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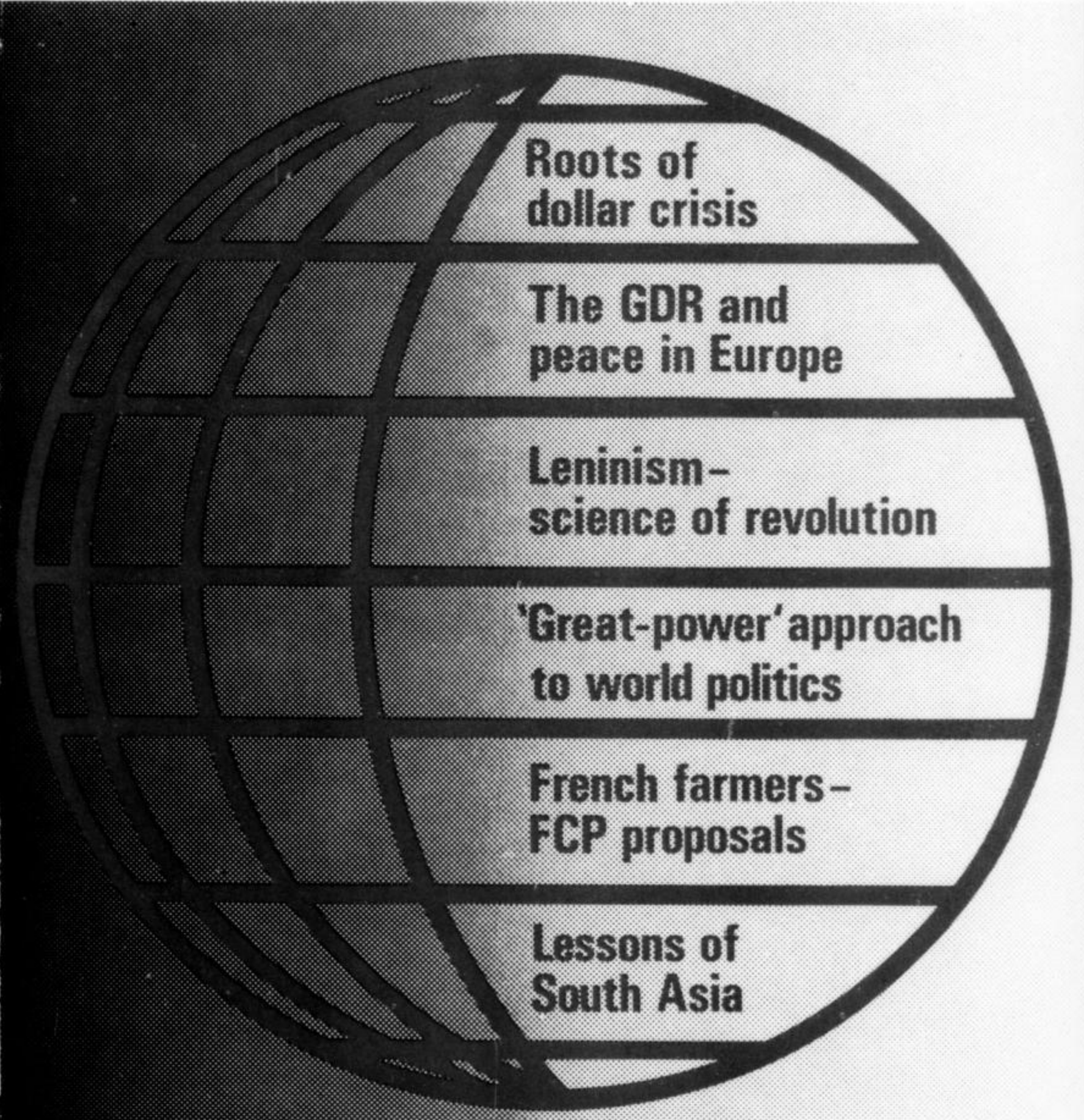
MARXIST

Peace and Socialism

REVIEW

May 1972, Vol. 15, No. 5

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**Roots of
dollar crisis**

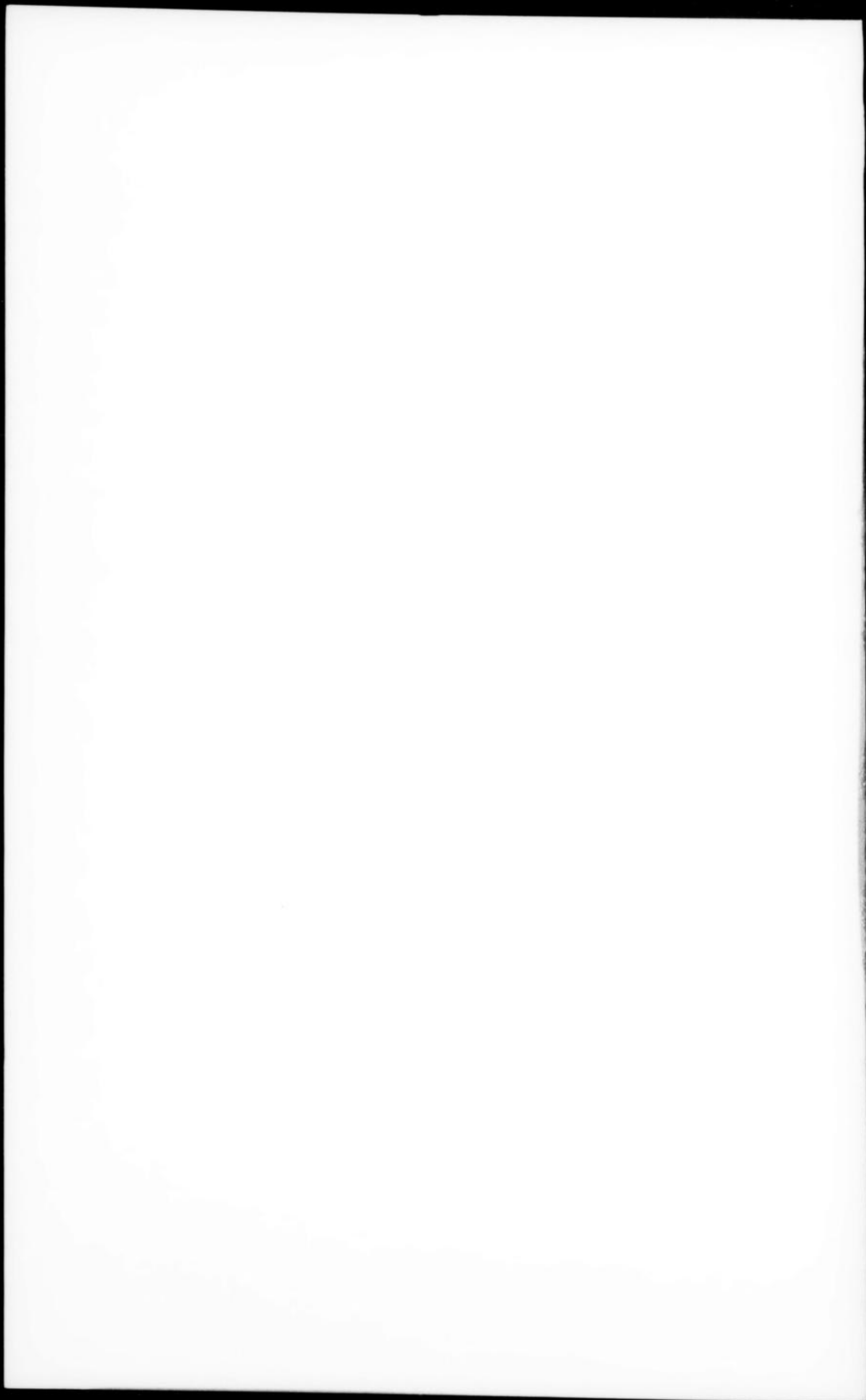
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Theoretical and information
journal of Communist and
Workers' Parties

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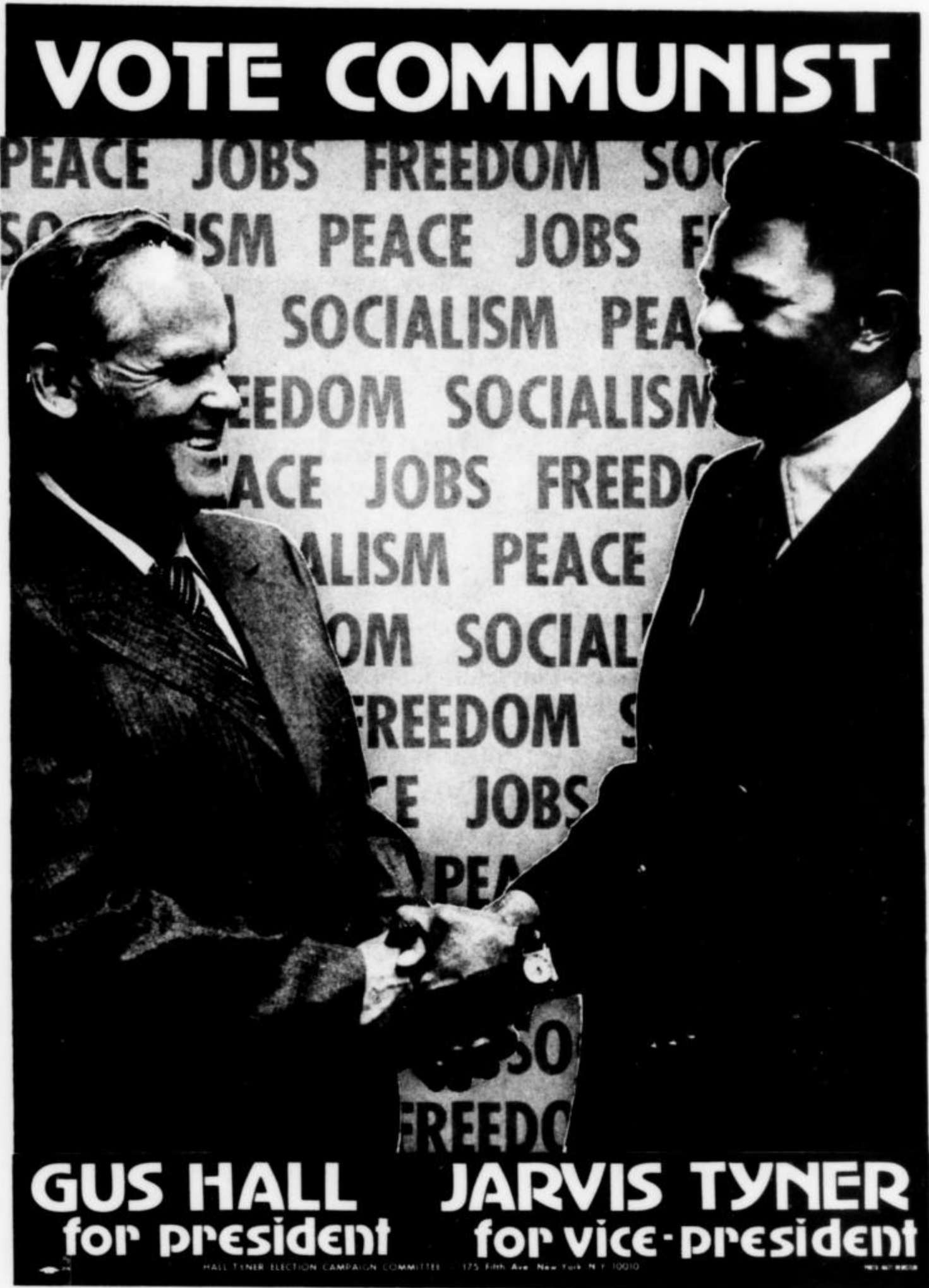
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U.S. Communist Party election poster, the first in 25 years (see P. Bart's article in this issue).



Leninism is the Marxism of our age, the powerful, militant ideological and theoretical weapon of the Communist and Workers' parties. 'Study Lenin's works!', the International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties said in its Lenin Centenary Address. 'These you shall find an inexhaustible fund of inspiration in the struggle against reaction and oppression, for socialism and peace.'

In inaugurating this new section, Leninism, the Science of Revolution, the editors plan to publish materials on the content and topical relevance of Lenin's ideas and works.

The first contribution concerns the ways and specificities of uniting scientific socialism with the social activity of the working people. A problem, it will be recalled, which found its consummate elaboration in Lenin's 'What Is to Be Done.'* It was decided to make this the opening subject of the new section because the activity of Communist parties logically and historically begins with bringing socialist consciousness to the mass movement, a task which remains central to all their subsequent ideological work.

Printed on this and the following pages is a summary of the discussion in the special research group composed of K. Zarodov, D. Hist. (**WMR** Editor-in-Chief), G. Kwiatowski (German Communist Party), L. Nagy (Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party) and H. Safari, D. Econ. (People's Party of Iran)..

Uniting scientific socialism with social activity of working class

Substance and implications of the problem

K. Zarodov. Uniting scientific socialism with the practice of the proletarian class struggle and the building of the new society is a cardinal task of communist activity. And that is understandable, for scientific socialism becomes an effective transforming force in

*Lenin began work on the book in May 1901; its publication was announced in *Iskra*, March 10, 1902.

all spheres of social life only if it is assimilated by the working class and the mass of the working people. On the other hand, the history-making activity of the masses can refashion the world along new, communist lines only if it relies on Marxism-Leninism, the science of revolution. In this age, with the growing importance of theory as a factor of revolutionary transformation, mastery of this science is essential for the continued strengthening of world socialism, the world workers' movement's intensified onslaught on imperialism, and correct orientation of the national-liberation struggle.

The question of bringing socialist consciousness to the masses is a complicated one, both in its political and theoretical aspects. It is elaborated in the works of Marx, Engels and Lenin on the basis of the regularities they discovered of the development of the working class's world outlook. This, in turn, required elucidation from positions of materialist dialectics of a number of general sociological problems, such as the interaction of social being and consciousness, the relative independence of ideology in relation to its basis, the dialectics of the objective and subjective in history, etc.

The significance of Lenin's ideas will stand out in fuller clarity if we recall some of the ideologico-political features of the concrete historical situation in which they were first enunciated and developed. By that time Marxism had triumphed over utopian views in the workers' movement. But when the 'spectre of communism' haunted not only Europe, but other continents too, when the viability of the communist ideas had already been vindicated by the Paris Commune, the first proletarian dictatorship, Marxism was faced – especially after Engels' death – with a new adversary, opportunism, parading as 'scientific socialism.' And if at first it did not go beyond national boundaries, at the turn of the century it became an international phenomenon. And there arose in the international Social-Democratic movement two distinct trends, the opportunist and the revolutionary.

The opportunists interpreted the ideas of Marx and Engels to mean that, by fighting for higher pay, a shorter work day, etc., to wrest from the capitalists and their governments better conditions, the workers would eventually arrive at socialism through this economic struggle. Bernstein and the other opportunists advocated 'gradual introduction' of socialism, but in practice this meant adapting the labor movement to bourgeois interests. Bernstein capsuled his views into this formula: 'The movement is everything, the ultimate aim nothing.' A dangerous situation had thus arisen: either the proletariat, spontaneously taking up the class struggle, would come under the sway of opportunism and would for long years be groping in a maze of reformist illusions, or opportunism would be ideologically defeated and the workers' movement would advance along the revolutionary path.

Many outstanding theoreticians and propagandists of Marxism – Rosa Luxemburg, Karl Liebknecht, Franz Mehring, Clara Zetkin – were fully aware of the danger offered by opportunism and sharply

criticized it. But it fell to Lenin to deal the decisive blow and raise aloft the ideological banner of Marx and Engels. And it was Lenin who comprehensively developed their doctrine in the new conditions of imperialism and indicated to the working people the only correct path to their socialist goal.

Lenin's 'What Is to Be Done?' consummated the ideological defeat of 'Economism,' that Russian variety of international opportunism. But Lenin did more than rebuff this specific defection from Marxism. He gave the Communists the methodology of fighting and exposing opportunism. In particular, his analysis of the interconnection between 'Economism' and terrorism revealed that Right and 'Left' opportunism have a common root in *subservience to spontaneity*. For in both cases, Lenin emphasized, it was a matter of 'shying away' from the imperative duty of all revolutionaries to train the masses for revolutionary activity and bring socialist consciousness into the proletarian class struggle.

Lenin's elucidation of the problem of uniting scientific socialism with the workers' movement was of vast importance in asserting revolutionary Marxism. And that problem received his attention throughout all the years of his scientific and revolutionary activity, from his early work 'What the "Friends of the People" Are and How They Fight the Social-Democrats' and up to the last articles dictated in 1923. But it was in 'What Is to Be Done?' that Lenin first analyzed, profoundly and comprehensively, its substance and implications. Generations of revolutionaries have drawn inspiration and knowledge from that book. Asked which of Lenin's works exerted the strongest influence on him as a young man, Jacques Duclos replied: 'Above all, "What Is To Be Done?"'

Socialist ideology does not arise spontaneously from the proletarian class struggle. It is brought into that struggle by the vanguard revolutionary party. What is the essence of this process? From the methodological standpoint, it should be divided into three closely interrelated elements. First, elaboration and development of scientific socialism, the content, that is, of the ideology we bring to the masses. Second, methods and forms, i.e., the very 'mechanism' of the process. Third, consolidating the ideas of scientific socialism, their practical testing in the revolutionary mass movement. And in this testing the ideas formulated by the Party are enriched and formulas that no longer conform to the changed conditions of the mass struggle are replaced by new ones. This methodology retains all its validity, irrespective of concrete conditions in the various countries or larger areas.

However, another methodological aspect should be borne in mind. The revolutionary movement develops not through a single act, but rather as a process in which sharp upsurges alternate with periods of quiet. These do not coincide in different countries. Hence, the problem of bringing socialist consciousness into the mass movement has to be approached differently depending on specific periods and conditions in a given country. And Lenin noted that 'in every country this combination of socialism and the working-class move-

ment was evolved historically, in unique ways, in accordance with the prevailing conditions of time and place' (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 4, p. 368).

Bringing socialist consciousness to the masses is a day-to-day task of the Party. But – and this is a feature of Lenin's treatment of the question – the intensity of this Party work depends on the development degree of the class struggle. 'The greater the spontaneous upsurge of the masses and the more widespread the movement,' Lenin wrote, 'the more rapid, incomparably so, the demand for greater consciousness in the theoretical, political and organizational work of Social-Democracy' (Vol. 5, p. 396). And history has confirmed that. Wherever the Communist parties were prepared for an upsurge of the mass movement, for crucial stages of struggle, the working class emerged victorious. Conversely, wherever they were unprepared there were temporary but none the less bitter setbacks and defeats.

Non-socialist world: new social conditions

K. Zarodov. The world revolutionary process has these distinguishing features: a high degree of maturity of the material prerequisites for mankind's transition to socialism, involvement in the anti-imperialist struggle of new detachments, groups and generations of working people and their active search for a progressive revolutionary theory. The 1969 International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties stated that 'the present phase is characterized by growing possibilities for a further advance of the revolutionary progressive forces. . . . The world revolutionary movement continues its offensive despite the difficulties and set-backs of some of its contingents.'

The workers' movement in capitalist countries is on the upsurge. Class battles reveal a more pronounced trend, noted by Lenin in his day, of economic struggle growing over into political and spear-headed against the entire system of state-monopoly domination.

We are witnessing unparalleled strike actions in many European countries, considerable progress of the revolutionary movement in America and in many Afro-Asian countries. As the 24th CPSU Congress noted, in present conditions the subjective factor, ideological education of the masses, plays a bigger part in organizing the mass anti-imperialist struggle. Accordingly, increasing importance attaches to Lenin's idea of uniting scientific socialism with the revolutionary movement of the working people.

Lenin's ideas, set out in 'What Is to Be Done?,' give us the key to understanding many peculiarities of the present-day workers' movement in capitalist countries. If the Communist parties are out of step with the activity of the masses, if they have not found a correct approach to the masses, this is immediately seized upon by other, more energetic political forces. Is this not the explanation of the flare-ups of diverse Leftist groups and, on the other hand, of the successes of the Social-Democratic parties, or at least consolidation of their position in the workers' movement?

In their efforts to raise the spontaneous movement to the level of their program – to use Lenin's expression – Communist and Workers' parties in capitalist countries popularize scientific socialism and develop it on the basis of the movement's practical experience, firmly upholding the revolutionary principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism in the struggle against all opponents.

Clarification of vital social problems contributes to the political education of the masses and, as Lenin remarks, helps to collect and concentrate all the 'drops and streamlets of popular resentment' and bring them into a 'single gigantic torrent' directed against capitalism (Vol. 5, p. 420).

G. Kwiatowski. The present state of the workers' movement in the capitalist countries is added proof that Lenin's teaching on uniting scientific socialism with the labor movement has a special relevance today. Our experience in the FRG shows that the workers' struggle cannot automatically – especially if it is confined to purely economic issues – lead to anything but what Lenin called trade-union consciousness that offers no prospect of victory. It is the task of the Communist parties to develop the socialist consciousness of the proletariat, inculcate an understanding of its great historic mission. How can that be accomplished?

Political consciousness, Lenin indicated, is forged only from the experience of the class struggle, notably in battles involving the entire proletariat. For us, West German Communists, this is a very vital question inasmuch as in recent years (with the exception of the September 1969 strikes) there have been no outstandingly important proletarian actions. The reasons for this are many, but they do not come within the subject of our discussion. The important thing is to find the correct approach to heightening the worker's consciousness in the existing and not some imaginary situation.

And here scientific analysis of class consciousness plays an important part. Levels of class consciousness differ widely from country to country. The Frankfurt-on-Main Marxist Research Institute is studying the problem in West Germany. A relatively small progressive segment of the proletariat is active in the factories and trade unions, but on the whole class consciousness among workers is at a low level. Much the same is true of the youth.

Our Party seeks to foster class consciousness in the context of the workers' struggles in industry, in which the interests of employer and worker clash and are more clearly seen as mutually opposed. However, it has to be said that if this level of consciousness does not go beyond the given factory (as is often the case), it should be regarded merely as the most elementary, embryonic form. We are guided by Lenin's proposition that class consciousness develops from the workers' accumulated experience not only at their enterprise, but in the entire process of social life, from an understanding of economic and political class relationships, and as

a result of irreconcilable struggle against opportunism under Communist party leadership.

We encourage and stimulate the workers' natural desire for united action, demonstrating that it is the only way to win their demands. The September 1969 strikes showed that positive changes are taking place, creating the preconditions for overcoming the bourgeois idea of social partnership and for promoting proletarian consciousness. However, with the present level of mass consciousness the striving for unity often leads to situations in which the workers resist the introduction of political issues on the plea that this hampers effective action.

Apparently, in West German conditions it will take a long period of class battles for accumulated experience to lead the workers to engage in actions directed against the capitalist system as such. Naturally, our Party is endeavoring to accelerate the process. The policy statement of its Essen Congress and the theses of the Dueseldorf Congress give the working class a program for the radical refashioning of society, for an anti-monopoly democracy as the prelude to socialism.

The political attitudes of the youth and the changes in its consciousness are a problem that has generated much discussion latterly. We attach much importance to this problem and are closely studying it. There is definite political passivity in some of the older age groups and much greater political activity among the youth, notably the students. Both are the result of several factors, of which I shall mention the following.

The protest of a considerable section of young people in developed capitalist countries is expressive of the deepening social conflict between youth's desire for progress, peace and socialism and capitalism's inability to satisfy the interests of the vast majority of young people. In the case of the students, we should also add another factor, namely, the marked deterioration in the social status and position of intellectuals in bourgeois society.

Account should also be taken of socio-psychological factors. The older and partly intermediate generation grew up before, during and in the early years after the war. For some of these people the present standard of life in the FRG is something quite extraordinary. The young generation looks at it differently. It regards present living standards merely as a starting point and in many cases reacts more sharply to the contradictions of our society and sees more clearly that capitalism cannot resolve the vital problems facing mankind. This brings the youth into motion. In the FRG, for example, there is a gaping contradiction between the requirements of scientific and technological progress and the existing system of education. An understanding of this contradiction is largely promoted by the vast advantages of socialism. Of course a large part of the non-Communist youth's condemnation of the system is still mostly emotional. But socio-psychological factors, emotions, can, under certain conditions, play an important part in cultivating scientific ideology.

The conflict between the Social-Democrat leadership and young party members has been developing for a long time. However, only a small part of the Left youth joins the Communist Party, and one of the main reasons is the persistence of anti-Communist prejudices which, often enough, impel opposition-minded youth to joint opportunist groups, whether Right or 'Left.'

Our Party has drawn up a program of work among the youth, providing for a differentiated approach to various strata and groups. In this respect the Party is guided by Lenin's proposition that when extensive young forces are brought into the movement, we must be able to 'utilize all these forces and give them appropriate work' (Vol. 5, p. 429). And we can speak of certain positive results. In last year's elections in Bremen our percentage vote in the 18-21 age group was 3 or 4 times more than our overall percentage, 14.8 per cent among young men and 9.8 per cent among young women. It is important to note (and this is confirmed by experience) that certain differences between the older and younger generations in their approach to one or another aspect of the capitalist system are obliterated in the course of joint struggle for pressing class demands.

K. Zarodov. Conditions in developed capitalist countries both facilitate and complicate the Party's efforts to bring socialist consciousness into the mass movement. First of all there is the example of existing socialism. There is the fact that imperialism has long since reached its highest, state-monopoly phase, with all its contradictions. There is also the fact that the scientific and technological revolution has raised the workers' skill and general education levels, bringing them nearer to the technical intelligentsia. These processes make the workers more receptive to socialist ideas. Of course, this is not an automatic process, all the more so that under capitalism the results of the scientific and technological revolution affect different people in different ways. For example, the monopolies can allocate more to meet some of the workers' demands. Failure to understand the policy behind this gives rise, in certain sections of the working people, to political passivity and inertia. On the other hand, the mass media are being used by imperialism for all-out ideological conditioning of the masses and for intensive anti-Communist propaganda.

G. Kwiatowski. Beyond all doubt, one of the most important conditions for forming socialist consciousness is the very existence of socialism which the October Revolution and the formation of the socialist system transformed from a scientific theory to a material force that is increasingly influencing world development. The achievements of socialism have a tremendous impact on the consciousness of the working class in capitalist countries.

The socialist countries' peace policy, the promotion of industrial and political democracy, the obvious advantages of their educational and public health systems, the vast opportunities they offer to the

youth, the absence of unemployment and confidence in the future – all this helps the worker in the capitalist countries to understand socio-political problems and shows him what the working class is capable of once it has captured power. And it is significant that in times of social or political upheaval, the workers turn to the socialist countries for answers to the questions agitating their minds. Needless to say, the impact of socialist reality on the workers' consciousness is not direct and not always of equal force. The men who speak for monopoly capital, and the opportunists too, exploit for their anti-Communist purposes the fact that the new social system has taken root mostly in countries which in the past were either underdeveloped or only at an intermediate stage of development. The difficulties that arise in the course of socialist construction are similarly used to vilify socialism.

Today, it is not enough for a Communist to speak of his sympathy for socialism in general. It is his duty to uphold the reality of socialism, support the Soviet Union and other socialist countries and – what is particularly important for us – the GDR and its socialist system. Convincing propaganda that brings out the historic achievements of socialism and its impact on life in the capitalist countries is essential in fostering class consciousness.

H. Safari. The existence and growth of the socialist system has a very special significance for the Third World. The record will show that socialist ideas reach a high degree of popularity in Asia and Africa, and notably in my own country, Iran, when the socialist countries register great achievements. That is not accidental.

In examining the rise of our scientific ideology in the developing countries we should consider two interconnected aspects. First, internal material and socio-economic conditions. Most of these countries are characterized by an underdeveloped material and technical base, backward relations of production, the predominance of peasants, which restricts the sphere of the class struggle, and sharp contradictions between the whole nation and foreign capital. In these conditions the masses can develop an anti-imperialist, and hence also a revolutionary democratic, consciousness. But this is not enough to form a scientific ideology.

Does this imply that the spread of the ideas of scientific socialism there hinges primarily on the subjective factor? I do not think so. It is important to take into account yet another objective aspect. I mean the conditions of world social being now that socialism is a reality. Naturally, this is reflected in the working people's social consciousness. This factor operates universally and does not depend on the economic level of the country concerned. However, it is particularly important because internal social relations are not mature enough. Hence the need for close all-round links between the socialist world system and the developing countries. Progress in these relations contributes largely to the formation of diverse forms of socialist consciousness, including revolutionary ones.

The spread of socialist ideas in the zone of the national liberation movement is due to the anti-imperialist character of the movement. The fight against imperialism is closely linked with the struggle for social progress and economic independence. This struggle can be won provided age-long backwardness is ended in a historically short time. Practice has shown that socialism is successfully accomplishing this task. The capitalist system, which dooms the working people to endless suffering, has discredited itself in the developing countries. Consequently, apart from everything else, progressive and revolutionary forces are brought to socialism by pressing economic needs. There is also the example of social and economic changes of a non-capitalist nature, which importantly contribute to the process.

The growing influence of socialist ideas is an important guarantee that the national-liberation revolution will progress towards anti-capitalist change. Lenin stressed that 'the strength of the present movement lies in the awakening of the masses (principally, the industrial proletariat)' (Vol. 5, p. 373). In the developing countries, interest in the theory of scientific socialism, especially among progressive youth (it is strongly reminiscent of the situation in Russia described by Lenin in 'What Is to Be Done?'), often assumes a spontaneous character. However, that is precisely what Lenin called an embryonic form of social consciousness.

Our task is meaningfully to unite scientific socialism with the working people's struggle where the petty bourgeoisie makes up the overwhelming majority and there is no organized labor movement. This is exploited by 'Left'-wing opportunists, who try to substitute adventurism and terrorism for the conscious revolutionary activity of the masses, and secondly, to isolate the national liberation movement from the socialist countries and the world Communist movement.

Lenin insisted on 'going among all classes of the population' and on 'dispatching units of our army in all directions' (Vol. 5, p. 422). Now, work among the masses is not smooth sailing – it is difficult and often produces contradictory results. What is needed is an exhaustive analysis of the social, economic, ideological and political situation in the country concerned and an accurate appraisal of the relationship between general objective laws and concrete conditions.

The formation of class consciousness under socialism

K. Zarodov. The most far-reaching changes in the character of the socio-historical activity of the masses today are due to the existence of the socialist countries, which embody the unity of socialist science and practice. This is not to say, however, that the task of bringing socialism to the masses is no longer a pressing one. What are its special aspects in the socialist countries?

In these countries, too, uniting scientific socialism with the working people's social activity is pivotal to the Party's ideological

work. It is not a single act but a continuous process. Ideological work is modified in step with changes in the class structure of society, the economic and political conditions of the working people's life, their culture and education, changes in the social consciousness of the masses and the entry of new generations into social life.

The methodological recommendations and much of the practical advice contained in Lenin's 'What Is to Be Done' are relevant in the socialist period as well. To be sure, the new situation requires that they be used in a new way. Under capitalism, with the proletariat fighting for power, the effort to shape a mass socialist mentality is aimed, first of all, at destroying the bourgeois system by revolutionary means. When power has been won and the Party becomes the ruling party, the main purpose of making the masses socialist-minded is to educate builders of a new society, which means that tasks of a creative nature come to the fore.

Lenin stressed that to foster the workers' socialist consciousness, it is not enough for them to join in economic struggle. This proposition clearly remains valid after the victory of the revolution although, needless to say, the struggle acquires a new function – advancing the economy. Now socialist consciousness is formed through the workers' participation not only in economic development but in every social activity.

An important task of the Party is to establish a correct relationship between economic development and ideological work among the masses. Disregard of people's material requirements deprives ideological activity of a solid basis and makes it easier for anti-socialist ideas to infiltrate. The reverse is also possible – a relatively high standard of life may give rise to an exaggerated notion of the gains of socialism and result in underestimating ideological education. This, too, has an adverse effect.

Timely theoretical elucidation of topical problems should be emphasized, too. Lenin wrote that we must be able 'at the right moment to dictate a positive program of action' (Vol. 5, p. 429) and support it with sound arguments. This can only be done by a party taking guidance from progressive theory. The CPSU, like the Marxist-Leninist parties of other socialist countries, carefully follows this advice. It is universally recognized that the 24th Congress of the CPSU made a tremendous contribution to the elaboration of theoretical problems.

L. Nagy. Socialist social relations greatly extend the possibilities of spreading Marxism-Leninism. But this does not come automatically. Even under socialism, bourgeois and petty-bourgeois ideas may recur spontaneously. Hence the role of the Party as the center developing and spreading socialist consciousness increases. The ruling party must follow a correct policy if it is effectively to unite the science of socialism with the mass movement. The dissemination of Marxism-Leninism in Hungary was greatly impaired in the years 1950-1956, when the Party made Right and 'Left' opportunist

mistakes. The masses, and above all a section of the intelligentsia, tended to turn more and more to fashionable bourgeois ideas.

Subjectivist distortions of policy lead to attempts to 'modify' Marxist-Leninist theory to make it fit a fallacious practice. On the other hand, opportunist distortions of theory lead to erroneous recommendations for political practice.

Discrepancies between theory and practice prevent the working people in socialist society from becoming conscious builders of socialism. They can become such only through a long and complex historical process, attended by sharp class struggles against anti-communism, against imperialist attempts to corrupt the masses, against survivals of bourgeois ideology in people's minds and against petty-bourgeois ideas born of real contradictions. It is therefore wrong and dangerous to minimize the importance of class education of the working people on the plea that under socialism the contradiction between being and consciousness is only potential and does not result in consciousness lagging behind being.

In the new society, Lenin's ideas are translated into reality on a far broader social basis. It is a question of uniting scientific socialism with the struggle of not only the workers but all working classes and sections of society. Our country, like other People's Democracies, was squarely faced with this problem from the very first days of the socialist revolution. The Hungarian proletariat came to power in a broader class alliance with non-proletarian working people than was the case in Russia. It took the form of a patriotic Popular Front. Can and should this alliance be preserved at the stage of completing the construction of socialism? Our experience tells us that it can and should. The policy of broad class alliances which the Party follows within the Popular Front is necessary for building socialism and re-educating non-proletarian sectors in a Marxist-Leninist spirit.

A common striving and effort to build socialism narrows the basis for non-Marxist views and allows scope for fostering scientific, Marxist views among even those groups of the population which ideologically are far removed from the Communists. One indication of this is that a wide section of believers, particularly peasants, share in the Popular Front. Of course, it is believers from the working people who play the decisive role here. Their attitude to socialism is not determined by their 'tolerating' it, but by the fact that they are taking part in its construction under the leadership of the working class. This explains why, in the new society, it is not so much a question of the dialogue with the Catholics and other believers as of joint effort by believers and non-believers alike for the good of socialism. This cooperation also determines the outlook for the dialogue - victory for the scientific, socialist ideology.

It follows that in the socialist countries it is both necessary and possible for all sections of the working people to make the proletariat's class ideology their own.

The 'mechanism' of bringing scientific socialism to the masses

K. Zarodov. The Communist movement has assumed a worldwide character. The mass media have developed to an immense extent and the political and cultural standards of the masses have improved. Communists take account of all this in deciding on the 'mechanism' of introducing scientific ideology among the masses.

Experience shows, however, that some Party propagandists go too far in using 'popular' methods, which means ignoring Lenin's advice not to lower the theoretical level of Marxism in carrying on propaganda but to raise the masses to it. On the other hand, agitation and propaganda methods occasionally fail to meet new requirements and the level attained by the movement, and some propagandists evade topical, burning issues. Documents of the brother parties state that the methods of making the masses socialist conscious are lagging behind the requirements of the time and are occasionally inflexible and primitive. This tells on propaganda. 'Socialism, since it has become a science,' Engels wrote, 'demands it be pursued as a science, that is, that it be studied' (Preface to the 'Peasant War in Germany').

I would like to deal in some detail with the mechanism of introducing the scientific ideology among the masses in socialist society.

In the new society, socialist consciousness is no longer something brought into the labor movement entirely from without. It is not only the Party and ideologists that take part in fostering it. The process of formation of a socialist mentality goes on directly in work teams, in the course of building socialism. The Party gets much help in various forms from the trade unions, the Komsomol, the school, the family, and so on. We must, of course, distinguish between the diverse levels of socialist consciousness. Large sections of the working people take part in evolving every-day consciousness, i.e., a social psychology and the moral standards of the socialist community. The socialist trend of this consciousness is guaranteed by the fact that it is moulded on a socialist basis, under a system of institutions ensuring the dominant role of socialist ideology in society and the guiding role of the Party.

The theoretical forms of consciousness are something different. To develop them, we need definite prerequisites, such as assimilation of the whole volume of human knowledge, scientific research, and so on and so forth. Here the key role goes to the leading core of the party, to scholars.

L. Nagy. Under socialism, fostering socialist consciousness is a vital concern of the Party, of all mass movements, government agencies and mass organizations. Here are some figures from Hungary. The HSWP has 662,000 members. In the 1969/70 school year Marxism-Leninism was studied on a systematic basis by 790,000 people in the Party education network, 630,000 in the trade-union network, 550,000 in the Young Communist League and 80,000 in institutions of higher learning. The total of students of Marxism-

Leninism exceeds two million – out of a gainfully employed population of five million.

These figures are no cause for complacency, of course. We still have numerous difficult problems that have yet to be properly studied. And since one of the tasks of our research group is to raise problems of precisely this nature, I will list some of them.

We all know that to master Marxism-Leninism does not mean simply memorizing its propositions. Lenin pointed out that to master scientific socialism implies combining study with direct participation in the class struggle against capitalism, for socialism. But what is to be done now in, say, Hungary, where all the more serious class conflicts may be described as a thing of the past?

Some intellectuals infer from this that at the stage of completing socialist construction development is no longer revolutionary and the role and class, political consciousness of the masses, diminish while leading experts and technocrats (managers) come to the fore. Our Party has rejected this notion as unproletarian and unscientific. The 10th Party Congress stressed the primacy of politics as the concentrated expression of economics even in the conditions of economic reform. The Party relies on working-class power, on the political consciousness and socialist enthusiasm of the working class and its allies. It may well be that the forms and methods of mass struggle in the conditions of building developed socialism have not yet been properly defined. One thing is certain, however, that the strength of the socialist revolution does not decrease but increases at the stage of building mature socialism. All the people are able to participate directly in socio-political life. It is only through such participation that a class, socialist consciousness takes shape.

Account should also be taken of the following. Inadequate knowledge of the mechanism of introducing scientific prognostication into the life of society breeds doubt and ideological vacillation among some people. And it is the task of propagandists to explain that the theoretical propositions of Marxism-Leninism reflect the objective laws of social development which assert themselves – provided the Party is following a correct policy – as the main trends of socialist society, but are modified in particulars, details and forms of operation.

G. Kwiatowski. This problem also confronts, in its own way, the GCP. There is an immense interest in socialist literature among West Germany's youth, particularly the students. Some of them use as the main criterion of real socialism the characteristics of a completed communist society formulated by Marx, Engels and Lenin, or their own idealized notion of it. It is from these positions that they criticize real socialism and evolve 'socialist' theories of a utopian brand. What complicates things is that the book market lavishly supplies them with pseudo-scientific, in particular 'Left' extremist, literature.

That the youth searches for answers to its problems in socialist

literature is a positive phenomenon. Specifically, it helps young people to get rid of the influence of anti-communism and frank anti-Sovietism, which in West German conditions is one of the main obstacles to the spread of scientific socialism.

The GCP is doing extensive work among youth to turn its occasionally contradictory sympathy for socialism into scientific, Marxist-Leninist convictions. The Party does not merely try to enlist the participation of young workers or students in ideological and cultural events and theoretical forums (incidentally, one of these forums will be held shortly in Stuttgart, the city where Lenin's 'What Is to Be Done?' was first published) but also organizes discussions which usually draw large audiences. Significantly, the Party is only joined by those young people who have satisfied themselves from personal experience of the need to publicize and uphold real socialism.

Speaking of the distinctive features of the GCP's ideological activities, it should be borne in mind that this activity is conducted in an atmosphere of sharp controversy with the bourgeois reformist concepts of the Social-Democratic Party. What makes it difficult for the proletariat to shake off the influence of Social-Democratic ideology is, in particular, the fact that the bourgeois substance of this ideology is camouflaged with talk about the SPD's 'ideological neutrality.' In combating Right-wing reformism and opportunism, the GCP applies Leninist methodology and the advice contained, in particular, in 'What Is to Be Done?'

H. Safari. Practice shows that the effort to unite scientific socialism with the working people's struggle in the developing countries yields positive results if account is taken not only of the peculiarities of their being, but also the distinctive structure of social consciousness. In Asian and African countries, the socio-psychological forms of perceiving the world that are typical of the peasants and the urban petty bourgeoisie play a big role. The penetration of the scientific, socialist world outlook into the masses is prevented by widespread religious forms of thinking, various prejudices and a low educational standard. All this leaves its imprint on the forms and methods of agitation and propaganda. Lenin noted that a condition for extending political agitation 'is the organization of *comprehensive* political exposures' on the basis of specific examples, failing which the masses cannot be trained in political consciousness and revolutionary activity (Vol. 5, p. 412). Many Asian and African countries today are more in need of good agitators than propagandists.

Spontaneously, the national-liberation movement can evolve only non-Marxist forms of socialist consciousness. However, a number of developing countries have no Communist parties and the vanguard role in social life is played by revolutionary democratic organizations striving for socialism. For various reasons, these political organizations and their leaders do not fully subscribe to Marxist-Leninist views, but the logic of the struggle for a new society

prompts them to perform in one way or another the function of introducing socialist consciousness among the masses. In this case it would probably be right to speak of an 'indirect' mechanism of uniting scientific socialism with the working people's struggle, first of all by using the experience of the socialist countries in the specific conditions of countries that have no developed working class and working-class party. This is a difficult and contradictory process, of course, all the more since unscientific notions of socialism are widespread in these countries. Its success depends on how far social life is democratized and on close cooperation with Marxist-Leninists. Promoting and strengthening comprehensive relations with the socialist community and the world Communist movement play an enormous role in this.

