

WORLD

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Peace and Socialism

REVIEW

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**World data
on wage labor**

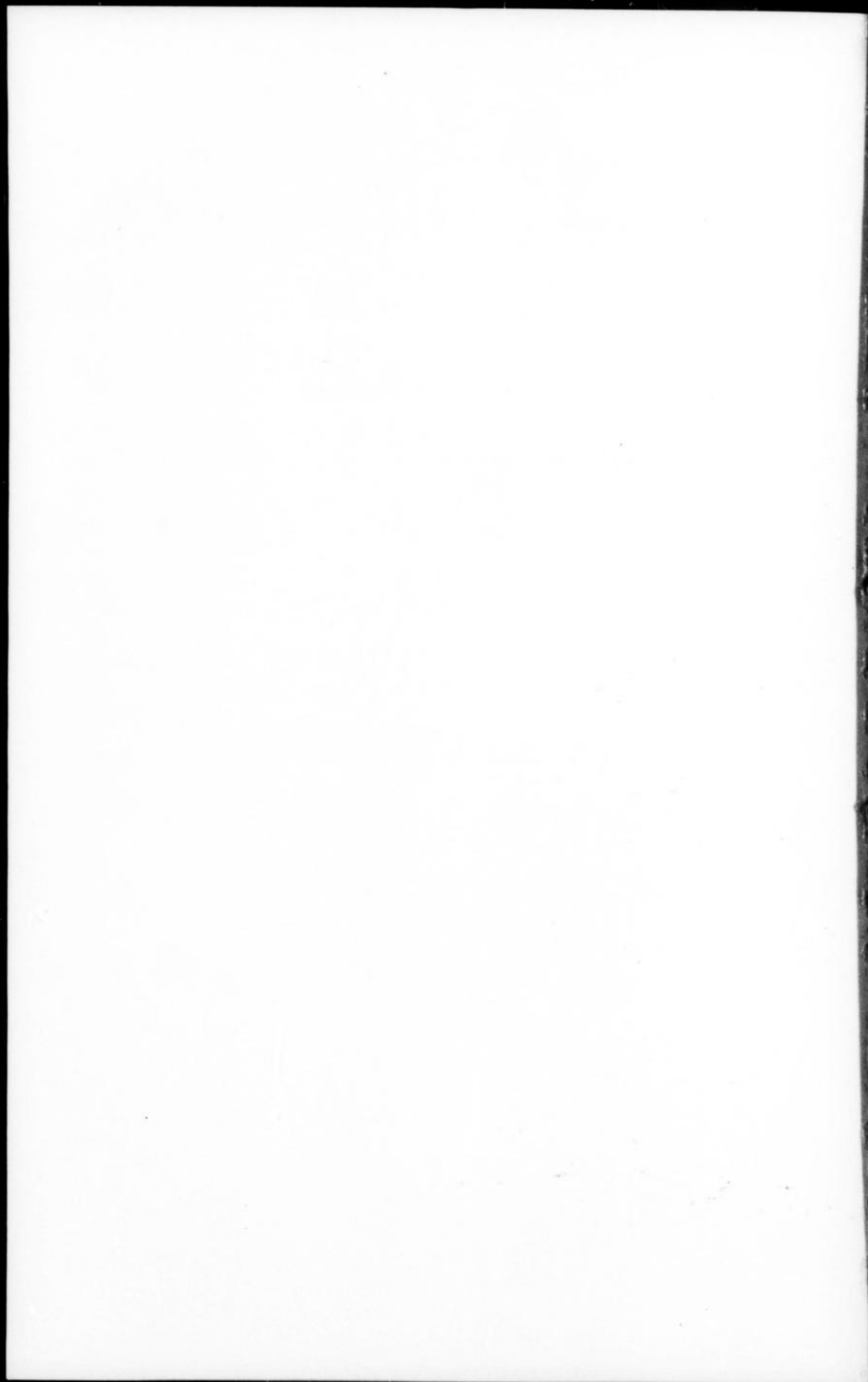
**Centrism: a kind
of opportunism**

**Communist Manifesto
—125 years after**

**Lenin's 'two tactics'
—a symposium**

**Agrarian changes
in Algeria**

Inside Peru





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

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journal of Communist and
Workers' Parties**

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Peace and socialism -- our banner

We are carrying several New Year letters to the Editor on these pages. They are from people closely associated with our journal and standing in the front line of the struggle for peace, social progress and socialism.

Communists assess the past, present and future dialectically. They align current aims and objectives with the logic of social development and tie up their solutions with the long-term socio-political perspective. That, indeed, is the approach evident in the letters.

In many ways, the past year revealed the close link between current events and the inexorable trends of our age, in which, as the 1969 International Meeting of Communist Parties noted, world socialism has become the determining force of the anti-imperialist struggle.

Inscribed on the Communists' banner are the words Peace and Socialism. They epitomize the aims and directions of Communist activity, the criteria of its effectiveness, and are the basic guideline for assessing world events. The depth and nature of the changes in modern society are shaped increasingly by the unity of the struggle for peace and the struggle for socialism.

Need one prove that socialism is by its very nature committed to peace, that its advantages cannot fully unfold unless there is peace? And by this token socialism's growing political, economic and military power is an effective material guarantee of peace. The existing socialism will, by its constructive labor effort, continue to exert a strong influence on the future of modern society.

Ever closer unity and cooperation of the socialist countries in the Warsaw Treaty and Council for Mutual Economic Assistance, especially following the adoption of the Comprehensive Program for Socialist Economic Integration, is indispensable for success in building the new society and, at the same time, an important factor of peace. The 50th anniversary of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the world's first socialist state, graphically illustrated the attraction of socialism, the theory and practice of the new society.

The year 1972 witnessed a dynamic socialist peace offensive. The

initiatives of the socialist countries led to palpable gains. And though at this writing the flames of imperialist aggression in Indochina and the Middle East have not yet been extinguished, there is visible progress towards peace and security. Can anyone deny that credit for this must go to the persevering and constructive efforts of the socialist countries, the Communist movement, and the progressive democratic forces?

It took more than half a century of strenuous economic and military effort by the Soviet people and, later, by all the socialist countries; and it required the long and hard road from Genoa and Rapallo through the labyrinths of the League of Nations and the impediments of the cold war, convincingly to prove that peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems is perfectly practicable in international affairs. The recognition of this by the leading capitalist power and the signing of an instrument on the basic principles of Soviet-American relations in the summer of 1972 testify to the success of socialist foreign policy. Further proof is provided by the relations of cooperation between the Soviet Union and France and other capitalist countries; the ratification of the Soviet-FRG and Polish-FRG treaties; the accords on West Berlin, and by the progress in GDR-FRG relations.

Take the problem of European security. Isn't its evolution revealing? Not only in the 1930s, when the Soviet Communists first advanced the idea, but also in 1966, after their Bucharest meeting, when the Warsaw Treaty countries proposed an all-European conference, and even in 1972 when they defined the principles of security and cooperation in Prague, scepticism key-noted the imperialist attitude towards the socialist initiatives. Yet now, following the consultative talks in Helsinki, it is universally acknowledged that the way to greater cooperation between states with different social systems in Europe lies open.

Still fresh in the memory of our generation is the time of futile diplomatic maneuvering over disarmament, when every socialist initiative was rejected out of hand. Yet now, the fight for disarmament, a vital element of the international class struggle, has yielded its first fruit with the signing in Moscow of the interim Soviet-American agreement on strategic arms limitation. So in this area of world politics, too, mankind evidently has good reason for hope.

Every socialist achievement and political initiative is accompanied by gains in the world revolutionary process. On all the economic, political and ideological fronts of the class struggle imperialism and imperialist policy are countered by the socialist world system, the international working-class and the national-liberation movement.

The unity and influence of the revolutionary forces will increase from year to year. Take these facts: imperialism has, in effect, suffered a military defeat in Vietnam, and the collapse of its political adventure in all Indochina is inevitable. Internally, it is being weakened by the expanding strike movement and mounting political struggles. The workers are resisting the multinational monopolies,

especially in the 'Little Europe' framework. Their joint actions are designed to curtail monopoly power. The people of Chile have risen to defend the gains of their republic against imperialism and reaction. In the Portuguese colonies the people are fighting selflessly for national liberation, and this, too, is a blow at imperialist positions.

Of course, the path to peace, progress and socialism is not strewn with roses. Imperialism is in a deep crisis reaching into every sphere: internal socio-economic antagonisms and inter-imperialist rivalries are spreading. That is beyond doubt, but imperialism has by no means exhausted all possibilities for development and remains a dangerous foe. Its aggressive nature has not changed. Moreover, it is using more subtle and flexible methods. Head-on attacks on the revolutionary forces go hand in hand with more sophisticated social demagoguery and anti-communist propaganda.

Yet as the contest between the two social systems expands and the world revolutionary movement gains in scope, more breaches in the old system are inevitable. And the more frequent and stronger the blows become, the more distinctly will the impact of socialism's theory and practice on the modern world be felt with each advance of the revolutionary forces.

The imperialists realize all this only too well. This explains the bourgeoisie's peculiar political perception of reality. Some conservative and reactionary elements see a 'communist menace' even in more or less realistic foreign-policy moves, in their government's desire for a 'dialogue with Moscow.'

Nor is it only a matter of peculiar political perception. The reactionaries are dismayed by the improvement of East-West relations. Suffice it to take two events—the presidential elections in the United States and the parliamentary elections in the Federal Republic of Germany. Though unrelated and held against different domestic backgrounds, they have certain aspects in common. Richard Nixon was the first U.S. President to go to Moscow and bring back an agreement on peaceful cooperation with Communists. Willy Brandt was the first West German Chancellor to seek new relations with his Eastern neighbors, saying: 'If there's no peace, there will be nothing.' As a result, both won the elections. The reaction of the electorate of two imperialist states to the changes in the world could not be clearer: peace, even though it comes from socialism, is necessary. Naturally, this is not to the liking of the reactionaries: it is one thing when socialist initiatives can be depicted as a build-up of the 'communist menace,' and quite another when the masses increasingly come to realize that socialism gives reality to their longing for peace on earth.

The irreversible changes in socialism's favor, to the detriment of imperialism, are proliferating steadily. Clearly, a turn towards peace has begun. And the decisive factor here has been the consistent, persevering struggle of the united detachments of the revolutionary movement. The active, mobilizing part in the changes was played by Communists, by Marxist-Leninists.

Last year was the 15th anniversary of the 1957 Meeting of Communist and Workers' parties. In its Peace Manifesto the Meeting proclaimed: 'We Communists have dedicated our lives to the socialist cause. We firmly believe in the victory of that great cause. And precisely because we believe in the triumph of our ideas – the ideas of Marx and Lenin, the ideas of proletarian internationalism – we desire peace and are fighting for peace.'

Through all their trials, the Communists have retained their unbending loyalty to the ideas of peace and socialism. They will continue to fight for these lofty aims together with all who oppose imperialism, aggression and war.

NEW YEAR MAILBAG

WORLD MARXIST REVIEW

Thakurova 3, Prague 6

Czechoslovakia

The course of world events is increasingly influenced by the socialist community. The fraternal states' achievements on the international scene, as well as their progress in building socialism and communism, will gather momentum as they continue to draw closer and as their mutual interaction increases. This is the main trend of the socialist world system, a trend followed, along with the other members of the Warsaw Treaty and the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance, by the Polish People's Republic.

Every aspect of the activities of Polish Communists and our state and public organizations is aimed at strengthening and perfecting relations with the socialist countries. The unbreakable alliance with the Soviet Union has from the outset been the cornerstone of the PPR's foreign policy.

Of special significance is the Comprehensive Program of socialist economic integration, implementation of which is, as we see it, the key to the progress of relations between socialist states with due consideration of national and international interests.

Guided by the Leninist principle of peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems, we see European security and the establishment of mutually advantageous, good-neighborly relations as a concern of all European countries without exception. This provides a basis for cooperation with capitalist states soberly assessing the facts of our time.

On the other hand, the socialist countries, including Poland, are far from viewing the events of our time through rose-tinted glasses. They have no illusions about the aggressive nature of imperialism. Consistent, resolute support of the peoples fighting for independence and social progress has always been, and remains, an inalienable class feature of Marxist-Leninist foreign policy. Our help to heroic Vietnam and other victims of imperialist aggression is an expression of the international essence of socialist states, which will never forsake freedom-loving peoples in time of need and view support for them as their contribution to the strengthening of the anti-

imperialist movement and the achievement of new victories for peace, democracy and socialism.

Josef Barecki,
Editor-in-Chief
Trybuna Ludu

The struggle for peace, socialism and national liberation should be able to record new and significant achievements during the coming years. What grounds have we for saying so?

The desperate escalation of war by the U.S. imperialists against Vietnam and the other countries of Indochina has boomeranged and deepened the crisis of imperialism all along the line. The steady and all-round advance of the socialist countries has to be reckoned with even by the most aggressive forces of imperialism. Thanks to the consistent policy of these countries, the Soviet Union in the first place, the convening of the European Security Conference is within reach. With all its internal contradictions and zig-zags the Arab world is realizing that the problem of Israeli aggression cannot be tackled without closer cooperation with the USSR and other socialist countries.

A new and far broader and more assertive political awakening is clearly visible in our country, India, and innumerable other countries of the Third World. The popular urge for advancing from national independence to social liberation is assuming militant forms.

The emergence of Bangladesh has added a new dimension and also new complexities to the problem of our sub-continent. But there is greater realization even in Pakistan that there is no alternative to the recognition of Bangladesh and a peaceful solution of the problem of Kashmir through bilateral negotiations with India.

Imperialism and the reactionary forces in the countries of the Third World are still powerful. The struggle is hard but the forces of progress have every reason to be confident.

S. G. Sardesai
Member CEC, CPI India

The American people recorded many successes during the year just ended, but they face some serious problems in 1973.

Nixon did not send his representative, Kissinger, to Paris because he wanted to negotiate, but was compelled to do so by the peace movement. The sentiment for peace gained momentum in the USA when Americans came to realize that the Vietnamese people fighting for freedom could not be defeated.

Likewise attempts to stymie European détente met with failure. A genuine sentiment exists that the U.S. can help in securing peace in Europe, which will be of no small help to the people of the U.S. too. Communists and other progressive Americans must continue to fight against U.S. imperialist interference in Cuba and Chile.

We can look forward to growing strike struggles on the domestic scene in 1973. Over 4½ million workers will be involved in nego-

tiating new contracts. They are not ready to accept the wage freeze and monopoly attacks on their livelihood.

The Negroes took an active part in the recent elections. The Black delegation in Congress was increased from 13 to 16. Three Black women now sit in Congress for the first time in our history. This is a vital contribution to the progressive advance in the U.S.

Nixon pronounced that he had a mandate last November. But the people voted for an end to the aggression in Vietnam. They voted for a better USA – a country at peace with the world – normal relations and trade with the socialist countries – especially the Soviet Union.

Together with the American people, the CPUSA can look with confidence to 1973.

Philip Bart
Member National Committee,
CPUSA

The international situation changed for the better in 1972.

In Asia resistance to American imperialism has become so great that the U.S. is forced to retreat: the United States is now engaged in talks on a Vietnam settlement on the basis of the people's sovereign right to decide their own fate, and it has at long last had to stop recognizing the Taiwan regime as the representative of China.

In Europe a security conference has good chances of materializing in 1973. It will mark a major achievement in the great struggle for peace and normalizing relations between states spearheaded by the socialist countries and the masses of Western Europe.

In the Arab East imperialist aggression has failed to achieve its objectives. The position of reactionary forces which had hoped for victory is more shaky than ever.

The new climate in the world is due to the strengthening of the socialist community and the peoples' fight against imperialism. The champions of progress are entering 1973 better equipped for resolving some of the outstanding international issues.

Special mention should be made of two hotbeds where settlements are most urgent: the Middle East and the Portuguese colonies in Africa. And settlements can be achieved only through the joint struggle of all anti-imperialist forces and respect for the peoples' sacred rights.

In Morocco the past year saw an aggravation of the national crisis. It can be overcome in 1973 if the revolutionary, progressive and patriotic forces unite, if they fight together for common goals. This could be the making of the national-democratic revolution the people are looking forward to, a revolution which would provide the basis for building up a modern society in the country, promote the victory of the working masses, and open up the road to socialism.

Ali Yata
General Secretary
Party of Liberation and Socialism (Morocco)

How do I see the revolutionary movement in Latin America in the New Year?

The last few years have been characterized by the unrelenting struggle of Latin American peoples, the working class in the first place, against the main enemy: North American imperialism and the local oligarchies. It provides some instructive lessons for the Communist and democratic movement as a whole.

The objective conditions for revolution have matured on our continent. Following its victory in Cuba more than ten years ago, it has manifested itself in different forms in other Latin American countries, bringing progress, democracy, political and economic independence.

To be sure, the hard days of gathering forces and fighting for a strong alliance of the proletariat with the non-proletarian masses are not yet over. But there are many major achievements, the results of Communist Party efforts. The Latin American working class is growing stronger in the fight for social and political rights. Its goal is to crush all national and foreign oppressors. The cruelty and aggressiveness of imperialism is especially manifest in such countries as Brazil, Bolivia, Paraguay and Salvador, where it relies on the bourgeois-landlord oligarchy in its hopes to prevent our peoples' joint struggle.

There can be no doubt that the future belongs to the people. And a brighter future is approaching and becoming a reality. The fight against our class enemies has acquired new traits and is being waged in new conditions characterized by a realization of the need for working-class unity and peasant organization. The peoples of Latin America are seeking, and finding, different forms of revolutionary struggle. The Cuban revolution, the revolutionary process in Chile, the changes in Peru, developments in Panama and Ecuador, and events in other countries provide us with indications of what the New Year may be like for us in Latin America. We are inspired by the powerful support of the Soviet Union and the whole socialist community.

The New Year inspires hope because the cohesion of Communist parties and the revolutionary working class is growing. The peasants are joining the struggle in Alliance with the proletariat. The progressive democratic movement is expanding. That is why Communists say that the future belongs to the people.

Mario Morales
General Secretary
CP Honduras



Developed socialism -- stage on the way to communism

Pyotr Demichev
Alternate Member PB, Secretary CC CPSU.

This article is the first in a series on the problems of developed socialism.

Other articles will deal with economic and social policy, development of the state and democracy, the dialectic of basis and superstructure in the mature socialist society, and the development of socialist economic integration.

The brilliant works of Marx and Engels turned socialism from a utopia into a science. Then the ideas of socialism were developed further in the works of Lenin, and embodied in revolutionary practice under the leadership of the Leninist party. Now socialism is a world system standing in the van of mankind's social development. This is an historic exploit of the working class and the Communist parties, opening up realistic perspectives for the toilers of the whole world in the struggle for a new society devoid of exploitation and social oppression.

The acquired practical experience helps define the main stages of socialism and pinpoint the main trends of growth. On this experience are based the fundamental propositions of our Party Program and the political and theoretical conclusions of the 24th CPSU Congress, which made a profound examination of the present stage of communist construction in the Soviet Union. The Central Committee Report to the Congress delivered by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev notes that as compared with the late 1930s, when socialism triumphed in our country, 'an immeasurably higher level has been achieved in the national economy, in socialist social relations, the culture and the consciousness of the broad masses. The developed socialist society . . . has been built by the selfless labor of the Soviet people.'

The classics of Marxism-Leninism predicted the main historical phases in the emergence and development of the economic formation – the transitional period, socialism, communism. The facts have confirmed this Marxist-Leninist forecast, and, at the same time, have made knowledge of the rungs of ascent to communism more concrete. Along the way to communism there occurs a further development and improvement of the socialist system.

Socialism passes through a series of objective stages with their characteristic traits and features. Within these general stages the transformation of different aspects of the life of society may occur in a varying order, depending on internal and international conditions. No matter how peculiar these conditions may be, however, they do not annul the international similarity of the ways of socialist reconstruction, the similarity of the principles and objective laws of the new non-exploiting social system. An examination of the present stage of Soviet society in the light of the universally and internationally relevant features may be of interest for the world Communist and working-class movement.

Building the new society is a single socio-economic process. There are no demarcation lines between its main stages. This is borne out by the experience of the Soviet Union, where we have built a developed socialist society, and that of a number of fraternal countries, which have laid (or are laying) the foundations of socialism and have gone over (or are going over) to building developed socialism.

Developed socialism is not a special mode of production or a social formation in its own right. What is meant is a fully formed socialist society in which the main conditions have matured for the full-scale building of communism. It does have peculiar features, however, and these must be considered. It is a stage in which the advantages of the new system come fully into effect, in which optimum use is made of the potentialities of its economic and political make-up, and in which the objective laws and regularities, and society as a whole, develop with increasing harmony. New favorable conditions arise for the all-round development of the individual.

In the *economic domain*, the substantive feature of the present stage of Soviet society is the high level of the productive forces and the maturity of socialist relations of production based on socialist property, which reigns undivided. The main economic units are large state or cooperative enterprises with an up-to-date technico-scientific foundation, coordinated in a single and yet many-sided and flexible system of ties and of division of labor. Planning, the fundamental principle of the country's economy, has risen to a higher level to suit the greater concentration and specialization of production, the need for accelerating scientific and technological progress and for attaining the socio-economic targets.

Elucidating the main objective of the Ninth Five-Year Economic Development Plan of the USSR for 1971-1975, the 24th Congress noted that our aims and our grown economic potential, as well as our economic needs, make it possible and necessary to orient the economy more deeply on the varied task of raising the people's standard of living.

In the *political domain* developed socialism is distinguished by the disappearance of antagonistic contradictions and the remnants of the exploiting classes, and also by the further consolidation of society's socio-political unity. The dictatorship of the proletariat

has grown into a state of the whole people, with the working class retaining its leading role. Socialist democracy continues to develop. The guiding role of the Marxist-Leninist party increases. The growth of the fraternal friendship and of all-round economic, political and cultural cooperation among the socialist nations, typical of our multi-national country, has led to the appearance of a new historical identity – the Soviet people. A gradual formative process is underway of a socially homogeneous, classless society.

In the *spiritual domain* developed socialism is distinguished by the increasingly fuller triumph of Marxist-Leninist ideas, of the ideals of communism in the mass consciousness, by a comprehensive development of science and education, the flowering of culture, and the assertion in real life of the principle of communist morality. The social possibilities for the all-round development of the faculties and creative activity of working people, of all Soviet people, become still broader.

Certainly, there are still features that belong to the first phase of communism, and these distinguish the present stage from the higher phase (the essential differences between town and country and between mental and manual labor, remain; the abundance of material goods needed for distribution according to requirements has not been attained, etc.). But the building of the material and technical basis of communism is well under way, and socialist social relations are making tremendous progress.

The features of developed socialist society were moulded gradually on the basis of the new production relations, in step with the growth of the economic and political organization of socialism.

A whole historical period was required to ascend to developed socialism. To judge it objectively, one must know the situation in our country when it was beginning to build socialism. The Soviet people faced numerous economic and social problems inherited from the bourgeois-landlord system. And the considerable difficulties that arose in building the new society stemmed from this painful legacy.

To appreciate the magnitude of the achievement, it may be recalled that at the time of the socialist revolution Russia was, as Lenin described it, economically a relatively backward capitalist country, a country of mainly small-scale farming, with remnants of feudalism, and with nearly three-quarters of its population illiterate. Now, the Soviet Union is an economically and culturally highly-developed power.

The economic potential of the USSR reposes on a versatile industry, modern socialist farming, advanced science and culture, and highly skilled manpower.

A few facts and figures.

In fifty years (1922-1972) industrial output has gone up 321-fold, with output of means of production, 822-fold, and of consumer goods, 102-fold.

Agriculture has changed radically. The country has 32,300 collective and 15,500 state farms, all of which are large mechanized socialist enterprises. Much is being done to further the industrialization of farming, land reclamation and irrigation. New technology and new methods are being introduced broadly, and socialist farming is rising to the level of modern industrial production. Our experience, it may be noted in this context, has totally upset the bourgeois view that the peasant has an ingrained sense of proprietorship and an incorrigibly individualistic mentality.

One of the main general indicators of socialist economic growth is the growth of labor productivity. When speaking of the need steeply to raise the productivity of labor in Soviet industry or farming, we often refer to the higher indicators of the United States. But this does not justify the adverse judgments of bourgeois propaganda. Considering the legacy we have had to cope with and the devastating wars, our success in raising labor productivity is not inferior, but essentially superior, to that of the highly developed countries. And those who now regard the existing gap as an absolute will do well to remember that the rate of accretion in the labor productivity of Soviet industry in 1951-1971 was approximately double that of the United States.

It should also be borne in mind that in comparing the economic results of the two systems, and in its economic competition with capitalism, socialism proceeds from criteria of its own and sets its own, specific social objectives.

Our productivity of labor is being raised in a setting of full employment, a constitutionally guaranteed right to labor, steadily rising incomes, and state-financed free social services. Under capitalism commercial advantage as a rule overrides considerations of humanity, and the threat of indigence and employment insecurity are a form of pressure on the individual, with the frantic struggle for survival serving as a means of 'education.' This is why, when examining indicators of economic development, we should not overlook the fundamental disparities of the two social systems, the humanitarian essence of socialism.

The growth of material production and the perfection of social relations are naturally causing profound *qualitative* changes in the nature of the material and spiritual requirements of the people.

Developed socialism gives broad scope for the moulding and use of man's creative faculties, and offers unlimited opportunities for spiritual growth and full-blooded labor and social activity.

The demand for high-quality goods is satisfied more fully. The range of commodities is expanded, community services become better, and environmental improvements are made on a vast scale in town and country. Since the late 1950s, for example, the Soviet Union has ranked first in the world for the number of homes built, and among the first for new homes per 10,000 population.

As the guiding force of socialist society, the CPSU shapes its policy to deal with all newly-arising problems, and orients the

economic planning agencies on finding more effective solutions and exploring the trends in public demand. And being a socialist country, the Soviet Union obviously has and will have a structure of consumer demand different in many ways from the spontaneous one of capitalist states.

Socialist society is actively opposed to all ways other than labor of appropriating material and spiritual goods, to the money-grubbing and avarice typical of capitalist society, to artificial 'demand' drummed up deliberately by commercial advertising and all too often fostering unhealthy rivalry in the chase for goods, egoism and cruelty.

Anti-communist ideologues and revisionists, who misinterpret the special features of developed socialism, contend that socialist society is gradually shedding its revolutionism, that 'embourgeoisement' is taking root and that it is gradually acquiring the characteristics of the so-called 'consumer society.'

We are firm in our view that the fullest possible satisfaction of the material and cultural requirements of people is the supreme aim of social production under socialism. But it is not our purpose — as some hold — to adopt bourgeois standards. We strive for sound social requirements, which we want to make meaningful and consistent with the humane nature of socialism. The aim on which our Party orients public organizations, labor collectives, schools and the family is to better the educational efforts and mould spiritually healthy generations devoted to the revolutionary ideals, generations of the communist civilization.

Bourgeois theorists (Raymond Aron, and others) admit that industrial and technological progress in the capitalist environment denies scope to the ideals of equality, freedom and fraternity. Hence the pessimistic talk about 'disenchantment in progress.'

Small wonder that present-day bourgeois theorists refer with mounting alarm to the growing social difficulties in capitalist society, to the escalating violence, to the youth 'rebellion' and the erosion of spiritual values. The postures of the 'new Left' ideologues (Marcuse and others) are also revealing. They give expression to capitalism's inability to resolve the vital social problems. Noting the growing discontent of the masses with the bourgeois way of life, its fatuousness and depersonalization, Erich Fromm, for example, fears that in the age of technical progress man may be stripped of his humanitarian hopes and become a robot-like creature.

These views, widespread of late, are a reflection of the intensifying exploitation and the virtual enslavement of the people by the system of monopoly capitalism. But they have nothing in common with the practice of socialist and communist construction, which denies the pessimistic inferences and shows a realistic way to resolve the contradictions insoluble in the capitalist environment.

Though still a stage of socialism, the present period also contains

tangible features of the future communist society. In fact, they are becoming the main-line tendencies of developed socialism. Success in the new important tasks arising objectively during this period brings us nearer to the point at which the transition from socialism to communism can be more clearly seen and felt.

To fuse organically the achievements of the scientific and technological revolution with the advantages of the socialist economic system is one of the historically important functions of developed socialism. The groundwork laid for this in the Soviet years is the qualitative leap made by science and education. The 1970 Census showed that 653 out of every 1,000 gainfully employed had a higher or secondary (including uncompleted) education. By the beginning of 1972 this average had risen to 697. In 1971 the Soviet Union had 5,307 science establishments, including 2,648 research institutes with branches and affiliates. We have over a million researchers, and every fourth scientist in the world is a citizen of the USSR. More than 80 million are enrolled in educational establishments. The passage to universal secondary education is to be completed by the end of the present five-year period, and higher and specialized secondary education are to be expanded and improved, so that some nine million specialists of all levels will be graduated during this period. But these facts are only part of the dramatic changes in the moulding of the Soviet man, a free citizen equal to the most complicated economic, political and socio-cultural assignments.

The CPSU regards educational, scientific and technological progress as the main lever in building the material and technical basis of communism and is working single-mindedly for comprehensively mechanized and automated production. The technological foundation of production, the forms and methods of economic management, and the content and nature of labor, are changing in quality, leading up to the eradication of the demarcation line between mental and manual labor.

As the 24th Congress stressed, this involves raising the effectiveness of science, creating the most favorable conditions for the use of the latest scientific and technological achievements in mass production, and improving management and the forms of organizing industry.

The conditions in which socialist society develops oblige us to consider the long-term, as well as the immediate, consequences of our socio-economic measures. This is necessitated by the rapidly changing demands made on the individual by modern production and modern life.

Never has it been more necessary to determine scientifically the general social perspective and to elaborate concrete forecasts for the development of individual industries, science and culture, social change, and population growth, from the standpoint of the people's interest, performing momentous alterations and using the available resources to the best purpose. It is important, above all,

to work out a long-term plan for economic development.

The objective conditions of developed socialism provide for a considerably expanded framework of planning social development, for planning matters of a cultural-economic and social nature. Apart from state agencies, social planning has become the concern of the public, of separate enterprises, districts, towns and regions. It generates a vast potential for drawing ever new sections of working people into the administration of all the areas of public life, for enhancing the creative initiative of the masses. Social planning is highly effective, helping to prepare people for changes in the structure and organization of production, to create ever more favorable conditions for work and leisure, and to organize the best possible living conditions. In the stage of developed socialism, social planning is a most important element of scientific government.

