of upholding the interests of the working class and increasing its leverage in state and society.

When the GCP came into being the ruling classes expressed the

hope that it would be a revisionist party rejecting the class positions of the proletariat and the principles of scientific socialism. They miscalculated, however. The Party has been making progress precisely because it combats all distortions of the theory of Marx, Engels and Lenin and creatively applies it in specific conditions. By branding the Party as 'dogmatic,' its enemies also tried to corner it and reduce it to a sect isolated from the workers and youth. They failed again. After the Essen Congress the Party was joined by more than 13,000 people, mostly young men and women. As of November 1, 1971, it has 33,410 members organized in 408 enterprises, 871 neighborhood and 23 university groups.

The watchword 'Strengthen the GCP' should not be taken as a mere appeal to step up recruitment. An important requisite of advancing the Party is to steel it ideologically, to ensure that its every member is a staunch Communist. A party fighting so experienced and formidable an enemy as West German imperialism can succeed only if it operates in unity and according to the decisions adopted by its congresses and elected bodies on democratic principles and equally binding on every Communist.

The West German bourgeois press uses battered anti-Communist arguments in an attempt to explain the growing unity and cohesion of the GCP and, on the other hand, the continuing exacerbation of internal strife among the other parties. Discord among the bourgeois parties is a reflection of the inevitable clash of interests between diverse groups of the ruling class. As for the GCP, it is united because it wages a revolutionary struggle for the interests of the workers, because it follows the theory of Marx, Engels and Lenin, and is loyal to the goal of the working-class movement — achieving socialism. The GCP is a contingent of the world Communist movement, the decisive political force of our time.

The Duesseldorf Congress was inspired by proletarian internationalism. It was attended by twenty-one brother parties, including those of the Soviet Union, GDR, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Rumania, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia. It received messages of greetings from the Working People's Party of Vietnam, the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam and numerous other organizations.

The Congress showed that the West German Communists are linked by fraternal bonds with the Soviet Union, GDR and other socialist countries. The Communists of the FRG side with all fighters for freedom, independence, democracy and socialism. They identify themselves with the heroic peoples of Indochina fighting for their national liberation. The Congress demanded the release of all patriots imprisoned in Greece, Spain and Portugal. It demanded freedom for Angela Davis, courageous fighter against U.S. imperialism.

One of the tasks set by the Congress before the Party membership is meaningfully to popularize the achievements of socialism and reveal to the workers the advantages of a social system under which state power is wielded by the working people. The GCP

stresses its links with the socialist countries, for the working class will be able to fulfil its role of transformer of society only by strengthening its positions in struggle and drawing on the gains of socialist countries.

When the GCP was being organized, we were given to understand that 'much would be forgiven' if it dissociated from the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Socialist Unity Party of Germany. The monopoly press made clear that in that case it would be ready to proclaim the GCP a party of 'independent Marxists.' But its hopes were dashed. Our Party will allow no one to divert it from fraternal friendship with the CPSU, SUPG and other Communist and Workers' parties, or from the common anti-imperialist struggle. The Duesseldorf Congress stressed in no uncertain terms that our Party sees this friendship as the basis for common success in the fight for peace, democracy and socialism. It couples firm allegiance to proletarian internationalism with a national anti-monopoly policy and with struggle for the vital interests of the working class and other working people.

The Congress opened with a message of solidarity to the striking metalworkers of Baden-Wuerttemberg. Among the speakers were leaders of the strike for the rights and interests of fellow-workers, against the employers' arbitrary practices. It is noteworthy that the delegates pledged themselves to organize after the Congress solidarity actions in support of the metalworkers' demand – in factories, offices, trade unions, universities and neighborhoods. Being a proletarian party, the GCP fights in common with the working people for a higher standard of life, a stable economy and job security. The Congress formulated the following explicit demands on burning social issues that add up to a program of struggle against big capital:

- raise wages, salaries and pensions to increase the purchasing capacity of the masses;
- organize a solidarity movement of the working people against layoffs, short-time working week and closures, no enterprise shall be closed without giving the employees equivalent jobs elsewhere;
- use funds to be released by cutting military expenditures to meet social, communal and educational requirements; promote trade and economic relations with the socialist countries, whose economy is crisis-free;
- stop price increases at once; forbid collusion to put up prices and impose monopoly prices;
- take more effective steps to expand home-building;
- fight in common against the proposed tax increases, ease the tax burden of the blue and white collar workers, peasants and middle strata;
- grant industrial and office workers the right to participate in economic management in every field and on all levels – from the work place, factory or firm to the economic and social policies of the state.

The Congress did not deal with these demands as something

abstract but as a specific action program. It is typical of the congresses of bourgeois parties, as well as of the Social-Democratic Party of Germany (SDP), that they try to divert the working people from the struggle for their direct interests. The 'new' programs announced by them are designed to 'integrate' the working people into the capitalist system and to disarm the working class thereby. As for the GCP Congress, the demands it put forward centered on specific problems of organizing an effective fight against big capital, for the working people's interests. The Dueseldorf Congress was a significant event because it became a forum for exchanging experience that is of value to both the GCP and the entire working class, all the democratic forces of the country.

The Congress revealed our Communists' awareness of the new balance of international forces and the new, more favorable conditions for struggle to safeguard peace. Our Party wants the FRG to follow a policy meeting the interests of the working people. But extreme reaction, with the CDU/CSU in the lead, fiercely attacks every step towards détente. Social-Democratic and Free Democratic leaders connive at these attacks, because they are reluctant to accept realities and do not want to abandon their anti-communism. They place more orders with the war industry instead of cutting military spending to enable the working people to benefit in material terms from the results of the policy of lessening tensions. The Congress noted that the time had come to counter the foreign policy of monopoly capital with a foreign policy program of the working class, a program of struggle for peace and understanding among nations, international solidarity of the proletariat, and closer fraternal links with the working class of the Soviet Union, GDR and other socialist countries. This foreign policy means a steadfast anti-imperialist fight against every form of aggression and oppression. The Congress called on the country's democratic and peace-loving forces to uphold together the following measures indispensable to a further relaxation of tensions;

- immediate ratification by the Bundestag of the treaties with the Soviet Union and Poland;
- constructive participation of the FRG in preparations for a European conference on security and in the work of the conference;
- admission of both German states to the UN;
- recognition of the GDR as an equal, independent and sovereign state;
- the adoption of specific disarmament measures.

In the pre-Congress discussions and in the speeches at the Congress, the point was made again and again that in the final analysis it depends on the working class how the possibilities of safeguarding peace and solving all other big problems are used. Hence the importance of the Congress conclusion present in all its resolutions that the Party must increasingly orient itself on the working class.

Our confirmed policy of united action stems from our clear

understanding of the working class's leading role. Experience shows working-class unity of action to be imperative in view of furious attacks from the CDU/CSU and divisive action by the SDP leadership. When hundreds of thousands of metalworkers on strike for a pay rise were locked out, Communists, Social-Democrats, non-party people, believers and non-believers, fought in common, for they suffer in equal measure from rising prices, exploitation and employer high-handedness. The community of the fundamental class interests of the working people, both Social-Democrats and Communists, is an objective fact which cannot be abolished however vehemently the SDP leadership may anathematize it, any more than one can abolish the working class.

That the Congress devoted special attention to the working class does not mean that our Party underrates links with the allies of the working class – or tries to cover up shortcomings in its work among youth and women. We consider that growing Party influence among the working class would also benefit the Party's work among youth and women – in short, the entire effort to form a broad democratic alliance. But the Communists will accomplish this most important task only if they become the mobilizing and unifying force of the working class.

The GCP is at the beginning of a new stage of struggle, which puts greater demands than ever to the Party as a whole and to its every member. We are certain that the GCP has all it requires to meet these demands. The Party's policy statement at Essen and its Duesseldorf theses provide explicit political guidelines in harmony with the interests of the working class. Lastly, the Party has the main requisite – a large number of devoted fighters for peace, democratic progress and socialism, people tempered in sustained and persevering effort.

New program of the Communist Party of Canada

Alfred Dewhurst

The Communist Party of Canada held its 21st Convention during November 27-29, 1971 bringing to a close a year of political activity and celebrations honoring the 50th anniversary of the founding of the Party.

The Communists of Canada are proud of the contributions our Party has made to the organization and advance of the working class and its allies in the cause of peace, democracy, independence and socialism. 'Through the various stages of the struggle in our

country,' said General Secretary William Kashtan in his opening address to the Convention, 'our Party has held high the banner of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. It combined patriotism, love of country and its people with fraternal bonds and international solidarity with the first socialist country – the USSR – and with the socialist community of states following the Second World War – with the workers of all countries and with all peoples fighting for emancipation from imperialist rule.'

The special importance of the 21st Convention to Communists of Canada was not only because it coincided with the Party's 50th anniversary. It lay also in that the Convention had the task of finalizing and adopting a new draft of the Party program, 'The Road to Socialism in Canada.' In addition to this important task the Convention adopted the main Policy Statement, elected a Central Committee of 57 members and acclaimed William Kashtan as general secretary of the Party. Following three days of intensive discussion, section by section, both the Program and the Policy Statement were adopted unanimously.

The new Program takes into account the changes which have taken place since 1962, when the former draft was adopted, describes the essence of these changes and refines the Party's strategy as it bears upon the attainment of the Party's aim of a socialist Canada. It is the opinion of our Party that the new program will give sound direction to the growing struggles of the people against monopoly and U.S. imperialism. It will assist the Party in the struggle against alien concepts and ideas, in the struggle for building the united front of the working class and all progressive democratic forces.

We have drawn upon the new rich experiences of the working class and democratic movement, both in our own country and internationally, and the theoretical conclusions based on these experiences drawn by Communist and Workers' parties, in preparing the new draft of our Program.

The first formal discussion in preparation for a new draft, on strategical concepts embodied in the Program, began in the Party in 1966 with the publication in the discussion bulletin 'Viewpoint' of a number of working papers, chief among which were the labor-farmer alliance and the democratic anti-monopoly coalition and multi-party government under socialism. In the period between 1966 and the adoption of the new draft for discussion in the Party by the Central Committee in August 1971, the leadership and the entire Party were engaged in clarifying Party policy in respect to a wide range of questions which have come to the fore over the past number of years. In the course of this work we refined our estimations and formulations contained in the 1962 program which, it must be noted, stands up in its main essentials.

It is necessary to elaborate briefly the main changes made in the Program as compared with the 1962 draft. To begin, the new draft gives a much fuller treatment of state-monopoly capitalism.

The present treatment assesses the dynamics of development of the Canadian economy and the operation, role and efforts of state-monopoly capitalism to preserve the capitalist system through attempts to regulate the economy and social relations, and moderate the impact of crises; and the effect the measures state monopoly capitalism attempts to implement have on the development and intensity of the class struggle.

More attention is given to the impact of the scientific and technological revolution than was the case in the 1962 Program. The new Program analyzes the changes that it has brought about in the composition of the working class and in the countryside. It shows the process of differentiation taking place in the countryside, and the new problems posed before the working class and revolutionary movement as a consequence of the changes in the composition of the working class; for instance, the relative rise in the growth of the service sector of the economy; it takes note also of the population decline which is a continuing process in agriculture.

An important statistic in respect to the numbers engaged in agriculture is given by the Economic Council of Canada. On the basis of the present trend it estimates that by 1980 those engaged in agriculture will only account for five per cent of the population. At the same time, there has been a steep rise in engineering and technical staffs. Rapid development of the productive forces resultant on the technological revolution – and this the Program clearly brings out – inevitably produces deep-going changes in the alignment of class and social forces and modifies the workers' conditions of struggle.

The new Program examines the new features that have emerged to the forefront in respect to the building of the democratic anti-monopoly alliance. The old Program advanced the perspective of a federated labor-farmer party, projecting the idea that the New Democratic Party could emerge as such a party. This has not materialized. Instead, the New Democratic Party, which has emerged as a political force in the country, has moved in the direction of a social-democratic type of party with a significant base of support in the trade union movement. Faced with this new reality, the new Program projects new forms and methods of the struggle for unity. It drops the concept of a federated labor-farmer party and the possibility of the NDP assuming that character. The new draft elaborates more deeply than did the 1962 version, the role of social reformism and its economic roots, and shows the process of differentiation which inevitably arises in opposition to Right-wing social-democratic policy, as well as the emergence and role of a Left in social-democracy, and the consistent struggle for the unity of the working class.

Arising from the changes taking place in the economy and in the structure of the working class, as well as the changes in the countryside, the Party can no longer put the labor-farmer alliance in the central place. The new Program places the question of other

allies of the working class in addition to the farmers, i.e., sections of the middle class in the cities, the petty bourgeoisie in the cities as well as in the countryside that need to be won as allies of the working class. Without them the building of an anti-monopoly alliance and advancing to socialism in Canada will not be possible.

The new Program, as did the old Program, places the struggle to keep Canada independent as being central to the struggle against Canadian monopoly and U.S. imperialism. It differs from the old, however, in that it regards this as a double-edged struggle, for monopoly in Canada is both U.S. and Canadian. But at the same time it puts particular emphasis on the struggle for nationalization of U.S.-owned companies in Canada at a certain stage of the struggle. The new Program, as distinct from the 1962 version which described U.S. and Canadian finance capital as 'one lump,' notes the antagonistic nature of the partnership between Canadian monopoly and U.S. imperialism. It argues against the concept held in some Left and progressive circles that Canada is a colony facing a bourgeois-democratic revolution.

A new section has been added to the Program. It analyzes the political crisis in Canada rooted in the unequal status of the French Canadian nation which is a built-in feature of the present Confederation and codified in the British North America Act of 1867 which serves as Canada's constitution. In large measure the new section is based on the positions adopted by our 20th Convention. It emphasizes the right to national self-determination and the concept of two equal nations coexisting voluntarily in one state. The new section opposes the concept of a single Canadian nation as well as the nationalist concept of separatism, and the petty-bourgeois notion that Quebec is a colony. The new Program relates the question of the right to self-determination to the fight to unite the working class of English and French Canada against Canadian monopoly and U.S. imperialism and for a united Canada.

Another new section has been added to the Program. It has to do with strategy and tactics, and visualizes the struggle for socialism in Canada as going through intermediate stages of development rather than as one straight, direct attack on capitalism.

The 1962 Program projected the prospect of the anti-monopoly alliance. But it did not fully and clearly define this prospect in a way that indicated the distinctness and the inter-relations between the stages in the process of transition to socialism, which resulted in tendencies to equate the anti-monopoly struggle with the struggle against capitalism in general, i.e., to jump over stages in the fight against capital. The new Program eliminates this ambiguity and spells out the specific stages of the revolutionary capture of power.

The new Program advances the task of working for and bringing into being a democratic, anti-monopoly, anti-imperialist coalition and a government resting upon such a coalition. Such a government would of necessity include different class forces headed by

the working class and its Marxist-Leninist party. By its very nature such a government would become the political power in the transition to socialism. Therefore, there would be no wall between the anti-monopoly stage and the socialist stage. The former would create the conditions for the latter. The stages are distinct and inter-related.

Thus, the Program poses the whole question of allies and alliances in a very sharp way. It directs attention to the class forces which can be united in order to achieve an anti-monopoly government. This new section spells out a platform of far-reaching reforms upon which the anti-monopoly government could base its activities. These reforms are not anti-capitalist in the sense that they are directed at abolishing capitalism as a whole. They are anti-monopolist and are directed against the power of monopoly. The purpose is to curb monopoly, limit and defeat it, with capitalism still continuing to exist for a period of time in the non-monopoly sectors of the economy. However, once the power of monopoly is destroyed it will be relatively easier to go over to the next stage, that of achieving socialism. This approximation of the democratic and socialist tasks of the revolution in our time has already been pointed out by the 1969 International Meeting: 'In contrast to the Right and 'Left' opportunists, the Communist and Workers' Parties do not counterpose the fight for deep-going economic and social demands, and for an advanced democracy to the struggle for socialism, but regard it as a part of the struggle for socialism. The radical democratic changes which will be achieved in the struggle against the monopolies and their economic domination and political power will promote among the broad masses awareness of the need for socialism.'

The new Program advances the concept of a multi-party government as a possible form of transition to socialism. The 1962 version did not. What the new Program proposes is a multi-party government based upon those forces and parties which are prepared to build a socialist system of society and accept the leading role of the working class and, therefore, the leading role of the Communist Party. The Program makes it clear that whether the transition is carried through by a single party or by a multi-party government depends on conditions of place and time, and the actual correlation of forces. If cooperation among different parties representing the interests of the working class and its democratic allies is achieved, if they all agree that socialism is the only way, then socialism can triumph under a multi-party system. The principal question involved is that socialist measures are carried through including public control and ownership, that the political power is taken away from the capitalist class and handed over to the new ruling class, i.e., the working class enjoying the support of its democratic allies.

The question of a multi-party government is not the same as the concept advanced in some Left social-democratic circles that opposition parties should have the right to exist in the period of

socialist construction. The new Program makes it clear that in the stage of the democratic anti-monopoly coalition, opposition parties will still exist, arising from the fact that capitalism would continue to exist. The new Program envisages the period of anti-monopoly coalition government as being a period of sharp and intense class struggle bringing about the isolation of the capitalist parties and their eventual liquidation. Under socialism opposition parties would not exist, for their only purpose would be to work for the restoration of capitalism. This is a different question from that of minority views which will continue to exist for a more or less lengthy period of time under socialism, and will only finally disappear when those holding minority views become convinced through experience and Marxist-Leninist education of the all-sided superiority of the socialist way of life.

The new Program, as distinct from the 1962 version, comes out against elitism as expressed in the concept of coups, putsches and individual acts of terrorism. This is important in the context of present-day political conditions and the rise of the ultra-Left, the Maoists, the Trotskyites, the anarchists, and other similar-type groupings. The Program makes it abundantly clear that the Communist Party bases itself upon the mass movements of the working class and the democratic forces and strives to bring about a revolutionary change in society which may take either a peaceful form or a non-peaceful form, depending upon the prevailing conditions. The Program takes into account both sides of the question of revolutionary change. While the Party strives and works for a peaceful path to socialism, this does not depend on the working class but upon the reactionary forces which, as history so amply demonstrates, will do everything possible to prevent peaceful and democratic social change. This possibility serves to underline that the working class and the Communist Party need to be constantly alert and vigilant in defense of democratic rights today, and in defense of a future government undertaking far-reaching democratic and socialist changes. The Program emphasizes the necessity which would enable the working class and democratic forces to crush any efforts on the part of reaction to overthrow democratically elected governments by counter-revolutionary acts.

Revisionists who have been expelled from Communist parties attack socialism by calling for a 'new' model of socialism. In advancing this view they are saying in effect that Marxism-Leninism is out-dated and has no relevance to present-day life. On the other hand, the Chinese leaders stubbornly insist that their splitting line should be the one other Parties should follow. We reject all attacks on Marxism-Leninism. The new Program reaffirms the universality of the general laws of Marxism-Leninism which are valid for Canada, as they are for all countries, as well as the specifics of our country which may have its own original forms of development and advance to socialism.

The Policy Statement adopted by the 21st Convention examines

the present economic situation in Canada which is marked by growing crisis phenomena. The Statement points out that the initial wave of the scientific and technological revolution stimulated a relatively high rate of economic growth and a low rate of unemployment. This phase was artificially stimulated by speculative investment and inflationary government policies. This phase has come to an end. The fruits of the revolution in science and technology have been appropriated by monopoly which has further widened the gap between the ability to produce and the ability of the people to purchase the goods and services produced. This has brought about a relative overproduction in important sectors of the economy. The Statement charges that it is monopoly capitalism which is responsible for the reversal in the economic trend.

The Statement points out that during the period of relatively high employment monopoly and the government used the weapon of inflation as a means of reducing the purchasing power of the people. But as soon as inflation began to affect monopoly profits and endanger Canadian monopoly's competitive position on the world market, the government on behalf of monopoly embarked on a deliberate policy of slowing down the economy and creating mass unemployment. As a result the working people are suffering at the same time from inflation and mass unemployment.

The situation is aggravated by Canada's close dependence on the U.S. Because of its massive domination of the Canadian economy U.S. imperialism has been able to export its economic crisis into Canada, as it has exported inflation and the present currency crisis. The formation of restrictive trade blocs, sharpening trade wars and financial difficulties are contributing to the economic decline and near stagnation of the Canadian economy. This is particularly serious because exports approximate 50 per cent of the volume of goods produced in Canada.

The Statement notes that the people's movement against monopoly policies is growing in scope and strength. Standing at the center of the people's struggle is the working class which by its militant struggles is stimulating and widening the front of opposition to monopoly policies. Opposition to the policies of monopoly has become more varied, vigorous and many-sided and finds expression in new forms of struggle and new initiatives which are directed against monopoly and the state. This is to be seen in the workers' fight for higher wages and against layoffs; the farmers' battle for higher prices for their produce and against high prices for machinery, fertilizers and fuel; in the movements against poverty, for tenants' rights, for tax reform based on the ability to pay; housing, planned urban development, modern transportation facilities; against pollution and for environmental control; for the national rights of the French Canadian people, the rights of the Indian, Métis and Innu peoples; for the defense and extension of the democratic rights of labor, and in actions for peace.

These many-sided movements, constituting the living ingredients of the crystallization of the democratic anti-monopoly, anti-imperialist alliance, assert the right of the people for a say on all vital issues affecting their lives. Prominent in these movements are young people, particularly the students. Though, criticizing the system, they are confused and unclear on the steps necessary to bring about fundamental change.

Unity of action of the Left, including the Communist Party, is the key link at this stage to bring into being the democratic anti-monopoly, anti-imperialist alliance. The Statement emphasizes that unity of action of the Left is the lever that will make it possible to change the present relationship of forces in the labor and democratic movement, defeat Right-wing class collaborationist policies, win genuine Canadian independence, achieve lasting peace, and take the country on a new course of far-reaching economic and social advance.

The Communist Party is the only party in Canada that combines the struggle for immediate social, economic and political reforms with the revolutionary perspective. It sees the struggle for such reforms as an integral part of the movement for the revolutionary transformation of society and the building of socialism in our country. With this perspective in mind the Policy Statement advances a minimum program to defend working people from the effects of the present economic crisis. This minimum program includes such demands as: jobs or an adequate income for every Canadian as a right, a 32-hour week with no reduction in pay, earlier retirement with higher pensions; income security and adequate pensions, with no means test; a moratorium on plant closures and layoffs; a Bill of Rights for Labor; policies for full agricultural production with higher prices; democratic tax reform; free post-secondary education; the equality of women in all spheres of economic, social and political life.

The minimum program advanced in the Policy Statement is directed also to resolve three great issues which stand immediately before the Canadian people. These issues are: (1) Canadian independence, nationalization of energy and natural resources industries, the building of an all-Canada electric power grid, gas and oil pipelines, the processing of raw materials in Canada to provide job opportunities; (2) a new Canadian Constitution based on an equal voluntary partnership of the English and French Canadian nations in an independent sovereign bi-national state and the right of a self-determination for both nations, a Bill of Rights imbedded in the Constitution; (3) an independent foreign policy, withdraw Canada from NATO and NORAD, declare Canada a nuclear-free zone, disassociate Canada from the U.S. war of aggression in Indochina and end arms sales to the USA, cut the arms budget by 50 per cent and transfer these funds to socially necessary projects.

The 21st Convention decided that the Party must take its minimum program as widely as possible into the labor and democratic

movement, and undertake mass campaigning for it on a level demanded by the situation. The campaign will commence immediately as a prelude to the federal elections which are generally expected to take place in 1972. The Party expects the elections to center around the issue of which path Canada will take—more dependence on U.S. imperialism or a more independent stance on the vital questions affecting the life of the country.

The camp of monopoly is divided on which path to take. One grouping, oriented, to a large extent, on resources industry advocates fuller integration into the USA in the form of a common market or other arrangement, and opposes any measures which would place curbs in the way of increased U.S. takeovers in Canada. Those who advocate such policies veer to the right in Canadian politics, favor an incomes policy, are critical of Soviet Premier Kosygin's visit to Canada and of the agreements arrived at between Canada and the USSR which serve to strengthen trade, understanding, peace and Canadian independence. These political forces, which cut across capitalist party lines, want to perpetuate the cold war, not eliminate it.

The other grouping, which likewise cuts across party lines and is oriented on manufacturing to a large extent, is not opposed to some elements of integration in specific industries with the USA. But their basic orientation is towards a greater measure of industrialization in Canada, an effort to assert a more independent position in foreign affairs, the seeking of new outlets and markets for Canadian manufacturing as well as the export of capital. Those capitalists who lean in this direction are moving timidly and cautiously in the direction of an independent foreign policy. They want a lessening to some degree of U.S. domination in Canada, and seek to establish and extend relationships with socialist countries on the basis of mutual advantage, and are inclined towards the elimination of the cold war.

This latter grouping reflects the views of a growing body of Canadian people who are beginning to see that the path to real national independence for Canada lies in friendship and closer political and economic relations with the socialist countries, and in the first place with Canada's northern neighbor—for over 50 years the foremost defender of the independence and self-determination of nations—the socialist Soviet Union.

The 21st Convention declared it was important to note these differences and to utilize them in the interests of genuine Canadian independence, peace, democracy and the well-being of the Canadian people. 'However,' said Comrade Kashtan in his report to the Convention, 'it would be downright dangerous for the working class or our Party to pursue a policy which leads to tailing the bourgeoisie or a section of it. Canadian monopoly capital is not going to lead the struggle for Canadian independence although individual capitalists and even groups will support that struggle. Their aim is the perpetuation of monopoly, a better deal for the Canadian capitalist class and the maintenance of the exploitative system of a state-monopoly capitalism.'

This being the case, the Convention set the Party's electoral aim as being one of securing the defeat of those forces championing integration with the USA, seeking to do this by uniting all the patriotic, democratic and progressive forces who can be united around a program directed at winning genuine Canadian independence from U.S. imperialism and liberation from the rule of Canadian monopoly capitalism.

To this end the section of the Policy Statement which elaborates the Party's electoral tactic in the coming federal elections states in part that the great issues to be fought out now, during the election campaign and following it—issues which our Party has pioneered and fought for in the broad labor and democratic movement—demand that the Party lift its sights and run a maximum number of candidates. This will enable the Party to boldly advance its program, place it before the whole country, stimulate the labor and democratic movement, help forge a democratic alternative to the policies of monopoly and relate it to the social perspective.

'The running of a large number of Party candidates is an essential ingredient to the achievement of unity of action of the labor and democratic forces. The Communist Party will advance the fight for unity of action, consistently and to the end, and struggle to achieve unity and the election of a large bloc of progressives, including Communists, to Parliament. The more effective the Party's campaign, the greater the likelihood of the above-stated objectives being achieved.'

It is in this spirit that the Communist Party appeals for unity and cooperation of the labor and democratic movements. The developing situation opens up great opportunities and challenges which must be grasped with boldness and imagination.

British Communists face new tasks

Tony Chater

The 32nd Congress of the Communist Party of Great Britain met in London last November, against the background of mounting class battles, in which Communists, both as a Party and as individuals in the trade unions and other mass organizations, have played an outstanding part.

The two years since the previous Congress in 1969 saw the return of the Tories. More than any recent Government, the Tories are out to put the full burden of Britain's problems on the working class. As a result, there is class confrontation on a scale not seen

for many years. 'In this confrontation our class is going to win' – with those words, John Gollan summed up the mood of confidence and determination that characterized the Congress delegates.

The 31st Congress had already warned that the policy of Labor's right-wing was paving the way for a Tory come-back. It had pledged that the Communist Party would do all in its power to rally the movement to oppose right-wing policies, and win a decisive shift to the left.

The months which followed saw many big struggles for higher wages. The Labor Government was obliged to abandon its policy of wage restraint which had cost it so dearly in popular support. In the fight against racialism and apartheid there have been massive demonstrations, in which young people were to the fore.

But this developing mass movement was insufficient at that stage to overcome the disillusionment and frustration with the results of right-wing policies felt by masses of Labor voters. As a result, it was not able to prevent a Tory come-back.

Within days of the Tory victory at the polls, the Executive Committee of the Communist Party met and called for an intensification of the mass campaign as the basis for forcing an early General Election to clear the Tories out. 'Make the Tory Government short-lived' was the slogan. At the same time, the Executive Committee underlined the responsibility of the right-wing Labor leadership for the Tory victory, emphasized the need for left policies and leadership, and called on the Party to integrate the mass struggle with an ideological offensive for socialist ideas and understanding.

This call to clear the Tories out found an echo in the Labor and trade union movement. It set the tone – no defeatism; a determination to fight; and a growing understanding of the need for a different sort of Labor Government from those we have had in the past.