L. Nagy. In both the socialist and the capitalist countries today, the task is not only to spread the ideas of scientific socialism, but to answer, in keeping with the teachings of Marx, Engels and Lenin, new questions raised by life. Collective effort is gaining prominence in every science, including Marxism-Leninism. The world Communist movement, the creation of Marx, Engels and Lenin, has been growing in scope and strength. The further development of theory no longer depends on individuals; it is first and foremost the task of parties and their international forums, and derives from the necessity constantly to study and generalize the experience of the world Communist movement. This is one of the distinctive features in the development of scientific socialism in present-day conditions.

K. Zarodov. One cannot but agree with this. In the past, the elaboration of scientific socialism was the work of a small group of Party theorists, among whom tower such giants as Marx, Engels and Lenin. Later, a tremendous role in developing theory was played by the Comintern, in which there developed a galaxy of outstanding Marxist-Leninists. Today, in view of the gigantic growth of the world Communist movement, there is a still greater *internationalization* of the elaboration of socialist consciousness. An invaluable role in developing theory is played by congresses of fraternal parties, their Central Committees and the works of the successors of Marx, Engels and Lenin. Of special significance are the world conferences, at which the principal problems of our movement are discussed collectively. Regional and bilateral meetings of Communist and Workers' parties, theoretical conferences and symposiums are very important for the scientific conceptualization of the experience of revolutionary struggle and the building of socialism.

On the whole, the peculiarities of elaborating and introducing Marxist-Leninist theory in modern conditions undoubtedly require further study.

Today, just as 70 years ago, the dissemination of socialist consciousness among the masses and the development of revolutionary theory takes place in the midst of an acute struggle against the ideological enemies of Marxism-Leninism. Nationalist prejudice and

ambition often impede good use of the vast store of knowledge accumulated by the world Communist movement. Today, too, we have the 'Social-Democratic Lomonosovs,' who, as Lenin wrote sarcastically, 'are inclined . . . to arrive . . . by their own understanding at great truths' ignoring 'all that has been produced by the antecedent development of revolutionary thought and of the revolutionary movement' (Vol. 5, p. 408.)

The relevance of Lenin's ideas today

Concluding the work of the research group, K. Zarodov spoke of the present-day significance of Lenin's work, 'What Is to Be Done?' (the 70th anniversary of which is marked by Communists) and his other economic, political and philosophical works written at the time when capitalism was entering the imperialist stage.

These works show that at the turn of the century Lenin was an ideologue and political figure of international magnitude, who penetrated deep into the essence of the new, imperialist stage of development, outlining the conditions for the growth of the international workers' movement. In 'What Is to Be Done?' Lenin explained the new problems facing the workers' movement. Among these was the correlation of spontaneity and consciousness, of economics and politics; the role of the Marxist party as leader of the masses; forms and methods of strengthening the party ideologically and organizationally in the new historical conditions; the significance of theoretical forms of the proletarian struggle and other problems.

Lenin described them as the '. . . urgent problems of our (i.e., Russian. - K.Z.) movement.' However, they concerned the essence of the strategy and tactics of the international working class, and the depth of the relevant philosophical and political analysis predetermined the undying significance of Lenin's work, which today, as 70 years ago, is an inspiration for Communists and thinking people all over the world.

At the turn of the century Lenin's ideas were already becoming a fighting weapon for revolutionaries everywhere. In 1902, for example, the outstanding Bulgarian revolutionary, D. Blagoev, drew on Lenin's 'What Is to Be Done?' in the battle against Bulgarian opportunism. And we could list many more examples of this kind.

True, at the beginning of the 20th century comparatively few people not directly connected with the Russian revolutionary movement were acquainted with Lenin's works. But this was due largely to the peculiar conditions of disseminating information, the severe press censorship under tsarism and the bourgeoisie, and the growing opportunism of the parties of the Second International. It is therefore strange, to say the least, when these factors are overlooked in drawing the conclusion that Lenin's views did not acquire international significance until the First World War and the October Revolution, that not until then did Lenin become a leader of international repute. This over-simplifies and distorts the peculiar features of the formation of such an outstanding phenome-

non as Leninism in the social consciousness of the age; it ignores Lenin's activity in the first decade of the 20th century – his unmasking of opportunism in the Second International, his passionate speeches at meetings of the International Socialist Bureau in Brussels, the Eighth Congress of the Second International in Copenhagen, etc.

Attempts to belittle the international significance of many of Lenin's works, in particular 'What Is to Be Done' on the grounds that they were based mainly on material pertaining to the Russian movement, are just as erroneous and groundless. The source of the specific material illustrating the author's thoughts and especially the date of their translation into foreign languages has never been the sole criterion of the international significance of theoretical works. Besides, having absorbed the experience of other national contingents of the working class, the Russian proletariat was then becoming the vanguard of the world proletariat. Nor is that all.

A study of Lenin's energetic and diverse activities during his enforced life abroad, an analysis of his methods and means of research, show that the leader of the Russian proletariat, who was fluent in several languages, was closely in touch with the problems and struggles of the working people of France, Switzerland, Britain, Germany, Belgium and other countries, and on many occasions appeared before them with lectures and essays. Lenin used not only Russian material in his writings. His analysis was based also on socio-economic changes in the world and on the experience of the international workers' and liberation movement.

It should be noted, too, that it is but a short distance from the above-mentioned mistaken ideas to the notion of the 'multiplicity' of scientific socialism, to contending that Marxism and Leninism cannot be fused into a 'single scientific organism.' Yet these anti-scientific contentions (there can be no other name for them) are still circulating. However, it is impossible to separate Marxism and Leninism for they are blended in the single Marxist-Leninist science.

Lenin's method of analyzing reality, the wealth of his theoretical ideas, the practical experience of the Party which he guided – are all part of the treasure-trove of the world Communist movement and the basis for its modern strategy and tactics. The most effective reply to the various critics of Leninism is the text of the 1969 International Meeting's Address on the Centenary of the Birth of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin:

'Lenin was an eminent man of thought who developed in every aspect the science which Marx and Engels established: dialectical materialism, political economy, the theory of the socialist revolution and the building of communist society.' Leninism, the Address says, is the ideological banner of all Communists in the struggle for the revolutionary renewal of the world.

Time and the revolutionary practice of the masses are the best measure for theoretical ideas and they show and will continue to show the omnipotence and truth of Lenin's teachings.



New stage in Poland's socialist development

Jerzy Lukaszewicz

Our United Workers' Party and the entire nation are occupied in carrying out the Sixth Congress program for the further socialist development of People's Poland. Framed with the participation of the Party rank and file and of the working class, through nationwide discussion, in a setting of general labor enthusiasm, the program embodies the creative thinking of Communists and the masses.

The period of preparation for the Congress enriched social practice, showing that concern for socialist development has become a cause espoused by the entire nation, and showing, too, that the people trust the Party as the leading force in our society.

This trust is the result of the concrete work of Party branches and central organs to eliminate the cause of the December 1970 events. Our Party has drawn the due lessons and conclusions, as evidenced by the seventh (December 1970) and eighth (February 1971) meetings of its Central Committee, which defined the guidelines for the program adopted in a more comprehensive form by the Sixth Party Congress.

In the program, the PUWP drew on the experience of the 24th Congress of the Soviet Communist Party, for our line essentially coincides with the trends based on socialism's general laws, as formulated in the Report of Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CC CPSU. On the other hand, the creative development of our Party's policy also contributed substantially to the general development at the congresses of fraternal parties last year of the theory and practice of building socialism.

In our assessment of the current situation at the seventh and eighth meetings of the Central Committee we forged closer links between economic and social planning in order to meet more fully the needs of our society. In the past, departures from this principle caused us to regard economic growth as an aim in itself and to take a wrong view of the material and cultural needs of the people, to disregard many social problems.

The seventh and eighth CC meetings emphasized the need for deeper-going ties between the Party, the working class and other

sections of the nation. The Party's leading role, Lenin's methods of Party work and democratic centralism, the meeting also showed, are the key to successful socialist growth. Summing up, the sights were set on restoring the violated Leninist norms and assuring their observance.

Following the Seventh CC Meeting, the Party leadership has consulted the working class, the entire nation, before adopting any of the more basic decisions. And the Party's trust was rewarded by trust in the Party, winning the mass support required for resolving the country's problems. That our approach was correct is shown by the tangible results of 1971. Millions of people have realized that the new policy, the new social climate, affords greater, fuller and more adequate scope for the nation's constructive potential, with initiative and civic involvement gaining in significance.

The working class, all working people, have again shown that they welcome, and have a vital stake in, the Party's consolidation. They trust and support the Party, because they know that it was thanks to socialism, to the revolutionary social construction and high tempo of growth that Poland rose from her ruins and overcame backwardness. The nation knows that the Party had shown it the only possible way to follow in the battle for national and social emancipation, hand in hand with the USSR; that it had not only ended the postwar dislocation, but also directed the nation's efforts on regaining its due place in international affairs.

In the past 27 years Poland has grown into an industrial-agrarian country, with 57 per cent of her national income coming from her socialist industry. We rank with the first ten of the world's industrially developed countries for steel, electric power, cement, shipbuilding, etc., and are classed among the most active nations, with 50.4 per cent of the population employed directly in production and with the percentage of those employed in industry (we rank fifth in Europe, behind the USSR, FRG, France and Italy) showing our considerable economic strength: Poland accounts for some 4.4 per cent of Europe's industrial output (sixth place).

It took many of the European countries nearly half a century to make the same progress that we achieved in just the 27 postwar years. 'These historic achievements,' Comrade Gierek, First Secretary of the CC PUWP, said at the Eighth Congress, 'are the foundation for the future of our country. The Party will never let anyone belittle them, because they are one of the main sources of our people's material and moral strength.'

Our impressive achievements are bound up closely with fraternal Soviet aid and cooperation. The USSR helped Poland rehabilitate her economy and technical plant after the war ended. The long and imposing list of projects that materialized from our fraternal cooperation includes the Lenin Iron-and-Steel Combine, Warszawa Metals Plant, car- and truck-manufacturing plants, chemical works in Oswiecim and Kedzierzyn, the copper enterprise in Legnica, the aluminum works in Skawina, and a petrochemical complex in Plock. Some 7,400 Soviet specialists took part in developing the

Polish economy, and at least 16,000 Polish engineers, technicians and foremen acquired proficiency and know-how in the Soviet Union.

The above examples are but a part of the fraternal Soviet aid to Poland in her hour of need – aid which, multiplied by the efforts of the Polish workers and people, has helped make our country a worthy partner of the Soviet Union and the socialist community.

Now, we are entering a new period, one of integrating the technico-scientific potential of all our countries in a joint comprehensive approach to the entire spectrum of problems – from research to location of production, and to marketing.

The tasks set by the Sixth Congress are difficult, but realistic. Confidence in our ability to fulfil them we draw from the fact that the plans of Poland's socialist development for the short and long terms are tied in with our growing friendship, alliance and co-operation with the USSR and the other fraternal countries.

And the results already achieved after December 1970 give good cause for optimism. Our national income in 1971 grew by 7.5 per cent, against the 5.3 projected per cent in the plan. Real wages went up 5.3 per cent. Budget allocations for science, culture and health have been increased. More new housing than envisaged in the plan was opened to tenants in the urban areas. Industrial output is up 8 per cent, and agriculture 3.7. Animal products in cash terms increased 6.5 per cent and government procurement of farm products 15 per cent against 1970. The changes wrought in the country are reflected not only in quantity indicators, but also in the better quality and broader range of goods.

The Party has succeeded in creating an atmosphere of unity and given impulse for the entire people to assess and activate all resources for accelerated development. 'Leninism is the common denominator of everything achieved by us in the past year,' Comrade Gierek said at the Eighth Congress, 'everything that creates a good atmosphere in our country, gives free play to public activity and initiative and guarantee our future correct development. Leninism is the ever living source of our ideological strength and our dependable compass . . .'

'The main purpose of the Party's socio-economic policy,' says the Resolution of the Eighth Congress, 'is systematically to improve the nation's living, social and cultural condition. This purpose is served by the dynamic growth of the productive forces, growth of the social productivity of labor, scientific-technical progress, reconstruction and modernization of the country's economic structures and greater effectiveness of the economic system as a whole.'

To the following objectives we give top priority in the current five years: full employment of the youth reaching 'productive' age (some 3.5 million in 1971-1975); increase of real wages by 17-18 per cent or double that of the previous five years; growth of consumption by 38-39 per cent, or, in per capita terms, by 33 per cent; building over a million new homes; assuring broad access to cul-

tural values and education; fuller satisfaction of needs in public health and social security.

To attain these targets we require rational planning of production and building, modernization of production techniques, higher labor productivity, better organization of labor and fuller use of the latest scientific and technological achievements.

The scale of the challenges may be illustrated by the fact that the national income is to expand 38-39 per cent in the current five years, which represents a much higher growth rate than that of the preceding five years, when the national income went up 34 per cent. The planned increase is to be obtained by raising industrial output by 48-50 per cent and agricultural production by 18-21 per cent.

To assure harmonious growth we shall modify the relative proportions of various production fields. The difference between the growth rates of the A group (production of means of production) and B group (consumer goods) will be reduced, with output of consumer goods rising 42 per cent against 36 per cent in 1961-1970. However, output of means of production will continue to grow somewhat more rapidly: in the present five years by 52 per cent. This shows that we are concerned not exclusively with consumer needs and want economic growth to have a dependable basis. Concern for the present blends with concern for the future.

The allocation for capital construction is approximately 42 per cent greater than that of the previous five years. And it is a national challenge to speed up and improve the quality of building. Top priority goes to modernizing design, shortening building schedules and reducing costs. The investments in the light and food industry are decisive for the consumer supply target. In this area, the increase in the allocation for building is particularly great – as much as 97 per cent in the light and 65 per cent in the food industry.

The Congress stressed the importance of foreign trade and scientific-technical cooperation with other countries, principally the members of CMEA. Special significance is attached to CMEA's Comprehensive Program for socialist economic integration and, in this context, to deeper cooperation with the neighboring countries – the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia and the German Democratic Republic.

The Sixth Congress program is a complicated and far-reaching one. It is the first of our programs to take a far-sighted, broad and comprehensive view of the nation's social, economic and cultural needs. Of historic significance for Polish development, it requires further concentrated effort by the entire people, by all who are committed to strengthening our socialist country. As we tackle the program, the Party is determined to be consistent, rallying around it all the progressive and patriotic forces. We emphasize consistency, for in the past correct decisions frequently remained unfulfilled. This was the case with decisions of the Fifth Party Congress – the failure to fulfil its recommendations resulted in

tension in the economy and ultimately in conflicts which the new Party leadership had to deal with on taking over in December 1970.

Evolving the strategy of socio-economic development and opting for definite economic and social objectives, the Sixth Congress singled out the main conditions for achieving them. Among these conditions are optimal planning and management, efficient government and economic management at all levels, and more initiative and socio-political activity on the part of all working people. This is a vastly important set of factors. Perfecting the system of centralized economic planning and management will go hand in hand with extending the autonomy and encouraging the initiative of amalgamations, complexes and individual enterprises.

The Congress pointed to many other factors which could stimulate social activity and speed up the execution of decisions. We must foster socialist democracy to encourage the working people's initiative. Another factor is the activity of the trade unions, workers' self-government bodies, cooperatives and other non-governmental organizations. Furthermore, the Party consults the public and seeks expert advice, and this is still another way of bringing the working people into the work of government.

The discussion of problems of importance for the Party and people continues, and we anticipate that it will produce further valuable initiatives. 'A principle that must be followed everywhere,' the Congress said in its resolution, 'is to discuss problems more widely and more carefully before making a decision, and to show greater discipline in carrying it out.' Conscious discipline is based on the civic sense of duty and the knowledge that to live better, you must work better.

That the working people realize this was evidenced by their response to the Party and Government appeal, discussed at the January workers' self-management conferences, to surpass production targets. All industrial workers were urged to produce this year 20 billion zlotys' worth of goods over and above plan—consumer goods, export commodities, building materials or other items. That goal is to be attained without employing additional labor power, by making more effective use of available plant.

We all realize that it will not be easy to carry out the decisions of the Sixth Congress and that we will have to overcome difficulties and eliminate negative phenomena. However, we started on the task in a favorable climate and have already scored significant gains. Industry has overfulfilled the plan for the first four months, agriculture continues on the upgrade, output of animal products is increasing and procurements have been satisfactory. The situation in construction is plainly improving—projects are being completed and appropriations for housing are being used to advantage.

While stressing the importance of economic tasks, which we must accomplish if the needs of society are to be met, our Party also bears in mind other fields of activity. We treat ideological work

as a priority, with due regard to lessons of the past. Because the ideological struggle is part of the contest between the two world systems, the ideological front and the mass media are faced with particularly difficult tasks.

In line with Congress decisions, we devote special attention to ideological and political work in the Party ranks, promoting Marxist-Leninist research in the social sciences, and to the ideological education of the youth. We propose to make a careful analysis of the educational system, and have appointed a committee of experts to report on the state and development of education.

The lines of our ideological education work are determined by the inseparable interconnection of contemporary Polish patriotism, socialism and internationalism. This was borne out by the commemoration of the 30th anniversary of the Polish Workers' Party (PPR), forerunner of the Polish United Workers' Party. Looking back on past experience, the Sixth Congress gave much of its attention to the anniversary. And this is perfectly understandable for what we in People's Poland have accomplished in translating the ideals of the founders of the PPR into reality is the groundwork without which we could not now set ourselves such far-reaching goals. We must admit that we could have advanced more rapidly and that, owing to infringements of Leninist standards and to the use of insufficiently up-to-date methods, the enormous efforts which society made did not always yield commensurate results. Nevertheless, the postwar years have seen a radical turn in the nation's life.

The PPR anniversary celebrations ushered in a new stage of research into the history of the Polish labor movement. We have started work on a multi-volume history of our Party. The traditions of the labor movement have always figured in our ideological work. These traditions help us in moulding the world outlook of the builders of socialist society.

Development of socialist democracy is closely tied in with ideological work. Participation in government and in the management of the affairs of a region or an enterprise can bear fruit only if the people have a clear idea of our objectives and of how they can be achieved. The general election gave considerable impetus to ideological and political work and socialist democracy. The program approved by the Sixth Party Congress became the electoral program of the People's Unity Front. It is a program for the whole people, embodying the ideas, sentiments and aspirations of millions.

The new Sejm will undoubtedly play a notable role in carrying out the Sixth Congress program. In the next few years it will have to solve a number of problems of fundamental importance to the people. This makes it necessary to enhance the prestige of the Sejm and evolve qualitatively new working methods, a process initiated last year, to eliminate formalism. We want the Sejm to show more initiative in promoting legislation, exert greater influence on economic planning. We want its plenary sessions to

play a bigger role in discussing the key problems of the nation and exercise more control over the executive apparatus. All this is consistent with the ideas advanced in the pre-Congress discussions.

The Sixth Party Congress gave much attention to foreign policy matters. Now as in the past, our foreign policy is based on three fundamental principles: friendship, alliance and cooperation with all fraternal socialist countries; solidarity with the freedom-loving and progressive forces of the world; peaceful coexistence and cooperation with the capitalist countries on an equal footing.

A key factor in our foreign policy is Poland's relations with the Soviet Union and membership of the commonwealth of socialist countries. The Polish-Soviet alliance rests on common national and state interests and social and political goals. Its role in our progress is growing. Just as in the past, when we were fighting Hitler fascism or rehabilitating our war-ravaged country and strengthening its frontiers, alliance, friendship and cooperation with the Soviet Union are the main condition for our independence and security and for the realization of our economic plans today, when we face the new difficult tasks of rapidly advancing our economy and raising the people's standard of life.

Last March we observed the 25th anniversary of the treaty of scientific and technological cooperation with the Soviet Union. Eighteen Polish and 33 Soviet economic agencies are cooperating today under coordinated annual plans. Poland, which once merely used Soviet technological thought, is a serious partner today. Under a 1971-1975 agreement, Polish-Soviet trade will increase about 67 per cent to reach almost 57.3 billion hard-currency zlotys. It will evidently be exceeded thanks to new arrangements for specialization and cooperation in motor vehicles, machine-tools, building and road-making machines, as well as electronics, electrical engineering, the chemical and other industries.

Growing fraternal cooperation between Poland and the Soviet Union is an important factor in fulfilling the program for the socialist advancement of Poland approved by the Sixth Party Congress. At the same time it helps greatly to strengthen the socialist community as a whole. 'In their international cooperation,' said E. Gierek, 'the socialist countries give priority to closer mutual economic relations, whose highest form is socialist economic integration. A big step in this direction is the Comprehensive Program adopted by the CMEA at its recent 25th Session. . . . Poland, for its part, will do its best to contribute to consistent implementation of the Program.' Congress decisions on the country's socio-economic progress take into account the provisions of the CMEA countries' Comprehensive Program for socialist economic integration.

In relation to the capitalist countries, Poland follows – in close alliance with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries – a policy based on the principles of peaceful coexistence and co-

operation of all countries irrespective of socio-political system. We will persevere in this policy according to our traditional line of seeking a normal situation in Europe and fostering mutually beneficial relations with all countries. We are now concentrating on preparations for the proposed European conference on security and cooperation.

Poland, like other socialist countries, notes far-reaching changes in Europe, with the governments of European countries being more inclined to remove tensions by recognizing the immutability of Europe's present political map. Particular importance attaches to the treaties signed by the Soviet Union and Poland with the FRG. These treaties paved the way for new agreements on the Berlin question, agreements between the GDR and FRG, clearing the ground for a durable system of European security. It is essential that the FRG ratify both treaties, for this is the only way to normalize the situation in Central Europe in the interests of the whole continent, of its security and peace, and above all in the interests of West Germany, which its former cold-war policy had driven into international isolation. Should ratification be blocked by cold warriors, the interests of the FRG itself would be the first to suffer.

The question of the unity of the socialist commonwealth holds a special place in the activities of our Party and state. Unity requires ever closer ideological ties and all-round cooperation between the Communist parties in the spirit of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. 'Firmly determined to defend the unity of the forces of socialism,' said Comrade Gierek at the Sixth Congress, 'our Party counters all disruptive trends, and first of all the particularly dangerous attempts to foment anti-Soviet nationalism and chauvinism. . . .'

It is from this position, as we have stressed more than once, that our Party takes a firm stand against the Chinese leaders' anti-Soviet platform. Their Maoist ideology goes against the principles of Marxism-Leninism, and their anti-Soviet and divisive policy injures the vital interests of the entire socialist system and the world Communist movement.

Poland's participation in the socialist commonwealth, and our Party's participation in the Communist movement, and mounting efforts to promote cooperation with all countries of the world and contribute to the preparations for the European security conference will continue to be determinative in the activity of the Polish state. The positive changes in our country are an earnest that this activity will become more fruitful still.

Communists in the Finnish Diet

Taisto Sinisalo

The parliamentary system in our country goes back to the days of the revolutionary upheavals of 1905-1906 in Russia, of which Finland was then a part. Until then more than 70 per cent of the Finns had no civil rights, for the old Diet, elected by four electoral bodies, was a legislature of the estates of the realm. When universal suffrage was proclaimed in 1906, however, the electorate increased from the previous 125,000 to 1,125,000, with Finland becoming the first European country to introduce woman suffrage.

The election reform was the result of a long battle, in which the labor movement played the decisive role. In the first general election, with the people clamoring for democratic reforms and Finland's political independence the Social-Democratic Party won 80 of the 200 seats.

Even in those early years, the Finnish Marxists had to reflect on how to blend parliamentary activity with revolutionary struggle. When the new Diet was formed, Right opportunist ideas surfaced at once, whose bearers, influenced by the bourgeoisie, took an incorrect view of the deep-going political changes.

Considerable influence was wielded in the old Social-Democratic Workers' Party by a group consistently adhering to class positions. Highly prominent in this group was Otto Kuusinen, who produced a lucid assessment of the new situation in an article, 'Class Struggle in Parliament,' which he wrote in April 1907, a month after the first general election: 'Apart from the old means of suppression – lockouts, use of police, army and the class judiciary, etc. – the bourgeoisie is beginning to use more perfidious methods, designed to destroy the labor movement by means of hand-outs and other acts that have a deadening effect on our vigilance.'

The workers' deputies, Kuusinen pointed out, should meet this challenge by learning to combine parliamentary activity with struggle for the Party's revolutionary aims. 'If our deputies always remember this,' he wrote, 'there will be no reason to fear their drifting on to the false path of compromises. In the battle for reforms the proletariat can acquire the strength and maturity which it needs to pereform the social revolution.'

In May 1907, Kuusinen wrote another article, 'The Party and Its Deputies,' enumerating guidelines for parliamentary activity, still perfectly valid at present: 'The deputies must keep in touch with their Party – the vanguard of the organized workers. The Party is their best support and most dependable leader. The flame of the class struggle and the urge for social revolution is ever alive in the proletarian mass, which daily and directly experiences the full weight of capitalist oppression. This is the source from which the

Social-Democratic deputies should always draw strength and militancy, lest they sink in the treacherous quagmire that – to our ruin – the bourgeoisie hopes to make of the arena of parliamentary struggle. March hand in hand with your Party, Comrades, for you have been sent into a dangerous and difficult battle by the hundreds of thousands of oppressed who gave you their votes!"

Democratic alliance of the people of Finland

The present form of government was instituted in 1918, after the workers' defeat in the civil war. Legislative and executive power, and the judiciary, have been separated. The structure of the Diet is almost the same as in tsarist times, with the President vested with important powers.

This pattern bears the imprint of the acute class struggle to which the present Diet owes its origin. From the beginning, the bourgeoisie sought greater powers for the President, while the workers fought for a more powerful parliament. The parliamentary struggle passed through several phases. Though significant even before Finland's independence, it was especially important during the battle for municipal reform, an eight-hour work day, and other issues, in 1917. The movement for political independence, too, was at its highest during that period. And the tradition of closely co-ordinated parliamentary actions and massive extra-parliamentary manifestations went a long way in equipping the Finnish proletariat for the class battles to come.

The Communist Party was founded after the civil war of 1918, and worked underground for many years. Yet some legal opportunities also existed for working in the Diet. The Communists' determined struggle against reaction encouraged the masses. In the 1930s, however, the bourgeoisie finally succeeded with the support of the Right-wing Social-Democrats in denying the Communists all outlets for legal activity, so that they were not able to return to the Diet until after the collapse of Finland's war policy following the Soviet Union's victory over fascism.

A visible change was witnessed in the Finnish parliament in the postwar. The Constitution, grossly violated in years gone by to strip the Communist Party of legal rights, gained new meaning, and along with the Communists, the masses won access to the parliament.

Election Results of CPF and People's Democrats

	VOTES	PERCENTAGE
1945	398,618	23.5
1948	375,820	20.0
1951	391,362	21.6
1954	433,528	21.6
1958	450,506	23.2
1962	507,124	22.0
1966	502,635	21.2
1970	420,556	16.6
1972	483,757	17.0

The first postwar election to the Diet was in April 1945. Somewhat earlier, the Communists, persons who were expelled or had resigned from the Social-Democratic Party (SDP), and a number of representative organizations, had formed the Democratic Alliance of the People of Finland (DAPF). Forty-nine DAPF deputies, including 40 Communists, were elected to the Diet.

In the more than a quarter of a century that has elapsed since then, the working class has acquired much experience in using the parliamentary rostrum to promote its class aims. The DAPF group has won prestige among workers for its traditionally militant defense of the people's interests, of democracy and peace. The main accent of its policy is on combating big capital and the Rightists, and on promoting closer Finnish-Soviet relations.

For eight or nine months in the year, DAPF deputies are engaged wholly in Diet activities (and are paid their average wage). Their faction convenes weekly to discuss the main political and parliamentary problems, and operates foreign-policy, socio-political, economic-political and politico-cultural sub-commissions, and sub-commissions for municipal affairs, agriculture, taxes and transport, which direct the work of DAPF deputies in the respective Diet commissions.

The faction is highly active. Its bills, projects of instructions to the government and amendments to the budget are inspired by the people's interests. Displaying extensive initiative, DAPF deputies rely on the active support of labor and other organizations. The faction publicizes its work, puts out pamphlets, leaflets and the quarterly newspaper, *Eduskuntautisia* (Parliament News). It receives hundreds of deputations, undertakes to promote their useful proposals and its members travel extensively across the country to explain its actions and motivations, and cooperate with the electorate in many different ways.

Experience bears out the need for close contacts with the Party branches. The specific DAPF background requires deputies to communicate with the central and peripheral Communist Party bodies, which provide them with guidance.

The battle for broader parliamentary powers

Communists are working to solidify the Diet's position in the country's political affairs. Preparations for a constitutional reform were launched in 1970 on the initiative of our Comrade, Erkki Tuominen, then Minister of Justice. The Party's Political Bureau framed proposals designed to turn the Diet into an effective supreme body of power.

Under the present law, 67 (out of 209) deputies may block the passage of any bill by voting its transfer to the next Diet. Constitutional amendments are still more difficult to pass, for five-sixths of the deputies must vote for their urgency before they become law. In other words, 34 deputies can prevent the passage of, say, price curbs or better legal guarantees for tenants, and the like. As we see it, these things should be settled by a simple majority vote.

The Diet should form its own bill-drafting bodies, and others to check observance of adopted bills, to spot and eliminate flaws in legislation. It should also have powers to supervise the government's regulation of the economy, and to control investments and foreign trade.

The parliament's weight in relation to the executive should be much greater. Deputies should have broader powers to control the government and define its trends, and the Diet should be empowered to elect the President and deal with any matter under consideration by the government.

In line with the basic principle of Finland's foreign policy, the constitution should contain a formula stating that friendly relations with the Soviet Union shall follow the principles of the Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance, and that it is the country's avowed aim to support the peoples' aspirations for freedom and independence and to promote worldwide security and general disarmament. War propaganda and propaganda of racial and national hostility should be outlawed.

The President's main task should be to conduct foreign policy jointly with the government and in accordance with the instructions of the Diet. The President should have the powers to extend formal recognition to foreign states.

The CP is advocating a democratization of the judiciary, a shorter term of tenure for judges and less leverage for their dismissal. The lower courts at town and village level should be structurally standardized so that lay judges (assessors) should be in the majority and should have the same rights to pass decisions as professional judges. The judiciary reform is also necessary to reverse the tendency of suppressing democracy displayed by the Finnish brand of state-monopoly capitalism.

The state handles all the more important aspects of economic regulation. But this has not brought about any realignment favoring the working class. Everything is done in favor of big capital. Take the 'incomes policy' launched in the mid-60s, for which a special permanent political mechanism is now being formed. The increasingly closer fusion of big capital and the state is a serious danger for the freedom of the trade union movement and lessens the citizen's ability to defend his rights. Moreover, it has a debilitating effect on the Diet.

Meanwhile, bureaucratic measures are being taken to inhibit organized workers' manifestations. By a special employment law the concept of 'socially dangerous' strikes has been introduced in our legislation, auguring restrictions of the wage-earners' right to fight for their interests. The drive against democracy has resulted in a set of so-called emergency laws.

Promoting the parliament's prestige in the country and their own in parliament, the Communist deputies are ever aware of the danger of bourgeois influence. Efforts are being made to 'integrate' the Communist deputies in the bourgeois parliamentary routine. Embourgeoisement should, therefore, be seen as an ever present danger for Communists in the parliament.

It is especially important that Communist deputies should study the Marxist-Leninist social science. Lack of theoretical knowledge leads to politico-ideological deviations imperilling unity and impairing the parliamentary faction.

The greater scale and more complicated sphere of the social battles of today require that Communist deputies examine, discuss and conceptualize the various social issues. And in this difficult and multifaceted work the faction profits greatly through its sub-commissions from the help of specialists close to the DAPF. Certainly, we rely on the aid of the various specialized bodies of the CC CPF, and make good use of their research. But we could also benefit from exchanges with Communist parliamentarians of other countries. Conditions in the developed capitalist countries of Europe are such that comparing notes should be useful for all concerned. The DAPF faction is eager to help develop inter-parliamentary cooperation; recently, it established contacts with the Soviet parliamentarians. We are searching for new forms of cooperation among parliamentarians of different countries, including, say, Communist parliamentarians of the Inter-Parliamentary Union, the Northern Council, etc.

Topical conclusions

The experience of the Communist deputies has been duplicated in recent years by the Party's experience in the government coalition.

The question, should Communists enter a bourgeois government, is an important and complicated one. The reasons for an affirmative answer, past discussions show, may be rooted in such particular circumstances as a growth of the fascist peril, far-reaching changes in the relation of class strength, or a strong upswing of the workers' mass struggle. However, the situation in Finland in the 1960s, when the CP joined the Social-Democrats and Centrists in a government coalition, was different. The workers' struggle saw no special upswing, and the support which the Communists and People's Democrats had in the preceding elections, had declined. The question of taking part in the government arose in view of certain new tactical postures by the SDP leadership and the visible differentiation in the Social-Democratic movement as a whole. Subsequent developments showed, however, that our partners wished to use us as mere executors of their political will. The policy of the coalition and the experience acquired in it created differences of opinion in the Party, though the decision to participate in the government had been unanimous.

So far, the Party has not produced a sufficiently exhaustive collective assessment of its experience in the coalition. Nor has it defined the principles for a conclusive discussion of the terms on which it is possible to participate in the government. The need for this assessment, however, is more than obvious.

An extraordinary Party congress examined the matter in the beginning of 1970. While noting the positive results gained in the coalition, it also drew conclusions highly relevant for this article:

'By all its activity, including that in the government and parliament, the CPF must clear the way for the realization of its general line. . . . The activity in the coalition government had its negative, as well as positive, aspects. The former were most tangible in the economic and tax policies. The main weakness of the government's policy, especially in these two areas, was that it was not directed against big capital and, in this sense, did little to promote the realization of the Party's general line.'

Some of the reasons for the ensuing situation, as listed by the Congress, were:

- the CP's participation in the government did not have powerful enough support from the working class and its other followers; it did not come about as a result of the Party's stronger showing in the elections;

- the leaders of the Social-Democratic Party and Center Party did not aspire to any far-reaching social changes or to restricting the power of big capital. Connected with the existing establishment, the majority in the government followed an economic policy favorable to big capital;

- the limited nature of the mass movement in support of Communist Party efforts was due to insufficient ties with different sections of the people;

- in some cases the Communists and People's Democrats displayed in their parliamentary and government activity a needless wish to adapt to the demands of the other coalition members, while the negative aspects of the latter's policy were insufficiently criticized.

Among other things, the Extraordinary Congress drew the following important conclusion: 'For the advance to deep-going social transformations it is essential that the SDPF and organizations under the influence of its leadership should abandon the policy of class collaboration with big capital.'

The Party endeavored to observe the guidelines of the Extraordinary Congress. Clashes and the serious friction between the CP and the other government parties at the end of 1969, and the economic differences in March 1971, showed that the coalition had failed. As a result, the Communists were removed from the government.

The findings of the Extraordinary Congress are as valid now as they were two years ago. Taking part in the government, Communists must not adapt themselves passively to the wishes of their partners, even though the latter hold the majority. If they do so, they soon begin, in effect, to carry forward the policy laid down by the other parties instead of promoting their own aims. Participation in a government coalition, as was made very clear, requires fundamental accords opening the way to a united course. We had no such accords. Not even with the SDP.

Our experience shows that participation in government should serve the purpose of enlivening the workers' struggle, not social appeasement in the interest of the capitalist system.

Following the January 2-3, 1972 interim elections to parliament (the Diet had been dissolved at the end of 1971 due to the deterioration of the political situation at home), the CC CPF defined the basic principles for negotiating a new cabinet. Its proposals concerning the government program, the Party said, were inspired by the wish to alter economic policy for the benefit of the working people. 'This implies economic solutions which will help curb the interests of big capital,' a Party statement said. '... The cooperation of the Left and Center in the government should promote an active Finnish peace policy and the development of Finnish-Soviet relations, which are basic to it. Representatives of the CPF will participate in the government only if it follows these aims.'

The outcome of the parliamentary elections confirmed the correctness of the line charted by our Extraordinary Congress and gave fresh impulse to the growth of our movement on a firm class basis. Other facts appeared, too, indicative of the social trends in the country. The support of the Rural Party had declined visibly. Coupled with the setback of the National Coalition Party, this was the first big blow to the extreme Right. All the same, it succeeded in returning new representatives to the Diet so that the confrontation of the democrats and the Right forces, involving fundamental issues in both home and foreign policy, will be as fierce as ever.

The Christian Alliance is becoming more active, to the obvious advantage of reaction. Its support enabled the extreme rightist Rural Party to retain seats in the Diet despite losing votes among its usual supporters. And from this the Left and democratic forces must draw due conclusions.

The success of the Social-Democrats merits a more conclusive analysis, principally from the standpoint of labor's future and the terms of the workers' policy. The elections showed the SDP's firm intention to follow in the footsteps of the Swedish Social-Democrats and become the leading force of the entire labor movement at the price of a corresponding decline of CPF influence. The SDP polled 50 per cent more votes than the DAPF, which is an indication that reformism has won new ground. To block it, we must give bigger play to Marxist-Leninist criticism of the social-reformist ideology. In these circumstances it is becoming more difficult to follow a policy of cooperation. Communists and People's Democrats must be more active than ever in promoting a Left course, and combating the designs to prolong the 'incomes policy.' Furthermore, developments in the SDP show that we must step up the struggle against the Right-wing Social-Democrats.

The Communists demand that the state should not interfere in trade union affairs. The workers must be allowed to battle freely for their interest in matters related to wages and labor agreements. Effective measures must be taken to end unemployment. The resistance to attempts at drawing the country into the Common Market orbit should be stepped up. Given Left and Center cooperation, we must concentrate on curbing the influence of the Right. This will open up the way for a consolidation and expansion of Finnish-Soviet cooperation.

At the end of February, fairly long talks were held concerning a new government. They culminated in the formation of a minority Social-Democratic cabinet. 'This does not settle the political crisis,' said the Political Bureau of the CP in a statement on February 23, 'and is not in the interests of the working class and other working sections of the nation.' Like the Right forces, the SDP rejected the Communists' demand for a broadly democratic cabinet and government program. The talks broke down. And, evidently, the SDP intends as before to follow a policy of class cooperation. The people of Finland have earlier experience as to the nature of Social-Democratic minority governments. They were not labor governments, for they followed a line favorable to big capital, leaning for support on the Right forces.

The present challenge faced by the Communist Party is to advance a genuinely Left alternative envisaging satisfaction of all workers' demands, animating the peace policy and expanding friendly relations with the Soviet Union. For this, increasing importance attaches to building up a mass movement of different classes and strata.

The political instability and the deepening political crisis set higher demands on the Finnish Communists' activity in the parliament.

The Finnish Diet

The Finnish Diet consists of 200 deputies elected on a proportional system for a four-year term. The country is divided into 15 constituencies. All citizens reaching the age of 19 on the eve of the election are entitled to vote. The President of the Republic may dissolve the Diet before the expiration of its term and appoint new elections. Voting is for individual candidates, not election blocs; the candidate who gets the biggest vote is elected.

The response of electors is illustrated by the following figures: in the 1930s 60 per cent of the electorate went to the polls; 75 per cent in the 1950s; 85 per cent in the 1960s, and more than 80 per cent in 1970 and 1972. Following the latest two elections, women comprise 21.5 per cent of the deputies.

Distribution of Seats in the Diet

	Communists and People's Democrats	Social- Democrats	Bourgeois parties
1922	27	53	120
1932		78	122
1945	49	50	101
1954	43	54	103
1962	47	38+2*	103
1966	41	55+7*	97
1970	36	52	112
1972	37	55	108

*Left Social-Democrats, members of the Social-Democratic League of Workers and Small Farmers.

Nine parties contested the 1972 elections, with the Communist Party and People's Democrats winning 37 seats, Social-Democratic Party 55, Social-Democratic League of Workers and Small Farmers 0, Center Party 35, National Coalition Party 34, Swedish People's Party 10, Liberal People's Party 7, Rural Party 18, and Christian Union 4.

The CPUSA: new tasks ahead

Philip Bart

The U.S. has been the mainstay of world imperialism. It continues to wield a major influence in its relations with other imperialist powers. It holds a special position relative to the Soviet Union, and was the instigator of decades of cold war policies. Its international position is now considerably weakened, as it contends with sharp economic and social crises at home.

While it has been able through murderous bombings of the DRV, South Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia to continue its temporary grip in parts of Indochina, it is evident that it cannot defeat the revolutionary forces of its peoples. Its imperialist claws stretch into many areas of the globe. Its aggressive activities, however, meet with increasing failure. But it is a dangerous course. U.S. foreign policy, as well as internal developments, are of considerable interest and concern to people in all parts of the world.

Under these circumstances the Communist Party, USA, is in a unique position. It confronts this great power in the course of its daily activities. Its position on crucial questions, its participation in and initiation of struggles against U.S. monopoly capitalism, cannot but be of interest internationally. Consequently the recently held 20th Congress of the Party (February 18-21) was followed with keen interest by all champions of peace, democracy and socialism.

The Party has been emerging as a more substantial force, influencing the course of mass developments. Its influence has grown considerably among the Left forces, especially the youth. This factor was a high point of the Congress – was cited as the beginning of a significant break-through in reaching the masses.

In the course of this development it was unyielding in directing its attention towards strengthening its base in the working class and in the trade unions. Its policy remains the concentration on workers in the major industrial plants of the country. It also continued its struggle for the strengthening of international solidarity

ties with the Communist and Workers' Parties. Towards this end it has opposed all bourgeois nationalist deviations as detrimental to the cause of proletarian internationalism.

While the report of General Secretary, Gus Hall, directed attention to a host of problems, we will deal here with a few major points.

The Nixon administration, determined to create a smoke screen around the Communist gathering ordered all its consulates to deny visas to fraternal delegates. Yet, it is important to record that one Latin American delegate broke through the barrier. He was comrade Luis Figueroa, a Chilean Senator and head of the nation's trade unions. Two Canadians also attended. His presence was most significant because of the role of U.S. imperialism in Latin America. In particular, because of the threats of the Nixon administration against the Popular Unity Chilean government. The U.S. having failed in its Cuban ventures, now seeks by any means to threaten the popular will of the Chilean people. Comrade Figueroa's presence and his travels through the U.S., lent new support to the movement against intervention in Chile, Cuba or any other country.