The expanding scale of the economy and the industrial and technological revolution have brought to the fore the problem of planned, scientifically sound interaction with the environment. Clean air and water, wildlife conservation, the expansion of forests are all natural necessities of life and progress. And socialism is best equipped for large-scale national measures aimed at conserving the natural resources designed to serve both present and future generations. The problem was debated at length by the USSR Supreme Soviet in September, 1972. The measures outlined in its decree are being reinforced by appropriate legislation as well as by educational work.

The problems tackled under developed socialism involve every socio-political and ideological aspect of social progress.

While the working class, collective-farm peasantry and people's intelligentsia remain the basic social structure of our society, profound quantitative and qualitative changes are under way within it. In 1939, workers (including their families), accounted for 33.5 per cent of the population, collective farmers and cooperative craftsmen, for 47.2 per cent, private farmers and self-employed craftsmen, for 2.6 per cent. In 1972, workers constituted 59.8 per cent, collective farmers and cooperative craftsmen, 19.3 per cent, and office employees and intellectuals, the rest.

With the growing political consciousness and general and professional culture of the workers, the leading class of socialist society, its labor and socio-political activity and moral example have a mounting impact on all aspects of life.

The ideals of the working class are becoming more close and understandable to the collective farmers, whose labor is being increasingly industrialized. In conditions of developed socialism the working-class - collective-farmer alliance grows stronger and assumes new meaning.

Profound changes are taking place within the intelligentsia. With science becoming a direct productive force more and more engineers and technicians are organically interlinking with the working

class. The views and ideological stand of the artistic intelligentsia, responsible for moulding the spiritual culture of communist society, also coincide with working-class ideals.

In this connection attention should be drawn to one more important point. Mature socialism stimulates processes which in many ways further the convergence of the collective farmers and intellectuals with the working class, the disappearance of class and other social distinctions. Differences between the living conditions, educational and cultural standards of classes and social groups are disappearing, giving way to common interests and requirements, to a social psychology and world outlook of the new international community of Soviet people. Essential for the continued development of these processes is a careful analysis of the new phenomena and a correct Marxist-Leninist approach to the solution of problems bred by the scientific and technological revolution and the acceleration of social change.

Developed socialism opens up new opportunities for the comprehensive, in-depth economic, scientific, technological and cultural cooperation of peoples. The celebration of the 50th anniversary of the constitution of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics vividly demonstrated the world-historic significance of the solution of the nationalities question in our country and of the tremendous achievements of all the Soviet peoples under the Communist Party's leadership. Our country operates a unified, nationwide integrated socialist economy which ensures equal material opportunities for the development of all peoples and nationalities and cements their common interest in building the material and technical base of communism. Internationalist education gains in importance with the progress and gradual convergence of socialist peoples, the further social division of labor, the greater specialization and cooperation of production, the expansion of ties between the republics, the movement of people, scientific know-how and cultural values. The principles of socialist internationalism are a powerful lever for accelerating social progress and the advance of all peoples along the road to communism.

In a developed socialist society it is only natural for socio-political and ideological unity to progress apace. This is the basis of the strength of the Soviet popular state, which is further promoted by the perfection and development of socialist democracy.

Scientific guidance of social development in the name of man and his good, the implementation of humane principles in the course of communist construction become the main purpose of Party and state policy. Developed socialism is characterized not only by the genuine *dejure* equality of all citizens, introduced with the victory of the new regime, but also by the expanding material guarantees of social rights. First and foremost, the right to work, always guaranteed to Soviet people, offers increasingly favorable opportunities for choosing one's field of endeavor in accordance with one's inclinations and interests. The quality of education and

medical services is constantly improving, old-age pensions are rising, and rest and recreation facilities are being expanded in diversity and content.

Perfection of the mechanism of socialist democracy as primary for advancing the political organization of Soviet society and ensuring full rights for all people is one of the CPSU's main priorities. The Soviets are more active, their functions are expanding, the executive branch is being made increasingly accountable to the elective branch and the electorate as a whole. An example of this is the Deputy Status Law recently enacted by the USSR Supreme Soviet. Government offices are working more efficiently, and an unrelenting struggle is being waged to combat violations of socialist democracy, bureaucracy and insensitivity to the masses' needs and demands. Public control bodies and mass organizations such as the trade unions and the Komsomol play an important part in public life.

Insofar as the Soviet state represents a political organization of friendly classes, with the working class playing the leading role, and implements the proletariat's historic goal of building a classless communist society, it maintains its class character.

It has been amply shown that as long as the safety and consolidation of the socialist revolution gains are reliably ensured, the main functions of the state created by it are economic organization, culture, education and administration. Thanks to the leadership of the Communist Party, which is based on objective social laws, the administrative mechanism is promoted, not by technocratic tendencies, which in the West are declared an inevitable corollary of scientific and technological progress, but by the extension of the scientific basis of social administration and broader participation of the people in running public and state affairs.

As predicted by the founders of scientific communism, with the advance of communism and socialist democracy the bodies of state power will gradually evolve into bodies of public self-government. Communism necessarily implies greater organization of society as a genuine prerequisite for the freedom of man.

The objective tendencies of socialist development reveal the insolvency of attempts to revive anarchistic ideas (J. Ellul and other Western authors). They are, in fact, a petty-bourgeois reaction to the imperialist state's bureaucratic machine, but their effect is to lead people away from a correct understanding of the problems of social progress and their solution. In essence they would present a conglomerate of unorganized individuals as an expression of a 'free society' in general. Marx showed this in his polemic with Bakunin. Replying to the anarchist leader's claims that 'no one would be governed' in the future society, Marx emphasized the reactionary and utopian character of the idea of doing away with social government, and its special harm after the victory of the socialist revolution. Certainly, Marx wrote, 'when class domination disappears there will be no state in the present political

meaning of the word,' but this does not mean that the administrative functions of the state will vanish: their forms will change in accordance with the changed economic and social circumstances.

Developed socialism, guarantees every citizen a secured future and ensures the continued expansion of socialist democracy; this enhances the importance of people's civic mindedness, inner maturity, education and culture. Individual social consciousness becomes an increasingly influential factor governing the life style of society.

The 24th CPSU Congress thoroughly examined the Party's ideological work in present conditions, pointing out its leading directions and most effective forms and methods. Under developed socialism, moulding a communist outlook and fostering a communist attitude toward labor as a deed of honor and glory is the core of ideological and educational work. Socialism breeds mass enthusiasm, moral work incentives become increasingly important vis-à-vis material incentives, socialist emulation becomes truly nationwide, to an ever greater extent bringing out the traits that will characterize labor in a communist society and are indicative of the lofty moral qualities of Soviet people. The CPSU takes all these new tendencies into account, analyzes experience and sees to the propagation of progressive undertakings.

On the basis of the 24th Congress decisions the CC CPSU has drawn up a number of documents defining specific ways and means of further enhancing mass political and labor activity and fostering communist morality, and outlining new requirements that the present stage of communist construction imposes on leading executives. Steps have also been taken to improve the training, retraining and economic education of personnel.

The building of communism moulds a new mentality in people as masters of their country fully responsible for work of their respective factory, construction project, collective farm, state farm, office. Therein lies an important source of continued improvement of every aspect of Soviet life.

Popular initiatives, useful proposals and innovations are embodied in the activities of state and public organizations. The press, radio and television play a great part in the dissemination of progress. Public opinion is rallied to combat shortcomings. All of this is an expression of the genuine democratism of the mass propaganda system.

Developed socialism makes for the growing role of communist morality. In our country the objective roots of private-ownership mentality, which mutilates man and fosters individualism, have been eliminated. Soviet man sees the public interest as part of his vital concerns. However, new moral norms and principles do not take root spontaneously. The fostering of Communist moral principles is a constant concern of the Party, their seeds are sown in the family, the schools, the workers' collective, and they determine the tenor of our day-to-day life. The activities to this end of the

vanguard forces of society naturally involve greater efforts to combat negative phenomena and lack of culture in whatever form.

We have the prerequisites to reduce and do away with negative traits in people's behavior: greater opportunities for a full-blooded, varied, interesting life, and the ever greater satisfaction of material requirements, on the one hand, and the higher cultural and moral standards of the masses, on the other. As the Party sees it, material welfare and spiritual advance go hand in hand with rallying the masses for attaining the great goals of communist construction, for attaining new heights of social progress and culture. The task is to steadily build up the Soviet people's ideological potential, the spiritual wealth of the new society. The greater the political consciousness of the masses the more successful the building of communism.

Developed socialism offers people ever greater opportunities for reaching out to the highest achievements of human culture. It is an aim of CPSU policy, not only to place the best works of Soviet and world literature, painting, sculpture, theatre and cinema within the reach of all people, but to make association with the world of art a natural necessity. Clubs, cultural centers, amateur theatres, art studios, libraries are all vehicles of spiritual development. The fruits of this policy are apparent. We see the moral, aesthetic, cultural and educational standards of Soviet people advancing from generation to generation, the thirst for knowledge increasing and life becoming more meaningful and full-blooded.

The influence of socialist literature and art, which carry communist ideals to the masses and serve the cause of social progress, is growing steadily. Party decisions are aimed at encouraging the creation of works of high ideological content and artistic merit and further enhancing their role in the building of communism. The Party encourages creative quest, but it is also exacting in its demands. As we see it, genuine freedom of creativity consists not in the dissemination of inferior spiritual fare and reactionary ideas, as frequently advocated under false claims of 'non-interference' in creative work, but in the creation of the most favorable conditions for progressive development in common with the vital interests of the working people, the objectives of communist construction and the best democratic traditions of world culture.

The scope and scale of the accomplishments and social changes of developed socialist society naturally call for the continued enhancement of the Party's leading role and its theoretical standards. It is incumbent on the Party to thoroughly analyze present-day processes and the objective laws of the new society, sum up the experience of communist construction, clearly define the perspectives and, on this basis, elaborate the strategy and tactics of further development. The growing role of the Party stems from the need to rally the masses for the solution of new, more complex and comprehensive, historical tasks, from the need to give scientific expression in practical policy of the needs and interests of all

the new society's classes and social groups, all its peoples and nationalities, all its generations, the people as a whole.

Developed socialism thus means a new stage in Party work. The Party's policy expresses the requirements bred by the evolution of objective conditions, by life itself. On the other hand, a correct policy ensures accelerated social progress, it throws open the doors to all that is good, it organizes the masses for building communism, for carrying out the CPSU Program.

Accordingly, the Party seeks to improve the forms and methods of work, develop the Leninist principles and norms of Party life, expand its links with the masses, consolidate the unity of its ranks, and enhance the efficiency and sense of responsibility of all its organizations. It is an honor to be a Communist, but it also imposes great obligations. The Party of Lenin has a tradition of responsibility, organization and conscious discipline. To be in the van of the people means to see far ahead, objectively evaluate achievements, find the best ways of solving new tasks, lead the masses by the force of example, and firmly and consistently implement the Marxist-Leninist line tried and tested in historical practice. The Party attaches the greatest importance to the further advance of revolutionary theory and the social sciences, the improvement of Marxist-Leninist education of Party cadres, and the propagation of communist ideals. We also see as our task the implacable struggle against anti-communism, bourgeois and petty-bourgeois ideology, chauvinism and nationalism, and revisionist distortion of Marxism-Leninism.

The principle of proletarian internationalism, on which relations between Marxist-Leninist parties and socialist countries are based, are sacred to us. Soviet people are brought up in a spirit of class solidarity and friendship with our brother peoples. Cooperation between the fraternal socialist countries is becoming more and more diversified and comprehensive. Their economic integration is acquiring momentum. Given a consistent Marxist-Leninist policy and brotherly international friendship, high economic, scientific, technological and social standards in one country contribute to the strengthening and advance of socialism and socialist transformations in all. Socialist economic integration is aimed at accelerating the rate of growth of the productive forces in each country and the system as a whole, it creates favorable conditions for perfecting the economic structure, enhancing its efficiency and reaping the advantages of international division of labor. It helps to even out the economic levels of CMEA member-countries and strengthen their positions in the world economy.

Developed socialism is a stage along the road to communism, it ensures steady social progress, reveals the possibilities of the new social system and provides for material and spiritual prosperity. As such it increasingly influences world social processes and offers practical answers to the issues of our time.

Inscribed on the banner of socialism are the sacred slogans of

international brotherhood of peoples, freedom and peace, which express the new system's social character. Today the ideals of socialism and friendship among peoples are a factor of international development, an increasingly active force attracting millions.

125 years have passed since the publication of the 'Manifesto of the Communist Party' written by Karl Marx and Frederick Engels. It concluded with the revolutionary slogan: **WORKING MEN OF ALL COUNTRIES, UNITE!**

Even the Manifesto, intended directly for the workers, I rejected all systems and replaced them with a 'critical understanding of the conditions, line of march, and general results of the genuine social movement.'

Karl Marx

. . . The history of the Manifesto reflects, to a great extent, the history of the modern working-class movement; at present it is undoubtedly the most widespread, the most international production of all Socialist literature, the common platform acknowledged by millions of working men . . .

Frederick Engels

With the clarity and brilliance of genius, this work outlines a new world-conception, consistent materialism, which also embraces the realm of social life; dialectics, as the most comprehensive and profound doctrine of development; the theory of the class struggle and of the world-historic revolutionary role of the proletariat — the creator of a new communist society.

The Communist Manifesto advanced a fundamental Marxist principle on the tactics of the political struggle; 'The Communists fight for the attainment of the immediate aims, for the enforcement of the momentary interests of the working class; but in the movement of the present, they also represent and take care of the future of that movement.'

V. I. Lenin

In 125 years, the Manifesto of the Communist Party has been published more than 1,100 times in 101 languages of the world.

Program for the liberation of mankind

Albert Norden
Political Bureau Member,
CC Secretary, SUPG

At the beginning of 1848, Karl Marx sent to the printers the manuscript of the 'Manifesto of the Communist Party' which he and Frederick Engels had been commissioned to draw up by the Second Congress of the Communist League. The program marked the completion of the formation of this, the first ever internationalist working-class organization. It was a turning point in the history of the German and world proletariat, and for 125 years now its ideas have been a guiding light for workers around the world showing them the way out of the imbroglio of capitalist exploitation, oppression and wars, a clearcut action program for countries where the working class has won freedom and where it is still fighting for it. There is hardly another work whose social impact can equal that of the Communist Manifesto, that Song of Songs of Marxism.

The Manifesto's tremendous influence on the course of history stems from the fact that in it for the first time the class destined to chart the development of mankind proclaimed its revolutionary mission of overthrowing the then powerful capitalist system, putting an end to the exploitation of man by man, and creating a classless, harmonious, genuinely humane society. This program was set out in the Manifesto not as an eternal dream of mankind, but as a clear understanding of the laws and trends of social development. From an Utopia communism had become a science.

Marx's and Engels' theory could be substantiated and developed only in *direct* connection with the working-class movement which, in turn, needed a scientific base to become truly revolutionary. The Manifesto's appearance, which heralded the birth of the revolutionary party of the proletariat, also meant bringing scientific communism to the labor movement.

Towards the end of his life Engels noted that every setback in the workers movement could be traced to some departure from the Manifesto's ideas, and every success, to loyalty to them and their creative application.

The Manifesto's viability and relevance find confirmation in the achievements of the socialist camp and all the revolutionary forces of our time. 'This little booklet,' wrote Lenin, 'is worth whole volumes: to this day its spirit inspires and guides the entire organized and fighting proletariat of the civilized world' (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 2, p. 24).

Great revolutionary mission

The conclusion about the historic mission of the working class presented in the Manifesto is based on a materialist understanding of history, on Marxist political economy, strategy and tactics of proletarian class struggle. Their analysis of the laws of social development, particularly the law of the correspondence of relations of production and productive forces, as well as of the specific laws of the capitalist socio-economic structure, led Marx and Engels to the conclusion that the downfall of capitalism was inevitable.

The bourgeoisie creates its own 'grave-diggers' in the working class, whose revolutionary nature derives from the very circumstances of capitalist society. The creator of all its material wealth, the working class is denied ownership of the means of production. Workers are forced to sell their manpower to the capitalists and are therefore subject, like any other commodity, to all the ups and downs of competition and market fluctuations. They can subsist only insofar as they can find work, i.e., as long as their labor adds capital to capital. Hence the constant, ever-growing uncertainty about the future.

Today, too, the bourgeoisie is incapable of ensuring the workers a normal existence. Increasingly subtle forms of exploitation, both extensive and intensive, deprive labor of its creative character and meaning, making it more and more alienated.

Marx and Engels saw the proletariat as the only class capable of overthrowing bourgeois rule and establishing a new system worthy of man. For of all the classes of bourgeois society it has most to gain from the liquidation of the capitalist system; it is also the most dynamic, concentrated, organized and disciplined, a mighty force destined to change the course of human history.

The Manifesto enumerates the stages in the preparation and implementation of this change: formation of an independent proletarian political movement under the leadership of the Communist Party; the struggle for day-to-day interests, which never loses sight of the ultimate goal of political power: overthrow of the bourgeois government, liquidation of capitalist relations of production and overcoming ideas and views inherited from the past.

By freeing itself from capitalist exploitation, the working class at the same time frees other classes and sections of working people increasingly dependent on the bourgeoisie and always facing ruin and ejection into the reserve army of industrial labor.

As it builds socialism, the working class does away with national and racial inequality and oppression. It is only natural, therefore, that it is the leading force in the anti-imperialist struggle, the rallying point of the working masses as a whole.

The era of undivided imperialist domination has long passed. Although the criminal essence and aggressive objectives of imperialism have not changed, the existence and progress of the socialist world system continuously alter the world balance of forces in favor of peace and socialism. Existing socialism testifies to the

tremendous opportunities, the sources of rapid social progress inherent in the new social system. The growing political and economic might of the socialist community exerts a decisive influence on the world revolutionary process.

Bourgeois ideologues fear the Manifesto's ideas, which is why they assiduously 'study' them. History itself has refuted their countless attempts to prove that the conclusions and forecasts of Marx and Engels are 'obsolete,' have "outlived their day." In the hope of discouraging the mounting interest in scientific communism and the document that heralded its birth, the theory is being peddled of a 'changed' capitalism that has produced the 'welfare state' based on 'social partnership.'

But this myth contradicts every fact of life, as well as the real trends in the development of imperialism.

The scientific and cultural revolution facilitates the socialization of labor and an unprecedented concentration and centralization of production and capital. But the accumulation of capital is accompanied by the growth of the working class, and whereas the world proletariat numbered no more than 10 millions in the mid 19th century, and 30 million at the turn of the century, today the international army of workers encompasses hundreds of millions. In the light of these figures the claims of bourgeois ideologues that the working class is 'disappearing' must be seen either as a flagrant disregard of facts or as a cherished wish of the doomed exploiters, for if the working class 'disappears' then, obviously, there will be no need for its revolutionary liberation and for socialism.

The stubborn working class struggle in capitalist countries forces the imperialist bourgeoisie to make concessions and allow some improvement in living standards, which is facilitated by the development of the productive forces. Pointing to this, the apologists of capitalism declare that the working class has become 'bourgeoisified' and has nothing in common with the proletarians of whom Marx and Engels wrote: from the miserable paupers denied even a living wage they were at the time of the Manifesto, they have become, it is claimed, a prosperous class within bourgeois society. But the founders of Marxism had proceeded primarily from an analysis of the socio-economic position of the proletariat which, they held, is determined not so much by the level of consumption as by the fact that the working class, the creator of all material values, at best receives a share of the social wealth equivalent to the cost of manpower as a commodity, and this has not changed since the 19th century. At the same time vast riches are concentrated in a handful of capitalist tycoons owning the means of production. The single fact that in the Federal German Republic, for example, 70 per cent of the means of production are in the hands of 1.7 per cent of the population exposes the demagoguery of discourses on 'social symmetry,' 'peoples' capitalism,' etc.

Just as 125 years ago, the antagonism of labor and capital and the class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie are the main characteristics of the social and political life of capitalist

society. Between 1960 and 1970, strike actions in the capitalist world involved 583 million workers. The movement continued to grow in 1971 and 1972, with 70 million participants in 1971, as compared with 65 million in 1970. Characteristic is the growing influence of the industrial nucleus of the working class on white-collar workers and other working people accepting proletarian forms of struggle.

The workers' revolutionary forces are formed in strikes and other mass action involving political demands. All efforts of the bourgeoisie to keep politics out of economic struggles are in vain, politics refuses to stop at the factory gates. Thus, though in the FRG there is a law that explicitly bans political meetings on factory premises, at the height of the struggle for the ratification of the treaties with the USSR and Poland strikes and other demonstrations against Christian-Democrat policy were held at many big plants. This was also due to the example and influence of the GDR, where workers discuss political problems at their factories and hold meetings of solidarity with the workers of countries fighting for freedom.

All this supports the Manifesto thesis that class struggle is always political struggle. The connection between economic and political demands becomes increasingly closer and every social gain won by the working people weakens the positions of monopoly capital.

Representatives of the 'movement as a whole'

The working class movement's successes over the last few decades, especially its greatest achievement, the socialist world system, were scored under the leadership of Marxist-Leninist parties, which alone proved capable of uniting and directing labor action in the economic, political and ideological spheres.

Bourgeois ideologues and revisionists claim that Marx believed in the spontaneous liberation of the proletariat and never advanced the idea of the party as its vanguard. They would very much like to present matters as though there are differences on this point between Marx and Engels, on the one hand, and Lenin, on the other. But what would the Manifesto have been without its main idea about the need for establishing an independent political working-class party with a scientifically based program? Marx and Engels established that initially only the vanguard section of the working class could ascend the heights of scientific communism. It is this vanguard's duty and right to be in the front ranks of its class, to imbue it with proletarian consciousness and lead it in the class struggle.

The events of the past 125 years (a brief span in human history!) go to show that never has a theory had such a revolutionary impact on the world as the first Marxist party program. There were only a few hundred people at the sources of the Communist movement; today it embraces more than 50 million. Metternich and the tsar, the 'Holy Alliance,' the German laws against socialists, the fascist hangmen have all long been discarded in the dustbins of

history, while the Communists, persecuted, maligned and a thousand times declared destroyed, have become the most influential political force of our time.

Imperialism is a strong and dangerous opponent which should not be underestimated. It has accumulated a body of experience and resorts to every trick and ploy, to every opportunity to hold back the victorious march of socialism and keep the workers from realizing that their interests are poles apart from those of monopoly capital. All the greater the anti-imperialist movement's need of a leading revolutionary force capable of getting to the roots of the class contradictions of capitalism and explaining to the exploited masses (which are today additionally subjected to mounting spiritual oppression) their true position, the greater, in other words, the need for a party to guide the anti-imperialist struggle.

The Communist Parties, which consistently uphold the interests of the working class and the people as a whole, fight for united action of all democratic and imperialist forces as a prerequisite for victory over capitalism. One of the latest achievements on the road to unity has been the joint government program agreed to by the Communist and Socialist parties and Left Radicals in France.

The ruling imperialist circles and their ideologues are doing their best to misrepresent the activities of Marxist parties and drive a wedge between them and the masses. This applies especially to the parties in the socialist countries where the working class is in power.

Our opponents claim that the Party alone runs socialist society, hence, one cannot speak of the leading role of the working class. But who, if not the Communist Parties, expresses the fundamental interests of the working class? Their leading role in socialist society has been achieved not by proclamation, it has been won as a result of their activity for the workers and the people as a whole.

It was the dialectics of the interaction between class and party that Marx and Engels had in mind when they wrote in the Manifesto that the Communists 'have no interests separate and apart from those of the proletariat as a whole' and that 'in various stages of development through which the struggle of the working class against the bourgeoisie has to pass through, they always and everywhere represent the interests of the movement as a whole.' Communists fight for the immediate objectives and interests of the working class, but in the movement of today they also promote its future, its ultimate goals and ideals.

Teach the masses and learn from the masses, that principle of the Party's relations with the working people is closely followed by the Socialist Unity Party of Germany. In the light of the decisions of its Eighth Congress, the SUPG sees its primary task in increasingly involving representatives of the working class in the political and economic leadership, in fostering a sense of responsibility for the affairs of the nation as a whole.

This is an embodiment of the Manifesto's thesis of the historic mission of the working class led by the Party, which is part and

parcel of the class and has its best representatives in its ranks. The close cohesion of the Party and the mass revolutionary movement heightens the people's confidence in the Party.

Unity: the key principle

Marx and Engels laid down in the Manifesto that internationalism is a fundamental principle of the Communist movement. The League of the Just abstract, naively romantic motto, 'All Men are Brothers,' was replaced by the militant revolutionary call: 'Working men of all countries, unite!'

Today the success of each national detachment of the working class depends not only on the conditions in which it operates and its politics, ideology and organization, but also on international solidarity and working-class unity on a worldwide scale. Equally, the strength of the international proletariat, its impact on world events, and the pressure it exerts on world imperialism are linked with the labor movement's successes in individual countries.

The changing alignment of forces in favor of peace and socialism, on the one hand, and the trend towards the internationalization of capitalist economic life, on the other, have resulted in the closer interlocking of monopoly capital. This calls for added cohesion and unity of action of the world working-class movement. International monopoly conglomerates can be successfully opposed only if the working people of the countries where their subsidiaries operate join forces. This need is giving rise to new forms of international trade union cooperation. An example are the contacts established between organized labor at French, Italian and Belgian subsidiaries of international monopolies; they include regular meetings, exchange of information and experience, joint demands, coordinated action and mutual support.

The workers gain courage in the struggle against monopoly capital from the very fact of the existence and development of the socialist states, on which they draw for experience and knowledge. The example of the liberated world shows how the problems facing mankind can be solved in the interests of all working people of town and country. The consistently pursued goal of more fully satisfying material and spiritual requirements, and the peaceful policies of the USSR and other countries of the socialist community, have become important factors stimulating the anti-imperialist struggle. Hence, the defense of socialism is the international duty of all Communists.

Bourgeois and revisionist ideologues, echoed by the Peking Maoists, seek to draw parallels between the socialist and capitalist worlds. They would equate the peace-loving foreign policy of socialism with imperialist 'positions of strength' policies. These slanderers would have the peoples forget that whereas one 'superpower,' the United States, is daily dropping bombs on Vietnam, killing women and children, the Soviet Union, which they also call a 'superpower,' gives all-round, unselfish help to the peoples fighting for freedom.

By its deeds the working class of the socialist countries, represented in anti-communist writings as a 'conservative force' and 'victim of bureaucracy,' demonstrates its solidarity with its fighting brothers, with the liberation struggle wherever it is being waged: Asia, Africa, Latin America, and will continue to do so in future. As the Manifesto says: 'The Communists everywhere support every revolutionary movement against the existing social and political order of things.'

The revolutionary movement, according to the founders of scientific communism, includes the people's struggle against colonialism, and they revealed the exploiter nature of capitalism's colonial policies. They presented examples of relations between the working class of colonial countries and their colonies (notably, of Britain and Ireland), to show that for the former the national liberation of oppressed peoples was not just a question of abstract justice and humanism but a primary condition of their own social liberation.

The First International, set up by Marx and Engels, declared the liquidation of national and colonial oppression a cardinal task in the fight for democracy, social freedom and progress. Today the national-liberation movement is one of the mainstreams of the world revolutionary process. With the cooperation of the international working class and the socialist world system the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America are dealing imperialism telling blows. Their struggle contributes to the general attack against international monopoly capital.

The bourgeoisie fully realizes the power of proletarian internationalism, hence its efforts to falsify the principle and inject the poison of nationalism into the working-class movement. This is facilitated by those who, through a misconceived understanding of national interests, push international obligations to the background. On the other hand, proletarian internationalism in no way implies any slighting of national interests or one-sided accentuation of revolutionism on a worldwide scale.

The national and international obligations of every detachment of the working-class movement constitute a dialectical unity neither element of which should be overemphasized or ignored. The art of both domestic and international policy consists in correctly understanding this unity.

Man: the object of liberation

The supreme object and essence of Marx's and Engels' epochal work is man freed from exploitation, subordinating nature to his will, deliberately regulating social relations.

When the associated producers establish their ownership over the means of production and regulate it in accordance with a definite plan, they thus exercise control over the conditions of life and create the prerequisites for the all-round blossoming of the individual in a society 'in which the free development of each is the condition for the free development of all.'

Socialism, as amply evidenced by its practical implementation, opens up bright vistas before man, liberating his latent forces and abilities. The people building the new world have free access to the promotion and management of all spheres of public life. Man thus becomes a *genuinely social* being. This is the point of departure of Marxist humanism, which is rooted not in some abstract ideal of human perfection, but in the real-life conditions of socialist society, in the needs and aspirations of the socialist man.

The higher his spiritual, physical and moral accomplishments the more confidently man masters social relations. Every worker, peasant and intellectual is entitled to his contribution to decisions concerning the most efficient use of socialist property and the distribution of the values created by his labor. Thereby he sees himself as a genuine creator of social wealth. Within the system of capitalist exploitation there is no such right and no such realization, nor can they be expected. Socialist society, moreover, would be incapable of bringing its potentialities and advantages to fruition without the conscious activity of the working people. Hence, consolidation of the socialist state and perfection of socialist democracy are impossible without the active involvement of the people as a whole.

Under the slogans of freedom, equality and brotherhood mankind has long been aspiring to a system of social relations in which man would not be enemy to man, the state would not stand opposed to the working people as an alien, hostile force, and exploitation, war and oppression would be impossible. Marx and Engels took these aspirations out of the domain of philosophy, ethics and dreams, planted them in the soil of life, and scientifically defined the ways and means of bringing them to fruition.

Impotence of anti-proletarian 'socialism'

One of the prosecution's exhibits at the first government-sponsored anti-Communist trial in Cologne, in 1852, was the Communist Manifesto, which was duly anathematized. In his presentation, the prosecutor, displaying remarkable class intuition, made no mention of the Manifesto's Section III, which criticizes various forms of unscientific, non-proletarian socialism. Being a representative of the 'justice' of financial and military interests, he evidently realized that they had nothing to gain from drawing public attention to the Manifesto's expose of the theoretical impotence of the enemies of the proletariat and communism.

It is hardly surprising that there are quite a few followers of the Cologne prosecutor today. Series of articles printed in the *New York Times*, the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* and other bourgeois publications in connection with the 125th anniversary of the Communist Manifesto say not a word of section III. Nor was it mentioned by Willi Brandt in his capacity of SDP chairman in his Wuppertal speech on the occasion of the 150th birth anniversary of Frederick Engels.

Yet it is impossible to speak of the Manifesto and its spirit without saying that scientific communism was fashioned in the fight against bourgeois and petty-bourgeois ideology. 'The Communist revolution,' the Manifesto states, 'is the most radical rupture with traditional property relations; no wonder that its development involves the most radical rupture with traditional ideas.'