The 32nd Congress of the Communist Party took this a stage further. The main resolution, 'Unity, the Communist Party and the Struggle for Socialism,' was, as John Gollan pointed out in his report, a down-to-earth elaboration of an important stage in the program, *The British Road to Socialism*. Its theme was the urgent need to build up the mass movement to a much higher level, to the point where it acquired the strength, the unity and the understanding necessary for it to be able to force the Tories out and win a Labor Government committed to socialist policies.

The Common Market and the leadership crisis

The battle within the Labor movement around policies and leadership was brought to a head on the Common Market issue, which dominated the British political scene in the weeks preceding the Communist Party Congress.

The Communist Party has consistently opposed Britain's entry to the EEC, right from the time of the first application to join by the Tory Macmillan Government in 1961. The 32nd Congress re-

iterated this stand when it approved unanimously the resolution on 'The Common Market and European Security'.

Mick McGahey, moving the resolution, characterized the Common Market and its political implications for the advance to socialism in Britain as follows: -

'The EEC is specially designed for the big monopolies. Its supranational institutions correspond exactly to their needs. The harmonization of economic and social policies is intended to remove all the obstacles to their profit-making activities. And the new European Company Law and common taxation policy are aimed to facilitate mergers across frontiers. Such a perspective can have nothing in common with the interests of the working class, nothing in common with the desires and outlook of genuine socialists...

'That is why the loss of sovereignty involved in joining the Common Market is of such vital concern to the working class. It is not a question of waving the Union Jack. It is a question of preserving Parliament's right to decide economic and social policies. And that is a matter of keeping open an avenue for democratic advance, for the realization of the growing demand for a program of far-reaching changes aimed at limiting the power of the big firms, improving living standards at the expense of profits, and thereby laying the basis for advance to socialism.'

The Labor leaders have never adopted such a principled position of opposition to Britain's entry to the EEC. On the contrary, the Labor Government opened the present round of negotiations, committing itself in the process to the principle of entry. Even today Wilson nurtures the illusion of being able to renegotiate 'acceptable' terms when Labor is re-elected. In so doing, he obscures the anti-working class, anti-socialist character of the EEC. For no terms for joining such a set-up can ever be acceptable to the working class.

Besides participating in the broad campaigns against EEC entry, both nationally and locally, the Communist Party made its own position clear, through leaflets, pamphlets, broadsheets and public meetings. Whilst condemning the onerous terms accepted by Heath as a sell-out, an attempt to pin the burden of entry on the working class, the Communists also exposed the fundamentally big business nature of the EEC and showed how this also meant that the EEC was a factor perpetuating the cold-war divisions in Europe, backing up the cold-war NATO alliance.

This consistent work by the Communists and growing numbers on the left helped to give clarity to the movement. Despite the high-powered propaganda for entry by the Marketeers, including the free distribution through the Post Office of a glossy official Government booklet, the overwhelming majority of the people remained opposed to entry. This was reflected in the overwhelming 'No' votes at the TUC and Labor Party Conferences.

It was these events which forced Wilson and the majority of the leadership of the Parliamentary Labor Party to come out against

entry, though they restricted their opposition to the terms negotiated, taking care not to oppose the principle of entry itself.

The pro-Marketeers had never concealed their intention of voting for entry whatever the movement might decide. In the event, although 39 Tory MPs voted against entry, Heath obtained a majority of 112, thanks to the 69 Labor MPs led by Roy Jenkins who voted for entry, and the 20 others who abstained. Thus through the greatest act of betrayal since the sell-out by the right-wing Labor leaders Macdonald, Thomas and Snowden in 1931, the most reactionary Tory Government in years was able to survive.

This brought out into the open the question of leadership. The fact is that the TUC and the Labor Party Conferences have passed many left resolutions on most of the major issues of the day. In important unions like the Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers and the Transport and General Workers Union, left leaders have been elected to important positions. But the right-wing continues its domination of the Shadow Cabinet, the Parliamentary Labor Party machine. This shows how far the movement still has to go. It is one thing to pass resolutions, another to secure their implementation.

As John Gollan put it in his report: 'There are many illusions on the left in this connection. It is futile to think that left policies can be translated into action or become the program of a future Government unless the policy issues are matched with even more pressure to win changes in leadership and a much greater mass movement. What was at issue was not just the Common Market, but the whole question of democracy in the Labor Party, the defiance of Conference decisions by a section of the right-wing even if this meant splitting the Labor Party and voting with the Tories. Losing control of Conference decisions, the Right-wing shelter behind the Tory doctrine of the alleged supremacy of the Parliamentary Party. The fight for democracy and Conference decisions is now clearly bound up with the need for leadership changes. As long as the right-wing grip remains, all left decisions are at risk.'

There are signs that the lesson is beginning to be taken to heart. A number of Constituency Labor Parties are considering adopting new candidates. There are reports of trade union branches passing votes of no confidence in their MPs and demanding withdrawal of support at the next General Election. In the elections for the leadership of the Parliamentary Labor Party, the right-wing incumbents held their positions by very narrow majorities—Jenkins having a majority of only 14 over left-winger Michael Foot for example.

The question of Britain's entry to the EEC is not yet decided, despite the Tory attempt to present it as settled. There will be fresh opportunities for defeating the Government as legislation bringing British law into line with Rome Treaty is presented to Parliament. As the 32nd Congress pointed out, even more extra-Parliamentary activity and pressure will be needed to compel the Labor Party to make a united stand in Parliament against the Government on this

issue, and to win from Wilson a pledge that the next Labor Government will take Britain out if the Tories take us in.

The crisis of British imperialism

The Tory Common Market policy is a reflection of the erosion of the position of British imperialism. The objective is a new capitalist bloc of Britain plus the Six in economic competition with the USA and Japan and pursuing the cold war against socialism. The aim is to win a leading position for British imperialism within that bloc.

But the British ruling class is finding its room for maneuver limited because of the crisis of the capitalist system, made worse in Britain by the attempts of successive Governments, Tory and Labor alike, to restore Britain's imperialist position. The ruling class also finds itself confronted with mounting working-class resistance. As a result the political struggle becomes more acute every day. John Gollan summed up the essence of what this involves. 'The Tories and the capitalists cannot achieve their aims without making inroads into the organized power of the working class. Conversely, the working class cannot defend and advance its position without making inroads into the power of capitalism.'

The Tories have launched the fiercest assault for many years against the working people. Unemployment, basically caused by the capitalist system, has been deliberately increased to weaken the workers' bargaining power and achieve a huge surplus in the balance of payments in preparation for entry into the Common Market.' (Emergency Resolution—The Fight Against Unemployment.)

The Industrial Relations Act is the other side of the coin—its aim: to create tame unions, to integrate them into the capitalist state machine. The infamous Immigration Act which aims to create a pool of cheap labor with second class citizenship has to be seen in the same setting.

All this has been coupled with vicious attacks on living standards and the social services. The Congress went on record against the Tories' Housing Bill which aims to double rents and put an end to local-authority housing as a social service.

Part of the Tories' Common Market policy is to try to maintain the cold war barriers which are increasingly being broken down, as with the signing of the Berlin Agreement for example. 'Toryism,' said John Gollan in his report, 'stands outside the mainstream of world events, desperately clinging to the discredited cold war, not only fearful of détente, but actively disrupting its progress with their discredited spy scares. They are not only anti-Soviet, but anti-British and anti-peace. They don't speak for Britain, but for the faceless international trusts.' Congress adopted a special resolution condemning the Tory Government's anti-Soviet campaign.

He added that for Communists there could only be one response to this Tory Government: —

'We put forward the conception of a broad, democratic struggle for political power and socialism based on the unity of all the

Socialist forces, with far-reaching political and social struggle, extra-Parliamentary as well as Parliamentary, isolating the forces of the Tories and big business, achieving a Socialist Government of Labor and Communist MPs.

Such a perspective involves a struggle on the part of all the left forces to end the remaining bans and proscriptions directed against Communists in the Labor movement. These bans were introduced by the right-wing in the 1920's to isolate the Communists and to facilitate the right-wing leaders' plans to turn the movement into an appendage of capitalism.

Trade unionists, including Communists, pay a political levy to the Labor Party, but the right-wing bans prevent Communist trade unionists from representing their unions at Labor Party Conferences. This is an attack on the democratic right of *all* trade unionists to choose whom they like as their representatives. Many of the bans have since been lifted as a result of persistent united work by all on the left. This is true, for example, in the important Transport and General Workers' Union. Congress called for the removal of this ban. Its removal 'would be a political step of historic importance and strengthen the Left in the Labor Party' (John Gollan's Report).

The Congress adopted a program around which to rally the popular movement in the coming months. This program is so designed that if operated it would make big inroads into the power of capitalism and open the way for socialist advance. It included ending the domination of the big trusts through a new type of nationalization, with measures of workers' control, democratic direction and a slashing of compensation; radical steps to overcome the economic crisis and establish the right to work through higher wages, pensions and social benefits, shorter hours, investment in the nationalized industries, and a program of social services expansion; higher rates of tax on profits and big incomes; the repeal of anti-democratic laws like the Industrial Relations Act and the Immigration Act; and an all-European Security Conference for peace and economic cooperation in place of cold-war policies, entry to the Common Market, and overseas military adventures. In this connection, Congress pledged its full support for the International Assembly of the Peoples of Europe.

Much higher levels of struggle are needed on issue after issue to achieve this alternative to the Tories and right-wing Labor. Direct action of various kinds, such as the magnificent work-in at UCS, is of the utmost importance in this connection. 'It is this type of approach - operative democracy involving masses of people in industrial and political activity - which will create conditions for a Governmental crisis and a General Election' (John Gollan's Report). Millions in activity, combined with the leadership and ideological campaigning for socialism by the Party - this is the way to achieve a qualitative change in the political position of the working-class, which would involve the decisive rejection of right-wing leadership

and ideas, and a readiness to step out on the road to revolutionary socialist change.

The Party, the YCL and the Morning Star

The character and scope of this political task posed sharply for the Congress the need to build the Party and Young Communist League, and extend the circulation of the *Morning Star*. It was around these questions that the sharpest debate developed in the course of both the pre-Congress discussion and in the Congress itself.

It is understandable that many comrades should feel that the shift to the left in the movement ought to be reflected, almost automatically, in a resumption of Party growth. This led some to search for an explanation of the stagnation in the size of the Party, in the Party's political positions.

One amendment sought to find an explanation in the electoral strategy of the Party, describing it as 'sectarian' and 'leading to a neglect of our factory and industrial work and a lowering of our position in the mass movement.' But speaker after speaker showed from their own experiences how electoral and industrial work go together, the one helping the other. Many delegates had in mind the position of Jimmy Reid, local Councillor, recently elected Rector of Glasgow University, and leader of the Upper Clyde shipbuilders.

Congress was of course concerned at the low votes for Party candidates but recognized the difficulties imposed by the undemocratic electoral system. It also saw that the fight to establish the Party in Britain demanded a resolute fight for a breakthrough onto the Councils and into Parliament. The task was difficult but it could not be evaded. Branches which had contested seriously and consistently showed in their delegates' contributions how this had helped them to come forward in their localities as leaders of struggle on important issues, with the result that they were slowly becoming recognized as having an important contribution to make to local affairs.

Another amendment alleged that there had been a weakening of internationalism. The proceedings of the Congress itself refuted this charge. Congress received more than fifty messages, a record total, from fraternal Parties and organizations engaged in struggle against imperialist aggression. They came from every part of the globe. They came from the Socialist world, from countries where armed struggle against imperialism is taking place, and from countries under fascist dictatorship.

It was not possible to invite large numbers of delegates. It was therefore decided to invite representatives from those fraternal parties and organizations with whose struggles the British people are deeply involved. Delegates were present from the Communist Parties of Ireland, Sudan, and the United States, the latter making a moving appeal for an international campaign to release Angela Davis. There were representatives too from the liberation movements in Southern Africa and Bangla Desh. Congress also passed

an emergency resolution on Vietnam warning against any complacency because of Nixon's talk of troop withdrawals, and calling for a big lift in the campaign for Nixon to name a date for the complete withdrawal of all U.S. troops and bases and an end to the pernicious policy of Vietnamization.

The amendments to the main resolution looking for what amounted to easy or simple explanations of the problems of Party growth were all overwhelmingly defeated by votes of more than five to one, and the majority of the delegates endorsed the presentation in John Gollan's report.

He said: 'The biggest single factor regarding our growth is the insufficient understanding of the role of the Communist Party in the British Labor movement.' 'If we could assist all the comrades leading the mass struggles to lead also this battle for a bigger Party, we would start to make a break.' He went on to polemicize against the idea prevalent on the left that 'the Labor Party is enough - or that left unity, with us as a ginger group, is enough to get change - or that change can be brought about by the unions and the work of the left within the Labor Party.'

He paid tribute to the work done by all on the left. 'But I will argue anywhere that the work of the Communist Party in the Labor movement has been the decisive influence in recent events.' And he gave as three outstanding instances of this, the struggle against the Industrial Relations Act, the battle of the UCS workers for the right to work, and the campaign against the Common Market.

'Why can the Communist Party do this?', he asked. 'Because as distinct from the Labor Party and from other forces on the left, in the unions and Labor Party, we are a nationally organized, disciplined and democratic party. We operate across the boundaries of different industries, unions and movements. We have a consistent socialist ideology, we are a vanguard party, a party of struggle, a Party of Socialism.'

He called on the new Executive Committee to launch a big political and ideological campaign in the working class and labor movement, among the youth and the intellectuals, on the need for a bigger Communist Party and Young Communist League to carry forward the whole political situation.

At the same time, he pointed to the crucial importance of the *Morning Star*. All on the left pay tribute to the role it has played in the anti-Tory struggles. How much more effective would it be with a bigger circulation? 'I believe,' he said, 'that the matter is one of priority. When all of us in the factories, in the localities, and at all levels of leadership consciously make the *Star* circulation Priority No. 1 in everything we do, then we will crack the circulation problem.'

Ireland

Congress passed an emergency resolution condemning the repression in Northern Ireland, the policy of internment, and the brutal treatment of the detainees.

Introducing the resolution, Jack Woddis said that it was British imperialism which tore away the six countries to create the province of Northern Ireland. It created and fostered the Unionist Party and helped to maintain it in power.

The Unionists were armed with a whole battery of repressive laws, the most well-known being the Special Powers Act which permits detention without trial in concentration camps like that at Long Kesh. To enforce these laws, the Unionists relied on an armed police force and reserves, formed on a sectarian basis, so that they became virtually the armed wing of the Unionist Party.

'In the face of this repression,' Jack Woddis said, 'and in desperation at the refusal of the British and Stormont Governments to accede to the just demands of the anti-Unionists, some élitist groups have carried out violent actions. These actions, which have deepened sectarian divisions, have been condemned by Irish Communists and other sections of the progressive movement in Northern Ireland. But it has to be recognized that the prime responsibility for violence in Northern Ireland rests with the Governments in Westminster and Stormont.'

The Congress resolution expressed full solidarity with the historic movement for an end of Unionism in Northern Ireland. This embraces the Civil Rights movement, the Social Democratic Labor Party, the Nationalist Party, the Communist Party, trade unions and Republicans, all struggling for democratic rights.

Congress declared that it was vital to develop a big movement 'to compel the Government to end its repression, introduce the necessary democratic reforms, and withdraw the British troops.'

The resolution demanded the withdrawal of British troops from non-Unionist areas as a first immediate step, and the cessation of all repressive acts against the democratic forces. It demanded the disarming of all right-wing armed forces and rifle clubs - 100,000 Unionists are armed and organized in these clubs in addition to the sectarian armed police at the disposal of the Unionist regime. The Congress called for an immediate end to internment and the release of all detainees and political prisoners.

'The British Parliament must enact a Bill of Rights which would introduce democratic liberties, end discrimination, especially in jobs and housing, abolish the Special Powers Act and similar legislation, and deprive the Northern Ireland Government of any authority to use the powers of internment or to practice discrimination, repression and intimidation,' the resolution demanded. Further, 'proportional representation should be introduced, an end be put to all electoral discrimination, and electoral boundaries be re-defined in order to eliminate all gerrymandering.' The importance of this latter demand is shown by the position which has existed for years in Derry City - while two-thirds of the electorate were anti-Unionist, the ward boundaries were so drawn that two-thirds of the Councillors elected were Unionists.

The introduction of the measures proposed by the Communist

Congress 'would open the way to an agreement that would meet the aspirations of the overwhelming majority of the people of Ireland and the achievement of a united Ireland.'

Women in society

Congress held a major discussion around the resolution 'Women in Society,' dealing with the new problems arising from the developing movement challenging social attitudes and policies which relegate women to an inferior status.

From its foundation the Communist Party has consistently maintained that the conditions for full equality of women can only be fully realized in socialist society, although this has never prevented the Party from fighting for fundamental advances now. Indeed the struggle on this question *here and now* is a prerequisite for mobilizing women to take part in the battle against monopoly capitalism. And to the extent that advances can be won within capitalism, so will it be that much easier to realize the full potentialities of socialism for equality of status between men and women, in theory *and* in fact.

The far-reaching technological developments during and since the Second World War have brought about very big changes in the contribution women are making towards society. Women are increasingly involved in social production and many more are entering higher education and achieving academic distinction. The advance in the knowledge and use of contraception has also contributed to these changes, making it possible for men and women to plan the size and timing of their families. All these developments conflict sharply with the economic, legal and social discriminations against women and the concept that 'a woman's place is in the home.'

Women are playing a big part in today's social and political movements. In industry this is reflected in the campaign for equal pay and the participation of women in strikes. Women have been to the fore in the campaigns for peace, and against the Tory cuts in the social services, particularly the cuts in free school milk and the increases in the price of school meals.

Rosemary Small, introducing the resolution, welcomed the contribution of the Women's Liberation Movement. They had raised some ideological questions on women's role in society and some of the diverse groups which make up this movement had also campaigned on important questions, day nurseries for example. 'We must emphasize however,' she said, 'that although ideas and practices of domination exist and being tied to the home is a restrictive factor, the solution to these problems cannot be based on hostility to men (as the dominant sex) or towards the family (as the isolating factor for women). Such attitudes are wrong in principle, divisive as regards the labor movement, and will tend to alienate rather than encourage action by working-class women.'

It is the mobilization of working class women alongside the men,

as an integral part of the labor movement, to fight the Tory attacks which will release 'truly enormous revolutionary potential.'

The resolution incorporated a program of economic, social and political demands which would ensure a better life and greater opportunity for millions of women and improve conditions for their families. It will be the basis for the Party's campaign in the coming period aimed at drawing women into the fight for fundamental socialist change.

The 32nd Congress of the British Communist Party showed how the Party is playing an ever-increasing and significant part in British politics, particularly in the labor and trade union movement. The down-to-earth contributions from the delegates, and the concrete analysis of the stage reached in the advance to socialism contained in the main reports, showed that the Party is grappling with the real problems of the struggle of the British working people, and is itself deeply involved, giving daily leadership.

This was shown in the composition of the Congress itself. Of the 422 delegates, 250 were employed in the main industries: 78 in engineering, motors, shipbuilding and other metal trades, 41 in building and 38 in transport, 74 delegates came from the professions and white collar sections, including 26 teachers. Fifty trade unions were represented among the delegates. It was the youngest Congress for years - 16 per cent of the delegates were under 25 years of age, compared with 12 per cent at the 31st Congress and 9 per cent at each of the three previous Congresses.

The Congress concluded in an atmosphere of confidence arising from the conviction among delegates that the Congress had approved policies corresponding to the needs of the working people at a time of vicious Tory attacks on living standards and working conditions, policies which in the coming months would lead to a strengthening of the Party's ranks, enabling it to play a still greater part in developing a united anti-monopoly alliance, and in giving it a socialist direction.

On the upgrade

(Third Congress of Lebanese CP)

Georges Haoui

The convocation of the Third Congress of the Lebanese Communist Party was announced six months in advance. This gave the Party branches at all levels ample time to prepare for it. Projected political theses and the agrarian program, and proposals to amend the

Party Rules, were discussed at mass meetings, conferences and public functions with spokesmen of other progressive trends. Apart from a report on organizational matters, special commissions of the Central Committee drew up various other documents (reports on the Party's activity among workers, intellectuals, youth and students, in the propaganda domain and theoretical education of cadres).

The Party line was discussed in the light of the political program of the Second Congress (1968) and subsequent experience. General accord was in evidence in evaluating growth and the present situation. The approval of Central Committee activity, which skilfully advanced the Party line, was unanimous.

For the Lebanese Communists the four years since the previous congress were a period of hard struggle. The complicated situation – at home, in the Arab world, and on the international scene generally – set fundamental problems before all sectors of the revolutionary movement, with some already resolved and others still hanging fire. Understandably, the Party reacted by formulating concrete proposals. For presenting these there could be no occasion more suitable than the Third Congress.

The Central Committee report by Nicolas Chaoui, our Party's General Secretary, examined the world situation and stressed that developments were bearing out the views of the 1969 International Meeting. As before, our Party holds that the basic contradiction of our time is that between imperialism and socialism, and that the socialist camp and its vanguard, the Soviet Union, are determinative in the battle against colonialism and aggression. Hence, anything done to injure the socialist system grinds the axe of the class enemy.

We have always opposed the anti-Soviet policy of the Chinese leaders, designed to dissociate the forces of socialism and the international working-class and national-liberation movement. Last year's events showed that the dangers implicit in this policy, for which words like Left-opportunist and divisive are much too weak, have become still greater. The Chinese Communist Party leadership follows a chauvinist great-power course and is seeking an accord with the United States on spheres of influence, spurning the interests of peoples fighting for liberation and progress. This is clear from its posture during the Sudan events and the Bangladesh struggle. Following China's admission to the United Nations, her representatives have voted with the United States and against the Soviet Union. And this, evidently, the world revolutionary movement cannot afford to overlook.

On the other hand, the relation of forces, our Party holds, is changing steadily in favor of socialism, national independence and peace. To be sure, the process is not automatic and calls for vigilance against imperialist intrigue; it also calls for joint anti-imperialist action at national, regional and international levels.

A proper appreciation of the nature of the world struggle was

central for defining the present strategy of our Party and the general orientation of its revolutionary activity. This is why Congress devoted so much attention to international affairs. To leave out the details, here is the outcome of the discussion: our Party is determined to be faithful to Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, to fortify bonds with Lenin's great Party, the world Communist movement and all other revolutionary anti-imperialist forces.

The internationalist nature of our Congress was accentuated by the presence of some forty Communist, Workers' and progressive parties, including delegations from the Communist Parties of the Soviet Union and others socialist countries.

The Congress convened at a difficult time for the Arab national-liberation movement. A detachment of that movement, our Party feels obliged to express its opinions and, moreover, help effectuate the tasks facing the Lebanese and other Arab peoples.

The confrontation between the Arab liberation movement and imperialism, Zionism and reaction has grown sharper. The large territories seized by Israel during her perfidious 1967 aggression are still occupied. Despite the many measures to intensify resistance to and eliminate the consequences of the aggression, there have also been negative developments. Arab reaction engineered one conspiracy after another and Right and conservative elements gained new ground. As a result, calls have multiplied for a Middle East solution at the price of broad concessions to U.S. imperialism. Particularly alarming, however, is the deep-going split in the Arab national-liberation movement and the clashes between its various sections.

'Ultra-Left excesses have added to the tensions. Apart from the above-mentioned calls for a deal with imperialism to the detriment of the Arab peoples (including the people of Palestine) and of Arab-Soviet friendship, our cause is jeopardized by the penchant of certain groups for reckless adventures entailing unpredictable consequences, spurred by impatience to resolve matters at any cost and in the shortest time.

The standpoint of the Communist Party, clearly and responsibly reaffirmed by the Third Congress, is of the utmost significance for clearing up the theoretical and political confusion reigning in these circumstances. We stressed the necessity of understanding the main contradiction in our region of the world. The Arab national liberation movement, all its detachments, are confronted by imperialism, Zionism and reaction. It is therefore wrong and dangerous to give precedence to its intrinsic contradictions over the main one—between the movement as a whole and the common enemy.

Our Party approved the Security Council resolution of November 22, 1967. In view of the equilibrium of forces, its effectuation is consonant with the interests of the Arab liberation movement. Yet we have always stressed the danger of two erroneous approaches to that resolution and to the principle of a political settlement. First, it is wrong to think that a political solution neces-

sarily requires a compromise with the United States. Second, it is wrong to reject the political approach out of hand and oppose armed to political struggle. To eliminate the consequences of the aggression we must be firm vis-à-vis imperialism, especially U.S. imperialism, and expand friendly ties with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, reinforcing the military capability of the progressive Arab states, coordinating their actions, and cementing the unity of the different sectors of the Arab national liberation movement, including the Palestine Resistance, and, finally, extending democratic freedoms and rallying the masses for the battle for national and social progress.

We view Palestine Resistance dialectically: it is the national liberation movement of a peoples banished from its native land and robbed of its rights. This why we support it, helping it survive all attempts at wiping it out. However, the LCP is opposed to the other extreme of regarding it as the vanguard of the Arab liberation movement and ascribing to it a function it cannot fulfil. We do not support the call for armed battle as the only possible form of action. The Palestine Resistance, as we see it, is part of the Arab national liberation movement. Consequently, it should align its strategy and tactics with the strategic aims and tactical methods of the movement as a whole.

Our approach to one of the most controversial problems of the liberation movement, namely, the attitude to progressive regimes and the petty bourgeoisie in general, was also dialectical and scientific.

The emergence of patriotic progressive regimes in the Arab world our Party hailed as one of the most important gains of the national liberation movement. Despite setbacks in some countries and insufficient firmness and consistency in politics, and despite other faults, these regimes still play a positive role. The one fact that they are the main target of imperialist and reactionary conspiracies bears this out quite conclusively. The danger emanating from the Right trends surfacing in the progressive regimes – especially after President Nasser's demise, during the bloody events in Sudan, and later – is also more pronounced. These trends, we hold, should be isolated, and the danger they present to the Arabs' struggle against imperialism, Zionism and reaction, and to progressive socio-economic development, should be clearly shown.

We have always stressed the fallacy of the sectarian, 'gauchist' approach to these trends. Its greatest harm is imputing faults of a definite time and a definite sector to all periods and all sectors. It is wrong to think that the Right factions have won a final victory. Not only does this contradict the facts, but also obscures the struggle inside these regimes. Our policy – and we call on all other progressive forces to follow it – is to work for the isolation of the Right with all available means and pave the way for the advanced trends committed to anti-monopoly policy and progressive socio-economic reforms.

Lebanon Communists also combated the two wrong approaches to the petty bourgeoisie. We have always tried to show the harm of petty-bourgeois views, which deny the leading role of the working class in the transition to socialism and endeavor to substitute eclecticism for scientific socialism and a loose and indefinite upper-crust organization for the Marxist-Leninist party. But we have also opposed those wanting to bypass intervening stages and calling on the working class to exercise its leading role in defiance of the objective conditions. Such slogans can only lead to defeat.

The Congress defined a clear attitude to these problems, opposing 'petty-bourgeois seizure of power.' Such 'seizure,' that is, removal from power of the working class, tends to strengthen the hand of the Right elements of the petty bourgeoisie and jeopardizes the gains of the liberation movement, including the essential gains of the petty bourgeoisie. Advocating working-class participation in government, our Party stresses that its scale and effectiveness in each historical stage depend on the concrete situation, the relation of forces, and the objective and subjective conditions.

Acting on the idea of the workers' leading role, on the one hand, and on a correct evaluation of concrete conditions, on the other, the working-class party can build up sound relations with all progressive forces, enhance its role, and clear the ground for the working-class movement to consummate its historical mission.

In line with this concept, the LCP has striven to fortify the Arab Communist movement and helped improve relations between the fraternal parties and other progressive forces. We have established contacts with many detachments of the national liberation movement, including those holding power, and with organizations of the Palestine Resistance, and have appealed tirelessly for unity. The presence at the Third Congress of delegations from the vast majority of political trends shows that this policy has been correct.

Apart from delegates of Arab Communist parties, the Congress was attended by representatives of Egypt's Arab Socialist Union, the Baath Party ruling in Syria, the Baath Party in power in Iraq, the Executive Committee of the Palestine Liberation Organization, of all resistance movements, workers' federations of Palestine and Jordan, etc., and messages of greeting arrived from the National Front of the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen. As for the progressive forces of the Lebanon, all of them participated in the Congress. The Libyan and Sudanese authorities alone stooped to joining the slander campaign mounted by imperialism and reaction against our Party. But this only confirmed our conclusion about the increasing differentiation in the Arab national liberation movement.

Our Congress was indeed a medium for broad friendly contacts among the Arab progressive forces. And it is particularly significant that these contacts were initiated by the Communist Party soon after the imperialist-inspired outburst of anti-communism. The foul campaign has collapsed and its exponents are isolated.