The delegates to the National Convention took the view that following the Cuban revolution, the victory of the Popular Unity coalition in Chile represents the most significant advance in the struggle against U.S. imperialism in Latin America. 'We in the United States,' say the Theses for the 20th National Convention, 'have a special responsibility toward the Chilean revolution . . . Upon our Party, therefore, falls the task of winning the support of the U.S. working class for their Chilean brothers, of mobilizing the democratic forces in opposition to the machinations of U.S. imperialism in Chile.'

The fierce international competition of the U.S. the unceasing military adventures add to an already swollen budget, and thereby place new economic burdens on the working class. To this is added the wage freeze, curbing the right to strike, and new regulations in an attempt to strangle the trade unions. This has already resulted in growing strikes, with the perspective of sharpening conflicts, affecting many sections of the population. And for the working class the main problem is growing economic instability and unemployment.

Consequently major emphasis was directed towards participating in strengthening the class consciousness in the trade unions. This force of over 20 million organized workers is the key to further economic and political advance. The radicalization of the working class remains limited, without the maturing of its class consciousness. Therefore the development of an organized left initiative in the trade unions and mass organizations remains of paramount importance. This feature had been missing for some years, a victim of the anti-Communist drive within the trade unions, which aided in emasculating the militancy of the working class. This change has had a salutary effect on the trade union organizations.

The development of a vital Left requires close association with movements of Black workers. The U.S. is a nation of many oppressed national minorities. They are the most discriminated against – the most exploited. U.S. capitalism has made them the special preserve of its exploitation. Here is the crucial ideological barrier of racism, generated by monopoly. Unless it is overcome, the unity of the working class will suffer.

This point was given added emphasis in a report on the ideological struggle delivered by comrade Henry Winston, National Chairman of the Party. He dealt with the disparity in wages of Black workers for comparable work, their denial of leading positions in many trade unions, and stressed the urgency of fighting against racism, the capitalist poison within the working-class ranks. Its eradication from the trade unions is a prerequisite for the unity required in the struggles ahead.

State monopoly capitalism continues to widen the gap between rich and poor. A greater polarization is taking place. New sections, especially youth, are constantly added to the permanently unemployed. One of every two jobless is a young person. In agriculture the small farmer has been eliminated and huge industrial farms are under the control of banking and insurance companies. This has resulted in the emergence of many new movements seeking to exert pressure on the government. Numerous conflicting ideological forces seek to influence and lead these organizations. Some are dominated by right-reactionary elements and this can seriously impede their participation in a broad front of mass struggle. But in the course of struggle, in unity and experience they can be a strong base within an anti-monopoly coalition. Here they come in touch with and gain experience against their common enemy.

The working class, and popular forces generally, have been entrapped within the two-party system. Without a political class base, it has been impossible to create a stable independent political force for a new party. The two major capitalist parties have succeeded through their ideological hold, splitting tactics, and intricate election laws to obstruct independent political organizations on a national scale. In this they are helped by the top-crust labor bureaucracy opposed to the emergence of any new political movement. But there are serious cracks in the old political structure. More advanced forces are pressing for new independent political forms.

In the Black movement there are strong trends which, while maintaining ties in the old parties, are creating new independent structures, even if loose and lacking cohesion at the beginning. One such development was the recent national Black political convention, attended by some 4,200 in the steel city of Gary, Indiana.

The ideologues of U.S. imperialism and government leaders, starting with Nixon himself, complain that they do not have the confidence of the people. The credibility gap between government and people grows wider. This is most pronounced among youth.

There is an increasing desire for change, even if the overwhelming majority are unclear as to the change desired. They are dissatisfied with things as they are. They can be won to an alternative. There is growing concern in all mass movements, as seen in the trade unions and Black liberation movements, for greater participation in the 1972 national elections. The results may shape events not only for the immediate period. They can have a bearing in helping crystallize independent political forms for the future, leading to the formation of a major new party with a strong working-class base.

For the elections, the Communist Party adopted a three-prong approach. The three are not separate entities. The stress on any one of them is determined by concrete circumstances. First, it decided to nominate its own candidates and conduct the campaign in its own behalf. Second, to lend support and help initiate broader political formations embracing independent forces which have broken with the capitalist parties. It will exert its efforts so that these movements do not come under control of 'Leftist' sectarian groups – which had ended in their demise in the past. Third, it will seek, together with other progressive forces, to influence the developments within the old parties. This may be done around influencing particular candidates, who pledge themselves to fight on issues affecting the people. Major sections of the working class, the Black people and other popular forces, still remain in the political grip of the Democratic Party, although political strains have sharpened.

The Party therefore took early initiatives in seeking to pre-empt its own ticket, on the ballot, in various states. It had not been on the ballot in national elections since 1940. It had won a position on the ballot in two states in 1968, which was the fore-runner for the present campaign. It was denied its rights as a political party by legal and extra-legal means. The exorbitant number of signatures required, the qualification for signers, were prohibitive. State laws required anti-Communist 'loyalty oaths' by candidates as an additional barrier.

These factors were already indicated in the report to the National Committee last November, by Comrade Winston. He stressed that 'the main content of the work of the Party as a whole for the year 1972 is the election campaign.' He then proceeded to detail the complex legal problems facing the Party in each state.

After filing the required signatures in the states, numerous obstacles still remain. Twenty-nine states have laws which bar, or may be construed to bar, the Communist Party from the ballot. The Party will not only challenge every attempt to deny its electoral rights, but mobilize forces in the struggle for their democratic rights.

With some of these obstacles now removed, a project was started in 1971 to present a national ticket with Gus Hall as candidate for President, and Jarvis Tyner, chairman of the Young

Workers Liberation League, for Vice-President. The two candidates took responsibility for leading the signature drive. The goal was set to place the ticket on the ballot in 31 states.

The response of the people was electrifying. It surpassed all expectations. Where previously there was hesitation, there was now a readiness to sign a Communist petition. While signs of new reactionary threats remain, much of the McCarthyite pall of the past evaporated.

Some of the experiences are cited here: in the industrial state of Ohio the original requirement was about a half million signatures. As a result of a legal struggle, this was reduced to 5,000, and nearly 10,000 were collected. The state of Pennsylvania, dominated by coal mining and steel interests, required the filing of 36,000 signatures within a three week period. About 45,000 were filed at the designated time. Some southern states dominated by fascist-like racist state administrations were penetrated. The requisite number of signatures were collected in Alabama. This is the state whose governor is the racist, George Wallace. In other southern states Communists were joined in public committees by non-Party people.

It is well to note that in obtaining signatures, more people had to be seen than actually signed the petition. Some could not sign because they are government employees, while others fear harassment and loss of jobs. Consequently four or five persons are seen to obtain one signature. As a result tens of thousands were contacted personally. Before the signature drive is over in other states, hundreds of thousands of people will have been spoken to personally. This is the opening of the Party's election campaign. This is a new development growing out of present objective conditions in the U.S. The struggle for a place on the ballot demonstrates its approach to extend the democratic process in the country. It cannot but serve the new and independent movements maturing in the U.S. They all face similar problems in securing a place on the ballot.

To bring about this situation required a united Party, determined to fight for and take advantage of the new political atmosphere today. Such unity was won only through a consistent struggle against Right opportunism and sectarian 'Leftism.'

In its ideological activities the Party did not ignore the pernicious influences of Maoism. The U.S. is now an important center for the dissemination of this propaganda. While it is not permitting itself to become involved with individuals or particular leaders, it opposes this ideology as harmful to the unity of the revolutionary movement. It is difficult to struggle against anti-Sovietism without coming to grips with this opportunist deviation. The struggle on this front is most beneficial to the new youth entering the Party and participating in its leadership.

Under these circumstances the spade work was done to consolidate the Party and increase its press and literature circulation. Politically it directs its thrust toward seeking a rapid expansion

of its mass influence – primarily to strengthen its ties with the working class. The composition of the Congress delegates already reflected the beginnings of such a change. Never before did we have such a broad representation of workers, youth, women, Negro and other minorities. Comrade Hall was, therefore, able to record that 'The Party has grown . . . We have made a serious beginning in industrial concentration. We have become a more important factor in sections of the Trade Union movement.'

The Party's consolidation also records the reconstitution of a number of its organizations in the south. In this region it had suffered some of its most serious losses. This is an area under the most reactionary domination, where new upsurges have occurred in recent years. The marches of the Black people's movements originated here. The Party organization has now been restored in six additional states in the southern region.

The 20th National Convention, Gus Hall said in his closing speech, accomplished much and will doubtlessly exert a positive influence on the Party and the labor movement. The Convention was indicative of the Party's higher political and ideological level, demonstrated its fidelity to Marxism-Leninism, its unity and resolve in the battle for peace, democracy and socialism.

Agrarian policy of Rumanian CP

Dumitru Dumitriu

The Rumanian people direct their creative energy towards fulfilling the program for building a comprehensive developed socialist society adopted by the 10th Congress of the Communist Party. The new stage the country has entered calls for rapid development of the productive forces on the basis of scientific and technological achievement, their rational distribution, still higher material and cultural standards for the working people, allocation of the wealth produced by society on the principles of socialist equity, perfection of the new relations of production and a higher degree of social awareness. 'We will have to carry out several five-year plans – covering probably the period between now and 1985 or 1990 – to accomplish this fundamental task,' said Nicolae Ceausescu, General Secretary of the RCP. 'Only then will Rumanian socialist society provide conditions for meeting the requirements of its every member more fully; only then will we be able to advance to the

new stage, the step-by-step building of a communist society in Rumania.'

Important branch of the national economy

In line with the Marxist-Leninist thesis that growth of the productive forces is a decisive factor for social progress, the Party continues to concentrate on developing every branch of material production, first of all industry. It also devotes much attention to agriculture, which plays a special role in raising the standard of life and in furthering the country's socio-economic progress.

The RCP maintains that unless we have an up-to-date, highly productive, intensive agriculture based on the latest achievements of science, we cannot build a developed socialist, and then a communist, society in our country.

In 1969 agriculture accounted for 18.2 per cent of the social product and 24.1 per cent of the national income. It employs about half the manpower engaged in the economic sphere. Let it be said by way of comparison that in 1938 agriculture supplied 30.8 per cent of the social product and 38.5 per cent of the national income and accounted for almost 75 per cent of the gainfully employed population.

With industrialization, this relative decline in the share of agriculture is an objective and progressive process. It is a reflection of change in the branch structure of the economy, which is becoming more like the structure of a comprehensively developed national economy. However, the above data do not reveal the place or function of agriculture in socio-economic development. While its share has decreased, its gross product in 1970 was 70 per cent higher than in 1938. The annual growth rate in the 1951-1960 period averaged 4.3 per cent against one per cent in 1927-1938.

An essential characteristic of the Party's policy, one very important both theoretically and practically, is that the Party clearly specifies the place and function of agriculture in building the new system. The Party has defeated the reactionary theory describing Rumania as a 'basically agrarian country' and relegating it to the role of an agricultural hinterland economically dependent on imperialist powers. The debate on this issue was not doctrinaire and contributed in decisive measure to the progress of our society.

A quarter of a century ago, immediately after the country was freed from fascist tyranny, the National Conference of the RCP (1945) evolved a program for economic reconstruction and the long-range solution of key social problems, making industrialization the central task. This is decisive in building the material and technical basis of society, progress in the economy, science and culture, raising the standard of living, upholding national independence and increasing our country's share in the world economy. While concentrating material and financial resources on industrialization, the RCP set agricultural targets that assured attainment of the general objectives of socio-economic progress.

The cooperative system (it is 10 years since the whole of our agriculture was reorganized on a cooperative basis) brought the development of farming into line with the socio-economic laws governing socialist economic progress and into the process of expanded reproduction. The peasantry became a new social class, master of its own destiny, owner of the fruits of its labor, active builder of a comprehensively developed socialist society.

The pattern of agricultural development is based on the part and function of agriculture in the national economy. Rumania has favorable conditions for producing almost all the foodstuffs it requires and numerous raw materials for its light industry. The steadily growing demand for farm produce is due to several factors. The population has grown—it increased from 15.9 million in 1948 to more than 20 million in 1971. Its composition is changing and its incomes are on the rise. The consumption of highly nutritious food products, especially of animal origin, has gone up, partly resulting from the development of the light and food industry.

In defining the function of agriculture, it should be remembered that agriculture is a market absorbing means of production and manufactured goods. Even now, with the productive forces and technology making rapid progress, agriculture remains a special sphere of material production in which biological processes intertwine with social, labor processes. On the other hand it is increasingly being drawn into the production cycle of capital goods industry and the industry processing farm products. Agricultural development has increased the demand for machinery and consumer goods, and in this way helps extend the home market and diversify the economy.

Our country is expanding its trade in both industrial and farm products. Between 1950 and 1969 agricultural exports increased almost five-fold. Besides, their pattern improved, with the share of more highly processed products increasing considerably.

Agricultural development on modern lines is also a progressive factor in changing the composition of the labor force. Technological progress decreases the amount of required farm labor, releasing manpower for industry, the services, and other fields.

Agriculture is an important source of socialist accumulation, part of which is used for expanding agricultural production and the other for general economic needs. In addition, the state financially supports, through investment and credits, land improvement schemes, modernization of material and technical facilities, etc.

By organizing agriculture along socialist lines, building up its material and technical basis and introducing incentives, we created the conditions needed to boost production. And output has gone up, with a greater variety and better quality of products. Over the previous five years (1966-1970) gross output was 24 per cent higher than in the earlier five-year period. We substantially increased production of grain, sunflower seeds, potatoes, vegetables, milk and other products, as well as the livestock population.

These results, achieved despite three years of unfavorable weather conditions and the disastrous 1970 floods, reveal the advantages and dynamism of socialist farming and are proof of the soundness of the Party's agrarian policy.

The 10th Party Congress gave priority to rapid progress in agriculture. Production in the current five-year period should increase at an annual average of seven or eight per cent. The plan calls for a 36 to 49 per cent rise over the average for 1966-70. We are making a special effort to raise the economic effectiveness of every branch of farming. In accordance with the long-range orientation of the 10th Party Congresses, output is to grow by 100 per cent from 1976 to 1980, 150 per cent from 1981 to 1985 and more than 200 per cent from 1986 to 1990 over the 1966-1970 period.

Satisfactory results were achieved in the first five-year plan year: agricultural output was 18.2 per cent above 1970 and 14.1 per cent above the annual average for 1966-1970. In fact, we grew the biggest grain crop in our history. Attainment of the level envisaged by the current plan will substantially increase the contribution of agriculture to economic progress and improve the standard of life to meet the standards of a comprehensively developed socialist society.

Modernizing the material and technical basis

If agriculture is to make a growing contribution to our socio-economic advance, there has to be a more perfect material and technical basis. The postwar period, and more particularly the past two decades, have seen a veritable technological revolution in the Rumanian countryside. Farming operations today are mechanized more than 90 per cent against a mere 15 per cent in 1938. In the same period, the use of mechanical power per 100 hectares has gone up from 15.8 to over 60 h.p. Per-tractor area declined from 2,493 hectares in 1938 to 85 hectares in 1971. Much of the crop-raising and harvesting is now done by machines.

We continue to modernize the material and technical basis of farming along the following main lines: replacing animal by mechanical power, introducing chemistry on a large scale, using the achievements of biology, especially in genetics and mixed feed production, and extending irrigation.

In keeping with our policy of intensifying agriculture, in the current five-year period we are going to invest about 100 billion lei, or over 100 per cent more than under the previous five-year plan. We are giving special attention to mechanization by increasing the supply of tractors and farm machines, improving their performance and diversifying machine types and standards to use them more extensively in crop farming on slopes, wine and fruit-growing, animal husbandry and transport. By the end of the current decade we will have the prerequisites for fully mechanizing the cultivation of most crops.

Under the current five-year plan, the supply of high-quality

fertilizers will double compared with the previous period, and by 1980 there will be an abundant supply of fertilizers and other chemicals. We will make greater use of highly productive hybrids, more high-yield crops and develop more productive breeds of livestock, largely by extensive use of quality feeds.

Of fundamental importance to modernizing our agriculture is the National Program for the rational use of water resources, irrigation, land reclamation and erosion control and the National Program for animal husbandry and increased output of animal products. Both programs were approved by the CC RCP in March 1970. A considerable part of investments will go into these programs, whose implementation will impart a modern, progressive character to our agriculture.

The current five-year plan is an important stage in fulfilling the land improvement program. Over two million hectares of land will be brought under irrigation by 1975, and by 1990 virtually the entire economically usable area will be incorporated in the irrigation system. Irrigation, diking, reclamation and erosion control will enable us to get stable crop yields even in adverse weather conditions. Accomplishment of the tasks we have set ourselves will make it possible to organize production more efficiently, introduce technical innovations and raise the economic effectiveness of farming.

We have favorable natural conditions for grain farming, which plays an important role in foodstuff and feed production and extends our exports. This is why it remains the key branch of agriculture. Under the current five-year plan, grain output is to reach an annual figure of 16,300,000 to 17,450,000 tons. We also expect to achieve appreciable increases in vegetables, potatoes and sunflower seeds, primarily by raising per hectare yields.

We have a national program that will put livestock farming on a more modern basis. The main lines here are technological progress, the setting up of large specialized farms and industrial-type complexes for fattening livestock, and the organization of a unified state system of feed production. Fulfilment of this program should already bear fruit in the current five-year period. We plan to produce an annual average of 1,670,000-1,890,000 tons of wheat, 50-56 million hectolitres of milk, 33-35 thousand tons of wool and 3,700-4,130 million eggs.

Modernization of the material and technical basis of agriculture is designed to solve the problem of raising productivity and increasing economic effectiveness. Our Party calls on farmers to make maximum use of available resources and materials. Special attention is given to training more personnel; we need more people in the intermediate and higher skill categories. The 25,000 specialists with a higher education now engaged in farming will be joined by new specialists - technicians, machine operators, economists.

Perfecting production relations and management

To build a comprehensively developed socialist society, we must steadily perfect production relations, apply rational and uniform methods of directing socio-economic processes and ensure extensive participation of the masses in public life.

Rumanian agriculture today is based entirely on large-scale socialist production. State farms take up about 30 per cent of the farming area and the production cooperatives, over 60 per cent.

In accordance with the Marxist-Leninist theory of socialist property, we are consolidating its two forms, state and cooperative property. The experience of Rumania, like that of other socialist countries, shows that the cooperative system is a dependable method of ending the lag in agriculture, raising its productivity and improving the peasants' standard of living, and an organizational form of combining the peasants' interests with those of society. The advancement of state and cooperative property affords vast opportunities for making proper use of material and manpower resources, increasing production at a higher rate and perfecting social relations.

The objective process of socialization of production is a salient feature of contemporary agriculture. We must find new organizational forms to allow full scope for this process to meet the requirements of a more efficient agriculture.

Analysis of development trends prompted our Party and state to encourage production concentration and specialization, whose forms and pace in the state and cooperative sectors are dissimilar.

On the state farms, this process set in long ago. In animal husbandry, for example, we are setting up industrial-type complexes. Concentration and specialization are based on modern technology, which is steadily taking the place of old methods. The result is higher labor productivity, less expenditure of feeds and more profitable production.

Many problems arise in cooperatives where concentration and specialization take peculiar forms due to specific property and organizational patterns. Originally every cooperative was engaged in diversified farming – it raised various crops and various kinds of livestock. This was in keeping with the material and technical basis of the time and was prompted by the need to make fuller use of manpower and material resources. Afterwards crop farming and animal husbandry were gradually specialized.

The cooperatives began by setting up specialized farms. The aim, at first, was to break even, and after that make a profit on the entire output and in each type of product. The specialized farm has its own plan, which is part of the cooperative's production and financial plan. Specialization depends on the character and development level of the cooperative. Some might concentrate on meat, others on dairy products, still others on poultry. Some farms may find it profitable to combine all three.

Inter-cooperative associations and production links with state-

owned enterprises afford qualitatively new prospects for specialization. In this way large, highly efficient economic units are brought into being on an up-to-date technical basis. However, the cooperatives retain their autonomy. Inter-cooperative councils, while of recent origin, play an important part in organizing and guiding the activity of cooperatives, which they direct towards more rationally using land, investments, machinery and labor power.

To make better use of machinery and funds, we have set up agricultural mechanization trusts. They run farm machine stations serving 10,000 to 15,000 hectares of land each. The mechanization sections set up in every cooperative have become basic production units. This system is intended to maintain close contact between mechanization enterprises and the cooperatives. The economic and financial results of the activity of these enterprises and the machine operators' pay are conditional on the cooperatives' performance.

We are improving the remuneration of cooperative members. Inasmuch as remuneration according to work-day units did not take proper account of increasing labor productivity nor encourage differentiation in incomes according to quality and quantity of labor, it was replaced in 1971 by the piecework system current in construction and other branches. The new system links remuneration more directly to economic performance, that is, more output at less cost. This stimulates cooperative members to do their work better and in time and to increase output while cutting costs.

The introduction, early in 1971, of a guaranteed minimum income, paid every month, has proved an important incentive. At year's end, when the final results of production have been ascertained, peasants get extra pay. Each cooperative determines the amount of pay over and above the established minimum according to total income. Practice has already confirmed the worth of this new system.

Our agricultural production cooperatives will greatly benefit from such recent measures as bigger pensions for cooperative farmers and a number of benefits in regard to medical care and health resort treatment, introducing maternity leaves and paying monthly allowances for children. Cooperative farmers today have a guaranteed income and enjoy constant support from the whole of socialist society.

To fulfil the tasks in agriculture set by the Party at the new stage, we must improve organization and management at all levels. We have re-organized the Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry into the Ministry of Agriculture, Food Industry and Water Resources. District agricultural agencies have been reorganized in a similar way. The reorganization was prompted by the need to carry forward concentration and specialization, extend cooperation in production and create better conditions for the use of technical facilities and, on the other hand, by the need to bring management closer to production, eliminate intermediate links, support the activity of cooperatives more directly and involve farmers in management. Closer relations with non-farming industries are

especially important. Technological progress gives rise to new relations between enterprises producing raw materials, processing them and selling the final product, but this has to be properly organized.

The main characteristic of the new forms of organizing and managing agriculture is wider use of economic levers and more democratic mass participation in management. In line with the principles established by the Party for economic and public activity, management is collective. The collective management bodies of ministries and economic agencies and the general meetings of co-operative members and state-farm workers are forms that enable all working people to participate in making and carrying out decisions.

The national and district unions of agricultural production co-operatives play a notable part in improving management. Through these agencies, peasants are drawn into management at local or branch level.

The peasants' initiative and experience are coming to play an increasing part in cooperatives, cooperative unions and their elective bodies. An illustration of this was the Second Congress of the National Union of Agricultural Production Cooperatives (February 21-22, 1972), which became a vast forum for the peasants of our republic. It confirmed the established practice of our Party and government leadership of consulting representatives of diverse spheres of Party and government activity and the working people at large on decisions and measures intended to further the country's economic and socio-political progress. The Congress summed up the cooperatives' work over the past years and adopted important decisions to ensure fulfilment of the development program for agriculture approved by the 10th Party Congress and to encourage the peasants to take a more active part in social and economic life.

Socialist society advances by continuously enhancing the action ability of its every member. Under socialism, the working people are not mere executors but active participants in the shaping and implementation of all policy. Accordingly, the RCP is doing much to train workers in agriculture ideologically and politically, help them in improving their professional skill and educate them in the spirit of the Marxist-Leninist world outlook, of socialist patriotism and internationalism.

The progress made under the Party's leadership in the socialist transformation of the countryside, in modernizing and increasing agricultural production and in raising the living standards of the farmers and the people as a whole, provides a solid basis for the further advancement of farming. It is an important prerequisite for building a comprehensively developed socialist society.

Communists in agriculture*

(Letters from France)

Vanishing farms

In France, a peasant farm is forced out of business every 12 minutes, more than 5 farms every hours, 136 every day, 50,000 every year. The total declined from 2,284,000 in 1956 to 1,557,000 in 1970, and it is estimated that now there are less than 1,500,000 peasant farms.

'You want to know how it happens?' asked Raymond Guyot, Communist Party Political Bureau Member. 'My own department, Yonne, offers a good enough example. It is in the heart of France, a big grain and cattle area. My village, Carisey, had 67 families when my grandfather farmed there. He had five or six hectares, a horse and four cows and was considered a middle peasant. Now the village has only 13 families, 11 of which own between 40 and 60 hectares. But you can't really consider them well off, they just manage to make ends meet. They are the kind of families who take our Party paper *La Terre* (Land).'

Comrade Guyot went on to explain that bigger farms did not necessarily mean much bigger incomes. In grain farming, from 20 to 50 hectares is an average family farm, using machinery and no hired labor.

In our village (Guyot continued) only two of the 13 farms, each with several hundred hectares, employ hired labor. And they are gradually buying up 'free' land, for many farmers find they cannot make ends meet and cannot afford the machinery necessary to raise productivity and profitability. The horse, once the main 'machine,' is vanishing with the farm. In fact, there is only one horse left in the village, it belongs to some of my relatives. It's an old horse and several times they decided to sell it, but the head of the family objected: 'Leave the poor creature alone, as long as he lives I shall probably live too.'

And yet modern machinery is a matter of life and death for the farmer. When my nephew returned from the war in Algeria, he told the family: either we buy a tractor or we move to the city. It was decided to stay on the land and the family savings were put into a small Czechoslovak tractor . . . much to the disappointment of two rich neighbors who were impatiently waiting for the farm to be put on the market.

Some more figures. In 1929 there were 1,050,000 peasant farms owning from one to five hectares and 775,000 with from five to 10

*The second of two letters, the first appeared in No. 3, 1972.

hectares. In 1967 the figures were 363,000 and 298,000 respectively. During the same period the number of farms in the 50-100 hectare category increased from 41,000 to 92,000 and farms with over 100 hectares from 9,000 to 26,000. The 10-20 hectare group remained relatively stable between 1929 and the early 60s, at about 500,000, but the number has been steadily and rapidly declining since 1963.

In his article on the development of capitalism (1915), Lenin drew attention to the 'remarkable uniformity of evolution.' 'Both in industry and agriculture the relative number of small and medium enterprises is decreasing, and only the relative number of the large enterprises is increasing' (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 22, p. 98).

Monopoly penetration of agriculture and the attendant accelerating process of differentiation of the rural community is characteristic of all developed capitalist countries. The new, monopoly structure leaves no place for the mass of peasant farms. This inevitably leads to fierce class battles as the peasants uphold their rights.

We were given a firsthand view of this process on our visit to a rural area and learn more of Communist Party activity among peasant farmers.

Rural Party organization

The department we visited at the invitation of our French hosts is about 200 kilometres southwest of Paris in the valley of the Loire and its tributaries, the Loir and Cher, hence the name of the department, Loir et Cher. It borders on Yonne and like it is a typical agricultural area with a burgeoning industry. True, there are no big factories so far and only five have a work force of more than 500. Of the department population of 275,000, 37 per cent of the gainfully employed are in agriculture.* Cereal and cattle farming predominate with occasional patches of vineyards and vegetables. The Sologne district is somewhat of an exception – a wooded plateau of 275,000 hectares with its famed hunting preserves (used by the President of the Republic and his VIP guests) and a chain of tourist-attracting castles – Chambord, Cheverny, Beauregard, Chaumont – there are over 600 in all.

The department capital, Blois, is a historical landmark – it was here 500 years ago that a simple peasant girl from the small village of Domremy rallied and led the army that liberated Orleans from the foreign invader. The girl was Jeanne d'Arc, the people named her the Maid of Orleans.

The Party has a small two-storey house on a quiet street, a bookshop on the ground floor and the offices of the departmental Party federation upstairs. We interviewed the federation's First Secretary, Roges Leclerc, Organizational Secretary Claude Breton

*Changes in the farming population are shown in these figures: 1956, 5,127,000 (26.7 per cent of gainfully employed population); 1968, 3,062,400 (15.2 per cent). The percentage for 1971 is estimated at between 14 and 14.2 and the estimate for 1975 is 10.5.

and Bureau Member in charge of work among farmers Jean Claude Venot.*

Comrade Leclerc told us about the federation. He spoke with a characteristic peasant accent – it's only ten years since he left the farm to take up party work. He joined the Party in 1944. That too is typical, for we met many people who had joined in the Resistance years, when Communist courage and fortitude won the Party a dominant influence (before the war the Socialists were the main Left force).

The Party federation (Comrade Leclerc told us) has 25 sections organized roughly according to cantons,** and 160 nuclei.*** Total membership is 1,586, not very much and we are working to raise the figure to 2,000. About 200 join every year, but we also lose a certain number as older people die and the younger ones migrate to the towns. But party activity and influence are not measurable in membership figures alone. For instance, the Party polls 25,000 votes, or 22 per cent of the total, sells 3,000 copies of *La Terre* and 2,000 of *Humanité-dimanche*. It also publishes a quarterly bulletin. *Vigneron*, which is sent out free of charge. Besides, 15 sections have their own newspapers. The Party enjoys much influence in the mass organizations, the CGT, Teachers' Union, Parents' Association, Movement in Defense of Family Farms (MODEF). We met a member of its National Bureau, Maurice Jourdain, who is in charge of work in this and four other departments. 'Our object,' he said, 'is to help keep the farms on a paying basis and improve living standards.' The peasants elect Communists to responsible posts in MODEF, although they know that the Party's agrarian program goes far beyond MODEF demands.

And the most important of these demands, Comrade Jourdain said, was revision of the Common Market agreement. The French farmer was told that the Common Market would help him sell his product. That has not happened: this year we have had to destroy 60,000 tons of peaches while the FRG imported 63,000 tons from Spain and Greece. The FRG also buys meat and cereals, and Italy corn, outside the Common Market and sell us wine, vegetables and fruit.

But, one of the comrades added, we welcome broader international trade with all countries, including the Common Market. But we certainly do not welcome a system under which the monopolies, the big multinational trusts, increase their profits by intensifying exploitation of our working people. Our farmers are faced with new difficulties resulting from the recent decision to cut down French farm produce to boost exports from the USA.

The class war in the countryside has become considerably sharper in the past few years. There is more resolute and vigorous peasant protest against government price policy, which seems never to catch

*The Federation has a Secretariat of three, a Bureau of 13 and a Committee of 43 members. There are 3 full-time functionaries, 2 Secretaries and a Bureau Member in charge of work among farmers.

**The commune is the primary administrative division, several communes make up a canton.

***The French Communist Party has 5,600 rural nuclei.

up with the general price rise. And there is protest also against farmland being bought up by the big financial interests. There have been any number of peasant demonstrations in departmental and cantonal centers, also tractor marches to block traffic on motor roads and railways. The Communist Party supports the farmers' legitimate demands and is helping to organize their struggle, widen its scope, avoid rash anarchistic action which only antagonizes the public. In all this rural Party organizations play an important role, particularly in fostering joint demonstrations of farmers and workers.

Public debates have become a popular form of Party activity. They enable the people to get a better idea of Party policy on topical political issues. And the most topical today is the program for a popular unity government. Popular unity is inconceivable without alliance of all the Left forces, and in this respect the work of the Loir et Cher Party organization is especially relevant, for the department has always been a stronghold of the Catholic centrist forces. The comrades cited this example: in the neighboring Loiret department the government party, UDR, has five seats in parliament whereas in Loir et Cher it has only one, the other two belonging to the Centrists. They have always managed to win with the help of the Socialists. The Communists remained isolated.

The situation changed somewhat in the last municipal elections (March 1971). The Communist campaign for unity of the democratic forces induced part of the Socialists to reject cooperation with the Right in favor of alliance with the Communists. On the whole, there is a definite trend towards Left unity. The Party has strengthened its positions, won three new mayorships and 20 new municipal council seats. The importance of this success and of the Party effort that preceded it, we could ourselves judge in the small rural commune of Chantillon-sur-Cher.

Election campaigns here have their own specifics: political affiliations are handed down from generation to generation, everyone knows everyone else, and everyone accepts advice and guidance from the Church. Not unexpectedly, the municipal councils usually have a stable political coloring.

Chantillon-sur-Cher has a Communist mayor, André Boursin. His great-grandfather on his mother's side, a Left Republican, was elected mayor in 1830. His grandfather on his father's side, a Radical, was elected mayor in 1935 and resigned in 1941, not wishing to collaborate with Vichy. From 1871 after the fall of the Paris Commune and up to the mid-1950s, the commune was ruled by reactionary mayors. And only in 1959 were the Left parties, working *en bloc*, able to win seven of the 13 council seats.

'With this victory,' Boursin said, 'we began consolidating the Left forces. We began by installing central heating in the village school and repairing the teachers' living quarters. The reactionary mayor did not approve of the teachers' Left views and tried to make life miserable for them. And now that we have better living quarters to offer, we can invite better teachers. Next we laid on water

(there were only wells before), plumbing and street lights. We bought new furniture for the school canteen and built a municipal hall. The money came from taxing the big merchants. Ever since then the Left parties poll a majority and communist prestige is steadily increasing.'

New members

Emil Zola's novel 'La Terre' tells of a peasant woman killing her pregnant younger sister to eliminate another claimant to the family farm. 'The land has robbed you of reason,' one of the characters tells the peasants. Much of the action in the novel took place in the parts we visited. The French peasant is known for his conservatism and individualism. What prompts him to join the Communist Party? We got the answer at a meeting of the Party nucleus in the small village of Bracieux.

The discussions centered on affairs international and domestic, current Party business, including arrangements for next day's public debate on the Popular Unity government program. Then we asked the comrades to tell us when and why they joined the Communist Party.

Albert Rondeau: I came back from the army in 1929 and next year joined the Socialist Party. During the Spanish Civil War following the counter-revolutionary rising of 1936, I could not stomach Leon Blum's 'non-intervention' policy. The Communists were the only ones to take a correct stand on this and other issues. I realized that my place was in the Communist Party.

Eugène Bouguereau: I joined in 1936 in the days of the Popular Front – I wanted to be with the Communists in fighting for a better lot for the working man.

Paulette Thèves: I belonged to the YCL before the war. We were all of us concerned about what was happening in Spain, the rising tide of fascism and the danger of war in Europe. We avidly read every bit of news from the Soviet Union, rejoiced in its achievements. We saw in the Soviet Union the only hope of salvation from Hitler. I joined the Party during the war when I was a Resistance fighter. In 1944 our group was arrested and sent to the Ravensbrueck concentration camp. There we went through the hell of fascism, but we also learned the true meaning of internationalism, for all of us, Russians, Czechs, Germans, Frenchmen, helped each other. We were liberated by the Soviet army on May 8, 1945, but only two of our group of 12 returned – the rest had been done to death in the gas chambers. After this ordeal I was still stronger in my communist convictions.

Frias Munoz: I am a Spaniard. I came to France in 1966 in search of work. I joined the Communist Party because it alone is really fighting capitalism and really defending foreign workers.

Anette Billon: I am in the graduating class at the lyceum. I joined the Party a short while ago. My mother is here, she has been a Communist since 1947. So you see, I grew up in a communist family, and for me communism is the only way.

Rural branch

We met with the members of only one nucleus of the canton's 10. They make up a Party section (branch) with a membership of 97. Section secretary Michel Lhommedé, a schoolteacher, joined the Party in 1949 when he was studying at the Blois teachers' training school. At that time, he said, 25 of the 45 students were Communists and the Ministry of Education decided to separate us by 'deporting' some to other schools.

The section has its own mimeographed six-page paper, *Notre canton*. It takes up topical issues and helps get decisions that benefit the people. Who finances it, we asked? The comrades smiled. The Secretary said: 'Our friends from the socialist countries should try to understand our conditions. Our only source of finance is membership dues and voluntary contributions. Each issue of the paper costs 300 francs. We get the money by organizing a festival or some sort of competition. For example, a belote competition, with the first prize a vacuum cleaner, the second a goat and the third a turkey. The prizes are donated by party sympathizers, tradesmen, peasants. There is an admission fee and we manage to collect over 1,000 francs, which is equally divided among the nucleus, section, federation and central committee.'

All the articles are written by members of the section and often discussed in the nuclei. Total circulation is 2,500, sent out free of charge to every family in the canton as a supplement to the federation paper *Vigneron* to save postage.

Party members have an active share in distributing *Humanité*, its Sunday edition *Humanité-dimanche*, *La Terre* and various other party publications and propaganda matter. When the summary of the Popular Unity government program was received, Party members stayed up late to insert a copy into every newspaper so that it would reach the reader next morning.

Comrade Lhommedé told us more attention was being paid to the propaganda of socialism. Up till now, he said, we were more on the defensive, refuting arguments put out by bourgeois propaganda and its distorted picture of socialist reality. Now we are on the offensive. First, we popularize, in a very concrete way, the achievements of the socialist countries. Second, we show the farmers the hard time they are having under capitalism. Third, we popularize the Party's program, concretely showing how the Party will bring socialism to the farmer.

And giving the farmer a true picture of socialism is important. For anti-Communist propaganda makes a point of discrediting agriculture in the socialist world. The comrades showed us a recent issue of *La Terre* with the report on Soviet agriculture by six French Communists from various departments who had just been to the USSR. It was a lively report and did not avoid the problems facing Soviet agriculture, showing how they were being solved and how village life was being refashioned.

Population problems

Young people seem to be rare in the countryside.* At the cooperative we visited near Bracieux we were told that the average age of its members was close to 55. 'We are called the old men's cooperative, and we are – in a few years all of us will be on pension.'

'Who will make the wine then?'

'Well, we'll have to shift to Georgian wine, what else is there?'

We were told much the same at Chatillon-sur-Cher: 'When my generation is gone I don't know who will work the land.'

'Government policy leaves the family farm a very narrow survival margin,' Maurice Jourdain of the MODEF said. 'The prospect is glum and young people are fleeing to the cities.' 'The prospect is glum indeed,' a farmer remarked. 'Try to find a wife. No country girl is going to marry a farmer and spend the rest of her life toiling on the land.'

But some young people do stay on the land and do manage to find a wife. We were even told, half jokingly: 'When you write about farm wives don't forget to say that they are not like the wives of the past. They wear mini skirts now (despite frowning grandmas). If the husband is tired, the wife will send him home and take his place on the tractor. More, when the farmers planned a tractor demonstration to block all traffic the police announced they would use tank-like vehicles to crush the tractors. So the wives told their men: "You stay home." And they mounted the tractors and blocked the traffic. The police did not dare attack them.'

'All these population questions have to be borne in mind if you want to understand Party work in the countryside,' we were told at Bracieux. 'Take, for instance, party recruitment. We have a nucleus where the average age is 70 – and yet we are putting in much more effort than urban organizations to win over the youth. We invite young farmers to our meetings, get them to participate in various activities, recommend the best for Party membership. We pay special attention to farm laborers, most of whom are without education and are hard hit by the government's agrarian policy. They support us but are afraid to join the Party, for that might mean immediate loss of their job.'

Population problems are a reflection of much deeper processes in the French countryside. They and the causes of the agrarian crisis were described in detail by Fernand Clavaud, a member of the Party Central Committee.

Summarizing what he told us and what we heard during our travels in rural France, this briefly is the picture we got: in recent years the government has enacted several laws that manifestly discriminate against the small farmer. These include the agricultural orientation law of August 5, 1960, and the amendments of August 8, 1962. All farms are divided into 'viable' and 'unviable.' The

*In 1962, 13 per cent of the peasant population was 65 years or older and it is estimated that the figure will soon rise to 22 per cent. There are 1,680,000 peasant pensioners, which is more than half of the active rural population.

former are eligible for subsidies, loans, etc., while the latter are virtually condemned to liquidation.

'The present policy,' writes the Marxist researcher L. Perceval, 'creates the impression of hesitant advance to nowhere.' The way out of the stalemate, a realistic and effective solution for French agriculture, has been outlined by the Communist Party. Its policy and proposals are discussed by Jean Flavien, a French Marxist specializing in agrarian problems, in this issue.

Paris-Prague

Helene Berg, Viktor Sukhanov

French farmers and the FCP proposals

One of the sections of the program for a democratic popular unity government adopted by the Central Committee of the French Communist Party in October 1971, presents proposals for a new agricultural policy. And more recently the situation in farming and the Party's task of enlisting the mass of farmers in the battle for the FCP program was discussed at a Special Central Committee meeting.

France is endowed with large areas of fertile soil and her farmers are resourceful and hard workers. Though they use modern machinery and techniques, they often work for long hours and forego their weekly rest days, to say nothing of the annual vacation.

In the past ten years one million tillers have given up farming. Yet the intensification of labor pushed up output as much as 33 per cent without an increase in the cultivated area. Deplorably, farmers have gained nothing from their more intensive work. Though production has grown by one-third, the market value of the aggregate output rose by a mere 20 per cent between 1962 and 1971. The harder the farmers work, it turned out, the more uncertain is their future.

Unemployment, which depresses the home market and adds to the sales difficulties, has a negative effect on the country's socio-economic life. And what with the international monetary crisis, exports, too, have become uncertain – even in the Common Market set-up, where the USA is seeking bigger sales for its products.

Discontent is rising among our farmers, save for the handful of privileged landowners. And the exodus from the farms is assuming proportions that are beginning to pose the problem of how to keep at least an essential minimum of people, and sustain production, in the more backward areas. This relative decline of the rural potential is liable to upset the tempo of economic growth and the system of consumer supply.

The French government and the Common Market chiefs in

Brussels want to 'refashion' agriculture by stepping up concentration. Their aim is to force out the bulk of small and middle-sized farmers. A Common Market commission investigated 4,200,000 farms in the six EEC countries and discovered that only 700,000, or one in six, can, or has begun to, operate with a profit. What is the future of the others? Do they have a future at all?

The deterioration of the farmers' condition is not unavoidable. A new policy in harmony with their interests could change matters. But the men now in power will not think of it. Nor will the various breeds of 'reformers.' For they are all executives of the will of the financial magnates, who are casting about for ways of maintaining the rule of big capital in town and country.