One of these ideas, constantly resuscitated by the bourgeoisie and cunningly peddled today, is the notion that social relations can be substantially changed (in the sense of achieving genuine social security, welfare, democracy and respect of human dignity) without revolutionary struggle and a radical change in property relations. The theories of reactionary feudal, bourgeois and Utopian socialism criticized in the Manifesto have much in common with latter-day revisionist and Social-Democratic theories in that they all hold forth the promise of the good things of life for all people without jeopardy to the 'sacred cow' of capitalist 'market economy.' This was the accusation levelled by Marx and Engels at the 'bourgeois socialism' of their time: '... it but requires in reality that the proletariat should remain within the bounds of existing society, but should cast away all its hateful ideas concerning the bourgeoisie.'

Present-day 'bourgeois socialists' go farther in seeking to make the working class believe that Marxism-Leninism is obsolete and the objectives proclaimed in the Manifesto can be achieved only along the road of 'democratic' or 'humane' socialism.

But let us have a look at the experience and lessons of history.

Who has done most to rid mankind of the threat of war and thus create normal conditions for its existence? The foes of communism, who unleashed two world wars and are engaged in criminal acts of war in Indochina and the Middle East? Or the Manifesto's heirs who, following the behests of Marx, Engels and Lenin, are putting into effect the magnificent Peace Program advanced by the 24th CPSU Congress?

Is exploitation of man by man or national oppression of whole peoples, whatever imperialist-conceived 'civilized' or neo-colonialist form, a manifestation of humanism?

Was it not the existing socialism of today that did away with hunger and illiteracy, crises and unemployment, nationalism and chauvinism, race hatred, women's inequality and the numerous other social evils inherited from capitalism? What defender of 'democratic socialism' dare claim that all this can be achieved in a capitalist society?

Does not history bear witness that only socialism can carry out a genuine revolution in the cultural domain, and has done so by doing away with non-humanitarian educational privileges, creating a recognized exemplary system of public education, providing great opportunities for the scientific, technological and artistic creativity of working people?

Bourgeois, reformist and revisionist theories of 'genuine,' 'humane' or 'democratic' socialism have been preached for more than

125 years; they are being preached by parties that are in power in some countries of the capitalist world. Yet the antagonism between the main classes of these same countries is increasing, the gap between them is widening. In other words, 'democratic socialism' proves in practice to be neither democratic nor socialism. Nor could it be, for it fears the overthrow of the capitalist system and rejects and denies the working class's right to political and economic power.

We Communists shall continue to be true, in theory and in practice, to the principles of the Communist Manifesto, the truth of which finds confirmation in every day of socialist construction.

Since the spring of 1848 the 'spectre' has become a real-life giant. And what has become of the professional refuters of Marx? They have sunk into oblivion, reality has made them a laughing stock. The same fate awaits all present and future anti-communists.

The destinies of the world are in the hands of the victorious working class led by Marxist-Leninist parties that have made the principles of the Manifesto their norm and basis of thinking and action.

One hundred and twenty-five years have passed since the Communists first came out with the appeal: 'Working men of all countries, unite!' Since then socialism has taken root in almost one-third of the globe, a powerful international Communist movement has developed and impressive victories have been won in the oppressed peoples' liberation struggles.

The law-governed inevitability of the radical changes sweeping the world today was proved and predicted in the Manifesto of the Communist Party.

Strategy of international concerns

Ludwig Mueller,
Presidium Member, German CP
Fritz Rische,
Consultant GCP Board

(CONTINUING OUR SERIES ON STATE-MONOPOLY
CAPITALISM) *

In their documents, the Communist and Workers' parties note the rapidly growing power of the monopolies in the economy, the state

*For earlier articles in this series see Nos. 3, 6, 11 and 12, 1972.

and society at national and international levels. By mergers and cooperation agreements the leading monopoly groups have seized commanding heights in whole economic branches of the capitalist world. The stronger multinational structures have given rise to new forms and qualities of 'national' and international monopolization.

In this scheme of things international monopolies hold a place of special importance. They possess centrally-controlled enterprises in several countries and several continents, and account for approximately one-sixth of the capitalist world's gross social product. As far back as 1968 OECD estimated their foreign investments at nearly \$90 billion. In 1972, they produced \$300 billion worth of goods – a sum surpassing the capitalist world's total commercial turnover.

More than 75 per cent of their production and sales are by subsidiaries or jointly-operated companies in other countries. Sales of foreign subsidiaries of U.S. firms, for example, total more than four times the value of U.S. exports.

This is clear evidence of a new stage in the concentration of capital described by Lenin as a typical feature of imperialism.

The rapid internationalization of economic life sees big concerns operating across the length and breadth of the capitalist system, which results not only in the mounting volume of exports, but also, and still more visibly, in the growing share in the total capitalist output of foreign subsidiaries and mixed companies.

True, 'pure' international concerns, i.e., jointly owned by monopolies of different countries, are still few. But they represent the main tendency, for the varied forms of capitalist international cooperation are bound to breed monopolies with an international capital structure and international management. More typical of today, however, are international concerns (or trusts) with a predominantly 'national' basis and international assets. Their expansion occurs principally through export of capital for direct investment (the 'second foot abroad' policy), causing substantial shifts in the centers of power and of inter-imperialist contradictions – the United States, EEC and Japan.

Though after its 1945 defeat German imperialism was stripped of about 20 billion Reichsmark in assets and thereby of its influence abroad, its foreign involvements have grown considerably in recent years. The same is true of Japan. In 1965-1969, for example, annual average exports of West German capital for direct investment were DM2.08 billion, that is, second in size only to U.S. capital (DM11.73 billion).^{*} And though U.S. influence abroad is still much greater, the FRG and Japanese concerns hold a visible edge in commodity exports.

German imperialist expansion is effected mainly by international concerns – principally the successors to IG-Farben-Bayer AG, Ba-

^{*}Estimates of Hamburg Institute of Economic Research. See *Die Welt*, April 1, 1972.

dische Anilin- und Sodafabrik (BASF), and Farbwerke Hoechst. With foreign investments of some DM5.21 billion, these chemical concerns stand at the top of the list, followed by the electrotechnical monopolies (DM2.48 billion), and the automobile industry (DM1.9 billion).

The internal commerce of the international concerns accounts for an ever greater percentage of capitalist world trade. That, too, is evidence of the rising degree of international monopolization, deeply examined in Lenin's works on imperialism. The mainspring in this new capitalist international division of labor and socialization of production is international finance capital, represented by the big banking and financial groups.

Finance capital's role in internationalization

The monopolies, Lenin showed, perform their financial and investment operation chiefly through a worldwide network of banks and financial groups, whose significance has grown still greater of late. Out of the hundred leading commercial banks 22 are U.S., 18 British, 8 Japanese, 8 French and 7 West German. The American banks have 116 branches in Western Europe, and 536 across the world. Their assets total \$52.6 billion.* More than 40 U.S. banks operate in the EEC countries, and 30 in Great Britain. At the end of March 1972, 30 foreign banks, including 9 American, were operating in the Federal Republic of Germany, with the American ones, which have 57 branches, accounting for more than two-thirds of their operations (about DM10 billion out of 15.4 billion). In 1960, by the way, total foreign banking in the FRG was but DM1 billion.

Direct credits from foreign banks to the West German economy total DM15.2 billion.

The big banking firms are the principal agents of the internationalization of capital and production. Centralization of capital is the watchword of their international strategy. The special feature here is that financial groups lean ever more heavily on national economic, political and military power, and likewise on international politico-military alliances and state-monopoly unions (NATO, EEC), exercising the decisive influence on armaments policy and economy, and on the build-up of imperialism's military-industrial complex.

The growing power of the FRG monopolies

In 1960, 70 per cent of the means of production in the FRG, Prof. Krelle's group of experts found, was owned by just 1.7 per cent of the country's families (Prof. Siebke's estimate for 1966 was 74 per cent).**

*Blick in die Wirtschaft, No. 216/71, p. 2.

**Dokumentationen des Gesellschaftspolitischen Informationsdienstes, Bonn, 1971, p. 40ff.

In 1968, 2.3 per cent of the enterprises with 1,000 and more employees accounted for 50 per cent of the total work force and 54 per cent of production, and 88 concerns, or 0.09 per cent, for nearly half the production.

The figures speak of a pre-eminence of big concerns and a staggering concentration of power in just a few industries. The growing influence of the biggest FRG concerns is reflected in the list of the capitalist world's 100 leading companies, where the FRG, with 13, ranks second to the United States, with 56. However, the 1971 turnover of General Motors, which tops the list, was five times that of Volkswagenwerk, the biggest of the FRG companies. The trend in West German economic expansion abroad is directed increasingly against the American and Japanese firms. While it keeps Western Europe well within its field of vision, big West German capital is showing an ever greater interest in North America (Canada), South America (chiefly Brazil and Argentina), and South Africa.

*FRG concerns abroad (1971)**

	Subsidiaries or participation in enterprises abroad	Labor force ('000)		Turnover (DMbillions)		Commercial activity abroad** (export + production)
		Total	Abroad	Total	Abroad	
Volkswagen	41	202	42	17.3	8.2	71%
Siemens	79	306	72	14.7	6.5	40%
AEG/Telefunken	140	178	18.4	9.1	2.6	31.2%
Bayer	91	138.3	—	10.1	6.5	61.4%
Mercedes-Benz	26	147	27	12.7	5.5	47.5%
Mannesmann	35	86	36	7.18	0.81	29.5%

*Compiled from company reports for 1971.

**Figures for 1969. Taken from *Aussenhandels-Blaetter der Commerzbank*, No. 16, 1970.

Inter-imperialist contradictions and competition

The varied influence of the expansion of international monopolies on the economic and political development of modern imperialism warrants a special examination.

The high degree of monopolization and internationalization has stimulated the objective process of capitalist integration in inter-state economic alignments such as the EEC and EFTA. The Common Market, for example, was the result and also the catalyst of the new international structure of monopolies. Here, their sharply competitive moves for stronger positions and internationalization of power was a substantial factor. The abolition of tariffs, inter-state programming and legislative action by central supra-national bodies have stimulated monopolization. The monopolies are given added opportunities to enlarge their power and to adapt to the demands of a broad tariff-protected market, and, at the same time, to satisfy the growing demand in capital and to use that capital more intensively.

The governments of Common Market countries and the EEC institutions comply with all monopoly needs and suit their legislation to monopoly interests. Laws have been enacted for the free movement of capital (convertibility of currencies), and for foreign industrial companies and banks to operate branches in other countries, and for the unrestricted movement of manpower, resulting in the greatest proletarian migration of modern history.

The internationalization of economic life, related to the emergence of imperialism, has removed many of the impediments to production, transport and communications. But at the same time state-monopoly alliances formed rival groups within the imperialist system.

There are now three powerful rival centers in the capitalist world – the United States, Western Europe (EEC) and Japan. And in Western Europe the specific weight of the FRG has grown spectacularly in the 60s. However, the U.S. monopolies have made the Six a seat of sustained inter-imperialist rivalry, and this will be greater still in the Nine, since the U.S. monopolies hold strong positions in the countries joining the Common Market, as they do in nearly all capitalist Europe, through branches of their banks and numerous subsidiary companies.

Rivals shore up positions

The investment strategy of the U.S. international concerns was centered from the outset on invading the rapidly growing modern industries. The aim was to win a decisive say in the shaping of customs and marketing instruments. Even apologists of capitalism describe the industrial empire which the U.S. concerns have built up in Western Europe as the 'world's other power.'

Despite contradictions and rivalries among monopoly groups in the EEC, they are now speculating jointly on what they can do to counteract American pre-eminence. EEC bodies are trying to help reduce the lag behind the U.S. in nuclear energetics, electronics, rocketry and aviation through plan-regulated support of joint efforts by several countries.

All this is being done on the monopolization principle: the state helps replace 'national' companies by 'European' structures, i.e., multinational monopolies. An EEC Commission memorandum says that in addition to mergers and take-overs, there are other forms dictated by economic reality, of production concentration, such as associated enterprises.* This refers to financial participation, production cooperation and technological exchanges without the 'national' monopolies yielding their positions to rivals.

So far only two 'European' concerns have been started. The first through the merger, in 1961, of the West German Bayer-Agfa and the Belgian Gevaert. The second through the founding, in 1969, of the Dutch-West German VFW-Fokker (aerospace). True, they are

*Memorandum der Kommission der Europaeischen Gemeinschaften, Brussel, 21. 4. 1970.

not 'purely' European, much to the regret of their directors and the EEC bureaucracy.

The rules governing the establishment and operation of multinational concerns, soon to be adopted, provide that a European company (Europea AG) will to a definite degree come within the jurisdiction of the European Court. But it will not be wholly supranational, for it will be subject to the laws of, and pay taxes to, the country of its headquarters.

Only a few concerns in the Common Market countries can now be converted into collective monopoly property. But we should not preclude the emergence of competing centers of 'European capital.' They are bound to arise in the process of concentration, now stimulated both by national governments and EEC agencies. And such competing centers, a counterweight to American capital domination, will certainly not be inhibited by EEC 'anti-trust' legislation, though they will moderate competition within the EEC. EEC cartel laws did not prevent the rise of powerful steel complexes. Thus, in 1968 there was the merger of the West German August Thyssen-Huette and Phoenix-Rheinrohr; in 1970 Mannesmann and Thyssen began joint production of pipes (annual turnover - DM2.5 billion), capturing 70 per cent of the FRG and more than 30 per cent of the EEC market. This is typical of what is happening throughout the Common Market.

The 'legal' aspect of these processes was disclosed by Lenin in these words: 'Salvation lies in monopoly, said the capitalists as they formed cartels, syndicates and trusts. Salvation lies in monopoly, echoed the political leaders of the bourgeoisie, hastening to appropriate the parts of the world not yet shared out' (Vol. 22, p. 256). The same 'philosophy' is behind the new forms of competition, including competition within the EEC itself.

How the multinationals assure their domination

Even bourgeois economists and publicists feel obliged to speak out against the power and domination methods of international monopoly capital, now organized in multinational industrial and banking concerns.

This is what Christopher Tugendhat, an expert on finance capital, has to say in his book *The Multinationals*: 'Both in general economic and industrial terms, the rise of the multinational companies is one of the most dramatic developments of the post-war years. They are in a position to influence governments in the exercise of their sovereign rights and relations between states.'*

Describing the unscrupulous, cynical methods employed, Tugendhat quotes a company director: 'In no country would we consciously violate the law. We always instruct a group of experts to suggest how the law can be by-passed.' And this from another direc-

*Christopher Tugendhat, *Die Multinationalen*, Molden-Verlag, Wien-Muenchen-Zuerich, p. 7.

tor: 'The government's job is to pass laws; our job is to find the loopholes.'*

International monopolies can make a handsome profit out of fluctuation of national currencies and monetary crises. Through multinational concerns and banks, which are not constrained by national boundaries, they can insure themselves against monetary losses and make a good thing out of bank-rate differentials. They have no scruples about short-changing the national exchequer, can avoid paying taxes on huge sums by the simple device of transferring deposits to Switzerland, Luxembourg, Lichtenstein. The same profit motivations determine the geographical location of enterprises. A clear example is the Bayer-Agfa and Gevaert Combine, which has concentrated production in the Antwerp area.

British trade union leader Charles Levinson writes in his book *Inflation*:

'Inasmuch as the multinational concern can choose investment objects and personnel on a global scale, it reacts much more quickly than a national company or government to changes in the business situation. Should a government disagree with its proposals, it can easily relocate in another country. And should a government try to 'punish' or discipline a multinational firm through high taxation, it will immediately take its enterprises, investments and profit—all its business—to another country. This flexibility advantage is further enhanced by rapid progress in science and technology.'**

A research study of the German trade unions' economic institute says that the international concerns are responsible for the 'destruction of the national pattern of social relations.'***

Yet, for all these new domination methods and the marked increase in monopoly, imperialism cannot overcome its inherent evils and contradictions. That is evidenced by the deepening of capitalism's general crisis, aggravation of economic and political structural and monetary crises and of the contradictions within imperialist alliances. And though at the present higher level of international production concentration and centralization, capital expansion, especially in the new industries, is faster, this is paralleled by the emergence of new sources of social unrest and economic disproportions.

The working class vs. the monopoly giants

The monopoly drive for new sources of profit engenders new methods of oppression and exploitation. The international concerns are devising more effective forms of production planning and technology. The idea is to build up a global reserve of capacities as insurance against growing competition and, more important, strikes, inevitable in a situation of mounting social conflicts.

Monopoly strategy centers primarily on transferring production

*Ibid., p. 170.

**Charles Levinson, *Inflation*, Verlag Hoffman und Campe, Hamburg, p. 139.

***WWI Mitteilungen, Duesseldorf, October 1971.

to countries with low wages and, consequently, high profits. The very threat of such a 'runaway' operation is used to pressure the workers at times of industrial strife. For instance, in 1971, during the FRG chemical workers' strike, the Bayer management told the workers that because of high labor costs production would be shifted to another country. Ford used the same threat during a strike at their British plant.

The monopolies use scientific and technological progress for an onslaught on labor. Technological reorganization and industrial concentration are always attended by mass layoffs. The workers are made to bear the entire burden of structural changes in the economy. This example is typical: when the international Akzo synthetic fibre monopoly (headquarters in Holland) was reorganized in 1972, it was found that, due to a 'planning error,' it had superfluous capacity. On the very next day, 5,600 workers were discharged in its West German, Dutch, Belgian and Swiss plants.

The international concerns are also encroaching on the rights of the workers and their unions. The methods employed range all the way from wooing the unions to undisguised coercion. In the FRG takeovers and reorganizations have eliminated or sharply curtailed the workers' hard-won participation rights through the production councils. Mergers are usually accompanied by attempts to 'even out' wages at the lowest level and introduce military-type discipline.

Monopoly domination adversely affects hundreds of thousands of small businesses.

More examples could be cited of increasing oppression by the international concerns. Definite conclusions follow for Communist parties, labor organizations and their representatives (production councils, shop stewards) and for workers employed by the multinational monopolies.

Experience has fully confirmed the need for the working class of the capitalist countries to join forces against the monopoly challenge.

The problem was tackled at the 1971 London Conference of Communist parties of capitalist Europe. There was an exchange of information and experience on combating the international monopolies. The Conference communique stressed the need for new demands in fighting imperialism. The conference decided to continue contacts and discussions 'for an exchange of information and experience with a view to coordinated action.' The parties represented in London were unanimous in stressing the urgent need for and possibility of international action.

Developments since then have convincingly demonstrated the insistent need for broadly conceived joint action by the international working class.

The GCP has consistently advocated solidarity and internationalism in the battle against the monopolies. This was especially stressed at its Duesseldorf Congress. Point 25 of its main document says: 'There must be coordinated action by West European trade

unions and Communist parties against the international concerns, against the Western Europe of the monopolies, for a Europe of peace, democracy and socialism.'

In September 1971, the French and German Communist parties organized cooperation of Party members at the Sollac plant, a subsidiary of the Pont-a Mousson St. Gobain and the latter's West German subsidiary, Halberger-Huette in the Saar. There was a preliminary exchange of experience, particularly on putting out factory newspapers. Another conference, in 1972, discussed the position at the concern's Lorraine plants. There are plans for continued cooperation, but there has to be more vigorous joint effort to get things moving and organize coordinated action in plants of other international concerns.

International trade-union solidarity is a special problem. That it is urgently needed to counter the machinations of the international concerns is now accepted even by unions that do not follow a consistent class policy. The Ninth Congress of the German Trade Union Federation declared in its resolution: 'The problems created by the growth of international concerns can be solved only if the trade unions are fully aware of their responsibilities and prepared to take the necessary national and international measures.'

Many West German trade unions have for several years been working to coordinate action with unions not affiliated to the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions - (ICFTU) and there is a strong rank-and-file demand for coordinated action. Yet the recent ICFTU world conference in London did not call for cooperation.

Trade-union 'coordinating committees' have been set up in some of the plants of Philips, Fiat-Citroen, VFW-Fokker and other international concerns. In most cases they are run by ICFTU affiliates. They would be much more effective as centers for cooperation of all trade unions without exception and on an equal basis. The coordinating committee at the Dunlop-Pirelli plants operates on that basis - it is composed of representatives of unions of differing international affiliation.

The 38th congress of the French General Confederation of Labor called for international cooperation against the monopolies. In March 1972, the bureau of the World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU) urged a joint action program of the WFTU, ICFTU, the World Confederation of Labor and independent and regional trade union centers. Only by joining forces can they repel the worldwide monopoly onslaught.

The workers have learned much from joint action during conflicts at the Dunlop-Pirelli and Michelin plants in France and the FRG, and at enterprises of other international concerns. This experience should be extended and applied in economic and political actions, based on concrete programs to restrict and overcome international monopoly power. The experience of the German Communist Party has shown that this is the only way to win social, democratic and trade union rights, including the workers' right to participate on a

class basis, in management and control decisions made at factory and higher level.

The 1969 International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties noted that such demands 'are increasingly directed against the system of domination by monopoly capital, against its political power. The desire of the working masses to effect a radical change in the economic and social system based on the exploitation of man is growing ever stronger.'

The whole record of anti-monopoly and anti-imperialist struggle underlines the need to make the industrial concerns and banks democratically-controlled public property. West German Communists see in this anti-imperialistic and democratic social policy a component of the fight against world imperialism.



The ultimate and immediate objectives of the working class, the relation and content of the minimum and maximum programs of the proletarian party, and the link between the struggle for democracy and that for socialism are salient topics in the present stage of the world revolutionary process. This makes **Two Tactics of Social-Democracy in the Democratic Revolution** — one of Lenin's most important works, dating to July 1905 — highly relevant, because, being the theoretical substantiation of the decisions of the Third Congress of the Russian Social-Democratic Labor Party, it deals with the struggle for democracy and socialism.

Some substantive aspects of the topic were examined by a research group under the auspices of this journal, consisting of T. WREBIAK (member of the Central Auditing Commission, Polish United Workers' Party), Y. GARUSHYANTS (department head, International Labor Movement Institute, USSR Academy of Sciences), Paul COURTIEU (CC member, French CP), J. NKALA (South African CP), and Jaime FUCHS (alternate member of the CC, CP of Argentina).

Below is a summary account of the discussion, the latest in a series on the content and present-day relevance of the basic works and thoughts of V. I. Lenin.* The next account in this series will concern V. I. Lenin's 'Materialism and Empirio-Criticism.'

Consistent democracy in the passage to socialism

'The proletariat has nothing to lose but its chains, but with the aid of democratism it has the whole world to win.'

V. I. Lenin

Steady and irreversible advance to socialism is achieved by surmounting the antagonism 'between imperialism's denial of demo-

*For preceding articles in this series see our Nos. 5 and 9, 1972.

cracy and the mass striving for democracy' (Lenin, *Coll. Works*, 'Reply to P. Kievsky (Y. Pyatakov),' Vol. 23, p. 25). The proliferation of the objective and subjective factors of socialist revolution (on the world scale and in the national frameworks, including the developed capitalist countries) has given rise to a large set of greatly disparate democratic objectives, which must largely be attained before a direct assault on the pillars of capitalism becomes possible. This unique socio-political pattern has become the stumbling block for Right-revisionist interpretations of the theory of scientific socialism. And Left-sectarian doctrinaires, too, who call for socialist revolution at once, are blind to the scale of the general democratic objectives both at the world and at national and regional levels.

Lenin's views on revolutionary development leading directly to socialism are highly relevant for the ideological battle against bourgeois falsifiers and the Right and 'Left' revisionists, who deny the universal significance of the general regularities (discovered by Lenin) of the passage from consistent democracy to socialism and portray the present course of the world Communist movement as a departure from Marxism and retreat to the social reformism of Kautsky and Bernstein. Yet these conjectures are conclusively refuted by the obvious direct methodological link between Lenin's theory of the growth of the bourgeois-democratic into socialist revolution and the conception of the present-day anti-imperialist and anti-monopoly struggle projected by the Marxist-Leninist parties. This link also shows the fallacy of the ultra-Leftist elements, including Trotskyites and Maoists, who accuse the Communist Parties of betraying Leninism by utilizing the potential of a broad anti-imperialist alliance in the battle for democracy and socialism, and priming the masses for socialist revolution by ways and means best suited to the conditions of the respective countries.

The logic of scientific discovery

'We must now formulate the immediate concrete tasks of the revolution in a different way, in the name of our program, and in amplification of our program. What was adequate yesterday is inadequate today.'

V. I. Lenin

The situation in Russia at the beginning of the 20th century, as we know, was unlike anything ever seen in Western Europe. A bourgeois-democratic revolution was maturing in a country that already had a proletariat primed to assume the leadership of the general democratic movement and with its own program (worked out by its party) for socialist reconstruction. The relation of the democratic and the socialist in the impending revolution was an object of lively debate.

The Social-Democrats concurred that the country was on the brink of a bourgeois revolution. The precise economico-statistical

analysis resulting from Lenin's studies of the mid-1890s, showed incontestably that Russia had embarked on capitalism. The differences arose over something else – what stage of capitalist development had Russia reached, how mature were the economic conditions for a bourgeois revolution, what class forces had a stake in it, who would head the imminent social war, could that war grow into a socialist revolution, and by what means was this to happen?

FUCHS. For the Right and 'Left' doctrinaires there were just two types of revolution – the classical bourgeois, and the socialist. Referring to Marx and Engels and the experience of the West European democracies, the Mensheviks, for example, held that in Russia the Social-Democrats should be exclusively a party of the extreme opposition. This meant renunciation of hegemony by the proletariat in favor of the liberal bourgeoisie. Their lack of confidence in the working class and fear of the peasants the Mensheviks and proponents of the Parvus-Trotsky 'permanent revolution' theory tried to cover up with arbitrary quotations from Marx and Engels. 'Poor Marx and poor Engels,' Lenin commented on this score.

Lenin completely disagreed with the Mensheviks. The consolidation of capitalism in Russia was hastened by the growth of worldwide economic ties. Russia had more mature social relations than the West European countries had on the eve of their own bourgeois revolutions. The contradiction between capital and labor, the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, was deeper. More, 'the proletariat formed its party prior to the liberal bourgeoisie forming theirs' (Lenin, 'Preface to F. Sorge's Correspondence,' Vol. 12, p. 365).

But despite the favorable socialist potentialities, unique for the stage of the bourgeois revolution, the objective economic conditions and the degree of the political consciousness and organization of the worker masses made immediate and full emancipation of the working class impossible. The main objective was still to surmount the contradiction between feudalism and capitalism. The impending revolution was therefore *bourgeois* in socio-economic content. Yet it was *in the highest degree advantageous to the proletariat*. What is more, Lenin pointed out, 'in a certain sense a bourgeois revolution is *more advantageous* to the proletariat than to the bourgeoisie' ('Two Tactics . . .', Vol. 9, p. 50). Due to its peculiar history, the Russian bourgeoisie was not capable of leading the revolution. It would be sure to seek a deal with tsarism once it secured a few concessions.

None but the proletariat can, and must, assume the part of hegemony, winning over the peasants and all forces opposed to the autocracy. This made the first Russian revolution proletarian in means of struggle. And, working perseveringly for the consistent unfolding of the bourgeois-democratic revolution, the workers and their party lay the grounds for a socialist revolution.

COURTIEU. The far-reaching historico-methodological and political controversy among the Russian Social-Democrats principally concerned the use of Marx's method in analyzing the nature of the

anti-autocratic revolution and how to benefit from the lessons of other revolutionary situations in history. Unlike the Mensheviks, Lenin held that to define its political line at every given period, the Communist Party must first closely consider the objective needs of social development and the awareness of the masses, and certainly not cling to old stereotypes. This is one of the conclusions to be drawn from his book, 'Two Tactics of Social-Democracy in the Democratic Revolution,' which Marxist-Leninist parties follow faithfully.

WREBIAK. Lenin's controversy with the Mensheviks was a collision of two approaches to the Marxist legacy – the dialectical and creative, on the one hand, and the metaphysical and dogmatic, on the other. Also, it was a collision of two opposite ways of using that legacy – the revolutionary and the conservative. Creative use of Marx's theory, coupled with a deep conceptualization of the experience of the international revolutionary movement, enabled Lenin to enrich Marxism, to make universal the teaching of the proletarian revolution and bring it up-to-date in the imperialist stage of capitalism.

GARUSHYANTS. It was to inert thinking and fear of theoretical novelty that Lenin traced the anti-revolutionary mood of Right and 'Left' critics of the Russian revolutionary Social-Democracy. Retorting to the Mensheviks, who kept repeating, 'Don't forget the old! Don't let yourself be carried away by the new!', Lenin spelled out the Bolshevik standpoint: 'While confirming the old (but not stopping to masticate it over and over again precisely because it is old and has already been settled and recorded in literature, in resolutions and by experience), we bring forward a new task, draw attention to it, issue a new slogan, and demand that genuinely revolutionary Social-Democrats immediately set to work to put it into effect' ('Two Tactics . . .', Vol. 9, p. 106).

His consummate knowledge of the objective and subjective factors of the movement of classes and his dialectico-materialist appreciation of the link between history and modernity, helped Lenin to discover and substantiate the category 'revolutionary-democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and peasants.' Having elaborated a conception that adequately reflected his object of study, and linking it dialectically with the conception of proletarian dictatorship, Lenin enriched Marxist theory with a system of views on the growth of the bourgeois-democratic into socialist revolution, and defined the main conditions and factors for it. His system, by the way, contained a number of substantive points of departure for the conclusion that socialism can win at first in one country, arrived at by Lenin in 1915 and borne out by subsequent events.

The revolutionary method in progress and action

'Whoever wants to reach socialism by any other path than that of political democracy, will inevitably arrive at conclusions that are absurd and reactionary both in the economic and political sense.'

V. I. Lenin

It is the revolutionary dialectics of Marxist realism, Lenin said, to emphasize the urgent tasks of the advanced class and to show in the existing state of things those elements that will lead to the overthrow of capitalist society (See 'Revolution Teaches,' Vol. 9, p. 149). Only a proletarian party guided by the materialist conception of history can apprehend the 'existing,' that is, perceive the material conditions for revolution, and produce the appropriate slogan. (See 'Two Tactics . . .', Vol. 9, p. 44). And Lenin's Bolshevik Party was such a party.

The facts have borne out Lenin's theoretical analysis, which primed the Bolsheviks for the first people's revolution of the imperialist epoch and enabled them to pass from the bourgeois-democratic February revolution to the socialist October, which rang in a new era in world history.

WREBIAK. The main thoughts in Lenin's book, and especially the teaching on the growth of the bourgeois-democratic into socialist revolution, were reconfirmed a quarter of a century later by the postwar revolutions in Eastern and Central Europe, including Poland, and also in Asia.