The progressive Arab press showed a heightened interest in our

Congress, emphasizing its contribution to unity. The announcement that the 24 Arab parties and organizations represented at the Congress responded to the appeal in our Central Committee Report and agreed to cooperate in convening a conference of progressive Arab forces, coming at the end of the Congress struck a triumphant and crowning chord. Lebanese progressive organizations have been assigned the preparatory work.

It stands to reason that our main attention was centered on the home situation. This was our first openly-held congress in 28 years, for last year the Party was finally granted official legal status. Important developments have taken place in the Lebanon since 1968 and our Second Congress. The socio-economic crisis has deteriorated and the workers, the mass of the people, are more militant. The country is witnessing determined resistance to the conspiracies by imperialists, Zionists and reactionaries. The social and national tasks are closely interlaced. In both these domains progressive patriotic forces faced the same adversary, namely, the financial oligarchy connected with neo-colonialism, with international monopolies. This was the setting for the presidential election, which the big bourgeoisie tried to reduce to a top-level race between its own two leading factions. But the working class and people frustrated its scheme: a new contender, whose opinion is decisive came forward.

The Communist Party took part in social and national-liberation battles, and was highly prominent in most of them. Cooperating with other democratic forces and resistance organizations, especially the Progressive Socialist Party of Kamal Jomblat, the prominent progressive leader, we endeavored to build up the popular movement, consolidate its positions and create prerequisites for advance. Neither the Party nor any of the other progressive forces had any illusions about the chances of a radical change in the course, and as a result, of the presidential campaign. Such change requires mature objective and subjective conditions, making it imperative to eliminate the financial oligarchy's regime and establish national-democratic power. Since these were lacking, we stressed the need for using the acute contradictions between factions of the big bourgeoisie to wrest the maximum concessions, consolidate and extend democracy, and curb the power of the military authorities who had, in effect, governed the country under a civilian signboard. The problem of political freedom was one of the central issues. New ground was gained, including the legalization of the Communist Party, the leading and guiding organization of the working class.

The LCP employed and combined different forms of action, which yielded a wealth of experience. While active on the political scene and in the unions, and taking joint actions with other progressive forces, there was also armed struggle of a definite type. A 'people's guard' was formed on the Party's initiative, in which many Party members and cadres enlisted to repulse aggressive Israeli attacks

on the Lebanon's southern frontier. Communists also participated in the Palestine Resistance – the Partisan (Ansar) Organization and others, with some falling in battle or seriously injured. In sum, our Party has been a prominent political force defending the country's independence.

Communists followed their political program and its clearly spelled out long- and short-term strategy. They were inspired by the significance attached in the program to the development of the democratic movement, to organizing strikes of workers and other working people in urban and rural areas, and combining them with the general political struggle against the financial oligarchy, for national-democratic power as a stage on the way to socialism.

Apart from building up the popular movement, we attached prime importance to exposing and isolating the adventurist 'ultra-Left' elements. Left extremism was fairly widespread in the Palestine resistance movement and among some petty-bourgeois intellectual groups prey to Trotskyite and Maoist ideas. The Party opposed their puerile attempts to artificially provoke a collision between the popular movement and the authorities, for with the present relation of forces, that would only have been a service to reaction.

The struggle over the presidential election left its mark on the regime. Some of its measures went against the wishes of the chiefs of the repressive machinery. Certain steps were even taken to improve the Lebanon's relations with the progressive Arab countries (particularly Syria) and the socialist states. Yet the essential nature of the struggle did not change. Nor did it abate in any sphere of home and foreign policy.

The imperialists, Arab reaction and the financial oligarchy are still cooking up conspiracies and exerting pressure in efforts to gain full control, abort measures taken in the interest of the working people or consolidating national independence. Yet the main danger comes from U.S. imperialism and its agents. The endless Israeli aggressions along our southern frontier and threats by Israel's leaders, tend to help home reaction. And a conspicuous part in promoting the imperialist Zionist plans is played by the ruling element of Saudi Arabia.

Reaction's attacks are principally against democratic freedoms. The most dangerous of all trends is that calling for 'a strong government' and for reinforcing the repressive machinery, backed by fascist-minded religious organizations, whose para-military squads have committed numerous armed provocations against the working-class and popular movement.

The reactionaries are determined to keep the country in the imperialist orbit, integrating it in reactionary blocs with Saudi Arabia and Jordan and blocking relations with progressive Arab countries and the socialist states, especially the Soviet Union.

Imperialism and the financial oligarchy are intensifying their pressure with the approach of the March elections to our legislative bodies. The underlying aim is to create a parliament which would, being in their pay, submit to their will.

Letters from France

Letters from the Soviet Union appeared in our issues 10-12, 1971. We continue the series in this issue with letters from France about Communists at one of that country's biggest industrial establishments, the Renault Automobile Works. The authors, **World Marxist Review** staff members, visited France at the invitation of its Communist Party to attend a national conference on Party work in industry, held at Saint-Ouen in November. They met with workers of Renault and several other plants and studied the work of the Communist organizations in Loir-et-Cher, a predominantly agricultural area.

COMMUNISTS AT RENAULT

Le Seigneur de Billancourt

A richly produced album with '1898—Renault—1965' gold-lettered on the cover. The pictures and text tell the story of Renault: its early automobiles, World War I tanks, aircraft and a succession of more recent cars—everything the plant has produced in nearly 70 years. The book opens with an 1899 photograph of three cars on an empty street in Billancourt, a Paris suburb. At the wheel of one of them is 22-year-old Louis Renault, the future owner of what is probably France's biggest industrial unit—even before the war it had 40,000 workers. There is a touching story about little Louis who, it transpires, was anything but diligent in his studies, hated the endless penmanship exercises and often skipped classes to hang about the shops watching the fashioning of parts for the new automobiles. But the young Louis, we learn from the book, had the face of a poet, the mind of a great inventor and the acumen of a great administrator. In fact, one prominent but unidentified American is quoted to have said that were Louis born in America, he would have been at the head of General Motors.

The Renault workers have a different opinion of Louis. One of them told us: 'My father called Louis the Seigneur of Billancourt,' (using the word 'seigneur' in its meaning of taskmaster). 'He was a real slavedriver,' one of the older men remarked. 'We worked 10-12 hours a day, were forbidden to smoke, even talk, on the job. The mere suspicion of union membership was enough for a man to get the sack. The same if they found a copy of *Humanité* or the trade union paper in your locker.' There were company police led by a former whiteguard Russian army colonel. 'Hard labor at Renault' was how workers used to describe their job in those days.

Louis Renault died in October 1944 at the Fresnes prison hospital—he had been an active collaborationist. A few months later,

on January 16, 1945, the works were nationalized, and today they are a key element of the French economy and an important center of the French labor movement. In 1970 they produced 1,159,000 cars (8th place in the world) and employed 97,000, of whom 38,000 at Billancourt. Our French comrades told us much about life at Renault. But let us begin with its Communists and their Party collective.

Party organization

The first Party branch was organized in 1933, illegally and in the face of tremendous difficulties. One of the organizers recalls: 'The first few months were especially hard. We used to go from house to house canvassing workers considered sympathetic. Often enough we were cold-shouldered: "What, a Party branch in the works? With company spies inside, with stoolpigeons in every shop and unfriendly foremen? ... Why, it's sheer madness, We'll all be sacked and probably arrested too. ..."' But many did join as the Party branch began a campaign against fines and the inhuman speedup, published leaflets explaining why conditions were bad and how they could be improved. It began publication of a factory newspaper, *L'Union*, and *Humanité* regularly devoted two pages to Renault. It was not very long before the Party had 120 members.

Today there are 2,000 organized in the 75 shop nuclei that make up the Party section at the Billancourt works.* The section is accountable to the factory Party conference (one delegate for 10 Party members), which elects a committee of 56 and an auditing commission; the committee elects a 19-member bureau and a five-member secretariat. There are four full-time functionaries, three secretaries and a stenographer.

A full-time staff of four for a single factory is not so little, considering that the full-time staff of the French Communist Party, from General Secretary to doorman at Central Committee headquarters, numbers about 550. The figures were mentioned by Georges Marchais in replying to Minister Chirac in a television program (bourgeois propaganda alleged the Party had 10,000 'fully paid' workers. Four 'paid' functionaries at Renault is indicative of the attention the Central Committee pays to work in major enterprises, the scene of the government-cum-monopoly onslaught on labor and of labor's fightback.

The Billancourt section occupies one big and two small rooms in an old building a few hundred metres from the plant. As a political party, the FCP cannot officially have an office within the plant, nor are its full-time functionaries allowed inside. 'But everything depends on how things are at the plant,' one comrade remarked. 'If most workers support a Communist campaign, then we can work openly.'

*This is the organizational structure of the FCP: the primary unit is the shop, residential area or rural nucleus; nuclei of a given area or large factory form a Party section; the sections of a given department or, in exceptional cases, part of a department form a Party Federation; the next higher link is the Party Central Committee. All told, the Party has 5,200 shop nuclei.

The men we talked to, Bernard Yver, the section secretary responsible for organization, Bernard Le Merlus, secretary for propaganda, and bureau member Marcel Lambert, are workers. Their life is inseparable from the factory. Lambert is a top-skill machine setter and has been in the Party for 20 years, of which 15 as section leader. The other two are skilled craftsmen, too; Merlus has a P-2 and Yver an OS-2 rating.* Though young in years, they have accumulated a good deal of political experience and theoretical knowledge.

Many Party functionaries are young people, partly because the salary is too low for family men, but mainly because the Party has trained an energetic and theoretically-grounded young cadre.

Our talk with these three comrades was soon joined by Party activists, among them Raymond Treppo, first section secretary, whom we had met at the Saint-Ouen conference. Treppo is a member of the Party Central Committee and has been secretary at Renault since 1965. He is the author of a pamphlet and several articles on the Renault Party organization.

'To Steer a New Course'

That is the title of the Communist Party program for a democratic popular-unity government. First published in October 1971, it has become the central point of all Party work. The job of the section, we were told, is to circulate it, discuss it with the workers and convince them.

Circulate. This pocket-sized pamphlet with the text of the program reached the factory the day before we were there. The comrades told us they hoped to sell 4,000 copies (at 5.5 francs) and had already circulated 20,000 copies of an abridged text. It aroused wide interest and boosted Party recruiting (160 joined) and collections for the new Central Committee building (one million francs collected in a single week towards the three million target set by the factory Party conference).

Discuss. Dissemination of the program is only the beginning. The important thing, the comrades said, is to disseminate ideas, not books. And the aim is to discuss the ideas of the program in all the shops and auxiliary departments. There will be several big meetings, including one for the whole plant, but basically the work is concentrated in the shop nuclei, the primary collective political-leadership units. And it is in the shops that most of the propaganda work is carried on, the Party's policy explained, questions answered, and the Party message brought home through discussion and argument. Popularization of the Program brought out the full measure of the Party's influence.

Convince. And convincing means proving that the program is based on the workers' demands and interests. Right now pensions are an important talking point, and in every shop Party members

*These are the skill ratings in French industry: unskilled; specialized—OS-1, OS-2 and OS-3; medium skills—P-1, P-2 and P-3; top skills; foremen.

explain how a popular-unity democratic government would solve the problem, where the money would come from, and so on. The program is not a catalogue of demands—it sets out consistent and realizable proposals for a wide range of social measures. Foremost among them are such immediate and pressing needs as higher purchasing power, especially for low-income families, better working conditions, transport, housing, more jobs and job security, more comprehensive social maintenance, etc.

The Renault workers have plenty of problems of their own. Management intends gradually to dismantle many of the Billancourt shops, leaving only the administrative staff and the assembly conveyor on which, incidentally, 95 per cent of the workers are immigrants. This is a clear danger to thousands of high-skilled workers and technicians. The personnel of nationalized industries have certain rights in determining the future of an enterprise, but no one reckons with that—the future of Renault is, for all practical purposes, in the hands of the monopolies.

Breaking up this center of the French automobile industry and dispersing its personnel is clearly detrimental to the national interest. And the Communist Party organization has put out the slogan: 'Keep the Billancourt complex, turn it into a modern plant in a modern city.' In this, too, the new program helps the Party organization, for it indicates how nationalized industry can be democratically run, with the workers having an active part in shaping economic policy. It emphasizes that all problems, including those of nationalized industry, can be solved only through a fundamental change in the economic and political organization of society.

If it is properly to direct the workers' day-to-day struggle, the Party organization must understand the difficulties facing a nationalized industry and be able to explain how and why they arose. The workers often ask Party members: 'You always talk of the difficult position at Renault. But aren't you simply echoing management, its endless complaints about difficulties, cut-throat competition, the need to accumulate capital, and that the only way out is for us to tighten our belts?'

True enough, management maintains that higher wages are at the root of its financial difficulties. The Communists tell the workers how things really stand: taking 1965 as 100, wages in 1970 amounted to 233, profits (before taxes) to 238, materials and supplies 290, outside work 323, transport 360 and taxes, interest, etc., 564. So the difficulties are not due to pay rises. In 1965, wages accounted for 2,100 francs of per-car production costs; in 1970 the figure was 2,349 francs, an increase of 11 per cent over the six years, but car prices rose 20 per cent.

The root of all the financial difficulties, the Communists tell the workers, is the policy of the big monopolies—the top monopoly groups are 'draining the national resources' and through the state are getting more out of the nationalized industry.

The methods vary. Renault has to pay more for raw materials and other supplies, which means more profit for the steel, rubber

and other monopolies and for the crediting banks. Or this example: Renault is under contract to supply the socialist countries' machine tools (which make up a considerable share of its total product), but the contract has been passed on to private firms with Renault acting as go-between. Yet there are plans to dismantle the machine-tool shops at Billancourt. Still another example: the monopolies refuse to build new plants in the provinces (Bretagne, Nord) and the government imposes the project on Renault, which sharply increases its 'outside' costs. Or this: under an agreement with Peugeot, a private firm, Renault finances the least profitable initial investments, though Peugeot's profits in the past two years were among the highest in the private sector.

All these difficulties at one of the country's biggest industrial complexes are a reflection of the structural crisis of society. The Communist Party program for a democratic government says the crisis is due to the 'crying contradiction between the needs of the nation and the policies of big business, which together with the state form a single mechanism.'

L'Echo des Métallos

The Renault Communists have their own newspaper, *L'Echo des Métallos*. Started in 1955, its first issue contained this message from Maurice Thorez: 'In inaugurating its own paper, the Renault Communist Party section has taken an initiative that will be approved and welcomed by all workers. . . . The paper will speak the truth about conditions in the plant, the management's attempts to worsen conditions and intensify exploitation. It will call for unity to foil these attempts and improve the lot of the workers. It will contribute to the organized struggle for a better life.'

And *L'Echo* is doing just that. Here are some typical items from recent issues. 'Hands Off the Machine-Tool Department!' (united resistance to management's attempts to curtail machine-tool output), 'Powerful Protest by Assembly Workers' (against management plans to up daily output quotas), 'Management Must Carry Out Its Obligations!' (paid bonus stipulated in collective agreement) 'This Must Be Changed' (difficulties stemming from monopoly policies).

Every issue reports Party activity and recruitment. New Party members explain why they joined. Special articles explain Party policy to sympathizers.

But mostly there are facts, facts that provide much food for thought. Not only on local matters, but on much broader ideological and political issues. A typical item: 'Racist Killers.' On October 1, racist thugs killed an elderly Algerian worker, the father of four, near the plant. *L'Echo* explained the sources of racialism, who profits from it and why it finds such a receptive soil among ultra-Right and ultra-Left groups. Or this item: 'Who Runs the Unions!' It exposes attempts by forge-department management to keep Communists out of the union committee and shows why the Communists enjoy the workers' confidence. 'Even according to official public

opinion polls,' the item says, 'the Communist Party is more active than any other in standing up for the workers and fighting for social equality and trade-union rights....'

Some of the items are in Arabic and Portuguese for immigrant workers.

Political questions are not infrequently discussed on its pages. For instance, a worker writes: 'I want to fight for the revolution. But how? You Communists are turning away from the revolution with your slogan of an advanced democracy.'

The question is by no means fortuitous. In a way, it reflects the slander that the Communist Party has become 'conservative,' was wrong in not supporting the ultra-Left in May-June 1968, thus dooming the mass action to failure.

In its reply, *L'Echo* cited facts showing how the Leftist slogans, for all their revolutionary appearance, only help to keep capitalism in business. The important thing is not fine words about the revolution, but realistic ways fundamentally to change society in the concrete conditions of France, and that can only be achieved through an advanced democracy.

Headings of items about the Party's democratic government program are in red type: *L'Echo's* key task is to build united support for the program.

L'Echo is an internationalist paper. It reports labor events in other countries, the fight for national liberation, developments in the international Communist movement.

Who produces the paper? A few enthusiasts under the direction of the section secretariat, helped by tens, hundreds of Communists, who distribute 20,000 copies in the shops. The Communist press in a capitalist country could not exist without such mass support, and *L'Echo* is financed largely by factory-gate collections, which bring in about 15 million old francs a year. Besides *L'Echo* there are several mimeographed nuclei newspapers, and the section also puts out leaflets.

Enterprise committee

Communist activity in enterprise committees is not as well-known as the Party's work in the municipal councils. But in these committees, too, the Communists have proved capable organizers and managers.

Background: even before the war there was wide protest against the workers' democratic rights ending at the factory gates. The French working class wanted a say in all matters pertaining to working conditions and welfare arrangements, run by management on paternalistic lines. The demand of the trade unions and Left parties for elective decision-making bodies was incorporated in the program of the National Resistance Council. After Liberation, when Communists were in the government, it was formalized in the decree of February 22, 1945 and the law of May 16, 1946. That was the origin of the Enterprise Committees (EC).

The law invests them with responsibility for welfare and cultural services in the enterprise. And they are allocated – or, more precisely, have to wrest from management – a percentage of payroll (2.05 per cent at Renault) – the EC *subvention*. Management is also supposed to consult them on all major organizational, economic and technical questions.

But, as was only to be expected, the French bourgeoisie, having failed to prevent the organization of these committees, has used every available means to hamper their activity, curtail their rights and funds and gradually reduce their role and functions. In fact, there have been attempts to turn them into vehicles of class collaboration. At Renault there is a central Enterprise Committee and similar committees at each of its plants. Of the 12 elected members of the Billancourt committee, 8 represent the General Confederation of Labor (CGT),* the biggest and most influential trade union, with more than 7,000 members at Billancourt. It usually polls three-quarters of the vote in union elections.

The Billancourt committee has its offices close to the factory, not far from Jules Guesde Square. And it was here that we met Communist trade union activists Roger Silvain, General Secretary of the CGT Renault organization, Marcel Gau, Secretary of the Central EC, Emile Herisson, Robert Greange and Yvette Rivet, officials of the Billancourt committee. They gave us a very lucid and interesting account of the Committee's social and cultural activities. And these range from organization and maintenance of day nurseries, summer and winter children's camps, children and teenager clubs, to vocational training, canteens, medical services, work among immigrant workers, sports facilities – the list could be continued.

Readers in socialist countries will probably say that these are all normal trade-union functions. Yes, but only in socialist countries. What the Renault comrades told us about had to be won in hard-fought battle, every 'social position' had to be wrested from the class enemy. Everything depended on the correlation of forces – a formula we were to hear in many of our conversations. 'We are given what no longer can be withheld,' one comrade remarked, 'but if the correlation of forces changes against us, then...'

The committee has a relatively small staff, considering that it services 38,000 workers, among them 13,000 foreigners speaking 26 different languages. But Renault union activists have built up a fund of experience, are devoted to their work and have managed to enlist and train hundreds of volunteer helpers. The committee members we spoke to were all Communists of long standing.

Emile Herisson was for many years in charge of children's camps. This meant sending thousands of children, mainly from low-income families, to summer or winter camp at minimum cost. For Herisson it meant finding from 20 to 30 low-cost hotels on the Mediterranean or Atlantic Coast or in the Alps, with accommodation of from 200

*France's largest t.u. federation (2,300,000 members), affiliated to the World Federation of Trade Unions. The two other big federations are the Democratic Confederation of Labor (700,000 members) and the Force Ouvrière (300,000).

to 300. It also meant finding from 40 to 50 volunteers for each camp—directors, group leaders, service personnel—prepared to shoulder responsibility for thousands of children. The job called for organizational ability multiplied by enthusiasm. And Herisson has both. At first he was a CGT activist, and his union work led him to the Communist Party.

These camps have helped shape the thinking of a whole generation, and have contributed to the training of future trade-union and Party activists at Renault. Nor is that accidental, for notwithstanding the differing political persuasions of camp personnel (Communists, Socialists, Catholics, non-party), training is in the finest Renault tradition. The children are told about the French labor movement, the socialist countries, racial equality (there are many North Africans and Negroes among them), the peace movement. A lecture on the latter subject in the early 50s was made the pretext for penalizing the Billancourt EC: its funds were reduced and it took years to restore the status quo.

Today Herisson is social-service director at Billancourt, and much could be said about the social services there. For instance, the committee runs 13 canteens supplying 15,000 low-price meals a day.

Robert Creange, a teacher of English and active trade unionist, joined the Party at 18. He spent all his holidays and most of his free time helping organize and run children's camps. Later he took up full-time work at the Billancourt EC and handles all camp arrangements.

Yvette Rivet is the daughter of a Communist veteran and Resistance hero. At Moscow's Historical Library are Resistance placards, donated by her father—Paris was plastered with them on the first day of the August 1944 rising. Yvette's husband, Georges, also a Communist, is a former Renault worker who had to quit after an accident. He was head of the Renault YCL organization and was discharged in 1951 together with a large group of Party activists. They have a son and daughter, both Party members. Yvette began as the EC librarian. It was not an easy job. Together with her two assistants she would go through the shops distributing books: 'Take this book, even if you are too tired to read after work, your wife or children may want to read it.' She popularized books by progressive French writers, also Gorky, Sholokhov, Nikolai Ostrovsky. Fascist thugs raided the library. The workers put up a huge poster with a photograph of the ransacked library and the words of one of Hitler's aides: 'When I hear the word culture, I reach for my revolver. . . .' The fascists did not dare to touch the library after that. It now has more than 65,000 volumes. It was gratifying to see the current issue of *World Marxist Review* among the magazines.

'Proving ground'

Every Communist feels himself responsible for the destiny of the working class and the people. And for every Communist political issues are part of his everyday life. That probably is why a rank-and-file Communist worker was able to explain a complicated problem in a way that would do credit to a statesman.

We were particularly impressed by two conversations. The first with a group of Renault workers after a theatre party organized by the Billancourt EC (theatre parties for thousands of workers are a regular feature). The conversation turned, naturally, to the problems of Renault and nationalized industries in general. One of the workers remarked that the government was using the nationalized enterprises, notably Renault, as a kind of proving ground to test various techniques of influencing the working class. The idea is to integrate the worker into the 'system,' promote class collaboration, weaken CGT influence, induce the workers to give up strike action.

And by way of illustration we were told of the 'abortive plot' of May 1971. The situation in France was tense. The strike movement was spreading. The authorities needed an effective example of suppressing worker action, particularly in enterprises known for their militancy and strong CGT and Communist Party positions. At the Mans Renault plant, 5,500 came out in support of 70 men demanding higher skill ratings. Management retaliated by closing down the plant. This involved a loss of 60 billion old francs, or thousands of times more than it would have cost to meet the workers' demand.

On the excuse that the strike had stopped the supply of spare parts, Renault suspended production at all its other plants. This involved 60,000 workers. It did not affect skilled personnel, for management's aim was to divide the workers. An old tactic, for there have been cases at Renault of the majority refusing to support strikers: in 1952, 600 men, mostly CGT and Party activists, were discharged for their part in a strike. This time, however, there was full support for the strikers and every precaution was taken to prevent provocation. Trade unionists checked every man entering the Billancourt plant. The CGT warned against Leftist adventuristic actions. The strike was well organized; every morning there was a report-back to a mass meeting.

The employers' paper said private industry was closely following events at Renault. If trade union resistance were crushed, there would be a long period of 'social calm.' And if the men give in, the workers in other plants would think twice before duplicating an action the most organized detachment had been unable to carry through.

This time the tactics did not work – in the end management gave in.

The other talk that impressed us was at Billancourt. Dany Villette, Jacques Guillot, Marcelino Gomes and a few other young Communists looked in at section headquarters after work. We discussed the work of shop nuclei. Party members, they said, have to parry the arguments of bourgeois propaganda, which is trying to instil class collaboration sentiments and is extolling the consumer society.

Guillot, an assembly mechanic, said: 'Bourgeois propaganda arguments are sometimes pretty crude. The worker is told: "Look, you have a fridge, TV, car. Before you had none of these things.

What do you want socialism for? Things are getting better all the time."

'But what they "forget" is that we have to fight for all this. The capitalists can't simply turn down our demands. They have had to agree to paid holidays, for instance, because there is the example of the socialist countries. More consumer goods does not wipe out social inequality; if anything it makes it more obvious. And that's the main thing. In 1957, a Renault worker produced 3 cars a year; in 1971 he produced 12. But his purchasing power has not increased four times. It is practically the same, and for many families less than before. The Communist Party wants to bring the country to socialism because socialism is the only system that can satisfy the constantly rising material and spiritual requirements of all members of society.... Nor should we forget that socialism also provides many "collective benefits": medical care, education, sports, etc., which French workers do not now have. When our young people see the advances in education in the USSR, the GDR and other socialist countries, they begin to compare things....'

'And there is also this,' 20-year-old Dany Villette added, 'they don't treat us as human beings. The worker is turned into a "producing and consuming mechanism." The very nature of his work in a capitalist factory, the speedup and the monotony, make him a "producing mechanism." Charlie Chaplin's "Modern Times" is now being shown in Paris. Remember how it shows a worker automatically continuing to go through his motions at the assembly line even after he leaves it? That was many years ago, but the assembly line is still there. At Renault some women actually chain their hands so as to be able to repeat one and the same motion. We're becoming robots....'

'On the other hand, capitalism has no objection to the worker being a "consuming mechanism." Goods have to be sold. Our enterprise committee, for instance, finds it easier to win concessions if consumption is involved. But the moment we take up the committee's economic rights, even those expressly laid down in the law and providing for a measure of worker participation, we are up against a wall.'

Being a Communist at Renault

What does being a Communist at Renault imply? We put the question to two Party members, Renault veterans. Being a Communist at Renault is not easy, both agreed. 'It is sometimes said that work in a nationalized enterprise, notably Renault, is easier than in private industry.... Some of us worked for Citroen and know what it's like there. Trade unions were allowed only after the 1968 events. The speedup is merciless, every hour has 80 minutes, "Citroen minutes," to get the most out of the worker. But there should be no illusions about work in a nationalized factory either. Everything we have is the result of struggle. Generations of Communists were fired before we could win even the rights we now have.'

The correlation of forces, local and national, determines the success or failure of the struggle. In June 1971, the Citroen management framed Daniel Leone, an electrician and Communist Party member. He had been distributing leaflets. An old blowtorch and a couple of ballbearings were put into his bag and he was accused of pilfering company property. All the workers stood up for him and Communist Senator Guy Schmauss even tabled a question to the Minister of Labor. Leone was reinstated. Incidentally, Senator Schmauss had himself been discharged from the Citroen plant for Communist Party membership. The workers could not get him reinstated. . . .

Today it is much more difficult to fire a man for his Communist views. But at Citroen Party members are demoted to shop sweepers or given jobs in some isolated part of the plant. At Renault, Communist engineers and technicians are denied work for months in the hope they will finally resign. When Party members distributed the democratic-government program at Billancourt, the guards did not interfere when there were many workers around, but when the distributors remained alone, they were detained and the pamphlets taken away.

To keep what has been won and change the correlation of forces in favor of labor requires a sustained effort by the Party organization and each of its members. Renault has its specifics – a large proportion of immigrant workers, technical staff, many women and teenagers. The Party must be able to approach each of these groups. And Party work covers a wide range – current demands, Left unity, the fight for peace, support of peoples fighting to uphold their independence, solidarity with Vietnam, etc. This means that every Communist must devote much time and effort to Party work.

Slogans originating at Renault have been taken up by workers throughout the country. They regard Renault as a working-class fortress, a bastion of the Communist Party. Being a Communist at Renault is a great honor and a great responsibility.

Paris-Prague

Helene Berg, Viktor Sukhanov



Socialist education of working people of Rumania

Dumitru Popescu

Among the results of the 50 years' history of the Rumanian Communist Party are the overthrow of the exploiting classes and the breakup of the bourgeois and landowner state, the socialization of the means of production, the assumption of power by the workers and peasants and the establishment of a socialist state. The revolutionary transformation of Rumania's social structure and production relations had a far-reaching effect on the social thinking and consciousness and the moral principles of the working people. The material conditions of social life, freed from exploitation, strongly influenced people's socio-political concepts, mentality and relations. Social consciousness and attitudes were decisively influenced also by the ideology and morality of the proletariat and the revolutionary ideals of the Communist Party.