Deep-going reforms promoting economic and social progress are required to overcome the crisis. And that is just what the Communist Party is working for with its program of a democratic popular unity government, which would carry forward a new policy centered on modernizing agriculture and gradually reshaping its structure to suit the latest technico-economic imperatives. The result would be fairer remuneration and better living and working conditions, closer to those of the town dweller.

The specific feature of the present phase of the crisis is that it affects not only the economically and technically weakest farms. Its consequences are felt by the vast majority.

But the effects are different for each section of farmers. Each has its own specific reasons for discontent. And since people are troubled by different things, the answers, too, cannot be the same for all.

At present, the farmers form two large groups — those who have given up farming, and those who have not. More than 1,700,000 have ceased working their fields. Out of these some 800,000 have less than modest means, including the 300,000 former independent farmers who have closed down production and live on a government allowance. These former proprietors, to be sure, are no longer concerned about the future of agriculture. Though still interested in everything related to the land, their concern centers solely on how their modest means will match up with the inflation and the rising cost of living.

The big mass of so-called independent farmers should be distinguished from the much less numerous capitalist agrarians. And the latter should not be identified with the monopolies, though ideologically and politically they belong to the big bourgeoisie. Despite the disparity between their economic interests and those of the big industrial capitalists, they are hardly inclined to follow a consistently anti-monopoly course. The hard-working farmers running independent farms are an entirely different matter, for objective conditions are arising for their alliance with the working class and for a democratic coalition embracing not only the small, but also many of the middle and even affluent farmers.

We are aware of the fact that the aspirations of the small farm-

ers and those of the majority of middle farmers do not coincide. The motives of the two categories in the battle for changing the regime will not, consequently, be the same either. The youngest and the elderly farmers are concerned, first and foremost, with the problems of the immediate, rather than the remote, future. For the more elderly, land is no problem. For the young, on the other hand, land is beyond their means even when they can find someone selling it. For both, the Party offers a perspective, bringing home the need to join our struggle for a popular unity that will change the regime. The elderly farmers will win the right to work until sixty, with a guaranteed allowance for a life in dignity thereafter. The young will be given the choice between farming and changing their occupation, with, in both cases, guaranteed aid in getting a vocational training.

In recent years, the concentration of land benefited not only the biggest farms. The middle farmers, too, made certain gains. Their farms are now 20 to 50 and sometimes even over 50 hectares – their total accounting for the larger part of the country's arable. They are eager to obtain the latest machinery. Though even the smallest farmers in France have some kind of modern implements, it is the middle, along with the big, who have invested most heavily in mechanizing and modernizing their farms. The middle farmers, however, are falling back wholesale on credits, which makes them still more dependent on the market: they must produce and sell more and more, not only to modernize their equipment and expand production, but also to cover debts.

The middle farmers trusted the propaganda claim that they were in an especially favorable position. But the crisis has completely dispelled these illusions. The size of the farm, experience shows, is the fundamental problem that cannot be solved in the limited context of separate farmers' families. And the dilemma – to follow capitalism or go democratic and socialist – is no longer an abstract one: the facts of life are compelling ever greater numbers of peasants to make their choice.

The agricultural Six has failed to harmonize commercial relations in Western Europe. The monetary crisis has dispelled all hope. And Europe's transition to the Ten (the Six plus Britain, Ireland, Norway and Denmark) will only add to the sources of conflict and sharpen the contradictions between the industrial monopolies, the capitalist agrarians, and the mass of farmers.

By substituting laws to improve the life of all for laws lining the pockets of some and by substituting economic and political democracy for monopoly domination and the President's omnipotence, a democratic government will raise the farmers' purchasing power and gradually transform the living and working conditions in rural areas.

The problem of enlarging the farms could be solved by democratic cooperation of farmers who like farming and want to carry on. They will have the first option on free land. Cooperatives of all

types will get effective aid from the democratic government. And the first to get it will be farmers who pool their land voluntarily and work it jointly, because producer cooperatives are the surest ways of reducing working time, assuring weekly rest days and annual vacations, and lightening the work of women. Processing and marketing cooperatives based on voluntary affiliation and active participation will help effectively to eliminate the predominance of big capital in agriculture.

The nation's independent course in international relations will enable the democratic government to follow an agricultural policy based on its own decisions, while developing cooperation with all countries.

Last but not least, the inclusion of farming in the democratic economic and social development scheme will assure harmonious growth of farm output and economic balance between different regions of the country.

The CC FCP has reaffirmed the Party's determination to open up the road to socialism in line with the nation's tradition and specific conditions. The socialist reconstruction of agriculture will be effected with the farmers' participation and in their interests, in the form most consonant with the principles of scientific socialism: land to the tiller, and voluntary cooperation throughout.

In the present stage of the struggle Communists are working to make the Party's program a reality through broad popular unity embracing all who suffer from the dominance of monopoly capital. A dependable alliance of the working class and the working farmers is one of the imperatives of success. Communists are making a thorough study of the changes in the economic and social condition, and the mentality, of the farmer masses. More farmers are beginning to see the need for deep-going transformations.

For those who have seen the achievements of farming in the socialist countries, the changes there are often a revelation. The former prejudices against the socialist-type organization of production have paled visibly among various sections of French farmers.

To be sure, the Party's new agricultural policy envisages no socialist measures. It is oriented on inhibiting capitalist development in the interest of modern farming, of non-capitalist farmers, who have everything to gain from cooperation and who work the land themselves.

This will help us detach more farmers from the bourgeoisie and win them for the struggle for advanced democracy, paving the way to socialism.

Jean Flavien



Structural crisis and contradictions in Latin America

Jaime Fuchs

The call for change in Latin America's socio-economic structure is obvious. Even extreme conservative elements speak of 'revolution' and bourgeois literature makes frequent use of the expression 'structural change.' As stressed in the 1969 ECLA report, the conflicts and social tensions have become sharper, because the main internal and external problems, far from having been resolved, are more complicated than ever.*

To be sure, consensus is sorely lacking on the basic problems, for class interests take the front seat in the evaluations. In ECLA papers, for example, 'structural change' is identified with change in branches of production, in its machine-to-worker ratio, in employment. In other words, they concentrate on the quantitative side of the problem, rather than the social aspect of production, in which much movement has been observed of late.

The ideologists of the big bourgeoisie, exponents of the 'development theory,' blame the structural crisis on insufficient industrialization and the low standard of farming. They prescribe foreign capital and farm mechanization with backing from landlords and prosperous farmers as the radical remedy. But the experience of, say, Argentina shows that solutions of this sort only put the country under still greater control of North American monopolies. And this holds true not only for Argentina. In Venezuela, too, according to the evidence of *Tribuna popular*, 'the "development theory" has already shown that its exponents have a stake in impeding the country's independent development.'

Latin America's Communist parties stress in their documents that a profound structural crisis, part of the general crisis of the capitalist world system, has held the continent in a tight grip for many years. Its consequences are numerous: slow growth of the productive forces, particularly pronounced in the setting of the worldwide scientific-technical revolution; uneven development of regions within each country and alarming disproportions between economic branches; lags in farming and periodical agricultural

*ECLA, *Aspectos basicos de la estrategia del desarrollo de America Latina*, Doc. E/CN 12/836, March 1969, p. 4.

crises; chronic unemployment; a limited home market, increasing the instability of foreign trade and huge foreign debts; a quick succession of financial crises and endless devaluations of national currencies; a continuously rising cost of living, etc. And all this despite the vast potential resources of the Latin American countries.

The structural crisis exercises a far-reaching influence on politics, causing instability and frequent political take-overs. Backwardness is not historically inescapable, nor is it due to any contradiction between rich and poor countries, as some would have us believe. It is traceable to foreign monopoly exploitation of resources and the predominance of the local oligarchy, which hold back and distort economic growth and predatorily despoil the working class and the bulk of the people.

In the past twenty years the search for a way out of the crisis has given rise to numerous reformist economic policies – 'the currency stabilization' of the International Monetary Fund, the Alliance for Progress, 'economic integration,' and the like. Yet all these doctrines were meant but to meliorate the existing system, solved none of the problems and only created new ones. And this at a time when the political map of Latin America is undergoing far-reaching changes: a new Cuba appeared, which is building socialism; a new Chile, where radical structural transformations are in progress with an eye on the passage to socialism in the long term, and a Peru, where anti-imperialist and anti-oligarchic measures are being carried out. The continent is no longer the backyard of North-American imperialism; it is embarking on genuine national liberation. In most of the countries the anti-imperialist struggle, directed and led by the Communist parties, is uniting the large social forces opposed to the U.S. monopolies and their allies.

The structural crisis has specific features from country to country, depending on their socio-economic and political level, the degree of foreign penetration, the influence of the landlord oligarchy, and the scale of the class struggle. But there are also features they all have in common – first and foremost the growing dependence on imperialism, and the archaic structure of farming.

Growing dependence on imperialism

Penetration of U.S. monopolies into the Latin American countries, chiefly through affiliated companies, has increased visibly in the past decade. For this the Yankee monopolies use their stranglehold on local banking and the dependence of Latin American foreign trade on the United States, etc. Special note should be taken of the growing involvement of foreign monopolies in the Latin American home markets, as illustrated by the following figures:

	1955	1970
	(in million \$)	
U.S. exports to Latin America	3,300	5,100
Commodities sold by affiliates of U.S. monopolies in Latin America	4,900	25,000

While in 15 years U.S. exports to Latin America increased a mere fraction over 50 per cent, sales by Yankee monopoly affiliates went up fivefold. The favorable postwar conditions stimulated industrial growth, and foreign monopolies, chiefly U.S., jumped in for a share of the cake. Though they still regarded Latin America as an important source of raw material, they stepped up investments in the more dynamic fields, which gave the USA leverage in regulating the continent's industrial development to suit its own interest. The rate of expansion of U.S.-controlled companies greatly exceeded that of industry in general. As a result, many enterprises gradually lost their national identity and came under the control of U.S. monopolies. A 1971 ECLA report notes that so far the rate of expansion of international manufacturing enterprises in Latin America has been all but decisive in setting the pace of industrial growth, while their policy of diversification has largely determined the structure of industry.

Some apologists of imperialism, particularly the exponents of the 'development theory,' maintain that the nature of the international monopolies changes depending on the aim of their investments; if intended to increase their exports they are colonialist, and if channelled into the national economy, they 'aid' our countries to consolidate their independence. Nothing could be farther from the truth. This even ECLA, which took part in disseminating the idea, now admits.

Bourgeois literature stresses that the solution of our problems is rooted in enlarging the national income. By official estimates, it has been going up 2.5 per cent annually per head of population in the past decade, with some countries slightly ahead. But little has changed in the condition of wage and salary earners. Unemployment averages as high as 10 per cent of the total active population, and is expected to double by 1970. More, 40 per cent of the manpower is only partially employed.

Often, Latin America's problems are blamed on insufficient foreign investments or the excessive outflow of foreign monopoly profits. But neither the magnitude of capital nor the export of profits *per se* can account for all the consequences of imperialist expansionism. Our problems stem from the objective laws of monopoly capitalism, the main aim of which is to obtain superprofits through intensive exploitation of the working class and the people and through plunder of national wealth. As a result, the weaker countries are economically dominated by the imperialist powers, which is strongly reflected in their policy, ideology and culture.

V. I. Lenin classified countries dominated by finance capital as colonial, semi-colonial and dependent. In relation to the latter he referred to different forms of dependence. 'Finance capital,' he wrote, 'is such a great, such a decisive, you might say, force in all economic and in all international relations, that it is capable of subjecting, and actually does subject, to itself even states enjoying the fullest political independence, (Lenin, *Coll. Works*, Vol. 22,

p. 259). This is entirely valid in the case of most of our countries, suffering different degrees of dependence on foreign monopolies.

Some say the continent's economic backwardness is due to the low rate of capital accumulation. The way out, as they see it, is to step up the rate of growth of the national income. Others, referring themselves to U.S. economist P. Baran, who professes a Marxist approach, maintain that the problem centers on 'economic surpluses' and their proper use. The antagonistic contradictions within the system are totally ignored. Yet the facts show that though the income of the ruling classes keeps rising, this does not lead to any greater accumulation of capital, which, as even ECLA admits, requires structural changes and meaningful measures rather than the natural play of variables. In effect, this is an admission of the importance of factors influencing the actual accumulation of capital and of the general state of extended reproduction in dependent countries, conditioned by the nature of the reigning relations of production.

The present-day facts show that a considerable portion of the capital required for extended reproduction is sent abroad as profit by foreign monopolies or as interest on foreign loans. The sums under this head amount to 30 per cent of all foreign investments in Latin America. There is also a leakage of local oligarchic capital to other countries, huge unproductive spending by the dominant classes, and dispersal of funds in fields not directly connected with material production. Meanwhile, the actual foreign investments are much lower than officially recorded, due to the arbitrary prices set on plant by the monopolies. For this reason alone, the investment rate, 17 per cent of the national income in the 1960s, has now gone down to 12 per cent. Furthermore, extended reproduction has to contend with a limited home market; as a result, plant is working below capacity. Naturally, the process also reproduces the relations of dependence and socio-economic backwardness.

How great are the funds shipped out by the foreign monopolies may be seen from the following:

	Private Capital Imported	Profit and Interest Exported
	(million \$)	
1950-1959	5,345	10,538
1960-1969	4,173	18,900

Whereas in the fifties, as we see, for each invested dollar two were shipped out of the country, as much as \$4.50 was taken out in the sixties. More, the huge outflow was accompanied by growing debts. The foreign debt has gone up from \$2.2 billion to \$22 billion over these 20 years, and so have payments for the services of foreign companies (from 18 to 37 per cent of the value of Latin American exports), causing a further deterioration of the financial

situation, aggravated by direct or indirect dependence: all of 30 per cent of foreign trade is directly controlled by U.S. companies, with the terms of trade increasingly unfavorable.

In sum, financial dependence on Yankee imperialism is growing and if matters do not change, will be still greater within the decade. Nixon's policy of resolving the 'dollar crisis' at the expense of other nations, the Latin American included, is evidence backing this gloomy forecast. To end our dependence on imperialism, we must end its domination on our continent.

The obsolescence of agrarian structures

For all their diversity and heterogeneity in each country, the agrarian structures have much in common—predominance of the latifundia system, semi-feudal survivals and, as a consequence, a low technical ratio and a vast mass of landless or practically landless peasants. True, in some countries the albeit limited agrarian reforms, and in others land settlement schemes, coupled with the growth of capitalist forms of production and relative modernization, have wrought some changes, while at the same time stimulating differentiation among peasants. But the process has altered little or nothing in the agrarian relationships. Backwardness and poverty continue to reign over the vast farming areas.

It should be borne in mind, too, that of late foreign monopolies have intensified their penetration into agriculture, for instance in Argentina, Brazil and Mexico, controlling foreign trade and using their various commercial and financial levers, they are able to influence the development and character of farming.

Here are a few figures to illustrate the agrarian relations in Latin America. According even to official data, no doubt doctored to conceal the real state of affairs, 7 million small peasants own 11 million hectares of land, while 600,000 big landowners own 288 million. In addition, 16 million farm laborers own no land at all.

The concentration of land in latifundia causes an extremely unbalanced distribution of rent. The big landowners get 25-35 per cent of it, while the rural masses live in squalor. If but half the latifundia were divided among peasants, statistics show, as many as 25 million would benefit. And need we say what this would mean for the peasants, how it would stimulate the home market and industrial production?

Growth of capitalist forms of farming and the greater number of farm laborers has given to mistaken notions about the agrarian structures and wrong ideas about the role of peasants in the battle for national and social emancipation. Some maintain, for example, that now the capitalist form is predominant and semi-feudal survivals are a thing of the past. Though professing to be Marxists, these 'theorists' ignore the Marxist rent theory and the main characteristics of the capitalist structure of farming. It is one thing for a tenant receiving the average profit from invested capital to pay the landlord part of the surplus value from using wage labor,

in which case the sum paid by the tenant constitutes capitalist rent, and quite another if the rent paid to the landlord (in kind, cash, or both) includes part of the cost of production and of the necessary means of subsistence, in which case the rent bears the trace of pre-capitalist relations. After paying the landlord the peasant cannot cover costs and fully satisfy his own requirements. The latter case is the rule rather than the exception in Latin American farming. Of rent in kind Marx said: '... rent in kind is an obsolete form, in so far as it does not reflect the price of the product, but may be greater or smaller than the real rent, and thus may comprise not only a deduction from profit, but also from those elements required for capital replacement' *Capital*, Vol. III, p. 769).

Also to be considered apart from rent are the losses borne by the small and middle producers from plunder by foreign-controlled local merchant and finance capital. What makes matters worse for the small producer is the rising price of land, which deprives him of an opportunity to expand his holding or to improve cultivation. Typical of many Latin American countries, this insistently requires radical changes in the agrarian structure.

As distinct from petty-bourgeois ideologues, who deny the need for agrarian reform and for the worker-peasant alliance, and wish to by-pass the stage of agrarian and anti-imperialist revolution in their professed aim of attaining socialism, the Communist parties have clear programs for deep-going agrarian reconstruction and advocate transfer of the land to the tiller. And while urging distribution of land to peasants, Communists are farthest from idealizing small proprietorship or from advocating capitalist development in the village. Their programs suggest that peasants go into various kinds of producer cooperatives, which would enable them to use the latest machinery, and to benefit from the experience of the socialist countries, Cuba included, and from that of other countries of the continent, such as Chile and Peru, which have embarked on deep-going agrarian reconstruction.

In sum, the only way to eliminate the material base of the landlord oligarchy, that prop of imperialism, is to effect a revolutionary reconstruction of farming. More than ever before, the struggle against the latifundian system is, therefore, closely linked with the objectives of the anti-imperialist struggle.

Are Brazil and Mexico an exception?

Of late, Brazil and Mexico have been cited as a kind of 'Japanese miracle' in Latin America. And among the proofs given for this are figures showing the growth of their national income. However, the concomitant, more intensive exploitation of the working class and other sections, is deliberately passed over in silence. To make up for this omission, let us cite but one example. The so-called privileged sector or, more precisely, the exploiters, who comprise five per cent of the population in Brazil and Mexico appropriate

respectively 87.9 and 79.3 per cent of the non-agricultural income,* which clearly shows to whom the benefits of the growth of the national income really accrue.

Despite the greater national income, the socio-economic structures in Brazil and Mexico have not been able to resolve any of the problems common to most countries of the continent. As industry expanded, so did penetration of foreign, chiefly North American, capital; the position of the landlord oligarchy grew stronger; the concentration of production and capital in the hands of the imperialist monopolies continued unabated; the problems of the small and medium-sized enterprises grew more acute.

The increased exports helped expand industry. But an ever greater portion is being used to cover the cost of foreign services. In Brazil, for example, this cost equalled 42 per cent of the total 1966-1970 exports, as against 29 per cent in the 1950s. The foreign debt of the two countries has doubled, for in recent years Brazil and Mexico received considerable short-term credits abroad, depriving the national financial systems of stability and exposing them to the effects of many possible unforeseen circumstances.

The employment structure reveals barriers to the growth of the productive forces. In 1960-1969 employment in the industrial sphere rose insignificantly, while going up visibly in the service sphere: in Brazil from 24.8 to 30 per cent and in Mexico from 24.2 to 29.5 per cent.** The employment problem in the sphere of production is becoming more acute, because the services are unable to absorb all jobless, and doubly so, because the labor market in Brazil is annually augmented by one million young people and in Mexico – where, by the way, unemployment is quite substantial – by 600,000. In short, the structural crisis has spared neither Brazil nor Mexico, and its symptoms there are growing sharper.

The main enemy: imperialism and the local oligarchies

Capitalism developed intensively in most Latin American countries at the turn of the century. The scope of the process differed from country to country, depending on their historical peculiarities. As a consequence, the countries have specific features distinguishing them substantially from the developed capitalist states.

Some people, who aspire to a Marxist outlook, measure the level of capitalism attained exclusively by the structure of production and the specific weight of industry. They contend that the conditions for immediate passage to socialism are already ripe. Others argue that the national bourgeoisie is the immediate enemy. That, for one, is the view of A. Gunder Frank, a petty-bourgeois West German economist who expounds the 'theory of Latin American underdevelopment' according to which 'neo-imperialism' has seized the most profitable positions in national trade, leaving very little

*ECLA, *Tendencias y estructuras de la economía latinoamericana*, Doc. E/CN 12/884, March 1971, p. 104.

**Op. cit., p. 73.

room for the local bourgeoisie, which, by this token, has no other choice but to intensify the exploitation of workers and peasants. For this reason, he says, almost the entire Latin American bourgeoisie is⁸ compelled to seek political alliance with the bourgeoisie of the metropolitan countries.*

The author overlooks the direct participation of foreign monopoly capital in the key branches of the Latin American economy. He seems never to have heard of the landlord oligarchy or big capitalists. He attaches no significance to the great number of small and medium-sized enterprises owned by the respective sections of the national bourgeoisie unassociated with the imperialist monopolies. Equally, he writes off the large middle strata steadily ruined by imperialism and the oligarchy. He is deeply 'troubled,' however, by the activity of Communist parties, which are promoting the unity of all democratic forces in popular fronts. To describe 'theorists' of the Frank variety, we may use Lenin's words: 'The flaunting of high-sounding phrases is characteristic of the declassed petty-bourgeois intellectuals' (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 27, p. 330).

Capitalist development differs from country to country. But there is a common feature: the dependent nature of development, with distinct deformations and unevenness, and semi-feudal survivals. This slows down the expansion of the productive forces and results in one-crop farming, preserving the appalling technico-scientific backwardness and restricting the home market. The cause: dependence on imperialism, especially North American, and domination of the landlord oligarchy and big local capital, whose interest ties up with that of the foreign monopolies. The Program of the CP of Colombia says: 'Capitalism is the predominant system in our national economy. But its development is largely the result of the penetration of imperialist monopolies and intertwines at the same time with pre-capitalistic forms very strongly seen in agriculture and other fields of the economy.'

The discrepancy between the relations of production and the level of the productive forces is therefore increasingly sharp. In the case of Argentina, Victorio Codovilla said, 'to solve the matter radically, it is necessary to eliminate the main contradiction between the productive forces, which are eager to develop, and the relations of production, which hold them back, or, in other words, between the working class and the popular masses, on the one hand, and the landlord oligarchy, big capital, which is the intermediary, and the foreign monopolies, on the other.'

This main contradiction surfaces in the epoch of transition from capitalism to socialism. This is why the democratic, agrarian and anti-imperialist revolution, which is aimed at resolving it, acquires deeper significance at this time, when the socialist world system headed by the Soviet Union is becoming mightier and is a reliable support for the national liberation movements. The Program of the CP of Argentina says that such a 'revolution opens up the way

*A. Gunder Frank, *Capitalismo y subdesarrollo en America Latina*, Ediciones Signos, Buenos Aires, 1970, p. 301.

for the development of Argentine society, which, though not yet socialist, is tearing down the classical foundations of the capitalist system and establishing a new relation of society's internal forces.'

It stands to reason that the course of the democratic, agrarian and anti-imperialist revolution depends on the maturity of the revolutionary process directed by the working class. The revolutionary forces of the continent are working for this strategic aim, with the Communist and Workers' parties in the front rank, battling for the unity of all democrats and patriots against the main enemy of the Latin American peoples – U.S. imperialism, and the landlord oligarchy and big bourgeoisie connected with the imperialists.

Spurred by the sharpening structural crisis and the growing antagonistic contradictions, the social basis of the anti-imperialist and anti-oligarchic struggle is tending to expand, for the foreign monopolies are impinging on the interests of virtually all social strata. The absolute and relative impoverishment of the working class continues; civil servants and employees of private enterprises have low and unstable incomes; so have pensioners, artisans, researchers, technicians and engineers, who suffer from the inflation, the rising cost of living, the shrinking social services, and unemployment. And wage and salary earners, it may be recalled, comprise 50 to 70 per cent of the active population. Small and middle peasants cannot cope with the rising rents, and with the predatory exploitation of the monopolies and big landlords.

The crisis also affects the small and middle national bourgeoisie, hemmed in by the narrow home market, the insufficiency of credits, and the piratical policies of the imperialist monopolies.

Serious processes are also under way among other sections. Democratic and patriotic feeling is running high in the armies. The upper rungs of the military hierarchy, the tool of imperialism and the oligarchy, are increasingly isolated. Anti-imperialist nationalism is on the rise. The old structure of the church is cracking. Ever broader ecclesiastic strata are joining the popular manifestations against foreign monopolies and the local oligarchy.

In this situation, the Communist and Workers' parties' most important task, and that of other revolutionary forces as well, is to rally the broad masses round the working class. The struggle for anti-imperialist and anti-oligarchic fronts, for their consolidation, for political power, leaves a strong imprint on the present stage of the Latin American revolutionary movement, which is in high tide and aimed at radically resolving the deep-going structural crisis.

To overcome crisis of Palestine Resistance Movement

Naim Ashhab

The Palestine Resistance Movement (PRM),* a component of the Arab national liberation movement and a logical reaction as it now stands to the 1967 Israeli Zionist aggression, is in our opinion, passing through a deep crisis. We would like to comment on the situation in accordance with the view which the Jordanian Communist Party takes of it.

The main cause of the crisis is that the Palestinian guerrillas' (Fadayeens) operational bases in Jordan were liquidated through a series of military operations carried out by the home reactionaries in collusion with the U.S. imperialists, who fully backed them. This meant the loss of the PRM's chief stronghold, for East Jordan borders on the enemy-occupied areas and is inhabited by most of the Palestinians living outside those areas.

Furthermore, the split in the PRM has gone deeper because the attitude of guerrilla organizations, especially the bigger ones, towards settling the conflict with the Jordanian authorities is incompatible with the tactics of fighting the Israeli aggression. Disunity accounts, in effect, for all the setbacks of the PRM, both past and present.

The PRM crisis should not be assessed in isolation from the Arab liberation movement as a whole. The Arab armies' defeat in June 1967 and the ineffectual attempts to eliminate its consequences, i.e., recover the occupied areas, through military or diplomatic action, have led to disunity and the rise of diverse trends in the movement.

Specifically, when differences arose over the Rogers plan Jordan's reactionaries seized on them and also the mistakes made by the PRM. They struck the PRM telling blows and set out in September 1970 to liquidate one guerrilla base after another.

There are also certain subjective factors relating to the PRM alone and we would like to go into them.

I. All guerrilla organizations except Al-Ansar, which is led by the Jordanian CP in cooperation with the brother parties of other Arab countries, are opposed to a political settlement in the Middle East and reject the UN Security Council resolution of November 22, 1967.

Historically, this posture is in keeping with the traditional

*It comprises many organizations differing in social composition and outlook. The biggest of these are the Palestine Liberation Movement (Al-Fat'h), Vanguard of the People's Liberation Struggle (its armed units are known as Al-Sa'iqah) and People's Front for the Liberation of Palestine. Most of the PRM contingents belong to the Palestine Liberation Organization.

distrust towards every plan for the peaceful solution of problems of the Palestinian liberation movement. Leaders of Arab national Palestinian organizations have followed this line ever since the Balfour Declaration (1917), being prompted to do so by endless conspiracies against the people of Palestine. This attitude – at best passive – to proposals coming from without is deep-rooted among the masses, nor is it easy to overcome.

To deny that the Middle East problem can be solved on a peaceful basis means, in the present situation, giving in to the spontaneous, emotional reaction of the petty-bourgeois elements, which make up the majority of the Arab population of Palestine, to the June 1967 defeat, the Zionist authorities' brutal reprisals in the occupied areas and their plans for expansion. This unrealistic position disregards the state of the Arab liberation movement following the June reverse. Nor does it take account of the international situation, above all the current alignment of forces in the Middle East.

While the Security Council resolution does not provide for the restoration of all the legitimate rights of the Arab people of Palestine, its execution would amount to defeat for the Israeli aggression, which, as well as being directed against the Palestinian people, was to have dealt a blow to the entire Arab liberation movement and its political and social gains. If carried out, the resolution would tip the scale in favor of the Arab liberation movement and create good conditions for continuing the struggle to solve the Arab-Palestinian problem in its entirety. However, the PRM cannot make headway without support from the Arab liberation movement or the sustained backing of the freedom-loving forces of the world, especially the socialist countries.

Al-Fat'h and Al-Sa'iqa, the biggest PRM organizations, reject the Security Council resolution and champion the slogan of a democratic state in Palestine with three religions – Judaism, Christianity and Islam. The positive aspect of this slogan is that it replaces the call for 'throwing the Jews into the sea,' which has served as a welcome excuse for imperialist-Zionist conspiracies and acts of aggression against Arab countries ever since the State of Israel was founded. Apart from that, it is an unrealistic, utopian slogan today, above all in the aftermath of the June war. At present, every prospective solution of the Palestinian problem implies the need to seek implementation of the Security Council resolution, and first of all withdrawal of the Israeli forces from the occupied Arab areas, so that the Arab people of Palestine can exercise their right to self-determination. As for relations between the Arab Palestinians and Israelis, they will depend on the outcome of the struggle which the peoples of the region are carrying on against imperialism and neo-colonialism, against the aggressive and expansionist nature of the State of Israel, for social progress.

Another political mistake of the PRM, or Al-Fat'h to be precise, was the slogan of 'non-interference' in the internal affairs of Jordan prompted by the general principle of non-interference in the affairs of the Arab states sheltering guerrillas. What did this

mean in the case of Jordan, most of whose citizens are Palestinians?

It will be remembered that when, after the June war, the resistance movement gathered momentum, the guerrillas began to exert growing influence on the population and every aspect of life in the eastern, unoccupied part of Jordan. The movement reached a high point shortly before September 1970, when Jordanian reaction launched brutal reprisals against the PRM and the country's entire national movement. The PRM was a real power existing alongside the official state machinery. It covered the whole country and had its own armed forces, security and intelligence service, financial, administrative and other agencies. In other words, the strength of the PRM, its influence on public life and its prestige among the population of the East Bank were beyond dispute. Nevertheless, the guerrilla leadership did not call for the replacement of the reactionary regime by a patriotic one.

Dual power was fraught with explosion. For the time being, the reactionary regime has settled the issue in its own favor. Thus the advocacy of non-interference has prevented the formation of a patriotic government in Jordan at this stage. However, extremist calls for the liquidation of various Arab regimes in the Arab world as a prerequisite of victory over Israel are just as harmful.

Owing to underestimation of the possibility of a political settlement of the Mideast crisis and a fallacious policy towards the Jordanian authorities, inadequate attention was given to political work among the masses on the East Bank and, more important, in the occupied territories. Some PRM leaders explain this away by their slogan, 'the rifle decides everything.'

The harm of underestimating political work was especially apparent during the September 1970 massacre and subsequent military operations against the PRM. When royal troops attacked the guerrillas reaction managed to neutralize a substantial proportion of the indigenous population of the Left Bank. Worse still, the authorities succeeded in setting numerous inhabitants of the East Bank, especially Bedouin servicemen, against the guerrillas, and the irresponsible moves of some PRM elements merely helped the reactionary authorities of Jordan to achieve their goal. They contrived to goad Bedouin troops into committing atrocities against PRM members and even peaceful, defenseless Palestinians. By fomenting discord and setting the population of East Jordan on those who came from the Right Bank, reaction succeeded in bringing about a deep split in the Jordanian national movement.*

II. Ever since the beginning of Israeli occupation, the Jordanian Communist Party has been carrying on organized political work, in particular in the enemy-held areas of the West Bank. However, the PRM ignored the Party, particularly until September 1970, on the pretext that it subscribed to the Security Council resolution,

*On March 15 King Hussein proposed splitting Jordan into two autonomous regions, Jordanian (on the East Bank) and Palestinian (the Israeli-occupied area on the West Bank) which together would form a 'united Arab kingdom' under Hussein. The Cairo *Al-Ahram* expressed the fear that the proposal betokened a deal with Israel to which the United States was contributing its share. The Lebanese press believed the move to be aimed at liquidating the PRM.—Ed.

had failed to join in the armed struggle at once and did not rule out the possibility of a peaceful settlement of the conflict. Thereby the PRM deprived itself of the opportunity to draw on the valuable experience gained by our Party thanks to the active role it had played in the country's national movement for over two decades, mobilizing and organizing the masses and leading them in various struggles. Since June 1967, the PRM has repeatedly satisfied itself of the tremendous necessity for knowledge and experience such as our Party has. Its negative stand on the Communist Party has encouraged the reactionaries and enabled them to plot under the banner of anti-communism.

There is no denying that our Party was somewhat slow to take up arms. This was due to several factors, and first of all to the existence of a Rightist group in the Party leadership. All decisions recorded in Party documents after the June war recognized the legitimacy of action in any form, including armed struggle, to eliminate the effects of the aggression. But the Rightist group did not, as developments have shown, believe in the possibility of armed struggle against occupation. Instead, it pinned hopes on compromises and concessions which it thought the Jordanian authorities could secure from U.S. imperialism and Israel. In other words, the group did not believe in the ability of the Arab liberation movement (including the PRM) backed by the progressive forces of the world to force the Israeli invaders and the U.S. imperialists backing them to retreat.

On the other hand, our Party, exposing the ambitions of the Zionist extremists and bearing in mind the bitter experience of 1948 (when over a million Arabs had to abandon their land and homes, which were subsequently turned over to Jewish immigrants), saw its paramount duty immediately after the June war in backing the population of the occupied areas, preventing their resettlement by the occupation authorities and averting their flight.

Closely cooperating with other patriotic forces, the Party has achieved notable results in this respect. It was not long before the population stopped fleeing from the invaded areas, and moreover, refugees began to trickle back, a development which the Israeli authorities eventually blocked by severing all communications between the occupied and unoccupied banks of the Jordan.

These results were not easy to achieve. The people living on the Right Bank, as well as being terrorized and persecuted, had to go through the psychological drama of the Arab armies' military defeat. Besides, most of our people are unorganized, they do not belong to any patriotic associations or political parties and when they act they do so spontaneously and out of contact with other compatriots. This is due to the backwardness of Jordanian society and years-long terror against all revolutionary and patriotic organizations, which became particularly brutal on the eve of the June war.

The situation which developed immediately after the 1967 aggression led our Party to the conclusion that conditions in the

occupied areas were not yet favorable for armed struggle, one of our people's legitimate rights in their fight for liberation. So it was for purely tactical reasons that our Party did not call to arms at that stage. The task was first to unfold political work among the masses with a view to prevailing on the Arab population to hold on to its lands, raising its morale and bringing it gradually to a higher stage, that of organized armed struggle against occupation.

We achieved specific results in that respect as well. The Party played a key role in organizing a mass movement and in leading it. There were strikes and demonstrations from the first occupation year on. The most diverse sections of the population joined in various struggles. The powerful wave of demonstrations and strikes that swept the country early in 1969 virtually became a mass rising against Israeli occupation.

That was when our Party came to the conclusion that the situation on both banks of the Jordan was ripe for more effective action, including armed struggle. However, the Right opportunist group holding key positions in the Party prevented it from joining in the armed resistance movement in time, or at least immediately after the above conclusion was drawn.

Afterwards the Party did join in the armed fight and formed combat units in collaboration with the brother parties of Iraq, Syria and Lebanon. These units, brought into being at the height of the battles against Jordanian reaction, carried out a number of successful operations against the occupation forces.

Along with this, a new approach to the issue of a peaceful settlement is gaining ground in leading PRM quarters. However, the PRM leadership is still denying our Party and its guerrilla units representation on various bodies of the PRM and the Palestine Liberation Organization, in conformity with their role in the country's life and the national movement. Our Party is striving for a reversal of this stance.

III. The disunity of the combat organizations of the PRM played into the invaders' hands. The Jordanian reactionaries, for their part, took advantage of it to ignore the Cairo and Amman agreements of 1970 binding the Jordanian government to allow the guerrilla units freedom of action. Lacking unity, the PRM was unable to make full use of its potentialities in the fight against occupation and reaction. The Jordanian authorities insisted, especially after the September 1970 brutalities, that there was a difference between 'honest' and 'dishonest' guerrillas. They did this to aggravate the PRM split so as the more easily to liquidate PRM contingents piece-meal. Regrettably, some anti-imperialist and anti-Zionist quarters in a number of Arab countries took their cue, if not for long, from this doubtful classification.

The great number of guerrilla organizations is, to a degree, indicative of the class differentiation in society. At the same time it is largely a sign of the differences in the Arab countries' approach to the Mideast crisis. The attitude of every Arab country

has a material, ideological and political effect on the guerrilla organizations. While the Arab countries' aid to the PRM as a whole is a positive factor determining the very existence of the movement, the fact that each Arab country helps a particular organization has made for disunity among the fighting forces and reduced the efficacy of the aid.

The lack of unity suggests that armed resistance has not yet emerged from its initial phase to assume adequate scope. But if the effort to launch a really effective guerrilla fight against Israeli occupation is successful it will greatly foster unity, which in turn will add strength to the struggle against the aggressor. Unity will make the movement more independent and enable it to counter adverse influences from without all the more effectively. As a result, the aid which the movement gets from Arab countries will fully prove its worth.

Our Party is trying hard to bring about national unity and cohesion of the forces fighting to remove the effects of the Israeli aggression. This is, as we see it, the basis on which all resistance contingents can and should unite. Every move should be appraised from the standpoint of whether it is likely to hasten the end of occupation. Every approach determined by narrow class attitudes and social or doctrinal differences must be set aside in this national emergency.

IV. PRM activity shows certain other weak points. To begin with, the PRM leadership after the June war remained on the unoccupied East Bank. It is there rather than in the occupied areas that the guerrilla organizations have been developing, which has been a very serious reason for the shortcomings of the PRM.

In the early days it was fairly easy to make one's way into occupied territory. But later on the Israeli troops, profiting by the lull on the Arab fronts, took, with material and technical support from the United States, a series of measures that made access to the seized areas exceedingly difficult.

The fact that the high command of the Palestinian organizations and their main armed forces found themselves outside the occupied territories had the most adverse effect on guerrilla operations on the West Bank. The importance of this factor must not be underrated. The situation is different in the Ghaza Strip, where combat units formed and trained by the Palestine Liberation Organization before the June war and led by officers from the indigenous population remained after the area was overrun, and joined in guerrilla warfare.* This is one of the reasons for continuous guerrilla action in the Ghaza Strip, which is in marked contrast to the situation on the West Bank.

Trying to overcome the difficulties mentioned above, the PRM command accepted nearly all volunteers in West Bank guerrilla

*Most people there are convinced that the fate of the Strip is linked with that of the Egyptian front and the Sinai Peninsula. Besides, the proportion of refugees there is much greater than on the West Bank.

units without making a proper selection. Eager to recruit as many fighters as possible, it was unconcerned about their morale. This laxity left the doors of the PRM open to unreliable or weak elements, and occasionally to enemy agents. The harm done as a result can hardly be overrated. Many courageous young men prompted by love of their country fell easy prey to the enemy. It is safe to say that over 70 per cent of the guerrillas who found themselves in Israeli prisons even before they had accomplished anything are victims of poor organization, information leaks, and occasionally betrayal.

In fighting against Israeli occupation, various PRM contingents engaged in reckless actions which undermined the prestige of the movement, in particular in the eyes of the world. (Such actions are likely to recur, judging from the political views of some guerrilla organizations.) The imperialists and reactionaries exploited those actions to strike at the movement as a whole. The same kind of actions created difficulties for the progressive forces in Israel. These forces, in whose van is the Communist Party, have been against the aggression and its objectives, and against occupation, from the outset. Given favorable conditions, a powerful movement centering on these forces could develop in Israel, a movement capable of exerting pressure on the Zionist rulers to make them withdraw their troops from the occupied Arab territories and carry out the Security Council resolution. The PRM should not discount this prospect.

Reckless actions are, in the final analysis, evidence of the petty bourgeoisie's tendency to go from one extreme to the other, its superficial estimation of developments and its urge to raise as big an uproar as possible without thinking of the consequences.

The use of wrong methods in organizing the struggle has caused both material and severe moral damage. Today not only the Israelis, but also the Arab population of the occupied areas tend to regard the Israeli punitive forces as omnipotent and capable of uncovering and destroying any resistance organization. To increase the psychological impact of their anti-guerrilla operations on the Israeli public and the population of the seized territories, the Israeli authorities publicize them through the mass media.

Organizational shortcomings tell all the more strongly because geographically the occupied areas are unsuitable for guerrilla war against an enemy using helicopters, radar, up-to-date troop carriers, and so on. The situation calls for proper organization, iron discipline, strict secrecy, and hence a better system of selection and political training on the part of the guerrilla leadership.

If the resistance movement has not attained adequate scope, especially on the West Bank, since August 1970, the reason is not that the population of the occupied territories is 'resigned to occupation,' as the Israeli authorities claim, and that resistance is over. This will never be. So long as occupation continues and the population is held down, and so long as there is terror, land confiscation and destruction of homes, resistance will go on. Indeed,

it is bound to gain strength, particularly if the objective and subjective obstacles impeding it today are removed.

So much for the mistakes and shortcomings of the PRM which have combined to cause the present crisis. We have examined them for the sole purpose of helping the PRM to overcome its difficulties.

The Palestine Resistance can resolve its crisis. But to do this, it will have to revise its position and learn the lessons of the past. The main thing is to adopt a clear-cut and realistic policy and to remember that implementation of the Security Council Resolution of 1967 is a decisive step towards re-establishing the rights of the Arab people of Palestine, first of all their right to self-determination. While striving for this, the PRM should step up the armed mass struggle in the occupied areas and seek national unity on the East Bank. This would become the starting point for setting up a national regime which could mobilize the people and the country's resources. This regime would lead the struggle to restore and promote the solidarity of the Arab countries and foster close relations between the Arab liberation movement and the socialist countries, primarily the Soviet Union, and all others who support our legitimate cause. The world's acceptance of the concept of Palestinian personality as the embodiment of the cause of a people fighting to regain its usurped rights, for self-determination, against imperialist-Zionist conspiracies, is an important gain that must be upheld and carried forward, which is perfectly feasible provided a correct, realistic course of struggle is chosen.