Thus, theory stood the test of practice. It is wrong, therefore, to reduce the relevance of the basic thoughts in Lenin's book to exclusively Russian conditions. True, we must consider some of the distinctive features stemming from the new situation. Even in those European People's Democracies where, as in Poland, the anti-feudal objectives were fairly numerous, at that time the top priority for the proletariat was to take the lead in the fight against the Nazi invaders, one of the most rabid detachments of the imperialist bourgeoisie. The Resistance produced conditions for unity in a national front, under working-class hegemony, of progressive, democratic and patriotic forces. It stimulated the growth of the workers' consciousness and paved the way for immediate deep-going changes transcending the framework of a democratic revolution.

In Poland, for example, the general democratic and socialist objectives became most intimately interwoven. Industry was nationalized in a relatively short time. It was done 'from below,' by the working people, as the country was being cleared of the invader, and thus anteceded the legislative act, adopted in the beginning of 1946. This is why we speak not of two separate revolutions in Poland, but of one revolutionary process consisting of two stages: the general-democratic and the socialist. Some inferred from this interlacement that the stages should not be distinguished at all, because, ostensibly, it is impossible to say where one of them ended and the other began. But this would be a mistake. Lenin said on this score: 'Of course, in actual historical circumstances, the elements of the past become interwoven with those of the future; the two paths cross. . . . But this does not in the least prevent us from logically and historically distinguish between the

major stages of development. We all contrapose bourgeois revolution and socialist revolution; we all insist on the absolute necessity of strictly distinguishing between them; however, can it be denied that in the course of history individual, particular elements of the two revolutions become interwoven?' ('Two Tactics . . .', Vol. 9, p. 85).

In many ways the change in the nature of the revolution may be ascribed to the specific international situation, the peculiar line-up of world forces, that is, to factors which Lenin examined in his analysis of the Russian revolutionary process. Unlike Russia in 1905-1917, we in Poland had a fundamentally new world relation of class forces working for us. To begin with, there was the Soviet Union, the world's first socialist state. And the decisive part played by the Soviet Army in smashing fascism and liberating Poland jointly with the Polish Army, fortified the revolutionary forces and gave great momentum to the energy and activity of the masses. These factors largely neutralized the centers of political reaction and prevented U.S. and British interference in Polish affairs. People's Democracies arose in Central and Eastern Europe. And in Western Europe—notably France and Italy—the Communist Parties grew stronger, and the working-class and democratic movement gained new ground.

Cumulatively, the international factors created a by-and-large more favorable situation in Poland for revolutionary reconstruction than there was in Russia in 1905-1917. They facilitated the growth of the revolution and the rapid and relatively peaceful passage under the guidance of the working class and its vanguard from the general democratic aims to the socialist.

Marxist-Leninists weighed the internal and external factors (which they did not contrapose) and defined the processes under way in Eastern and Central Europe, and in Asia. The concept 'people's democratic revolution,' thoroughly examined in literature, accentuates the points of identity and the disparities in the revolutionary processes.

GARUSHYANTS. The theoretical content of Lenin's teaching on the growth of the bourgeois-democratic and socialist revolution transcends the content of his 'Two Tactics . . .'. The form of revolutionary transition outlined in the book is valid for countries that still have to resolve the contradiction between feudalism and capitalism under the hegemony of the working class in the imperialist epoch. But it does not fully encompass the diverse aspects of the intrinsic connection between the democratic and socialist principles of the liberation movement of our time. We cannot, for example, mechanically apply the propositions in Lenin's book to the Afro-Asian social structures, some of which are still in the pre-feudal stage but are able to develop in the socialist direction. Also this question: how to apply the theoretical scheme of the growth of the bourgeois into socialist revolution in those Asian and African countries where the passage from feudalism to socialism occurs when capitalism is still incipient (the rule rather than

the exception), with a still undeveloped or totally non-existent working class? The situation in Latin America, too, is in its way unique, for though capitalism has attained an average degree of development in the main countries, the prime objectives there are not directly anti-capitalist, but aimed against the local landed oligarchy and imperialist monopolies.

COURTIEU. In the developed capitalist countries the battle for democracy has a new, deeper content in our time. The anti-monopoly movements get their impulse from the continuous aggravation of the social conflicts of the state-monopoly stage. The minimum program of the Russian Social-Democrats was oriented on socio-economic objectives allowing the free growth of capitalism, though its consistent implementation conformed with the interests of the working class and its struggle for socialism. The anti-monopoly programs of the Communist and Workers' parties of today give priority to weakening monopoly positions. Present-day general-democratic objectives are not motivated by remnants of feudalism or other precapitalistic formations still extant in parts of Latin America, Asia and Africa, even in some backward European capitalist countries, but by the outright decay of the imperialist system.

Study of the novel elements and processes of the worldwide liberation movement, the research group noted, requires a thorough analysis of Lenin's teaching on the growth of the bourgeois-democratic into socialist revolution; and it should not confine itself to just the 'Two Tactics of Social-Democracy in the Democratic Revolution,' though its main thoughts, the Bolshevik experience, and Lenin's concrete advice, are, of course, still topical. The system of views presented in the book may be described as the nucleus of Lenin's whole teaching on the revolutionary passage to socialism of different socio-economic structures. Take the following basic postulate: the foundations of capitalism cannot be altered without a series of intermediary stages of revolutionary development (see Vol. 9, p. 56). In the period after the October Revolution this was the point of departure for further theoretical research into the problems of the struggle for democracy and socialism in the light of the fact that following the First World War the tendency of the uneven development of capitalist countries had become more pronounced, and that economically backward dependent and colonial peoples were entering the movement. This aspect came under Lenin's close scrutiny at the Second Comintern Congress in 1920.

NKALA. Lenin complemented the teaching on the growth of the bourgeois-democratic into socialist revolution with his theory of non-capitalist development. He showed how countries still in the pre-feudal or feudal stage can gradually advance to socialism. Their passage to socialism requires the closest interaction of the

external and internal factors. The external factors – this principally implies the existence and successful growth of the socialist world system – encompasses the objective socio-economic conditions lacking in dependent and colonial countries.

FUCHS. Lenin's 'Two Tactics . . .' helped us distinguish the stages of the revolution in Latin America, and to define the role of the working class and its political vanguard in the different phases of the movement, and the significance of the worker-peasant alliance. This enabled us to formulate militant slogans for concrete situations. Lenin's report to the Second Comintern Congress on the national and colonial question, too, helped make more precise our definition of the nature of the revolution on our continent. Lenin's thoughts helped the conference of 15 Latin American Communist and Workers' parties (in Buenos Aires in 1929) to draw the conclusion that imperialism and the landed oligarchy were the chief enemy of the peoples of our continent, and that, consequently, the present stage of our struggle was bourgeois-democratic, agrarian and anti-imperialist. Lenin's legacy was determinative at the conference in formulating the principles of our strategy and tactics, which, as Victorio Codovilla stressed, served as 'the basis for the ideological and organizational consolidation of the Communist parties of Latin America and the elaboration of their programs.'*

GARUSHYANTS. When the powerful tide of revolutionary movements subsided in the 1920s, acting on Lenin's theory of imperialism, the world Communist movement brought up-to-date some of the tactical-strategic principles of proletarian struggle in developed capitalist countries and the expectations of socialist revolution in the West. It took note of the fact that there were long-term objectives along the way to power, such as politically consolidating the majority of the working class and winning the majority of the people. Lenin made this quite clear at the Third Comintern Congress: 'In Russia, we were a small party, but we had with us in addition the majority of the Soviets of Workers' and Peasants' Deputies throughout the country. Do you have anything of the sort? We had with us almost half of the army, which then numbered at least ten million men. Do you really have the majority of the army behind you? Show me such a country!' ('Third Congress of the Communist International,' Vol. 32, p. 471). The aim of a *workers'* (later, worker-peasant) government as an instrument for leading the masses through the general-democratic phase to the socialist revolution was hammered out in long debates with Lenin's active collaboration.

Lenin's ideas are continued in the present-day conception of anti-monopoly democracy.

Lenin, the research group noted, outlined different ways of passing from one stage to the next, depending on the different types and phases of the revolutionary processes. And none of

*World Marxist Review, No. 8, 1964.

them should be raised to an absolute, because of the diversity of the liberation movement across the world. However, 'The Two Tactics . . .' also puts forward universal principles, such as the need for transitional and intermediate phases on the way to socialism, the need for broad class alliances under working-class hegemony, and the conditions for the passage to socialism – the regrouping of class forces and establishment of socialist-oriented general-democratic governments.

Lenin's strategy of alliances

'If the revolution is to succeed, it must know as exactly as possible with whom it can go into battle, which of its allies is unreliable and who is its real enemy.'

V. I. LENIN

Why does the volume of democratic aims, whose implementation presupposes the stage of anti-monopolistic struggle, increase with the maturing of material and technical premises for socialist revolution and the greater proletarianization of the masses? Is this due solely to the subjective factor's trailing behind and to the maneuvering of state-monopoly capitalism, which endeavors to adapt to the new conditions of the class struggle? The 'Left' critics of the anti-monopoly bloc concept, as we know, contend that capitalist countries are ripe and ready for socialist revolution, whereas the Right critics aver that the nature of capitalism is changing and the working class is 'integrating' in the establishment. Even many non-Marxist supporters of the anti-monopoly coalition regard the Communist strategy of advanced, anti-monopolistic democracy as a 'tactical ploy.'

COURTIEU. As elsewhere in the capitalist world, the material conditions for passage to socialism are also ripe in France. But before a socialist revolution can be performed, the mass of the people, and principally the working class, must see from their own experience that this is the right thing. So far, this condition is lacking. The masses have not yet understood the necessity of socialism. Fighting against the economic and political domination of the monopolies is a different matter. The vast majority of manual and mental workers can be rallied to restrict the sphere of monopoly plunder and, later, to eliminate it completely. This helps mobilize the revolutionary potential of all sections of working people and presents opportunities for building up an anti-monopoly movement more powerful and more massive than in 1936 and 1945.

The anti-monopolistic action program reflects the objectively urgent needs in different domains – the economic, socio-political and cultural, offering a way out of the crisis gripping French society.

Lenin taught us not to introduce changes that 'have not abso-

lutely matured both in economic reality and in the minds of the overwhelming majority of the people' ('The Tasks of the Proletariat in Our Revolution,' Vol. 24, p. 69). Unlike the reformists, who confuse democracy and socialism, and the 'Leftists,' who ignore the concrete conditions and want to leap over intermediate stages, the French Communists regard these stages as necessary and unavoidable. The FCP builds its policy on the objective requirements of society's economic development, on a clear and strictly objective and scientific assessment of the inter-relations and sentiments of all classes and groups. We want nothing to do with the ultra-Left principle of 'all or nothing.' Our purpose is to advance the cause of democracy and socialism to the extent of the existing opportunities.

FUCHS. The Program of the CP of Argentina describes the coming revolution as democratic, agrarian and anti-imperialist with a socialist perspective. The top priorities are nationalization of monopoly-owned enterprises, and people's control over natural resources, imperialist banks, social insurance and foreign trade. Private monopolies are to be eliminated, and industry and transport expanded. A radical agrarian reform will alter the countryside. All this will blunt the operation of capitalist economic laws, though the national bourgeoisie unconnected with imperialist monopolies will remain in business.

In other words, the disparities between this stage and the socialist revolution are considerable. Lenin warned us against confusing the stages, but he also said that there should be no wall between them. The revolution, our Program notes, will pave the way for the growth of Argentine society, which, even though not yet socialist, will tear down the classic capitalist structure and create a new relation of strength.

Once the material basis for the dominion of foreign monopolies and the landed oligarchy is reduced and then eliminated, the qualitative reconstruction of the country's socio-economic structure will naturally become more rapid, bringing closer the socialist stage. This is facilitated by the new correlation of forces favoring the working class and working people in general on the international scene resulting from the greater influence of the socialist community headed by the USSR. Additional factors of major importance to us are the existence of socialist Cuba and the revolutionary processes in Chile and Peru.

It is in the interest of the working people to see the democratic stage of the revolution through to the end, since the consolidation of class forces in the process brings closer the transition to socialism. It has been amply demonstrated that the revolutionary process is facilitated by the consolidation of gains made by the working class and the masses as a whole and the strengthening of ties with non-proletarian sections of the population. The Program of the Argentine Communist Party sets the goal of establishing a new-type democracy in keeping with the requirements of socio-economic and political development. Its implementation is the earnest that the

revolution will not halt half-way and will advance towards socialism.

The proximity of stages does not mean jumping from one task to another. Objective and subjective conditions are not yet ripe for a direct transition to socialism. Marxist-Leninists are against adventurism, but they are all for revolutionary initiative in times of decisive action. The main thing is never to lose sight of the ultimate goal of socialist transformation of society.

NKALA. Although conditions for non-capitalist development exist in most Asian and African countries, they lack the objective and subjective prerequisites for immediate socialist revolutionary change. A certain, possibly long, period of development of revolutionary, national democracy advocating the non-capitalist road is needed before the conditions for building socialism can mature.

At the same time, in Asia and Africa the way is open, not so much for the further development of capitalism, as for reducing the sphere of capitalist exploitation. In the epoch of transition from capitalism to socialism, Afro-Asian peoples need not go through the whole capitalist cycle. This, naturally, brings closer the tasks of socialist revolution. In the long run, the advance from revolutionary democracy to socialism is an inevitable and irreversible process. Still, progressive changes in socialist-oriented new nations are neither tantamount to socialism nor necessarily the beginning of the transition to it.

Hence the importance of continuously analyzing the stages of revolutionary development in Asian and African countries in order to define the real problems and motive forces capable of implementing democratic programs and ensuring advance towards the next stage. Lenin's insistence that 'we must understand what *intermediary* paths, methods, means and instruments are required for the transition from *pre-capitalist* relations to socialism' (*The Tax In Kind*, Vol. 32, p. 349) is entirely relevant today.

South Africa is in a category of its own. It is the only relatively highly developed capitalist country in Africa in which the objectives of democratic revolution are yet to be attained. The Program of the South African CP notes that the short-term, immediate interests of all sections of the population can be met only by a national-democratic revolution which would do away with white colonial rule and build up an independent national-democratic state.

The members of the study group shared the view that the present, democratic, stage of the liberation movement is characterized by an unprecedented expansion of the social base of the anti-imperialist, anti-monopoly struggle. Of special importance in these conditions is the idea of *broad class alliances of the proletariat* with other sections of the population. This holds an important place in Lenin's theory of the growth of the bourgeois democratic into socialist revolution.

The changes in the class structure of developed capitalist societies and in Asian, African and Latin American countries are closely

scrutinized by Marxist-Leninists. Communist Party activities aimed at implementing anti-monopoly programs have once again confirmed that 'the Leninist strategy of alliances is the only course for a genuinely socialist force. The only alternative to it is a return to one form or another of opportunism or empty, pseudo-revolutionary maximalism.'*

COURTIEU. The effectiveness of Lenin's alliance strategy is seen in the experience of all present-day anti-monopoly movements and, in particular, the French Communists' drive for popular unity. Popular unity is an alliance of all social strata that are victims of the monopolies and their reactionary policies. They comprise the working class, in the first place, with its vital interest in the liquidation of monopoly concerns, as well as farmers, white-collar workers, engineers and technicians, small traders and artisans, most intellectuals, and some small and medium businessmen; they include young people and women, democrats affiliated with no party, believers – all patriotic forces concerned with the progress of French society. The joint government program of Communists, Socialists and Left Radicals offers a basis for unity of the broadest non-monopoly forces, because it takes their vital interests into account. This provides ground for hopes that it will eventually be put into effect.

FUCHS. The deep structural crisis of Latin American societies has expanded the social base of the struggle against imperialism and local oligarchies. Ours is a time of large-scale mass action aimed at winning political power for the people. The growth of anti-imperialist and anti-oligarchic consciousness is reflected in the establishment of united anti-imperialist fronts in Chile, Peru, Uruguay, Colombia, Venezuela, Bolivia and other countries. Our Party, too, is leading the drive for such a front. The National Meeting of Argentinians is a step forward in this direction.

Marxist theoretical literature, the study group noted, provides a detailed analysis of problems arising from the policy of class alliances, but there also are some unresolved questions stemming from the absence of experience.

Lenin, who stressed the need for the proletariat to serve as a rallying point for all opposition forces, differentiated between the primary and secondary allies of the working class. In the Russian bourgeois-democratic revolution, the primary ally was the peasantry jointly with which the working class embodied the revolutionary-democratic dictatorship. As the revolution progressed bourgeois groups that had opposed tsarism gradually parted ways with it. The proletariat fought for the triumph of the socialist revolution jointly with the poor peasants and all exploited, winning over to its side the middle peasants. Alliance of the working class with the working peasantry is the supreme principle of dictatorship of the proletariat.

*Political Resolution of the 13th Congress of the Italian CP. *L'Unita*, March 3, 1972.

In general terms, realization of programs of anti-monopoly dictatorship can be regarded as a revolutionary-democratic transfer of power to an alliance of the working class and other monopoly-oppressed sections of the urban and rural population under the leadership of the proletariat. However, in defining the nucleus of an anti-monopoly regime, the allies of the proletariat, a differentiated, concrete class approach is essential to take into account the different social conditions and class structures as, for example, in Italy or the United States, France or Great Britain.

COURTIEU. The further development and consolidation of a broad coalition of anti-monopoly forces calls for closer examination of questions of the hegemony of the proletariat. The working class is the decisive force in all movements antagonistic to imperialism. It cements the bloc of anti-monopoly forces, and its Communist vanguard draws up uniform, scientifically conceived action programs. This is clearly evident today, when the implementation of anti-monopoly platforms has become a practical issue.

A revolutionary labor movement bases its theoretical and practical work on Lenin's fundamental premise that 'the proletariat alone can be relied on to march on to the end, for it goes far beyond the democratic revolution' ('Two Tactics . . .,' Vol. 9, p. 98). As we see it, an advanced democracy capable of opening the way to socialism in France can be attained only by enhancing the leading role of the proletariat and developing its ability to perform this role. We must fight to unite all anti-monopoly forces around the proletariat, isolate the big bourgeoisie and narrow its social base.

GARUSHYANTS. Although the question of the hegemony of the proletariat may seem to have been resolved, it requires additional elaboration. It should especially be noted that, contrary to anti-Marxist theories claiming that the scientific and technological revolution tends to reduce the size of the working class, it is in fact continuously expanding.

The question of the structure and boundaries of the proletariat is an integral part of the question of its leading role in society. The general picture of political and ideological development of the working class is complicated by such processes as the convergence with it of other groups of working people, as mentioned at the 1969 Moscow Meeting, changes in its structure, and the influx of new groups of hired labor under the impact of the scientific and technological revolution and the policies of state-monopoly capitalism.

A scientific, thorough analysis of these changes is necessary also because lately various 'theoreticians' have been increasingly vociferous in denying the proletariat's leading role in the anti-imperialist struggle. Significant in this respect are articles by M. Djilas, H. Marcuse, I. Crisan and F. Riessman that appeared in the *New York Times* in August, 1972.

NKALA. They are joined by various critics of the working class on the 'left,' who play up some of the difficulties of the national-liberation movement to assign the role of hegemon to the peasants, lumpen-proletariat (e.g., Frantz Fanon* and the like) or, according to Maoist terminology, to 'black' or 'coloured' peoples. This, however, is not our concern at present. The reader of 'Two Tactics . . . ' is entitled to ask: If, according to Lenin, the proletariat is the only consistent fighter for democracy, what social force is capable of carrying democratic change to the end in the newly-independent states where the proletariat is small and politically insignificant?

The question invariably stumps the Right or 'Left' doctrinaire, who seeks the answer in the sphere of abstract logic. Revolutionary practice, however, confirms the relevance of Lenin's idea, for it reveals that advance along the non-capitalist road inevitably leads to the growth of the working class, whose role and influence are out of all proportion to its numbers and in no way limited to them. Furthermore, the working class should not be regarded as a purely local social body. Its role must be assessed internationally, and its strength lies in the socialist world community actively supporting African revolutionary democracy. Thus, the dilemma which states that without the working class there can be no far-reaching social change, and without far-reaching social change there can be no working class, is in fact no more than an empty abstraction totally divorced from reality.

Problems of regrouping of forces

'The proletariat, which is in the van of the struggle for democracy and heads that struggle, must not for a single moment forget the new antagonisms inherent in bourgeois democracy, or the new struggle.'

V. I. LENIN

The question of the hegemony of proletariat is especially pertinent in the light of Lenin's idea about the inevitability of regroupings of class forces in the advance from bourgeois-democratic to socialist revolution. The question of the potentialities of the proletariat's allies and their development at various stages requires further investigation in the light of the anti-monopoly and anti-imperialist struggle of our time.

COURTIEU. In the fight for advanced democracy in France, the proletariat and all democratic sections will encounter the fierce resistance of reaction supported by other imperialist forces. This is only natural in view of the serious consequences of the weakening of monopolies in a country playing an important part in the imperialist camp.

The behavior of non-monopoly classes and strata in the fight against monopolies will be determined by their place in the relations

*For more on this see: J. Woddis, 'New Theories of Revolution: a Commentary on the Views of Frantz Fanon, Régis Debray and Herbert Marcuse.' London, 1972.

of production. The proletariat is the decisive force in the coalition designed to establish an advanced democracy. The majority of the peasants and intellectuals are its main allies. The maintenance of this alliance and its strengthening through the implementation of the joint program and the continued change in the relation of forces in favor of peace and socialism on the international scene will, in the final analysis, enable the working class to overcome all difficulties, establish a consistent democracy and advance to socialism.

Implementation of the anti-monopoly program will serve to weaken the monopoly bourgeoisie and enhance the political weight and prestige of the working class, which will win new allies, favoring mass initiative and action and the continued enhancement of the proletariat's leading role. Conditions will be created for the majority of the French people to realize the need for the socialist transformation of society and for expanding the army of fighters for socialist revolution.

NKALA. The decisive thing in any assessment of the motive forces of the anti-imperialist, national-democratic revolution is to establish the different, often contrary, interests of the various classes and social strata as expressed in their attitude to one or another proposition of the revolutionary-democratic program. The facts will show that as the national-democratic revolution develops – especially when its anti-capitalist essence stands out more clearly – various groups of the urban and rural bourgeoisie, both the old and new, try to hamper its progress. This finds expression in a number of developing countries in sharpening class conflicts between the revolutionary *nationalists* and the consistent revolutionary *democrats*. The outcome of this struggle will determine the country's choice of path. The revolutionary democrats (Nkrumah, for instance) had to pay a very high price for tardily detecting the symptoms of this sharpening class struggle.

FUCHS. Argentine experience suggests that bourgeois and petty-bourgeois governments are inconsistent and prone to vacillate. They cannot lead the fight for national emancipation, especially now, in a situation of tense social contradictions and class struggle. Asserting the leading role of the proletariat and its Party is always attended by tense ideological struggle. Active effort to build up a united front of all democratic and anti-imperialist forces must be accompanied by resolute struggle against opportunism and bourgeois nationalism which not infrequently use a socialist camouflage, and also against anti-communism.

WREBIAK. The question of forms of transition to socialism takes on a new importance in the context of the regrouping of class forces.

Socialist revolutions in a number of European countries have shown that, given a favorable conjuncture of domestic and foreign factors, the proletariat can take over power peacefully. Indicative in this respect are the events in Chile, where popular rule was established constitutionally. Many Communist parties are working for a similar form of transition. But peaceful transition, too, presupposes a sharp class struggle, not precluding the use of violence,

possibly even military action, if the reactionary forces make that necessary.

NKALA. Lenin's proposition that the masses can be rallied around the slogan of armed rising, formulated in 'Two Tactics of Social-Democracy in the Democratic Revolution,' retains all its validity today in countries where the peaceful capture of power is impossible. Speaking at the 1969 International Meeting, John Marks declared on behalf of the South African Communist Party that in our country, where terror and violence are the rule, 'there is no way to emancipation except that of a revolutionary armed struggle.'

COURTIEU. The victory of anti-monopoly democracy in France will come as the result of sharp class struggle between the forces of democracy and reaction. The decisive condition for victory is unity of the workers, democratic and national forces on a joint program.

The subsequent development of advanced democracy will involve both 'action from above, i.e., by the government, the state and the economic apparatus, and 'action from below,' i.e., the mass struggle. The organization of the masses, their vigilance, militancy and constantly rising level of consciousness are the chief factors in overcoming the resistance of internal and external reaction.

Once the joint program is carried out, a break with capitalism will be next on the order of the day. But the outcome and nature of this struggle will depend on the level of the popular movement and on consolidating the alignment of forces in favor of the people. In sum, at every stage the crucial factor is the masses led by the proletariat, their unity and struggle.

FUCHS. The Communist Party of Argentina is striving to carry out its program peacefully. But that does not preclude a non-peaceful path if the landed oligarchy and the foreign monopolies resort to violence in an attempt to thwart the will of the vast majority of the people. Leninism teaches us to be prepared to use both forms of transition. The choice will depend on concrete circumstances. The main thing, however, is that both presuppose intensive mass action. Accordingly, our Party has put out the slogan 'For mass action to win power.'

All speakers agreed that forms of transition to socialism cannot, in present-day conditions, be examined out of context with the present state of the capitalist machine of government. That point was made by Lenin way back in 1905 in substantiating the slogan of armed rising. He wrote: "'Insurrection" is an important word. A call to insurrection is an extremely serious call. The more complex the social system, the better the organization of state power, and the more perfected the military machine, the more impermissible is it to launch such a slogan without due thought. . . . Important words must be used with circumspection' (Vol. 9, pp. 367-368).

Considering the inevitability of a definite regrouping of class forces in the transition from the general-democratic to

the socialist stage, many Marxist-Leninist parties are working towards peaceful culmination of the revolutionary process, but always mindful of the Leninist proposition that the Party must master all forms of struggle.

The Leninist idea of popular rule

'At a certain stage of development, the uselessness of the old superstructure becomes obvious to all; the revolution is recognized by all. The task now is to define which classes must build the new superstructure, and how they are to build it.'

V. I. Lenin

Broad class alliances, with proletarian hegemony assured, have one ultimate aim – to create the conditions for the transition to socialism. This path, as Lenin pointed out in his analysis of the 1905 Russian revolution, lies through organization of a provisional revolutionary organ of power involving representatives of all classes that want a democratic solution. The class substance of this power is defined in the formula: *revolutionary-democratic dictatorship of the people*, the chief components of which, in Russia, were the proletariat and the peasantry. Revolutionary developments at every stage of the general crisis of capitalism have fully confirmed this Lenin idea. Its theoretical aspects have been thoroughly studied. Less studied are the 'mechanisms' of establishing different forms of *revolutionary-democratic* and *national-democratic* power.

COURTIEU. Elucidation of these problems is of inestimable importance in understanding the ways and means of establishing *anti-monopoly democracy*, the outlines of which are more or less clearly etched in the French Communist Party's Program for a Popular Unity Democratic Government. It would be the function of the state of advanced democracy to weaken and undermine monopoly power and assure wide-ranging economic, political and social democracy. The state of advanced democracy will strive consistently to satisfy the people's basic social and economic demands. It will secure sovereignty of the people and will give the National Assembly, elected on the basis of proportional representation, effective powers of control over all aspects of social life.

All these measures will be carried out by a popular unity government of the Communist and Socialist parties, the Left Radicals and other forces reflecting the interests of the social strata suffering from monopoly power. But they will retain their identity and have equal rights and obligations to the people and to each other.

Despite the Gauchist contention, advanced democracy is not 'simply improved capitalism.' Popular unity is not an alliance for carrying out a compromising, reformist, policy of the Italian 'Center-Left' type. Advanced democracy will encourage popular initiative and struggle, assert the leading role of the proletariat, and open the way to socialism.

FUCHS. The program of the CP of Argentina aims at a genuine democratic state with active mass participation in the direction of economic and political affairs. It envisages a multi-party government in which the working class and other social forces will be represented, but not imperialist agents, representatives of the landed interests and of big business.

NKALA. In Tropical Africa and some other areas of the liberation movement, the idea is current that the revolutionary-democratic government will act as a supra-class or extra-class body in carrying out far-reaching social transformations. In fact, that government is often depicted as an organ for 'regulating social equilibrium' and maintaining 'class peace.' The fallacy and danger of such views were revealed by Lenin. And overcoming these erroneous notions will be facilitated by cooperation at government level of revolutionary democrats and the Communist Party with its ability to apply class analysis. The recent events in Iraq and Syria offer an example of such cooperation. Opponents of broad political alliances and coalition governments often refer to the experience of the Russian Revolution. At best, this is attributable to ignorance of the concrete processes of bourgeois-democratic growing over into socialist revolution in Russia.

GARUSHYANTS. Yes, That is so. The provisional revolutionary government, as envisaged by Lenin, is a bloc of class forces implementing through *their political parties*, a program of democratic transformations. What we have here is the idea of a *multi-party government*. And it was not due to any fault of the Bolsheviks that this was not brought to reality in the period between February and October, when such a possibility existed. Even after October Lenin worked for cooperation with the Left Socialist-Revolutionaries. However, the government alliance concluded with them in December 1917 collapsed after the Left S.-R. revolt in July 1918.

Today there are much bigger opportunities for multi-party cooperation. There is the sad reformist experience of participation in governments committed to safeguard state-monopoly property. But there is also the revolutionary experience, not very great so far but developing in accordance with the principles formulated in 'Two Tactics of Social Democracy and the Democratic Revolution' – participation in governments which, under proletarian pressure, are carrying out its minimum program. In such governments the task is to uphold the independent interests of the working class, scotch counter-revolutionary sallies, and, under stringent Party control, work for implementation of a socialist program. Such actions 'from above' reinforced by proletarian pressure 'from below,' assure *full* development of democracy. And this, as Lenin explained, means carrying the revolutionary process to a point at which consistent democracy is on the one hand, *transformed* into socialism and, on the other hand, *demand*s socialism ('The State and Revolution,' Vol. 25, p. 452).

As the theory and practice of the proletarian social revolu-

tion, Leninism gives us a powerful weapon for understanding the processes and struggle-stages of the transition to socialism. And Leninism is being constantly developed and enriched. Some of the landmarks in this process are the theory of *democratic revolution* in the epoch of transition from capitalism to socialism and collapse of the colonial system; the theory of *popular* and *national* democracy and, lastly, the concept of *anti-monopoly democracy*.

Our joint research has shown that despite all their differences, they are based on Lenin's proposition of democratic movements growing into socialist, comprehensively developed in 'Two Tactics of Social-Democracy in the Democratic Revolution,' and on the experience of revolutionary struggle. This is an achievement of the working-class Communist vanguards. In devising new forms for the movement and testing them in practice, the Communist and Workers' parties are translating into reality Lenin's idea that deep-going transformations of a transitional nature are tantamount 'in their entirety and in their development' to transition to socialism. ('Letters from Afar,' Vol. 23, p. 341).