However, remolding man's consciousness is a long process. What influenced people's thinking for centuries, under a system of exploitation and social injustice, cannot be fully eliminated in a matter of decades. The sphere of social consciousness is still an arena of major, and often dramatic, clashes between the new, revolutionary spirit, the noble, inspiring principles of socialism, on the one hand, and the survivals of concepts, sentiments and morals inculcated by the old social system, on the other.

It should be borne in mind that socialism is being built at a time when a sizeable part of our planet is still under bourgeois ideological influence. To be sure, the worldwide impact of communism on people's minds reaches much deeper. Evidence of this is the great changes taking place in the ideology of the working people and other social strata in the capitalist and developing countries. Socialist ideas march on, carrying their revolutionary message and paving the way for more peoples to adopt communism.

But as the bitter contest between socialist and bourgeois ideology goes on, the latter tries to reach people's minds, with the result that there is a permanent pressure of bourgeois and petty-bourgeois views. This is a reality the Communist Party must reckon with in directing the socialist transformation of society.

However, in analyzing social life and changes in social consciousness, we cannot discount the contradictions typical of the transition period. They affect both the material and spiritual aspects of man's life and influence his views and attitudes.

It is in this context that the RCP has evolved a program for building a comprehensively developed socialist society. It will bring the country to a new stage of harmonious development, with ever fuller realization of the fundamental principles of socialism. This implies building up the material basis and, also, creating a socialist culture. In advancing this program, the Party maintains that the ideals of socialism and communism should not be reduced to economic well-being, to the satisfaction of material requirements. Of course, growing material prosperity is of decisive importance, but in fighting for bread, man has always sought freedom and justice as well, longing for the truth and aspiring, as he still does, to a social system consonant with his dignity and allowing full scope for his intellect and creative ability, one that would change social morality.

Socialism must free man, not only from exploitation, but also from the thrall of mystical notions and historically imposed but unapprehended necessity. Under socialism, relations between classes and between people are established on a genuinely rational basis. By making it possible steadily to perfect these relations in accordance with the objective laws of social development, socialism helps to realize the meaning of historical necessity. Thereby man becomes the master of his destiny and is enabled to act freely according to the objective requirements of social life, while at the same time building his own happiness.

In line with these considerations, the RCP recently worked out a vast long-range ideological program aimed at fostering cultural progress, remolding people's consciousness and translating into reality the principles of communist morality and social justice. The components of this program, which the CC RCP approved at its plenary meeting on November 3-5, 1971, are reflected in all the fundamental documents adopted by our Party in recent years. They have now been put together and form an integral concept, and realization of the program is considered a priority task of the Party and the whole of society. It orientates the country's revolutionary forces for a long period, to the threshold of communism, a society in which 'the free development of each is the condition for the free development of all' (*Communist Manifesto*).

I. The RCP proceeds from the view that scientific knowledge is one of the main factors in reshaping people's consciousness and a primary condition for the building of socialism. Under socialism, science becomes the property of a people free of exploitation, a powerful instrument of transforming nature and society, of using the objective laws of society for the good of man. The achievements of modern science give a potent impetus to Marxist-Leninist thought, to the development of the proletariat's world outlook, its conception of

society. They not only furnish incontrovertible evidence of the materiality of the world, but immensely extend the theoretical foundations of dialectical and historical materialism.

Our educational work is aimed at helping the working people to learn Marxist-Leninist philosophy as the scientific basis for managing society. We see this as an important means of fostering the ability to judge social phenomena and processes independently, from the standpoint of the proletariat's ideology. This is the only way to a deep understanding of the principles of socialism and, at the same time, to the ability to explore the new in advancing to communism. It is the only way to educate, not mechanical executors, but creative individuals possessing the knowledge and experience needed for an active part in finding solutions to the problems of building the new world.

Widespread assimilation of the Marxist-Leninist philosophy and its dynamic application are important conditions for maintaining the revolutionary spirit of our social life. This is the only way to overcome conservative trends in theory, from which socialist society is not exempt and which reduce the efficacy of leadership and make the progress of the new system less dynamic. Ideological education is essential to the working people's enthusiastic, conscious and active participation in the elaboration and implementation of the Party's Marxist-Leninist policies. Speaking of the conditions for planned production management under socialism, Engels wrote in 'The Principles of Communism' that management requires 'people with fully developed abilities, people capable of taking their bearings in the whole system of production.'

Socialist democracy will be real only if those who must make the most important decisions fully realize the need for these decisions and foresee their implications, and if they know the laws of social development and can implement policy in consonance with the general interests of the state. Otherwise democracy, however solemnly proclaimed, will remain nominal and incapable of arousing the political and social activity of the masses, without which progress of the socialist system is unthinkable. A normally functioning mechanism of socialist democracy helps to detect, at their inception, contradictions in the course of social development and to find ways of preventing their growth and their development into antagonistic social conflicts. It helps to solve problems in the interests of society as a whole and of every social class or group.

Such is the profound, inseparable connection between the socialist education of the working people and the advancement and application of Marxist-Leninist philosophy, on the one hand, and the laws governing the new mode of production and the mechanism of progress of socialist society, on the other.

As long as there are idealistic, irrational, reactionary philosophical trends in the world, the dialectical materialist philosophy can be neither vindicated nor assimilated without explicit dissociation from these trends, without combating them, criticizing their uncertain ideological principles and exposing their class founda-

tions, which is contrary to social progress and to the interests of the revolutionary forces, of the working people. History has shown that struggle against hostile concepts is an important condition for the verification and enrichment of Marxism-Leninism, making full use of the whole range of its arguments and winning public support. Our ideology has no reason to evade an open contest with bourgeois ideology. Indeed, this contest enables Marxist-Leninist thought convincingly to demonstrate its superiority. This is why the RCP strives to carry on the ideological education of the masses in a militant spirit, a spirit of offensive, in fighting against contemporary bourgeois philosophy, and not scholastically. Experience shows that it is not enough to repeat arguments put forward by the classics of Marxism-Leninism in struggle against ideological opponents who were active a century or half a century ago and whose concepts were defeated in the past. It is necessary to expose retrogressive theories that are current today and to defeat the present-day adversaries of Marxism-Leninism.

Carrying forward creative Marxist-Leninist thought has nothing to do with ideological eclecticism. Marxism-Leninism grows richer through scientific discovery and by generalizing social practice, not by borrowing views and notions advanced by ideologies that are a thing of the past. We must know all that is new in world social thought, for the proletariat's revolutionary doctrine develops on the basis of the theoretical and practical contribution of every people, every Communist party and every progressive force. We must be receptive to new experiences in socialist construction, to new forms of international revolutionary struggle, to new interpretations of historical phenomena and events prompted by increased scientific knowledge.

Neither creativity, nor a sense of the new can develop unless Marxist-Leninist culture is mastered thoroughly. When a leader's ideological training is limited to an elementary knowledge of Marxist-Leninist theory he mistakes age-old and false, idealistic notions slightly refurbished in a modern spirit for something new and includes them in his own set of views. In ideological life, eclecticism is as harmful as schematism, and simplism, and this is why our Party is equally uncompromising in combating them.

In striving for the overall development of scientific and political knowledge, we devote special attention to the training and education of the younger generation. The political education of the youth is too important for the future of socialist society for us to neglect. Its acceptance of the socialist ideal in heart, as well as mind, is crucial for the success of the revolutionary cause of the proletariat and the Communist Party.

Mankind's advance to communism is not becoming easier or simpler as time goes on but, on the contrary, is becoming more difficult and complex. This necessitates sound scientific training, high efficiency, creative thinking, a keener sense of social responsibility, respect for work that benefits society and the worker himself, and proper political and business-like qualities. Our Party

therefore attaches primary importance to the training and education of the younger generation which the schools carry on according to the achievements of world science, helping youth to assimilate Marxist-Leninist philosophy in a militant spirit, and to the task of bringing the schools closer to social practice, to the lives of those who create material and spiritual values.

II. The ideological program adopted by the plenum of the CC RCP sets the task of firmly establishing the principles of socialist justice in the life of our society. The Party leadership criticized underestimation of this most important task. It condemned purely abstract theoretical explanations of those principles that do not give specific examples of what results from ignoring or violating them. It also took a stand against propagating simplistic views alleging that traditions of the past cannot be stirred back to life under socialism. Experience shows that this virtually reactionary position runs counter to the revolutionary role of the Communist Party and prejudices the harmonious development of society. Justice is neither an abstract theoretical ideal nor an utopian concept of a socialist idyll. It expresses itself in numerous concrete situations and in everyday relations between people influenced by both the old and the new.

'Inasmuch as the mode of social life determines people's way of thinking, relations between them and the level of their consciousness,' said Nicolae Ceausescu, General Secretary of our Party, at the November plenum of the CC RCP, 'we must make every effort to perfect still further the social framework in which the working people of our country live and in which they participate in social activity. To be sure, the victory of socialism, the expropriation of the expropriators and the establishment of socialist property have changed the basis of material life, abolished class, economic and political inequality and laid the foundations for a just society. However, we have not yet solved the totality of the social problems on which full realization of the principles of socialism and communism depends. This is why we will have to continue working for a more perfect organization of society, socialist relations of production and human relations and consistently implement the principles of socialist justice in every public sphere.'

And under socialism, this means, first of all, rewarding people according to the quantity and quality of their contribution to social labor. Lenin rightly pointed out that socialism cannot be built on enthusiasm alone and that there is a need for a thought out policy of material inducement. Accordingly, the RCP has in recent years concerned itself with perfecting the system of labor remuneration so as to ensure fair pay with due regard to the social significance and specific difficulty of work done. The Party seeks to end unwarranted discrepancies in income by putting up the wages of low-paid categories and taking careful account of the right of each to remuneration of his labor according to our society's possibilities at this stage and the general growth of the requirements of its

members. On the other hand, the Party opposes every tendency towards petty-bourgeois egalitarianism, which may have a most adverse effect on the stimulation of social labor.

While it is right that socialism cannot be built on enthusiasm alone, we must also see another aspect of the problem. The new system, a product of conscious activity by people building their own happiness, owes its rise, among others, to the revolutionary enthusiasm of the masses. Hence we need, along with material incentives, a moral situation favorable to emulation in labor, which in the final analysis is the central educational task. Man cannot be identified with a machine or robot, and this is all the less permissible under socialism. What makes man great is his creative enthusiasm, his ability to derive satisfaction from work, his desire to be useful to society. This is why moral reward for labor, the moral satisfaction derived from doing one's civic duty, plays an exceptional role in the life of the individual. A logical task of socialist education is to foster the feeling of satisfaction which unfettered creative labor for the good of society and their own good, and their contribution to universal progress, give to people.

Socialist justice implies a deep understanding by everyone of the new meaning of human relations. Our Party strives to eliminate every tendency towards abusing authority at various levels of public responsibility. Socialist authority has nothing in common with personal authority, for it is exercised on behalf of a collective body and not an individual. The fact that society vests a person with definite powers does not mean unlimited authority in his field. These powers do not provide any advantages, but carry great responsibilities by virtue of the trust shown in him. The abuse of power is, in effect, an anti-socialist phenomenon. Our Party combats such phenomena both through socialist education and by creating institutional forms that enable the masses to exercise control over the performance of their functions by executives and give them the right to express their opinion on whether this or that person should be appointed to a position of responsibility.

At the same time we in our country are introducing into every public sphere the practice of collective decision-making at all levels. The law on the organization of government enterprises and offices formalizes the democratic, representative character of leading bodies, with special emphasis on worker participation. Leading bodies of economic and mass organizations do not take decisions until after the drafts have been discussed by the working people directly concerned. The CC RCP plenum established a strict system of accountability of leading Party and government bodies. The Executive Committee, Standing Presidium and Secretariat of the CC render annual accounts of their work to the Central Committee, members of government account periodically to the Council of Ministers, which in turn reports on its work to the Central Committee and the State Council. These measures are designed to replace one-man management at all levels (where it still exists) with collective management, and the practice of subjective deci-

sion-making by individuals with the practice of working out decisions collectively.

Socialist justice requires steps to perfect law and order. Social equality, established with the abolition of exploitation, presupposes new relations of responsibility between individuals, as well as between the individual and society. A noteworthy aspect of socialist law and order is that all members of society are equal before the law and that all privileges have been abolished. The bourgeoisie, which nominally proclaims equality before the law, virtually nullifies it through economic inequality. Socialism does away with all inequality rooted in social status.

An important aspect of our Party's policy of equality and social justice is the abolition of discrimination on account of nationality. Having destroyed the social roots of national oppression, socialist society combats nationalism and chauvinism and advocates brotherhood and cooperation between the Rumanian people and the country's other nationalities on the principle of complete identity of their interests.

Equal rights and duties for all citizens irrespective of nationality, race, sex, profession or social standing—this is the essence of socialist justice. To guarantee this equality is an important practical task in legislation, educational work and the formation of the new man, nor can it be overlooked by the Communist Party, whose aim is to perfect the social system.

III. Planned coordination of educational work is unthinkable without growth of the Party's leading role, which is conditioned objectively by the need for conscious direction of social processes, including those in the ideological sphere. There is, of course, the question of how this role is exercised. We know that in an exploiting society there are leading political forces which play a conservative, reactionary role. The Communist Party performs its leading role in a revolutionary, progressive, renovating spirit, which is due to the very nature of the new system. The Communist Party must be a vehicle of the new, a factor setting in motion all that is particularly valuable, progressive and genuinely socialist, all that makes social development dynamic. The exercise of this role calls for creative daring and for struggle against inertness and prejudice, against a tolerant attitude to conservatism. This role can only be performed in an atmosphere of fresh ideas, it requires political perspicacity making it possible to probe into every aspect of the present and visualize every aspect of the future. It is in this spirit that the ideological program of the RCP wants Party committees and organizations to carry on their work and educate their membership.

The CC plenum condemned the tendency towards one-sidedness shown by some Party organizations which, in concerning themselves with economic development problems and carrying out concrete organizing work, forget that the good of man is the ultimate purpose of the Party's entire work. This tendency belittles the

role of the Party's political education effort. Of course, economic development will remain a pivotal concern of the Party. But the Party is primarily the leading political force of society, and the specific method it uses in its work is political persuasion.

The Party should not resort to fiat. It influences people's consciousness by elucidating the trends of historical development and the meaning of social necessity. In formulating the tasks of society, the Party takes counsel with the masses, and benefits from their foremost views. It cannot make decisions ignoring the people's voice and it conducts a constant and active political dialogue with them, taking part in the vast and fruitful movement of ideas in society. Strictly speaking, this is what assures the political unity of our Party and people, rallies the people behind the Party and earns the Party universal confidence in its Marxist-Leninist policy.

The Party expects its members, especially those in leading positions, not to be mere administrators, mere organizers of production and labor, but forward-looking, efficient political leaders, dedicated Communists and fighters. They must be linked with the masses by inseparable bonds, must always lend ear to public opinion, feel the heartbeat of the people's life and react to criticism and suggestions from below. At the same time they must convincingly uphold the ideas and policies of the Party and the tasks posed by the need for further progress. They must influence the consciousness of the masses and foster a revolutionary spirit everywhere, for socialist society cannot advance without it.

An important ideological task of our Party is properly to combine the fostering of a deep sense of one's duty to the people, the socialist country, the nation, and an awareness of one's internationalist obligations to the working class of all countries and the revolutionary struggle for social progress, for socialism all over the world. Loyal to its internationalist tradition, the RCP educates our people in a spirit of solidarity with all the peoples building socialism, with all Communist and Workers' parties, the national liberation movement of the oppressed peoples, and all forces fighting for freedom, justice and peace. The Rumanian people are, and will remain, a militant contingent of the great anti-imperialist army of the world, a staunch fighter for the vital aspirations of progressive mankind.

In the struggle between the old and the new going on in the sphere of social consciousness, our Party assigns the mass media an exceptional role. The media are a vast forum for exchanging views, engaging in ideological debates and asserting progressive, socialist thought. The press, radio and television must combat all outdated and backward views and storm the strongholds of the old and destroy them, using the advanced opinion of the masses for open attack on these strongholds. Thus the Party's effort is not aimed at publicizing abstract notions of socialism, nor at offering general precepts divorced from reality, but at revealing the philosophical and moral content of the various aspects of life so as to help people understand the multiform socialist reality.

This is one of the ways of crystallizing the practical code of socialist ethics which will not be formalized by legislative acts but will, nevertheless, strike deep root in social being and become a universally recognized guide to civic behavior and to the people's attitude towards society.

Creative effort—the arts and letters—plays a tremendous educational role under socialism. Progressive art has always served man in his struggle against evil and helped him to uphold the noble ideas of social justice and humanity. The role of literary and artistic creation becomes still greater at a time when society itself strives to get rid of survivals of the past, lay a solid basis for justice, raise the standards of social morality and educate new man. By dialectically reflecting social development and objective truth, the arts and letters help society to see itself as it really is, cognize its positive and negative qualities, develop and perfect itself. Failure to appreciate this function or a simplistic, primitive interpretation of it may affect the trend of literary and artistic creation, retard the growth of writers and artists, and reduce the impact of art on social consciousness.

With a view to promoting culture as a means of transforming man, our Party's socialist education program also refers to participation in worldwide exchanges of spiritual values, and cultural cooperation with other nations. These exchanges are unquestionably necessary if we want to create an advanced civilization of the socialist type. No people can live in isolation nor refuse to draw on the achievements of other peoples in the sphere of spiritual creation, or it will risk losing touch with the reality of today's world, shutting itself out of the competition of civilizations and dooming itself to backwardness. Great as the creative potential of a people may be, it cannot content itself with only its own creative effort. What makes world culture rich is its variety, its numerous shades which are a reflection of the creative contribution of the genius of all nations to the universal treasury of culture. This is why Rumania has participated, and will continue to participate, in exchanging ideas and cultural values between nations. At the same time, it feels obliged to be discriminating in the selection of works of world culture.

Anyone will see that contemporary world culture is characterized not only by a vast variety of styles and national features, but by fundamental distinctions in conception, philosophy and world outlook. Along with numerous works reflecting progressive ideas and mankind's aspiration to a better, more just society, to freedom, national independence and peace, there are works steeped in the reactionary ideology of the exploiting classes, the imperialists, the enemies of social progress who would like to paralyze the people's militant spirit and make them resign themselves to exploitation and oppression. These our society rejects. To disseminate them is to block creative effort in the spiritual sphere and destroy with one hand what we create with the other. This is why the RCP has assumed the important task of protecting the

people's social consciousness from spiritual pollution and the influence of wrong moral principles running counter to our way of life and typical of a decadent ideology. Exchanges of cultural values acquaint the working people of our country with the most prominent achievements of other nations, with works that are representative of the advanced spiritual life of other nations. We, for our part, strive to offer the world what is genuinely valuable in the spiritual life of the Rumania of today and the past.

In view of the intricacy of the present-day tasks of educating the working people in a socialist spirit, our Party has adopted a series of measures to improve the training of ideological workers. It is a question of educating educators. We have reorganized and extended the network of Party schools, passed a special law on refresher courses for people active in both economic and ideological fields and organized a broad discussion of mass political and culture-educational measures. Party committees and organizations try to eliminate primitive or outmoded methods of educational work, formalism and a superficial approach to the dissemination of knowledge and ideas. We combat tendencies of abstract politicizing and barren apolitical pragmatism. Much is done to bring into educational work the foremost people, those who have prestige and set an example in behavior and social attitudes and who therefore have a good influence on others. As the moral principles of socialism take deeper root in life and the socialist consciousness of people rises to a higher plane, the army of champions of the new way of life will grow and eventually, at a definite stage of history, embrace the whole of society.

The ideological program approved by the Rumanian Communist Party is directed towards the harmonious and many-sided development of socialist society, so that the formation of the new man may go on in step with changes in material life. Our Party rejects a fatalistic or fetishistic interpretation of the thesis that consciousness lags behind the development of society's material life. We are operating on two main lines, one, providing such conditions for material life that make for the new, advanced consciousness, and two, fostering this advanced consciousness, so that it may influence backward minds and that the entire superstructure may play the role of a factor stimulating the progress of the material life of society along the road of socialism and communism. Socialism will prove its superiority over capitalism by both its ability to achieve higher labor productivity and the fact that it is creating a new spiritual climate, making it possible to realize the ideals of freedom, justice and equality and build a world based on human dignity and happiness.



Lenin's philosophical testament

Ivan Frolov

Published half a century ago, Lenin's article, 'On the Significance of Militant Materialism' became a programmatic pronouncement of Marxist thought and determined its creative development. A direct continuation of 'Materialism and Empirio-Criticism' and the 'Philosophical Notebooks,' it represents, in effect, Lenin's philosophical testament.

The article was for the new magazine *Pod Znamenem Marksizma* (Under the Marxist Banner), a philosophical and socio-economic monthly started in February 1922. It appeared in the third issue, put out to coincide with the 11th Party Congress. In it Lenin formulated the tasks of this Marxist philosophical journal in the complex conditions and sharp class struggles of the transition period and defined the journal's program in the light of the essential requirements of Soviet society, then in its formative years, the development of science, and the world Communist movement.

By using the term 'militant materialism' in the heading of the article, Lenin emphasized and upheld the fundamentally new, effective nature of Marxist philosophy, its partisanship, its militancy, its irreconcilability to bourgeois ideology, to all varieties of idealism and religious obscurantism.

I. One of Lenin's central philosophical behests, formulated and substantiated in this article, is the need for an alliance of Marxist philosophy and the natural sciences. Both sides need it, he stressed, for there can be no theory of dialectical materialism that does not rest on data supplied by the natural sciences. On the other hand, 'no natural science and no materialism can hold its own in the struggle against the onslaught of bourgeois ideas and the restoration of the bourgeois world outlook unless it stands on solid philosophical ground. In order to hold his own in this struggle and carry it to a victorious finish, the natural scientist must be a modern materialist, a conscious adherent of the materialism represented by Marx, i.e., he must be a dialectical materialist. . . . Without this, eminent natural scientists will as often as hitherto be helpless in making their philosophical deductions and generalizations' (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 33, pp. 233-34).

Present-day opponents of Leninism have sought to distort the essence and significance of Lenin's dialectics and weaken its influence on the natural sciences. To that end, Lenin's ideas and kindred propositions of Engels are contrasted to the 'original substance of dialectics' in the early works of Marx. And to 'theoretically' substantiate that thesis, they argue that dialectics is a sphere of pure subjectivism and applicable only in cognition, not in objective reality. It is also alleged that Marx (before his work on *Capital*) understood dialectics only as interaction of subject and object, man and nature. In the opinion of G. Wetter, a Catholic 'Marxologist,' Engels and Lenin 'distorted' Marx by extending dialectics to nature and thereby reviving *Naturphilosophie* with all its positivist elements.' Nothing could be further from the truth. Lenin creatively developed the Marxist dialectico-materialist principles of scientific cognition. And these principles are the very opposite of *Naturphilosophie's* claim to stand above the natural sciences and 'prescribe' their laws. They are also the very opposite of the positivist dissolution of philosophy in the applied sciences.

The basic philosophical requisite essential to all branches of the natural sciences if they are to make correct theoretical generalizations is, in Lenin's view, an understanding of the very process of cognition as an active, purposive reflection of reality.

Present-day opponents of Leninism try to present Lenin's theory of reflection as an empiricist concept incompatible with dialectics. Furthermore, the ideas of 'Materialism and Empirio-Criticism' are counterposed to those of the 'Philosophical Notebooks.' Marxist philosophers have convincingly shown the falsity of all such attempts. Lenin's views are dialectically oriented, and are consistently sustained in all his works, including 'Materialism and Empirio-Criticism,' the 'Philosophical Notebooks' and 'On the Significance of Militant Materialism.' The dialectical approach is characteristic of all Lenin's analyses of the complicated gnosiological problems posed by scientific progress in the early 1900s.

Lenin indicated the main directions of philosophical research in scientific cognition. And the task he formulated of applying dialectics to natural science and using the dialectico-materialist method in generalizing its results, has retained all its validity and importance.

That can be seen in biology with the development of which the new stage in the scientific and technological revolution is so closely connected. Wide use of physico-chemical and mathematical methods in analyzing living systems, which gave rise to molecular biology, squarely poses the question of devising a correct methodology. For there is the danger of mechanistic simplification of life-processes, of reducing them to physical-chemical processes. In this area, dialectico-materialist methodology has proved valuable and effective, for it orients investigation on the qualitative specifics of living organisms, with due account to their differing structural levels.

Of course, this does not apply directly to concrete, partial investigations, but rather to their theoretical synthesis and conceptual

generalization. And symptomatic in this respect is the heightened interest in the methodology of dialectical materialism among theoretical biologists of various countries. Suffice it to mention the noted British scientist, C. H. Waddington: he directly links efforts to work out a general theory of biology with the use of concepts which to a definite degree are close to the Marxist dialectical philosophy.

Joining dialectics with the natural sciences is a complex and contradictory process. It entails much more than mastery by the scientist of the dialectical-materialist philosophy, for we are dealing with the laws governing the very process of scientific cognition. The intrinsic, objective processes of scientific development spontaneously give rise to dialectics and, at the same time, prompt the scientist to master the dialectical method. That is how Engels posed the question in examining the various trends in the natural sciences. Lenin adopted and creatively applied that approach in analyzing the situation in physics at the turn of the century. 'It is mainly because the physicists did not know dialectics that the new physics strayed into idealism' (Vol. 14, p. 262). And the need to know dialectics became sharply apparent with the new discoveries, which demanded dialectical generalization. In disclosing this spontaneous trend, Lenin remarked: 'Modern physics is in travail; it is giving birth to dialectical materialism' (Ibid., p. 313).

It is now perfectly clear that this applies not only to physics, but to other sciences as well, and that the birth-process has been a long one. For injecting dialectics into the natural sciences has proved much more complicated than expected. Many of its forms and regularities have still to be studied and interpreted. But the fact that the process coincides with the theoretical maturing of the various sciences, should make it possible to resolve all problems, no matter how intricate.

II. In 'Materialism and Empirio-Criticism' Lenin stressed that today philosophy is just as partisan as it was two thousand years ago. In the article here reviewed he again draws attention to the close link between bourgeois idealist philosophy and the imperialists' class interests. To see that link, 'one has only to give a little thought to the governmental and also the general economic, social and every other kind of dependence of modern educated people on the ruling bourgeoisie. . . .' (Vol. 33, p. 228).

This link between the class interests of the bourgeoisie and the idea-content of capitalist philosophical schools stands out in all its clarity, despite the fact that in most cases it is now more carefully and more subtly disguised. To see the struggle of parties in philosophy behind all the gnosiological scholastics of idealist theories, one should, as Lenin pointed out, bear in mind the complex pattern of dependence between various links of the state-monopoly apparatus and bourgeois philosophers and sociologists. One must understand the social mechanism that gears philosophical research – and, more important, the very structure

of philosophy and sociology – to the requirements of bourgeois institutions. This brings the bourgeois scientist into the process of misinforming and disorienting public opinion in order to 'protect' society against the 'Communist temptation.'

The Leninist principle of partisanship helps to see through the ideological mystification that is part of bourgeois social science, correctly to understand and appraise the philosophical views of natural scientists, their 'vacillations' and discoveries – to use Lenin's words – their contribution to the development of materialism and dialectics. Lenin's principles of scientific analysis enable us dialectically, and hence from a party standpoint, to assess the world outlook of bourgeois natural scientists and draw a clear line of distinction between what the natural sciences do and what they *think* (Engels). And there is the evidence of history to show that the research of outstanding scientists has always followed, spontaneously, a dialectico-materialist direction. But their philosophical generalizations, influenced by a number of factors, including widely held philosophical and social views, do not always coincide with the objective implications of their findings.

While drawing attention to the connection between philosophy and social factors, Lenin categorically rejected attempts directly to project philosophy into natural-science theories. The struggle against idealism and metaphysics presupposes analysis of the real cognitive processes in science, and not the search of concepts on which one or another ideological label can be clapped.

Today, idealism and mysticism are adapting to the new conditions, to the new scientific data, to a situation in which socialism is exerting an increasingly powerful influence on the world's future and Marxism-Leninism is steadily winning over people's minds. And leading bourgeois philosophical trends and a multitude of lesser schools are exploiting the new social and gnosiological problems, though they have no valid solutions to offer. The Leninist methodology, in which profound positive analysis is combined with a partisan, class approach, helps to combat them. Militant materialism, in Lenin's view, proves its worth in deeds and not merely in words; it serves science, not dogmatic scholasticism.