'The Soviet public sides firmly with the Palestine Resistance Movement, which is a component of the Arab peoples' national liberation movement,' wrote *Pravda* on October 30, 1971, commenting on the Soviet visit of a PRM delegation led by Yassir Arafat, Chairman of the PRM. This was a reaffirmation of support for our just cause by the world forces of peace and socialism – an earnest of our victory. Our cause will triumph in the end as a result of the fight of the Arab peoples and their liberation movement.

Portuguese colonialism up a blind alley

Jaime Serra

Colonialist and colony. Present-day Portugal is at once a colonialist oppressing other nations and denying them the right to freedom and independence, and an object of colonialization by foreign imperialist capital, which also exploits her possessions.

The fascist regime ruling the country for several decades has robbed the people of elementary democratic freedoms. Its foreign policy, impregnated with anti-Sovietism and anti-communism, is geared to NATO's aggressive planning. The government, headed by M. Caetano, Salazar's successor, is a bitter foe of international détente and, among other things, violently opposed to the idea of an all-European security conference. Its ceaseless provocations against the Republic of Guinea, are another pointer to its deeply reactionary make-up.

Portugal's colonial possessions in Africa are an anachronism, a festering capitalist political, economic and social sore, a challenge and an insult to all progressive-thinking men. The Portuguese fascists' crimes in Guinea-Bissau, Angola and Mozambique may not be as widely known as the U.S. outrages in Vietnam, but this does not make them any the less infamous. To conceal them from the eyes of the world, strict controls have been imposed on the mass information media at home and in the colonies, with war areas off limits for members of the press.

But the truth will out. Torture and killing of prisoners, forced concentration of Africans in so-called settlements imitating the U.S.-inspired 'strategic hamlets' in Vietnam, toxic chemicals, contempt for human rights and international law – all this is part of the day's routine.

The helpers. A question often asked is how weak and backward Portugal can support the eleven-year-old and highly expensive war thousands of miles away from home?

The fact is that Portugal's rulers are getting considerable political, economic and military aid from imperialist states with interests in the African colonies. Their NATO allies supply them with the latest arms – planes, helicopters, torpedo-boats, artillery, and the like. In return, they get military bases in Portugal, and, as Caetano's government has said more than once, ports and bases in Africa, too, are at their disposal.

The doors have been flung wide open for the imperialist monopolies. The main national industries (metals, ship-building, petrochemicals, paper, electrical engineering, automobiles and tourism) are controlled by foreign capital – American, West German, French, Swedish, Dutch and Japanese. In the colonies, too, the international monopolies operate either jointly with Portuguese capitalists or, in some areas, totally on their own. The Cabinda and Angola oil, for example, is completely in American hands, the Angola diamonds in Britain's and America's, and mining is controlled by the FRG and Japan. The same interests, plus some South African companies, have a firm grip on farming and mineral development in Mozambique. And they pocket the lion's share of the profits, while obliging the Portuguese colonialists to protect their interests with armed force.

The Portuguese administration is also fortifying its ties with the racists in South Africa and Rhodesia, with whom they have secret agreements on joint suppression of liberation movements.

The Cabora Bassa lies. A dam at Cabora Bassa is going up on the Zambesi in Mozambique, with the bulk of the finances for it coming from South African sources and, in part, from U.S., British, French and West German quarters glad to give a helping hand to the Portuguese colonialists and the racist regimes of South Africa and Rhodesia vitally interested in the hydro project.

The Caetano government promises that the new dam will swiftly boost Mozambique's economy and elevate the living standard. But the new hydrostation's power will go chiefly to South Africa and Rhodesia, and the profits will go to the international consortium. The people are opposed to the Cabora Bassa project, and the area has become one of the sectors of patriotic armed resistance.

The other lie, concocted mainly for home consumption, is that the dam's construction will ease the unemployment problem in Portugal by attracting at least a million settlers to the banks of the Zambesi. Yet the flow of emigrants is quite obviously to the industrially developed, not the backward, countries. So far efforts to reroute the exodus to Angola and Mozambique, and even the projected settling there of young men completing their military service in the colonies, have failed to produce tangible results. Young men who had not managed to avoid military service in Africa emigrate elsewhere as soon as they leave the army. Indicatively, more than two million people have left Portugal in the first ten years of the colonial war, most of them illegally. And only several tens of thousands had picked Africa as their new home.

It is on these lies that the Caetano government builds its ideological campaign, designed to befuddle the nation and mislead world opinion.

The people oppose the fascist regime. The discontent in the country has increased visibly of late. There have been strikes and demonstrations for higher wages and against repressions. The masses are fighting with mounting determination against the dirty war, for the African colonies' right to independence. The battle is taking on different forms: young people oppose conscription, army recruits hold manifestations and boycott mess-halls in army barracks, or refuse to learn the fine points of anti-guerrilla warfare. More, there are even group desertions. People hold demonstrations against the shipment of soldiers to the front, and against the high cost of living—directly traceable to the colonial war. Mutiny and insubordination have become more frequent in the combat zones; particularly, soldiers refuse to take part in punitive operations in remote areas.

In the van of the anti-fascist struggle stand the workers and the youth of the nation, led by Communists. Operating underground, the Communist Party is enlightening the people on the real state of affairs, rallying public opinion against the regime. Communists go to the army barracks, showing soldiers what the war in Africa is really all about. And since autumn 1970 the struggle has been joined by the armed Revolutionary Action (ARA) organization, which has helped in acts of sabotage on ships carrying arms to

Africa, and, among other things, in destroying some 20 helicopters and planes in the Tancos military base. Its activity has added muscle to the people's resistance to reaction and the colonial war.

The facts show that the colonialists have no reliable rear in the country; the generals and fascist rulers are deeply shaken. The repressions across the country, coupled with the emergency measures, are indicative of the uncertainty reigning in government circles.

Here is how the Communist Party describes the present situation:

'The present stage of the revolution in Portugal, which is ruled by a fascist dictatorship, is democratic and national.

It is democratic, because the immediate aim is to end the fascist tyranny, the rule of the financial oligarchy, to protect the people's interests, institute political freedom, and carry out a set of radical reforms in the interest of the vast majority of the nation.

It is national because the aim is to end imperialist predominance in Portugal and her colonial rule over other peoples, to consolidate her sovereignty, territorial integrity and genuine independence.

'The national-democratic revolution will not end the class struggle; the revolutionary process will continue. For the Portuguese Communist Party, a Marxist-Leninist party standing in the van of the proletariat, the struggle for a national-democratic revolution is part of the struggle for socialism.'

Isolation on the world scene. World opinion and the progressive forces do not confine themselves to merely denouncing the Portuguese colonialists; their aid to the liberation movements is expanding steadily. This applies first and foremost to the socialist countries, free from capitalism and the best friends and sincere champions of the embattled peoples. The socialist states, and notably the Soviet Union, are extending the most effective and selfless aid, both political and economic.

Under pressure from the progressive forces, the isolation of the fascist regime on the international scene is becoming more complete. Its colonial policy is so badly discredited that even some of its NATO partners balk at taking its side publicly, and deem it wiser to abstain when resolutions of censure are being voted on. This was so at the UN Security Council's Addis Ababa 'African' session earlier this year, which, among other things, passed a resolution demanding that Portugal immediately recognize the right to freedom and self-determination of the peoples of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea-Bissau, that she end the colonial war and the repressions, and withdraw her troops. The resolution deplores military and other aid rendered Portugal by certain countries. Nine states voted for the resolution, including the Soviet Union, and, symptomatically, five NATO countries abstained (USA, Britain, France, Italy and Belgium).

It may be proper to recall here, too, that Italy and Sweden have withdrawn from the Cabora Bassa dam project under pressure of the Mozambique liberation movement supported by the progressive forces of the world.

Colonialism or neo-colonialism? Many of those who follow the liberation struggle in Angola, Mozambique and Guinea-Bissau cannot understand why the Portuguese regime is hanging on so desperately to colonialism of the 'classical' traditional type. Haven't far stronger powers – Britain, France, Belgium – given way to pressure and granted political independence to almost all their African possessions, whilst launching out on newer, more flexible ways of retaining influence?

Caetano admits that he has given deep thought to this alternative to the African policy he has inherited from the old dictator, Salazar. But the imperialist monopolies hold that in the present setting of wholesale anti-colonialist rebellion Portugal's direct politico-military rule alone can protect their interests. And with the blessing of its senior partners, the regime is therefore sticking stubbornly to the path of war, trying to justify this by references to its 'historic mission of civilization' and its 'unique multiracial policy.' It has designated Angola, Mozambique and Guinea-Bissau as Portuguese provinces exclusively inhabited by Portuguese, white and black, who, it says, need 'protection.' That is the formula exploited in the noisy pseudo-patriotic campaign to befog the Portuguese youth, sent to die in the war against the African peoples.

True, the ground is being laid for a possible tactical retreat to neo-colonialism. Recently, for example, the Caetano government passed a few amendments to the constitution. All for demagogic purposes. Greater administrative autonomy is envisaged for the African 'provinces,' and they have been given the 'honorable' right to style themselves as full-fledged states. Yet, like all the other fascist maneuvers made under pressure of the events, this move has but the one purpose of maintaining the system of oppression in the African territories.

The peoples of Africa will win. Portugal's colonialist policy is bound to collapse. Aided by the active solidarity of the Portuguese people and the international anti-imperialist movement, the freedom fighters will clear their countries of the abomination of colonialism. Solidarity in the battle against the common enemy will fortify the future free and fruitful cooperation between the people of Portugal and the peoples of independent Angola, Guinea-Bissau and Mozambique.



Roots of the dollar crisis

Hyman Lumer

On August 15 of last year President Nixon, as part of his reactionary offensive dressed up with the name of 'New Economic Policy,' decreed that dollars held by foreign central banks would no longer be convertible to gold. And in December, in a meeting with President Pompidou of France, he agreed to devalue the dollar. In these two actions, the fruits of the latest dollar crisis, he rang down the curtain on an era in which the dollar reigned as a world reserve currency, acceptable on a par with gold in international transactions everywhere. He marked *finis* to the existing capitalist world monetary system and precipitated the problem of fashioning something to replace it.

To make clear the full meaning of these developments, it is instructive to review briefly their historical background.

The era of dollar domination

The international monetary system which has prevailed in the capitalist world until now had its origins in the Bretton Woods Conference in 1944, which established the International Monetary Fund. The U.S. monopolists sought – and obtained – a dominant status of the dollar in the world currency system. There was a desperate need of dollars by other capitalist countries, the United States had cornered no less than two-thirds of the capitalist world's stock of monetary gold. And only the United States was committed freely to exchange dollars for gold held by central banks, at the fixed rate of \$35 an ounce which had been established in 1934.

The dollar was declared universally acceptable as a substitute for gold. The United States was able to use its near-monopoly of gold reserves to keep the price of gold at this prewar level despite the fact that prices of all other commodities had enormously increased. The available supply of gold thus became increasingly inadequate to cover the volume of international transactions as prices continued to rise. It has also become less and less profitable to mine new gold.

On the eve of World War II, total gold reserves were 110 per cent of the world volume of imports; today they are 25 percent. From 69

per cent of the total monetary reserves in 1948, it has fallen to 38 per cent today. The balance consists almost entirely of dollars. In practice, therefore, the dollar became the leading component of monetary reserves and the substitute for gold as the measure of value and the medium of exchange in international transactions.

The means by which dollars have been pumped into international currency circulation has been the running of deficits in the U.S. balance of payments—that is, spending more abroad each year than is taken in. Such deficits have been incurred in every year since 1950 with but two exceptions. The two main sources of these deficits have been 1) the huge volume of expenditures for maintaining military installations and U.S. troops abroad, together with the foreign outlays for the aggression in Indochina, and 2) the enormous rise in the volume of foreign investments, particularly in Western Europe.

Ordinarily when a country incurs a deficit in its balance of payments it must be prepared to pay the difference in the currencies of the creditor countries or in gold. But by virtue of the special status of the dollar, the United States has been able to meet its deficits by payment in its own currency and to hold off the final reckoning as long as the recipient countries are willing to hold on to the dollars and not convert them into gold. Thus it has pressed other countries to help finance its costly imperialist ventures abroad by holding growing accumulations of dollars indefinitely as promissory notes.*

But as other capitalist countries succeeded in improving their own economic and financial positions, and as they found themselves flooded with quantities of dollars increasingly exceeding their needs, conversion to gold began to take place at a growing pace. Consequently, as the number of dollars held abroad swelled, the quantity of gold in Fort Knox shrank. U.S. gold reserves had fallen from their 1949 peak of \$24.6 billion to \$10.9 billion in 1967-68, while outstanding dollar holdings had risen further. By May 1971 foreign dollar holdings totalled nearly \$50 billion, of which \$30 billion was held by central banks, whereas the U.S. gold stock remained at about \$11 billion.

For some time, therefore, it has been clearly impossible for the United States freely to redeem foreign dollar holdings in gold. The dollar has long ceased to be 'as good as gold.' The problem was met by putting every possible pressure on other countries not only to hold the dollars they already had but to accept still more dollars. And in 1969 the Nixon Administration made it clear that it would no longer sell large quantities of gold to foreign central banks. In short, the dollar has in fact been inconvertible to gold for some years. Nixon's announcement of August 15 amounted to a formal declaration of bankruptcy.

The situation has been greatly aggravated by a severe decline in the U.S. balance of trade. In 1964, exports exceeded imports by

*This status has been shared by Britain. The pound sterling has played a role as a world currency, though secondary to the dollar after World War II.

\$7.1 billion; 1971, however, witnessed a trade deficit of an estimated \$1.8 billion, the first such deficit since 1893. In large part this was a consequence of the war-stimulated inflation which has made U.S. exports less competitive on world markets and in addition has further weakened the position of the dollar as a world currency.

Moreover, the rise of multinational corporations has led increasingly to the supplying of foreign purchasers from plants situated abroad and at the same time to importation of products of such plants into this country for further processing or for final sale. These practices have served both to decrease exports and to increase imports.

The balance of payments deficit has progressively increased over the past two decades and in 1971 it reached astronomical levels, totalling \$22.2 billion on a net liquidity basis and \$29.6 billion on the official reserve transactions basis.* A declaration of inconvertibility became unavoidable.

The developments we have summarized here, leading to the demise of the system fashioned at Bretton Woods, grow out of the basic instability of economic relationships between capitalist countries, an instability which renders impossible the establishment of a stable world monetary system. The uneven development of capitalism in different countries during the postwar years has increasingly eroded the economic dominance of U.S. monopoly capital. The economies of the other major capitalist countries have grown more rapidly than that of the United States, and the U.S. share of world production and world trade has steadily declined. And with this U.S. imperialism has found itself less and less able to impose its will on its imperialist rivals.

This unpalatable fact U.S. ruling circles are being compelled grudgingly to admit. Indeed, in his announcement of the dollar devaluation, Nixon himself does so in these words:

'Now we have a new world, where instead of just one strong economic nation, the nations of Europe, Japan and Asia, Canada and North America—all of these nations are strong competitors and as a result it was necessary in these meetings for a negotiation to take place between equally strong nations insofar as their currencies were concerned.' (*New York Times*, December 19, 1971.)

Thus the deepening general crisis of world capitalism expresses itself in a mounting crisis of the capitalist world monetary system as a whole.

Devaluation and after

Although it became increasingly clear that the dollar was overvalued in relation to other key currencies, U.S. ruling circles stubbornly resisted all pressures for devaluation. Instead, the Nixon Administration put pressure on other governments to revalue their currencies upward in relation to the dollar. This amounted to a

*Net liquidity basis deficit results from increase in U.S. dollars held by foreigners. Deficit in official reserve transactions results from U.S. obligations to foreign central banks.—Ed.

de facto devaluation of the dollar in relation to those currencies which were revalued, but it preserved the \$35-an-ounce price of gold.

The growing speculative flood of dollars into stronger currencies eventually compelled a number of other capitalist countries to revalue their currencies upward in order to put a stop to the flood, or to permit them to float—that is, to find their own values on the basis of supply and demand. With the emergence of the U.S. trade deficit, with the balance of payments deficit soaring and with a federal budget deficit of some \$23 billion, anything began to look better than the dollar. In May 1971, West Germany, Switzerland, Holland, Belgium, Austria and others were compelled to close their foreign exchange markets and to halt the purchase of dollars, the first time this had ever happened. There followed the revaluation of the Swiss franc and the Austrian schilling, accompanied by flotation of the mark, the guilder and the Belgian franc. Only France resisted and sought to maintain the value of the franc unchanged.

The U.S. monopolists sought to solve their problems at the expense of the working class at home and their imperialist rivals abroad. This was the essence of the Nixon declaration on August 15, which instituted a wage freeze for American workers and announced, in addition to the inconvertibility of the dollar, a 10 per cent surcharge on import duties, creating the danger of a general outbreak of protectionism and trade wars.

The dollar crisis disclosed the depth of the contradictions between the United States and the West European countries, as well as the contradictions among the Common Market countries themselves. But on one point the latter were united: the demand for the devaluation of the dollar.

In the end, the Nixon Administration was forced to yield. On December 18 Nixon announced an increase in the price of gold from \$35 to \$38 an ounce, or 8.57 per cent, and with it the discontinuance of the 10 per cent import surcharge. These actions were taken in agreement with other members of the Group of Ten, an informal body consisting of representatives of the ten leading capitalist countries, which in reality determines the policies of the IMF. In return, other currencies, particularly the yen, were to be revalued upward, producing an effective average dollar devaluation of some 12 per cent. These decisions were duly approved by the IMF, which also widened the permissible range of fluctuations from the par value of currencies from one per cent either way to 2.25 per cent.

There are tendencies in the press and in other circles to minimize the significance of the devaluation. *U.S. News and World Report* (December 27, 1971) states that Nixon agreed to it 'mostly for psychological reasons.' At the same time, great things are expected for this mere gesture. With the realignment of currencies, it is said, a huge reverse flood of dollars will set in, vastly reducing or eliminating the balance of payments deficit. U.S. exports will

rise and imports will decrease, facilitating economic recovery and growth. The threat of recession in Europe will recede.

One is inclined to ask why, in the light of all these blessings in return for so little, the Nixon Administration has so stubbornly resisted devaluation? The answer is that both of these notions are ill-founded. Devaluation is no 'costless concession'; it is a serious setback for U.S. monopoly capital. No currency can play the role of an alternative to gold in international transactions unless a) it is freely redeemable in gold and b) it maintains a constant value in terms of gold. Nixon was not able to force these countries to yield to U.S. dictates; without agreeing to devaluation he was unable to compel the outright revaluation of the Japanese yen – one of his main objectives. The price he had to pay was an end to the privilege of running debts abroad without limit and covering them with IOU's in the form of paper dollars.

Nor are the benefits of devaluation either immediate or automatic. For one thing, a change in the price of gold must be acted on by Congress, and while there seems to be little doubt that such a measure will pass, there is no guarantee that Congress may not become embroiled in time-consuming debate.

Secondly, the devaluation is a limited one and the over-valuation of the dollar is far from fully overcome by it. The effect on foreign trade will be correspondingly limited. Moreover, it will be partly offset by anticipated currency devaluations in other countries, including most of the Latin American countries (of which we shall have more to say later). It will be offset also by the continuing inflation in the United States.

Thirdly, there is no assurance that the hoped-for massive influx of dollars will materialize in the near future. There has been little immediate response. The *Wall Street Journal* of January 10, 1972 reports: 'Only a trickle of dollars has begun flowing home. That's a surprise and puzzlement to economists and foreign exchange traders.' On the other hand, the *New York Times* notes that: 'Even a major devaluation may take two years for its full effect to be felt on the United States balance of payments' (December 15, 1971). And this is not a major devaluation. Furthermore, the devaluation will have relatively little effect on the outflow of dollars in the form of foreign investments. For the multinational giants, investment in Europe holds powerful advantages which far exceed the negative effects of a 12 per cent devaluation.

Fourthly, there are deep-going controversies in the field of foreign trade which are far from being resolved. The U.S. is making efforts to break down Common Market barriers to U.S. exports. These may well engender very sharp controversies, and the threat of retaliations and trade wars posed for a time by the 10 per cent surcharge may all too easily become reality, with disastrous effects.

Finally, serious controversy exists over the question of restoring the convertibility of the dollar to gold. The United States has no intention of restoring it in the foreseeable future. But this confronts other capitalist countries with the problem of stabilizing the

relationship between their currencies and the dollar at the new levels through their own efforts, and with the problem of absorbing new influxes of dollars. Hence, there is a growing demand for the return of convertibility, at least on a partial basis, and these pressures will continue to mount. But renewed convertibility will require a price of gold far higher than \$38 an ounce, and this means further devaluations on a much bigger scale. There is already speculation that such devaluations are in the offing, that there are considerations in Washington of raising the price of gold to \$70, \$100 or even \$140 an ounce.

In corporate circles the measures so far taken are looked upon as no more than a 'preliminary settlement,' one of a 'tentative and provisional nature' (*New York Times*, January 21, 1972). There exists no assured control over the massive flows of 'hot money' from country to country in search of higher interest rates, flows in which the chief role is today played by the multinational corporations and the banks associated with them. There are great uncertainties as to the future of the U.S. economy. And there exists for the present an unstable situation in which the dollar, though inconvertible, continues to act as a world currency in the absence of an alternative.

Clearly, the devaluation and the other measures taken by the Nixon Administration offer no panacea for the plight of the dollar or the crisis of the capitalist world monetary system as a whole. These actions represent only efforts of U.S. monopoly capital to export its problems, to solve them at the expense of its imperialist rivals. What is significant is its growing inability to do so. As the general crisis of capitalism deepens the world monetary crisis will continue to worsen and to flare up again and again in ever sharper forms.

The role of gold

Bourgeois theoreticians and big business spokesmen continue to seek a panacea in the form of some kind of 'universal currency.' Gold, it is argued, has become obsolete as the measure of value and medium of exchange in international transactions. It depends too much on the vicissitudes of production and private demand, it confers special benefits on leading gold-producing countries, and in any case the supply has proved inadequate to meet the needs of world commerce. This is why it became necessary to supplement it by establishing certain national currencies, such as the pound and the dollar, as world reserve currencies, acceptable in international transactions in place of gold. What is needed, therefore, is a form of world money divorced from gold, just as national currencies have been divorced from gold.

And what is proposed as this universal currency? The Special Drawing Rights – the so-called 'paper gold' – established by the IMF at the beginning of 1970 and based on a composite of national currency.

This 'monetary reform' is based on illusions and rests on a fallacious idea that fails to recognize that money is a commodity, a product of human labor with a value of its own, which has become singled out historically as a universal equivalent acceptable in exchange for all other commodities. It is not merely a token creatable by fiat and made universally acceptable simply by mutual agreement to do so.

Second, it rests on the fallacy that there exists an 'international community' capable of achieving mutual cooperation and solving problems through a 'rational decision-making process.' Quite the contrary is true. Relations between capitalist states are based on fundamental antagonisms between monopoly capitalist elements in the different states, on cut-throat competition in which each strives to promote its own interests at the expense of the others. Agreements among them are arrived at not on the basis of 'rational decision-making' but on the basis of the relationship of forces prevailing at the given moment.

Within an individual capitalist state it is possible for the government to issue irredeemable paper money and to declare it legal tender. This can be done, of course, only within definite limits without creating severe inflation. On a world scale, however, there is no escape from money based on gold. The so-called 'paper gold' is no better in this sense than the national currencies on which it is based. It, too, is subject to inflation and cannot have the stability required of a monetary entity which is to replace gold.

Despite all efforts to hold the price of gold to an artificially determined level and to remove it from active participation in exchange, it continually presses to assert its role as a measure of value in international transactions.

During the 60s a group of leading capitalist countries established a gold pool to be used for selling gold to the private markets when necessary to keep the price from rising appreciably above the official rate of \$35 an ounce. But in the dollar crisis of 1967-68, unable to stem the great waves of speculative buying of gold, the gold pool collapsed. In March 1968 it was found necessary to meet the situation by completely separating the monetary gold reserves from the private markets and to allow the price of gold in the latter to find its own level on the basis of supply and demand. Since then this price has been consistently higher than the official price. In the current crisis it has reached a level of approximately \$46 an ounce, some 20 per cent above the new official level.

This 'two-tier' price system is but an expression of the pressures which operate to push the price of gold somewhere closer to its actual exchange value. The formal devaluation is another such expression. It is clear, however, that the price of gold would have to rise much more before it begins to approximate its exchange value. Hence, the speculations which already exist about impending, much larger devaluations.

The monetary woes of present-day capitalism cannot be remedied by seeking either a return to gold or its replacement by an

international currency. Within the confines of capitalism there is no solution.

Devaluation and the developing countries

Among the worst sufferers from the monetary crisis are the developing countries and especially the countries of Latin America, which are most firmly imprisoned within the economic orbit of United States imperialism. It is the Group of Ten, within which the United States is the most powerful constituent, that determines the monetary policies of the capitalist world, and it does so in the interests of world imperialism as against those of the developing countries which it exploits.

With these countries the United States runs no deficit in its balance of payments. On the contrary, it is they who are perpetually in deficit to the United States. They are subjected to uneven terms of trade which amount to outright robbery. They are victims of a price scissors which brings declining prices of the raw materials they export as against rising prices of the manufactured goods they must import. As a result they are increasingly in debt to their imperialist exploiters. Consequently – and this is especially striking in the Latin American countries – they suffer from uninterrupted, severe inflation and are compelled repeatedly to devalue their currencies.

Now the formal devaluation of the dollar imposes further disadvantages on them. To maintain their position in U.S. markets (which in many cases absorb 30 per cent or more of their exports, in some cases as high as 70 per cent), the Latin American countries are driven to further devaluations. Moreover, their foreign currency reserves, which consist largely or mainly of dollars, depreciate in value. Hence, they are compelled to pay more for imports from other capitalist countries when these are purchased with dollars. In addition, because of the large share of their exports which go to the United States, these countries were especially hard hit by Nixon's 10 per cent surcharge. And should the threatening trade wars materialize, the impact on these countries – and on developing countries generally – can well be devastating.

These countries are, quite naturally, reacting to these intensified threats to their economies. In October 1971, there took place in Lima, Peru, a meeting of the foreign ministers of the Group of 77, whose purpose was to develop a common line against the policies of the Group of Ten. Clearly, the struggle will grow steadily sharper as the imperialist states, and especially the United States, continue to seek a way out of their monetary difficulties at the expense of the developing countries.

Devaluation and the working people

The monetary policies of U.S. monopoly capital are directed not only against the interests of the developing countries; they are

based no less on making the U.S. workers foot the bill through intensified exploitation.

The devaluation, it has been asserted, will have little direct effect on working people. It will increase only the prices of certain imports which make up but a small percentage of workers' budgets. At the same time, it is maintained the devaluation will have a beneficial effect: by reducing the balance of payments deficit, through increased U.S. exports it will produce more jobs for workers in this country. Every billion-dollar swing in the balance of payments deficit, it has been estimated, will produce 60-80,000 added jobs. The full \$9 billion swing the Nixon Administration calls for would give rise to more than 700,000 new jobs. But these assertions are unfounded.

The price increases and inflation resulting from devaluation are not inconsequential. As we have noted, it will take some two years before the effects of the devaluation make themselves fully felt. During this period, these effects will be more than offset by the continuing inflation and by the growing practice by multi-national corporations of producing components or finished manufactures for importation and sale in the United States, leading to rising imports and mounting export of jobs.

What may be expected with certainty is that the evaluation will be accompanied, in the name of guaranteeing the hoped-for reduction of the balance of payments deficit, by an intensification of the 'anti-inflation' campaign. The assault on wages and the pressure for strict wage controls will be considerably stepped up, and with this the efforts to throttle the ability of workers to resist will be redoubled. It is characteristic of currency inflations generally that they are accompanied by ruling-class demands for greater 'austerity' on the part of workers, and this one is no exception.

The working class will be faced, therefore, with the need for sharper struggles in defense of its living standards, as well as of the right to organize and strike. The Nixon monetary policies can offer no benefits to the working class. They avoid coming to grips with the real sources of the balance of payments deficit – the huge outflows of dollars for cold-war military purposes and aggression in Indochina, and the skyrocketing foreign investments. Instead, they seek to place the growing burden of these expenditures on others, not least the U.S. working class. This is the purpose behind Nixon's entire economic program, including its monetary aspects.

To achieve any serious improvement in their economic conditions, the American working people must fight to realize the following goals:

- An end to the Indochina aggression and, in the words of the *Draft Theses* for the 20th National Convention of the CPUSA, 'scrapping of the whole system of aggression – of the world network of military bases, of military aid to reactionary regimes, of CIA intervention in the affairs of other countries.'

- Curbing the export of jobs by restraining corporations from arbitrarily closing down plants to shift production abroad, limiting

private foreign investment and replacing it with genuine aid to the developing countries through long-term loans at little or no interest and with no strings attached.

- Abolition of all wage controls and institution of a rollback of prices.

- Development of large-scale trade with the socialist countries - a genuine source of jobs for U.S. workers.

Within the capitalist framework, the working class cannot undertake to cure the ills of capitalism; it can only fight against being made to bear the brunt of them. Socialism alone can do away with these ills, and in this connection it is noteworthy that the monetary crisis affects only the capitalist world; in the socialist world it is totally absent, just as unemployment, hunger, racial and national oppression and other capitalist evils are absent. This is the lesson which must be brought home to the American working people.

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Lessons of World War II for our time

Ivan Bagramyan

It is now 27 years since the day of victory over fascism. A new generation has grown up that does not know the war. Farms, factories, homes stand on what were once battlefields and the debris of destroyed towns and villages. World War II is receding farther into history.

But time will never erase its memory in men's hearts. The courage and fortitude of the Soviet people and their Armed Forces, the heroism of those who saved the Soviet Homeland, who performed their sacred internationalist duty to the peoples, will always be remembered and honored. The defeat of Nazi Germany was not merely the military defeat of Hitlerism. It was the triumph of reason over obscurantism, of civilization over barbarism, of the forces of revolutionary renewal over the forces of world reaction.

Victory did not come easy to the Soviet people. Their adversary was strong and dangerous. The most difficult ordeals came in the first months of the war. But it would be wrong to think that there were only setbacks and defeats. In my official capacity, I received all the dispatches from our frontier posts. Our frontier guards fought to the last man. The battles of the summer of 1941, in which I participated in the Ukraine, revealed the infinite courage of the Soviet soldier, his stamina, his unshakable conviction that victory would be ours. Let us recall the facts. In the first 22 days of the war the Nazis lost about 100,000 in killed and wounded, over half of the tanks hurled against us and large numbers of planes.

The collapse of Hitler's plans began the moment his troops perfidiously crossed our frontier. Everywhere, along the thousands kilometre front from the Arctic to the Black Sea, the fascist hordes came up against the iron will of the Soviet people, their determination to stop and destroy the aggressor. Nor did it require the 'biblical miracles' which, the *New York Post* wrote on June 27, 1941, could alone 'save the Reds.' There was a miracle – the superiority of the socialist social and political system which enabled us to mobilize all the material and moral forces of the people to fight Hitler's armies. Every Soviet citizen lived and worked under the slogan 'Everything for the Front, Everything for Victory.'

In the crucible of war our soldiers mastered the art of victory. We have every right to be proud of how they fought in the momentous battles of Moscow, Stalingrad, Kursk and Orel, the forerunners of the concluding victorious battle of Berlin. Fascist Germany's aggression culminated not in a Wehrmacht parade in Moscow, but in surrender in Berlin.

The Soviet soldier entered Germany not as an avenger, but as an internationalist. At the time of World War I, Lenin wrote: "Hate the Germans, kill the Germans," – such was and is the slogan of the common, i.e. bourgeois, patriotism. But we will say "Hate the imperialist plunderers, hate capitalism, death to capitalism" and at the same time . . . "Remain true to the brotherly alliance with the German workers" (Coll. Works, Vol. 27, p. 163).

Consciousness of their internationalist duty as fighters against fascism – such was the main factor in the conduct of Soviet soldiers and officers. 'A true Red Army soldier,' the Military Council of the First Byelorussian Front said in its address to the troops, 'will never emulate the fascist beasts, will never besmirch the dignity of a Soviet citizen and will never allow rash personal vengeance to overshadow what for us is the main thing, the sacred and noble aims of the war, to attain which our people took up arms – to destroy the German fascist army and punish the fascist criminals. We are not wreaking vengeance on the German people, duped by the fascist leaders and poisoned by man-hating racist propaganda. We want to help the German people rid themselves of this blood-thirsty monster, fascism.'

Our army discharged its great liberating mission with honor. And monuments of gratitude to it today stand in Warsaw and Prague, Sofia and Berlin, Budapest and Bucharest, Vienna and Belgrade, and many other European, and not only European, cities.

Soldiers of the Czechoslovak army, the Polish army, the People's Liberation Army of Yugoslavia, the Albanian partisan army and, after the break-up of the Nazi axis, Bulgarian, Rumanian and Hungarian troops, joined with the Soviet forces in the fight for the freedom and national independence of the peoples enslaved by fascism.

The Soviet people are highly appreciative of the efforts of their allies in the fight against fascist aggression. We remember the contribution to victory made by the peoples of the United States, Britain, France and other countries.

The French Normandie-Neman Air Regiment was part of the troops I commanded shortly before victory. The French pilots showed themselves intrepid fighters and the regiment was awarded the Order of the Red Banner and the Order of Alexander Nevsky.

Shortly after the war I had occasion to read the message General de Gaulle addressed to J. V. Stalin: 'I take this occasion to thank you once more for receiving the French pilots into the ranks of the glorious Soviet Air Force and for supplying them with weapons in the fight against the Nazi foe. This brotherhood in arms sealed

in the field of battle is a reliable earnest of the friendship of our two peoples, the Soviet and the French.'

Time and new impressions often prompt one to reflect anew on events of the past. But there is no revising the truth of history. This applies especially to events which have largely determined the march of history since the war.

However, bourgeois historians have sought to falsify the record. In particular, they have done their best to confuse the question of the causes of the war so as to whitewash German imperialism. Nazi propaganda, it will be recalled, put out the version that Germany was waging a 'preventive' war against the USSR, which, it alleged, was planning to attack Germany and other West European countries. Now bourgeois military historians and ideologists are trying to revive that long exposed lie. And their purpose is clear enough: to justify the imperialist arms drive. 'Whenever the imperialists need to cover up their aggressive schemes,' Comrade L. I. Brezhnev said in his Report to the 24th CPSU Congress, 'they try to revive the Soviet menace myth. They seek to find evidence of this threat in the depths of the Indian Ocean and on the peaks of the Cordilleras. And, of course, nothing but Soviet divisions poised for a leap against the West are to be discovered on the plains of Europe if these are viewed through NATO field-glasses.'

Much effort has been invested also in attempts to find the 'objective causes' of Hitler's debacle in the East, distort the factors that determined our victory and play down its importance. The Soviet Union emerged victorious in four years of titanic and costly struggle in which it had to exert all its economic, political, ideological and military resources. More, it emerged from the war stronger, not weaker. Its army freed not only its own country, but made a decisive contribution to the liberation of other European countries. Such are the facts, and they should make it perfectly clear that victory was due not to General Frost or General Space, but to the superiority of our political and social system, the bravery and stamina of our people, their supreme devotion to their country, the Communist Party, their deep faith in the justice of their cause.

The causes of the war, its character, the factors that made our victory possible are not academic questions. Their correct understanding will help the Communist and Workers' parties and all progressive forces in the struggle to prevent another war and expose imperialism's aggressive policy.

The world has undergone fundamental change in the nearly 30 years since the defeat of fascist Germany, and every year adds to the strength of the socialist world system, the leading revolutionary force of our time.

Socialism does not need war – it is alien to its very nature. The socialist countries are working for negotiated settlement of all international issues. The USSR and other socialist countries have consistently worked for world peace and security. The program of peace and international cooperation worked out at the 24th CPSU

Congress has met with wide support from progressives everywhere.

Fresh evidence of the socialist countries' peace effort will be found in the documents of the Warsaw Treaty Political Consultative Committee adopted at its meeting in Prague on January 25-26. Its Declaration charts out a clear course for consolidating the positive changes in Europe, solving European problems and giving the continent a stable climate of peace.

The Prague statement on America's continued aggression in Indochina is of great international significance too. What the U.S. is doing in Indochina is convincing proof that Washington still banks on a military rather than a political solution. According to the latest published figures (since 1970 they do not figure in the budget), U.S. expenditure on the war in Vietnam rose from \$103 million in 1965 to \$28.8 billion in 1969.

The growing international prestige of the USSR and the socialist community as a whole, their greater influence on world events, is causing concern in capitalist circles, which rely wholly on force in their relations with the socialist countries. A while ago I had occasion to read an article by Francois Duchine, Director of the London Institute of Strategic Studies, in the *Financial Times* of December 6, 1971. Concerned over the consequences of a European détente, the author suggests strengthening NATO and tying Western Europe more securely to America's global strategy. In this context it might be recalled that the U.S. regards Western Europe as the chief operational base against the European socialist countries. The Pentagon has about 300,000 military personnel in Western Europe, an arsenal of modern weapons, including over 7,000 nuclear warheads, many military bases, and keeps the Sixth Fleet in the Mediterranean.

In pursuing their active peace policy, the USSR and other socialist countries have no pacifist illusions. Their policy rests, on the one hand, on the widespread international anti-war movement and the public forces opposed to aggression and war, and, on the other, on the military cooperation of the socialist countries and their material strength. The lessons of the past should be remembered: as long as there is the danger of imperialist armed attack, the possibility of preventing aggression is directly dependent on the degree of the socialist community's defense capacity. The imperialists would long since have passed from threats to action were their bellicose ardor not doused by the might of the USSR, the high degree of combat ability of the Soviet Armed Forces and the armies of the socialist countries. 'So long as the aggressive NATO bloc exists,' the 1969 International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties declared, 'the Warsaw Treaty Organization has an important role to play in safeguarding the security of the socialist countries against armed attack by the imperialist powers and in ensuring peace.'

In May 1945 history pronounced its judgment: nothing, including military attack, can halt the onward march of socialism.



The lessons of South Asia

There are big changes in South Asia: a new state, the People's Republic of Bangladesh, has come into being. Leaving aside the various consequences of this for the countries of the Indian subcontinent at home and internationally, we invite the reader to look at the event in the light of the common issues of the national liberation movement.

The peoples inhabiting the subcontinent have for centuries shared the same destiny. However, in line with their traditional divide-and-rule policy, the British colonialists encouraged regional, national, and mainly religious, strife – a policy that reached peak intensity following the Second World War, when it became clear that political independence for the peoples of the subcontinent was certain and close. A division of territory followed along religious lines. As a result, the past quarter of a century was marked by religious fanaticism that reached the point of wholesale slaughter, by armed conflicts, causing misery for many millions of refugees.

Surely, there were more disparities than points of contact between Western Pakistan and East Bengal. These territories on either side of formerly colonial India, set apart by more than 1,500 kilometres, had different national compositions, traditions, languages. However, to say that Pakistan oneness was artificial, since it reposed on but a common religion – the Islam – is to sidestep the issue. Religion is a serious matter, especially if it concerns many tens of millions of people. And it was not surprising that the Pakistani military regime tried to portray the December 1971 war with India as a war for the Moslem faith against Hinduism, befogging large masses of people in Western Pakistan and even elsewhere. Regrettably, the calls to 'defend' Islam evoked response in a number of other Moslem states. And imperialist propaganda was only too glad to exaggerate the religious aspect of the conflict.

But despite the magnitude of the religious aspect, the attempt to portray the December conflicts as a religious war goes against the facts. The vast majority of East Bengalis, as everybody knows, are Moslems. The people of Bangladesh rose not against their Moslem co-religionists in Western Pakistan, but against the military clique oppressing both parts of Pakistan, against the West

Pakistani oligarchy, the militarist terror and genocide, for a right to live and work in peace, and to rule their own destiny. India, it will be recalled, helped them achieve their aims. Her troops defeated the West Pakistani military clique, liberating Bangladesh jointly with the Mukhti Bahani guerrilla units.

The criterion of religion, experience shows, is not the determinative one in matters related to the self-determination of nations. Any attempt to belittle the true meaning of the struggle for national independence, to substitute religion for independence, can in practice benefit the oppressors rather than the oppressed. This, it appears, is the first important lesson to be drawn from the events on the Indian subcontinent. Its peoples have seen, Sheik Mujibur Rahman observed rightly, that religious prejudice can cause appalling destruction and distress. And credit is due to the Bangladesh leaders for deciding to build the new state on the secular principle, granting equal rights to all citizens, irrespective of their faith (or caste and color).

In their evaluation of the event, Marxist-Leninists follow Lenin's instructions: he said that the answer to the question of self-determination should be sought 'in a historico-economic study of the national movements' (*Col. Works*, Vol. 20, p. 395). This has a direct bearing on the second point that we wish to make.

The independence movement of the East Bengalis was used by reaction to arouse nationalist sentiment in Western Pakistan. Many people accepted the arguments presented by the Yahya Khan regime, which justified the terror unleashed in the former eastern province by the aim of preserving the country's territorial integrity. On the international scene, too, the campaign mounted by Yahya Khan, calling for a denunciation of the Bangladesh liberation movement, was based on the principle of combating separatism.

The problem of integrity and separatism is a vital one for many of the young Asian and African states. To resolve the national question, especially when the formation of nations is far from completed, is not an easy matter. Besides, seeking to weaken the newly-independent countries, imperialism is often prone to support, even to instigate separatist movements. This is why the principle of territorial integrity within the existing borders has been specially recorded, among other instruments, in the Charter of the Organization of African Unity.

To this, probably, we may trace the reluctance of the representatives of some of the young Asian and African countries to draw a clear line between self-determination and separatism when the subcontinent came up for discussion in the United Nations.

The representatives of the United States and the People's Republic of China tried to confuse the issue still more by giving it an anti-Soviet complexion. They contended that the Soviet stand on the Bangladesh problem was motivated by selfish interests, that the Soviet Union was siding with the 'separatists' to the detriment of international security.