Leninism is a reliable guide for the revolutionary of the second half of the twentieth century in elaborating the tactical and strategic principles of the international workers' movement.

Leninist line of the CPSU

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A scientifically sound Communist policy requires, Lenin stressed, a strictly exact and objectively verifiable analysis of the relations of classes and of the concrete features peculiar to each historical situation. The Communist Party of the Soviet Union having analyzed both the general laws of the worldwide revolutionary process in our epoch and the specifics of the actual historical situation, has evolved and is successfully following a general line based on Leninist principles.

Key aspects of the activity of the Party, led by its Central Committee and Political Bureau, are dealt with in Volume Three of speeches and articles by L. I. Brezhnev,* General Secretary of the CC CPSU. The two preceding volumes appeared in 1970; the present one covers the years 1970-72. It analyzes the Soviet Union's

*L. I. Brezhnev, *Leninskim kursom. Rech'i i statyi* (Along the Leninist Path. Speeches and Articles). Volume Three, Moscow, Politizdat, 1972. 535 pp.

home and foreign policy and the problems of scientific communism raised by the 24th Congress of the CPSU. The author discusses the present stage and future progress of Soviet society and sums up the Party's vast experience in directing communist construction and its manifold activities in the political, organizational, ideological and international fields.

The national and international tasks of the working class and its Communist vanguard in the struggle for peace and freedom are blended in the policy of the Leninist party. This is examined by L. I. Brezhnev in his book, *The CPSU in the Fight for the Unity of All Revolutionary and Peace Forces*.^{*} Containing items relating to the late 60s and early 70s, it brings out the steadfast effort of the CPSU, led by its Central Committee, for closer unity of the international Communist, working-class and anti-imperialist movement, of all the forces of our time fighting for freedom, progress and peace.

L. I. Brezhnev stresses that all Communist activity is based on a 'thoroughly elaborated Marxist-Leninist theory' and adds: 'But life does not stand still. It gives rise to new problems, confronts revolutionary forces with more difficult tasks and demands that changes taking place in the world be evaluated from the standpoint of theory. Finding solutions to new problems and scientifically charting our course, we steadily advance Marxism-Leninism.'

The items in the two volumes analyze the fundamental contemporary problems of Marxism-Leninist theory. Among these are the general laws and peculiarities of development of the socialist world system; the definition of present-day imperialism, with its external and internal contradictions, and of new phenomena in the class struggle of the proletariat and in general mass democratic movements; the ways and means of maintaining peace.

L. I. Brezhnev's works devote special attention to analysis of the main development trends and prospects of the main streams of the world-wide revolutionary liberation movement.

His investigation of problems of world socialism reveals its influence on the revolutionary process, on the change in the balance of world forces, on accelerating the formation of revolutionary consciousness, and as the mainstay of the national liberation movement.

Socialism's increased impact on world politics affords the struggle of the masses for peace and world security new opportunities. This is also due to progress in implementing the Peace Program of the 24th Congress of the CPSU and to the tremendous role which the Soviet Union and fraternal socialist countries play in the fight against imperialist aggression, for lasting peace.

^{*}L. I. Brezhnev, *KPSS v bor'be za yedinstvo vseh revoliutsionnykh i mirolyubivnykh sil*. Moscow, Mysl, 1972. 303 pp. The book is the first of a series, *Library of the Working-Class Movement* being put out by the Institute of the International Working-Class Movement of the USSR Academy of Sciences and Mysl Publishers. The series will include works by Erich Honecker, First Secretary of the CC SUPG, Gus Hall, General Secretary of the CPUSA, M. A. Suslov, member of the Political Bureau and secretary of the CC CPSU, and other leading spokesmen of the international Communist and workers' movement.

Considerable prominence is given in L. I. Brezhnev's speeches and articles to the definition of new phenomena in the working people's fight against monopoly at this stage of the general crisis of capitalism. One of these phenomena is the growing mass action of the working class and its allies in the strongholds of imperialism, and the fact that the economic struggle tends to become a fight against the entire system of state-monopoly domination.

An example of creative Marxist-Leninist analysis of social processes is the author's assessment of the role and significance of the working class in today's capitalist society as 'the main and strongest opponent of monopoly power' and 'the center of attraction for all anti-monopoly forces.' Stressing that the working class is, and will remain, in the van of the anti-imperialist struggle L. I. Brezhnev criticizes the anti-Marxist concept that the present scientific and technological revolution tends to 'narrow the boundaries' of the working class. He notes that 'realities testify to the exact opposite - scientific and technological progress everywhere makes for the growth of the working class, due in particular to new professions brought into being by modern production.' This deduction sums up years of struggle by Marxist-Leninists against various revisionist, vulgarizing concepts which distort scientific communism's correct, dialectical treatment of the question of the social boundaries of the working class and its significance as the foremost revolutionary contingent of our time. It also indicates the lines along which Marxists should continue to work on this highly important problem.

The increased role of the working class and its organizations in today's world, the author points out, is reflected to an ever greater extent in such international developments as the campaign for European security.

In underlining the importance of united action by all peace forces, L. I. Brezhnev attaches special importance to joint action by the working people belonging to different parties and trade unions. Under pressure from the workers, the desire to cast off the burden of the cold war and join in the search for constructive solutions so as to further European security has become stronger in some Social-Democratic parties of Western Europe.

The author also points to new phenomena in the national liberation movement. What is particularly important here is that in many countries the fight for national liberation has begun in effect to grow into a fight against relations based on feudal or capitalist exploitation.

The Soviet Union, L. I. Brezhnev points out, invariably sides with peoples fighting for freedom and national independence. In common with fraternal socialist countries and the progressive forces of the world, it extends aid in every form to the heroic people of Vietnam and supports the Arab people's legitimate demands for eliminating the consequences of the Israeli aggression.

Success in the fight against imperialism largely depends on closer

cohesion of the revolutionary and anti-imperialist forces, primarily of their vanguard, the world Communist movement.

L. I. Brezhnev stresses that the Communist parties should concentrate on what can bring them closer together, and this means vigorously extending relations and contacts between brother parties, generalizing their theoretical work and developing Marxist-Leninist theory on this basis, upholding its principles and fundamental ideas, and combating imperialist ideology, opportunism, 'Left' and Right-wing revisionism, and nationalism.

In the light of this, it would be hard to overestimate the significance of Marxist-Leninist theoretical conferences and creative discussions. They go a considerable way towards extending the 'international links' and the 'knowledge of the universal forms and theories of the revolutionary movement' which Lenin considered necessary, among other things, for verification and comparison of the experience of the international class struggle and for the progress of Marxist theoretical thought (see Vol. 31, p. 25).

A class, party approach to social processes is the cornerstone of Marxism-Leninism. This approach runs through L. I. Brezhnev's works. They are characterized by realism, Communist firmness of conviction, inseparable unity of revolutionary theory and practice, and unshakable confidence in the triumph of the ideals of the international working class. Inspired by loyalty to the revolutionary principles of proletarian internationalism, they reaffirm the dictum that without internationalism there is no, nor can there be, Communist ideology.



The revolution continues

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It is four years since the military take-over in Peru, the 32nd in the history of our state. At first many of the Left saw it as just one more pronunciamiento, so typical of Latin America. But soon it became clear that this time we had a new type of government, set on leading the country out of the deep crisis inherited from previous regimes. Events began to unroll, and they do not cease to attract the attention of world opinion.

Part of the struggle for the second liberation

Our country is one of the fronts of the Latin American people's battle for their second liberation. Cuba was the first to score victory, and became a powerful catalyst of revolutionary liberation processes in the rest of the continent. Another historic event was the victory of the Popular Unity bloc in Chile. Along with the changes in Peru and developments in Ecuador, Panama and elsewhere, this confirmed Lenin's thesis about the diversity of ways and forms of revolutionary struggle; more important still, it was a manifestation of the general objective laws of the revolutionary process.

The specific conditions of different countries make for disparities in level and intensity of the liberation struggle. It is safe to say that the Peruvian example is a perfectly workable alternative for a society of a relatively low degree of social, economic and political maturity. The working class has yet to become leader of the revolution, though the dynamics of development is gradually bringing it to the forefront of political life. The government is not a proletarian one, nor does it include any revolutionary working-class parties. But neither is it oligarchic or bourgeois, and working-class influence on it is increasingly visible.

The government has established diplomatic and trade relations with the Soviet Union, Cuba and other socialist countries, and co-operation is expanding. As explicitly expressed in the Peruvian-Cuban declaration, its foreign policy is based on the principles of

non-interference and respect for national rights, mutually beneficial relations with all countries irrespective of political system, the tendency towards a Latin American anti-imperialist front, and alignment with the policy of the socialist community.

The military government has wrested the country's oil resources from the imperialists. It has begun an agrarian reform, is building up the state sector, and creating a 'public ownership' sector in the main economic fields. Lastly, it has taken the offensive against imperialism and the oligarchy in the social and political domains, which is perhaps the most substantial feature of the changes in progress, and which identifies Peru with Cuba and Chile.

In September 1972 the CC PCP stressed that the nature of the reforms and the government's ideological position had gone through an evolution, changing from national patriotic into national revolutionary, anti-imperialist and anti-oligarchic. Peruvian society has not yet reached the point of tackling any of the goals of scientific socialism. It is only just embarking on non-capitalist development, though in this case Lenin's thesis about the feasibility of this solution is being applied to a country of medium capitalist development.

As we see it, in Peru we are witnessing an anti-imperialist and anti-oligarchic revolution with anti-capitalist overtones. It is part of the Latin American revolutionary process, even though of a different level and with a balance of class forces dissimilar to that of Cuba and Chile. The Communists are actively involved, and working to deepen the revolution. Supporting the military government's progressive measures, we strive to impart to the masses an outlook favoring socialism, to steel them against alien ideology. We do not hesitate to criticize aspects of government policies which in our view conflict with the people's interests or tend to limit the historical role of the working class.

What exactly has the military government accomplished in four years? What difficulties does it face and what part does our Party play in the events that have swept the country since October 3, 1968? To reply, we must first look back to a few of the highlights of the past period.

Irreversible dynamics of change

The unlawful operations of the International Petroleum Company, which has robbed our nation of hundreds of millions of dollars since 1924, had been a stumbling-block in Peruvian-U.S. relations for years. The Velasco government wrote finis to the dispute by nationalizing IPC property. This resolute patriotic move sparked a violent reaction of the U.S. monopolies and government. Threat followed upon threat. But for the first time in Peruvian history, the government would not yield. Defying the imperialist pressure and blackmail, it carried on. Having settled with oil, it tackled crucial problems in almost every social, economic and political sphere. As our Central Committee pointed out in July 1969, we

saw 'not just one of the fairly common conflicts with U.S. imperialism, but a process of change curtailing the interests of not only the imperialist monopolies but of the oligarchy and landowners as well.'

Today, Petro-Peru, the state-owned oil company, is a symbol of our country's independence. Contrary to the predictions of U.S. experts and agents, who declared that potential reserves were small, the national enterprise discovered in the Trompeteros, Capi-rona and Pavayacu areas of the Amazon selva vast oil deposits, whose development will enable Peru within four years to dispense with imports of oil and its derivatives and become one of the top world producers. But for Petro-Peru, the country would have been unable to expand the desperately needed power industry.

In the battle over oil our Party, all progressives and the majority of the people sided with the government. Needless to say, we would prefer all of the newly-discovered deposits to be worked exclusively by the state. This would eliminate the danger of imperialist penetration for good. We accept, however, that the present policy of contracts for oil prospecting and extraction concluded for limited terms with foreign companies differs considerably from the old corrupt system of concessions, which meant economic and political subservience to the monopolies. The policy of contracts also differs from the profit-sharing systems prevailing in Venezuela and a few other countries. The state receives a definite percentage of the profit, and while the cost of prospecting and extraction is borne by the companies, the extracted oil is turned over to Petro-Peru, which holds the monopoly on refining and marketing. After seven years, half of the oil deposits discovered by private companies are to be transferred to the government with all the relevant records.

The 'Peruvianization of oil' was the first gain of the revolution. There was no going back on it. Defying imperialist blackmail and the threat of withdrawal of the sugar quota, the government enacted the agrarian reform law on June 24, 1969. The peasants' dream began to come true. The landowners' power crumbled. In July 1972 a CC PCP meeting pointed out that 'the question is not one of isolated structural changes but of a transformation of the entire age-old, archaic, semi-feudal structure not only in the economic, but also in the social, political and cultural context.' Accordingly, the Party devoted its energies to the agrarian reform.

The blow was aimed, first of all, at the imperialist monopolies. After they were expropriated and the agro-industrial complexes owned by them (mostly in the coastal plains) became the property of cooperatives, the emphasis of the reform shifted to the Andes, where, by June 1972, 95,000 families had been allotted three million hectares of land and 1.5 million head of cattle. Another nine million hectares is to be expropriated and distributed to peasants by 1975. The latifundium system is to be completely abolished. However, while all this is certainly positive, we do not think it is enough to satisfy the bulk of the rural population. The need for a new, more radical law is sure to arise.

At this stage the solution of the problem is being blocked by the landed oligarchy. Having recovered from their initial shock at the agrarian reform, counter-revolutionary forces are trying to resist it by a subversive campaign and by intimidating small and medium crop and stock farmers with the tale that the government would one day take their land and livestock. This propaganda is often effective – peasants stop working, slaughter their cattle, and so on, affecting output and the supply to the towns.

The subversive activity of the oligarchy and the economic sanctions by imperialism, on the one hand, and the need to finance the agrarian reform and government enterprises, on the other, led to further changes. Steps were taken to enlarge the National Bank, which in 1970 purchased the assets of the three biggest commercial banks, and strict financial regulation was introduced. The nationalization of a number of banks and of foreign trade, though slow, enabled the government to finance the agrarian reform and begin setting up a state sector in mining, fishing, transport, and other industries.

The government has begun to nationalize large-scale mining, and first of all the U.S. companies Cerro de Pasco (copper, lead, zinc) and Marcona Mining (iron and steel monopoly). A powerful state sector will arise in this crucial branch of national production, spelling an end to the U.S. imperialist monopoly on copper mining, processing and marketing. The nationalization of mining is the key to our economic independence, as evidenced by the achievements of Minero-Peru. This state-owned enterprise has discovered in Cerro Verde immense copper ore deposits, whose existence had been kept secret for almost half a century by the Anaconda concern. Amazon oil and Andean copper will help greatly in developing the country's productive forces, which gives objective expression to the revolutionary content of the changes in Peru.

The overall outlook for our country's independent progress may be described as favorable. We have an economic development plan for 1971/1975. The rate of production growth is climbing. Some estimates place it at 7.5 per cent in 1972. The foreign exchange reserve has risen to the record figure of about \$400 million in spite of the decline of world prices for ore and fish-meal. We owe this to an expansion of the home market, accumulation of funds and greater investments by the state.

The key projects of the next few years are a fishery base at Payta and the irrigation and electrification schemes for the Olmos pampas with Soviet aid. The former will promote industrialization of the fishing industry and enable us to increase its output. The Olmos project will make Peru a country of intensive stock-farming and a major producer of consumer goods. The two projects will give jobs to more than 100,000 people, greatly increasing employment.

The deepening of the process in Peru is also illustrated by the tendency to restrict or modify the role of capitalist production

relations in the social and economic structure. In a message on National Day, July 28, 1972, the President announced the government's intention to establish a multiform economy comprising the state sector, a private sector reformed through the setting up of labor communes,* and a sector of 'publicly-owned' enterprises, which is to become predominant, mainly in industry. All this is being fitted into the scheme of a 'non-capitalist and non-communist' society, which is proclaimed as the supreme goal.

We Communists disagree with this view. However, putting aside the theoretical divergences, which we regard as surmountable, it is indisputable that President Velasco and the more influential members of the government tacitly admit the necessity of socializing the principal means of production. And this amounts to a step forward in the ideological sphere.

Realignment of class forces

But despite the visible gains, the economic situation in Peru is still grave. Unemployment is considerable. There are supply difficulties and the cost of living is very high. This may be traced to the fact that the structural crisis has not yet been overcome, and to the sabotage of the oligarchy and imperialist agents, who will stop at nothing to create discontent among the masses. We Communists counter the intrigues of reaction and help the government to cope with the difficulties.

Since 1969, the Wall Street-controlled International Bank for Reconstruction and Development has cut off all loans to our country. Curiously enough, even U.S. monopolies can no longer secure funds from it to expand their operations in Peru. The United States has terminated all 'aid' to our country.

Attempts are being made to put pressure on Peru also in the domain of foreign policy. The counter-revolutionary coup in Bolivia, whose threads stretch clearly to our 'great northern neighbor,' the use of the Brazilian regime as the imperialist watchdog on the continent, the various moves of U.S. diplomacy, as in the OAS, and the anti-Communist campaigns in some of the countries are all directed against the revolution in Latin America, and specifically in Peru.

CIA agents have become visibly more active in our country. The main hopes are pinned on APRA,** a pro-imperialist party in open opposition to the military government. Slander campaigns in the oligarchic press combine with provocations by imperialist companies against the working people and with anti-government actions by APRA and petty-bourgeois 'Leftists.' The resemblance of the Left-extremist ultra-revolutionaries and the undisguised agents of imperialism is truly amazing when they take action against the

*'Self-managing' associations of wage and salary earners formed by law at Peruvian enterprises to supervise the activity of owners or management and to direct production. Ideologists of the 'third way' regard them as the backbone of the 'non-capitalist and non-communist society' of the future. - Author's note.

**So-called American Popular Revolutionary Alliance. - Author's note.

government, the Communists, and the progressive changes.

Reaction publicly extols the 'moderate' and 'conservative' members of the administration, feeds their personal vanity and ambition, takes advantage of their fear of socialism and foments chauvinism and gross anti-Sovietism. Civil servants from earlier regimes are drawn into shady deals. The counter-revolutionaries try to influence not only the government, but also the masses, and above all the politically backward sections of the people, whose discontent is easy to stir up in view of the rising cost of living, unemployment, and so on.

Some differences, though not serious, arise among the military. They surface in connection with measures which 'conservatives' consider 'too revolutionary,' and when appraising the role of certain progressive organizations. For instance, the government registers with satisfaction the important constructive contribution of the General Confederation of the Working People of Peru (GCWPP), which rallies the masses in support of revolutionary changes. The more progressive among the military take a positive view of our Party's line. On the other hand, *Nueva Cronica*, which to a degree expresses official opinion, denies the importance of the GCWPP contribution and the soundness of Communist policy. It maligns the Confederation and the Communist Party, garnishing its inventions with Trotskyist and APRA ideas.

The main counter-revolutionary force consists of the traditional oligarchy plus those segments of the big bourgeoisie whose interests are imperilled by our reconstruction. Despite President Velasco's assurances that the changes are not designed to 'establish communism,' the ultra-reactionary press and the bosses of the National Industrial Society have mounted a fierce campaign against the 'pro-Communist' policy of setting up a public property sector and against the right of the labor communes to manage enterprises.

That part of the bourgeoisie which benefits from the country's economic progress is backing the government, though a certain section succumbs to reactionary influence. The petty bourgeoisie and urban middle strata are in favor of structural changes. But in this milieu, too, some groups make common cause with the counter-revolution because they depend on the big and middle bourgeoisie and imperialist enterprises or are influenced by APRA, the Belaundists or ultra-Left dogmatists. The situation among the students is alarming. In spite of such gains as the adoption of a general educational law, APRA men and ultra-Leftists predominate in the student leadership, even though their influence is showing signs of declining.

What about the labor communes set up in almost all industrial, fishery and mining centers? They have entered a new stage of development, turning from class cooperation agencies vis-à-vis the trade union movement into its complement in the fight for the workers' interests, and against the counter-revolution's economic

and political offensive. This confirms our opinion that while the labor communes do not alter the old production relations, they do reform the capitalist enterprise, enhancing the anti-capitalist orientation of the changes in our country.

The progressive measures of the government are winning it the support of the masses, who are beginning to see the difference between the present regime and its predecessors. And though the economic problems are yet to be solved and the counter-revolutionaries skillfully use the sad heritage of the past for subversive purposes, the revolutionary consciousness of the masses and first of all, the whole proletariat, peasantry and some groups of intellectuals, is growing steadily. Due largely to the Party's correct policy, a realignment of class forces is taking place, bringing about qualitative changes in the revolutionary process. In the past four years, the September plenum of the CC PCP stressed, 'large social contingents have begun to understand more clearly the need to support the revolutionary government of the armed forces . . . The proletariat, organized in class trade unions, has fought a series of successful battles . . . won its legitimate demands and defeated the employers - reactionaries, saboteurs and conspirators.'

Political struggle

The positive changes lead to a direct confrontation between the government and reaction. A battle is on against the oligarchy press, *El Comercio* and *La Prensa*. And APRA, though not denied the guarantees granted to all political associations, is firmly exposed by the government, which wants to isolate it from the masses.

The military government's attitude to other parties or movements supporting the revolutionary process in one or another measure is changing for the better. At first it refused to collaborate with any other political alignment. Later, it tried cooperating with the Christian Democrats and promoting their revival, but this proved futile. And the Presidential message of July 28 contains an indirect appeal for cooperation with some other parties. The government displays respect for the Communists and cooperates with them indirectly in revolutionary projects where our views coincide.

There is evidence of a trend towards a broad military-civilian revolutionary front. Meanwhile, a more direct and effective battle has been mounted against organized acts of counter-revolution. Two highly important measures were taken last year: a law was adopted on peasant organizations and a decree amending the industrial law. The former has a direct bearing on the agrarian reform and provides for the peasants' active and organized participation in its implementation. Despite its various faults, it may be said to fill the vacuum that had resulted from the fragmentation of the peasant movement. The other law is designed to safeguard the rights and gains of the labor communes, which are persistently ignored by the capitalists.

Before these laws were passed political life was largely dominated by the national agrarian and industrial, as well as mining and fishery associations, which are tools of the oligarchy that had ruled the country through earlier governments. They were virtually political parties of the exploiting classes, appointing and dismissing presidents, top officials and MPs. In the new situation, they have come to terms with the imperialists and APRA and set out to hatch a counter-revolutionary conspiracy. The government disbanded the associations, foiling the plot.

The legislation mentioned earlier paves the way for democratic associations of middle and small peasants and industrialists, who are now in a position to solve their problems in cooperation with the labor communes and the National Association of Industry, now being constituted.

Another new organization is the National Social Mobilization System (SINAMOS), which is to be under the direct control of the President and is to draw the masses into the execution of government decisions. SINAMOS will supervise and guide the public activity of the self-managing associations (communes), cooperatives, the 'new communities' (city slum dwellers), students, intellectuals, working people, etc. It has national, regional and zonal branches. The latter are divided into groups directly connected with the population. They study the state of affairs in the area concerned and plan the activity of various social groups. The government supplies them with the required funds.

The establishment of this agency at ministerial level is the government's reaction to counter-revolutionary plots. On the other hand, it is obviously determined to direct the class struggle towards a 'non-capitalist and non-communist' society.

We want the masses to join in the revolutionary process, fight for immediate and general demands, and unite in an anti-imperialist front. This is why we support in principle the basic SINAMOS objectives. Yet we must also stress the fallacy of certain ideological criteria imposed on it by APRA, Trotskyists, ultra-Leftists and 'third way' advocates, whose influence in SINAMOS is quite strong. As we see it, SINAMOS should not be a substitute for genuinely popular, revolutionary organizations or political parties. It will succeed to the extent to which it respects and leans on them for support.

Speaking of the working people's class organizations, we refer first of all to the GCWPP, founded by José Carlos Mariategui in 1929. It is becoming the country's most powerful trade union center. Its membership of almost half a million is an impressive force that wields a growing influence on the masses and the government. The Confederation plays a decisive part in labor disputes and is capable of marshalling the working people for large-scale actions. This was amply shown in 1972 during the May Day celebrations, the Vietnam solidarity march, the demonstration on the anniversary of the military government.

Our Party helps the Confederation to build up strength and to take the correct political line. In this we take our guidance primarily from the working class. We also work through the Confederation and the various trade unions among the rural population, fortifying the worker-peasant alliance and striving to ensure that the proletariat will perform its historic role in the reconstruction.

Though the Party lost many members in the repressions of earlier regimes and through the divisive activity instigated by the class enemy, our strength is growing steadily. The Sixth Party Congress, due to meet early in 1973, will be an outstanding event in the country's political life. It will formulate Party policy in more specific terms, define the processes going on in the country and analyze the 'Peruvian phenomenon'—its class content and its place in the revolution. The Congress will adopt a program setting a wide range of goals. Its summing up of the new experience, we hope, will be of interest to brother parties.

Peru's Communists look ahead confidently. They support the policy of the Velasco government, which fights against imperialism and oligarchy with the support of the masses and people's revolutionary organizations, and has the fraternal assistance of socialist countries. We are certain that the changes in our country are irreversible. Peru has taken the road of social and economic progress. The revolution is continuing and our task is to make a fitting contribution to its progress.

How should the economy be run?

*Views of Planning Directors
of Socialist Countries*

Perfecting economic management in the socialist countries is an indispensable element of their Communist parties' policy. New planning and incentive techniques corresponding to the present stage of socialist development have been introduced in Bulgaria and Hungary, the GDR and Mongolia, Poland and Rumania, the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia. Their underlying features are closely similar. In all cases the focus is on the people's needs and interests, and the chief methods are more efficient central planning combined with broader initiative at 'base level,' scientific approach to management, and wider worker participation. But each country contributes something of its own and each such contribution has a definite value for all countries. To give the reader a clear picture of the

process, we asked planning directors of several countries to answer these questions:

1. What is your country's chief achievement in perfecting the economic mechanism? How have initial plans been amended in the light of practice? What still remains to be done? What propositions have been tested in practice? What questions are still in the discussion stage?

2. What basic conclusions can we draw from accumulated experience? How does improvement of economic management link up with the development of socialist democracy?

3. What are the short-term and long-term prospects of perfecting economic management?

BULGARIA

SAVA DYLBOKOV, Member CC BCP, Chairman, State Planning Committee:

man and his requirements – the starting point of economic policy;

two forms of socialist property: towards a higher level of socialization;

socialism economizes on labor, not on wages.

1.-2. Our economic opportunities grow in the process of building a developed socialist society. But this also makes it more complicated, or more difficult, I would say, effectively to assess people's requirements. In perfecting economic management we must provide ample scope for expansion of the productive forces, but always bearing in mind the fundamental aim of socialist production, namely, fully to satisfy the rising requirements of the working people and create the conditions for the all-round development of the personality. We have to consider also this aspect: man is the chief productive force and in modern production his knowledge and attitude to his job play a much bigger part. Hence, expansion of the productive forces implies, above all, concern for man, his conditions of work, his requirements in all their variety and multiformity. That is the starting point of Party and government economic policy.

In 1964 we began experimenting with new planning and incentive techniques. This gave us a fund of experience, positive as well as negative, which helped in shaping an integrated management system. It was put into operation in January 1971 and we believe it corresponds to the tasks outlined above. I shall deal only with some of its aspects peculiar to Bulgaria, but which, I think, have wider theoretical and practical implications.

Nearly all industry, with the exception of locally-controlled enterprises, has been regrouped into a number of economic amalgamations, each encompassing an entire industry or several kindred lines of production. Thus we have amalgamations for ore mining and metallurgy, the automotive industry, petrochemicals, textiles,

fruit and vegetables, etc. The amalgamation is the basic economic unit responsible not only for production, but also for research and development, designing and building, trade, and so on. It can make more effective use of the new technology and react more quickly to changes in the home and foreign market.

The same pattern is being introduced in agriculture. Here the basic unit is the agrarian-industrial complex. It can include both cooperative and state farms, processing plants, building organizations and service enterprises.

These practical measures have a sound theoretical foundation. The Party Program adopted by the 10th Congress (1971) and Congress resolutions envisage qualitative changes in state and cooperative property to bring them closer together, with eventual merger in a single, all-people's property. In the past there was the simplistic view that the whole problem could be reduced to raising the 'lower,' cooperative, property to the level of state property. Experience, however, has shown that both are undergoing qualitative and quantitative changes and exert a reciprocal influence on each other.

The state sector strongly influences the development of cooperative enterprises. In fact the cooperatives have borrowed some of its organizational forms, including central planning, one-man management and labor discipline. Similarly, state enterprises have taken over and developed all positive aspects of cooperative experience, e.g., consistent application of cost accountability, closer dependence of personal income on job performance, participation in management, election of executives, etc. And both state and cooperative property are advancing to new levels. This is a law-governed process in which production concentration and specialization play an important part. It is an objective process and our subjective actions, such as administrative measures in organizing the amalgamations, should neither run ahead of it nor lag behind.

Expansion of the productive forces and changing social conditions call for more efficient planning. We believe that our tested planning pattern: prognosis – concept – integrated program – state plan – plan from below, is justified both from the theoretical and practical standpoints.

I would draw attention to the last of these elements, the plan from below. It originates at factory level, is then coordinated in the amalgamations and passed on to the planning agencies. It makes for effective mass participation in economic management. And such participation is an objective necessity, an essential and crucial element of any modern mechanism of social management. In socialist society the masses are not simply the object, but also the subject of management. Modern industry increasingly demands of the worker not merely certain mechanical operations, but conscious and active creation, a close interest in the broader, social aspects of his job.

We try to formulate plan assignments in a way that, while binding on the enterprise, they do not inhibit but rather encourage its initiative. For instance: the payroll for the amalgamation can be

set in precise figures or as an indicator of wages per 100 leva of gross income. This can be expressed in the formula $\frac{v}{v+m}$, which makes the worker's earnings dependent on the amalgamation's gross income.* But the link is a flexible one. If, say, gross income increases, then so does the payroll. The indicator sets a very important proportion, the allocation of newly-created value. It stimulates economy in labor costs, but not in wages. That differentiation must be made perfectly clear, for under socialism wages are not merely part of the cost of production, but also the aim of production, inasmuch as they serve to satisfy the worker's requirements. The socialist worker, therefore, is interested in economizing his labor and thus improving his material position.

What we have is a clear demonstration of the connection between seemingly technical elements of the planning and incentive mechanism and its social aspects. That connection is always present and it is important to understand its operation.

3. We are continuing theoretical research and experimentation to improve planning methods. And we find that our plans must cover not only whole industries, but much wider complexes covering a more extensive sphere of reproduction and also the non-productive sphere. For, obviously, a housing shortage in a given area, say, or too few schools or shops, not only create inconveniences, but can adversely affect production.

Computer and kindred techniques play a much bigger part in modelling and in program, balance-sheet and integrated planning. In all cases the purpose is the same: facilitate the objective process of forming national inter-industry and territorial complexes and their development through progressive structural changes. This lends greater importance to integrated programs which, essentially, are a system of economic, social, technical, organizational and research measures designed to achieve cardinal objectives in social development.