Lenin attached much importance to the tactics of struggle against the 'learned flunkies of clericalism,' saying it could not be successful without an alliance with the progressive section of the bourgeoisie, but '... Communists and all consistent materialists should unflinchingly expose that section when it is guilty of reaction' (Vol. 33, p. 231).

In keeping with this, there is a differentiated approach towards various currents of non-Marxist philosophy. There are now more opportunities for a 'dialogue,' direct or indirect, with non-Marxists who do not subscribe to anti-Communism. This makes it possible to extend the ideological basis for joint political action for peace, international cooperation and social progress.

The effectiveness of Marxist criticism, its power to convince, reside in creative research of pressing problems requiring a posi-

tive solution within the framework of a scientific world outlook. The steady development of Marxist-Leninist theory makes materialism and dialectics militant and victorious in the battle against idealism and metaphysics.

III. Lenin's philosophical behests are being brought to reality in the theoretical work of fraternal parties, in the work of Marxist philosophers in socialist and capitalist countries. Soviet philosophers are always guided by them. The creative atmosphere provided by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union has made for a wider range of theoretical research. The striving for a closer understanding of contemporary problems has enhanced the role of philosophy as an important factor of the spiritual development of Soviet society and the formation of the new man.

Soviet philosophers are bringing to reality Lenin's idea of creating the theory of dialectics as a science. Parallel with analysis of the philosophical problems of modern natural science, much attention is being devoted to the methodology of research in the social sciences.

The alliance of philosophers and natural scientists, on which Lenin laid such stress, has been markedly strengthened after the serious ordeals of past years. Studies of the philosophical problems of physics, chemistry and biology have been published in recent years. And there has been more research in such general areas of dialectical materialism as the material unity of the world, causality, determinism, etc., bringing out their heuristic and systematizing role in the origin of new theories in the natural sciences. Substantial results have been achieved in analysis of the methodology and logic of cognition in the natural sciences.

The philosophico-sociological problems of the scientific-technological revolution and their analysis are now acquiring increasing importance. The 24th CPSU Congress set the task of organically combining scientific and technological achievements with the advantages of the socialist economic system. It oriented Soviet philosophers on in-depth study of the forms of the functioning of science as a social institution and its role in the battle of socialism and capitalism.

Socio-philosophical orientation has become an issue of immense importance in the world of today. The scientific, Marxist-Leninist ideology has to contend with concepts and theories that run the full spectrum of present-day bourgeois and petty-bourgeois consciousness – from outright anti-communism to reformist and ultra-revolutionary illusions dressed up in 'Marxist' terminology. To battle against these concepts today means translating into action Lenin's behests, it means enhancing the militancy and fighting functions of Marxist-Leninist philosophy.

Lenin's behests require that all Marxist-Leninists fight the class enemy on every theoretical battlefield with energy and confidence, for no ideological force in the world can vie with Marxism-Leninism in the profundity and scientific substantiation of its conclusions, or challenge their validity.



Contradictions under socialism

Grigory Glezerman

The brother parties of socialist countries give much of their attention to analysis of the contradictions of social development under socialism and to ways and means of dealing with them. Needless to say, each party approaches the problem with due regard to the stage reached by its country, that is, according to whether the country is completing the formation of the material and technical basis of socialism, has set about building a developed socialist society or has already brought it into being and is building the material and technical basis of communism. For all the distinctions, however, the Marxist-Leninist approach to the analysis of socialism has a common characteristic – it realistically sees socialist society as one that is not exempt from contradictions, which the working-class party reveals and resolves, mobilizing the people to this end. 'The socialist world of today, with its achievements, prospects and problems,' said L. I. Brezhnev in his report to the 24th Congress of the CPSU, 'is still a young, growing social system in which not everything has yet taken final shape and which largely bears the stamp of past epochs of history. The socialist world is in motion, and is continuously perfecting itself. Naturally, it develops through the new defeating the old, by resolving internal contradictions. The experience gained by the brother parties helps them to resolve contradictions correctly and in time and to advance confidently along the path shown by the proletariat's great teachers – Marx, Engels and Lenin.'

Utopianism is foreign to Marxism-Leninism, which refuses to regard socialism and communism as a rigid state, a kingdom of complete harmony. Marx, Engels and Lenin conceived the socialist system as the beginning of rapid progress in every social sphere. When examining contemporary life with its numerous contradictions from the standpoint of Marxism-Leninism, the Communists of various countries building the new society remember the following:

- socialist society shows entirely new features setting it apart from an exploiting system, but socialism is only the first phase of communism, at which all the contradictions of the old society cannot as yet be overcome;

– socialism is a dynamic, steadily developing society (a fact particularly manifest in this age of scientific and technological revolution) and all development involves the rise and solution of contradictions;

– socialism has only won in a part of the world. The struggle between the two socio-economic systems—an expression of the fundamental contradiction of today—leaves its impress on every socialist country.

Without presuming to consider all the problems arising from contradictions under socialism, we will assay an examination of the inherent contradictions of socialism as a socio-economic system.

I. Society has always developed through contradictions. With the emergence of classes they assumed the character of antagonisms, which have since been linked with social progress. Marx likened progress to an idol who insisted on drinking his nectar from the skulls of the killed. 'The very moment civilization begins,' Marx wrote, 'production begins to be founded on the antagonism of orders, estates, classes, and finally on the antagonism of accumulated labor and actual labor. No antagonism, no progress. This is the law that civilization has followed up to our days' (*The Poverty of Philosophy*).

The phrase 'to our days' implies that the law discovered by Marx has its historical limits. What are they? Victory of the socialist revolution does not immediately eliminate the class antagonism but its extremes change places, the once-oppressed classes becoming the ruling classes. However, this is not a mere transformation of one opposite into another, as Hegel conceived the dialectics of slave and master. The proletariat's transformation into the ruling class means a fundamental change in the nature of the state, for the proletariat does not use power to perpetuate its class rule but to effect the transition to a classless society. With the establishment of a new, socialist democracy, force comes to be spearheaded against the exploiting minority and its role in social life is substantially reduced. For all the changes taking place in the period of transition from capitalism to socialism, the class struggle remains the motive force of social development.

Not until socialist society is fully built does the basis for class antagonisms disappear altogether. However, this does not make society entirely homogeneous. There remain social distinctions between the working class and the peasantry, and between these two classes and the intellectuals. They are due to unsurmounted essential distinctions between town and countryside, between mental and physical labor. However, socialism rids these social relations of the antagonistic imprint they bear in an exploiting society. Contradictions of this kind no longer necessitate polarization of their extremes, with the struggle between them leading to hostile collisions.

Half a century ago Lenin foresaw how deeply the character of

contradictions under socialism would change in comparison with those under capitalism. On reading the sentence 'capitalism is an antagonistic, contradictory system' in Bukharin's book *The Economy of the Transitional Period*, Lenin wrote in the margin: 'Absolutely wrong. Antagonism and contradiction are not one and the same thing at all. The former will disappear while the latter will remain under socialism.'

Some authors of today who do not distinguish between the concepts of antagonism and contradiction reason roughly as follows: since there are contradictions under socialism there is an antagonism as well, and hence it is not genuine socialism, not the kind it should be, for a genuinely socialist society should be free from contradictions. The above quotation from Lenin is a warning against a twofold error: the unrealistic notion of socialism as a society free from contradictions, and on the other hand, the false idea that to admit the existence of contradictions means admitting the existence of social antagonisms. Indeed, antagonistic contradictions are those between social forces whose interests are opposed, while in the case of non-antagonistic contradictions the parties involved have common fundamental interests.

Ridding social progress of its antagonistic character is a historic mission of socialism, the greatest benefit which socialism brings to mankind. But this cannot be accomplished overnight or with one stroke. It requires a whole epoch. The road to a society free from antagonisms lies through a long and stubborn fight between opposed classes, opposed social systems, a fight which is necessarily antagonistic.

External and internal antagonisms are not resolved simultaneously. The former are inevitable so long as the two opposed world systems coexist. The latter are resolved with the victory of socialism, which eliminates the exploiters as a class in the given country. However, their elimination does not immediately result in the disappearance of every vestige of class antagonism. Experience shows that certain anti-socialist forces may survive even after the foundations of socialist society have been laid. Forced out of their economic positions, they are not entirely deprived of the possibility of influencing developments, especially when serious mistakes of a Rightist or 'Leftist' character are made.

Disregard of the actual class relationships and denial or underestimation of the role of the working class, which are typical of Right opportunism, may seriously imperil socialism. By interpreting the peaceful coexistence of countries with different social systems as their reconciliation leading ultimately to the merger of the two opposed systems, Rightists, even in socialist countries, are blind to anti-socialist forces where they still exist.

Whereas Rightists present antagonistic contradictions as non-antagonistic ones, 'Leftists' seek to perpetuate social antagonisms overcome by the socialist society. They contend that even in this society the struggle between the socialist and capitalist ways of development continues and that the issue of 'who will win' can be

settled only in the higher phase of communism. In other words, 'Leftists' disregard fundamental distinctions between socialist and capitalist contradictions and deny the historic fact that socialism establishes new ways and means of settling social conflicts. Equally wrong are their notions of the ways of settling these conflicts: armed force, armed struggle, voluntarist administrative intervention.

II. 'Believe me,' Lenin wrote to Maxim Gorky, 'the philosopher Hegel was right: life proceeds by contradictions, and living contradictions are so much richer, more varied and deeper in content than they may seem at first sight to a man's mind' (V. I. Lenin, *Coll. Works*, Vol. 34, p. 403). These words express a general law of dialectics valid also for socialism. Life breeds contradictions which are not always predictable. All the more important is it to discern them in time and take them into account in practice.

Socialism's contradictions may be roughly divided into two groups.

There are contradictions inherited from the past and modified by socialism. Among them are those arising from survivals of social inequality and the old division of labor, first of all into industrial and agricultural, and into mental and physical. They cannot be simply wished away, for they have an objective basis in the development levels of production and culture. In fact, they are not mere 'birthmarks' of capitalism that can be removed from the 'skin' of the new society at a reasonably early date. Of course, the vestiges of social inequality are the inheritance of the past which socialist society is overcoming through general economic and cultural development. At the same time, society has to recognize and legalize this factual inequality since it flows from objective differences in the content of social labor and is reflected in the socialist principle of distribution.

How should these contradictions be dealt with? Primitive, egalitarian socialism sees a solution in the abolition of material labor incentives, of differentiated remuneration. Practice has shown, however, that this 'solution' leads to a stalemate both in production growth and in people's education through labor. Actually differentiated remuneration according to the quantity and quality of work is a powerful means by which socialism fosters production, inducing people to improve their skills and develop their abilities, which is equally important to social progress and the perfection of the individual. Through a certain inequality in distribution, conditioned by the development level of the productive forces, society advances to communist equality.

Contradictions inherited from the past intertwine with those arising as certain of socialism's own aspects, features or forms of economic and social relations become obsolete. The view is occasionally voiced that socialism implies full harmony between social production, appropriation and consumption, harmonious co-ordination of all the spheres of social life, and that contradictions

result merely from infringements of socialist principles, from mistakes, neglect, and so on.

We think that is wrong. Unquestionably, developed socialism implies that every aspect of social life has the maturity required in the first phase of communism. Socialism as an integral social system requires harmony between production relations and the forms of economic organization and management, on the one hand, and the level of productive forces, on the other, between political organization and the economic basis and changes in the social structure, harmony in the development of spiritual and material culture, and so on. But this harmony is not achieved automatically and for all time, nor is it ever complete. There is no pre-ordained harmony, nor can there be, in the transformation of diverse aspects of the social system. Harmony is brought about at different times and at a dissimilar rate, and individual forms of socialist relations become outmoded. As a result there arise contradictions which must be resolved to make further progress.

At the threshold of the 60s, the requirements of economic development came into contradiction with the system of planning and management. A number of socialist countries, especially under the impact of the scientific and technological revolution, had to modify their priorities and emphasize intensive economic development factors. Resolution of this contradiction required economic reforms and improvement of the entire system of economic management. And this had an important bearing on socio-political relations promoting closer unity between economy, democracy and culture, unity characteristic of developed socialism.

Mature socialism is not a complete and rigid society but a dynamically developing one. We must remember how emphatically Lenin pointed out that *only* with socialism would there begin a rapid, genuine and really mass-scale advance in every sphere of life. The progress of the productive forces and growing culture will require the continuous perfection of socialist relations.

The foregoing should reveal the untenability of the allegation current in Marxist philosophical writing at one time that the dialectics of socialism are dialectics of harmony, for under socialism, it was argued, the two elements of the contradiction develop and change in one and the same direction. If that is so, why is there contradiction? The contradiction arises precisely because there exist either opposed or divergent trends but in any case not coinciding ones. If in conditions of, say, the scientific and technological revolution the relationship between man and machine changes and so does the character of the connection between production and science while the forms of organizing the economy and managing research remain unchanged there arise contradictions that must be resolved in time.

Such contradictions are objective, for they develop regardless of people's will, nor do people become aware of them all at once. This is why we feel that Werner Kalweit was rather too categorical when he wrote that 'as distinct from all previous modes of

production people in socialist society *enter into production relations consciously and these depend upon their will*' ('The Economic Motive Forces of Socialist Society,' WMR, No. 11, 1969, p. 36). This explains, according to Kalweit, why the relations between needs and production are established 'without the interference of . . . social spontaneity.'

Is it right to equate conscious effort to shape the development of production relations and the dependence of these relations on people's will? If so, does that not mean overlooking so essential a quality of production relations as their objective character?

The objectivity of production relations means that people cannot establish them at will, cannot enter into them or refuse to do so as they please, any more than they can, say, stop all production. Nor does this contradict in the least the fact that under socialism people shape and transform their economic relations consciously and according to plan. The mechanism of this transformation does not operate regardless of people's will, but the content of the problems it is expected to solve is determined by the state of the productive forces and the requirements of their development. It is the growth of the productive forces that makes it imperative to bring the forms of production relations and of economic organization and management into line with them and to resolve contradictions that crop up in this sphere. One can detect incipient contradictions clearly or vaguely, promptly or belatedly, and can choose correct or incorrect methods of dealing with them. But life sets limits to arbitrary action, dooming plans to failure and obliging us to find better solutions, often at the cost of much sacrifice and loss.

Furthermore, even where a correct course of action is followed, it is impossible in visualizing the main perspective of economic progress to foresee every single implication of the everyday production effort. Scientific prevision makes it possible to forecast the main trends of scientific and technological progress and ascertain the prospects of economic and social development. It would be utopian, however, to imagine that literally everything can be prognosticated and planned for any length of time. Social consciousness can reflect social being ever more fully and accurately, but never completely. This is one of the reasons why certain elements of spontaneity are not unlikely even though the socialist economy as a whole is developing according to plan. For example, imbalances may arise spontaneously between different branches of production, and there are elements of spontaneity in money and commodity circulation. This apart from the fact that in a society managed according to plan there are processes, such as demographical ones, which cannot be planned – not at this stage, anyway – but can only be regulated.

Under socialism, along with contradictions that arise logically, there occur contradictions born of mistakes. These may be due to various reasons: departure from the development laws of socialist society, the immaturity or inefficiency of executives, conservatism

or adventurism. They can be traced to their sources only by taking account of the connection between contradictions and people's interests.

Social contradictions, whether objective or subjective in origin, always express relations between people and affect their interests. The community of fundamental interests of all the members of socialist society is based on the supremacy of social ownership and joint labor on the principles of comradely cooperation and mutual assistance. This alters the entire mechanism of social development, which ceases to be a product of the intersection and collision of opposed class forces, a resultant of numerous contradictory aspirations, which make spontaneity inevitable.

However, community of fundamental interests does not rule out particular class, social group or stratum interests due to their differing conditions. Following are some sets of contradictions resulting from this.

There are, first of all, the contradictions between the long-range and current interests of society. Socialism has ended the antagonism between accumulated labor and actual labor, between production and consumption. But contradictions in the ratio of accumulation to consumption may occur under socialism as well. Long-range interests are embodied in the priority growth of capital goods production and in investments, on which society's future depends. But one-sided and excessive increases in the accumulation fund and unwarranted curbs on consumption may cause serious damage to socialism. In the long run they slacken production growth by failing to provide adequate incentives, and give rise to social tensions. Practice teaches us to find an optimal combination of accumulation and consumption, of long-range and current interests.

In the economic sphere, contradictions may arise between the general interests of the national economy and those of its various components—industries, enterprises, economic and administrative units. They can be harmonized on the principle of democratic centralism. The economic reforms which are being carried out in socialist countries and which vary from country to country, all serve this purpose.

The effort dynamically to modify economic organization and management may encounter obstacles in the form of narrowly conceived local or personal interests. Slowdowns in technological progress, the manufacture of obsolete product, a dispersal of investments, infringements of coordinated delivery plans, and so on, are often due to departmental or parochial interests being given precedence over the interests of the economy as a whole.

The ways of overcoming contradictions of this nature are suggested by the collective experience of the socialist countries. They consist, first of all, in establishing forms of economic organization, plan indices and economic stimulation under which all that benefits the national economy benefits its every component (combine, enterprise, etc.). They consist, secondly, in helping people to realize the primary importance of the interests of the whole state,

and in combating breaches of discipline, petty-bourgeois laxity and egoism, manifestations of a departmental or parochial mentality.

Can these contradictions be resolved by fragmenting the property of the whole people in favor of group property, said to offer producers more direct incentives to promote the economy? This method is bound to aggravate contradictions. Concepts implying the abolition or restriction of the role of centralized planning and the granting of complete autonomy to isolated enterprises whose activity is entirely regulated by the market clash with the needs of both economic and social progress. They imply that the interests of the whole people are a meaningless abstraction and that it is only the interests of individual enterprises and the employees' own interests that are real. Yet disregard of the interests of the state as a whole may have the most disastrous consequences for the condition of the working people. The model of so-called 'market socialism' cannot in the final analysis but result in undermining the foundations of socialism, reviving petty-bourgeois egoism and national discord, dividing the working class and reducing its leading role in society.

A no lesser threat to socialism is posed by a scornful attitude to the people's individual and collective interests, to material work incentives, which some describe as a 'dagger pointing at the back of the proletarian revolution.' The apologia of poverty and the advocacy of asceticism are incompatible with the objective of the working people's fight for a free and happy life. Left revisionists virtually deny in theory and weaken in practice the motive forces of socialism, which consist in a correct combination of public, collective and individual interests. Renouncing material incentives does not encourage labor but ultimately robs it of the moral incentives which are, after all, the ideological expression of the material interest of society.

Socialism solves the problem of combining general and particular interests primarily as a socio-political problem, in the sphere of relations between classes and social groups, and in the case of multi-national states, between nations as well. The need to take careful account of both the interests of the whole people and those of their component social groups so as to direct them into a common channel was stressed by the 24th Congress of the CPSU and the congresses of a number of brother parties.

III. Now for some general questions that often give rise to arguments among scholars.

Is there a fundamental contradiction in socialism and if so, does it coincide with the main contradiction of this or that development stage?

To begin with, these concepts do not coincide. A contradiction may become the main contradiction at this or that stage. This, however, does not entitle anyone to raise it to the rank of the main contradiction operating throughout the history of socialism. In general, the problem of the main contradiction of socialism

should not, in our view, be posed or solved by analogy with the main contradiction of capitalism, which determines the path of capitalist society from its birth to its death. The most diverse contradictions of socialism – between growing requirements and the development level of the productive forces, between the two forms of socialist property, between equality in respect of the means of production and inequality in distribution, and so on – are sometimes described as the main contradiction. These contradictions do exist but when one of them is classed as the main contradiction from which all others should flow the inevitable result is, to our mind, a one-sided and hence incorrect conclusion.

Take, for example, the contradiction between growing requirements and the development level achieved at each stage by the productive forces, or, to quote M. Mikhailov and A. Motylyov, 'between the aim of socialist production and the possibilities of achieving it at every period (depending primarily on the degree of development of social production)' ('Economic Relationships and Interests in Socialist Society,' WMR, No. 4, 1969, p. 34). The claim that the contradiction in question is the main contradiction because it flows from the main law of socialism is anything but convincing. For the main law of socialism, which orients production on the full satisfaction of the rising needs of members of society and their all-round development, is in itself a powerful production stimulus. But the stimulus is provided by applying this law ever more fully and not by the fact that production is destined to lag permanently behind growing requirements. Those who one-sidedly stress the inevitability of this lag are calling into question the very reality of the law, and consequently, the possibility of implementing the principle of communism.

Just as unconvincing, we believe, is the affirmation that socialism's main contradiction is that between equality with regard to the means of production and inequality in distribution. The socialist principle of distribution does contain contradictions flowing from the unity of equality (equal pay for work of equal value) and the inequality mentioned above. But it is wrong to say that this is due to the discrepancy between the mode of distribution and mode of production. Actually the characteristics of the socialist mode of distribution – both its great historic merits and its inevitable limitations – are conditioned by the development level of the production mode. By the logic of this concept, it is necessary to change the mode of distribution as early as possible. Actually the task is fully to use its stimulating role for developing socialist production. To be sure, the time will come when this role will be spent and will have to give way to the communist principle of distribution. But this is a thing of the future and there is no reason to describe this contradiction as the main contradiction covering the whole period of socialist development.

The examples we have cited indicate that the arguments in favor of recognizing a particular contradiction as the main contradiction are rather inconclusive. Nor is this accidental, for one cannot find something which does not exist. Rather than engage in this kind

of search, it is necessary to analyze the real contradictions of socialism. They are manifold and at the same time they form a complete system due to the interconnection of the various spheres of life in socialist society – changes in production mode necessitate improvements in social relations, provide the material basis for the solution of social and cultural problems and are in turn affected by these problems. For all their diversity, these specific contradictions have in the final analysis one source, the fact that socialism is only the first phase of the communist formation which has yet to reveal all its potentialities and which combines features inherited from the class society with the new, nascent features of communism.

The contradictions of socialism are resolved within the framework of the existing system and their resolution strengthens the system. However, this presupposes the operation of the subjective factor too. Objective conditions merely make it possible to overcome contradictions without social conflicts or upheavals, but how this possibility is utilized depends on people's actions. It depends on revealing contradictions in time, on finding the right methods of solving them, on appropriate organizing activity. Otherwise growing contradictions may produce social conflicts even under socialism.

The shaping of a correct policy – a function of the Marxist-Leninist party – is the most important prerequisite for resolving contradictions. Through theoretical analysis the party must reveal in time arising social contradictions. It can accomplish this task if it is armed with scientific theory, has extensive and close ties with the working class and other working people, takes careful account of warning signals from the masses and shapes and implements a policy making it possible to eliminate difficulties, imbalances and obstacles that prevent satisfaction of the pressing needs of social development.

Socialism advances by disclosing and overcoming contradictions. The socialist countries present to the world a firmly united society free of class conflicts and their causes. And the strengthening and development of its socialist foundations prepare the passage to communism, in which all the features of the higher form of social life will find their fullest expression.

State-monopoly capitalism — new data

Lutz Maier

Investigation of the increasingly closer ties between monopoly and state, the latter's growing economic role, the economic and social consequences thereof, are central to any Marxist-Leninist analysis of imperialism. And events in the 60s in the developed capitalist countries necessitate an in-depth analysis. For the growing instability of the world capitalist economy, the scientific-technological revolution and the battle of the two social systems have prompted the imperialist state to resort to many new forms of economic activity.

FRG economic policy methods have changed considerably, as has also the official economic doctrine. The end of the 'economic miracle,' the cyclical over-production crisis of 1966-67 and the acute government crisis ushered in a new stage of state-monopoly regulation, so-called 'global regulation.' Essentially, this is an attempt to introduce relatively long-range economic guidelines. 'Global regulation' is based on four-year 'target indicators,' middle-term financial planning and 'coordinated action' by the state, employers' associations and the trade unions through periodical conferences. The overall objective is to bring the wage curve into line with the target indicators, or, in other words, reshape distribution of national income in favor of the monopolies and in a way that would hold back social conflicts. 'Stable growth,' and 'social symmetry' are the propaganda slogans for a neo-Keynesian-type 'new economic policy' designed to substantiate the Social-Democrat policy of reforming 'restructured,' 'modernized' capitalism.

This, naturally, posed many problems, practical and ideological, for the working-class struggle. It also stimulated discussion among Marxists of the substance, evolution and consequences of state-monopoly capitalism. It is therefore necessary carefully to examine its new manifestations, which have to be taken into account in combating bourgeois reformist ideology and policy. And attention should be focussed not so much on individual methods and means, but rather on fundamentals, on theoretical appraisal of state-monopoly capitalism and the economic activity of the bourgeois state.

Objective character of state economic activity

There is often the impression that analysis of state-monopoly capitalism consists, in the main, of an assessment of the subjective intentions and aims of those who shape and direct economic policy, its specific measures, etc. That is not fortuitious, for state-monopoly

capitalism doubtlessly accentuates the interconnection of basis and superstructure, objective and subjective factors of social development, into which it injects qualitatively new elements.

Today, virtually all capitalism's major internal economic processes and international economic contacts are dependent on the manifold activities of the state. In the early 60s, the failure of the FRG government to devise new means of assuring monopoly profit contributed in no small share to the sharpening of contradictions and the advent of the 1966-67 crisis. In fact, there was much talk in the bourgeois press and trade-union circles of a 'manufactured crisis.'

Significantly, the intrinsic contradictions of state-monopoly capitalism present themselves in most cases as the result of shortcomings and errors of political leaders on government policy. Bourgeois propaganda exploits this distorted reflection of the intertwining interests of big business and the state. And it does so with some effect, especially at the beginning of a new policy phase. Thus, during the 1966-67 crisis, the present Economics and Finance Minister, Schiller, never missed a chance to proclaim the Ehrhard government's 'inefficiency,' 'weakness' and 'passivity' the root of all the evil, and his own ideas and proposals the 'harbingers of better times.' Yet the present economic slump and growing inflation in the FRG, crisis spasms, and monetary fever in the capitalist world, mounting unemployment, short-time working, etc., have tarnished the lustre of Schiller's 'new economic policy' too. His subjectivist arguments against Erhard have boomeranged. The conservative opposition, the CDU/CSU, has seized on this to make political capital out of the natural aggravation of contradictions in its fight against the Social-Democrats.

What interests us in this context is not so much the political aspect of the polemics between the two parties, but rather the fundamental problems in our discussion of the substance of state-monopoly capitalism. Bourgeois and Right-wing Social-Democrat theory and practice reduce all the evils of the capitalist economy to subjective miscalculations, missed opportunities, etc., maintaining that 'proper use of proper instruments' would make it possible to adjust economic development at will. One might well recall Marx's remark about the results of confusing subject and object, about how the immanent laws of capitalism are distorted in the minds of the agents of capitalist production and circulation, i.e., the bourgeoisie and its vulgar theoreticians.

And it is such 'distorted concepts,' widely current in conditions of state-monopoly capitalism, that we are dealing with here. And now, more than ever before, the priority task of Marxist-Leninist analysis and criticism should be to disclose the *objective* categories, *objective* processes and their consequences as well as the mechanism of their interaction. With that approach we can correctly define the role and influence of the subjective factor in conditions of state-monopoly capitalism and, in particular, the reverse influence of political and ideological concepts on objective processes.

In Marxist literature one comes across attempts to reduce criticism of state-monopoly regulation to a comparison of the subjective intentions and aims set out in bourgeois economic policy and theory with the real results of economic development. And once the two do not coincide, the conclusion is drawn that there can be no question of effective state-monopoly regulation, or of state-imposed economic measures, and that its intrusion into economics should be taken seriously only in 'periods of high business activity.'

That simplistic view hampers examination of the realities of state-monopoly capitalism and exposure of the theories compiled by its apologists. In our view, the economic means and potentialities of the capitalist state in the reproduction process should not be equated with its economic policy. Methodologically, we should first examine the role of the state in the economy – the basis of capitalism – separately from its role in politics – a superstructure area. This, of course, entails certain difficulties and at first glance might even appear somewhat paradoxical. However, this method will help to establish that the state, its means and activity, has now become an important *objective* factor in every phase of the reproduction process – production and circulation, distribution and consumption.

In the FRG, for instance, state concerns account for 26.7 per cent of the aggregate capital of leading corporations, chiefly in mining, power and transport; state investments more than trebled in 1960-70; the state's share in financing research and development amounts to almost 60 per cent, and state consumption to DM100,000 million. The incomes policy has a definite impact on primary distribution of national income; over 50 per cent of net national product is redistributed through the state budget.* In this way, the state's economic activity has become a determinative element of the reproduction process. The state has become a relatively independent factor of the capitalist economy. In this sense, its activity and the means at its command constitute an objective economic category that complements private monopoly, a form of capitalist production relations expressive of the present stage of capitalism's sharpening chief contradiction. The spontaneously operating mechanism of profit and prices, private monopoly and state activity are thus intertwined to form the contradictory economic mechanism of modern capitalism.