It may be worthwhile looking into the matter, and, first of all, turning to Marxist-Leninist theory. Lenin wrote: 'We demand freedom of self-determination, i.e., independence, i.e., freedom of secession for the oppressed nations, not because we have dreamt of splitting up the country economically, or of the ideal of small states, but, on the contrary, because we want large states and the closer unity, even fusion of nations, only on a truly democratic, truly internationalist basis which is *inconceivable* without the freedom to secede. (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 21, pp. 413-414). In other words, the basic Leninist principles are: the unconditional right of nations to shape their destiny independently without outside interference, and the class approach to each concrete national movement.

Now let us see what follows if we apply these criteria to the situation on the subcontinent at the end of last year. The former eastern province of Pakistan is one of the poorest regions of the world. The average income per head of population was, and still is, one of the world's lowest—about \$40 yearly. Jute, the country's main wealth, the main source of foreign exchange, was exploited by the well-known 22 families of Western Pakistan, who also monopolized other economic fields. The greater part of the revenue went to Western Pakistan. The national movement in former Eastern Pakistan was a movement of the Bengal masses against the oppression of the military clique ruling Pakistan and the monopolistic upper stratum of the West Pakistani bourgeoisie. At first, the battle was fought under the slogan of regional autonomy, and this not only for Bengalis, but for all the main nationalities inhabiting Pakistani. It was with this platform that the Awami League won an overwhelming majority in the December 1970 election. The Yahya Khan regime replied with brutal reprisals, and in March 1971 started a civil war against the people in what was then Eastern Pakistan, with the result that the battle for autonomy grew into a war of independence.

As Marxist-Leninists see it, secession is by no means obligatory in solving the national question, provided each of the peoples concerned is assured the possibility of choosing its own form of national life. 'The right of nations freely to secede,' Lenin stressed, 'must not be confused with the advisability of secession by a given nation at a given moment' (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 24, p. 302). Lenin described as foolish and hypocritical the attempts 'to accuse those who support freedom of self-determination, i.e., freedom to secede, of encouraging separatism' (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 20, p. 422).

The right to secession is unconditional and any attempt by the dominant nation to obstruct it is an attempt to suppress the national liberation movement. This is why the support of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries to the people of Bangladesh fighting for the right to shape their destiny, was not a time-serving move, but a position of principle consonant with the Marxist conception of self-determination. This is why the national liberation movement

of the people of Bangladesh was firmly supported by the Marxist-Leninist parties of the capitalist states.

The abstract approach to self-determination, all blind nationalism, all attempts to oppose the right of peoples to shape their own destiny with the principle of territorial integrity, is objectively directed against national liberation, at disrupting the united front of the world's anti-imperialist forces. This is the second important lesson to be drawn from the events on the Indian subcontinent.

One more noteworthy aspect. Though there is always a connection between the internal and international sides of every event, it is hardly ever a direct one. A concrete stand on the self-determination of the people of Bangladesh, we may be told, is one thing, and in Asia as a whole, is quite another. On the face of it, there may, indeed, appear to be a contradiction. Those who backed the former rulers of Pakistan out of an incorrectly conceived desire to combat separatism, may have thought that they were defending Asia's security.

But the course of events shows that the main internal problems, unsolved as they were, weakened the countries of the subcontinent and made them vulnerable to imperialist schemes, involving some of them in aggressive military blocs promoted by the U.S. imperialists. The victory of the people of Bangladesh in their struggle for liberation has set the ground for settling these problems in the interests of the peoples without outside interference.

This and only this solution can make the security of the subcontinent real, can benefit peace in Asia. The first steps have been taken. The visits exchanged by the Prime Ministers of India and Bangladesh, the Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Peace signed by the two countries, and the visits to the USSR of Bangladesh Prime Minister Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, and of Pakistan President Bhutto, will surely facilitate a real political settlement on the subcontinent in accordance with the existing realities and the legitimate rights of its peoples.

To be sure, the difficulties are still formidable. But every step forward will be a step towards more dependable security in Asia on a collective basis, which is an idea evoking increasing interest in many Asian countries. The peoples of Asia need peace and good-neighbor relations to resolve their urgent socio-economic problems, to fight poverty, hunger and disease. Speaking on March 20, 1972 at the 15th Congress of the Soviet trade unions, the General Secretary of the CC CPSU, L. I. Brezhnev, said: 'It is becoming clearer that the real way to security in Asia is not the way of military blocs and groups, not the way of opposing one state or group of states to another, but the way of voluntary cooperation by all the interested states.'

'As we see it, collective security in Asia should be based on such principles as renunciation of the use of force in interstate relations, respect for sovereignty and the immunity of frontiers, non-interference in internal affairs, and broad development of economic and other cooperation on the basis of complete equality and mutual

advantage. This is the kind of collective security in Asia we are working for, and we are prepared to cooperate with all states in putting it into practice.'

The early months of 1972 give us reason to assume that events on the Indian subcontinent are following the right direction, favorable for peace and collective security in Asia. The outlook for this is all the more promising because the political accommodation on the subcontinent is taking place in a situation highlighted by a consolidation of progressive, democratic tendencies. This is borne out, among other things, by the results of the March elections to the State assemblies in India where the National Congress headed by Indira Gandhi, acting together with the Communist Party in a number of states, inflicted a crushing defeat on the Rightist parties, and by the socio-economic course followed by the Bangladesh government, which announced the nationalization of a number of industries under a plan putting the vitally important branches under public control and has also promised various socio-economic reforms in the interest of the people. This course is supported by the Communist Party of Bangladesh, which again became legal after many years, and by all the country's progressive forces. Some measures oriented on democratizing political and economic life in Pakistan were also announced by the Bhutto government.

Once these tendencies on the subcontinent are consolidated, they will be a sound foundation for a real détente in the south of Asia.

Thus, the third lesson to be drawn from the events on the Indian subcontinent is that the objective growth of the revolutionary and liberation movement, far from jeopardizing peace, creates a realistic basis for solving international problems in the interest of the peoples.

The class approach of principle to questions of world politics, applied by the Soviet Union and other countries of the socialist community and by the Marxist-Leninist Communist parties, promotes security in Asia and the rest of the world. The attitude of those who swear loyalty to national liberation, while refusing to support the principle of self-determination in practice for the sake of time-serving selfish aims, can only cause division in the anti-imperialist front of the peoples, undermining its capacity for combat.

Jan Prazsky



The GDR and peace in Europe

Paul Markowski

I. The peoples of Europe are faced with tasks of vital importance. All indications are that the postwar-tension period is nearing its close. The opportunities provided by history must be used to make Europe a region of lasting peace and security. In pursuing this goal, the peoples of Europe can set an example of applying the principles of peaceful coexistence whose impact will be felt far beyond our continent and will promote world peace.

The substantial progress made in international relations in Europe is a result of sustained and strenuous effort by political and social forces. Firmly resisting the policy of aggression followed by the U.S. imperialists and their allies, the socialist community has become an influential and strong factor for peace and social progress.

No longer can any problem of European significance be settled without the socialist countries, whose peace policy has a powerful effect on every aspect of European politics. No government of the western part of the continent can afford to ignore this policy. The Communist parties of capitalist Europe have grown stronger in the fight for the peoples' interests and for peace. Influential democratic movements have been expanding. Their struggle merges in large measure with that of the anti-imperialist, revolutionary forces of the world.

There have been repeated flare-ups of tension in Europe since the war. The counter-revolutionary forces tried to 'roll back' socialism, the danger of the cold war turning into a major conflict increased. However, all imperialist attempts over the past 27 years to change the results of World War II and socio-political development in Europe in their favor have miscarried. The constructive policy of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries and the efforts of the democratic forces of capitalist Europe for détente and durable peace have prevailed.

The failure of the cold war policy compelled the imperialist powers to adjust themselves to the new balance of continental forces. This aggravated antagonisms within NATO. Some bourgeois governments had to take account of reality and the socialist com-

munity's policy for peaceful coexistence and revise their own policy. Numerous parties outside the Communist movement, politicians and other leaders of the capitalist world take a favorable stand on initiatives coming from our camp and declare for a realistic policy and cooperation with the socialist countries. The positive political changes in Europe and the growing desire of its peoples for peace are also reflected in the attitude of some Social-Democratic parties to key issues of European peace. A number of leading Social-Democrats welcome the recent headway in relations between European countries. They take part in public debates on pressing problems of European security and cooperation. This is exemplified by their contributions to *World Marxist Review*.^{*} The Communists hail every advance in this direction as a gain for peace. However, they by no means overlook the persisting fundamental differences in policy and ideology between the Marxist-Leninist and Social-Democratic parties. They also hold that it would be idle to argue about who should get the greatest credit for the peace effort in Europe. The facts, and the course of history, have already pronounced their verdict on this. A far more important task at this stage is to step up the efforts of all political forces championing a system of European security and bar the road to enemies of détente.

Of course, this alters nothing in the historical contest between socialism and capitalism nor in the imperialist powers' policy of fomenting anti-communism and weakening the socialist world system. However, the strategic position of our chief enemy has changed. The present balance of forces compels a section of the imperialist bourgeoisie to eschew war as an instrument of its policy in Europe. Indeed, the existence of inter-imperialist political and economic antagonisms prompts some far-sighted West European leaders expressing the interests of the realistic-minded section of the bourgeoisie to favor peaceful coexistence with the socialist countries of Europe as a means of loosening the grip of the United States and of winning more leeway and better conditions for coping with their economic rivals.

On the other hand, the imperialist bourgeoisie proceeds from the perspective of confrontation with socialism over a long period. It is perfecting the military machinery of NATO, pressing forward political and economic integration within 'Little Europe,' encouraging anti-communism and stepping up ideological struggle. Obviously, it expects to disrupt the socialist commonwealth and win the contest between the two systems. However, the experience of postwar development shows that nothing can stop the growth of the might of socialism.

II. The peace initiatives of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries have created a healthier political climate in Europe and a situation in which key problems of the continent can be solved in the spirit of peaceful coexistence.

The changes in the political climate in Europe are inseparable

^{*}See the April 1972 issue of WMR.

from the activity of Communist and Workers' parties. At the Karlovy Vary conference (1967) they collectively put forward a concrete program for peaceful coexistence calling for recognition of the inviolability of European frontiers, especially the Oder-Neisse frontier and the boundary between the two German states, the FRG's renunciation of the claim to exclusive spokesmanship for the whole German nation, recognition of the two sovereign and equal German states – the GDR and the FRG – denial to the FRG of nuclear weapons in any form, and recognition that the Munich pact was null and void from the start. The Communist and Workers' parties of Europe declared for normal relations between all countries of the continent, specifically between the two German states, and stressed that West Berlin is not part of the FRG. They pronounced themselves for removing all barriers artificially set up by imperialism between the socialist and capitalist countries of Europe, for fruitful cooperation between them in important economic fields and in science and technology, and for the conclusion of appropriate agreements. They unanimously backed the proposal for a general European conference on security and cooperation made by the Warsaw Treaty countries in 1966.

These fundamental propositions of the most progressive and most influential political movement of our time met with widespread response in Europe and became part of the socialist countries' policy. The far-reaching peace program of the 24th CPSU Congress, the peace plan worked out by the Eighth SUPG Congress and congress decisions of other fraternal parties are bringing nearer their realization.

The benefits of this policy should be obvious to everyone. The socialist and capitalist countries of Europe are developing mutual contacts and relations on the principles of peaceful coexistence. And highly indicative in this respect are the extensive political, economic, scientific, technological and cultural relations between the Soviet Union and France and the agreement on the principles of cooperation between the two countries reached during L. I. Brezhnev's visit.

The Soviet-West German and Polish-West German treaties are noteworthy steps towards a healthier atmosphere. For more than eighteen months now they have had a beneficial effect on European politics. For the first time since the war, the FRG has recognized by treaty the inviolability of the frontiers existing in Europe, including that between the two German states and Poland's western frontier along the Oder and Neisse.

The two treaties helped to bring about the four-power agreement on West Berlin. Its implementation will contribute towards West Berlin ceasing to be a seat of tension in the heart of Europe, inside the GDR. The agreement signed in September 1971 takes into account the actual situation in the central part of the continent. It fully respects the sovereign rights of the GDR and confirms the fact that West Berlin does not belong to the FRG nor can be controlled by it. And this, for its part, is conducive to a normal situation in Central Europe.

The governments of the GDR and FRG have signed an agreement on civilian and goods traffic between the FRG and West Berlin. It is the first agreement to have been signed between the GDR and the FRG in accordance with international law. Important agreements were reached between the GDR government and the West Berlin Senate on visits to the GDR by West Berliners, as well as on settling the problem of enclaves.

The practical value of these legal acts to European peace can hardly be overestimated. This also applies to West Germany's signing of the nuclear non-proliferation treaty although the treaty has yet to be ratified. Putting these agreements into force would meet the interests of the parties concerned and all other European countries.

Due to the positive trend of political development, the reactionary and essentially aggressive Hallstein doctrine* has virtually become a thing of the past. The GDR has considerably improved its international standing. It has normal diplomatic relations with 31 countries and state relations with 50. It widely cooperates with them in trade, science, technology and culture. A welcome phenomenon is also Western Europe's increasing recognition of the need for the early admission of the two German states to the UN.

The idea of convening a European conference on security and cooperation is gaining ground. In addition to the socialist countries and the governments of almost all capitalist countries, a large body of European opinion favors immediate and comprehensive preparations for the proposed top-level meeting.

The results achieved to date show that the approach of the socialist countries and the Communist and Workers' parties to European problems has passed the test of practice. It is realistic and constructive, meets the interests of socialism, the revolutionary movement and progress and is backed by the masses.

III. The fundamental problems of European security have a direct bearing on the GDR, which continues to develop in close alliance with the Soviet Union and other fraternal countries as a sovereign socialist state of Central Europe. It is safe to say that disregard of the sovereign interests and legitimate rights of the GDR militates against the very foundations of European peace and security. For there can be no lasting peace on our continent without the GDR, let alone against it.

Erich Honecker, First Secretary of the CC SUPG, reaffirmed at the Eighth Congress (June 1971) our Party's constructive policy on European problems. 'As regards the GDR,' he said, 'we are resolved to do all in our power for the solution of problems that still complicate the situation in Europe and obstruct the coexistence of nations. On behalf of the Central Committee, I wish to declare here that we are ready to accept all proposals and ideas leading to the peaceful coexistence of European peoples and states, whomever they may come from. We are always willing to take a

*It contends that the FRG is the only German state in existence and the sole lawful spokesman of the German people.

constructive stand and to show goodwill. And now as always, our Party and the GDR government will respond to every step of the Bonn government based on recognition of realities.'

The Eighth Party Congress proposed a plan for the republic's contribution to European peace and security. The plan states that the GDR is ready to (1) take part in the European security conference on an equal footing and without prior conditions, (2) join the UN, (3) establish normal diplomatic relations with all countries, (4) establish normal relations in line with the provisions of international law with the FRG as well, and (5) normalize its relations with West Berlin.

In line with that, the GDR contributed actively and constructively to the signing of the four-power agreement on West Berlin and to the positive outcome of the talks with the FRG government and West Berlin Senate. The GDR's consistent policy is having a positive effect on the GDR-FRG negotiations for a transport agreement. Our country reaffirmed its readiness to do all in its power to promote ratification of the Soviet-West German and Polish-West German treaties, and hence entry into force of the four-power agreement on West Berlin. Pending entry into force of the transit agreement, the GDR has begun to apply its provisions regarding trips to the GDR by permanent residents of West Berlin and the FRG. World opinion appreciated this goodwill gesture, which stresses the constructive attitude of the GDR. The opponents of ratification are fanning anti-Communist hysteria and carrying on a campaign against the GDR. Among them are those CDU/CSU elements, those incorrigible advocates of revenge, on whom the lessons of history seem to be lost. The forces behind Strauss, Barzel, Kiesinger and Schroeder cling to their irresponsible concepts and ignore reality. It was this that brought about their defeat in the 1969 elections.

To normalize relations between the FRG and the Soviet Union, Poland, Czechoslovakia, the GDR and other socialist countries under the treaties that have been signed is an imperative of today. Nothing but ratification will make it possible to bring into force the GDR-FRG agreement, as well as that between the GDR and the West Berlin Senate, and open the road to peaceful coexistence of the two German states. The peoples of Europe demand that the FRG promote a better climate, not tension, on the continent.

IV. Statements by prominent FRG supporters of the treaties reveal a somewhat contradictory approach to relations with the socialist countries, especially the GDR. It should be perfectly clear to every politician who recognizes realities that the policy of peaceful coexistence presupposes recognition of our republic as a sovereign socialist state and an inseparable component of the community of socialist countries. There is an unbridgeable gulf between the socialist society of the GDR and the capitalist system of the FRG, and hence peaceful coexistence is the only possible way to normalize relations between them.

Unfortunately, the approach of FRG political circles is still negative and hampers the normalization process. Everyone will see that even now that the treaties have been signed, there is concentrated action in the FRG against the international standing of the GDR, to which it is entitled just as any other state. Bonn does its utmost to discourage governments from establishing diplomatic relations or furthering existing state relations with our country. It obstructs admission of the GDR into international organizations, and where this cannot be prevented, Bonn tries to have the powers of the GDR curtailed by imposing an unequal status on it. A striking manifestation of this overbearing policy is Bonn's opposition to the GDR joining the World Health Organization and participating in the proposed ecological conference on an equal footing with other states.

The underlying reason for this line of action, which runs counter to the FRG's proclaimed intention to uphold the principles of peaceful coexistence, must be the desire to achieve old objects by new, more flexible methods. This inconsistency in political practice amounts in effect to support for the dangerous forces which today try hard to prevent a European détente.

What gives especial cause for concern is the concessions made in the FRG to the ideology of nationalism and 'Greater Germany' chauvinism. Despite the objective process of differentiation between the socialist GDR and the capitalist FRG, some in West Germany still talk of abstract national unity, describing relations between the two states as 'inter-German.' This means shutting one's eyes to the actual state of affairs and, moreover, denying the fundamental principles of international law by peddling the idea of West German 'guardianship' over the GDR. The time has come to recognize that our people exercised their right to self-determination long ago by taking the socialist road in close alliance with the Soviet Union and other fraternal countries. This is an irreversible process and all illusions arising from failure to see it are detrimental to the policy of peaceful coexistence and encourage revenge-seekers in the FRG.

V. The meeting of the Warsaw Treaty Political Consultative Committee gave a new stimulus to the effort for European security. The Prague Declaration is assessed as a milestone at the beginning of a new and important stretch on the road to a peaceful Europe. A democratic program for European peace, it draws on the socialist countries' experience gained through numerous diplomatic contacts with the governments of capitalist Europe and takes into consideration suggestions made by statesmen and politicians.

The Warsaw Treaty countries urged universal recognition and application of the following main principles of security and international relations in Europe: inviolability of frontiers, non-use of force, peaceful coexistence, good-neighborly relations and cooperation for peace, mutually beneficial relations between states, disarmament, support for the UN. These principles must help in estab-

lishing the international legal standards that should underline the security system in Europe.

Given proper respect for the above principles, there will be favorable prospects for the European countries jointly to solve important problems of cooperation in science and technology, protection of the environment, power and raw materials production, cultural progress, public health.

The program evolved by the socialist community is in keeping with the UN Charter and resolutions, such as the declaration on the principles of friendly relations and cooperation between states adopted by the 25th Session of the General Assembly.

If preparations for the European conference are to be fruitful, the public and all progressive, peace-loving forces must also play their part. Their effort can bring about a situation in which the peoples' opinion will be heeded while the opponents of détente will find themselves in isolation. It would be hazardous to underestimate the intrigues of those who are against the proposed conference. They are out to delay the meeting as much as possible, if they cannot torpedo it altogether. At the same time they are trying to misrepresent the very idea of the meeting and to complicate its convocation by advancing all sorts of preliminary conditions. Characteristically, those forces in the FRG which are at pains to torpedo ratification of the treaties with the Soviet Union and Poland are also most active in the attempts to torpedo the European conference. It is likewise significant that Washington wants to delay the conference. Under pressure from U.S. Secretary of State Rogers, the NATO Council meeting last December made the start of comprehensive preparations for the European conference conditional on the four-power agreement on West Berlin taking effect. However, not all NATO members accept this.

In Prague, the PCC urged an immediate start on conference preparations. The Warsaw Treaty countries also gave a constructive answer to the question of reducing armed forces and armaments in Europe which certain NATO elements have made the main issue. The reductions should not put the countries involved at a disadvantage. The socialist countries are always prepared to sign agreements resulting from meaningful negotiations and making for genuine progress towards détente. This is why they insist that talks on reductions of armed forces and armaments must not be linked to preparations for the European conference.

The demand for 'free exchange of information and opinion' (primarily under the catchword of 'ending the division of Europe'), put forward by some West European politicians, in no way meets the interests of European security. The purpose of such demands is to divert attention from the key issues of European security, from the need to recognize the actual situation in Europe and establish relations based on peaceful coexistence between countries with different social systems. The 'division of Europe' – meaning the existence of two opposite social systems – is a historical fact which an all-European conference on security and cooperation can-

not possibly abolish. The meaning of the demand for 'free exchange of information and opinion' has been clear ever since the cold war years: it implies ideological subversion.

VI. The SUPG and the government of the GDR consider it their duty to work for implementation of the socialist countries' agreed policy on Europe. And our republic can best help solve European problems by continuously strengthening itself as a member of the socialist community. The GDR's unshakable alliance with the Soviet Union and other fraternal countries guarantees it proper protection and support. Numerous meetings with leaders of socialist countries have taken place since the Eighth Party Congress. They have helped to coordinate the policy and tactics of our joint action on the international scene.

Contacts between the GDR and capitalist countries are developing. Political, economic and cultural relations with France, Finland, Switzerland, Austria, Italy, Sweden and other countries are expanding.

Many people in European capitalist countries believe diplomatic relations with the GDR should be established. Many brother parties in capitalist countries have been working energetically to uphold the international position of the first socialist state on German soil. They regard this as part of their fight for peace, democracy and progress.

Mass organizations of the GDR are preparing carefully for the Assembly of social forces for security and cooperation in Europe set for Brussels in June. The effort to transform Europe into a peace zone is not only an important component of the official policy of the GDR but a cause which the masses in our republic have made their own.

One can already visualize the future system of European peace. The peoples see that they must continue and step up their struggle for this goal. Our people, too, are doing all they can to enable their country to make a constructive contribution to the building up of a peaceful Europe and to take its rightful place in the system of European security and cooperation.



'Great-power' approach to international politics

G. Shakhnazarov

For several months now international comment in the bourgeois – and not only bourgeois – press has revolved around the so-called transformation of the world from a 'bi-polar' into a 'tri-polar' or 'multi-polar' system. The concepts are not new. They have been used in political parlance before, but never so frequently nor with the same meaning. What we have is not simply the coinage of a new, vogueish term (not uncommon in political writing and journalism) but a phenomenon with more serious implications.

In its most general form, it implies, first, a substantive re-appraisal of the relation of world forces and, second, a major ideological subversion against socialism.

Each of these aspects merits closer examination. But it is even more important to examine their interaction, for only in that way can we fully appreciate the point and purpose of the 'Great-Power' approach to international politics.

I. Leading bourgeois publicists on both sides of the Atlantic (Walter Lippmann and Raymond Aron are two names that come to mind) have heralded the end of the post-war period. They were prompted to do so by China's admission to the United Nations and President Nixon's visit to Peking. This 'second emergence'* of China in the international arena is seen as the consummation of a series of events that have given international relations a new pattern. This is how the metamorphosis is described by American commentator Chalmers Roberts: 'The bi-polar Soviet-American world as it emerged from World War II is largely gone. . . . Today it is fashionable to talk of a five-polar world: the U.S., USSR, China, Western Europe (now that Britain is entering the Common Market) and Japan' (*Washington Post*, Dec. 15, 1972).

Conclusions of this type give a distorted reflection of the real changes in the world. They are the product both of illusion and deliberate deceit, and are meant both for practical, utilitarian, and propaganda purposes. But before examining the 'filling' of this

*Jan Prazsky was right in emphasizing (in the last issue of this journal) that in speaking of China's 'emergence' into the international arena, the bourgeois press overlooks China's first emergence, in the early 1950s.

multi-layer ideological cake, let us dwell briefly on its only rational element. The multi-polar formula is *indirect recognition of the vast changes in the correlation of world forces, and more particularly, of the failure of U.S. imperialism's drive for world supremacy.*

Doubtlessly, on a global scale this reappraisal is prompted chiefly by the growing might of the Soviet Union and the socialist world system.

As for the crisis of American leadership in the capitalist world, it is largely due to the growing economic potential of Japan and the attendant desire to break out of American political tutelage. The dollar crisis is the clearest evidence of American imperialism's waning leadership role in the capitalist system: in the world of capital, the dominating power can be imprudent, immoral, even perfidious, but it cannot, must not, be insolvent.

It will thus be seen that the multi-polar model owes its origin to objective processes of history scientifically interpreted by Lenin in his theory of imperialism and socialist revolution. Indeed, the processes at work in the capitalist world are fully indicative of the continued operation of the law of its uneven economic and political development in the age of imperialism. The main trend of our time, as defined by the international conferences of Communist and Workers' parties, is the steady and irreversible change of the world alignment of forces to the advantage of socialism and the disadvantage of imperialism.

In short, events are following the course Marxists prognosticated on the basis of collective scientific analysis. But that does not mean that we should be indifferent to how the correlation of strength is assessed in the opposite camp. For imperialist gambles involve not only imperialist defeat, but much suffering for the people, fresh flareups of international tension and the menace of a world nuclear conflict.

At this time it is still difficult to foresee the practical consequences of the present reappraisal. Will it lead to a more realistic approach to international disputes? Will it force the imperialists to desist from risky gambles or, at least, exercise more caution in explosive situations? Considering the large material resources of U.S. imperialism, the influence of the military-industrial complex and other factors, one should not be too optimistic. But for all that, the fact remains that in the imperialist powers the process of reappraisal has begun, and not only at journalistic but, more important, at policy-making level.*

II. In examining the essence of this multi-polar concept of international relations, we have first to establish whether it really differs from the two-superpowers concept.

While not challenging, at this point, the methods used in devising the multi-polar model, let us put it to the test of elementary logic. First, what are the criteria for selecting the poles? Military strength? But in that case Japan as a non-nuclear power should not figure at all. Economic strength? That should rule out China which,

*Evidence of that will be focused in President Nixon's foreign-policy message to Congress.

for all its incontestable potentialities, does not yet come within the ten leading industrial powers. Lastly, if a multi-criterion is used – a combination, say, of population, territory, natural resources, industrial potential, dynamic policy, alliances, etc. – then there is every justification for a sixth pole, India, and perhaps other countries too.

The confusion thickens when we examine the West European pole, a group of states – half a continent, in fact – belonging to the Common Market and NATO, but all attempts to abolish their sovereignty by imposing supra-national authority have failed. And it is highly doubtful that the designers of this multi-polar world will ever overcome the resistance of the peoples to some variant of a European political community.

In other words, if we are to accept that Western Europe is a 'pole,' then it is a very peculiar one, intrinsically contradictory and structurally multi-polar. Moreover, its future course cannot be reliably plotted, for in each concrete case it depends on the complex interaction of independent political forces, each pursuing its own aims and interests.

Aware of this obvious defect of the multi-polar model, some of its advocates have tried to overcome it by replacing the concept 'pole' by 'power center' or 'strength center.' That obviates the need to regard Western Europe as a super-power, but it raises other illogicalities. For if these 'power centers' are individual countries or groups of countries with common political, economic, geographical or ethnical features, then why not apply the concept to Latin America, Southeast Asia, the Arab East, Central Africa, etc.?

The authors of the new concept would reject that out of hand. And for the simple reason that the selection of power centers or poles presupposes that outsiders be treated as spheres of influence, zones of attraction, and the like. For the underlying principle of the multi-polar model is this: world problems cannot be solved without participation of new or 'consolidated' poles. And from this naturally follows that such problems can be solved without, and for, other countries. As its bi-polar predecessor, the multi-polar concept does not simply describe the world by enumerating and classifying the super-powers. It sets out to describe how the world should be governed by the super-powers which dictate their will, and upon whose agreement or disagreement depends the destiny of all other members of the international community.

If there is any difference at all between the bi-polar and multi-polar concepts, it is only quantitative, not qualitative – the difference between two and five. True, some bourgeois publicists consider extension of the super-power club an unqualified boon for mankind, an altogether new opportunity to bring order and justice into the world. The argument behind that claim is that multiple poles give the smaller nations wider opportunities for maneuver, enabling them to maneuver between the power centers and retain a measure of independence by exploiting contradictions between their bigger and stronger brethren. In fact, all the publicity of

the multi-polar age rests on this surrogate of genuine independence. (Such a policy, experience has shown, is more of a liability than an asset. And it certainly has nothing in common with genuine independence. On the contrary, it makes a country dependent on fluctuations of the international situation.)

We can justifiably conclude that the bi-polar and multi-polar concepts are but variants of one and the same approach to international relations. It can rightly be called the *Great-Power* approach, of which the following are the main features: a) the world community is regarded as the sum-total of states whose foreign policies are unrelated to their social structures; b) international relations are based on domination and submission, with might always being right; c) at each given period two or more superpowers (or power centers) emerge to divide the world into spheres of influence; d) rivalry among the super-powers is subject but to one restrictive rule, viz., not to allow things to develop into a world thermonuclear war and maintain a more or less stable equilibrium.

Every theory, whether correct or false, must have its inner core, its underlying thesis. In the case of the 'Great Power' theory this is 'deideologization' of international relations. It figures in practically all Western press comment on the Sino-American meeting, even though there is a very wide margin of difference in assessing its probable consequences. Witness this from Max Frankel in the *New York Times* of February 28, 1972: 'The essential agreement was that China and the United States now shared enough common interests on the world scene to forget their ideological obsessions and fears of each other.'

But, then, what is meant by deideologization? Chinese propaganda has for several years been using the most bellicose anti-American language and branding as revisionist everyone who stood for peaceful coexistence of countries with differing social systems. Some news analysts suggests that deideologization implies merely abandonment by the Chinese leaders of their ultra-revolutionary phraseology, and their official acceptance of peaceful coexistence. If we leave aside the wrong interpretation of the term (for peaceful coexistence does not entail retreat from ideology) then this is only to be welcomed.

But most bourgeois writers take an entirely different view. Their understanding of deideologization has been most clearly expressed by Raymond Aron: 'No one will reproach the United States President for returning to realism without ideology or for becoming a realist without ideology. If Mao Tse-tung prefers Marshal Yahya Khan to the Bengalis, why should Nixon persist in refusing to recognize a regime that has governed mainland China now for more than 20 years?' (*Le Figaro*, Feb. 6, 1972). That interpretation can be carried much further, in fact it can obliterate the difference in foreign policies of socialist and capitalist states.

Lastly, let us cite the opinion of another French commentator, M. Tatu. In his view, China's elevation to the third super-power 'deideologizes conflicts . . . and in this way brings out concealed

claims and allows for the most cynical combinations' (*Le Monde*, Jan. 13, 1972).

And so, having pronounced the Sino-American negotiations a model of deideologization, the bourgeois press applies the same yardstick to all international relations, claiming that deideologization is a distinctive feature of the new era we have now entered.

It is in this light that deideologization should be considered a major anti-socialist subversion, comparable to the celebrated convergence theory. For just as that theory was meant to instil the idea that the two mutually-opposed social systems would eventually converge in the industrial or post-industrial society, the 'Great-Power' theory maintains that the world is heading towards a uniform system of international relations unrelated to the class character of the national states involved. Furthermore, there will be a uniform set of ground rules based not on democratic international law as evolved over the centuries, but on its very antithesis, the rule of force. No wonder Tatu speaks of 'concealed claims' and 'cynical combinations.'

A closer look will reveal that the world's future, as predicted by capitalism's pundits, is actually a copy of its past. For what is there to distinguish the multi-polar theory from the 'concert of European powers' formula, so much bandied about in the last century? A much more elegant expression, to be sure, but, then, diplomatic language in those days was closer to that of the artist; today it is closer to that of the scientist. But the essence has not changed; it has been the same through all earlier epochs, too, beginning with the distant days when Egypt, Babylon, Persia, Rome or Carthage were the super-powers.

In other words, the propaganda function of the Great-Power theory is to inculcate the idea that socialism has brought nothing new to international relations: after a short period of revolutionary romanticism, the socialist countries are renouncing the class approach in foreign policy; national interests clash with and supersede ideology.

The advocates of that theory are indulging in wishful thinking, and, on the other hand, trying to induce the socialist countries to give up proletarian internationalism as the basis of their policy and shift to bourgeois nationalism.

III. 'Great-Power' theory, generally directed against socialism, is spearheaded against the USSR. All the subtlety of anti-Soviet propaganda can be reduced to one none-too-subtle trick: using some one criterion, the USSR is equated to other countries and accused of all conceivable and inconceivable sins. This is done through pretty crude syllogistic reasoning: 'The USSR and China are great communist powers; China is deideologizing its foreign policy; hence the Soviet approach to international affairs is likewise unrelated to ideology.' Or this syllogism: 'The USSR and USA are super-powers; the USA dominated in the world, but now its influence is declining; hence the same applies to the Soviet Union.'

Needless to say, both syllogisms go against the rules of elementary logic and are intrinsically false.

Now that we have examined the substance of the Great-Power approach, let us deal in more detail with the falsity of its components. And we begin with the thesis that the postwar era has been one of Soviet-American domination. That is not true. The postwar decades have indeed seen the United States lording it over the capitalist world and its periphery, the vast economically and politically dependent areas. True also, the postwar decades have seen the Soviet Union using its vast economic, political and defense capacity and its tremendous experience of socialist construction to exert a decisive influence on the development of the socialist system and serve as a center of attraction and assistance to liberation movements.

And it is this fundamentally different direction in which the two countries *applied their strength* that bourgeois commentators describe with the single word 'domination.' They have no compunction in using it to describe the U.S. presence in Western Europe which is bringing American monopolies stable profits, and Soviet cooperation with European and Asian socialist countries, which has meant disinterested assistance and equal, mutually-advantageous economic cooperation. Bourgeois commentators do not hesitate to equate U.S. policy in the Middle East, where the oil monopolies are raking in millions, with Soviet policy, which is helping the Arab liberation movement stand up to imperialist aggression. Numerous other examples could be cited.

But there is even a greater absurdity than this charge of Soviet domination – the charge of 'collusion' with the USA. And it does not emanate from bourgeois experts – in their understanding the Soviet-American world simply implied freedom for each 'super-power' to dominate its 'own' half. The idea that the world is ruled by a 'duumvirate' of the two super-powers is the invention of Peking theorists. And they have any amount of examples to hold up their case: the dramatic postwar episodes when the USSR, having come to the aid of one or another contingent of the liberation movement, found itself in direct or indirect confrontation with the USA and other imperialist powers when it endeavored to foil imperialist aggressive moves, and when both sides used diplomatic methods to prevent nuclear war.

Incidentally, these dramatic developments give the lie to the numerous attempts to depict Soviet foreign policy as deideologized, 'Great-Power' and non-class. If that were so, if the USSR were guided by egoistic interests, it would simply have avoided the very risk of confrontation.

Another thesis that will not stand up to critical examination is that Soviet influence, like American, is waning. There is this from Walt Rostow: 'For Moscow the diffusion of power has meant that the Communist vision of a world led by the Soviet Union has receded . . . A Soviet Union, which has accepted its role as a great nation state among many and is prepared, while advancing its

interests, to work toward stabilizing a world environment as potentially dangerous to Russians as to others' (*New York Times*, Sept. 21, 1971).

It should not be difficult to see that the question of a policy's influence (or potentialities) is directly linked with its objectives. That is correct and important. But the character of the *links* Mr. Rostow suggests reveals his utter failure to understand the present situation and the outlook ahead. His analysis is not tied in with our times, for it ignores the developing revolutionary process. In fact, it could apply to any big state in any era of history. There is little point in discussing the moral factor in his reasoning – it simply does not exist for Rostow the pragmatist.

Of course the Soviet Union has its interests and is fully in a position to uphold them. But they are the interests of a *socialist* state, and as such they encompass national and internationalist tasks, concern for the welfare of the Soviet people and the welfare of the socialist world system, support of the Communist movement, assistance to the liberation struggle. What Rostow calls a 'Communist vision,' i.e., a Communist world, is the foundation of our ideology. But neither Lenin nor the Soviet Communist Party ever visualized the age of Communism as 'dominated' by the USSR, though Soviet Communists are prepared to join with all the peoples in working for socialism and communism.

This is how L. I. Brezhnev characterized Soviet foreign policy in his speech at the recent 15th USSR Trade Union Congress: 'USSR foreign policy combines firm rebuff to the aggressive propensities of imperialism with a constructive approach to pressing international problems, irreconcilability in the ideological struggle with readiness to promote mutually advantageous relations with states of the opposite social system.'

There is a direct and reverse connection between a policy's political impact and its aims, and between aims and underlying moral principles. In this age of revolutionary transition from capitalism to socialism, every social and political force that facilitates that transition is bound to grow in strength, and every force that resists the process is bound to become steadily weaker.

The author of a foreign-policy analysis in a British journal several years ago was all admiration for the 'astuteness' of Soviet diplomacy: on the basis of exclusive information it concluded that the 1952 revolution in Egypt would survive, helped Nasser against the triple imperialist aggression and was thus able to strengthen the Soviet position in the area. It never occurred to this learned analyst that Soviet foreign policy, in this particular case as in all others, was animated by the Leninist principle that support of the revolutionary movement was a matter of duty, not of political calculation.

There is any number of recent facts to show that, contrary to all the prophecies of socialism's foes, the Soviet Union's role and influence in the world is growing, not declining. It is growing because on all crucial issues Soviet policy works towards solutions,

always siding with the forces of progress, with those who represent the future. To put it in a more general form, Soviet foreign policy is always true to its class (or ideological) orientation.

Retreat from that class orientation is the biggest sin of the Peking leaders. Suffice it to say that bourgeois propaganda has seized on their blind anti-Sovietism to substantiate the Great-Power concept of international relations. 'The Chinese leaders,' writes Georges Girard in the *Paris France Nouvelle* (Feb. 15, 1972), 'are deliberately confusing the question of the main contradiction of our age. They are doing so to justify their anti-Soviet strategy and rapprochement with the capitalist world. There is the inescapable inference that the main element in this is renunciation of the class approach in analyzing international problems and its replacement by concepts alien to Marxism-Leninism. Such is the essence of the "super-powers" theory.'

What have they gained in return for this valuable service to bourgeois ideology? All the ballyhoo about the two super-powers, they thought, would win them the reputation of leader of the liberation movement, protector of the unaligned states, champion of small nations, and so on. That was behind Peking's repeated assurances that China would never become a super-power. But the whole edifice was demolished by bourgeois propaganda, which declared that the Nixon visit signified the end of the 'bi-polar' and the beginning of the 'multi-polar' era. Virtually the day after the visit, China found itself wearing the label of super-power which its leaders had tried so hard to clap on to the Soviet Union.

Propaganda does not, of course, determine a country's place and influence in world affairs. China was and will continue to be a Great Power irrespective of what its leaders say and do. But China's real flourishing will not come through 'Great-Power' politics, or playing up to bourgeois nationalism, and certainly not from attempts to resurrect the Celestial Empire. These methods might have worked in the 19th century, but not in this age of the two-system contest. China's real flourishing will come through socialism and all-round cooperation with the community of socialist states.

IV. There remains one question to be answered: what is the utilitarian role of the 'Great-Power' approach?

To imagine that such theories are carefully devised and worked out in every detail exclusively for ideological warfare purposes would be oversimplification. Rather the contrary, they are devised in imperialist political and military strategy centers and are then taken up by ideological agencies and used for their purposes.

There need be little doubt that the imperialist powers will use the multi-polar model in foreign-policy moves. But using it to resolve international issues is about the same as using the Ptolemaic system to measure ocean tides.

It might be objected that this is too harsh an indictment. For, after all, the multi-polar world is not such a great discovery—similar theories have served policymakers for hundreds of years.

That is true. More, they are still used in the capitalist system of international relations, now living out its day. And it is not unlikely that they can be employed in resolving partial issues in which only interaction of 'super-powers' is involved.

But they certainly cannot serve to resolve global issues. For this requires fundamentally new, scientific instruments and new methods of assessment. The October Revolution divided the world into two socio-political systems and the struggle between them is the very axis of world development. Though national states still exist and are active in world affairs, any adequate appraisal of the relation of world forces, and more especially the trends of world affairs, must be based on a 'systems' and not on a 'Great-Power' approach.

That is not to say that interaction of states, primarily the Great Powers, does not play a tremendous role. In particular, one might point to the importance for world development of Soviet-American relations. But it is not the basis of the changing alignment of forces, deeply rooted in the struggle of the two systems. That struggle is not confined to inter-state relations; it includes the movement of diverse social and political forces, cuts across national boundaries and social strata; it is a battle waged in men's minds and hearts.

In modelling international relations the supporters of the 'Great-Power' theory ought to take into account such powerful forces as the world Communist and national-liberation movements, the popular peace movement, etc. At any rate, they cannot be ignored in assessing the balance of world forces, or in resolving crucial international problems. There is this very concrete example: in planning every step of its Vietnam policy, Washington is obliged, whether it likes it or not, to take into account, apart from all other factors, the mounting popular movement in the United States against the American imperialist aggression in Vietnam and other parts of Indochina.

The 'Great-Power' theory is a sheer deception, and, to a certain extent, also self-deception. There is no multi-polar world, just as there is no world of two or three super-powers. There is a world of two main social poles, socialism and capitalism, with the former steadily gaining in strength and attraction.



Ideological origins of 'humane' socialism

Letter to the editor

An important ideological and theoretical task of the brother parties, including the Bulgarian Communist Party, is to combat distortions of the humanist message of the teachings of Marx, Engels and Lenin and refute defamatory critiques of real socialism. Therefore the initiative of the journal in publishing contributions on 'non-Marxist socialism today,' is to be welcomed. One of the articles published in the section deals with so-called 'humane' socialism.* It is essential to compare the views of Marxist scholars on this matter and work out a common methodology to be used in criticizing our critics.