The Planning Committee is drawing up an overall concept of optimal planning. And in this we must begin with devising optimal criteria, limitation factors, a system of base data, etc. Naturally, we are drawing on the accumulated experience of the USSR and other socialist countries. Optimal planning as part of the social management system should assure the best solutions of social problems.

The problem of incentives is being studied from several points of view. Our data indicate that there should be more accent on moral incentives. In particular, we are investigating the connection between economic and moral incentives and man's spiritual ideals. Though we try for maximum satisfaction of the people's requirements, we are not attracted by consumer society ideals. At a definite development stage we had to consider the role of increased income in the harmonious development of the personality.

*As used in political economy, v stands for labor-power expenditure, m for cost of surplus product, and $v + m$ for the enterprise's gross income. - Ed.

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

GERHARD SCHUERER, Member CC SUPG, Chairman State Planning Commission:

*our aim is to combine the scientific-technological revolution with the advantages of socialism;
collective management implies collective decision-making;
the long-term plan is expressive of the aims of social production.*

1. Perfection of the GDR's economic management system is based on the objective laws of socialism and the economic goal set by the Eighth SUPG Congress (1971). That goal is a further rise in material and cultural standards through higher production effectiveness. Consequently, the point and purpose of Party policy is to assure man better conditions and all-round development. That goal can be attained through stable economic growth, which, in turn, requires uninterrupted improvement of economic planning and management. A realistic, balanced plan makes for effective production, a favorable political climate at enterprises and confidence in the socialist planned economy.

Perfecting planning and economic incentives involves a wide range of measures. First, we must assure production of all the goods and services needed by the people. This is decisive in drawing up and fulfilling economic plans, and was re-emphasized at the Seventh Central Committee Plenum, which stressed that the goal should be achieved by increasing the volume and effectiveness of domestic production. And this demands balanced, proportional development and a closer relation between production costs and marketability. All these questions are being studied. We have introduced measures to improve planning and boost production and sale of consumer goods. Furthermore, enterprises are allowed a large margin of maneuver in reacting to changes in demand.

Secondly, we are accelerating technological progress and increasing its economic effectiveness. The purpose of all our measures in introducing new technology, more scientific methods and other means of raising productivity, is to combine the achievements of the scientific-technological revolution with the advantages of socialism.

Thirdly, we are working towards more long-range planning. This is a qualitatively new stage in scientific planning both in individual countries and in the CMEA community. The aim of long-range planning in the GDR is to devise a balanced pattern – within the framework of socialist economic integration – of basic interconnected elements of the reproduction process.

The need is for in-depth theoretical investigation of a number of problems, such as demand, the socialist criterion of effectiveness, the interconnection between material and financial planning.

2. Evolving a better management pattern is not a technical or

organizational process. It centers on man and his decision-making ability, on providing more scope for his initiative, on uniting economic and technological with social development to strengthen worker-peasant power and the leading role of the working class and its Party. Addressing the Eighth SUPG Congress, Comrade Honecker said that continued socialist construction in the GDR demands 'better central planning and management, which should be effectively tied in with the growing creative activity of the working people - in other words, consistent implementation of the Leninist principle of democratic centralism as embodied in our Constitution.' In pursuance of that aim, the SUPG is concentrating on higher efficiency throughout the state apparatus and direct worker participation in planning and management. That too, is the purpose of the law on the GDR Council of Ministers enacted last October.

It is through such direct participation that the workers come to see themselves as socialist owners. Better working conditions, what we usually call work culture, acquires more importance. In fact, this largely determines the worker's interest in his job, the quality of the product and, in the final analysis, productivity.

After the Eighth Party Congress, socialist production relations were further developed by reorganizing some 11,000 private and state-private enterprises into publicly-owned. This revolutionary transformation was carried out under the leadership of the Party and in close cooperation with all the forces united in the National Front. In 1972 over 99 per cent of manufactured goods were produced by publicly-owned enterprises, compared with 83.3 per cent in 1971.

We understand improvement of economic management as an all-embracing process of strengthening and developing democratic centralism and socialist production relations. Our industrial combines are proving increasingly capable of solving major economic problems. The job now is to make fuller use of their concentrated production potential.

Socialist economic integration of the CMEA countries is having a deep influence on the entire system and methods of management. Integration has already helped tackle such problems as joint projects to assure our countries a stable supply of raw materials; joint planning of key projects and production; organization of joint enterprises; cooperation in dovetailing kindred enterprises in two or more countries. Progressive unification of planning systems is of especial importance in this respect, for it will make for stable economic development conditions from which all CMEA countries will benefit.

3. We are now concentrating on making the 1973 plan a long step towards the main goal of the five-year period, namely, a steep rise in consumer-goods output.

The development of socialist society objectively demands giving every worker a say in resolving the basic problems of management. This calls for a higher standard of knowledge, and not only in

terms of professional skill, but also in terms of socialist consciousness, of a socialist attitude to one's work.

Work on the 1973 plan has emphasized anew the need for higher standards in formulating plan assignments and assuring their fulfilment. We have constantly to perfect the methods and instruments of planning and management.

Our own experience, and that of the USSR and other socialist countries, has made it perfectly clear that we must create a stable foundation for management and planning. This can be done by expanding and deepening the system of indicators, wider use of cost accountability, scientific organization of production, and evolving long-term methodological planning principles.

The organization of industrial combines has solved most of the problems of contacts between related enterprises, enabling the central planners to concentrate on the cardinal problems of social, economic and scientific-technical development and on inter-combine contacts. We intend to promote direct contractual long-term contracts between producer and buyer and also enterprise and local-government and public organizations.

We are devising and will gradually introduce at enterprise, combine and central level rational management systems employing economico-mathematical methods and computer techniques. But creative effort by every worker is the dominant factor. Indeed, the workers' activity, bringing all their abilities to bear through socialist emulation, is the very foundation of successful management.

POLAND

JOZEF PINKOWSKI, Member CC Polish United Workers' Party, First Deputy Chairman, State Planning Commission:

*our greatest achievement is the 'climate of initiative';
central planning does not inhibit enterprise independence;
towards closer planning coordination of CMEA countries.*

1. Our biggest planning and management achievement in 1971-72 was, I think, the creative-initiative climate at every level of management. That has been the aim of the Party's social and economic policy as defined by the Central Committee at its Seventh and Eighth Plenums and amplified by the Sixth Party Congress. The mounting initiative of our workers, peasants and the people generally has considerably improved economic performance. And this is measurable not only in bigger output: creative initiative in production and management, the worker's constructive effort, contribute to the development of socialist relations, the formation of the new man of socialism, closer understanding of the interests of society.

Improvements in planning and management are closely associated with the national program of dynamic and balanced socio-economic development. We are fully aware that improvement of planning and management is a continuous process, and one that acquires

special importance in the context of the scientific and technological revolution. That is why we are concentrating on modernizing not only the country's production potential, but also planning and management. What are our guidelines in this work?

First, strengthening central planning and management while giving more independence and initiative to lower-level units. We are thus bringing to reality Lenin's idea of democratic centralism. Practice has convinced us that central planning, far from hampering enterprise initiative, gives it a correct orientation and, consequently, makes it more effective.

The principle of unity of social and economic aims must be extended to all levels of management. On a national scale it finds expression in the overall assignments for social and economic development and also, partly, in the social development plans drawn up by each enterprise as part of its overall production plan. In pursuance of the Marxist-Leninist principle of unity of politics and economics, we strive to give our economic planning deeper content and wider functions by setting far-reaching social aims.

We attach much importance to dovetailing long-range, medium-range (five year) and short-term (one-year) plans. The latter are geared to current social and economic aims, attained through balancing requirements and the means of their satisfaction and equilibrium in home and foreign trade. It is therefore necessary to perfect the annual plan as a management instrument. By enabling economic units to influence the plan we create favorable conditions for their more effective functioning.

The medium-range plan is the main means of realizing the strategic aims of socialist construction. That is why we are working to perfect it as an instrument of economic management.

In formulating the long-range plan and its indispensable component, geographical allocation of productive forces, we work on the premise that it has to set general macroeconomic proportions. The long-range plan also sets the targets for key industries and leading technological branches.

Understandably, the methods used in formulating the annual plan are not suitable to medium- and long-range planning. The approach here must be one of prognostication, and use should be made of economico-mathematical methods to produce optimal plans for various branches of the economy. Research institutions and expert groups are brought in to formulate the general concept of the plan. I would emphasize the role of centralized programs as a form of long-range planning. The Fifth Central Committee Plenum approved a housing program up to 1990. Similar programs are being drawn up for the food supply, fuel and power, motor transport and telecommunications.

2. Socialist planning is a social process, and all plans must be drawn up with the participation of the working people and should conform with their wishes and aspirations.

The development of socialist production relations, the growth of

political understanding, higher general and professional levels, make it possible to perfect planning and management methods on a scientific and democratic basis. These factors can be brought to bear if the Party exercises its role as the guiding and organizing force. And its role is enhanced by more emphasis both on central planning and independence for basic economic units.

Cost accounting and more intensive use of such economic levers as wages, investment credits, finance, prices, are all factors in strengthening our socialist enterprises. We attach special importance to improving the wages system as a means of stimulating higher productivity and faster technical and organizational progress.

Concentration and specialization make it objectively necessary to delegate more authority to big economic units (amalgamations, combines, etc.). They can operate more efficiently if they use modern management techniques and have the necessary scientific and technical basis. We have instructed some amalgamations to test new planning methods and management techniques which can then be introduced universally.

Expanded international economic cooperation makes new demands on organization of production and management. We are working to bring Poland into more active participation in the international division of labor and cooperation. Realization of the Comprehensive Program of socialist integration implies broader exchange of commodities and services and broader cooperation in the economic, scientific and technological fields. In this connection, we shall have to perfect CMEA plan coordination and the organization of the permanent CMEA planning committee is an important step towards that goal. In this context, fraternal cooperation with the USSR is of special significance, and Polish and Soviet planning agencies are cooperating more closely.

3. Our priority task is realization of the measures to reform planning in selected branches of the economy and introduce, on an experimental basis, new principles guiding financial and economic activity of selected enterprises and large economic organizations.

In 1973 we should complete the preliminary draft of a long-range (up to 1990) socio-economic development plan indicating the geographic distribution of productive forces and start work on the next five-year plan, for 1976-80.

SOVIET UNION

ALEXEI GOREGLYAD, Member, Central Auditing Commission CPSU, First Deputy Chairman, USSR State Planning Committee:

the worker must more actively influence production and his earnings;

new requirements in developing the personality pose new planning problems;

our aim is systematic transformation of all the conditions of social life.

1. Our present work in perfecting the economic management mechanism began with the decisions of the March and September 1965 CC CPSU plenums. Seven years is a relatively long period, and we have accomplished much. Taking the record as a whole, it is probably true to say that our biggest achievement has been to cultivate in the worker an interest in the affairs of his factory.

The chief source of strength of the socialist mode of production lies in the understanding of each worker, farmer, engineer and scientist that he is the owner of all the country's wealth. All the other advantages of socialism stem from this, its fundamental advantage. But how can we make full use of it? It is not enough for a person to know that he is one of the country's 247 million equal masters. He must feel that in a very concrete way, at his work in the factory or on the collective farm. He must see that he has a very real opportunity of influencing, by his work and his decisions, the operation of his factory and the size of his earnings.

That truth, simple enough when set out in general terms, is anything but simple when applied in practice. For initiative must not conflict with plan, the interests of individual enterprises with national interests, expanded production with solution of social and cultural problems and protection of the environment. The list could be continued. The main difficulty is devising a concrete management mechanism that can reconcile these diverse interests and aspirations. The general line in solving the problems has been charted by the Communist Party, notably in the directives of its 23rd and 24th congresses.

What, then, have we accomplished in practice? Here are some of the facts. Annual growth of national income under the eighth five-year plan (1965-70) was 7.1 per cent as against 5.7 per cent in the seventh five-year period. The annual labor productivity gain in industry was 5.8 and 4.6 per cent respectively. The main factor in this heightened effectiveness was better planning and better economic incentives, both individual and collective. Take, for example, such a key element of effectiveness as return per unit of production plant. Under the new planning and economic incentive system, enterprises pay for the plant they receive. There are also other economic levers to induce collectives to make better use of production capacities. Their bonus funds, at the disposal of management and the trade union, depend on that. The result has been higher returns per unit of plant. In fact, this higher effectiveness has given the country considerable additional resources, so that real per capita income rose by 33 per cent, compared with a 19 per cent increase in the previous five-year period.

Has practice confirmed all our theoretical propositions? It is safe to say that no major theoretical proposition underlying our measures to perfect planning and economic incentives has been disproved by practice. Indeed, experience testifies that we chose a correct strategy. However, not everything we planned, not everything contained in the Party decisions, has so far been carried out. The economic incentives in agriculture, first introduced in 1965, have proved

effective. The new system extends to industry, transport, trade, a substantial segment of state farms and some building organizations. But it has still to affect our research, designing and technical planning organizations. No less important, it is only now beginning to spread vertically to different management levels. And without that the new economic mechanism cannot be considered complete. The economic experiments conducted in the amalgamations and ministries will help iron out some of the rough spots.

2. In replying to this question, I will permit myself a slight diversion. As a practical planner, I have to deal with new phenomena and reflect on how they can be integrated in, so to say, the philosophy of planning. There is a development concerning the convergence theory that seems to embarrass some scholars in the socialist countries, and inspire speculation among many in the capitalist countries. I have in mind the wider use of state planning and regulation of the capitalist economy—I need only refer to France, Japan and Italy. Are we to conclude that their methods are based on the principles of socialist planning? No, even if they do use, in the very 'technology' of planning, certain methods and techniques originating in the Soviet Union (five-year plans, balance-sheet methods, etc.). For, first, in these countries planning is in the interests of the monopolies, not the working people. Besides, what capitalism cannot accomplish—unless it renounces its very nature—is systematic transformation of all the conditions of social life, which is an ever more pronounced trend of socialist planning. Today solution of social problems is becoming the focal point of all our planning. There is this detail, a minor one but in its way a sign of the times: we have set up in the State Planning Committee a special group to study the social aspects of economic solutions.

Take, for example, the restructuring of agriculture along industrial lines. As a production task it was basic to the last five-year plan and has been carried over to the current one. But what are its social implications? First, it radically alters the very essence of farm work. Now the central figure in agriculture is the machine operator, and not only in crop farming but in livestock farming too. Another prominent figure in rural life now is the engineer, the specialist in land reclamation, mechanization, electrification, building, and so on. Second, millions of rural inhabitants are moving into the towns because agriculture now can do with less manpower. And the towns are ready to accept them, for unemployment is a thing of the distant past. But that should not be taken to mean that this process can be allowed to develop spontaneously. Among other things, the shift of labor to the towns should not run ahead of the growth of productivity in agriculture.

Then there is the scientific and technological revolution and the continuing cultural revolution. Modern technology is changing the very essence of work in industry, requiring of the worker more knowledge and ability to cope with creative problems. On the other hand, the shift to universal secondary (ten-year) schooling

now being completed, means that the new workers possess the knowledge needed to handle intricate machinery. The intertwining of these processes creates its own problems and calls for sound prognostication.

In our society extended reproduction and marketing are not aims in themselves. Consequently, solution of social problems does not conflict with increasing production. For we can calculate what part of available funds should be earmarked for improving working conditions, and allocations for this purpose are rapidly increasing.

If I were briefly to sum up the changes in recent years, I would say that to a larger extent than before our planning takes into account the needs and interests of people; our policy pays more attention than ever to the social aspects of planning. We can do that because our resources are much bigger.

3. The prospect for further improving the management system is defined in the decisions of the 24th CPSU Congress. The accent is on faster growth of the productivity of social labor.

The 24th Congress decisions cover the present five-year plan, which will be completed in 1975. I will not essay a precise prognostication of more long-range measures, but the following can be predicted with a fair degree of accuracy. It should be remembered that in defining objectives in improving the management mechanism, the Party proceeds from the objectives of the economic plan itself. That was the case when we drew up the first five-year plan, when the Party laid down the basic planning principles (in the 15th Congress directives) and the indicators of the plan itself (in the 16th Party Conference resolutions). The same procedure was followed in compiling the current, ninth five-year plan: the 24th Congress directives set output targets and, in a special section, also the means of perfecting economic management.

That method will be followed in future too. For besides working out a plan, we must provide the effective mechanism for its fulfillment. Today the USSR, and several fraternal countries, are charting out scientifically substantiated economic and social perspectives to cover the period up to 1990. It is too early to speak of results, but, of course, we are thinking not only in terms of more output, but also in terms of better management methods. And we are striving to provide maximum scope for the scientific and technological revolution and to anticipate and correctly channel its attendant social processes. I would say that the drafting of a comprehensive national program of scientific and technological progress, including its economic and social aspects, is now on the order of the day. This is a complex task, but a very interesting one both in its theoretical and practical implications.

Right-center cabinet must be overthrown

Michele Rossi
Italian Communists' View
of the Political Situation

The point and purpose of the Communist Party's political activity today is to thwart the Right-Center government's attempts to curb democratic development. *If there is to be political, economic and social progress, that government must be overthrown.* That, the Party declares, is the urgent task of the working class, the masses, all democratic and anti-fascist forces.

The Christian-Democratic Party, the main ruling force, works in alliance with the Liberals and Social-Democrats and is supported by the Republican Party. It claims it follows a 'center' policy. Actually it has shifted the political axis to the Right, ushering in a phase of political and social regression, much to the advantage of the dominant conservative groups. Its collusion with the extremist, fascist wing, on the false plea of combating Right and 'Left' extremism, was evident in the May elections. Now it has been carried over to government policy and action.

Its betrayal of democracy is evident by its tolerance of the fascists. Yet their terrorist acts against the democratic forces, the labor movement, the republican institutions, have assumed intolerable proportions.

Led by the Demochristian Andreotti and the Liberal Malagodi, the government has set out to incapacitate the country's representative institutions. The decision to allow a U.S. nuclear submarine base on Maddalena Island was taken without consultation with parliament. The decision to introduce color television and give the monopolies more control over broadcasting and television was likewise made without the knowledge or consent of the two legislative chambers. The government's attitude towards the trade unions is markedly formal and non-committal. Consultations with local authorities have become a mere formality and the government is in no hurry fully to recognize the rights and role of the regional administrative councils to which, moreover, it denies the necessary financial appropriations. In education, the government is openly reinstituting authoritarian procedures which restrict the democratic rights of teachers and students. Government intervention in the culture and information fields is likewise designed to hamstring democracy. The government bill allowing police detention of up to 96 hours (instead of the present 48) is a very dangerous step. Besides, it would authorize the police, in certain (but

deliberately unspecified) emergencies, to conduct house searches without a court warrant. In short, the police would be given more power in contravention of the law and in disregard of constitutional guarantees. No wonder a campaign against the bill has already started.

To all this should be added the government's support of profiteering and parasitic elements, of the monopoly groups that are dead set against any reform. Indicative in this respect is the land-rent bill: to all practical purposes it vitiates the law enacted by the last parliament.

Economic policy, shaped to suit the wishes of the top monopoly groups, is patently incapable of coping with such crucial problems as increasing and correctly allocating capital investments, increasing employment, renewing and developing agriculture and the South, holding back price rises, combating speculation and eliminating parasitism and pilfering of public property. All these problems remain unsolved, with the result that employment (even according to official figures) has dropped 1.9 per cent since the summer of 1971 and the proportion of the gainfully employed population is down to 35.9 per cent.

The much publicized reduction of government expenditure has in practice merely meant 'economizing' on pensions, teachers' pay, youth services, on the needs of blue- and white-collar workers, the population of the South—in short, on the most needy categories. To all this is added the burden of the value-added tax introduced by decision of the Common Market. The celebrated 'expenditure reduction' goes hand in hand with a scandalous increase in the salaries of highly-placed government officials, more defense spending, more tax exemptions for top industrial groups, etc.*

This all-out onslaught on democracy and the people's interests is meeting with strong resistance from the workers and the working people generally. In fact, the mass struggle foiled the government's attempt to restrict the right to strike and considerably weakened employer resistance in renewing collective agreements. Railway workers and workers in the sugar and chemical industries won a number of important concessions in the renewal negotiations. The strike struggle has spread to iron and steel, engineering, building, school teachers and students, civil servants, post and telegraph personnel, etc. The demand for reform and full employment figured prominently in many strikes, alongside purely professional demands. In many parts of the country, notably the South, the demand is for a new economic and social policy.

In foreign affairs, the present government's policy, unlike that of many other West European governments, has been to promote the 'Atlantic trend' and submit to U.S. imperialism. That is obvious from its studied indifference to the savage American bomb attacks

*See G. Napolitano's report to the CC Plenum, *Unita*, October 24, 1972.

on Vietnam, its passivity in the face of Israeli aggression, its adamant refusal to recognize the DRV, GDR and Korean People's Democratic Republic and – despite Andreotti's visit to Moscow, where he supported renunciation of the use of force, including nuclear weapons – turning Maddalena into a U.S. nuclear submarine base. Notwithstanding the government's assurances to the contrary all this is inimical to the interests of security and detente.

The Communist Party considers the present moderate-conservative government dangerous because it is steadily working to erode the democratic foundation of Italian society, and this might create the conditions for the advent of an avowedly reactionary regime. It is therefore important not only to combat the government, but also to organize a broad anti-fascist movement.

The overthrow of the Right-Center government is a necessary prerequisite for political, social and economic renewal in conditions of democracy. And such renewal cannot be secured by any one party – it must become the common cause of all the democratic and progressive forces. As Comrade Berlinguer told the 13th Party Congress, cooperation, mutual understanding and united action of the three components of the Italian popular, democratic and workers' movement – the Communists, Socialists and Catholics – is of decisive importance. The process of their rapprochement has gained momentum in the past few years: contacts have been established at all levels, and the workers have come to appreciate the benefits of joint action. This cannot be easily cancelled out.

The top monopoly groups and the ruling classes generally have been quick to see the danger this unity offers to their interests. And they have launched a general attack against it, with trade-union unity their central target. The Demochristians and government leaders, going back on their repeated professions of support of trade union autonomy, are exerting gross pressure on the leaders and members of the Italian Trade Union Confederation National Council to incite them against the champions of unity. A crisis has been engineered within the confederation to block organizational unity of Italy's three trade union centers. Strong pressure is being brought to bear on the Social-Democrat and Republican elements in the Italian Labor Union. The Christian Association of Italian Workers, whose activity in recent years has brought about a noticeable Leftward shift among Catholic workers, has likewise become the target of concentrated attacks.

The proposal for a referendum on the divorce issue is being used as a potent weapon of division. For if such a referendum were held, it would inevitably separate the Catholic workers from the Communists and Socialists.

But, of course, the main target of this reactionary campaign is the Italian Socialist Party. On the eve of its 39th Congress (Genoa, November 9-13, 1972) it was subjected to intensive cross-fire by the Demochristian and Social-Democrat leaders. Prominent Socialist leaders exposed what Pertini, President of the Chamber

of Deputies, described in his opening speech as a 'maneuver by the present Demochristian leadership to force the Socialists to abandon their pledge to give the workers a share in the country's political administration.' Referring to the Congress speech of Mancini, then the Party's Political Secretary, Comrade Berlinguer said that, in effect, he had rejected 'the pressure of the conservative, notably Demochristian, forces to make the Socialist Party change its class and democratic character and abandon its ties with the workers' movement.'*

There were differences at the Congress on some policy questions, and there were erroneous and superficial interpretations of Communist policy and attitudes. But it can be safely said that all the trends represented at the Congress rejected the Demochristian appeal for a 'majority disengagement,' i.e., refusal to cooperate with the Communists in the municipal, provincial and regional councils. De Martino, former Socialist Party chairman and the most authoritative representative of the Congress majority, declared in his speech: 'We resolutely reject the invitation of the Demochristians and Social-Democrats to reassert our independence by erecting a barbed wire barrier to separate us from the Communist Party. And if this invitation is meant as a prior condition, then there will be no dialogue (with the Demochristians - M.R.) Now as always, we reject a "majority disengagement" (though this does not mean confusing majority and minority). We have facilitated a useful contribution by the Communists which has yielded indisputable results. We have rejected extension of Left-Center principles to the provinces and we created Left Councils (of Socialists and Communists - M.R.). This has not weakened, but strengthened democracy. And we declare: if we are told we must dissolve these councils as a prior condition for resuming the Left-Center pattern, then our answer is a clear and emphatic NO. But we also hold that the conditions are not yet ripe for Communist participation in government. We have our differences with the Communist Party and also similar positions, but it would be absurd for any Socialist Party worthy of the name always and on every issue to adopt a biased attitude towards the Communists.'**

The attacks on trade union unity, on religious peace, unity of the masses, unity and cooperation between the Communist and Socialist parties, pose the crucial question - the character of the political choice made by the Demochristian leadership. Has the party once and for all sided with the ruling classes against the popular and democratic movement, thereby paving the road for the most reactionary forces? If the present Demochristian leadership does not see where this policy might lead, there are forces in Italy capable of disrupting such plans.

Perhaps the Demochristians drew the conclusion from the May elections that their power rests on strong and durable foundations?

*Unità, November 10, 1972.

**As reported in Unità, November 12, 1972.

The Italian Communists, while not denying that Demochristian strength has its roots among the people, are not oblivious to Togliatti's words that elections in Italy and the West in general 'reflect, as a rule, the passivity of the masses and their tie with the present rather than their deep desire for social renewal.' Comrade Napolitano recalled that in his report to the October CC Plenum.

The Demochristian leaders must reckon with the desire for renewal shared by the mass of workers, including Catholic workers. The issue raised by the mass struggle is a change of policy. What the country needs, the CC Plenum emphasized, is 'a policy that guarantees independence and peace, defense and development of republican institutions and democratic life, genuine social and economic progress, fuller use of the country's material, manpower and spiritual resources. . . .'* That is the exact opposite of what the government is doing, and its policy is already causing concern and controversy, even within the government majority and the Demochristian party. Its Left elements whose spokesmen refused to join the government, are looking for a way out. And it is only their indecision and lack of confidence that enables Andreotti to remain Prime Minister.

The forces concerned over the danger facing the country are fully capable of finding a way out, though to many it still seems difficult and complicated. But all that is needed is courage to realistically approach the crucial problem, which can be neither evaded nor obscured, the problem of relations with the Communists. The Demochristians and also, it might be added, the Social-Democrats and Republicans, are using anti-communism to evade a discussion with the Communists on program and policy. While recognizing that resumption of the Socialist and Demochristian dialogue can play a certain role, the Communists stress that there is no turning back to the confused and futile 'reforms' to which the Demochristians condemned the former Left-Center government.

Only a united mass movement can turn regress into progress, it alone can become the basis for a policy of reform and democratic renewal, for the search for a new and effective government alternative. The Italian Communists will continue to work, in the words of the CC Plenum, for a 'broad political mass movement capable of advancing the demand for a new course, a new policy pattern. In its development, this movement must help the workers, the people at large and members of the middle strata, to move to Left, consistently democratic positions and help us win back those who, under diverse influences, have recently shifted to the Right.'**

That is why, while giving constant support to the immediate demands of the workers and their trade unions, the Communists intend, jointly with other working-class parties, to mobilize the masses for direct political and ideological struggle against Demochristian policy. Millions of Italians attended the Communist press

*Unita, October 24, 1972.

**Unita, October 24, 1972.

festival, marched in demonstrations of solidarity with Vietnam, shared in the festivities in honour of the 50th anniversary of the USSR – evidence that the conditions are ripe for a broad mass movement. While not ignoring any national or international problem, the movement will concentrate on defeating the fascist conspiracy in Italy and, in foreign affairs, on solidarity with Vietnam, a peaceful settlement in the Middle East, democratization of EEC institutions, organization of European security and cooperation, reduction of armed forces, with the prospect of an end to mutually-opposed blocs.

Agrarian changes in Algeria

Ahmed Karim

The agrarian reform in Algeria is gathering momentum. Implementation of the Charter and Decree on the Agrarian Revolution, published by the government in November 1971,* is under way. This is a big gain for the working people. On winning national freedom, Algeria fought on for complete political and greater economic independence and sought solutions to other important problems of the national democratic revolution. But none of the battles of the past can compare in scope or complexity with so truly revolutionary an act as the current agrarian reform, nor have they been pregnant with such serious economic, social and political effects. To be sure, the reform is only just beginning and its results cannot be fully assessed. Even so, the agrarian revolution is at the hub of national politics.

The farm structure

The solution of the agrarian problem is of vital importance to almost 70 per cent of Algerians. The very trend of national development and the country's present and future hinge on it. The nationalization in 1963 of the lands abandoned by the French colonialists was only a first step towards tackling the problem. Analysis of the farm structure reveals that far-reaching agrarian reform is long overdue.

Algeria's rural population numbers nearly 8,000,000, roughly 1.3 million of which is gainfully employed. The country has 6.8 million hectares of cultivated land and vast tracts of desert used intermittently for grazing. Primitive farming methods, cultural back-

*Journal Officiel de la République Algérienne, No. 97, Nov. 30, 1971.

wardness and agrarian overpopulation are typical. The social and economic structure of agriculture is dual (a characteristic of all one-time colonies) owing to the coexistence of two sectors, the modern and the traditional.

The modern sector accounts for over 2.5 million hectares, about one-third of the cultivated area, and 1,140,000 farmers, including 135,000 permanent and 100,000 seasonal workers. These lands are the most fertile, which had been taken from our people by the French colonialists, who set up large, technically well-equipped farms on them. When independence came most of these owners fled the country and the working people assumed control of the farms, setting up self-managing committees. Their initiative was supported by the government, which in 1963 nationalized all the land that had belonged to the French settlers and transferred it to the committees. The self-managing sector today accounts for the greater part of agricultural exports and meets a substantial part of domestic demand.

The formation of the self-managing sector was a decisive step towards a revolutionary reorganization of agriculture. However, a genuine agrarian reform had to include the traditional sector, which provides a livelihood for more than 6,000,000 people, including 1.1 million gainfully employed. The table gives the social composition of this sector.

Big (semi-feudal or capitalist) holders	- 16,500 holdings of over 50 hectares each: 25 per cent of the total farmland area in the private (traditional) sector
Middle peasants	- 147,000 holdings of 10-50 hectares: 50 per cent of the total area
Small holders	- 114,000 holdings of 5-10 hectares: 15 per cent of the total area
Poor peasants	- 310,000 holdings of less than 5 hectares: 10 per cent of the total area
Landless peasants	- 500,000 (they have no land and depend on casual jobs for a living)

It follows that the big holders, a scant three per cent of the farming population, own one-quarter of the total, while the poor peasants, over half the holdings, own only 10 per cent.