And though it is the inter-action of objective and subjective factors which, in a state-monopoly capitalist setting, acquires especial importance, it must nevertheless be stressed that state economic activity is of an objective character. And it should be regarded not as something parallel to, or standing above, the economic mechanism and economic contradictions, but as part of both. For only in that do we have an explanation of the potentialities and limitations of state economic activity.

*See *Der Imperialismus der BRD*, Dietz Verlag, Berlin, 1971. 3. Kapitel.

Aims, potentialities and limits of state-monopoly regulation

Given below are the results of concrete surveys of various aspects of FRG economic development over the past years. A comparison of the government target indicators and actual performance will clearly show the wide gap between intention and reality.

*Target Indicators and Performance**

(% growth)

		Gross national product		Overall price rise
		current prices	stable prices	
1967	Target	4.0	2.0	2.0
	Factual	0.8	-0.3	1.1
1968	Target	6.2	4.0	2.1
	Factual	9.0	7.2	1.7
1969	Target	7.0	4.5	2.5
	Factual	11.9	8.1	3.5
1970	Target	9.0-10.0	4.0-5.0	4.5-5.5
	Factual	12.6	4.9	7.3
1971	Target	7.5-8.5	3.0-4.0	3.5-4.5

The result of the much publicized 'regulation instruments' is anything but comforting, especially considering the official propaganda claim that they would assure 'programmed growth,' 'steadily increasing demand to match expanding production potential,' an 'average growth' rate, guaranteed 'price stability' (within a 1-3 per cent 'safe fluctuation margin'), full employment, etc. Schiller and the theorists behind his economic policy are unsparing of high-sounding phraseology. But the reality stands out glaringly in the above table. After 1967, a crisis year with GNP stagnated, instead of the promised 'programmed growth' there was rapid transition to an 'overheated' economy, now again in a state of drastic decline. There is even talk of a fresh recession with a fall of output volume, and, obviously, there can be no question of price stability: on the contrary, 1970 inflation was at its highest since the Korean war boom.**

Why, one might ask, despite these glaring miscalculations the imperialist state, employers' associations, corporate concerns, scientists, etc., are investing immense effort in devising, applying and perfecting the so-called instruments of state-monopoly regulation? If we are to dismiss the whole thing as senseless and useless, then our conclusions will be superficial and simplistic.

We can get down to the crux of the matter only by considering the overall purpose of the capitalist mode of production, namely, profit and its maximization. This will disclose the rationale of

*Hans-Joachim Hoehme, Helga Will, *Der BRD-Staatshaushalt als Instrument der staatsmonopolistischen Konjunkturpolitik*, in *DWI-Berichte*, 9/1971, p. 23.

***Ibid.*

state-monopoly regulation. The following table sums up an extensive survey of the GDR Institute of International Politics and Economics.

Percentage Growth of Industrial Output and Corporate Profits
(in 1962-1969)

	Industrial output	Corporate profits ¹	
		Gross	Net
1962	+ 4.3	+ 5.4	+ 4.0
1963	+ 3.4	+ 7.9	+ 8.4
1964	+ 8.6	+12.5	+14.7
1965	+ 5.3	+ 5.2	+ 6.9
1966	+ 1.8	+ 6.8	+10.9
1967	- 2.4	- 0.1	+ 0.9
1968	+11.6	+ 6.7	+11.2
1969	+12.5	+ 4.1	+ 6.5

1. Computed from: Hans Tammer, *Die Profite der Aktiengesellschaften in der BRD-Industrie 1961 bis 1969*, in DWI-Berichte 10/71, p. 13 et seq. And Helmut Zschocke, *Die Profite der westdeutschen Konzerne im Jahre 1969*, in DWI-Berichte 1/71, p. 30 et seq.

In 1961-69 industrial output rose by 53.7 per cent, gross profit by 60.3 and net profit by 83.4 per cent.

Growth of Net Profit During Current Cycle

	All industrial corporations ¹	100 biggest concerns	Concerns with capital over DM 500,000,000 ²
1967	+ 0.9	+19.1	+19.6
1968	+11.2	+20.8	+32.6
1969	+ 6.5	+ 6.1	- 2.1

1. 1,000 listed concerns. 2. 15 concerns.

The following three conclusions can be drawn from these data:

First, though profit growth rates are subject to substantial fluctuations, the curve, as a rule, is above that of industrial output and the ascendant trend is more stable.

Second, there is a noticable difference in growth rates of gross and net profit, largely the result of state-assisted redistribution of national income.

Third, what we have is a clearly etched monopoly scale of profit – the state's chief aim is to enable the monopolies to maximize profit.

And the powerful stimulating motives of state economic activity stand out ever more saliently if we examine the dynamics of the *rate* of profit – that principal criterion of the application of capital – and its trend towards decline.

Dynamics of Organic Structure of Capital and Rate of Corporate Profit in the FRG*

Organic structure of capital		Rate of profit	
		Gross	Net
1961	14.6	37.2	19.8
1965	16.8	33.9	18.4
1968	17.8	34.6	21.1
1969	16.3	38.9	24.2

*Hans Tammer, Bruno Warnke. *Kapitalvorschuesse und Profitraten der Aktiengesellschaften der BRD-Industrie*, in *DWI-Berichte* 12/71, p. 15 and 18.

In the case of gross profits the tendency was influenced also by temporary, cyclical factors. True, the decline was relatively small and more in the nature of stagnation, which justifies the inference that considerable counteracting factors were at work. The rate of net profit is obviously increasing. State-monopoly redistribution of income is an important factor counteracting the decline of the rate of profit.

What we have is a manifestation of the deep-going contradictions of the capitalist mode of production discovered by Marx – its conflict with the requirements of its own development, to which it itself sets historical limits. This contradiction is one of the main intrinsic motive forces behind the growing role of the bourgeois state. Its involvement in the production and realization of profit shows that private capital is no longer able, without outside assistance, to provide the conditions for its continued application.

It is precisely this effect (and not the 'utter ineffectiveness') of state activity that makes it a source of contradictions and conflicts, a factor accentuating the economic and social instability of the capitalist system. And it is class-determined: the objective orientation of economics and economic policy on stable profits for big capital breeds instability in economic and social life as a whole and lays an increasingly heavy burden on the majority of society. Capitalists, Lenin wrote, are extracting profit in a more 'planned' way. And this 'planning' (within the framework of private property on the means of production and meant to perpetuate it) cannot, however, overcome capitalist anarchy and is accompanied by 'intensified exploitation of the working people, by an increase in oppression; it becomes more difficult to resist the exploiters, and reaction and military despotism grow' (*Coll. Works*. Vol. 24, p. 309).

Focal points of state-monopoly contradictions and the class struggle

The maturing crisis phenomena of the late sixties and early seventies doubtlessly herald a qualitatively new economic situation. It has important implications for the class struggle, for it is the direct product of the intertwining of monopoly and state and the con-

sequence of the new forms of state-monopoly regulation designed to 'reform' the capitalist system.

Apparently we are at the beginning of a phase in which 'neo-capitalism' (understood as a synonym of all manner of 'revolutionary' innovations the ruling circles employ to stabilize monopoly power and prevent revolutionization of broad sections of the working class) directly, and in a very practical way, is brought face to face with the economic and social conflicts ripening within it.

The following is a terse analysis of some of the focal points of the socio-economic contradictions of present-day state-monopoly capitalism.

The first group of contradictions is connected with the economic process as a whole and the effectiveness of the 'new' politico-economic methods.

All hopes of a moderated cycle and non-repetition of a 'sub-zero' production decline have failed to materialize. More, there is a marked tendency towards interweaving of the overall economic disproportions with crisis phenomena in individual capitalist countries and in international commercial and monetary relations. The notion—actually elevated to the status of a theory—that tensions within the so-called 'magic square.*' could be controlled and kept within stability bounds, has proved an illusion.

'Magic Square' Operation in Present Cycle, FRG*
(% changes)

	Industrial output	Unemployment (change of % of gainfully employed population)	Prices (Cost of living)	Balance of payments
1967	— 2.4	+1.4	+1.4	— 0.1
1968	+11.6	—0.6	+1.5	+ 7.0
1969	+12.5	—0.6	+2.7	—10.3
1970	+ 7.0	—0.2	+3.8	+21.9
1971	+ 2.1 ₁	+0.3 ₂	+5.9 ₃	—

*Source: DWI Berichte 9/71; Wirtschaft und Statistik; Berichte der Deutschen Bundesbank.

1. January to September. 2. November 1971. 3. September 1971 against September 1970.

In West Germany as in other capitalist countries, notably Britain and the U.S., there is a perceptible trend towards 'stagflation', i.e., industrial stagnation or decline plus inflation. Foreign economic activity, for a long time a major stability factor, is increasingly becoming an instability factor. Little surprise, therefore, that bourgeois economists have lost a good deal of their confidence in assessing the present situation and predicting the prospects ahead.

The *Unternehmerbrief* bulletin issued by the Cologne Institute of Industrial Studies laments: 'On present indications, the cycle

*'Magic square'—a formula used by bourgeois economists to describe the correlation between four economic indicators: output, employment, price dynamics and balance of payments. — Ed.

will remain despite the so-called new economic policy designed to stabilize economic growth. Despite all manner of new-fangled regulation techniques, we shall evidently have to accept, with biblical humility, the economic cycle as a natural phenomenon.'*

The continued sharpening of contradictions in this area calls for a real alternative to the present economic policy and exposure of the profit drive as the source of all evil, for nationalization of the key industries and democratic renovation of the state, so as to ensure planned economic development under democratic control. These demands are set out in Communist policy statements.

The second group revolves around the national budget. Medium-term financial planning, the chief 'global regulation' instrument, very soon came up against the class barriers of state-monopoly capitalism.

Anxious to make the most of the technological revolution, the monopolies want more expenditure on the infra-structure – science, education, transport, etc. But that comes up against grossly inflated military expenditure. Sustained, long-term economic growth requires more government investment, but the state of the economy and inflation dictate restrictive measures.

The annual budget debates are a concentrated expression of the conflicting interests of various capitalist groups. In the drive for competitiveness and profits, the capitalists try to pay the state less and keep more for themselves, with the result that the tax burden is shifted to the workers and the increasing national debt becomes a basic source of financing.** This worsens the position of the workers and makes for more inflation, now a chronic malaise of the capitalist economy.

Bourgeois sociologists often refer to the 'gap between private wealth and social poverty.' In a simplified form, that reflects the irreconcilable contradiction between the growing role of state finances and their subjection to the interests of monopoly capital. It is therefore only natural that the aims and priorities of financial policy, the sources of national finances and their use for social purposes, redistribution of the tax burden, etc., should become central to the economic class struggle. Financing the state's social functions almost exclusively through taxation no longer corresponds to the present level of socialization. State economic activity requires expansion of the old and creation of a new financial base. But that is only possible with nationalization of monopoly assets. The state's economic functions, as expressed in the budget, make for a direct link between relations of distribution and property, which, in the final analysis, leads us to the overriding issue of the class struggle, ownership of the means of production.

The third group concerns the relation of wages to profits. And here we touch on the very core of the class contradictions between labor and capital.

*Unternehmerbrief des Deutschen Industrieninstituts, Koeln, Nr. 32, 6.8.1970.

**The Christian-Democrat and Social-Democrat coalition government envisaged an increase of DM15.2 billion in the national debt in 1969-72. The figure for 1971-74 is DM25.4 billion.

'Coordinated action' as a 'global regulation' technique is but a variant of the state-monopoly incomes policy, now a built-in feature of many developed capitalist countries. And it has clearly disclosed the absurdity of the 'social symmetry' principle which, according to Schiller, is part of 'coordinated action.' How 'coordinated' will be seen from these figures: net profits of 100 leading West German corporations rose almost 53 per cent in 1966-69, while wages (after all deductions) rose 12.4 per cent, and only 9.1 per cent on a per-worker basis.*

And the following figures are indicative of the 'symmetrical' way national income is distributed with the use of regulation techniques. If net wages and salaries rose in proportion to profits, their share in the 1969 national income (with account to increased employment) would be 49.0 per cent and not 45.1. As a result of the lag in wages growth, the workers lost nearly DM20 billion in 1968-70, and if we go back to 1960, the figure will be greater still, DM26.5 billion. It will thus be seen that about 75 per cent of unpaid wages accumulated in the past two and a half years.**

'Social symmetry,' which bourgeois propaganda presents as 'fair distribution,' is for capitalism a contradiction in terms. Monopoly capital has no objection to 'social symmetry' as a propaganda slogan, but it never regards it as a serious economic policy principle. 'An incomes policy,' writes the monopoly mouthpiece, *Handelsblatt-Industriekurier*, 'that endeavors to balance the entrepreneurs' claim to a specific share of the national product and induce them to accept a reasonable share, is absurd in a market economy.... It can only make sense if it also affects trade union wages policy.***

Monopoly capital cannot subject the size of its profit to other economic indicators, let alone consent to profit limitations. That would go against its very nature. Only class struggle can moderate its appetite. For instance, during the powerful 1969 strike movement the West German metal workers demonstrated how employer avarice could be moderated and the 'coordinated action' guidelines aimed at blocking pay claims discarded.

The last, Duesseldorf, congress of the German Communist Party declared in its political theses: 'With the help of "coordinated action" and wages guidelines, the state is directly intervening in the wages struggle on the side of big capital. Consequently, in fighting for its demands, the working class is faced not only with the resistance of the employers and their associations, manipulated public opinion, political arbitration and the use of coercion, but is in direct conflict with the state's overall economic policy. The economic struggle of industrial and office workers therefore acquires increasing political significance.'

And the capitalists are drawing on the assistance of the state, delegating to it regulation of distribution, but certainly not regulation of profits. They use the state to maintain the upper hand

*H. Zschocke, *Die Profite der westdeutschen Konzerne im Jahre 1969*, in DWI-Berichte, 1/71, p. 30 et seq.

**Kurt Lungwitz, *Profitsteigerung und Lohnrueckstand seit 1967*, in DWI-Berichte, 1/71, p. 9.

****Handelsblatt-Industriekurier*, Duesseldorf, 29.9.70.

in the unremitting class struggle over distribution of national income. But inasmuch as this affects the material interests of broad sections of the population, they find themselves obliged, if they want to save the profit system, to proclaim abolition of 'unfair property distribution' a state duty.

There is thus a direct link between the main economic motive forces of the class struggle and the social basis of distribution relations. Production relations, ownership of the means of production and the underlying contradiction of capitalism are now affected by the class struggle in a new way. For in assuming more and more economic functions and acting as the collective capitalist, the bourgeois state involuntarily brings together the scattered economic actions of the working class and directs them against the very center of power.

'In present-day conditions, too,' the Duesseldorf Congress theses say, 'the economic struggle of the working class . . . is an important prerequisite for arousing industrial and office workers to fight for their wider aims. It helps them understand the contradictions of the capitalist system, instills class consciousness on the basis of their own experience and leads them to take up the fight to change the alignment of political forces.'

And so, the economic policy of the imperialist state, even with the employment of the 'latest' techniques, cannot resolve the contradictions of capitalism. Quite the contrary, its economic measures are an immanent factor of the capitalist reproduction process and as such only aggravate these contradictions and powerfully influence the conditions of the class struggle.

At the beginning of this article the discussion centered on the *objective* factors in analyzing state-monopoly regulation. In conclusion it is fitting and proper to stress the increasing importance of the *subjective* factor. The economic policy of the imperialist state is not merely a replica of the objective reproduction process and still less of the sum-total of measures dictated by 'universal needs,' as the bourgeois press so often tries to convince its readers.

The state's reaction to the objective processes and contradictions of reproduction is always the reaction of definite social forces, in this particular case the financial oligarchy. Everything the imperialist state undertakes is determined by its class function, by its role of political-power instrument of the financial oligarchy. Taxes, subsidies, budgetary expenditure, nationalized industry, etc., represent a specific sphere of its policy in which the class interests of monopoly capital clash with those of the working class and working people generally. Besides, economic policy is subject to the influence of the continuing rivalry of monopoly groups and of the bourgeoisie as a whole. Hence, the orientation and concrete forms of state economic activity should be seen as a *political* issue, the object of class struggle. And they always involve compromises and contradictory decisions with resultant frequent changes of forms of economic activity and mutually-exclusive economic measures.

In characterizing the economic policy of state-monopoly capitalism as an area of the class struggle, we must bear in mind also the wide range of concrete measures the state can initiate under the influence of that struggle. For instance, it should not be precluded that its financial requirements will to a greater measure than now be defrayed by taxation of the vast corporate profits, even by nationalizing profitable enterprises in key industries. Similarly, there is no guarantee that the present progressive income tax (trenchantly criticized by the trade unions) which 'automatically' extracts a very meaningful part of wage increases, will not be changed. Arms spending, its share in the budget, the use of subsidies and investments, measures to reshape social policy and price formation, etc., all come within the class struggle and are likewise not guaranteed against change. The Dusseldorf congress devoted much attention to these problems.*

It need hardly be said that a theoretical analysis of state-monopoly capitalism should not overestimate the subjective factor. But neither should it underestimate it, for to do so would encourage fatalistic views and complicate our understanding of the potentialities of the working class struggle.

*See Kurt Bachman's article elsewhere in this issue. — Ed.



Important contribution to peace and security

The socialist countries of Europe have again demonstrated their resolve to transform a continent which in this century has gone through two devastating wars into a zone of lasting peace. They firmly carry on their Leninist policy of peaceful coexistence.

At the Prague meeting of the Political Consultative Committee (PCC) of the Warsaw Treaty countries (January 25-26) Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, the GDR, Hungary, Poland, Rumania and the Soviet Union put forward a broad program for a further détente, a security system and all-inclusive cooperation on the continent. A product of collective effort based on a deep Marxist-Leninist analysis of the situation, the program is realistic and constructive. The outcome of the meeting showed that the socialist community remains a powerful bulwark of the peoples' struggle for peace, freedom, national independence and social progress.

The Political Consultative Committee unanimously adopted a Declaration on Peace, Security and Cooperation in Europe. This important document elaborates and specifies the socialist countries' proposals for European security as laid down in the Bucharest Declaration (1966), Budapest Appeal (1969) and Berlin Statement (1970). The Declaration offers an objective assessment of recent changes in the political climate of Europe. It notes the great value of closer contacts, in particular consultations on political issues of mutual interest, between European countries belonging to different social systems. This fosters mutual understanding of the community of long-range interests relating to peace and cooperation.

The policy of the members countries of the Warsaw Treaty defense organization plays a highly important role in unifying the forces championing peace and cooperation in Europe. Other countries on the continent, for their part, are making an increasing contribution to the common cause of European peace. The result is closer relations based on peaceful coexistence. Tensions in Europe are also relaxing due to expanding economic, trade, scientific, technological, cultural and other relations between East and West. The growing international recognition of the GDR is a prominent factor for a more durable peace.

The Prague Declaration not only calls for steady progress in elaborating the general principles of European security and cooperation, but also clearly shows the way to this objective. The Political Consultative Committee declared for an early all-European forum on security and cooperation that all countries of the continent, as well as the United States and Canada, could attend on an equal footing. The participants in the forum could jointly evolve practical steps to ease tensions and lay the groundwork for European security.

The Declaration sets out in detail the main obligations which all European countries should assume under a treaty to provide a dependable guarantee against aggression and to further their prosperity. The socialist countries seek universal recognition and implementation of the following *main principles* of European security: *inviolability of frontiers, including those resulting from World War II; non-use of force in relations between European countries; peaceful coexistence of states belonging to the two social systems – the socialist and the capitalist; development of good-neighborly relations and cooperation in the interest of peace; mutually beneficial links between European countries; contributing in every way to the solution of the problem of general and complete, primarily nuclear, disarmament; support for the United Nations.* 'By making these lofty principles and objectives the basis of relations between states in Europe,' the Declaration stresses, 'the general European conference would adopt a decision of great historic magnitude. It would initiate joint and fruitful work that could make Europe really peaceful.'

The commitments formulated in the Declaration are based on the *common approach* of a number of East and West European countries to peace on the continent. The Declaration carefully takes into account all that has become an established practice between European countries with different social systems, has been laid down in international instruments and enjoys widespread public approval. Specifically, the principles stated in the Declaration resemble in many ways the principles of Soviet-French cooperation adopted at the closing stage of last autumn's summit talks between the two countries.

In coordinating their international activity, the socialist countries have always made a special effort through bilateral contacts to foster cooperation, mutual understanding and relations based on confidence with many West European countries. The task now is to consolidate these gains through multilateral treaties and provide in this way conditions for a *sharp turn* in international relations on the continent and for an end to the division of Europe into military-political alignments.

Mutually beneficial relations between European countries have been expanding of late. However, they are still largely hampered by discrimination, inequality and artificial barriers left in the NATO armory from cold war years. The Declaration points out that an important task of the proposed European conference should be to remove these hurdles.

One summit meeting or even several will certainly not be enough to solve the problem of establishing a European system of security and cooperation. It will take much patient effort to formulate and implement agreed principles. With this aim in view, the socialist commonwealth proposes that the European conference set up a permanent body representing all the states concerned.

The questions listed above should, in the view of the Political Consultative Committee, make up the main content of the agenda of the proposed European conference, which could be convened in 1972. A number of West European countries, including France, Denmark, Norway and Finland, are agreeable to this summit meeting being held before the year's end. And there is ample time for preparations. The Finnish government has long since proposed holding multilateral consultations in Helsinki. The participants in the Prague meeting reaffirmed their decision to send delegates to such consultations. They expressed the conviction that 'historical development has brought Europe to an important landmark. The year 1972 may bring the peoples of Europe, not only a new hope of lasting peace and security, but a real advance to its realization.'

The idea of a general European conference on security and cooperation is upheld by the Marxist-Leninist parties of Western Europe, which are prompted by the people's interests. It also has the support of a large body of progressive opinion in Western Europe. Furthermore, the conference is favored by numerous realistic-thinking bourgeois leaders. Maurice Schumann, the French Foreign Minister, said that a general European meeting 'could play a decisive role in easing tensions and achieving mutual understanding among all the nations of Europe.'

However, those who would like to bring back the bad years of the cold war and build up tensions still wield powerful influence in the capitalist world. The Declaration calls for efforts to break the resistance of these opponents of détente.

Until very recently, the opponents of European détente made convocation of the conference conditional on the outcome of the four-power talks on West Berlin. The successful completion of the talks eliminated this reservation. Thereupon NATO quarters made another reservation, insisting on a reduction of armed forces. The Declaration says that an agreement to reduce armed forces and armaments in Europe would benefit European security. The ultimate solution, as the socialist countries see it, should not be damaging to any of the countries involved in the reduction of arms and armed forces—national as well as foreign. However, examining and deciding on the ways of solving this important problem should not be a prerogative of the existing military-political alignments.

In its consistent policy of détente, the socialist community maintains that peace is indivisible and must be promoted in every part of the globe. Supporting the peoples' fight for social and national liberation, it advocates firm resistance to imperialist aggression.

The Prague meeting examined the Indochina situation in view of increased U.S. aggression against the DRV and other countries of the area. It condemned the adventurous policy of 'Vietnamizing' the war and the barbarous bombing of DRV territory. Washington is escalating its dirty war even as it talks about peace. The invaders invariably accompany troop cuts—which international pressure forces them to make—with escalation of the air war and arms shipments to Saigon. During the past three years Washington has spent \$67.2 billion on the Indochina war. In this period U.S. aircraft have dropped seven million tons of bombs on Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia and sprayed South Vietnam with 90,000 tons of poison chemicals. The puppet troops of South Vietnam, about one million strong, are equipped with numerous aircraft, helicopters, tanks, warships and heavy guns. They take their orders from the Pentagon.

At the end of last January, President Nixon put forward a plan to 'settle' the Indochina conflict based, as progressive world opinion sees it, on familiar neo-colonialist designs. The plan virtually rejects the seven-point program for a lasting and just peace in Vietnam advanced by the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam.

The United States, the aggressor country which started the war and extended it to the whole of Indochina, refuses to withdraw its invading troops unconditionally. The United States government, says the statement of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the South Vietnam Republic, must end the air war and all military operations in Vietnam, evacuate all its troops, advisers and military personnel, the arms and military equipment of the USA and other countries of the American camp from South Vietnam quickly and completely, and dismantle all U.S. military bases in South Vietnam.

Washington proposes new presidential elections in South Vietnam in which the National Liberation Front would participate but these elections could not possibly be free under the Saigon regime of brute force and total terror. The cease-fire proposal in the American plan, for its part, meets the imperialist interests of the United States, as the DRV press notes. It is calculated to retain pro-U.S. regimes in South Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia and, on the other hand, to make it impossible for the peoples of these countries to uphold their national independence and freedom. In other words, the Nixon plan is intended to help establish imperialist domination in Indochina, which, needless to say, will hence never be accepted by either the peoples of that region or progressive mankind.

The socialist countries have repeatedly declared that U.S. imperialism's ambitious neo-colonialist schemes in Indochina are bound to fail. The patriots of Indochina are fighting courageously on. They have powerful support from the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. The Prague meeting stressed in its Statement that the member countries would continue to render the DRV and the patriotic forces of South Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia the aid

and support they require to repulse the aggressors. It called on all who aspire to universal peace and security to show still greater solidarity with the peoples of Indochina.

The Prague meeting of the Political Consultative Committee, which proceeded in an atmosphere of fraternal friendship and unanimity, was a new indication of the growing cohesion, unity and international influence of the socialist countries of the continent. Détente and security in Europe and elsewhere are in the best interests of socialism, the world revolutionary process and the liberation movement. By striving for universal security and resisting the imperialist policy of aggression, the Warsaw Treaty countries are fulfilling their internationalist duty to all nations, strengthening and advancing world socialism, consolidating the anti-imperialist forces and promoting the revolutionary renovation of the world.

A. Brown

Common cause of European peoples

A picture in the old Brussels town hall shows barges drifting beside a city street. Once upon a time, a river had meandered through the now 'landlocked' capital of Belgium. But in the 19th century the stream was a source of infection and was driven underground into pipes. These days, the people of Brussels, like all other Europeans, face an entirely different peril, the source of which is imperialism and the aggressive NATO bloc with its headquarters in a dirty grey quadrangle in a Brussels suburb. How to drive the remnants of the cold war into 'pipes,' turning Europe into a peace zone, and thus avert a thermonuclear conflict, is the problem that preoccupies millions of people in the Old World.

The 'crossroads' of Western Europe, Brussels has of late become the arena for two opposite forces – war and economic division, and peace and cooperation.

In the beginning of January plans were being coordinated in NATO headquarters to put pressure on Malta, while indignant protests resounded in the Common Market offices over the latest U.S. demands to open wider the door to Western Europe for American goods, and public representatives of European countries held a three-day consultation in the new premises of the Belgian Federation of Labor to discuss European security. Like the two previous Brussels meetings, in June and October, 1971, it convened on the initiative of the Belgian Association for Security and Co-operation.

The walls of the conference hall were draped with the flags of

European countries, symbolizing the all-European nature of the function. More than 200 delegates and observers from 27 countries attended, including well-known political figures and statesmen, trade union leaders, scientists, writers and journalists, militants of youth organizations and members of the clergy. This was in itself significant, showing the growing scope of the movement in Europe. The conference was preceded by energetic efforts of committees and sponsoring groups in socialist and capitalist countries, conferences in Bad-Godesberg, Rome, Florence and Warsaw (seminar: 'Economic Cooperation as Factor of Collective Security and Peace in Europe').

The discussions focused on the development of the continent's social forces to establish an atmosphere of mutual understanding and cooperation. The participants succeeded: a decision was adopted to convene a European Assembly for Security and Cooperation in Brussels, June 2-5, 1972. A sponsoring committee has been formed and various working bodies are to handle preparations. Over 1,000 are expected to come to the June forum, representing a broad spectrum of public opinion. A statement by the sponsoring committee stressed that the Assembly is open to all wishing to contribute to détente and European cooperation.

Matters relating to the projected government-level all-European conference are under discussion through diplomatic channels. So some bourgeois papers (particularly *Suisse*) warn that public 'meddling' may prove harmful. These attempts to isolate broad sections of Europeans from participating in the solution of important international problems were repulsed by members of the Brussels meeting, who stressed that the coming Assembly would consolidate the public movement for European security, serving as a *catalyst* for preparations of a top-level conference and furthering a sharp change-over to a new type of international relations on the continent.

Is it realistic to speak of converting the present unstable peace into an enduring and *planned* peace? Could this be served by an all-European conference on security and cooperation? What could scientists, cultural workers and progressive youth contribute to the building of a peaceful Europe? These and related questions were examined in interviews by a *World Marxist Review* special correspondent with participants in the January consultative meeting in Brussels.