The article notes that one of the central components of the 'humane' socialists' system of views is misrepresentation of Marx's teachings in the spirit of philosophical anthropologism, counterposing his early writings to his later works. However, this device is not typical of this trend alone but is used by all latter-day anti-Marxists in dealing with the problem of man. French and German existentialists, Catholic and Protestant theologians and American pragmatists alike write about the 'young Marx.' They contend that the 'real Marx' is to be found in what he wrote before 1844 and that all his subsequent works are so many departures from his excellent doctrine of man. This leads them to the conclusion that the 'mature Marx' must be reappraised through the prism of the 'young Marx.' Above all else, modern 'Marxologists' would like to impose on their readers the notion of Marxism as a speculative doctrine of alienation, as moralizing in terms of abstract humanism. J. Hyppolite, for one, wrote that the idea of alienation, borrowed from Hegel and Feuerbach, is the 'fountainhead of all Marxist thought' and helps the better to understand, among others, the structure of *Capital*, Marx's main work.**

'Marxologists' would like to present Marx's views on alienation as a moral postulate flowing from the 'invariable' essence of man generally. And in this they are joined by the proponents of various 'models' of socialism - Lefèbvre, Garaudy, Petrovic, Fischer and other revisionists of today.

A reaction to this tendentious falsification of Marxism has come from Althusser. His argument is that though the young Marx did concern himself with problems of humanism, he eventually got

*See WMR, December 1971.

**J. Hyppolite. *Etudes sur Marx et Hegel*. Paris, 1955, 147 pp.

over his 'infatuation' and created a new social theory which might be described as 'theoretical anti-humanism.'

The truth about the evolution of Marx's views has long since been established and has nothing to do with the above two extremes. A peculiarity of his early writings is the contradiction between fundamentally new materialist and communist ideas and what may be called the 'birth-marks' of Hegelian idealism and Feuerbachian anthropologism. Marx overcame the ills of idealism and metaphysical materialism, evolving a new, dialectical materialist world outlook. It follows that both those who see no difference between Marx's early and later writings and those who erect a Chinese wall between the two are wrong. The truth is easy to ascertain by examining the process of formation of Marxism, as Marxist literature has already done.*

And now what of alienation? In his *Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844*, Marx freely used the concept of alienation used by Hegel and Feuerbach before him. However, he imparted a new content to it. According to Hegel, alienation characterizes primarily the development of the absolute spirit, which alienates from itself the world, that is, nature and man, and then overcomes this alienation as it cognizes itself. By contrast, Feuerbach regards alienation as an earthly phenomenon, something taken away from man and transformed into a fantastic force. Religion and idealist philosophy come within this category. He believes alienation to be due to man's anthropological characteristics, to his invariable nature.

Marx, criticizing these views, showed that man's alienation does not arise from his nature or psycho-physiological organization. In definite historical conditions, the results of people's activity become an independent force alien to and dominating them. What are these conditions? They are, first of all, private property relations. 'If the product of labor,' says Marx 'does not belong to the worker, if it confronts him as an alien force, this can only be because it belongs to some *other man than the worker*. If the worker's activity is a torment to him, to another it must be *delight* and his life's joy. Not the gods, not nature, but only man himself can be this alien power over man.' (*Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844*. (Chapter on 'Estranged Labor.')

The basic form of alienation is the alienation of labor. It gives rise, directly or indirectly, to every variety of alienation in the political and ideological spheres.

Alienation is not an everlasting but a historically transient phenomenon. Under capitalism, the conscious section of the working class and other working people begins to fight for the socialist transformation of society. New relations that are the antithesis of the anti-human nature of bourgeois society develop among them. The Communist movement as the highest form of social creativity is the main factor for the emancipation of the working class and, together with it, of the whole of society. All this, needless to say,

*See O. Cornu, *Marx i Engels. Zhizn i deyatel'nost* (Karl Marx and Frederick Engels: Their Life and Work). Vols. I and II. Moscow, 1959-1961 (in Russian); T. I. Oizerman, *Formirovaniye filosofii marksizma* (The Formation of Marxist Philosophy). Moscow, 1962 (in Russian); *Istoriya na filosofiyata* (A History of Philosophy). Vol. III. 1961 (in Bulgarian).

does not eliminate alienation under capitalism but only creates the prerequisites for its elimination.

A necessary condition for overcoming alienation is abolition of private property. Only on the basis of public property does labor become a free manifestation of vital activity, the self-assertion of the individual man.

Marx adduces ample arguments in support of this idea. However, in developing his views, he uses the term 'alienation' less and less frequently. And not because he rejected its original connotations, but because he had found more precise and scientific formulations to reveal the causes and nature of capitalist exploitation. It was necessary to arrive by scientific methods at the causes of man's alienation and find ways and means of vindicating real humanism. This is what Marx did. He showed that to overcome alienation, it is not enough to understand and describe it – the need is to destroy the system engendering alienation and to create a new world. The road to this goal leads through the proletariat's class struggle and the socialist revolution.

Historical practice has borne out and enriched Marx's discoveries. Socialism, which has triumphed in a large part of the planet, has become the decisive force of historical progress. It has transformed man and removed the causes of diverse forms of alienation. But socialism cannot fully overcome every form of alienation (for instance, religion) overnight. This calls for a long and intricate process of revolutionary transformation under the Party's leadership. Socialism provides the requisites of society's transition to the higher phase, communism, under which there will no longer be either alienation or self-alienation of man.

Speaking of the ideological origins and components of the notions of 'humane' socialists, mention should be made of the old Social-Democratic concept of 'ethical' socialism. It plays – in a new form, of course – an important part in the 'humane' socialists' system of views as a sort of 'theoretical basis' for their critique of real socialism. Yet the article published in your journal does not, in our opinion, devote adequate attention to this aspect of 'humane' socialism.

It was typical of Bernstein, Vorlaender, Eichler and other advocates of 'ethical' socialism that they metaphysically divorced moral ideas and principles from social reality. For them, the struggle for socialism is not based on scientific analysis of actual social processes but on an abstract world of moral values. Socialism should not, in their view, propose to attain the class goals of the proletariat or it will forfeit its 'moral and humane' character.

This means advocating a supra-class morality and rejecting the proletariat's class interests in favor of the abstract interests of human essence in general, of man as belonging to no class and not existing in reality but in imagination only. Marx and Engels, who joined issue with the so-called 'true' socialists, defeated these theoretical constructions. They showed up the futility of attempts to argue for socialism from the standpoint of abstract ideas of

equality, justice, humanism, and so on. Every class interprets them in its own way. The founders of Marxism rejected moralizing talk and utopian notions of the new society and furnished scientific arguments in support of socialism proceeding from analysis of the objective condition and interests of the proletariat. This is not to say, of course, that Marxist-Leninists have no moral ideal. But their ideal has a dialectical-materialist foundation. Its power lies in its being a necessary result of *natural historical* development, not the result of an a priori structure of consciousness deduced from the 'ethical' socialists' philanthropic precepts.

Let it be said in passing that the false, distorted image of real socialism, which emerges in the writings of the 'humane' socialists, is largely identical with the ultra-Leftist revisionists' *positive* notions of the new system. By dismissing humanist ideals as an entirely 'bourgeois' idea, they distort the teachings of Marx, Engels and Lenin and betray complete incomprehension of the nature of socialist humanism. Marx took a firm stand against 'crude communism,' which rejected the individual man and which boiled down, in the last resort, to an ugly manifestation of petty-bourgeois envy and egalitarianism. Both he and Engels described as 'barracks communism' the foundations suggested by Nechayev for the social system of the future under which all personal relations between people would be strictly regulated. Today, in a different set of historical circumstances, the Maoists would like to convince us of 'barracks communism's' advantages. Cultivating subjectivism in theory and practice, they advance slogans standardizing people's requirements and making a fetish of violence as a method of social change.

We believe there is a need specially to examine 'barracks communism' as a non-Marxist socialist concept and to reveal its ideological connection with the theories of 'humane' socialism, outwardly its opposite. In this letter, however, we only wish to make the following point.

Socialist humanism rejects the Jesuitical principle 'the end justifies the means.' Humane ideas put into practice by Jesuitical methods are bound to become their own antithesis. A 'revolutionary' who uses such methods 'in the name of communism' is plainly distorting both the means and the ends of the fight for communism.

For centuries the finest sons of mankind longed and fought for a just society, extolling social freedom as a magnificent yet remote ideal. Marxism gave their aspirations and ideals a scientific basis, which today helps the socialist countries create the most humane social reality. This is our chief argument when criticizing theories of 'humane' socialism.

Real socialism frees man from exploitation, poverty and humiliation, from racial, national and moral oppression. Man is afforded tremendous opportunities to develop his creative abilities. The right to work, to choose a field of activity according to one's inclinations, the provision of free medical aid, freedom of speech and religious liberty, improving material and cultural standards, an active

part in the management of public affairs are all real guarantees of unfettered and all-round development of the individual under socialism.

The socialist system lays the groundwork for the harmonious interaction of society and man and eliminates both bourgeois individualism and 'barracks communism.' Under socialism, social relations both make it possible and demand that man be the supreme value and object of development. 'Everything in the name of man, everything for the good of man' is not merely a slogan but the very substance of socialist social relations. Now that Bulgaria is entering the period of building developed socialism, care of man is our Party's main concern, the meaning and content of all its policies. The Party program approved by the 10th Congress demonstrates the greatness and strength of socialist humanism, its present condition and its potentialities, and indicates their source.

As they change the nature of the social system and build socialism, people also change their own nature and their attitude to one another and to society. The new man is not a figment of the imagination, nor is he produced in a laboratory. He develops and attains maturity in the course of socialist building and in struggle against reactionary forces.

The experience of our country and other fraternal countries shows that genuinely humane relations between people are established through strenuous struggle under the Party's leadership to change relations of production and socio-political relations, advance the productive forces, create the material and spiritual prerequisites for the complete emancipation of the individual, and mould the new man. Failing this, humanism is likely to be no more than a meaningless word.

Socialist humanism connotes the adoption of drastic measures against violations of socialist legality, manifestations of bourgeois individualism, selfishness and callousness, rudeness and tactlessness towards people. 'In the light of the socialist principles of the all-round development of the individual,' said Todor Zhivkov, speaking at the 10th Party Congress, 'phenomena of our life which infringe the *citizens' lawful rights*, reflect on their dignity and give legitimate cause for dissatisfaction over the functioning of some government and economic agencies, are more intolerable than ever.'

The progress made by socialist humanism to date is not the limit, of course. Bulgaria still has unsolved problems which breed various anti-human actions, directly or indirectly. It should also be borne in mind that socialism develops and holds its own in grim battles against the forces of imperialist reaction, which do their utmost to check socialism's advance. Objectively, the ideas of 'humane' socialism serve these forces.

To combat these ideas effectively, it is highly important to generalize the Communist parties' manifold activities in building a developed socialist society and to carry forward the theory of socialist humanism.

St. Angelov



Breaking the shackles

J. B. Marks

Recently a new book, *Fifty Fighting Years*,* appeared in London. It is a survey of the history of the South African Communist Party. While work on the book was going on, my Party comrades requested that I should look it through and express my opinion on this treatment of the history of our Party and perhaps recall something to make the necessary additions. My past life rushed into my memory. Just then I was invited to give my recollections to the journal *World Marxist Review*.

I was 18 years old when, at the end of July 1921, the founding conference of the Communist Party of South Africa was held at the Cape Town City Hall. It was the first Communist Party that had appeared on the African continent. It was founded by D. I. Jones, S. P. Bunting and W. H. Andrews. These wonderful representatives of the labor movement in our country, and internationalists, deserve special mention.

I never had a chance to meet Jones. From 1920 on he was in Moscow where, along with representatives of other newly-founded

**Fifty Fighting Years - The South African Communist Party 1921-1971*. By A. Lerumo, Inkululeko Publications, London.



J. B. Marks (born March 21, 1903). Chairman of the South African Communist Party, veteran of the popular liberation struggle, prominent personality of the international Communist movement.

brother parties, he helped Lenin to found the Third, Communist International and to build it up organizationally. Four years later, in 1924, he died of consumption. But while I did not know him personally, he exerted a direct and strong influence on the formation of my world outlook. It was he who taught us to approach every event from a class and Party standpoint. He set us an example of Leninist internationalism.

Jones was the first man in our country who, on hearing the news of the victorious rising in Petrograd, fully appreciated the significance of the 1917 events, which shook the world. He immediately saw the magnitude of the revolution and he told us, his young comrades, that it was not a miracle but the greatest advance ever made by mankind towards freedom and socialism. He was certain that the workers of South Africa must follow the same course and he fought for it. Even today I cannot read without emotion the following lines he wrote in November 1917: 'Our task in South Africa is a great one. We must educate the people in the principles of the Russian Revolution. We have to prepare the workers against any attempt to mobilize them against their Russian comrades, and in preparing, spread the flames of the most glorious and most peaceful revolution of all time.'

I was strongly impressed by Jones's report to the Comintern entitled 'Communism in South Africa.' In it he dealt in full measure, and even prophetically, with that difficult task which was so highly important to us. He called on us to regard the task of 'bringing Negro workers' into the fight for the working-class cause and seeking cooperation between the movement of white workers and that of Negroes as a task of vital importance. Jones revealed to us the breadth and flexibility of genuinely revolutionary, Marxist strategy and tactics having nothing to do with barren sectarianism, which regards every movement for partial reforms as a betrayal of the proletariat's interests and dismisses every struggle, except the 'purely proletarian' struggle, as a waste of energy.

Our Party is indebted to Jones for its early knowledge of the great Lenin's ideas. He explained them to us indefatigably, and did that even in his last letter from the hospital. I would like to quote several lines from the appeal to us. 'I have just been reading one of Lenin's early brochures of 1902, where he declares that the political struggle of the working class is not exclusively a struggle for the economic betterment of the workers, but also a struggle in which the party of the workers enters in defense of every oppressed section, even non-worker sections, of society. For example he cited the call to the workers to demonstrate against the Czar drafting . . . students into the army. A positive attitude on every issue!'

I learned a great deal from W. Andrews, an outstanding organizer and revolutionary. It was he who announced the founding of the South African Communist Party at the meeting held before the Party's founding congress, which sat from July 30 to August 1, 1921. He was the Party's first General Secretary. His articles and

speeches helped me and my Communist friends the better to see the goals and tasks of our Party and to fight devotedly for the interests of the Party and the people.

I knew S. Bunting best of all. I will come to that somewhat later. At this point I will only say this much, that I am glad because now that a history of the SACP has been written, young Communists and progressive people of our country have an opportunity to learn much that is interesting and instructive about those fiery revolutionaries.

At the time when our Party was being formed, I was a sharecropper working for a white farmer, and a laborer. And before explaining why I became a Communist let me tell you about my modest experience of that time.

I was born in the town of Ventersdorp in West Transvaal. I was the seventh child of mixed parentage (an African father who was a worker on the South African Railways for the better part of his life and a mother of white origin who was a laundress and midwife).

In a country where everything was dominated by inhuman laws and racial segregation as late as the turn of the century, the non-white origin doomed me to constant humiliation. I performed all kinds of casual work at the time and this brought me face to face with the lot of the non-European worker who labored from dawn to dusk. That was when I first realized the need to fight for the workers' just cause.

I was lucky, for I succeeded in finishing a primary school. I wanted to study further but I was barred from a boarding school because of the discrimination against non-whites. In 1919 my parents succeeded in having me enrolled in Kilnerton Teachers' Training College in Pretoria. I remember well my countrymen saying when they saw me off: 'John, you must become a priest and pray for us so that God ease our lot.'

It was not so easy for a young African to enrol in a teachers' college and a still more difficult task to study in the oppressive atmosphere of drill and violence. Students were locked up and kept on 'hard tack'; they were punished for every small fault and often for no fault at all. Naturally most of us could not, and did not, put up with this order of things. In the end, students went on strike and the honor of its leadership fell on me. Thus, for the first time in my life, I acquired some habits of political struggle. I realized that my path was not the career of a clergyman, enjoined by my countrymen, but the path of active struggle against evil. Since that time I have been advocating the need for a constant struggle against racial and social oppression.

But I had to travel a long path before I became a conscious Communist. This happened in the following way. Having overcome considerable difficulties, I at last got a teacher's diploma. I taught in several places in the Transvaal and Orange Free State. I also taught the children of diamond mine workers. African miners performed the most arduous and unhealthy jobs for a pittance. The recently-born Communist Party conducted active propaganda

among the workers. As for me, I could no longer live without fighting our oppressors since the time of the student strike mentioned above. This, incidentally, accounted for frequent changes in places of work. No one wanted to employ a man who was aware of injustice and exploitation and refused to put up with them.

When I was employed at a mine, I naturally joined in the miners' struggle and attended their meetings. Once, at a meeting, I saw on the platform a man whose fiery speech enthralled me and opened my eyes to many things. I made up my mind to get acquainted with him. It was S. P. Bunting, whom I mentioned before, promising to tell more about him.

When he heard that I was a teacher and had a keen interest in progressive ideas, Bunting invited me to come to Johannesburg, where at 414 Fox Street there was Communist Party headquarters. Making Bunting's acquaintance turned over my life. He apprised me of the ideas of Marxism-Leninism. I realized that I should join the Communist Party. I had been prepared for this by my long search for an answer to the question of how to eliminate social and racial hatred, how to secure happiness for my people. It became clear to me that to understand the ideas of Marxism-Leninism means actively struggling for them in the ranks of the Communist Party.

Thus, in 1928, I for ever associated my life with the Communist Party, with the struggle for the triumph of Marxism-Leninism. I realized the main thing at that time, namely, that both whites and Africans must join in the class struggle. I fully realized the harmfulness of nationlist sentiments to which I had not been entirely immune in the past. Marxism-Leninism opened my eyes to the fact that the decisive thing is not national but class distinctions, the irreconcilability of the class contradictions between the proletariat and the capitalists, and that only the working class can fight consistently against capitalist exploitation, rallying all the oppressed and disinherited behind it. This convinced me that the Communist Party is the only party which can free my people from oppression and lead them to freedom and a just social system.

From then on I took part in many battles carried on by my working class, by my people. For instance, I recall December 1929, the anniversary of the bloody struggle in which Zulus had suffered defeat at the hands of the united forces of colonialists armed to the teeth. Communists decided to use the mournful anniversary for stepping up the movement against racial discrimination. We organized a big meeting of protest in Potchefstroom. The first speaker was E. T. Mofutsanyana, a prominent Communist Party leader. No sooner had he said a few phrases than white racists howled: 'Shut up, Kaffir!' The meeting, however, continued. I also took the floor and spoke for 20 minutes or more. The racists who were present at the meeting started brawling and opened fire on the crowd. Eleven Africans were wounded, one of them mortally. I was pulled down and trampled underfoot. I was saved from im-

minent death by a few African women who snatched a pistol out of the hands of the racist who aimed at me.

We turned the funeral of our comrade who had died in the hospital into a massive demonstration. At the graveyard S. P. Bunting said words which were stamped on my memory for all my life: 'The seeds of liberation will germinate out of the shed blood!'

In 1931 I was barred from teaching for my political activity. On hearing this, the Party immediately called me to Johannesburg to undertake important organizational work. From that time onwards I continued my political activities in the Communist Party, African National Congress and the trade unions. In 1932 I was elected to the Central Committee. In the same year the Party nominated me for election to parliament. Being an African, I had no right to seek election to that legislative body but the Party nominated me to stress the utter injustice of a constitution that only served the interests of the whites.

In the Party ranks I learned to skillfully combine legal, illegal and semi-legal means of struggle. I read a lot in those years. To many questions I found answers in the works of Marx, Engels and Lenin. However, I did not have a chance to study the writings of Marx, Engels and Lenin thoroughly until I went illegally to the Soviet Union, where I studied in the Communist University of Working People of the East for a while. The works of the classics of Marxism-Leninism have become my companions for all my life. It seems to me (and this will be especially useful for all young Communists to know) that it is not advisable to read works by Marx, Engels and Lenin only once, or to assimilate them at a swoop, so to say. They must be studied constantly. True, the works of the classics of Marxism-Leninism are read differently by a beginner and an experienced fighter, and each time we find ever new valuable ideas and advice.

I recall the great African miners' strike on the Witwatersrand in August 1946. Although the Second World War had come to an end and the colonial system of imperialism had begun to crumble under the impact of the historic victories of the Soviet Union over Nazism, the condition of South African miners remained cheerless. Their wages were abysmally low. The management banned workers' meetings convened without its special permit. Under these conditions, the African Mine Workers' Union demanded a minimum wage and the repeal of draconic measures, failing which strike action would be taken. The employers categorically refused to meet the workers' demands, following which, in May, a conference representing a majority of the gold-mine workers was held in Johannesburg. It was attended by over 1,100 delegates. A general strike was set for August 12.

The appeal to strike was supported by 100,000 miners. The protest movement was joined by workers from other industries. The general strike caused alarm at the New York and London stock exchanges. Prime Minister Smuts ordered police to open fire on the strikers. Hundreds of miners were killed or wounded.

The government never published official data on this. Leaders of the Mine Workers' Union and members of the Johannesburg District Committee of the Party were arrested and were charged with sedition in a trial. Police also arrested me, for at that time I was the Mine Workers' Union president. Only the workers' solidarity saved me and my comrades from the authorities' savage reprisals.

That strike was one of the important events which taught my people, revealed to them what had been hidden from their vision, and destroyed lies and illusions. True, the strike was brutally crushed by the racist state and reprisals against the miners were succeeded by unprecedented persecution of the Communist Party.

Under the racist regime, to be a Communist, a fighter for Marxist-Leninist ideas, meant incurring more difficulties and facing greater dangers. Since 1950 the situation had worsened, for the fascist rulers, frightened by the growing anti-racist and anti-colonialist movement and the spread of progressive ideas, adopted the Suppression of Communism Act. This draconic measure made Communists go underground. It was followed by a series of new heavy blows struck at the Communist Party; many of my comrades-in-arms were arrested.

I would like to tell how the racists dealt with Bram Fischer, a prominent Communist. He never stopped fighting in even the harsh conditions of illegality, forming militant groups throughout the country and operating for a long time under the very nose of the police. It was only by mere chance that police managed to track him down. His courage was a source of strength to patriots. In the dock he assumed the role of prosecutor and courageously challenged the monstrous system of racism. 'I, who come from one of the most privileged South African families,' Bram Fischer said at the trial, 'took the right road. I was with those whom apartheid had robbed of everything. I knew what they expected me to do and I did that. I felt deeply responsible not to those who are indifferent to the suffering of others but to those who suffer.' This courageous revolutionary has been in Pretoria prison ever since, sentenced for life. But a party which has such fearless leaders as Bram Fischer is certain . . . to lead the long-suffering peoples of South Africa to freedom and happiness.

I have mentioned a few of our pioneers and leaders in these brief reminiscences. But it would be impossible here to recount the names of all the talented and courageous comrades of our Party. South Africans of all national origins such as Johannes Nkosi, Govan Mbeki, Ahmed Kathrada, Alpeus Maliba and many others who faced death and torture in the fascist prison cells or who fell on the battlefields as guerrillas of Umkhonto we Sizwe—side by side with Walter Sisulu, Nelson Mandela and thousands of non-Communist fighters in our national liberation movement.

Despite all police atrocities, the fascist rulers failed to strangle the Communist Party or stop the spread of Communist ideas in the country. In May 1950 a hastily convened Central Committee

dissolved the Communist Party without consulting the Party membership. Subsequent developments clearly revealed the distinction between those Party leaders who regarded this move as a temporary, tactical measure and those who had succumbed to the hardships of the struggle. The staunch Marxist-Leninists, who were in the majority, soon restored their organization, working underground.

In 1961, having tried all possibilities of bringing about a peaceful transfer of power to the people, our Party decided, in common with other democratic forces, primarily the African National Congress, on overthrowing the racist regime by force of arms. To make adequate preparations for this, the Party is carrying on many-sided activity in the country, in which it combines illegal and armed struggle with peaceful and legal struggle where possible. It devotes special attention to the organizational and ideological consolidation of the Party and to the propaganda and dissemination of Marxist-Leninist teachings.

In 1962, the Party held its national conference in illegal conditions. The conference adopted a new program – calling for a united national-liberation front as an immediate task. I was elected Party Chairman. By the time I was expelled from South Africa, in 1963, I had already been restricted from participating in any political or trade-union activities.

A fresh surge of energy for struggle has always been and is given by trips to the Soviet Union, which I visited for the first time in 1933. All the details of this trip are still fresh in my memory. You will readily imagine the impression it left on a man who had just burst from a world where life was subject to the laws of racial segregation and found himself in an entirely new world, the world of socialism. Here he saw that all nations, irrespective of the color of their skin, enjoy equal rights and live in full harmony.

Since then I have visited the Soviet Union on many occasions and each time I was amazed by the gigantic scale of socialist and communist construction, the immense growth of the people's well-being and the scope of socialist democracy and humanity for all working people. I had the honor of attending the historic 24th CPSU Congress and conveyed to it greetings from the South African Communists.

I was happy to be present in the Soviet Union in the significant year of 1972, when the Soviet people and all progressive humanity are going to solemnly mark the 50th anniversary of the formation of Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, a multi-national socialist state, the bulwark of peace and friendship for all peoples.

I would like to end my story by stressing that the struggle waged by the South African Communist Party for the liberation of South Africa is part and parcel of the world anti-imperialist struggle waged by the Soviet Union, the socialist countries, the revolutionary working class and its allies – the oppressed peoples struggling for national freedom.



David Ricardo

(200th birth anniversary)



'... there is nothing resembling "sectarianism" in Marxism, in the sense of its being a hidebound, petrified doctrine, a doctrine which arose **away from** the high road of the development of world civilization.'

(V. I. Lenin, 'The Three Sources and Three Component Parts of Marxism')

A member of the Stock Exchange and a conspicuous figure in London's financial world, one of Britain's wealthiest men and a member of the House of Commons – this was David Ricardo, patriarch of the classical political economy, a bourgeois to the marrow, a man tied to capitalist society in thought and deed, dedicated to defending and fortifying it, and at once a theorist resented by the present-day capitalist class. This seeming paradox is probably the most striking feature of Ricardo the economist, Ricardo the social anatomist.

One may wonder why the viewpoints of this bourgeois ideologue are here reviewed under the head of 'Socialist Thought.' But make a socio-class analysis of Ricardo's contribution to world civilization, to the overall view of the capitalist system's economic mechanism, and that will provide the answer.

'He was an economist rather than a social philosopher, says the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, and amplifies: 'He shows no trace of... sympathy with the working classes. . . . He regards the laborer as merely an instrument in the hands of the capitalist.'

Coming from the *Britannica* this sounds like the ultimate judgment; Ricardo, it says obliquely, is bereft of human feeling; he is

socially cruel. But there is something much deeper behind this naive charge: Ricardo is not cruel at all; cruel is the bourgeois system the economic foundation of which he dissected. Hence the resentment felt by generations of capitalist apologists for an ideologue who put truth above blind service to his class, who showed the true place in society of laborer and bourgeois, and the true mainspring and nature of social wealth. And hence the natural gratitude of the international working class to this material thinker, whose contribution to economics, as Lenin saw it, was one of the sources of the proletariat's revolutionary teaching.

The story of political economy is first of all the story of an intense search for a conclusive method of investigating the laws governing economic life. Its development into a *bona fide* science is associated with the development and substantiation of the labor theory of value, ultimately and consummately expressed in Marxism. Before this point of departure was found, economics had travelled a long, arduous road.

The value of an article depends on labor – this seemingly simple formula, now an axiom, may be associated with the names of many investigators. The founder of the classical bourgeois political economy, Sir William Petty, was the first to try and define it. This was far back in the mid-17th century, a time of mercantilist delusions that prevented Petty from seeing value apart from its monetary form. Adam Smith, too, the bard of manufacture, straining to explain the workings of economic phenomena, used labor to define value. But he confused expended labor with labor bought, and value with exchange value. Then came David Ricardo's turn to pick up the 'value-labor' formula, on which he expounded in his chief work, *Principles of Political Economy and Taxation* (1817) in the final, classical form, approaching capitalism from an angle that showed the seething social antagonisms beneath the cover of commodity relations. Ricardo apprehended incomparably more than his forerunners: defining the value of commodities by the working time used for making them is the key not only to the relations for exchange, but also to all the economic processes of capitalism, laying bare its contradictions.

'The basis, the point of departure for the physiology of the bourgeois system, for understanding its intrinsic connection and vital process,' wrote Karl Marx, 'is determining value by working time. This is what Ricardo departed from, compelling science to abandon the old routine and to consider to what extent its other categories – relations of production and exchange – conformed with or contradicted this basis, this point of departure . . . and, generally, what this contradiction between the apparent and real movement of the system was really all about. Therein, in fact, lies Ricardo's great historical importance for science . . .' (*Theories of Surplus Value*).

Born in 1772, Ricardo died at the age of 51. To measure the magnitude of his contribution to the science of the laws of social

motion, turn to the events of his time: the industrial revolution and the Napoleonic wars; the use of machines and steam power and the Luddites; the break-up of feudal barriers in farming and the proletarianization of the masses; the growth of finance and banking and the ruthless exploitation of workers. In this setting, a millionaire at 25, Ricardo, the prosperous City gentleman, devoted his spare time to conceptualizing the mysteries of political economy.

Ricardo had practically no formal education. He went to an ordinary primary school, and had lessons from home tutors. He acquired his knowledge of economics from practice, going to work at 14 in his uncle's Amsterdam office, and later moving to his father's office in London. Full of life, tenacious, inquisitive, he was a prominent figure in the business world from an early age. But he did not confine himself to business alone, showed a lively interest in mathematics and natural science, and was one of the original promoters of the Geological Society of London.

In English capitalist society the main social classes emerged during the industrial revolution of the end of the 18th and beginning of the 19th centuries. Their positions crystallized. The sources of wealth and poverty and the regularities governing the distribution of the national income among the classes, their role in the history of society, became one of the central topics in social affairs and economic science.

Ricardo's method of weighing the real relations of capitalist production against the law of value enabled him to explain the nature of its abstract categories – labor, value – and the concrete ones – accumulation of capital, profit, wages, rent. He penetrated beneath the surface of things, and with his labor theory of value analyzed the laws regulating the incomes of the main classes, showing their economic antithesis and, to use Marx's words, grasping at 'the very root of the historical struggle and historical process of development' (*Theories of Surplus Value*).

The vast post-Ricardian economic literature has yielded many conflicting interpretations of his ideas. Ricardo has been studied by capitalist apologists and critics of capitalism, by scholars of the classical school and by its vulgarizers, by ideologists of 'egalitarian socialism' and by exponents of scientific communism. And not surprisingly, these men belonging to different social trends found rational, as well as unacceptable, elements in Ricardo. His system of views is anything but perfect, and is circumscribed by the capitalist outlook. It is impregnated with the contradiction between the logical and the historical – a contradiction irresolvable for one who pictures capitalist society as ideal, eternal and immutable. Which was how Ricardo pictured it.

Logically he reached to the 'very root of the historical struggle,' but historically he did not see that capitalist relations are transient. His labor theory of value is therefore incomplete; the dual nature of labor escaped him; so did the transformation of value into cost

of production, the link between labor and money, and the origin and essence of surplus value and its concrete forms.

The labor theory of value was the peak of Ricardo's achievement. But the *Principles of Political Economy and Taxation* was neither his only, nor his first, book, and the author was no recluse laboring in the seclusion of his study. For the then still burgeoning capitalist society he was a model businessman, a vigorous politician who abhorred feudalism, a parliamentarian assaulting the narrow-mindedness of the landlords, the limited vision of the hereditary bureaucrats and the stupidity of the semi-illiterate newly-rich.

At least three other striking pages out of his life story are also part of the Ricardian image.

Ricardo, a Bank of England shareholder deeply involved in finance, at first examined the problems of *money circulation and banking*. During the Napoleonic wars of the early 19th century his keen financial talents and gifts of controversialist were deployed against the London banker-speculators. His articles and pamphlets substantiated many a financial idea still valid for the present-day capitalist scene. Isn't it a fact that:

like all other commodities, gold and silver have an in no way arbitrary value of their own;

stable circulation of money is central to the growth of national wealth and depends on the gold standard;

money circulation is in its most perfect state when consisting wholly of bank notes, provided the value of this paper tender is equal to the value of the represented gold;

any rise of the market price of gold in terms of bank notes is the consequence of a devaluation of the paper money due to excessive issue.

Aren't these conclusions, drawn more than one-and-a-half centuries ago, a preceptive reproach of the imperialist financial strategists of the present day? In one way or another, each conclusion sheds light on the sources of inflation, the devaluation of currencies and the credit difficulties of the modern capitalist states.

In the beginning of the past century England's probably most acute political problem was the struggle over the Corn Laws, which raised customs barriers to restrict grain imports, a struggle expressive of the historical conflict between the then progressive bourgeoisie and the landlords, the central conflict of British society in Ricardo's time. Taking the side of industrial capital against the landlords, and Malthus, their apologist, Ricardo used the labor theory of value to substantiate the *differential rent*. The price of bread is high not because rent is paid; rent is paid because the price of bread is high, he wrote to explain his viewpoint. And the Soviet researcher, M. Smit, observes rightly that in Ricardo's rent theory we hear the echo of voices representing the embattled classes.

Four years before his death, Ricardo, then already a recognized economist, was *elected to the House of Commons*, where he assumed an independent posture close to that of the radical element. Here

he applied to politics many of the things he had examined in his books and articles, presenting projects and proposals clearly progressive for his time and backing practical undertakings that would, as he saw them, perfect the mechanics of capitalist economy. Fighting doggedly for the realization of his economic ideas, he was also a zealous champion of democratic freedoms – freedom of the press and assembly – and a democratization of Parliament.

In the history of political economy David Ricardo will go down as a great economist, a classic, and in that of world civilization as a theorist and politician, often barely comprehensible and frequently contradictory. But proportional to his genius is the quality of genius that attaches to the contradictions in his theoretical views. For by pointing to them and paving the way for their elimination, this ideologist of the then growing but nevertheless last of the exploiting societies, a man objectively entrammelled by the notions of his time, produced a system, the best elements of which became the patrimony of Marxism-Leninism, the all-conquering revolutionary teaching followed by the proletariat. *V. Dagmar*

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The UN in the modern world

The article below is in reply to letters from our readers Julian A. Lopez Martinez Churruca (Spain) and Siegfried Ponz, Marxism-Leninism lecturer in the GDR. They want to know about the UN, the role and ideological orientation of other international organizations, and the Communist attitude towards them.

A steep proliferation of international organizations, their activity, is one of the distinguishing features of the present system of international relations. Before the war there were slightly over 600 such organizations; the figure today is upward of 2,000. This growth was accompanied by qualitative changes. The most important of these is the growing proportion of organizations on which socialist, as well as capitalist countries are represented. Their origin is traceable to the objective process of the consolidation of world socialism, internationalization of various spheres of human activity, and – the decisive factor determining their role in the world of today – the affirmation of the peaceful coexistence principles.

Most notable of all is the United Nations and its specialized agencies. It is an organization without precedent in international relations. Conceived as a universal organization, it was founded with the active participation of the Soviet Union as a result of the victory of the anti-fascist liberation struggle. The UN, now comprising 131 states, is the meeting-place of high-ranking officials, where they discuss and deal with a wide range of international problems. This in itself explains the great political impact of its activity, which influences the shaping of world opinion.

Under the UN Charter, one of the main purposes of the organization is maintenance of international peace and security and implementation of effective collective measures to prevent and remove threats to peace and suppress acts of aggression or other breaches of the peace.

At the dawn of the world's first socialist state, the Soviet People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs, G. V. Chicherin, who followed Lenin's ideas, suggested that an international forum should have as its organizational basis 'not compulsion by the minority, but full concord.' Lenin underscored and approved this formula as a program demand of the socialist state of socially-heterogeneous

international organizations. It became a principle for which Soviet diplomacy has been fighting for decades.

UN activity and its Charter reflect the demand of equality of the two opposite social systems; and mechanisms have been set up to prevent its conversion into an instrument of states of one system against states of the other system. This idea is embodied in the principle of the unanimity of permanent Security Council members. The only way the principles proclaimed in the UN Charter can be implemented is through solutions for international crises and the maintenance of peace consonant with the interests of states with different social systems.

In international organizations Communists see a living political form of peaceful coexistence presupposing observance of the right of all peoples to choose their socio-economic system and, consequently, their right to effect revolutionary social transformations. The fight for such transformations is unfolding primarily within the national frameworks. But revolutionaries cannot be indifferent to external, international conditions. The important thing for them is to preclude the possibility of a counter-revolutionary intervention. Therefore, when the UN erects definite barriers to imperialist interference in the affairs of sovereign states, this serves both the interests of peace and the revolutionary cause.

Naturally, Marxists have no illusions and do not regard UN political decisions, however useful, as guarantees against external encroachments on the gains of the revolutionary forces. Communists know that formalization of the peaceful coexistence principles in the UN Charter does not automatically mean their observance. Experience shows that the potential ability of the UN to play a positive role in safeguarding peace is realized not only through a confrontation of socialist and imperialist diplomacy inside the organization, but mainly through struggle of the main class forces on the international scene as a whole. In the long run, the results of this struggle also affect UN activity.

At the UN General Assembly delegates of the socialist countries are a minority. The time when this arithmetically unfavorable balance yielded voting results suiting none but imperialist diplomacy, is still within the range of memory.

But gradually the situation changed. Fundamental changes in the world balance of forces, the growing prestige of socialism's policy of peace, the influx into the UN of new political forces, of several dozen young states born of the anti-imperialist national liberation struggle—all this has modified the mechanism of the organization. The imperialist powers can no longer count on an automatic majority in the General Assembly. This is largely due to the positive changes wrought by the consolidation of the alliance between the socialist and young developing states on an anti-colonial, anti-imperialist basis.

Of course, cooperation in the UN framework (and equally on the world scene) is a contradictory process. However, the general trend towards unity in battling colonialism and imperialism makes progress despite zigzags and temporary retreats.

This is the basis that made possible the adoption by the UN of important juridical and political instruments inhibiting imperialist aggression and expansionism and thereby contributing to the consolidation of universal peace. One of these is the Declaration on Granting Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples (1960). The UN condemned the policy of the South African and Rhodesian racialists and recommended concrete, though quite modest, forms of combating it. The Declaration On Strengthening International Security adopted on the initiative of the socialist countries was another substantial contribution to improving the political climate in the world.

The UN is in a position to help in certain conditions to prevent or to localize armed conflicts, and to work out approaches to de-escalation and settlement if they break out. A case in point is the Security Council resolution of November 22, 1967, which laid the basis for a political solution of the Middle East crisis. True, in the four years since the adoption of this resolution the situation has changed little, and the Middle East continues to be a seat of extreme tension. The Security Council's demand that Israel withdraw her troops from the occupied territories has not been fulfilled. But this does not detract from the significance of the UN position. It has helped greatly to isolate the Israeli aggressors.

Full realization of the principle of universality is highly important for the normal functioning of the UN and for raising its effectiveness as an instrument of peace and international cooperation. One of the immediate objectives, therefore, is to admit both German states to the UN. There are no impediments to this either in the Charter or in other juridical instruments. The only obstacle is the policy of the imperialist powers, the U.S. in particular, whose stand clearly discriminates against the German Democratic Republic. The realities, however, have strongly undermined this unrealistic attitude which is inconsistent with the UN Charter and the interests of universal peace.

For over two decades the imperialist powers headed by the U.S. have blocked representation in the UN of the People's Republic of China, whose place was occupied by a Chiang Kai-shek man representing no one. All kinds of maneuvers were used, from outright refusal to discuss the question to attempts at imposing the 'two Chinas' formula, in order to prevent restoration of China's legitimate rights. The problem was settled only thanks to prolonged and consistent efforts by the socialist and developing countries.

It is regrettable, however, that the People's Republic of China used the international forum for attacks on the policy of the USSR and other socialist countries, acting in unison with the U.S. on the main problems discussed at the session.

At the time when the UN was called a U.S. voting machine, imperialist diplomacy professed and paraded its devotion to the ideals and decisions of the UN, while the socialist countries were denounced for scorning international cooperation. Communists, it was claimed, regard the UN merely as a platform for proclaim-

ing slogans. But times change. Nowadays, influential Rightist groups in the U.S. cannot conceal their annoyance with the UN, calling for various 'punitive' sanctions. Barry Goldwater, notorious reactionary and one-time presidential contender, even suggested throwing the UN out of the U.S. and discontinuing American participation in the organization.

These tendencies are offset by the constructive activity of the socialist countries, interested in raising the effectiveness of the UN as an instrument of peace.

A fairly popular trend in the West contrives all manner of projects to 'perfect' the UN and other international organizations. In the long term, it is argued, such organizations may become supra-national institutions vested with the function of supreme administration of the world.

Many people of goodwill, sincere fighters against the war danger, are laboring under these delusions. They are led astray by dreams of international organizations vested with extraordinary powers, even of a world government that would maintain law and order across the world. The same idea, but construed quite differently, appears in the works of bourgeois ideologists who advance plans of turning the UN into a 'world government' with the sole purpose of using the established international machinery to impose imperialist *diktat* on the world.

The unrealistic character and impracticability of this idea could not be more obvious. Refusing to engage in naive, utopian day-dreaming and exposing the dangerous designs of the reactionaries, Communists have their own scientific concept of the role and place of international organizations, the UN included, in the life of humanity today and in the foreseeable future. 'We are well aware,' said CC CPSU General Secretary L. I. Brezhnev, 'that the UN is neither a self-reliant force nor a world super-government. Its positions and actions only reflect a definite relationship of forces between the states of the world and the dominant tendency in international life. But this is precisely why we view the future of the UN with optimism, for, firstly, we know that the role and political weight of the socialist and other freedom-loving and peaceful countries are constantly growing and will continue to grow. Secondly, we are firmly convinced that the policy of peace tirelessly pursued by the Soviet Union in keeping with Lenin's behests is, in the final analysis, in the interests of all peoples and all countries, big and small.'