The traditional sector is representative of diverse, often very peculiar, forms of precapitalist and, to a somewhat greater extent, capitalist exploitation, the big owners and the mass of small and poor peasants, landless sharecroppers,* seasonal and permanent agricultural workers and the rural unemployed.

This is the fundamental class contradiction of rural Algeria. Furthermore, the big landowners sided with the colonialists and during the liberation war most of them turned traitor. Today they are actual or potential allies of neo-colonialism and imperialism, an obstacle to national and social emancipation and progress.

*They till an owner's land for one-fifth, one-third or a bigger share of the crop.

The task facing our people today is to eliminate the economic foundation of a class which constitutes the mainstay of reaction, resolve the principal contradiction of the Algerian countryside and thoroughly change the living and working conditions of the millions of fellaheen.

Reform program

The Charter and Decree mentioned earlier specify the object of revolutionary changes in the countryside and the ways and means of effecting them.

- The class of big landowners is to be abolished. The maximum size of each holding is established on the principle that it must be tilled by the family. Surplus land is to be confiscated with compensation which, however, shall not be paid for lands purchased during the liberation war. All deals since independence aimed at exempting land from the agrarian reform are regarded as null and void. All operations involving land sale or lease shall be strictly controlled by law.

- The property right of middle and small peasants who till their own land is guaranteed.

- Absenteeism in any form is to be eliminated. All holders who do not *themselves* cultivate their land shall be considered absentees on the principle 'the land for those who till it.' This rule does not apply to holders of less than half a hectare of irrigated or five hectares of unirrigated land. These include a considerable number of workers who have emigrated temporarily to France, certain other members of the working class still linked with the countryside and the poorest sections of the urban petty bourgeoisie.

- Sharecropping is to be abolished, as is evident from the above provisions. This will mean ending medieval production relations and paving the way for the development of large potential productive forces.

- Concentration of land in the hands of one owner will be prohibited. With this end in view, it is established that (a) the lands transferred to the National Agrarian Revolution Fund become inalienable property; (b) the state and cooperatives have priority in purchasing private holdings; (c) land lease shall also be regulated, with cooperatives enjoying priority. This precludes the rise of a new stratum of big holders.

The significance and revolutionary character of this program lie in the fact that, for the first time, it strikes at the positions of big Algerian holders, whereas almost all earlier nationalization acts affected the interests of foreign capital alone.

Another important aspect is the social approach to the distribution and farming of National Agrarian Revolution Fund lands.

The land is to be distributed in the following order:

- (1) workers employed on nationalized land;
- (2) former *moudjahids* (participants in the national liberation war of 1954-1962);

(3) the sons of those who lost their lives in the cause of the revolution;

(4) heads of large families.

Land is allotted on the proviso that the beneficiary will join a 'multi-purpose service cooperative, to be set up in every commune'* (Charter wording). This form of association is the first step towards organizing production cooperatives.

The immediate task of the 'service cooperatives' will be to supply and supervise the new farms. Private and self-managing farms may join them.

The Charter demands that cooperatives be set up 'on the basis of free, voluntary participation and teach collective management of the means of production.' It envisages a variety of forms (mutual aid associations, land development associations, service cooperatives and production cooperatives) 'according to the cooperative members' degree of social consciousness and requirements.' The progress of the cooperative movement will be geared to 'the ability of the state to help it with credits and personnel.' The cooperatives are to be run 'autonomously and democratically.' The Charter stresses their success will induce small holders to shift to collective farming.

Mass mobilization and the state

The radical structural changes envisaged by the Charter can be brought about only through good organization.

Lenin always emphasized the need to draw the masses into the fulfilment of great revolutionary tasks so as to guarantee success and ensure that the solution is complete, is not put off indefinitely or called into question immediately after the first specific steps have been taken. The Charter rightly notes that 'the agrarian revolution is not a gift' and that 'free initiative on the part of the poor peasantry and the remaking of life in the countryside are unthinkable without democracy ensuring the mobilization of the peasants themselves in the name of their own future.'

Why can we say that these words are not mere propaganda or wishful thinking but an expression of revolutionary will and the desire to implement it consistently?

The Charter provides for specific measures guaranteeing the peasants' direct participation in the realization of radical agrarian changes. 'No agrarian revolution,' it states, 'can do without the knowledge and experience of the peasants, especially if account is taken of the shortage of rural personnel and their low educational standard. Landless and poor peasants will predominate, therefore, in all the agencies of the agrarian revolution. This will enable those who suffered most from exploitation and made the greatest contribution to the liberation cause to uphold their interests and assure full implementation of the agrarian revolution. To this end, the poor peasants may form "peasant unions" and elect by democratic procedure representatives who will express their needs and perform in

*Territorial-administrative unit; there are 691 such communes.

practice the role belonging to them by right in socialist building and in social and economic development.'

Operating these positive directives naturally encounters considerable difficulties. Reporting on the findings of the National Commission for the Agrarian Revolution, *El Moudjahid*, the government daily, commented on November 3, 1972: 'The experiment with peasant unions failed to produce the desired effect and in a number of areas the small peasants were not brought into the movement. . . The leadership of these organizations in some communes fell into the hands of landowners, who were to impose their will on them . . .'

In addition to the 'peasant unions,' the Charter provided for the creation of special state bodies to carry out the agrarian reform. At the top is the National Agrarian Revolution Commission, set up on the initiative of President Boumedienne, which is already functioning. Then come the Popular Assemblies of the communes and vilays,* which now include representatives of mass organizations. 'The policy of democratic and decentralized implementation of the agrarian revolution,' the Charter states, 'provides favorable opportunities for the communes and vilays to prepare, elaborate and adopt decisions.' By stipulating participation of leading local NLF** officials, representatives of mass organizations and 'elected representatives of landless and poor peasants' in the work of the popular assemblies it creates conditions for the communes to spearhead the agrarian revolution.

The agrarian reform involves an acute class struggle in the political, ideological and economic spheres. The organizations and institutions concerned must therefore be able to cope with their difficult revolutionary task. That is why the Charter includes two essential requirements for all state bodies: first, a class approach, a new pattern, and 'concrete pledges of aid to peasants'; second, a new style in administrative bodies, 'whose methods of work, and the training and guidance of whose personnel, should be up to these tasks' (of the agrarian revolution).

Renovation of government bodies, which the Charter sees as a precondition of rural progress, depends on a number of important political factors. Firstly, it is necessary to enhance the political consciousness of the masses. 'It is inadmissible,' *El Moudjahid* writes in the quoted article, 'for the peasants, who represent the majority of the gainfully employed population, to remain on the sidelines of the country's political life, with no suitable mass organization or democratically elected representatives.' This retards the development of revolutionary democracy, prevents the consolidation of the forces of progress and harms their struggle against imperialism and internal reaction.

Social basis

Reaction resorts to every means, from economic sabotage to polit-

*Departments: there are 15 vilays.

**The National Liberation Front, Algeria's ruling party.

ical and ideological subversion, to foil or hamstring agrarian reforms. There is emerging a political alliance, based on conservatism largely nurtured by existing agrarian structures, between the big landowners, top echelons of the still prosperous bourgeoisie (especially in wholesale and external trade), and a section of the new bureaucracy whose interests are objectively linked with these social groups.

Of course, the reactionary forces constitute a tiny minority as compared with the progressive forces who favor consistent far-reaching agrarian reform. However, the political weight of reaction should not be judged by its small numbers, for it derives strength from the capitalist relations still dominating the country, has thousands of link with the urban and rural petty bourgeoisie and, lastly, is supported by international capital.

Reaction can be defeated by a united front of all democratic forces benefitting from the agrarian revolution: the poor and landless peasants, all working people of town and countryside, industrial workers, small traders, artisans and white-collar workers, industrialists with no land interests and those who have accepted the loss of supplementary incomes from land, students, servicemen, administrative personnel, engineers and technicians, young people and women.

The working class is at the head of the democratic forces. It still represents a minority of the population, its concentration and organization is not great, its cultural and technological standards are not very high, its recent peasant background still affects its social behavior, and its class consciousness is still relatively weak. But since it has no interest in private ownership, it supports and will continue steadfastly to support the agrarian revolution. It welcomes the abolition of private ownership in the countryside, which is in the workers' interest. On the one hand, it means freedom for a section of the population with which it still has psychological and, in part, material bonds. On the other, expansion of the domestic market resulting from the integration of the mass of poor peasants (until now doomed to subsistence farming) in modern production processes will stimulate industrial growth. This will provide stable employment and higher earnings.

Prominent in the broad front of social forces supporting the agrarian revolution is the urban and rural petty-bourgeoisie: small businessmen, artisans, traders and lower white-collar workers. They played a significant part in the liberation war, providing the main core of civilian and military cadres. The most revolutionary groups were able, after winning independence, to deny power to the representatives of the national big bourgeoisie.

In short, the whole population, to say nothing of the masses of peasants receiving land, will benefit from the development of the productive forces. It is in this sense that the Charter justly points out that the agrarian revolution is a national cause. We know Lenin's profound words about the two nations within every capitalist nation, the split of the 'single nation' into exploiters and

exploited, the importance of the alliance of the two main toiling and exploited classes, the proletariat and the peasants.

In Algeria the alliance of these classes forms the basis of what we call the 'nation of progress' whose vital interest lies in a genuine revolution in the countryside. This principle is of universal significance, and its effectiveness has been confirmed wherever a genuine agrarian revolution has been carried out. The experience of many countries testifies to the danger of belittling, if not rejecting, the role of the working class and, conversely, exaggerating the revolutionary potential of the peasantry.

Of course, the working class-peasant alliance in Algeria will take specific forms stemming from the weakness of the proletariat and the leading role of nationalist revolutionaries in the national-democratic revolution. The Algerian Socialist Vanguard Party (ASVP) is doing everything to create conditions for such an alliance and its ultimate widening into a united front 'which the Algerian revolution needs, an anti-imperialist and anti-reactionary front in keeping with the real situation and the interests of the present stage of the Algerian and Arab national-liberation movement.*

Objectively, all the nation's progressive and revolutionary forces, irrespective of differences on political, ideological or organizational questions, share certain common goals, the main one being the agrarian revolution. Our Party regards its beginning as a great achievement along the road of social progress. The joint struggle for its success is an embodiment of the fine, great slogan inscribed on the banner of the Algerian liberation movement back in 1954: 'Revolution by the people, for the people.'

Problems that occupy 'Problems of Communism'

Vladimir Osipov

This article is about *Problems of Communism*, a bi-monthly founded over 20 years ago and published by the U.S. Information Agency; 50 cents a copy, \$3 for a year's subscription.

Knowing who the publishers are it should not be difficult to guess what its politics are. Much of the USIA output is meant for the mass reader—booklets, pamphlets, paperbacks, information bulletins, films, 'Liberty' and 'Free Europe' broadcasts, etc. This

*ASVP declaration of May 15, 1972: 'Main Task of All Progressive and Patriotic Forces: United Action in the Struggle for the Implementation and Success of the Agrarian Revolution.'

magazine is definitely not meant for the mass reader, it's much too sophisticated for him. But it has its own readership, not a very wide one, to be sure.

The publishers say its purpose is 'to provide analyses and significant background information on various aspects of world communism today,' and there is the reservation that opinions expressed by contributors 'do not necessarily reflect the views or policies of the United States government.' In short, the journal is not tied to official policy, the reader is told, and leans towards academic impartiality.

Indeed, that impression is enhanced by the list of contributors. Alongside veteran 'Sovietologists' like Leonard Shapiro and 'experts' from anti-Communist propaganda centers, there are many relatively new names. Practically every contributor is the author of several major works dealing, as a rule, with 'Eastern studies.' And many hold professorships in political science, economics and sociology at leading universities. The following is a typical but by no means full list:

'Sociology in the Soviet Union' by Zev Katz, of the Harvard University Russian research center, author of a number of studies on Soviet sociology. He wrote the article at the Glasgow University Institute of Soviet and East European studies.

'The Allende Regime: Actions and Reaction' by Leon Goure, Director of Soviet Studies and Professor of International Studies, a specialist on Soviet policy towards Latin America, and Jaime Suchlicki, Associate Director of the Institute of Inter-American Studies; both are from the University of Miami, USA.

'A Design for Aggression' under the rubric: 'Is China Expansionist?' by Franz Michael, Director of the George Washington University Sino-Soviet Institute and the author of the three-volume 'The Taiping Rebellion' and 'Ideology and the Cult of Mao' in the collection 'Communist China, 1949-1969: A Twenty-Year Appraisal.'

'Poland Under Gierek. A New Political Style' by Adam Bromke, Professor of Political Science at Carlton University, Ottawa, and author of 'Poland's politics: Idealism vs. Realism' and 'Communist States at the Crossroads.'

Other authors are from the Australian National University at Canberra, the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, the London School of Economics and Political Science, Oxford and Cambridge, the London Royal Institute of International Relations, Rand Corporation and the Universities of Indiana and California; Harvard, Johns Hopkins, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Toronto University, Nomura Institute of Technology and Economics, Japan, West Berlin University, etc.

It all looks very impressive – with all the analyses coming from professorial minds and pens.

Leafing through the magazine for the past two years one finds that despite this wide range of contributors, the range of subject matter is deliberately narrow. Of the 60 major articles published over the past two years, more than a third are about the USSR.

and the CPSU, a fourth about China, its Communist party and Sino-Soviet relations, ten deal with other socialist countries and their Communist parties, four with the Communist movement in Asia, two with West European Communist parties and another two with Chile. The figures may vary depending on how the articles are classified, but the overall proportion will remain unchanged.

And so, the problems of communism, as understood by the editors, are four-fifths the problems of the socialist countries. And even these do not include such important aspects of communism as problems of Marxist-Leninist philosophy, political economy, scientific socialism – subjects not dealt with in the past two years.

What is left? Essentially, such aspects of the practical activities of the socialist countries and Communist parties as, in the Editors' opinion, are most vulnerable, best lend themselves to attack. Hence, the subject-matter: 'difficulties of the Soviet economy,' 'aftermaths of the personality cult,' Solzhenitsin, 'dissent in Russia,' 'the new image of Maoist China and the new Chinese diplomacy,' 'confrontation of the Communist powers' in the Middle East, 'limits' to normalizing CPSU relations with other Communist parties,' 'crisis of Soviet-type systems,' 'Poland after the Szczecin events,' 'industrial cooperation: Eastern Europe looks to the West,' and so on, and so forth. In other words, a biased selection of propaganda themes, the stock-in-trade of all other bourgeois ideological centers. Nor is that surprising: the selection fully accords with imperialism's political strategy in its fight against socialism.

This brings us to the question of the magazine's readership. In a way *Problems of Communism* reminds one of American magazines of the *Fortune* and *Foreign Affairs* type and, to a lesser degree, of the *London Economist*. These are not mass circulation magazines (The *Economist*, for all its renown, has a circulation of 100,500). They are meant for an 'inner circle,' for those who need a detailed analysis of the situation in their own countries, relations with the 'communist East,' with the so-called Third World – analyses based on the best available information.

Problems of Communism is meant for a special category of readers within this "inner circle."* The magazine is read by those engaged in anti-communist politics and anti-communist propaganda. Its function is to serve as a manual, a guide even, for those directly concerned with anti-communist activity, the training of personnel for propaganda centers and last, but not least, 'orientation briefing' for bourgeois politicians.

All these potential readers need a regular supply of 'analytical' materials and specially selected information on various aspects of anti-communism. The magazine supplies both. Its main task is careful elaboration of the chief directions and methods of ideological struggle against the Soviet Union, the socialist countries, the Communist movement and its national contingents.

Accordingly, the editors carefully weed out 'unsuitable' material

*Its publishers wrote, back in the 1950s, that it is intended for 'limited circulation among persons especially concerned with the subject.'

and concentrate on what can serve imperialist strategy. What remains after the weeding out process are 'difficulties,' 'contradictions.' But these have to be clothed with facts, appraisals, formulations, and so on. That is the job of the expert and the professor. Their 'research,' too, is based on a tendentious selection of statistical and factual data to shift proportions and accents to suit the magazine's editorial policy.

And this is done with an eye to 'authenticity' (never get caught red-handed!). For example: No. 5, for 1972, has a photograph showing the Royal Castle in Warsaw as it was in 1924, and beside it another photograph of a foundation pit at the site where the Castle stood. Both photographs are from Polish sources, both are authentic. The caption says reconstruction has begun only now. What conclusion is the reader left to draw? Obviously, that in Socialist Poland there is scant regard for the nation's history and its cultural heritage. The magazine does not even mention the titanic effort to reconstruct, in all its detail, the *whole* of the Old Town (Stare-Miasto), as well as a large part of Warsaw and other towns, destroyed by the Nazis. Nor is there any mention of the fact that the foundation pit at the site of the Royal Castle is surrounded by buildings destroyed by the Nazis and now restored exactly as they were in the past.

Or the 'academic' 'on-the-one-hand . . . but-on-the-other' method to produce a distorted picture. 'On the one hand' writes a Mr. Buky in reference to the Hungarian economy, 'there are many outward signs of apparent progress and achievement. The economy is constantly expanding; production is accelerating rapidly; some enterprises have been making fat profits; an investment boom is going on; many incomes have risen considerably in the last four years; there is little or no apparent unemployment; and the rate of inflation appears comparatively modest.' In the rare cases when this can be said of a capitalist country, bourgeois propaganda describes it as an 'economic miracle.' But in this case the comment is: 'On the other hand, if one looks beneath these surface appearances of success, it becomes evident that they are highly deceptive.'

All the 'on-the-one-hand' data is compressed into the paragraph quoted above. But 'on-the-other-hand' Mr. Buky not only 'looks beneath these surface appearances,' but takes up eight pages to refute what he said about Hungary's economic progress, and gives a long list of 'difficulties,' reported, incidentally, in the Hungarian press. Understandably, it is these eight pages that produce a definite impression of how things are going in Hungary. The same method is used in relation to the Soviet economy, the economic management system, agriculture in the socialist countries.

Expert Sovietologists are often brought in to give a new, 'convincing' interpretation of developments. Here, for example, is a great 'find' of R.V. Burks, Professor of History at Wayne State University in Detroit. 'If the party wishes Moscow to accept diversity in the world movement on the argument that only in this fashion can the bloc be stabilized, then the party must be will-

ing to countenance diversity within its own national framework in order to stabilize its own rule. Moreover, just as pluralism within the movement requires a new relationship among parties, so pluralism within the individual state requires a new kind of party, one based on persuasion rather than coercion, on collegial decision-making rather than democratic centralism, on the new middle class of skilled professionals (itself a byproduct of the breakthrough process) instead of on the new class of faceless *apparatchiki*. If breakthrough is to be decisive, in other words, the Leninist revolutionary party must be replaced by a reformist party of a new type.' There is hardly any point in analyzing this long passage. Mr. Burks is indulging in wishful thinking when he suggests that the rise of reformism in the Communist Party is inevitable. But this point is worth noting: from 'diversity' in the Communist movement to independent groups within the party, and finally to a reformist party of the bourgeois type - that, it turns out, is what our class enemies hope to achieve through 'pluralism' in the Communist movement. And we are very likely to see the same method used in future: the anti-Communists believe it has a long-range effectiveness.

The journal's book section serves a distinct purpose: it suggests likely sources of anti-Communist propaganda, information, ideas and interpretations, but, more important, provides an outlet for subjects that cannot be 'raised' or 'revived' elsewhere because they are no longer topical or lack a new 'angle.' A new Soviet edition of the 'History of the CPSU,' for example, is a good excuse for raking up the 30s or speculating on the aftermaths of the personality cult, and bourgeois 'studies' of the Soviet Union's economic relations with other countries (like James R. Carter's 'The Net Cost of Soviet Foreign Aid' or Robert O. Freedman's 'Economic Warfare in the Communist Bloc') for reviving Peking's contentions of Soviet economic 'aggression,' and the like.

So, what are the journal's main trends?

Its purpose is to portray socialism as ineffective economically, undemocratic politically, aggressive internationally, and consequently unacceptable as an alternative to capitalism. Its other purpose is to weaken socialism by propaganda, since this cannot be done by force.

The journal heaps recommendations on the 'practicians' of anti-communism. These pursue two essential aims:

First, to spread the idea that the existing socialist states are sure to change, to degenerate or 'reform' into some other kind of society, which (sic!) will greatly resemble the present-day 'Western democracies.'

The editors drag the turncoat Ota Sik from his Swiss hide-out, and invite Galia Golan, a lecturer in political science and Russian studies at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, to recapitulate the highlights of the so-called Prague spring and 'road to reform.' This busybody passion for suggesting socialism's 'betterment' by various reforms, is often amusing. 'It seems entirely possible,' says Galia

Golan, 'that the immanent logic of the movement might ultimately have impelled the reformer towards an "anti-communist" course,' and adds in the same breath: 'There are few grounds for expecting a reactivation of Czechoslovakia's reform movement now or in the immediate future.'

The journal is so engrossed in the 'reform' game that it literally loses its sense of proportion: in one and the same issue it maintains, on the one hand, that Poland will go to the dogs without a 'radical economic reform,' and, on the other, that Hungary will go the same way due to the reform. The conjectures are amply provided with arguments selected mostly from official and authentic sources. This brings to mind the well-known jobs about Disraeli's secretary who was asked to get the figures on a certain issue; he replied: 'At once, Sir. But what would you wish to prove?'

However, for all its scholarly demeanor, the bi-monthly handbook on anti-communism is not over-finicky with dubiously acquired 'dissidents' statements' from the socialist countries, which are then compiled and published with appropriate comment, and advertised as the 'Soviet discontents' bible.'

The second aim is to exploit the old Roman principle, 'divide . . .' (albeit without hope of 'ruling'). 'Divide' – oppose one socialist country to another, one Communist Party to another, and try to bring them into collision.

Pride of place is given to the theme of disunity in the Communist movement, with speculation as to how to profit from the differences today and in the long term. Of course, the editors know perfectly well that the unity of the Communist movement is the main source of its strength.

Some of the Peking references to the world communist movement and socialist community were received by the imperialists as a godsend they had not dared dream of. The journal exploits them to the maximum. Every issue of the past two years tapped this goldmine. Out of the five numbers in 1971 (the first was a double number), two were almost completely on 'Asian' communism (not communism in Asia, mind you, but 'Asian' communism) and Sino-Soviet relations. No. 6, which appeared after President Nixon's visit to China had become a dead certainty, contained nine commentaries by leading Western Sinologists, Sovietologists and experts on international, particularly Far Eastern, affairs, entitled 'China's New Diplomacy,' an article by Harry G. Gelber, 'Nuclear Weapons in Chinese Strategy,' and a selection of book reviews concerning Sino-American relations and Chinese foreign policy.

We shall not presume to make a detailed survey of these and other writings on the same subject. In substance, they set out to 'substantiate' the inevitability of differences between China and the Soviet Union, and other socialist countries to suggest ways of exploiting them for imperialist ends, and, last but not least, to supply professional anti-Communist propagandists with select interpreted facts, appraisals, formulations, references, and lists of suitable literature.

The very choice of subjects, articles, surveys and reviews is a directive to those employed in anti-communist centers: maintain and develop the thought that communism as a single doctrine is non-existent, that there is an 'Asian' or 'peasant-soldier' communism, as embodied in the 'thoughts of Mao Tse-tung' and related varieties (See R. Scalapino, 'Patterns of Asian Communism'); keep speculation about the Chinese leaders' territorial demands from petering out, let no one think they are merely 'a token of Peking's anti-Sovietism,' and 'elaborate' on the subject (See Harold C. Hinton, 'Conflict on the Ussuri: A Clash of Nationalisms');

Directives of this sort abound in the journal; there are too many to be counted.

Not to be overlooked is the journal's approach to developments in the socialist countries. It casually admits the changing relation of world forces in favor of socialism, and the new reality of social progress and national liberation. 'Today there is little doubt,' we read in 'Moscow's Options in a Changing World,' 'that the Soviet Union, if it cannot boast a clear or even meaningful superiority, is at least no longer second to the U.S. in strategic weapons capability.' And veteran Sovietologist L. Shapiro writes of the 24th CPSU Congress: 'For one thing the proceedings revealed the extent to which the CPSU had succeeded in improving its relations with many foreign parties as compared with the state of those relations at the time of the Budapest meeting of Communist parties in February-March 1968 to prepare for a world Communist conference.'

Is this merely a forced admission? This it is, of course, for there is no getting away from the facts; besides, admissions add to the journal's 'coefficient of impartiality.' But for the journal's specific readership such statements of fact are also a warning: bring your notions up to date; by repeating yesterday's assessments today and building your anti-communist strategy on them, you fool none but yourself.

Similar warnings are sounded in other articles about countries of the socialist community. A Carlton University (Ottawa) Professor Adam Bromke, warns, for example, that 'differences' between Poland and the Soviet Union (a theme which bourgeois propagandists once exploited so zealously) are no longer topical, for even convinced Polish Catholics see matters in a different light. 'At present,' the author quotes Polish Catholic writer Andrzej Micewski as saying, 'the Polish-Soviet alliance is helpful to us in expanding relations with other countries.'

Even Michael Gamarnikow, a leading Radio Free Europe 'expert' in East European economic affairs, appeals for caution in assessing the present economic situation in Poland, letting his colleagues in on the following: 'Despite the unprecedented 10-per cent increase in purchasing power, the (Polish) government was able to keep inflationary pressures in check by producing seven per cent more consumer goods than in 1979.' Mind your step, colleagues, he seems to say, for, as you see, 'they aren't doing so badly.'

How well or how poorly *'Problems of Communism'* copes with its

objective is for its bosses to decide. The very existence of the specialized publication is largely an admission of the strength and international prestige of the Communist movement. At one time anti-communist propaganda was no more than a by-product of the propaganda of capitalism. Sovietologists, Kremlinologists, and the like – those are concepts of relatively recent vintage. Back in the early postwar there were a few 'recognized' names in this field, a dozen or score of them: Crankshaw and Schwartz in the Anglo-Saxon press, and again Crankshaw. And for lack of others, they were jacks-of-all-trades.

But the times have changed. This is borne out by *Problems of Communism*. The old methods and scope of anti-communist propaganda have not accomplished what America's rulers had wished. They are inconsistent with the new alignment of world forces, and overlook the changes in the public mind. Hence, the obvious intent of marshalling the maximum of brain and energy to place anti-communism on some semblance of a scientific footing, if such is at all possible. By putting out *Problems of Communism* the USIA has, in effect, assumed the mission of enlisting 'experts' to train an anti-communism cadre, and consequently raise the struggle against the Communist movement and the socialist countries.

Problems of Communism is by no means the first fiddle in the orchestra of imperialist strategists. Its role in the ideological struggle between capitalism and socialism is fairly obscure. But its methods are typical for the 'flexible' modern variety of anti-communism.



Workaday aspects of the struggle

A Dialogue by

Walter WACHS, PB Member and Secretary CC, CP of Austria
and

Poul EMANUEL, Executive Committee Member and Secretary of
CC, CP of Denmark

When the Party Work Commission of our journal invited comrades from two Communist parties for this dialogue, it asked them to present an 'inside view' of their parties' activity; rather than to speak of their tasks, they were asked to show **how**, under what conditions, the tasks are dealt with.

The choice fell on comrades from parties facing more or less comparable conditions: Comrade Walter Wachs of the Communist Party of Austria and Comrade Poul Emanuel of the Communist Party of Denmark. Austria and Denmark are known as 'small' lands of European developed capitalism where Social-Democracy exercises a visible influence on the working-class movement and Social-Democrats head the government. Despite sustained attempts by the ruling classes and all forces inimical to Marxism-Leninism to eliminate the Communist parties from the political scene, Communists are operating in strength, are making headway, and accumulating the experience which Lenin had in mind when he said that even a 'small' party 'after it has thoroughly studied the course of political development and become acquainted with the life and customs of the non-Party masses, will at a favorable moment evoke a revolutionary movement' (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 32, p. 476).

A factor of national life

Wachs: One remark before we begin. I do not think our dialogue must necessarily be a confrontation of viewpoints. The basic principles and aims of Communist parties are the same, though the concrete conditions of each country give rise to disparities and peculiarities in their work. If our dialogue brings out the common and the specific in the work of our two parties, the result, I should say, will be of interest. And we shall probably be able to draw a few useful conclusions.

Emanuel: I think Walter is on the right track. That our viewpoints coincide in some areas is natural. And to reaffirm this identity will surely help develop and enrich the specific element in the experience of our respective parties.

Wachs: Briefly about the role and place of the Communist Party in Austrian society. I shall not be far wrong in saying that our opponents are trying to maintain a conspiracy of silence round the Communists, to pretend that we do not exist. This tactic has been used for decades, and has for decades missed its mark.

Constituted in 1918, our Party has unfailingly affirmed the identity of the Austrian nation against theories saying that it is a part of the German nation.

And in 1934 we were the only party that opposed the Nazi putschists.

We were the leading force of the Resistance Movement from 1938 until the final defeat of the fascist invaders, and suffered great losses in the struggle.

With the other two parties, the Communists are rightly recognized as the founders of the present, second republic.

For 10 years, we campaigned for the treaty that made Austria a neutral country.

Throughout its existence, the Communist Party has supported the working class and organized its class pressure on the bourgeoisie, fighting staunchly for the vital interests of the people. This no one can strike out from history.

Emanuel: Our Party was constituted in 1919, and has been the spokesman of the working class, of all working people, ever since. This was true before the war, when we warned against the danger of fascism rising in Germany (this was the stand of our two comrades elected to parliament in 1932). And it was also true during the Nazi occupation, when the CPD was the organizer and the most dedicated member of the Resistance. This is admitted even by the bourgeoisie.

Jointly with other democratic forces, the Party rallied the support of tens of thousands of people in campaigns against NATO membership, for recognition of the German Democratic Republic, and against entry into the Common Market. And recently more than 100,000 responded to the appeal of the CPD and other democratic organizations, going into the streets in Copenhagen to oppose entry into the EEC.

The mass campaigns resulted in an influx of new members. The new comrades say: it takes a strong and solid organization to defend the people's interests, and none but the Communist Party is cut out for the job.

Conspiracy of silence and falsification

Wachs: In their battle against the Communists Austria's ruling element employs mainly ideological means. As I have said, they try to 'ignore' us. And if this fails, they begin saying that the CPA

lacks real support, and that practically no one is left in it, now that the revisionists have been expelled (at our 20th and 21st Congresses), etc. In fact, however, the 21st Congress in 1970 strengthened the Party, and it is gathering force.