V. Orilia, *Italy, Socialist Member of Parliament*, holds that an all-European security and cooperation conference could well lay the foundation for a stable peace on the continent. The supporters of European peace, he said, should have an unobstructed view of their goal and pinpoint the basic problems that must be solved before tension can be eliminated. A European conference could be the start of protracted talks on security and cooperation, which could be continued at subsequent meetings of statesmen and, as a result, produce the elements of a planned peace.

R. Oittinen, *Finland, Social-Democrat*, attested to the possibility and necessity of a planned peace, particularly in Europe. This would afford humanity a clearer view of the road it should follow, and focus all thinking on the search for means of strengthening security not only in Europe but also in other regions of the world. However, building peace in line with diagrams drawn by politologists will not be easy, because people hold different opinions and have their own tasks in various areas of endeavour.

Professor H. Ridder, *FRG*, concurred that the threat of a war of destruction attaches vast significance to the problem of consolidating peace and makes it the concern of all of mankind. A military clash in Europe is not the only danger; just as dangerous are local conflicts elsewhere (e.g., Indochina), because they may 'cross the threshold' of a nuclear war, though the degree to which such escalation is probable varies in each case. A sharp turn in international relations is possible at present and the projected European conference on security and cooperation, coupled with the implementation of the Soviet Union's proposal on reducing armed forces and armaments in Central Europe could be the pivotal point for it.

A Chakovsky, *Soviet author and editor-in-chief of Literaturnaya Gazeta*, pointed out that 'peace is won through struggle.' It is inexcusable to assume that war can be avoided automatically, though this, in essence, is being preached by exponents of the 'equilibrium of fear' theory. True, the knowledge of the universal destructiveness of a nuclear collision provides people of goodwill with a powerful argument. Regrettably however, logic and common sense have never fully triumphed in man's long history. We cannot exclude the possibility that some government in the imperialist world, or some criminally inclined group in that government, may one day risk a nuclear war with the illusory hope of escaping a counter-blow.

Some Western politologists contend that the only way of achieving world peace is to stop the struggle for social and national liberation. They are clearly indulging in speculative sophistry. The struggle of the peoples is an objective and historical thing sparked by the conditions they are forced to live in, and they have every right to their struggle, be it armed or non-armed.

Three young Italians were seated near the presidium of the Brussels consultative meeting. One, P. Borgini, was a Communist, another, D. Migliardi, a member of the Socialist Party of Proletarian Unity and the third, D. Pizza, a Christian-Democrat.

P. Borgini said that in the European socialist countries youth was united in battling for the security of nations, because it had a common ideology and social reality. In the West, however, unity is naturally impeded by differing views and political orientations. But in the West, too, young people are a mighty force in the peace movement, as evidenced by the International Youth Conference for European Security in Florence, December 1971.

It is a pity, Borgini said, that there are forces that seek to

destroy peaceful coexistence. And this is true not only of the aggressive imperialist groups. Individuals claiming to be revolutionaries come forward with absurd ideas, saying that war is justified by the interests of 'world revolution.' The exponents of such so-called theories distort Lenin's teaching on the revolution, causing confusion among those fighting against imperialism and hinder the materialization of a broad front of progressive anti-imperialist forces.

Migliardi agreed that the youth movement could doubtless play an important part in the establishment of a European security system.

We hope, he said, that by participating in the Brussels consultations we shall help convene a representative public assembly for European security and cooperation in June. Experience shows that the Italian youth can achieve united action on other issues as well, and this unity could be an effective means of solving domestic problems in the interest of progress in Italy.

Unity among young Demochristians, Socialists and Communists, Pizza said, could be the basis for a common platform in such problems as the condition of the Italian youth, wages, structural reforms and anti-imperialist struggle.

Conditions are at hand to strengthen contacts among various European youth organizations to further the struggle for peace, against imperialism. Joint youth action could play an important part in spurring governments to speed the convocation of the European security and cooperation conference. A. Baturin
Brussels-Prague

Afro-Asian solidarity conference in Cairo

The Fifth Conference of the Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity Organization (AAPSO), the biggest political demonstration of unity against colonialism and imperialism to be held in recent years, met in Cairo, at the headquarters of the Arab Socialist Union, from January 10-13.

Signs of the war danger could be seen everywhere. Sandbags protected the windows of the lobby. In front of house entrances rose brick shields. Troops patrolled the bridges spanning the Nile. Public opinion rightly assessed the Conference as an indication of support for the Egyptians' fight against the aggression of Israel and its overseas patrons.

The participants agreed that imperialism, with the United States at its head, is their common enemy, one who must be jointly

resisted, be it in Vietnam, the Middle East, the Portuguese colonies or elsewhere. The keynote of the Conference documents is that the fight against imperialism is indivisible. President Sadat of the ARE expressed this idea in his message of greetings. 'The convening of a conference such as yours . . . on the soil of embattled Egypt at this decisive phase of history,' he wrote, 'goes to prove our common belief in the unity of struggle throughout the two continents against the forces of oppression, evil and aggression.'

All that the AAPSO does is inseparable from the Afro-Asian peoples' liberation movement and their growing national and political consciousness. The venues and years of its conferences – Cairo 1957, Conakry 1960, Moshi 1963, Winneba 1965 and Cairo 1972 – are milestones of fourteen years' activity.

The Cairo Conference met in a complicated situation, with splitters persisting in their attempts to disrupt the AAPSO. However, those who predicted that the Conference would lead to the 'self-destruction' of the AAPSO turned out to be false prophets. Invitations were sent out to 63 committees and organizations. The Conference drew 86 delegations, 30 of which, including the delegation of this journal, attended as observers.

We took particular interest, of course, in the role of Communists in the Organization, which speaks for diverse class forces, social strata and liberation movements at differing stages of development. Our interest was all the keener because just then, with the Third Congress of the Lebanese Communist Party in session, the reactionary press of a number of Arab countries was attacking the idea of cooperation between Communist and progressive parties. The talks we had with Conference delegates showed that the Organization guarantees free, democratic cooperation among people of different outlooks on the common platform of anti-imperialist struggle. 'Surely it is not the color of our skin, nor the mere fact that we belong to Africa or Asia, that unites us here,' said a delegate of the African National Congress at a working committee meeting, holding up his hand. 'What unites us is participation in a joint struggle against colonialism.' These words express the spirit of the Organization.

The Conference resolutions contain evaluations and conclusions essentially coinciding with ideas advanced by Communists. This is further proof that the Communists express the aspirations of the peoples. It shows that the alliance between the liberation movement and the Communist movement can be extended and strengthened.

A message from L. I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CC CPSU, was read out at the plenary meeting of the Conference. 'In our days,' it says in part, 'unity of action and fighting solidarity of the peoples of Asia and Africa, the peoples of the socialist countries and the democratic forces of the world are the main conditions for successful struggle against imperialism, an earnest of victory for the cause of national and social liberation.'

The necessity for a revolutionary alliance of the main anti-

imperialist forces is becoming ever more obvious to Afro-Asian peoples. Reading the resolutions you are struck by the tremendous advances in the peoples' political awareness over the past decade. The idea of Afro-Asian solidarity has acquired a new content. It is not merely that people appreciate the need to act in common and to support one another *within* the national liberation movement of the two continents. The peoples of Asia and Africa regard reliance on, and closer *alliance* with socialism as the precondition of success in their cause. The solidarity movement at this stage centres on unity with other revolutionary forces.

'Close cooperation of the emergent countries in the economic, political, military and other spheres with socialist states,' says the General Declaration of the Conference, 'is one of the main guarantees of their development and consolidation. The socialist countries render disinterested aid to the emergent Afro-Asian countries guided by the common objectives and interests of the struggle against one enemy: imperialism and colonialism in all their forms, and their derivatives, racism and fascism.'

'In their turn, the emergent countries, the national liberation movements in Asia, Africa and Latin America, being a stream of the world revolutionary process, are making a weighty contribution to the common cause of struggle against imperialism and international reaction. The strengthening interaction of the main revolutionary forces of our time creates favorable pre-conditions for the formation of a united front of all anti-imperialist forces.'

The Conference concerned itself with a wide range of issues, including the peculiarities of the present phase of the fight against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism; solidarity with the people of Vietnam; pressing problems and concrete means of supporting the struggle for national liberation, against imperialist aggression in Indochina and Southeast Asia, in the Middle East, in Portuguese, French and Spanish colonies, in Central, South and East Africa, and independent African countries under imperialist pressure; events in the Indian subcontinent; the struggle against racialism and Zionism; the connection between the fight against imperialism and colonialism and non-capitalist economic development; consolidation of the Afro-Asian peoples' social and cultural gains; the tasks of the AAPSO in strengthening the alliance of the national liberation movements, progressive forces and socialist countries.

The debate on these issues revealed the political maturity of the solidarity movement. What delegates stressed above all else was the need to energize the movement, direct it towards solving urgent problems of the anti-imperialist struggle and make it more effective. This was seen, first of all, in the approach to the problems of the Afro-Asian liberation movement, which were dealt with as *world* political issues, in the overall context of the anti-imperialist fight. It was seen, furthermore, in the Afro-Asian peoples' concern for the situation on other continents. Delegates called for 'organic unity' with the anti-imperialist forces of Latin America, and in

particular for solidarity with Cuba, Chile and Peru. The Conference expressed its support of the movement for European security, showing that the peoples of Asia and Africa have a direct stake in lasting peace in Europe. We, a Latin American and a European, looking on developments from an African country, became more aware of the global, universal significance of the fight for peace and social progress on our own continents. Delegates voiced their approval of the effort to ease tensions, establish the principles of peaceful coexistence and bring about general and complete disarmament. All this was evidence of the peoples' growing internationalism.

On the other hand, history tells us that in domestic policy, too, anti-imperialist solidarity is incompatible with reactionary nationalism, which was condemned in the General Declaration. 'The entire nation,' it says, 'can be rallied to the struggle for freedom and independence, for social progress in the country, only by strengthening in every way the unity of progressive democratic forces inside each country, by relentlessly struggling against all manifestations of reactionary nationalism and against compradore elements.'

A most instructive aspect of the Conference was that delegates compared notes on anti-imperialist struggle. This exchange enabled them to make some generalizations about the nature of the present stage of the Afro-Asian liberation movement. An outstanding feature of the movement is the continuing offensive of the democratic, revolutionary forces, which is taking place at a time when imperialism combines armed aggression and the use of force to retain its colonialist enclaves with efforts to undermine the liberation movement from within. The revolutionary process has gone deeper – the emphasis in building up the political independence of Afro-Asian countries is shifting to the socio-economic sphere. This extends the opportunities for Afro-Asian solidarity against imperialism. Conference resolutions point to the need to take the non-capitalist road so as to hasten economic progress.

On the second day of the Conference most delegates were absent from the plenary meeting, being busy on drafting committees. It was in these committees that the clash of opinions brought out the difficulties confronting the Organization. The debate was particularly heated when the issue of granting AAPSO membership to the National Solidarity Committee of Bangladesh came up for discussion. The point was not only that some delegations were not prepared to deal with the matter (action was put off for two months). Unfortunately, the tenor of statements by certain delegates was at variance with the desire to further the solidarity movement by unifying it politically on explicitly anti-imperialist lines.

One of the lessons of the Conference is that the Afro-Asian solidarity movement is experienced and mature enough to arrest trends out of keeping with the peoples' aspirations. By overcoming the difficulties it encountered, the Conference showed that it had

reached agreement on the fundamental issues of the fight against colonialism and imperialism (witness the unanimously adopted resolutions), which is the main thing.

During the Conference there were streamers in the streets of Cairo displaying the AAPSO emblem – two hands clasped in a firm handshake against the background of the two continents. The outcome of the Conference suggests that the alliance of the peoples who have risen to fight imperialism is unbreakable.

Cairo-Prague

J. Fuchs, E. Yorgen

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Towards anti-imperialist unity in Latin America

Recent years have seen this vast continent claim increasingly close public attention all over the world. The socialist development of Cuba, far-reaching, revolutionary changes in Chile, progressive reforms in Peru, the anti-imperialist policy of Panama and numerous other facts show that Latin American history is entering a new stage.

Widespread popular action against imperialism and oligarchy, for national and social liberation, has its effect on social policy. Faced with the tremendous growth of anti-imperialist sentiment, many governments resist the neo-colonialist aspirations of the U.S. Caracas, Lima, Buenos Aires, Panama City, Quito and Bogota are only some of the Latin American capitals where spokesmen both of official quarters and the public last year declared for the full restoration of sovereignty, control of the natural resources being exploited by foreign monopolies, and the peaceful coexistence and cooperation of Latin America's states. Significantly, there is a call for united front action against U.S. imperialism.

Following is a review of the current trend towards joint anti-imperialist action in Latin America.

Is unity possible?

This question may seem rhetorical. Everyone knows that over 150 years ago the peoples of Latin America cast off the Spanish-Portuguese colonial tyranny by joint effort and that more than once in their eventful history they have come to one another's aid.

On the other hand, it is largely due to their disunity that the Latin American countries find themselves dependent on the U.S. monopolies. U.S. imperialism could certainly not have bossed the continent, hatched conspiracies, engineered army coups, nor imposed regimes that suited it, without the divide and rule policy it has been following with support from domestic oligarchies.

Thus the question about Latin American unity in today's conditions is far from rhetorical. It is a pressing problem whose solution hinges on many factors.

The new situation on the continent provides preconditions for joint action against imperialism by nations and states. Latin American unity is no longer championed by progressive and patriotic forces alone, first of all the working class and its Communist vanguard, which have always been animated by a spirit of solidarity. It now meets with approval among large sections of society – the intellectuals and students, army officers and clergymen, the petty and middle bourgeoisie. When, in 1968, Latin America's bishops called on the governments of the continent to set up a united front against the neo-colonialist policy of the United States it became evident that even the Church 'elite' was awakening to the imperative of the day.

The call for Latin American alliance is voiced above all by the countries that have taken the road of revolutionary change. 'Our future,' said Fidel Castro, the Cuban Prime Minister, 'is an alliance of Latin American countries. We must fight for this goal.' Closer Latin American cooperation is advocated by President Allende of Chile. 'Friendship and cooperation between Latin American countries,' he says, 'will contribute in important measure to the development of the new stage on the continent . . . of the people's revolution, of the struggle for genuine freedom and democracy.' President Velasco Alvarado of Peru said in one of his public appearances: 'Just as 150 years ago our peoples were compelled to unite on the road to freedom, so today they must do it again or they will never become either really independent or genuinely free.'

In recent years, with U.S. economic and political pressures mounting, and with the growing anti-imperialist actions of the masses, who demand an end to imperialist oppression, even conservative rulers are expressing disagreement with some aspects of imperialist policy. General Lanusse, President of Argentina, said at the close of last year that 'Latin Americans must form a united front, for this is the only way to win respect and have our voice heard.'

All this shows that the idea of continental unity has hardly ever been so relevant or involved so wide a range of social and political forces. The countries of Latin America share numerous historical characteristics and fundamental interests. They have a common goal – genuine independence and economic progress, both of which are blocked by their common enemy, U.S. imperialism. In other words, the possibility of unity for joint struggle against imperialism is there.

However, the idea of unity is one thing and to translate it into reality is another. There are numerous problems and difficulties to united action. The political map of the continent is a motley one. While some countries are advancing to socialism, others are developing on capitalist lines. Power in some countries is held by popular governments, in others it belongs to bourgeois-democratic governments and in still others to reactionary military and police regimes. Their position and their attitude to imperialism are understandably dissimilar, and hence their participation in anti-imperial-

ist actions is motivated by different aims. The governments of Chile and Peru are determined to tear down the foundations of imperialist exploitation. By contrast, the reactionary regimes of Argentina, Brazil, Paraguay and other countries merely want U.S. imperialism to make more trade concessions and give economic aid. The former group of countries is determined to carry through to the end radical social changes. The latter group, on the contrary, takes drastic measures against its peoples' actions for freedom and democracy and even acts as policeman against the revolutionary movement in other Latin American countries.

Joint action does not mean the same thing for all people.

The basis of unity

The objectives of joint anti-imperialist struggle have been formulated in general terms in the policy documents of Communist parties, of their regional meetings and conferences. The Communists are for both national and continental unity of action with all progressive, patriotic and peace-loving forces that want to fight in common against imperialism and to jointly uphold the sovereignty and territorial integrity of each nation and its right to self-determination.

The united front of Latin American countries could be headed by states with revolutionary and progressive regimes capable of playing a prominent role in the struggle for independence and social progress. It is these states that strive most consistently to lay the groundwork for unity and cooperation. Establishing relations in various fields between these countries is necessitated, not only by the new character of power, but by a desire to resist in common continental U.S. imperialist provocations and pressure, speed economic progress, raise the standard of life and play an active part on the international scene. From this point of view, the visit which the Cuban government delegation led by Fidel Castro paid to Chile last November will go down in Latin American history. The meeting between Fidel Castro and Salvador Allende 'symbolically closes one period of Latin American life and opens a new one, with unlimited prospects,' as *El Popular*, the Uruguayan Communist paper, put it. The visit, the joint Chilean-Cuban Declaration noted, 'marks a decisive step in terms both of the increasing bankruptcy of the policy of isolating Cuba and, above all, the Latin American peoples' achieving mutual understanding and solidarity and realizing the need to set up a united front against influential forces impeding their full political, economic and social development.'

The Cuban visit was a proof of friendship and solidarity between the peoples of the two countries advancing to a common goal, socialism, along different roads. 'Our relations with Chile,' Castro said, 'have now reached the highest stage ever. . . . We can now follow the path of cooperation as real brothers.'

On his way back to Cuba, Fidel Castro met with the presidents

of Peru and Ecuador. This was further indication of the miscarriage of the imperialist policy of isolating Cuba and of the growing trend towards closer links between Latin American countries. This trend was also manifest during Salvador Allende's visit to Ecuador, Colombia and Peru last year. The Chilean President's meetings and talks with the leaders of these countries showed that they are prepared to act together against U.S. monopoly domination and the political dictates of Washington.

An expression of the same trend was the Andean Pact, an agreement on joint economic development efforts signed by Peru, Chile, Bolivia, Ecuador and Colombia in May 1969. Late in 1970 the signatories resolved to pursue an anti-imperialist policy towards foreign capital, restrict its activity and put it under control. This alignment may prove attractive to other Latin American countries. This is evident from Venezuela's intention to join the pact.

The new situation on the continent, the alignment of forces and the pressure of the peoples will undoubtedly lead to an extension of anti-imperialist action. 'The national feelings of the peoples and economic difficulties might compel even some governments to take important measures against imperialism,' said the 1969 Meeting of Communist and Workers' parties.

It is primarily over economic problems that the interests of the Latin American middle bourgeoisie and governments clash with those of U.S. monopolies. An expression of this clash is the Special Latin American Coordination Commission (SECLA) set up a few years ago. The Lima agreement signed by the Foreign Ministers of 23 Latin American states at the 12th meeting of SECLA (October 1971) emphatically rejects imperialist encroachments on the countries pursuing an independent foreign and home policy. This document is a new step towards Latin America's anti-imperialist unity.

Most Latin American countries take a common stand on numerous political issues, which thwarts the U.S. imperialists' aggressive schemes. For example, the imperialists were unable to form a military bloc under the aegis of the Pentagon or the so-called Inter-American Peace Force because the overwhelming majority of Latin American countries opposed it. In 1968 U.S. plans of aggression against Peru were frustrated by the solidarity action of the peoples and governments of Latin American countries.

The objectives of unity of action have nothing to do with the concept of 'the South versus the North,' that is, Latin Americans versus North Americans. The enemy against whom the united anti-imperialist action of Latin American states is spearheaded is imperialism and not the American people. President Allende has said time and again that the people's government of Chile is willing to cooperate with the U.S. as with other countries but that this cooperation must be based on the principles of equality and mutual benefit.

The anti-imperialist stand of some Latin American states and the trend towards united front action, is fiercely resisted by the U.S.

imperialists and domestic reactionary regimes. However, their resistance is not direct. The U.S. neo-colonialists and their Latin American allies are prudent enough not to sail against the wind. Indeed, they do their best to use the situation, posing as champions of 'American solidarity.' The point is, however, that they want this solidarity to be anti-Communist and not anti-imperialist.

Accordingly, the imperialists and Latin America's reactionaries fall back on the bogey of 'Communist danger' on the continent — an example of recent date was the hysterical campaign in Costa Rica against relations with the Soviet Union. What they seek is, in effect, a reactionary alliance enabling them to meddle in the affairs of any state in the Western hemisphere and suppress popular action for freedom, democracy and social progress. They therefore try to split the progressive movement for Latin American unity from within, misrepresent its objectives and principles and bring it into line with their imperialist and oligarchic interests.

But whatever the obstacles to Latin American cooperation, it is bound to develop in the long run and, more important still, assume an increasingly anti-imperialist character. This is an imperative and in many ways the future of Latin America depends on it. Following their policy, carrying on the class struggle for the goals of the working-class movement and organizing the forces of democracy and progress, Communists consistently advocate joint anti-imperialist struggle for independence and social progress. These are the objectives that Simon Bolivar, San Martin, O'Higgins, Jose Marti and other great sons of Latin America fought for.

Jan Prazsky

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From national to social revolution

It is a commonly accepted fact these days that revolutionary change is sweeping Asia, Africa and Latin America. However, views and opinions vary widely as to the nature of the revolution engulfing the three continents. And understandably so, for the matter concerns different classes and social strata not in the developing countries alone, but in the world as a whole. In the final analysis, it boils down to the role of the peoples of former colonies and semi-colonies in the shaping of the world's social future.

Bourgeois writers refer to a 'revolution of rising expectations,' a 'movement for modernization.' These concepts are designed to conceal the socio-political orientation of the world-wide national-liberation revolution, for if the motivation of social development in these regions were indeed mainly moral and psychological ('rising expectations') or cultural and technological ('modernization'), it would appear to be switched out of the class struggle and be neutral to capitalism and socialism. These concepts strip the movement of the Asian, African and Latin American peoples of social meaning and deny its national liberative character. Some liberal and opportunist authors are inclined to admit that national freedom is still at stake in the battles fought by the peoples of, say, Indochina against the U.S. aggressors or by African patriots against the Portuguese colonialists. But, they aver, there is nothing of the sort in other countries, meaning that the struggle for national independence generally is a thing of the past.

The key to the true character of the present revolution in Asia, Africa and Latin America is contained in the Marxist-Leninist theory showing the dialectical fusion of national and class struggle in the liberation movement of the peoples. None but Lenin's ideas about the phases of revolutionary development will help pinpoint the objective common features of the present and future socio-political changes in the developing countries.

National and class aspects of the liberation movement

Marxist-Leninist theory emphasizes both the national liberative

This is the fourth in a series of articles for students of Marxist-Leninist theory. The first three appeared in issues 7, 9, and 12, 1971.

character of the present revolution in the former colonies and semi-colonies and its changing social content.

Is it right to say that once national sovereignty is achieved the national liberation struggle becomes baseless? No longer is there the former direct suppression of national interests and humiliation of national feeling. The liberated countries are sovereign participants in international life. But that is just one side of the case.

There is also the fact that many key national problems in the Asian, African and Latin American countries are still unsolved. Their economic backwardness is still appalling, with the average income per head of population a mere one-twelfth of that in the developed capitalist states. Neo-colonialism makes the most of the mechanics of plunder that has evolved over the years in the capitalist world economy.

We witnessed its operation in recent months in connection with the capitalist monetary crisis. The developing countries' exports were badly impaired by the new tariff barriers, especially in the United States. And this at a time when the industrial powers were to have unilaterally reduced customs duties on manufactured goods from developing countries, as envisaged by UNCTAD-2 in 1968. Moreover, with the revaluation of some currencies the cost of capital equipment – vitally necessary for the economic growth of former colonies and semi-colonies – went up substantially. It is estimated, in fact, that Southeast Asian countries buying West German and Japanese machine-tools will pay 20 to 25 per cent more than before.* Thirdly, the developing countries' meagre currency reserves suffered a direct loss for under International Monetary Fund regulations they were kept in the now devalued dollars.

The present situation wholly confirms Lenin's inference that 'the domination of finance capital and of capital in general is not to be abolished by any reforms in the sphere of political democracy; and self-determination belongs wholly and exclusively to this sphere' (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 22, p. 145). However great the importance of political independence, the objective basis for the anti-imperialist struggle of liberation survives. That its center of gravity shifts from the political to the economic sphere, is another matter.

This is the essence of the succession of stages in the national liberation movement when the political emancipation of peoples is practically universal. Economic independence is of prime importance in the battle for national freedom. Some people, Lenin wrote, speak 'of national liberation . . . , leaving out economic liberation. Yet in reality it is the latter that is the chief thing' (Vol. 18, p. 398). Unless there is a general upsurge of the national economy, unless the levers of domination by international capital are removed and the economic and social obstacles to the widest possible use of local resources in the national interest are overcome, the freedom of former colonies and semi-colonies is but a limited one.

*The export revenue of former colonies and semi-colonies, too, declined. The immediate damage inflicted by the monetary crisis on Iran, Saudi Arabia, Venezuela, Kuwait, Libya, Iraq, Nigeria, Indonesia, Algeria, Abu Dabi and Qatar – all of which are oil exporters – is estimated at \$400 million for the last four months of 1971 plus \$75 million monthly since the dollar was devaluated (*International Herald Tribune* Jan. 11, 1972).

Among other things, economic independence implies ending foreign monopoly domination. This is in the interest of the working class, mercilessly exploited by foreign mining, oil and industrial monopolies. It is also in the interest of the peasants, whose produce – coffee, cocoa, sisal and rubber – is bought at low prices by foreign plantation owners or international trading firms. A substantial section of the national bourgeoisie, too, has a stake in eliminating the powerful foreign competitors. This is the objective background to one of the most important general democratic and national demands: to restrict foreign capital. Next take the agrarian question. Far-reaching changes are required to effectively overcome the food shortages in dozens of developing countries, and to improve the low living standards. Here the attitude of the peasants and working people is quite clear. But for the national bourgeoisie, too, an end to land monopoly would remove obstacles to investments in agriculture, and would lead to an expansion of the home market. There we have another area of nationwide accord between diverse social forces. In many liberated countries something of the kind also applies to industrialization, the state sector, regulation of export and import and overall economic development. We may therefore legitimately speak of the *national* character of the present revolution in the former colonies and semi-colonies and of its general democratic and anti-imperialist orientation.

The national unity forged in the battle for economic independence does not stand for universal social reconciliation. On the contrary, the relation of exploiter to exploited, formerly obscured by the oppression of overseas rulers, is now much more tangible, for different social groups naturally approach the economic problems from different angles. As a result, the national movement abounds in social conflicts. The prevailing pattern bears out Lenin's thesis that democracy in general and national self-determination in particular are no more than 'a freer, wider and clearer form of class oppression and class struggle' (Vol. 22, p. 145) until the shackles of international monopoly capital are effectively thrown off. Considerable and often highly influential socio-political forces balk at eliminating bonds with imperialism and at progressive reconstruction of economic and social structures. This is true, first and foremost, of feudal landowner elements and the big monopolists in Asia, the tribal nobility and bourgeois-bureaucratic 'new elite' in many African states, and the latifundian element and oligarchic bourgeoisie in Latin America.

National unity, therefore, should not be regarded as all-embracing. Its extent depends on the specifics of the local situation and, among other things, on the degree of involvement in the general democratic movement of the national bourgeoisie, which gravitates towards deals and compromises with imperialism. In some cases, as the experience of some Latin American countries showed, it is more proper to speak not of national, but of popular unity. The fact remains, however, that this unity represents a joint movement of socially heterogeneous forces for genuinely national interests.

The alignment of class forces involved in the national liberation revolution changes constantly, meaning that its social content, too, is not unchanging. It is important, therefore, to determine the regularity behind the changes and the prospects they hold in store.

At the dawn of capitalism it was the bourgeoisie that acted as the herald and bearer of the ideas of national freedom and unity. This was indeed the banner under which it set out to build capacious markets and to end feudal fragmentation, or, briefly, to 'be master in its own house.' Having put the national problem on the political agenda, the bourgeoisie organized and operated through popular movements, pursuing objectives of an essentially bourgeois character and spearheaded against feudalism and other medieval trash in social relations. Geographically, however, the national question arose only in areas where capitalism was on the rise – Europe, North America and, later, Japan.

In the imperialist epoch, with the world geographically and politically divided among the colonial powers, the national question grew from a domestic concern into an international issue, from a national into a national-colonial problem, and from a mainly European into an Afro-Asian and Latin American one.