Taking a sober view of the political possibilities and prospects of international organizations, Marxists never forget their ideal of a worldwide classless society. And in this sense the Communists support the idea of a worldwide economic organization and a worldwide Communist society which Marx called 'socialized humankind.' It stands to reason that it would elaborate appropriate organizational forms for conscious and planned guidance of all the affairs of a truly united world. But the road to this ideal is through social revolution.

V. Frost



The Communist press



This new section, introduced by readers' request, is devoted to the newspapers, journals and publishing houses of the Communist and Workers' parties.

The first story is about **Pravda**, the organ of the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party, which celebrates its sixtieth anniversary this month.

The feature was written for us by the **Pravda** staff.

Sixty years – yes, fully six decades – have passed since May 5, 1912, when the first issue of *Pravda* was printed at a modest St. Petersburg plant, with the kopeks collected by workers. '... We have managed at last to set up a daily *Pravda*,' Lenin wrote to Gorky with satisfaction shortly after.

Today *Pravda* is brought out in many millions of copies and the whole world lends ear to its voice. 'What makes *Pravda* so influential?' wrote Pierre Courtade, a French Communist journalist. 'What has earned it such love? It is, first of all, the fact that the paper's name is inseparable from Lenin's ... For us *Pravda* is first and foremost Lenin's paper.'

Printed in *Pravda* were 1,083 articles, reports, speeches, Party or government documents written by Lenin. They make up an important part of his ideological legacy. Lenin's contributions to the paper are unsurpassed examples of scientific analysis and generalization of new social developments, of Party writing and journalism. They are a great source of inspiration to every Communist journalist.

Lenin attached immense importance to the Party press, which he saw as a most effective political weapon and a potent organizing medium. It may be recalled that his *Iskra* ('Spark') played an

outstanding part in founding our Party and in educating the generation of proletarian fighters of the Russian revolution. *Vperyod*, *Proletary* and *Zvezda* did not allow the spark to go out but fanned it into the flame of a new revolutionary battle. This flame blazed in the columns of *Pravda*, used by the Bolshevik Party as a powerful weapon to prepare for and to carry out the world's first victorious socialist revolution. Ever since October 1917, *Pravda* has served the Party as a dependable instrument in educating new generations, people who upheld the gains of the revolution and built socialism and are now building communism.

It was not accidental that Lenin coined the word *pravdism*, a synonym for devoted to the revolution and ideological staunchness.

Ever since it came into being, *Pravda* has steadfastly associated the cause of the Russian revolutionaries with that of their class



V. I. Lenin, photographed in his Kremlin study, October 16, 1918.

brothers, and its every line has been inspired by proletarian internationalism.

That is why in 1914, on its second anniversary, *Pravda* received heartfelt good wishes from international revolutionary and trade union organizations, Socialist parties and the editorial boards of party newspapers of numerous countries. The founding day of *Pravda* was on that occasion proclaimed Labor Press Day, which has been celebrated ever since.

In the early period of Soviet rule, on November 18, 1917, *Pravda* wrote editorially, under the headline 'A Revolution of the Oppressed Classes and Oppressed Nations,' that 'the Russian workers' and peasants' revolution is moving into the forefront of the revolutionary movement' and stressed its international significance. On New Year's Day, 1918, it elaborated this idea. 'The outgoing year 1917,' it wrote, 'will evidently prove to be a turning point in world history . . . Russia, until recently Europe's most backward country, now shows all other countries their future — its example teaches the proletarians of all countries how they should carry out a social revolution.'

These words were written over half a century ago and the world today sees them translated into reality.

The sixty years' set of *Pravda* issues, which fills many volumes, is a precious and unique chronicle of the world Communist movement.

The unrelenting struggle of revolutionaries of all countries inspired by the example of the Great October, the formation of international bonds between them, and proletarian internationalism in action; the great stirring history of the Comintern, which united the mighty army of Communist parties and trained it in a Marxist-

Leninist spirit; the peoples' heroic fight against fascism, the glorious epic of the Great Patriotic War and the Resistance; the rise of new socialist states, the growing working-class movement in the capitalist world, the irresistible surge of the national liberation struggle and the emergence of dozens of independent states on the ruins of colonial empires; resistance to imperialist attempts to take the counter-offensive, and international solidarity with the victims of imperialist aggression, the peoples of Democratic Korea, Cuba, Vietnam, Cambodia, Laos, the Arab countries – *Pravda* reacted heart and soul to these and many other developments.

International solidarity and the lofty idea of proletarian internationalism were sacred to Lenin, the founder of *Pravda*, and are sacred to his followers. That is why, always and in every situation, *Pravda* fights from positions of principle for closer Communist unity on the basis of Marxism-Leninism, for greater cohesion of the international working-class movement, against every attempt to divide it.

The beginning of the seventh decade of *Pravda's* existence coincides with a new important stage of communist building in our country. Implementation of the historic decisions of the 24th Congress of the CPSU, on which the ideological, theoretical and practical work of the Party and the Soviet people centers, finds reflection in *Pravda*. To fulfil the ninth five-year plan and put into effect the peace program presented by L. I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CC CPSU, at the 24th Party Congress is in the interest of the entire socialist community and progressive mankind.

Pravda works steadily for closer unity of the alliance of the revolutionary forces of today on the lines approved by the 1969 Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties. It gives full coverage to socialist development in brother countries and to problems of the international working-class movement and the national liberation fight.

Pravda continues its manifold activities as Lenin's newspaper, under Lenin's banner. This is why its prestige is so high. It explains why *Pravda* is read with keen attention on all continents and why millions of people the world over know and like it.

Yuri Zhukov

PLATFORM FOR THE MILLIONS

A Party newspaper, Lenin wrote, will be a live and vital medium only 'if for five leading and regularly contributing writers there are five thousand contributors who are not writers.'

This recommendation of Lenin's is at the basis of *Pravda's* activity. The paper's chief contributors, advisers and assistants today are workers and collective farmers, economic executives and Party officials, engineers, scientists, teachers – in short, people of every

profession and every trade. Last year *Pravda* received over 400,000 letters. Let us see what they are about.

'What reserves must be set in motion,' wrote A. Ognev, worker in the forge shop of the Gorky Automobile Plant, 'to reach and exceed the targets set by the Congress?

'This is something many of us are thinking about, and I therefore want to air my ideas through your paper.'

By carrying this letter, sent in response to the decisions of the 24th Party Congress, *Pravda* initiated a big discussion on how to raise labor productivity and production efficiency and to speed scientific and technological progress. Numerous suggestions came in. They are indicative of awareness of the working people's responsibility and personal commitment to communist building as the cause of all.

'Everything in the name of man, for the good of man.' This is a program slogan of the CPSU. Over a thousand *Pravda* readers contributed to the exchange of views on 'Man and the Service Industry'—measures to improve the Soviet people's everyday life and recreational facilities, expand trade, produce more and better consumer goods. Summing up, the Minister of Trade answered questions put in the letters and outlined steps to realize the suggestions.

Pravda constantly calls the readers' attention to topical themes and pressing problems. In March, in view of the forthcoming 50th anniversary of the formation of the Soviet Union, it proposed creating a collective chronicle, 'We, the Soviet People.'

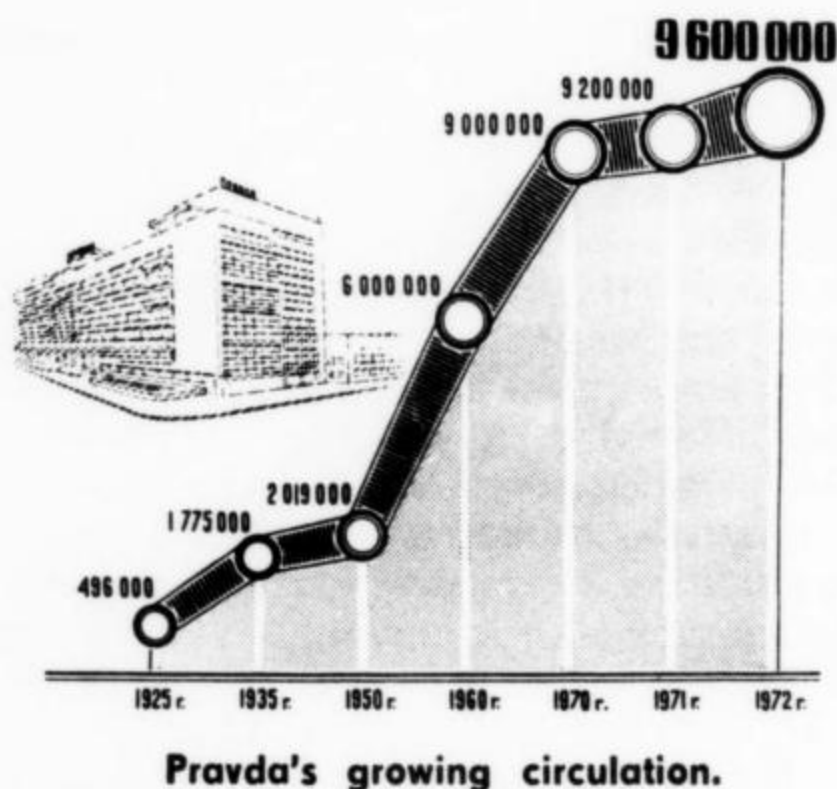
'We invite all our readers—workers, collective farmers, people active in science or culture, our correspondents in town and country—to take up the pen and produce a collective portrait of their Soviet contemporary,' it wrote. 'Write about the most vivid event or episode in your own life or of your comrades, your family or your work team—about anything that would illustrate the Soviet way of life and the Soviet people's character.'

Readers respond with letters, diaries, documents and photographs producing a collective image of the Soviet people, a new historical community of man. *Pravda* assigns them a special section.

These are only some of the many examples, of course. Readers' letters, comments and suggestions appear in *Pravda* every day. About 3,000 of them were published last year. Items of this nature form the bulk of the weekly page devoted to the work of People's Control bodies. Several times a month, *Pravda* gives a whole page to readers' contributions and notes. Characteristically, it receives a growing number of letters on social subjects. The proportion of comments on Party and government decisions has increased more than eightfold in the past three years.

The readers' numerous contributions to *Pravda* are proof of the genuinely popular and democratic character of the Soviet press.

The Soviet Union has innumerable newspapers ranging from national dailies to factory or collective-farm papers whose ag-



gregate circulation exceeds 140 million copies. In the van of this army is *Pravda*, one of the biggest dailies of our time. It is printed in 42 cities, 16 of them get it by wire photo and to the others page mats are delivered by air. The day it appears *Pravda* reaches almost every part of the country from Leningrad to Khabarovsk. It also goes to 120 foreign countries.

BUILDING SOCIALISM

'Closer to life,' Lenin wrote, defining the tasks of the Soviet press in building socialism. 'More attention to the way in which the workers and peasants are **actually** building the **new** in their every day work . . .'



'Mighty Labour Effort Will Break the Chains of Economic Ruin,' reads this *Pravda* poster.

The editorial board of *Pravda* held an all-Union congress of shock brigades in collaboration with the Central Council of Trade Unions,

On January 20, 1929 *Pravda* carried for the first time Lenin's article 'How to Organize Competition?' This helped greatly in rallying the working people to fulfil and exceed the early five-year plans. In March of that year, workers at Leningrad's Krasny Vyborzhets plant launched through *Pravda* an appeal for socialist emulation to the country's industrial workers. Builders of the socialist economy all over the country responded in *Pravda's* columns. Here are a few items from the chronicle of those years, culled from *Pravda*.

1929. Workers in the Urals, Leningrad, Moscow, the Ukraine have formed hundreds of shock brigades and shifts . . . The motto 'Fulfil the five-year plan in four years' is winning recognition . . .

Central Committee of the Komsomol and the Supreme Council of the National Economy. The congress advanced the slogan 'From shock brigade to shock enterprise. Shock worker pioneer new, communist forms of labor.'

1930. The builders of the Dnieper power dam promised to complete the project six months ahead of schedule . . . The number of shock workers has soared to two million . . . Leningrad workers reported in *Pravda* about their industrial and financial counter-plan.

1931. *Pravda* introduced the page 'The Country Must Know Its Heroes' telling about the more efficient workers . . . The oil workers of Baku and Grozny were the first to fulfil their five-year plan assignment – they did it in two-and-a-half years.

1932. Hundreds of enterprises reported fulfilment of their five-year plans in four years. The first melt of the first Magnitogorsk blast-furnace marked the rise of a new industrial giant in the Soviet Union. 'Your strength is unbreakable, comrades,' Maxim Gorky wrote to the steel workers of Magnitogorsk through *Pravda*. 'You showed it in the class battles of the civil war and are daily proving it by your heroic labor.'

1933. The second five-year plan was launched. The Chelyabinsk Tractor Works, Urals Engineering Plant and White Sea-Baltic Canal went into operation. 'Soviet trucks stood the test,' *Pravda* wrote, commenting on the run of trucks of Soviet make from Moscow to the Kara Kum desert and back.

1935. Front-rank workers launched a mass movement for mastering new technologies and a revision of outdated standards. It was initiated by Alexei Stakhanov, a Donbas coal miner, who exceeded his assignment 14-fold. Boris Gorbатов, writer and journalist, commented on the feat in *Pravda*.

'Something momentous was getting off to a start,' he wrote. 'The flickering light snatched out the faces of men who were excited but still unaware of the great import of their initiative. All they knew was that they couldn't carry on in the old way. With each stroke of his pick, Stakhanov struck at the most vulnerable spots of the old Donbas, smashing old traditions. Old habits and ways, and the old rates crumbled. New know-how, new skills and new approaches were in the making. A mighty echo spread across the country.'

Due to the effort of workers, collective farmers and intellectuals, the second five-year plan was carried out in four years and three months. The country moved on to the next stage. 'Fulfilment of the third five-year plan,' said the resolution of the 18th Party Congress published in *Pravda*, 'will be the best proof of the invincible power of communism in its historic competition with capitalism.'

The war broke off the Soviet people's peaceful socialist advance. But with the war over, the traditions of the early five-year plans and the massive emulation movement of which *Pravda* wrote in those days were revived. They are alive now, and developing.

PEACE AND FREEDOM FOR THE PEOPLES

Lenin linked the development of the revolutionary press with the worldwide revolutionary process. 'The tenth anniversary of *Pravda*, the legal Bolshevik daily,' he wrote in May 1922, 'is a clearly defined marker of this great acceleration of the greatest world revolution.'

Pravda supplied documentary evidence of the historic advance of the world Communist and working-class movement.

On December 14, 1917 it carried Clara Zetkin's article 'The Struggle for Freedom and Peace in Russia.' She wrote that the Russian workers' heroic fight for peace and power 'will cut a deep, eneffaceable track in history. Not only its victorious culmination, which the proletarians of the whole world long for, but the very fact that this gigantic struggle is going on, will arouse a new, creative life.'

The article was the first in a *Pravda* series of contributions by prominent Communist and working-class leaders. Among the writers were Georgi Dimitrov, Klement Gottwald, Maurice Thorez, Palmiro Togliatti, Ho Chi Minh, Wilhelm Pieck, Victorio Codovilla, José Diaz, leaders of all the Communist and Workers' parties of the globe.

In the thirties *Pravda* became an international forum for fighters against the war danger and emergent fascism. Through it working people, the progressives of the world, issued the call, 'Stop fascism.'

On November 23, 1930 *Pravda* published the answers of 38 outstanding writers of various countries to the question, 'What is your attitude to the war preparations against the Soviet Union?'

'I regard the Russian revolution and its cultural gains as one of the fundamental elements of civilization. I shall regard the defense of these gains as defense of what is most indispensable and precious in our civilization.'

Jean-Richard Bloch

'Proletarian revolutionary poets and prose writers will use every means to help the Soviet Union, the great homeland of all working people, in defending itself against the attack of world imperialism.'

Johannes R. Becher

'In the event of war against the Soviet Union, I can think of no better place for me than Red Army trenches.'

Egon Erwin Kisch

Day after day, *Pravda* exposed the inhuman nature of fascism and its plans of aggression. It called for greater vigilance and the closest unity of the forces of peace and progress in the face of the war menace.

'For the past fifteen months in Spain,' wrote Ernest Hemingway in *Pravda*, August 1, 1938, 'I have seen murder by the fascist interventionists. Murder and war are the same. You can hate war, you can be against it, but you can get accustomed to it fighting for

your country against an enemy invasion, for the right to live and work in freedom.'*

Hitler Germany's wanton attack on the Soviet Union found *Pravda* at its combat post. The 1,300 issues of *Pravda* published in the Patriotic War years hit the enemy and equipped the Red Army and Soviet people with the mightiest weapon – deep confidence in the victory of their just cause.

On May 9, 1945 *Pravda* carried the text of the instrument of surrender of Hitler's armed forces. 'A new chapter of human history has been opened,' it wrote editorially.

'At last!' wrote Ilya Ehrenburg, 'Victory is here – not a mere word or a piece of marble but warm, alive, in a soldier's shirt bleached by the sun and the rain, soiled by the dust of the trenches, chest adorned with decorations – this most magnificent and most cherished Victory.'

Over a quarter of a century has gone by, the face of the world has changed beyond recognition. This, too, is reflected by *Pravda* in every way. In 'Socialist Countries,' 'The Experience of Our Friends,' 'Stages of Integration' and other sections, it reports on progress in the world socialist system, on how the socialist community is going from strength to strength as brother countries build the new life.

Recent years have witnessed growing cooperation between *Pravda* and the newspapers of other Communist and Workers' parties. On December 29, 1960 *Pravda* published a page prepared by *L'Humanité*. Ever since then, it has been a tradition to publish material supplied by fraternal party papers. *Pravda* reciprocates by sending them items on the CPSU and the Soviet Union.

The voice of *Pravda*, which unfailingly fulfils its internationalist duty, carries to every part of the world, helping to step up the fight against imperialism, cementing unity and scoring new gains for socialism.

Here are some comments by Communist leaders.

Le Duan: '*Pravda* is a champion of the national liberation struggle of the colonial and dependent peoples who have risen against imperialism.'

Fidel Castro: 'To the whole of progressive mankind, to all peoples fighting for their liberation, against aggression and the imperialists, *Pravda* is a real friend and unfailing defender . . .'

Pablo Neruda: 'Enormous credit is due to *Pravda* for invariably reflecting the voice of the working people of the world.'

BUILDING COMMUNISM

Soviet life today is influenced throughout by the ideas and decisions of the 24th Party Congress, which put forward a clear, explicit program for the advance to communism. *Pravda's* main concern today is to publicize Congress decisions and promote their implementation by the masses.

The Congress carried forward Marxist-Leninist science. *Pravda*

*This is a retranslation from *Pravda*.

gives priority attention to theoretical analyses of current problems. 'Problems of Theory' is one of its permanent sections. Since the Congress, it has brought out articles about the growing leading role of the Party, its present economic and social policy, the scientific and technological revolution, and the improvement of the administration of society, and about Soviet democracy. *Pravda* is on the offensive against bourgeois and revisionist ideology and exposes all attempts to distort and falsify the Marxist-Leninist theory of the revolution.

'Party Life' is another permanent section. During the past year it has printed over 420 articles, reports, letters and interviews about Party guidance of economic and cultural development, the organizing and ideological education work of Party committees and branch organizations, and the vanguard role of Communists.

'What does it mean to be in the lead?' This question was put by *Pravda* shortly after the 24th Party Congress to Communists at the West Siberian Iron and Steel Works, and their replies evoked a lively response among *Pravda* readers all over the country. This promoted increased activity by the Party rank and file in the battle for the five-year plan.

On April 30, 1971 *Pravda* reported new socialist obligations undertaken by the working people of Moscow, who pledged to fulfil the assignments of the first plan year ahead of time and to increase output exclusively by raising labor productivity. The Muscovites' initiative met with ready response throughout the country. *Pravda* served as a forum for participants in the emulation movement. It has correspondents at the major five-year plan building projects. It spurs the development of the West Siberian oil wealth and the ore deposits in the Kursk Area, the construction of automobile plants in Togliatti and on the Kama and the Ust Ilim and Sayany hydropower projects.

The 24th Congress described scientific advance as a key factor in building communism. Among *Pravda's* permanent contributors are Academicians M. Keldysh, B. Petrov, N. Basov, A. Prokhorov, A. Alexandrov, M. Millionshchikov, L. Artsimovich, A. Vinogradov, B. Petrovsky, L. Sedov, V. Ambartsumyan and other eminent Soviet scientists. Soviet space exploration is recorded in *Pravda*. Articles, reports and photographs add up to a chronicle of achievements—from the first sputnik through Gagarin's legendary flight to stations on the Moon, Venus and Mars.

December 8, 1971. A special correspondent of *Pravda* reported from the Space Communication Center: 'The aerial is in action, the Martian apparatus has sent its first signal to earth. This came at about 10 a.m., Martian time in the southern hemisphere, at the height of the Martian summer.'

The Party Congress pointed to the increased role of the arts and letters in building up the spiritual wealth of socialist society. Among the contributors to 'The Artist and the Times,' 'The World of Art,' 'Masters of Culture' and other *Pravda* sections, are Mikhail Sholok-

hov, Martiros Saryan, Yuri Zavadsky, Georgi Tovstonogov, Rasul Gamzatov, Chingiz Aitmatov, Mikhail Ulyanov, Sergei Gerasimov. . . . Nearly two hundred authors and artists wrote in *Pravda* last year.

The year 1972 will see the 50th anniversary of the Soviet Union.

"Fuller use should be made," says the CC CPSU decision on preparations for the jubilee, 'of the mass media, both central and local, to educate the people in an internationalist spirit. Life in all Soviet republics and their fraternal cooperation should receive full coverage'

Pravda carries extensive reports on the progress of the preparations for the jubilee going on throughout the country, on the achievements and international significance of the Leninist nationalities policy. The section 'The Republics and the Five-Year Plan' brings items on the socialist emulation movement on the 50th anniversary of the Soviet Union. 'One Family,' 'Roads of Friendship,' 'On Lenin's Map,' are the heads under which the reader finds reports on the gains of the fraternal Union of Soviet Republics, on the growing unity and close friendship of its peoples.

'The Central Committee of the CPSU is firmly convinced,' said the CC CPSU in its message of greetings to *Pravda* and all Soviet press workers on *Pravda's* 50th anniversary, 'that the Soviet press and its every worker will always be the Party's loyal and militant assistants in the fight for the triumph of communism.' Now as ever, *Pravda* and the whole Soviet press are operating in the forefront of this fight as a 'collective propagandist, agitator and organizer' (Lenin).

BOOKS IN BRIEF

P. N. FEDOSEYEV, *Kommunizm i filosofiya* (Communism and Philosophy). Moscow, Nauka, 1971. 576 pp.

This monograph by the Vice-President of the Soviet Academy of Sciences and Director of the CC CPSU Institute of Marxism-Leninism deals with current problems of Marxist-Leninist philosophy and the methodology of scientific knowledge in the light of new phenomena in socialist society, world development, and science. It draws on documents of the CPSU and the world Communist movement, the achievements of Soviet philosophical thought and the Marxists of brother parties. It also takes account of research and discussions concerning the natural sciences and the scientific and technological revolution.

A common theme of the three main sections of the book – 'The Evolution of Philosophical Ideas, and Communism,' 'The Materialist Conception of Progress' and 'Sociology and Social Processes' –

is revolutionary changes in today's world appraised in terms of philosophy. Among the problems investigated by the author are philosophy and the working class; philosophy and politics; peoples, classes and parties in the class struggle; socialism and humanism; socialism and democracy; socialism and the development of the individual; the dialectic of socialism developing into communism; Marxist sociology and concrete social research; social changes in the twentieth century; sociological theories of war and peace; peaceful coexistence and the ideological struggle.

A brief review can touch only on the highlights of this wide ranging book.

And one of the highlights is of the discussion of the place of Marxist-Leninist philosophy in today's social life and in the struggle for socialism and communism. The author points out that materialist philosophy – the scientific ideology of the working class first formulated by Marx and Engels and carried forward in new historical conditions by Lenin and his continuators – is the banner of all forces of social progress and constitutes, in effect, the philosophy of the whole people.

'Materialist philosophy,' he goes on to say, 'expresses the fundamental interests not only of the working class, but of all working people. Indeed, creating a society in which there will be no exploitation, material want, war nor enmity among nations, and where everyone will be guaranteed freedom, material prosperity and all-round spiritual development, is surely a great and noble idea, a truly sacred goal, which every worker by hand or brain is bound to support.'

The problem of the interconnection of philosophy and politics is prominent in the book. The author elaborates Lenin's thesis that philosophy, being the theoretical foundation of the world outlook of a class, is also the ideological foundation of its policy. 'Marxism,' he writes, 'has united philosophy with life, consciously and openly linking it with the interests of the proletariat's class struggle to reorganize society on communist lines.'

The book criticizes bourgeois ideologists who try to conceal the partisanship of philosophy and its direct connection with politics, to dissociate philosophical and sociological views from politics and present them as something independent.

The author stresses that the growing socialist movement in today's world terrifies the bourgeoisie into rallying all forces of political and ideological reaction to fight communist ideology. This makes it more important than ever to realize that behind opposite philosophical doctrines are various classes and parties. The author's constructive elaboration of topical problems of social life adds the weight of argument to his critique of contemporary bourgeois ideology (neo-positivism, pragmatism, existentialism, neo-Thomism, and so on). 'To gain a clearer insight into the roots of present-day revisionism and, in general, the causes aggravating the ideological struggle,' P. Fedoseyev writes, 'we must remember the main thing,

namely, imperialism's fierce ideological and political campaign against communism, against all supporters of peace, democracy and socialism. Ever since the war imperialism has been making maximum use of its ideological machinery, of its every political instrument and the police force of the bourgeois state, to stamp out the Communist movement, terrorize the Communists and other progressives, persecute the various progressive organizations and hound democratic-minded, forward-looking people.'

Mention should be made of the author's approach to the role of the masses and the individual in history, and in particular to their interrelation. In contrast to the idealist view, Marxism has established that society is not the sum-total of individuals but the totality of social relations which objectively take shape in the process of production, of social life. This is why even great individuals cannot determine the system of life nor mould historical events at will. On the other hand, materialist dialectics maintains that the general only exists in and through the particular. To admit of the operation of the general apart from and without the particular, the author points out, means falling into mysticism. And since all history is made up of the activity of the masses and individuals, it follows that every person contributes to the general stream of social life and that the most prominent seriously influence the course of events.

Speaking of the problems of peace in today's conditions, the author expresses the view that scientific analysis should study the fundamental social causes and main sources of the war danger and criticize quasi-scientific concepts designed to justify aggression; secondly, investigate social conditions and the peace forces, the possibilities of preventing a new world war and eliminating 'local' aggression; thirdly, compare various approaches to the problem of peace, analyze and ascertain practical ways and means of solving it. To defeat war in the ideological sphere, the author stresses, is an indispensable but not the only condition for world peace. It is also necessary to remove the real causes which breed real wars, to find effective means of combating the war danger. The book shows that the Communists are the most consistent and determined fighters against imperialist aggression, for peace among nations.

The author also deals with many other interesting problems. Written from a militantly partisan standpoint, the book asserts the creative power of Marxist-Leninist theoretical thought. W.S.

N. N. INOZEMTSEV, *Sovremennyi kapitalizm: novye yavleniya i protivorechiya* (Modern Capitalism: New Phenomena and Contradictions). Moscow, Mysl, 1972. 160 pp.

This book by Academician N. Inozemtsev, Director of the Institute of World Economics and International Relations, Academy of Sciences of the USSR, probes into important phenomena and processes characterizing imperialism today.

Modern capitalist development, the author stresses, depends

more and more on the impact of the competition and struggle between the two socio-economic systems and of the world revolutionary process. 'This is its fundamental distinction from both the "classical" capitalism analyzed by Marx and the imperialism of the early twentieth century investigated by Lenin.' The objective laws of capitalism cannot be understood without taking account of the scientific and technological revolution, which is thoroughly changing material production and man's role in it. Unlike the industrial revolution of the 18th and the early 19th century, the author notes, the scientific and technological revolution of today originates in science rather than in technology. Its distinctive features are 'the explosive growth of information, mathematicization of many branches of science, intensive differentiation and integration of sciences, and continuous rise of new sciences.' The book stresses the significance of a deep-going reorganization of economic management, which has become an important criterion of effectiveness of social production, and discloses the characteristics of private and state-monopoly managerism.

Changes in the process of concentration and centralization of production and capital are investigated in intimate connection with the growth and increasing intricacy of state-monopoly economics. The author analyzes the development of integration processes, which are taking place in both the private-monopoly and the higher, state-monopoly form. Examining the activity of conglomerates and multi-national monopolies fully supported by the bourgeois state, he reveals their private-capitalist, anti-popular nature. State-monopoly regulation which is geared to monopoly interests and influences the solution of a number of specific economic problems; the formation of economic structures and the conditions of reproduction, cannot eliminate the operation of spontaneous forces on either the home or the world market of capitalism.

An important aspect of the book is its analysis of the relationship between centrifugal and centripetal forces, and trends towards integration and disintegration in the imperialist system, all of which has a direct bearing on its economic, political and military strategy. The author singles out a number of factors which account for the drastic operation of the law of uneven economic and political development of imperialist countries today. He stresses as a characteristic of relations between them the 'close interlocking of cooperation and struggle, joint action and clashes of interests.'

Considerable attention is devoted to the main bridgeheads, forms and methods of imperialist struggle against world socialism. Special mention is made of the military, political, economic and ideological aspects of imperialist strategy against the socialist countries, the international working-class movement and the national liberation struggle. Its features are examined in the context of promoting unity of the international working class and other anti-imperialist forces and their strategy in the common struggle.

The closing section of the book treats of the degree and limits of capitalist adaptation to changes in the world of today, their

impact on the alignment of class and political forces and the peculiarities of revolutionary processes in imperialist countries. Citing numerous examples, the author shows that the changes occurring under the influence of the scientific and technological revolution and the development of state-monopoly capitalism create an objective basis not for the abatement of the class struggle, as some would-be theorists allege, but for its intensification and for the rallying of increasingly large groups of the population behind the working class in this struggle. The author draws the following conclusion: 'There are increasing possibilities of closing the gap between the material prerequisites of socialism, which have long since formed in the countries of state-monopoly capitalism, and the subjective factors for realizing these prerequisites and ensuring the overthrow of monopoly bourgeois rule and the transfer of power to the working class and its allies.' V.S.

B. SZABO, *Nepi demokracia es forradalomelmelet* (People's Democracy and the Theory of the Revolution). Budapest, Kossuth Könyvkiado, 1970, 267 pp.

This is an account of the Hungarian workers' struggle for democracy and socialism. It makes extensive use of the documents and other records of the international Communist and working-class movement. The starting point is the Seventh Congress of the Comintern. The Congress decisions and Georgi Dimitrov's report demonstrated the need for unity of the anti-fascist, democratic forces and the formation on this basis of a popular front, which the Congress described as 'the decisive factor in the working people's preparations for the coming great battles of the second round of proletarian revolutions.' At the time the Communist movement had only the experience of the victorious October Revolution to go by. Hence, the Congress resolution declared the establishment of Soviet rule to be the ultimate result of proletarian revolutions.

On the other hand, by declaring that the fight for democracy and its extension brings nearer the socialist revolution, the Congress anticipated the possibility of different forms of transition to the dictatorship of the proletariat and stimulated creative search for new paths of the revolution through a popular front based on the unity of the struggle for democracy and socialism.

Analyzing the anti-fascist, anti-imperialist struggle of the Popular Front in France and, above all, the Spanish revolution, leading spokesmen of the Comintern, in particular José Diaz, Maurice Thorez and Palmiro Togliatti, came to the conclusion that people's democracy is a new form of democracy making it possible not only to unite the masses against fascism but gradually to lead them on towards extending and deepening the revolutionary struggle for radical social changes.

The Hungarian Communist movement, the author writes, rejected for a time the idea of people's democracy. It insisted on the slogan 'A second Soviet Republic,' having in mind the Hungarian Soviet

Republic of 1919. It was not long, however, before the Hungarian Communists launched a movement for a popular front, which they regarded as a component of the fight for socialism. Even before the war, the Party formulated the proposition that popular front policy would make it possible to go on to higher stages of social development. With this object in view it put forward, along with anti-fascist and anti-war slogans, demands of an anti-feudal and, to an extent, anti-capitalist nature. Some petty-bourgeois allies of the proletariat in the fight against fascism likewise advocated a higher type of democracy than bourgeois democracy, meaning a democracy that could ensure social progress.

The issue of the character and development lines of the anti-fascist, popular, national front became particularly acute when, at the end of World War II, it became necessary to work out an action program for the subsequent period and popular fronts came to power in a number of countries. The author recalls that in 1945 and 1946 some people maintained that the international situation resulting from the Soviet victory over fascism and the vastly increased might and prestige of the first socialist state made it possible to effect a gradual transition to socialism by peaceful means, without civil war, through a broad class alliance. There was the claim, also, that in the circumstances there was no necessity for a fundamental breakup of the state machinery, since the working class and its allies were represented in it. The author stresses that those who held this view drew from the correct thesis of the appearance of new opportunities and new ways of development for the socialist revolution an incorrect conclusion about the class nature of people's democracy, denying the necessity for the dictatorship of the proletariat. He believes this to have been due to simplistic notions of the dictatorship of the proletariat, which was restrictively identified with armed rising and forcible suppression of the class enemy. Many were prompted, therefore, to regard people's democracy as a form of bourgeois democracy. Others saw it as an independent, relatively stable and long historical stage between capitalism and socialism.

This theoretical vagueness could not possibly make for proper political solutions. Yet the course of the people's democratic revolution, the objective process of development of socialist elements in the economic and social life of various countries, the growing numerical strength and political influence of Communist parties and the complicated international situation called for a deep-going and comprehensive theoretical appraisal of the nature and class content of people's democracy and its relation to socialism.

A notable step in this direction, the book notes, was taken by the Third Congress of the Hungarian Communist Party (late 1946). Congress decisions defined popular front policy as a policy of transition from capitalism to socialism. However, it left the most important question of the revolution, that of the character of power, unanswered. In the autumn of 1947 the Communist parties' information meeting stated that the People's Democracies had created

the basic conditions for embarking on socialist development. Thus people's democracy was not regarded as a special stage or intermediate period in society's advance to socialism but as a form of building socialism. The meeting was a spur to continued creative elaboration of the problems of people's democratic revolution and state.

Georgi Dimitrov, speaking at the Fifth Congress of the Bulgarian Communist Party (late 1948), stressed that 'in this historical situation the people's democratic regime can and must . . . effectively perform the function of the dictatorship of the proletariat to eliminate capitalist elements and set up a socialist economy.' Working-class power, while undivided, is exercised in the broadest alliance with all working classes and sections of society. This attitude was shared by the leaders of other People's Democracies. Such were the results of the Communist parties' theoretical elaboration of new paths to socialism begun at the Seventh Congress of the Comintern.

The author next shows that the slightest error or inaccuracy in theory may lead to excesses in policy. Some leaders of the Hungarian Communist Party, while recognizing that the people's democratic system is a dictatorship of the proletariat, considered it still imperfect. Many of the 'Leftist' excesses of the years 1949-1956 were due to the attempts to 'perfect' the people's democratic regime, attempts which generally came down to barring the allies of the working class from government and to neglecting the socialist education of the masses. This produced subjectivist, purely administrative methods of leadership. The Rightists took advantage of these excesses to call for renunciation of the dictatorship of the proletariat and a return to the 'correct' method of building socialism. What they meant was 'sharing' the power of the working class with its allies and then abolishing the dictatorship of the proletariat altogether.

Both theoretically and politically, the HSWP took the right road after 1956, having defeated Left and Right-wing deviations.

In conclusion the author stresses that creative application of the general principles of the socialist revolution and socialist building, and a creative approach to the experience of the People's Democracies afford Communist parties new prospects in their search for what in each historical situation is the most advisable ways and means of the working class winning power and consolidating it. They are an earnest of solving new problems of the world revolutionary process.

M. Lazlo

Romania in anii revolutiei democrat-populare. 1944-1947 (Romania in the Years of the People's Democratic Revolution. 1944-1947). Bucharest, Editura politica, 1971. 462 pp.

This is a collective work by staff members of the Institute of Historical and Socio-Political Research under the CC RCP. It is the first in Rumanian historiography to present a comprehensive

account of the period of completing the democratic revolution and providing conditions for going over to the stage of socialist construction.

The first section – 'Prerequisites of the Revolution' – reveals the historical necessity for the socio-political transformation of Rumania and the objective and subjective factors which brought about a revolutionary situation. This situation arose from the exacerbation of class contradictions under the military-fascist dictatorship and progressed apace in the months following the national anti-fascist armed rising in August 1944.

Credit is due the authors for considering this revolutionary process in close connection with the international situation: the defeat of Nazi Germany by the anti-Hitler coalition, whose main force was the Soviet Union, the powerful upsurge in the peoples' anti-fascist struggle and the tremendous growth of the prestige of socialism. The book also shows the decisive importance of internal factors and the Rumanian people's will.

The Rumanian Communist Party, like other revolutionary, Communist parties of Europe and Asia, used the favorable international conditions of the time. It also took into account the changed balance of class forces at home and the deep antagonism between the overwhelming majority of the people and the ruling fascist group under Antonescu to organize and lead the struggle of the masses for social justice, national independence and sovereignty. The Party succeeded in evolving and implementing a strategic and tactical line that accorded with Rumania's concrete historical conditions and showed flexibility in its policy of alliances by making possible the cooperation of all forces concerned in accomplishing all tasks of the revolution with due regard to its socialist perspective or in achieving various general democratic objectives.

Such sections of the book as 'The Struggle of the Masses Under the Leadership of the RCP to Establish People's Democratic Rule,' 'The Activity of the RCP and the Democratic Government in the First Year of People's Democracy,' 'The Democratic System in 1946' and '1947: Decisive Year for the Progress of the Revolution' add up to a vivid description, abounding in factual evidence, of the struggle of the masses to win power and further the socialist revolution.

In working on the book, the authors used numerous documents from archives, the press of those years and a number of theoretical works. A chronological table, a list of key policy statements of the RCP and SDP, the texts of the election program and program of the first democratic government, as well as the main laws enacted in the period under survey, complement the panorama of the historic events of the years 1944 to 1947.

M. Simionescu

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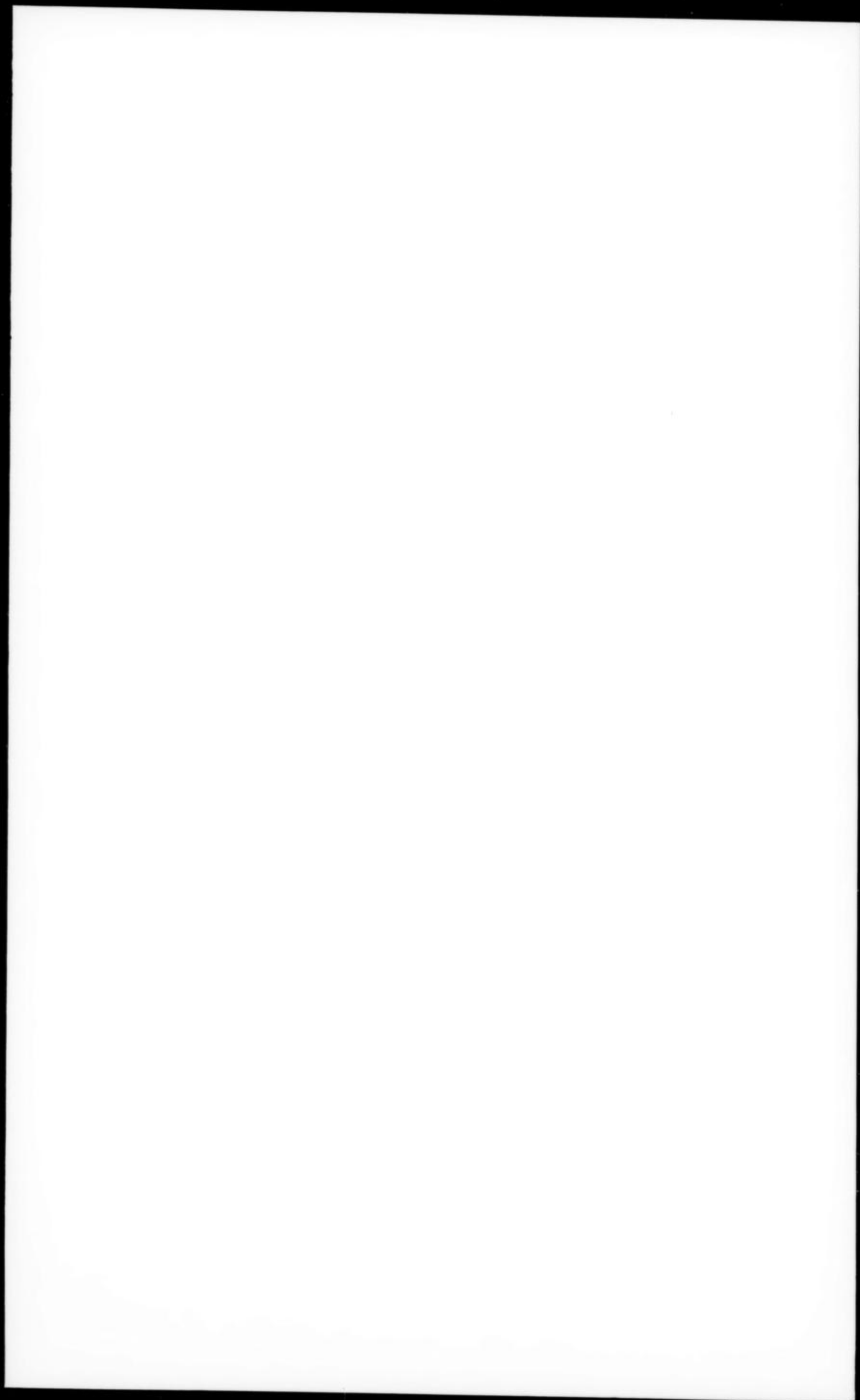
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