In this setting the movement for national freedom, for national self-determination, became part of the worldwide anti-imperialist struggle. Lenin showed that 'the several demands of democracy, including self-determination, are not an absolute, but only a *small part* of the general-democratic (now: general-socialist) world movement' (Vol. 22, p. 341). Examine these lines more closely. What Lenin says is that the content of national struggle depends on the general character of the epoch and the motive forces of world progress. To understand the relation of the national aspect to the class aspect of the movement of oppressed nations, therefore, we must view it in close association with the world revolutionary process.

In the mainstream of world revolution

The idea that, reflecting the changes in the world situation, the right of nations to self-determination evolves from a general democratic principle into a principle of the socialist movement was conclusively developed in Lenin's theory that the national liberation struggle was an inalienable component of the revolutionary socialist reconstruction of the world. 'The socialist revolution,' he wrote, 'will not be solely, or chiefly, a struggle of the revolutionary proletarians in each country against their bourgeoisie – no, it will be a struggle of all the imperialist-oppressed colonies and countries, of all dependent countries, against international imperialism' (Vol. 30, p. 159). Hence the important conclusion that de-colonization in the broad, world-historic view, is not only in the *national* interest of imperialist-oppressed peoples, but also in the *class* interest of world socialism, of the international proletariat. On the other hand, the growing power of the socialist states and the progress of the

revolutionary working-class movement in capitalist countries are impairing imperialism's world positions, inhibiting international reaction, and thereby creating a favorable setting for the national revolution in Asia, Africa and Latin America. Undermining world capitalism, the *class struggle* helps win and consolidate the *national freedom* of peoples. And this provides the objective basis for anti-imperialist unity of the national-liberation forces, the socialist states and the working class of capitalist countries.

When bourgeois ideologues realized that the changes in imperialism's erstwhile colonial periphery were irreversible, they pleaded for 'dissociating' the national liberation movement from other revolutionary forces. Here is the advice to strategists of U.S. imperialism by its leading theoretician, Walt Rostow: 'Our central task in the underdeveloped areas, as we see it, is to protect the independence of the revolutionary process now going forward.'^{*} The same idea – more as a statement of fact than as a recommendation – was voiced by Chester Bowles, twice U.S. Ambassador to India, who wrote that 'great and explosive changes would now be under way in Asia, Africa and Latin America even though the Soviet Union did not exist.'^{**} This eager emphasis of the 'independence' and 'protection' of the national liberation movement stems obviously from the desire to pry it away from world socialism and the international proletariat and sidetrack it from the mainstream of the revolutionary movement.

True, there is another, diametrically opposed dodge: bourgeois propaganda is fond of references to 'the hand of Moscow,' a 'communist threat,' averring that the only possible source of national struggle is a 'Red plot.' This mythical doctrine, the ideological and propaganda dressing of imperialism's aggressive undertakings, is especially noxious. It is on the pretext of combating the 'Communist threat,' for example, that the United States is fighting its imperialist war against the liberation movement of the peoples of Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia.

The essence of these doctrines, even their mutually conflicting nature, is reproduced with striking accuracy in the theoretical exercises of 'ultra-revolutionaries.' Take the Maoist thesis of the priority of the 'three stormy continents' in the present revolutionary movement. Is it not a replica of the bourgeois contention about the 'independence' of the national-liberation struggle? Or take Peking's contention that the sovereignty gained by former colonies is a mere formality, a mere transfer of power from one group of oppressors to another. No value is attached to the general-democratic gains of imperialist-oppressed nations and social upheaval only is recognized as a truly revolutionary advance.

Marxist-Leninist theory does not neglect the specifics of national struggle. Neither does it unjustifiably exaggerate it. Communists work consistently for the unity of all revolutionary forces. As the

^{*}Rostow, *View from the Seventh Floor*, N.Y., 1964, p. 115.

^{**}Bowles, *Ideas, People and Peace*, N.Y., 1958, p. 9.

1969 Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties noted, 'it is of paramount importance for the prospects of the anti-imperialist struggle to strengthen the alliance between the socialist system, the forces of the working-class movement and national liberation.' While helping to cement this alliance, Marxists fully acknowledge the independence and specific features of each detachment of the world revolutionary struggle.

The liberation movement of the peoples performs what are essentially national and democratic tasks in the framework of the individual countries. That is its characteristic feature, distinguishing it from revolutionary forces aspiring to a socialist reconstruction of society. Yet in the confrontation of the two opposing socio-economic systems the forces of national liberation are objectively constrained to choose their countries' social future, the choice being between capitalism and socialism.

It may be proper to clarify the connotation of 'choice' in this context. By saying, for instance, that the Ivory Coast chose the capitalist way, we do not mean that this was a popular expression of preference for the bourgeois system. We thereby merely register the outcome, the correlation of class forces, in a definite period of the struggle. The alternative—capitalism or socialism—remains. Capitalist relations in an underdeveloped country impel further social differentiation and a political separation of the different groups and strata. Social choice is a complex process of struggle in which certain class forces gain ascendant and ultimately dominant positions in society.

New content of national revolutions

In countries where the national bourgeoisie seizes leadership it will naturally strive to channel development along the capitalist way. Here, every step is a test of capitalism's ability to eliminate the legacies of the colonial times, ensure economic progress, feed the hungry, extricate the needy from poverty and grant them elementary rights. How does capitalism cope with this test?

In India, which Western strategists and their local counterparts had expected to become the showcase of capitalist prosperity, this course of the ruling element caused a deep economic (1964-1965) and then political (1969-1970) crisis, which brought about a split in the party that had ruled the country since independence. Forces opposed to capitalist development are now much stronger. And this in a country where not only the local bourgeoisie, but also the feudal landlord groups possess strong economic and political leverage. In some other liberated countries the margin for developing the capitalist system is still more limited.

Of course, the reactionary forces do not look on with equanimity as popular movements emerge, imperilling bourgeois power. 'Confronted with rising popular discontent,' the representatives of Communist and Workers' parties noted at their 1969 meeting, 'the internal reactionary forces in these countries are intensifying with

imperialist support their assault on democratic freedoms. In a number of cases they are brutally suppressing the mass democratic and patriotic movements. They are kindling conflicts between national, ethnic, religious, tribal and linguistic groups, thereby jeopardizing the independence won by these countries.'

The inability of the bourgeoisie and the capitalist system to resolve the key national problems of the liberated countries means that in Asia, Africa and Latin America the ascendent movement of bourgeois society, to use Marx's expression, is not at all in evidence.

The behavior and fate of the bourgeoisie in the Egyptian revolution is a vivid illustration of its impotence. The 'free officers' who overthrew the monarchy in 1942 relied on local businessmen, their enterprise and capital, in their plans for national rebirth. The privileges conferred on industrialists and merchants would be the object of envy for the bourgeoisie of any other economically backward country. But what was the result? There was blatant profiteering, luxury villas were built instead of mills and factories, and profits were put into Swiss banks. To the appeal to contribute to the national rebirth the Egyptian bourgeoisie responded with national betrayal. And that this was not a purely national feature but a socially natural regularity of bourgeois behavior was demonstrated by the almost identical developments in Burma 10 years later.

In Egypt as well as Burma, the revolutionary leaders were compelled to take anti-capitalist measures if they wanted to be loyal to the national interest. In many other Asian and African countries, too, the non-capitalist option stems from the objective impossibility of meeting the national general-democratic demands in the framework and on the basis of capitalism.

Consistently prosecuted, the contemporary national revolution transcends the bounds of bourgeois-democratic revolution. Lenin's ideas about the dialectics of the growth of bourgeois-democratic into socialist revolution are therefore highly relevant, as is his idea about the probable multiplicity of transitional and intermediate forms of revolutionary development. He was pitiless in his criticism of those who reduced Marxism 'to such a state of wretchedly liberal distortion that nothing exists for them beyond the antithesis between bourgeois and proletarian revolution, and even this antithesis they interpret in an utterly lifeless way' (Vol 25, p. 416). For the Russia of the early century he posited the idea of establishing a revolutionary democratic dictatorship of workers and peasants as an intermediate stage in the development of the revolution 'in order to attain the greatest success in the proletariat's further struggle for socialism' (Vol. 9, p. 87). The revolutionary development of imperialist-oppressed countries and nations, he showed, would necessarily, due to the multiformity of their economy and amplitude of medieval survivals in social life, yield a variety of special forms and transitional phases that 'European philistines would not dream of.' He anticipated that, by and large, struggles for national liberation would objectively develop into movements against the bourgeois system, against capitalism (Vol. 32, pp. 481-

482). And for Marxism-Leninism the distinctive feature of the present stage of the liberation struggle is that, while still nationwide in character, it is filling out more tangibly with anti-capitalist content. Peoples engaged in the liberation struggle are helped by the socialist countries with all the means at their disposal, thus providing the condition on which, as Lenin said, 'it will be mistaken to assume that the backward peoples must inevitably go through the capitalist stage of development' (Vol. 31, p. 244). This is the dominant international factor enabling countries with backward socio-economic structures to 'bypass capitalism' or break out of its clutches and follow non-capitalist development.

The choice of way also faces those countries where capitalism has sunk deep roots in relations of production and social life. The Ninth Congress of the Communist Party of India in October 1971, for example, stressed that in the coming period the struggle will center on the cardinal issue—what way, the capitalist or non-capitalist, the Indian people is to take. Rejection of the capitalist way and effectuation of radical anti-monopoly and anti-feudal measures has become vitally necessary. The decisive socio-political force in the battle for the non-capitalist way, the Congress also pointed out, is the worker-peasant alliance, the core of the national-democratic front.

Experience of the past decade shows that in countries with a relatively low degree of capitalist development and class differentiation the revolutionary movement is often led by social groups and political organizations representing the peasants, urban petty bourgeoisie, and the civilian and military intelligentsia. These so-called intermediate strata possess a contradictory mentality, that of working men and at the same time proprietary. They, and often their political representatives, are emotionally unstable and prone to sudden political convolutions. However, they are ready to go much farther, more boldly and resolutely, than the national bourgeoisie in meeting the people's general democratic demands. This makes them revolutionary and democratic.

The socio-political climate in countries governed by revolutionary democrats bears out the everlasting relevance of Lenin's postulate that solid alliance of the proletariat and peasantry is an indispensable condition for the victory of the revolution and the stability of its gains. The success of parties and leaders of revolutionary democracy are all the greater, the more extensively they lean on the masses and the more closely they cooperate with other progressive forces, especially the Communists. Conversely, every rejection of such cooperation only weakens them and leads to breakdowns in their policy. Acting in this setting, Communists are guided by Lenin's postulate that revolutionary democracy should be supported in the battle for progressive social changes. To align general communist theory and practice with the specifics of the local conditions, to find and effectuate the appropriate forms of alliance between the working class and the peasants—that was what Lenin defined as the Communists' task in countries where the peasant, petty-bourgeois mass predominates and where the commanding

ideological positions are held by nationalism and religion. The recent Third Congress of the Lebanese Communist Party is a concrete example of how Communists go about effectuating Lenin's behest. It stressed the special importance of supporting the progressive regimes in the Arab world, while calling for struggle against Right tendencies surfacing in the petty-bourgeois leadership of revolutionary democracy. Supporting revolutionary democracy and working to eliminate the weakness inherent in it due to its dual social nature, it is up to the Communists to forge the worker-peasant unity crucial for the revolution.

Non-capitalist development means constant struggle against both local reaction and imperialist pressure and interference. In these conditions the laws of revolution leave no room for sectarianism or self-isolation by fighters renovating the social structures. This is why revolutionary-democratic leaders who raise the slogan of 'socialism without Communists' are making an unpardonable mistake. The formula is theoretically insolvent because in place of scientific socialism stemming implicitly from the objective development of society and the proletarian class struggle, it advances arbitrary constructions of socialism based on purely political decisions of leaders and lacking roots in the consciousness and revolutionary movement of the masses. It is also dangerous politically, because it splits the revolutionary forces and saps their strength vis-à-vis the internal and external reaction. As spokesmen for the growing mass of workers and other working strata, as revolutionaries guided by the scientific theory of socialism, Communists are the political force without which non-capitalist development can have no genuinely socialist perspective.

Countries with the socialist orientation are the vanguard of the world national liberation movement. Their success and experience is a precious asset for all revolutionary forces. But conditions in different regions are so disparate that it would be wrong to look for the prototype of future Asian revolutions in Africa or to expect that African or Asian countries will necessarily follow the revolutionary pattern seen in Latin America. In no case, however, does this deny the common laws of revolution discovered by Marxism-Leninism. As rightly noted by Luis Corvalan, General Secretary of the Communist Party of Chile, 'the peoples know from their own experience that whatever way of revolution they may choose, it should conform completely with the concrete reality, on the one hand, and the working people and the popular masses must join hands in the struggle, on the other. If the way is correctly chosen, the key to victory is in the struggle and unity of the working class, of all popular forces.' It is quite safe to say that now and in the foreseeable future the development of the liberation movement in Asia, Africa and Latin America requires impregnation of national revolutions with a social content and their growth into revolutions advancing society to socialism. And this bears out the Marxist-Leninist postulate that the national liberation movement is one of the principal revolutionary forces working for the social reconstruction of the world.

S. Shariddin



Freedom for patriots!

(Letter from Indonesia)

Dear Comrades,

We are writing to your journal to call the attention of progressive world opinion to the problem of Indonesia's political prisoners.

For over six years now, our country has been ruled by a reactionary military regime which takes brutal repressive measures against all who cherish the ideals of genuine democracy and freedom. With support from the U.S., Dutch, Japanese and West German imperialists, it barefacedly flouts the citizens inalienable rights.

The anti-democratic nature of the government is directly confirmed, in particular, by the banning or suppression of every action of the workers, peasants or young people, the government's announcement that it 'prohibits Marxism-Leninism,' the outlawing of the Communist Party of Indonesia (PKI) and other progressive organizations, the government's arbitrary treatment of the political parties in the July 1971 elections, the doctoring of election returns and the ban on all political activity in the countryside.

You will recall that following the defeat of the officers' action (September 30, 1965) the reactionaries aimed their main blow at the progressive forces, first of all members of the PKI and other revolutionary mass organizations, as well as at their families. Up to a million people lost their lives or found themselves in prison as a result of repression. Among the victims of terror were devoted patriots who had fought against imperialism, reaction and injustice, for the happiness of their people. The bloodbath assumed the dimensions of a national tragedy that caused, and still causes, great damage to our people and revolution.

The authorities have broken up the detainees into three groups: A—the central leadership and prominent functionaries of the PKI and other progressive organizations, that is, Communists and non-Communists whom the regime considers 'particularly dangerous'; B—members of the PKI and other progressive organizations whom the regime considers 'rather dangerous,' as well as leading figures in science, culture and the arts, members of the peace and friend-

ship movement and student organizations; C—Communists, Communist sympathizers and members of their families who 'pose no serious danger,' according to the official view, but have, nevertheless, been in prison or camp for six years now.

Thousands of political prisoners in Group A are confined to prisons with rigorous conditions of detention. From what official spokesmen have said, all these prisoners should have gone on trial. However, the 'trial' of most of them is still virtually pending and as for those who were 'tried,' they were sentenced to death or imprisonment for life. Numerous prisoners die before they are put on trial—of starvation, disease, or torture comparable to that applied by the Nazis.

Political prisoners in Group B (there are tens of thousands of them) were detained in prisons with a severe regimen where they were atrociously tortured. The military rulers exiled them without trial to concentration camps on the island of Buru. Among the exiles are Professor Suprpto, a noted scientist, and Pramudya Ananta Tur, a prominent author. The government hypocritically describes those camps as 'correctional' and lyingly affirms—with some Western journalists and even Dr. Ronald Matri and Bernard Daniel of the International Committee of the Red Cross echoing it—that the exiles lead a 'pleasant and prosperous life' there and that the government 'takes care of them.' Actually the exiles live in marshy forests, on a small, closely guarded island. They are forced to clear the ground of trees and brushwood and till it to eke out a livelihood. They are lodged in wretched barracks, sleep on mats and are preyed on by malarial mosquitoes. Needless to say, many of them die of starvation or disease.

Political prisoners in Group C are restricted to special camps because the prisons are filled to capacity. There are hundreds of thousands of them—many more than in the two other groups. They are daily taken out to build roads and canals but are neither paid nor fed. They depend for their food supply on their own families or the inhabitants of the area where they are doing forced labor. Many die of starvation and beatings. Their life is in no way different from that of forced laborers of the years of Japanese occupation.

In addition to physical tortures, prisoners of all categories have to submit to unbearable moral torture. Their jailers press them to recant their political convictions or their religion in exchange for the promise of freedom or easier conditions of detention. Nor is the Suharto government embarrassed in the least by press reports about these practices.

For all the sustained effort of the authorities to conceal the truth, no one believes the propaganda of Suharto's 'New Order' any more. Progressive opinion throughout the world condemns the government's inhuman treatment of imprisoned patriots and insists on their release. It was under the pressure of this demand that the regime announced its readiness to set free some of the political prisoners. Some prisoners in Group C were released but

nothing was done for their safety and many of them became victims of reaction's reign of terror. Others were unable to find a job and had to live as tramps. Some of them were eventually re-arrested on a charge of 'activities endangering national security.' The 'release' of most Group C prisoners amounted to their being transferred to Group B while prisoners in Group B were put in Group A. In short, only a small proportion of political prisoners really regained freedom but the government is publicizing this fact far and wide as an indication of its 'democracy.'

Thus the Suharto government continues to mislead public opinion. Hundreds of thousands of patriots are still behind prison bars or the barbed wire of concentration camps. The ruling military clique dreads above all else the prospect of this reality becoming known to the world. It has prohibited all discussion of the prisoners' plight on the plea that this would 'imperil the political stability' of Indonesia. But surely stability based on arbitrary rule and disregard of the law is not worth much.

We call on world opinion to continue campaigning steadfastly for the release of Indonesia's captive patriots. This necessitates the international solidarity of all progressives - Communists and non-Communists alike.

May the struggle go on!

Best wishes from all who are fighting in difficult conditions against an anti-popular, pro-imperialist regime, for freedom and democracy, for our beloved country.

Martopo

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Chilean experience

A collection of articles, reports and speeches by Luis Corvalan, General Secretary of the CP of Chile, 'The Road to Victory,'* prepared for the Party's 50th anniversary, deals with the specific features of the Chilean revolution and its ties with the world revolutionary process.

The book describes political events in Chile in 1964-1970, contributes to the theory of the revolution and analyzes the present situation. It is especially important in the light of the specific features of the peaceful transition from capitalism to socialism in Chile and the role of the multi-party system during the building of socialism.

Latin American Communists have never viewed peaceful revolution as the only possible way and worked out their tactics and strategy in line with the specifics of each country. The 'Leftists,' however, constantly attacked Communists, charging them with revisionism and reformism. In the chapter, 'Our Revolutionary Path,' Corvalan rejects the schematic, abstract and one-sided approach to this problem. Communists, the author stresses, conceive the peaceful way as struggle of the masses, not simply as an election campaign. 'We are for the peaceful way,' he explains, 'but we hold that the workers' and popular movement should discard the constraints of legality and follow not laws and constitutions established by the bourgeoisie, but their own class interests, taking into account the situation at each specific moment . . . The peaceful way presupposes a class struggle and not class accord, not amicable coexistence between the exploited and the exploiter and not rejection of an armed struggle if such a struggle is required' (p. 32).

The successes of the people of Chile prove the correctness of the Communist Party's political course – unity of all revolutionary, democratic and progressive forces on the basis of an anti-imperialist, anti-oligarchic program, with socialism as its goal.

The book describes the Communists' work of mending the split and eliminating sectarianism in the workers' and people's move-

L. Corvalan, *Camino de Victoria*. Santiago, Chile, Editorial Horizonte, 1971, 427 pp.

ment. At the 'critical time of the 1964 presidential election, when the Christian-Democrats were victorious and soon consolidated their gains by winning an absolute majority in Parliament, when the Socialist Party declared its opposition to Communist Party tactics, Corvalan wrote to the Socialists on behalf of the CP of Chile: 'That, which unites us, is much stronger.' This profoundly principled letter, imbued with the spirit of fraternity, undoubtedly facilitated unity with one of the country's leading workers' parties.

Simultaneously, the CP of Chile advocated broadening the popular unity front by attracting fresh political forces. In his report to the 13th Party Congress, Corvalan elucidated the theoretical basis for this proposal. He spoke of utilizing the contradictions between factions in the Christian-Democratic Party, taking into account the progressive trends in the Catholic church ready to participate in social transformations, and evaluated the revolutionary potential of the middle strata, among which anti-imperialist and anti-oligarchic sentiments were widespread. The facts show that his appraisal of the balance of political forces corresponded with reality. Four years later, Corvalan said in his report to the 14th Party Congress: 'If a correct policy is supported by concrete results, it remains for us to declare that the policy charted by the 13th Congress was and remains correct' (p. 296).

The multi-party system during the transition to socialism is a specific feature of Chile's political process. It stems from the fact that the struggle for a popular government involved not only the Communist, but several other parties. Taking into account the existing situation, Corvelan writes, 'we are for mutual understanding and cooperation among the various forces participating in the popular movement with no set time limits . . . It is only natural that in the course of the social changes, the balance of forces may change, too. New elements will merge with the revolutionary current. The majority in our country will strive for progress, while certain groups will either mark time or regress. There exists such a possibility. This does not mean, however, that we intend in the future to renounce some of our present allies. All this signifies that our country, even under socialism, must preserve its multi-party system' (pp. 329-330).

These are some of the problems raised in the book, a guide to understanding the revolutionary events unfolding in Chile, the land of Luis Corvalan—revolutionary and leader of the Communist Party of Chile.

Luis Padilla

Revolutionary fighter and artist



David Alfaro Siqueiros is 75. One of Mexico's greatest artists and a member of its Communist Party, Siqueiros is the holder of an international Lenin Peace Prize.

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On his jubilee **World Marxist Review** conveys its best wishes to our friend and revolutionary artist.

Part of Siqueiros' mural, 'The Revolution Against the Diaz Dictatorship.'



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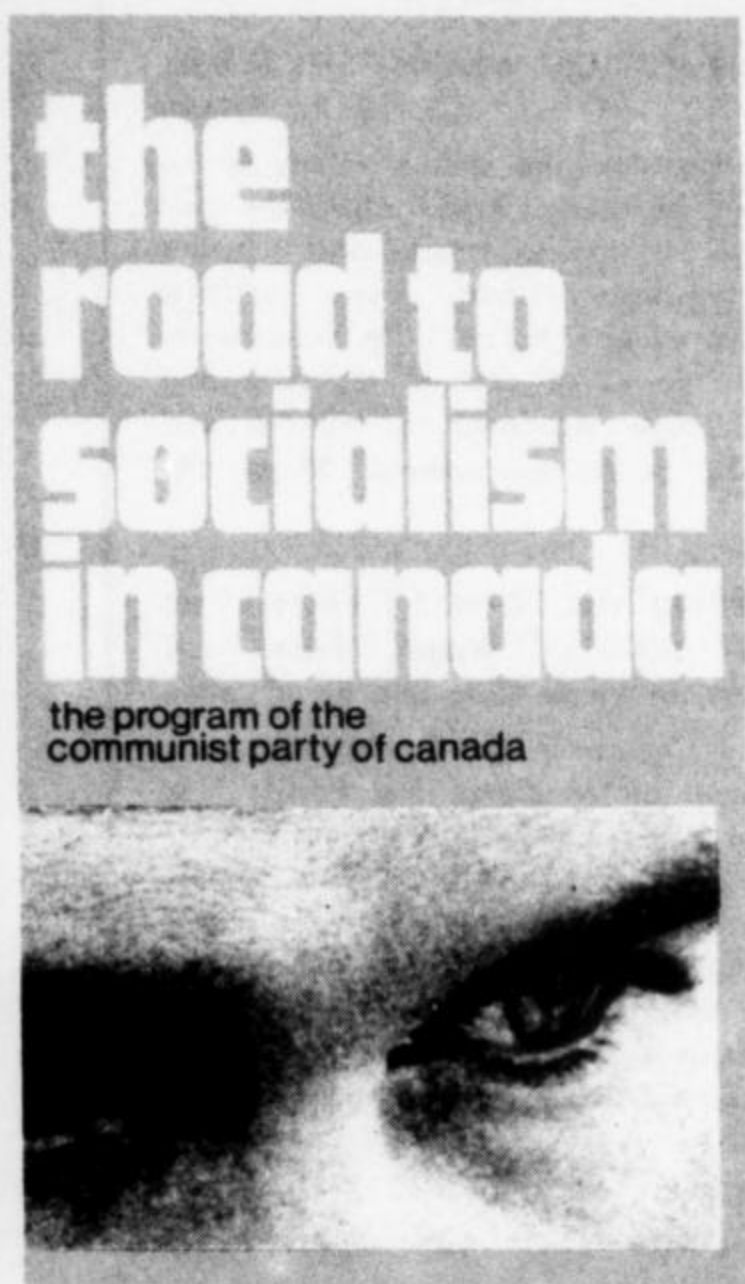
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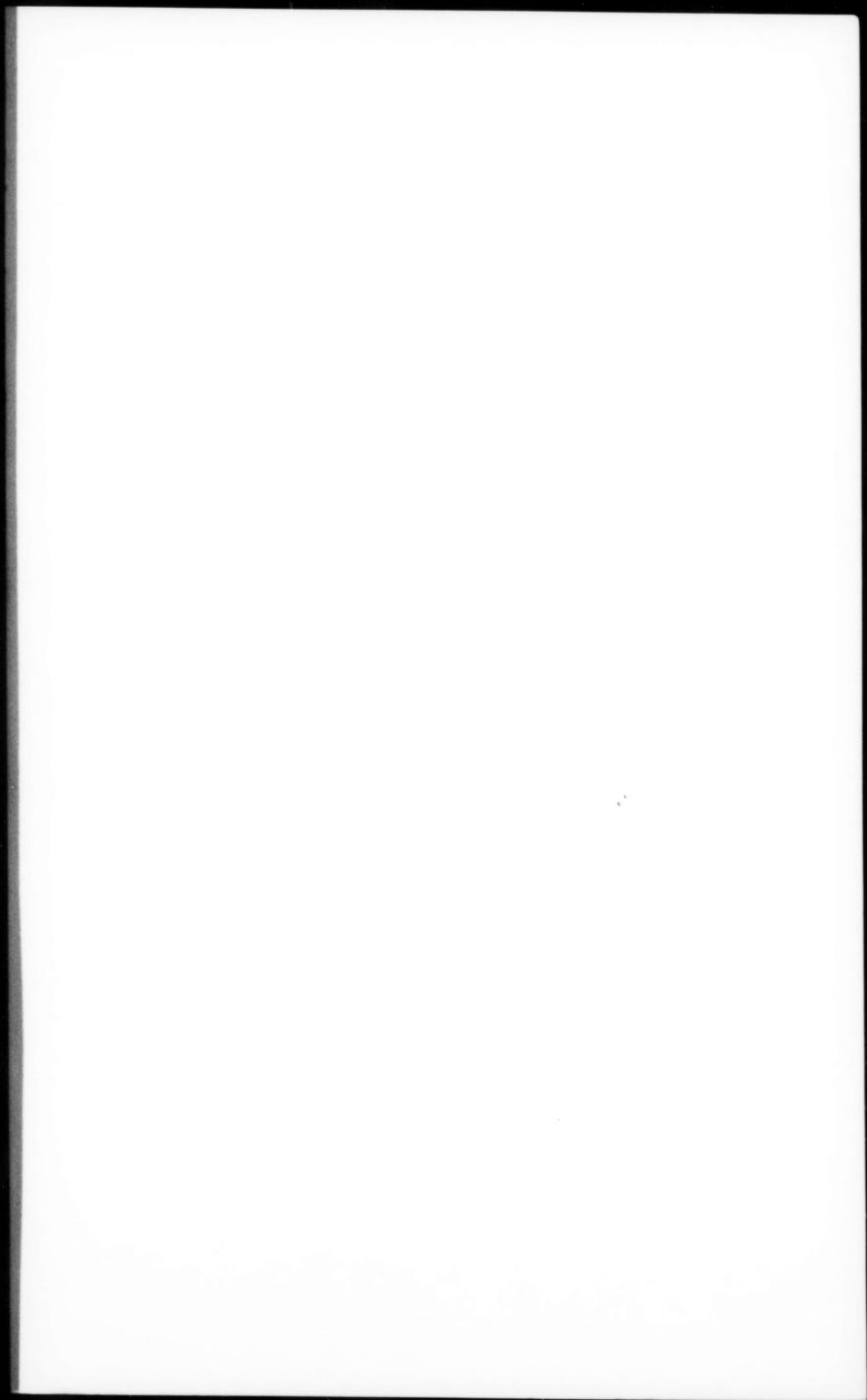
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