The other conspicuous bourgeois propaganda trend is to spread untrue information about socialism and communism. This is designed to discourage people from joining our party. And, as before, the main target is the existing socialism. But the 'arguments' are new. In the past, a great deal of speculation went on about the living standard in socialist countries; now, this is ineffective, for tens of thousands of Austrians have been there and know that the allegations are groundless. So the main accent is on the so-called 'freedom' of the individual. Under socialism, the story goes, the individual is no more than a tiny 'cog' with no hope of asserting himself (by which they imply opposition to the Party or to society). Under capitalism, they maintain, individual freedom and democracy are broader, though, as everybody knows, in modern bourgeois society man is an object of manipulation and alienation.

A few words about the tactics of the Austrian anti-Communists. They claim that they are prepared for Marxists publicly to express their views. But they portray the revisionists banished from our Party, men such as Fischer and Marek, as the real Communists. While we are denied time on the radio and television, the revisionists are given every opportunity to present to the public the ostensible viewpoint of the Communists, which they naturally distort and essentially direct against the Party.

Emanuel: I would not say that this is a purely Austrian gimmick. The same is true in Denmark. A revisionist group broke away from us in 1958, and operates on our political scene as the Socialist People's Party. It has also tried to usurp the right of interpreting what socialism should be, and is able to use parliament and the mass media, while an avalanche of enemy propaganda is being heaped on our party. It took much time and effort to emerge from the crisis, to regain influence, and eliminate the tendency towards isolation from the world Communist movement.

Wachs: A few words about our position in the ideological struggle. We refuse to give ground. We counter all enemy attacks, and staunchly defend the existing socialism against the bourgeois propagandists. We cannot afford to follow the tactics which our enemy is, in effect, trying to impose on us. He wants the Austrian Communists to say that they have no association whatever with the socialist countries, and that, if they were to come to power, they would build a 'new model of socialism,' a 'better' one, in Austria. It goes without saying that in Austria socialism must conform with Austrian conditions. But to dissociate oneself from the socialist countries, and to ignore the fact that the difficulties in their growth, and their mistakes, were to a certain extent historically inevitable, means to betray proletarian solidarity and to forget that the internationalism of the Communist movement is concrete, rather than abstract.

Emanuel: You could not have put it better. Anti-communism is an international development, and coordinated action by all Communists and democrats is required to combat it. The class enemy would be delighted if we were to renounce our international ties.

The conditions in which we operate compel us, first and foremost, to reply to every enemy attack and to bring our standpoint before the people. Our Party newspaper, *Land og Folk*, is in the van of the battle. Besides, our members distribute many free pamphlets and leaflets. We publish newspapers at factories and in residential areas. We organize street meetings and exhibitions, and, last but not least, send delegations to parliament and the government.

Wachs: Let me add a few things to this. The mass campaigns and demonstrations held by us help to break the conspiracy of silence. In 1972 the Party drew public attention to two problems. First, the high cost of living, which is mounting steadily under the present Socialist Kreisky government. We collected 85,000 signatures under the demand to modify the system of taxes. In this campaign we acted in concert with other democratic forces, and as a result the government amended the income tax reform project precisely as we suggested. Our second mass campaign was for solidarity with the heroic people of Vietnam.

To keep the people informed of our standpoint, we use various media: special issues of our newspaper are distributed at factory gates; the people are addressed from loudspeaker vans; marches are organized with posters and streamers, and delegations are sent to the authorities.

The main aim is to fortify our bonds with the masses, to grow in numbers. But I am not giving away any secrets if I say that in the absence of a revolutionary tide considerable organizational effort is required to maintain the Party's activity at a definite stable level, and still more effort to achieve progress. It is like rowing against the current: if you rest on the oars, you are instantly carried back.

Being a communist is not easy

Wachs: This, briefly, is the Party structure: basic units (branches), industrial and residential; district committees; nine Land organizations, corresponding to the nine federal Lands of Austria; lastly, the Central Committee with its Political Bureau and Secretariat. The district committees have one or two full-time workers and a typist, the Land committees — from one to five full-time functionaries, plus service personnel. The Central Committee has full-time political functionaries and a service personnel (typists, drivers). Taking the country as a whole, there are very few full-time functionaries; the bulk of the work is done by Party members in their free time.

Emanuel: Let me give our Party's 'vital statistics.' A quarter of Denmark's population is concentrated in Copenhagen, and most

of the Party, two-thirds of the membership, is in Greater Copenhagen. Here we have 25 district organizations and another 10 in the provinces. Only the Central Committee has full-time functionaries, there are 15 plus five service workers. The Party paper, *Land og Folk* has a staff of 19. And so, a small collective of dedicated comrades manage to perform a great amount of work; bourgeois propaganda describes it as a 'monster,' an 'apparatus dominating the Party.'

Wachs: I would like to discuss Party building. That seems to be the logical continuation of our talk, and I see that Comrade Emanuel does not object.

The Party begins with the individual member. And let me say right away that being a Communist in Austria is not easy. Generally speaking, our comrades are not under any overt pressure when things are quiet. But in times of tension they are subjected to strong political and economic pressure. Take this example: just before the recent production council elections, several Communist council members were sacked. This was meant, first, as a warning to the Communists not to put up their candidates and, second, as a warning to the workers not to vote Communist.

Party members stand scant chance of job promotion. A Communist can be the best worker in the shop, or the department, but this will not earn him a promotion. He is given to understand: as long as you are a Communist you cannot hope to become foreman or shop superintendent. There is discrimination also in allotting housing or placing children in day nurseries. Children of Party members sometimes meet with difficulties in school, but this is rare.

The most obvious discrimination, I would say, is against members of the liberal professions – architects, actors, everyone who has to depend on contracts from the state or the local authorities. If he is a Communist, he must be prepared to make big sacrifices.

Many people are interested in what the Communists have to say and are friendly towards the Party, but very few venture to show this openly. In Vienna, every Sunday, we put out stands with our newspaper – you can pick one up and drop the coin in the slot. Our comrades have watched some of the stands and found that as a rule the *Volksstimme* is bought by people from other parts of the city. They don't want their neighbors and acquaintances to see them reading a Communist paper. Party activists selling the paper say a man will take in the *Volksstimme* only if his neighbor does. Some subscribe, on the understanding that it will be posted in a plain envelope.

Or this example: production-council elections were recently held at a big enterprise in Upper Styria. Workers demonstratively held the Social-Democrat ballot as they entered the voting booths. Our comrades decided that Communist candidates stood no chance at all, and yet we polled 50 out of the 120 votes.

All this is part of the atmosphere created by the bourgeoisie and the Social-Democrats. There is constant conditioning of the public mind. That being so, some comrades conceal their Party member-

ship. You will say: What sort of Communist is this? But considering the complexity of the problem I would not make such hasty judgments, though, of course, the question needs pondering.

Emanuel: I would like to add something to what Comrade Wachs has just said.

In Denmark, a man does not run any particular risk in joining the Communist Party, but he has to be prepared to face political pressure in one form or another. That is especially so in the smaller communities, in the villages.

The secret police have a card index listing everyone known for his Left views. For instance, people attending our meetings are photographed. Everyone knows that if you associate with the Communists, with the Left forces, you are sure to get into the police files. And most people know that during the occupation these files were handed over to the Nazis, who used them to hunt down and persecute Party members. And so people ask: what guarantee is there that this will not happen again at some future time?

In our conditions it requires a good deal of courage and dedication to join the Party. Many of our comrades, new recruits and veterans, possess these qualities. Their behavior, their thoughts, their aims in life, all conform with Communist ideals.

Wachs: Continuing the logical pattern of our talk, I should like to describe how the individual member is linked with the Party and what contribution he makes. We have three basic forms of contact with the membership.

The first – which I might describe as daily contact – is through the *Volksstimme*. We are working to have every Communist subscribe to the paper, a goal still to be attained.

The second form, dues collection. An activist or someone from the branch meets and talks with each member. We try to have dues paid monthly, but that is not always possible. Some pay every three months, others every half-year, others still, once a year.

The third form is through Party meetings. They average two or three a year, sometimes only one. We are working for four to six meetings a year in all organizations.

Once a man has joined the Party he should participate in its activity. It was on this question, it will be recalled, that Lenin and Martov clashed at the Second RSDLP Congress, when the Bolshevik Party was being founded. Already then the attitude to Party membership became the dividing line between consistent Communists and opportunists. Obviously, as a party of the new type, we adhere to Lenin's principles, and try to apply them in practice, but this is not always a simple matter.

Some Communists avoid open propaganda of the Party Program; they do not contribute to Party growth or activity. We want all branches to give every new member some definite work – renewing the propaganda stand, getting people to buy the paper, talking to workers, etc. We find that many who have left the Party did so because they had no real contact with the organization, were not brought into active Party work.

Emanuel: We have drawn the attention of branches to the need to find suitable work for every member. One example: an economist joined the Party and we brought him into a research group; he found his place in the Party and is active.

I would also draw this conclusion: Party branches can become more active, too, if we find an effective and concrete sphere of activity. For instance, more than half the Party members had an active part in the campaign against Denmark's joining the EEC. This is progress.

But we must look at things realistically: much will have to be done to stimulate the activity of most Party members and branches. I am not looking for excuses, but it has to be said that the difficulties are formidable.

Wachs: This is a serious matter. There are objective and subjective difficulties. We cannot, for instance, forget that capitalist society tries to make the people passive consumers, steer them away from active politics. Communists have to overcome in themselves this social inertia. They have to overcome not only predominant bourgeois ideas, but also the philistine milieu that surrounds them. Reflect, for example, on how bourgeois society inculcates a behavior pattern of respectability and 'good citizenship.' These philistine concepts have always been alien to Communists.

Nor should we ignore the fact that the present speed-up leaves the worker exhausted, robs him of all social interests.

There are also organizational problems. For instance, we have won good positions in a number of big enterprises. But most enterprises work several shifts, workers live a long way out, often in villages, travel to work by bus or train—can you expect much of Party branches in these conditions? And we have found ourselves compelled to organize workers of even big enterprises on a residential basis.

Lastly, we must take into consideration the composition of the membership. The average age is above 60. These are elderly people, Party veterans, devoted to the Party, shared its many difficulties. But naturally they are not as mobile as before and their activity is of needs restricted. As for social composition, ours is a worker's party: 95 per cent are of working-class background, a small number of intellectuals,, practically no peasants; 37 per cent women which, doubtlessly, is a positive feature; 40 per cent are in the production sphere and 60 per cent are pensioners or housewives.

All these factors to a certain extent explain why we cannot boast of ideal nationwide activity. And why, for instance, political work is often concentrated not in the branch, but in the district organization. Of course, this is undesirable, but so far there is no other way.

A national review of the work of branch and district organizations and elections of their leaderships will be conducted between January and April. This should strengthen the main elements of the Party structure and stimulate membership activity.

We are fully aware of the need to make Party work more effec-

tive, form closer links with the masses, devise new modern forms of struggle and organization of the working people.

Working with young people

Emanuel: I would like to speak of our work with the youth, but first a few words about the composition of the CPD. The average length of Party membership is 18 years. Fifty-two per cent of our members are blue-collar workers, 30 per cent are pensioners and housewives, 18 per cent are students and intellectuals. Thirty per cent are women, less, unfortunately, than in the CPA. Our Party, too, is relatively middle-aged, but in the last two years the average age has lowered from 49 to 47 years. This, I think, has been due to a realization of the importance of injecting young blood and improving our work among the youth.

The eligible age for Party membership is eighteen. Some are induced to join by our propaganda and publicity campaigns, others come on their own. Every new member received a booklet about the Party, its Program and policies. We hold six or seven special meetings a year for young Communists. Last week one such meeting in Copenhagen was attended by 170 new Party members. The speaker was a leading functionary, who outlined the Party's policy and principles of organization, and answered questions.

Wachs: What kind of questions did they ask?

Emanuel: Different kinds: Can the Party pursue an independent policy of its own in Denmark or must it necessarily cooperate with the Social-Democrats? What could promote Left unity? How to counter the ultra-Leftists' sallies against the trade unions? Does one have to be a Marxist before joining the Party? How do different Communist Parties cooperate among themselves?

Young people are naturally inquisitive and active, and it is important not to miss the opportunities this offers.

Wachs: You know, that's interesting. I suppose we in our Party could also hold meetings of young members, especially in the large industrial centers. They would serve as education forums and help involve the young members more closely in Party life.

Emanuel: We have begun to give greater attention to education and the youth, in general. Our education program provides for broader youth participation in decision-making. Our proposals were discussed by students as well as by teachers, rectors, intellectuals. We have also drawn up a program on the rights of young workers, which envisages the organization of an independent trade union for young workers, especially trainees and apprentices. We have actually set up one such organization. We are strengthening the Young Communist League, with which we have steady, good and businesslike relations.

We have begun to aim our Marxist-Leninist propaganda at young people. A year ago or so we opened a study center for industrial trainees and apprentices where we offer instruction in questions of theory. Our publishing house puts out books by Marx, Engels

and Lenin especially for young readers. We hold lectures for students. A recent series of six lectures in Copenhagen was attended by five hundred people each.

Wachs: Only 6.5 per cent of our membership is under thirty. I fully agree with Comrade Emanuel about the two basic trends in work with young people: we must study their problems better and reflect them in our policies, and we must draw them into concrete action which, incidentally, is just what they themselves want. We have had ample evidence of this. The whole problem is how to keep the young people who readily join us in mass actions but then drop their association with the Party when they are over.

And there is also a psychological aspect that should be mentioned. When a young man of 20 or 25 joins an organization in which most members are over 60 it may be hard to find a common language, a suitable conversation topic. Older comrades are usually more interested in politics or economic questions; young people are more concerned with their life, the future, psychological and moral problems. All too frequently young people have left the Party because they failed to establish rapport with the veterans.

What should we do? Firstly, our Party meetings should be better organized. We need interesting reports by Party leaders on the fundamental issues of our time. A person will throw in his lot with the Party only if he is convinced of the validity of its ideals. We have various forms of Party education for young people: two-week courses, weekend seminars, which are often attended by husbands and wives together. We try to make young people feel at home and unconstrained in our midst, encouraging them to freely discuss their problems, even family problems, if they wish. Reflecting on Comrade Emanuel's words, I think we could set up special youth Party organizations in major industrial centers.

As for the Young Communist League, it was torn apart by revisionists and then reconstituted in 1970. It is growing steadily stronger and getting down to active work, such as the organization of youth clubs from which, we hope, our Party replacements will come.

Building the Party in the factories and trade unions

Wachs: I would like to discuss one of our focal problems which we have so far mentioned only in passing. As a party of the proletariat our prime concern is to steadily increase our influence in the working class and build the Party in the factories.

Our Party has a foothold in industrial enterprises, and it is there that its potential for increased influence lies. At the beginning of our talk I mentioned the climate created during the production council elections at big plants. But against all odds we gained positive results, obtaining more votes and more seats almost everywhere. It is noteworthy that for the first time in many years Socialist and unaffiliated workers stood for election on the Communist list. As a consequence, our candidates won 336 seats, as compared with 230 three years ago

We are faced with numerous questions at industrial enterprises. Social-Democratic influence on the working class is considerable. The Austrian Trade Union Alliance is dedicated to promoting the policies of the Socialist Party and its government.

With the bourgeoisie, the government and the trade unions all declaring that factories are no place for politics, we often have difficulty in conducting propaganda work or campaigns.

In recent years we have been concentrating on expanding the activity of the Trade Union Unity center, which is under our influence. But some of our comrades slipped into 'economism,' and the last Party congress (the 21st) raised the question of more harmoniously combining trade union and political work at industrial enterprises, with emphasis on the latter. An important role is played by our factory newspapers, which appear monthly or biweekly at 80 enterprises in an aggregate printing of 100,000.

Emanuel: Lately Denmark has been evolving from an agricultural into an industrial nation. Industry is penetrating every nook and cranny and, to tell the truth, we have not been keeping up. As a result we have only one factory branch in the provinces; all the rest are in Copenhagen.

Besides our Party, Denmark has three others claiming to speak for the working class: the Social-Democratic, Popular Socialist and Left Socialist. In the trade union movement there are two factions, one reformist, controlled by the Social-Democrats, and our own revolutionary one. The Communist Party has a good hold in the trade unions, with quite a few full-time functionaries. Every month we call meetings of trade union activists to discuss Party policies. This helps us to overcome reformism in trade union work and alerts Communists to the pitfalls of economism.

Factory branches invite all the workers to attend their meetings. Communists engage in propaganda work and spread leaflets and our magazine. If there is no branch the factory Communists work on their own.

Wachs: This brings up another important problem, Poul. We have several thousand Party members at small and medium factories where there is no primary Party organization. We get them together, discuss their affairs, ask them what help they need from our district organizations, notably in explaining Party policies and recruiting new members.

Emanuel: Our discussion logically leads us to questions of work among the farmers and the intelligentsia.

In Denmark the number of farmers is decreasing rapidly and, as far as I know, some 100,000 farms are expected to disappear in the next few years, leaving only 50 or 60 thousand. Big capitalist enterprises are burgeoning in agriculture, and this presents new problems.

The Party has formulated its policy with regard to the farmers. During the campaign against EEC membership we fought for the interests of Danish agriculture and scored some important successes. Although we have no rural branches, there is an active

core of Communist farmers. They can't be brought together in one organization because they live so far apart.

Of late quite a few intellectuals have been joining the Party, especially sociologists and teachers. As they are members of a trade union of their own, we are helping them to set up factions or groups within the unions.

Wachs: Only 16 per cent of the Austrian population is engaged in agriculture. There are Communists among the farmers but, as in Denmark, we have no rural organizations.

We have made progress lately in our work among the intelligentsia. A Communist Students' League has been organized which sets itself the task of working together with the Party and disseminating Marxism-Leninism at institutes of higher learning. A short while ago some 200 prominent intellectuals addressed, not without our influence, a letter to the Federal Chancellor demanding an end to the war in Indochina. Finally, some intellectuals lured away by revisionists have returned to the Party and taken up active work.

Emanuel: I should like to emphasize one point to conclude our talk. The world Communist movement comprises parties currently at different stages of the revolutionary struggle and operating in widely different conditions. Some are in power, others, like ours, are forced to operate amidst constraints that prevent us from achieving much of what we would have liked to. I am saying this to forestall attempts by some comrades to evaluate our work from doctrinaire positions.

We are often confronted with difficult tasks. Take, for example, financing our work. This is done through membership dues, voluntary contributions and earnings from sales of our newspaper and other printed matter. But printing *Land og Folk* costs a lot of money. Last October we launched a collection drive with a target of half a million kronor. We collected more than 745,000, and the paper's daily appearance in 1973 is assured. But during the drive the Party organizations had their hands so full that they could engage in no other work.

Communist-sponsored drives and our day-to-day work are a test of our organizational capabilities, of our ability to rouse the masses and lead them forward at important junctures of the revolutionary struggle.

I think we can draw the conclusion from our talk that the cause of the Party is the cause of its members. Without this we would never have been able to fight and exercise influence in capitalist society.

Wachs: We are the Austrian working class' fighting Party, a Leninist Party of a new type, and we are proud of it. People joining us are volunteers who do not look forward to positions of prominence or material benefits. Ours is a genuinely ideological alliance. We openly state that its fundamental principle is democratic centralism, which ensures wide democracy. The members of our Party are the bearers of its policy and its program. Democratic centralism makes for much better organization of our party as compared with others, it is an embodiment of the ability to act. The principle has

been much maligned, but it is essential. The very best policy is of no avail without organization. But then, good organization is impossible without a correct policy.

This dialogue between representatives of two fraternal parties is testimony to the diversity and wealth of experience of revolutionary struggle accumulated by every detachment of the world Communist movement. It is also a reminder that the experience of each Communist Party, which is compounded of successes as well as of instructive mistakes, belongs to the movement as a whole. To analyze revolutionary struggle, Lenin wrote, we must 'sum up, draw conclusions, draw from the experience of today's happenings lessons that will be useful tomorrow, in another place . . .' (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 8, p. 104).

The editors hope that the readers will not only comment on the dialogue, but will also suggest topics for, and possible participants in, other dialogues of this kind.

How I became a Communist

Louis Carlos Prestes
General Secretary, CP Brazil

Continuing our series of reminiscences of prominent figures of the world Communist and workers' movement, we present a contribution from Comrade Luis Carlos Prestes, General Secretary of the Communist Party of Brazil, dealing with a brief span in his life. A year after he joined the Brazilian Communist Party in 1934, Comrade Prestes was elected member of the Comintern Executive. Later he was among the leaders of a popular uprising against the Vargas dictatorship. He was sentenced to a long prison term, while his wife, Olga Benario, was handed over to the German Nazis, who murdered her in a concentration camp. In 1934, Comrade Prestes was elected, in absentia, General Secretary of the CC CP Brazil. In 1945, with the anti-fascist, revolutionary movement on the rise, he came out of jail. For a brief period the Party was able to operate legally. The people who in the twenties had called Prestes their 'Knight of Hope,' elected him to the Senate. The Brazilian CP has been banned since 1947. Comrade Prestes is 75 years old. Despite the trials and hardships that fell to him, he is alert and energetic, confident in the ultimate victory of the Brazilian people.

On July 5, 1922, a revolt at the Rio de Janeiro Army School and the Copacabana Fort signalled the beginning of the Tenentist Movement, subsequently named so because most of its participants were

young Brazilian army officers.* Several months before that a group of patriots in the labor movement had founded the Communist Party of Brazil.

These two important events originated two independent political trends which, alternately hostile or cooperative, played a great part in the history of the nation. In the face of fierce persecution the working-class party successfully overcame all obstacles. Time and again the ruling classes had announced its demise, but it always re-emerged stronger than before, and today it is the only nationwide party. The Tenentist Movement, on the other hand, disintegrated after some of its leaders came to power in 1930. Many active members surrendered to the ruling classes – the latifundists and big capitalists, the lackeys of the United States – but some went over to the working class and joined the Communist Party. I was among the latter.

In this brief outline of recollections I would like to explain how it came about that a military man of petty-bourgeois stock whom, like all other officers, the ruling classes had sought to bring up in the spirit of defense of the political system, became a leader of the Tenentist Movement and then joined the ranks of the political vanguard of the working class, the Marxist-Leninist revolutionary party. The process was neither rapid nor easy, lasting several years, accelerated by favorable factors, held up by difficulties. Perhaps my experience may prove useful for today's revolutionary youth which, like myself half a century ago, is looking for a way of active and consistent participation in the struggle for social progress and a happy future for the people.

The 'invincible column'

It is hardly worth analyzing here the cause that led to the Brazilian army revolt in 1922. The postwar economic crisis, which was very severe in our country, coincided with an important political event: the change of administration as a result of the presidential elections of March 1922. The political forces split into two camps, one supporting the Right-wing winner of the election, the other – the opposition. Dissatisfied young officers favoring change, protesting systematic election rigging, demanding a rectification of social morals, and dreaming of national progress and modernization of the armed forces the backwardness of which was recognized by all professionally competent officers, sided with the opposition.

The 1922 uprising was crushed. Engraved in the people's memory is the exploit of Lieutenant Antonio de Siqueira Campos who at the head of 17 stalwarts, fearlessly faced government troops. Their heroic stand shook the country, but they were hopelessly outnumbered. Hundreds of young officers were arrested and court-martialled. A thousand cadets were expelled from the Army School, and many officers were transferred to remote garrisons. But in spite of the repressions the solidarity of the young officers grew,

*The Tenentist Movement (from *tenente* – 'lieutenant') was a movement of democratically minded Brazilian army and navy officers against the Bernardes dictatorship (1922-1926). – Ed.

dissatisfaction continued to spread, and more and more people joined the struggle.

I was transferred from Rio de Janeiro to a tiny backwoods town in Rio Grande do Sul. Although like most of my fellow-officers I was not interested in politics and had a most hazy idea of social problems, I took an active part in an anti-government movement which culminated in a revolt of most of the Sao Paulo military garrison on July 5, 1924. After resisting government troops for 20 days, the Sao Paulo revolutionaries retreated inland and dug in in the Western part of the state of Parana near the border with Argentina and Paraguay.

News of the Sao Paulo uprising reached us very late and it was not until October 29 that we brought out several units stationed in Rio Grande do Sul.* Pressed by government troops, we marched northward and joined the Sao Paulo rebels. By then many had dropped out and the remaining thousand or so, poorly armed and with almost no ammunition, formed the Column which, we planned, would draw out the reactionary forces and thus help our comrades in the capital to overthrow the head of state. At the time we had no other political or social objective in mind.

The tactics of swift marches, evasion as far as possible of contact with superior enemy forces, and surprise attacks aimed at demoralizing the enemy and capturing arms and ammunition, demonstrated that in Brazilian conditions it was possible to wage a protracted struggle. In the course of two years or so we crossed the country from south to north and from east to west, taking part in hundreds of engagements and suffering not a single defeat at the hands of government forces surpassing us ten- and twenty-fold in numbers and supported by state and municipal authorities and local *caudillos*.

During our march through the inner regions of Brazil we experienced a kind of psychological shock at what we saw. Men of urban petty-bourgeois background influenced by jingostic propaganda, we were quite ignorant of the true state of affairs in our country. The backwardness and poverty of the people mercilessly exploited by a handful of latifundists was staggering. It was a revelation that so many peasants in vast, rich Brazil had no land and had to live on the estates of big landlords totally at their mercy, with no opportunity even for complaint as the local authorities were either kinsmen of, or dependent on, the latifundists. There was neither Constitution nor law in the remote areas.** The poverty was inconceivable. Sometimes only one member of a large peasant family would come out to greet us at the door of a miserable hovel because the others had nothing to put on: they all shared a single tattered dress which they wore in turns. Sanitary conditions were appalling, medical services were non-existent, the simplest drugs were nowhere to be had, and people literally besieged our tiny field hospital asking for various medicines. The picture was the same along the whole of our 25,000 kilometre route. It shook

*Rio Grande do Sul is the southernmost state of Brazil; Parana is to the north of it. - Ed.

**In the course of the march the Column meted out revolutionary justice, it burned debt and court records and tax lists, held meetings and freed political prisoners. - Ed.

us to the bottom of our souls and filled us with patriotic anger. We began to realize that problems of such magnitude could not be resolved by merely replacing one president by another.

At the same time a gradual change also took place in our attitude towards the working people. If the truth were told, many of us had initially regarded them as inferior beings meekly submitting to the educated elite and powers that be. These views were reflected in Monteiro Labato's book, 'The Toadstools,' one of the characters of which, Jeca Tatu, is a ridiculous caricature of a miserable, ignorant peasant. I, too, shared these views, as can be seen from a letter I sent in 1924 to Marshal Izidoro Dias Lopes, commander of the rebel forces in Sao Paulo, in which I wrote disparagingly that the government had munitions factories, mints and sufficient numbers of ignoramuses to hurl against our machine guns.

In the letter I also defended the Column's march tactics, claiming that they presented opportunities for recruiting new fighters. This, however, was not the case. The farmers sympathized with us for the simple reason that we were against their oppressors, they admired our heroism and devotion, but had no intention (with rare exceptions of some young people) of committing themselves to a struggle in whose success they could not believe. The peasants lacked political consciousness, and we were incapable of imparting it to them as we ourselves still failed to grasp the true magnitude of the social problems and class differentiation of the countryside. Such consciousness could evolve only as a result of patient educational and explanatory work conducted by an organization equipped with a theory and linked with the working people, not as a result of direct action, as we imagined at the time.*

Thus, by the end of 1926 we came to realize the futility of our efforts, the consequences of which had to be borne by the poorest sections of the population. When our Column departed government troops took over and, together with local police and gangs of thugs armed by the government, engaged in violence and plunder. Add to this that, owing to the absence of a clear political motivation, demoralization began to affect some of our men, which could well lead to their degeneration into looters and bandits. We decided to suspend the struggle and retreat to the Bolivian border, which we crossed on February 3, 1927, as political refugees.

There is no overestimating the political implications of the Column's march. It carried the banner of uprising through almost the whole of Brazil, showing people that the oppressors could be defeated and filling patriots with hope and enthusiasm. The Column had no clear socio-economic or political program, but it was a first brilliant episode in our people's struggle against the landlords and imperialists, for freedom, national independence and social progress, and it left an indelible impression on the people's memory.

*It was an unequal struggle. The armed uprisings, in major centers, on which the leaders of the Column had counted, were suppressed. In spite of Prestes' military talent, the heroism of the fighters and sympathy of the population, a mass revolutionary movement did not materialize. — Ed.

In quest of the right road

Some of the Column's leaders went to La Paz and Buenos Aires to raise funds for our men. My task was to try to find work for them in Bolivia. For the first time in my life I came in touch with an imperialist enterprise, Bolivian Co., Ltd., a British-owed firm out to colonize Bolivian lands along the Paraguay River. It was in need of manpower, as the local Chiquito Indians refused to work for the English.

The Column's record became widely known in Brazil, where the most diverse political movements sought to exploit it in their own interests. I read avidly in an attempt to grasp the true meaning of it all. My friends sent me a vast amount of literature, including Marx's and Engels' 'Communist Manifesto' and collections of articles by Lenin. In December 1927, in the town of Puerto Suarez, Bolivia, I met with Astrogildo Pereira, a representative of the Brazilian Communist Party, who brought a letter signed on behalf of the Party leadership by Otavio Brandao. Astrogildo told me about the Russian revolution, the Communist movement and the Soviet Union where a delegate of Brazil's Communists had visited a year before.

In 1928, after we managed, thanks to voluntary contributions, to organize the repatriation of Column fighters not wanted by the police, I moved to Buenos Aires, Argentina. It was there that I began my serious study of Marxism.

The book that influenced me most was Lenin's great work, *The State and Revolution*. It helped me understand how wrong were the ideas instilled by bourgeois education. I had been taught that the state was a kind of supra-class institution designed to maintain justice and act as an arbiter deciding the destinies of the nation in the interests of the people. Beyond all doubt, it was Lenin's book that made me reconsider my general outlook and accumulated knowledge. The first volume of *Capital* revealed the secret of capitalist exploitation. I was becoming a convinced socialist. My army schooling had taught me to reason logically and gave me a materialist approach to science. This helped me to find my way in socio-political questions and to realize the inconsistencies of reformism.

I could not remain honest in my own eyes without taking to the revolutionary road. I felt that I had to devote myself completely to the struggle for radically altering the conditions of the Brazilian people, though I was not sure whether I could make my old comrades, who had placed me at the head of the Column, share my revolutionary ideas. I also had my family to think of, but my mother and sisters were prepared to put up with hardship. With my Column comrades it was not so simple. Intoxicated by their popularity, they had their eyes trained on political power. It was 1930, the presidential election was approaching, and several state governors, notably Getulio Vargas, governor of Rio Grande do Sul, planned to use the Column's popularity in their bid for the presidency.

Getulio Vargas, finance minister in the Washington Luis administration, was a spokesman of the latifundists and big capitalists of Rio Grande do Sul. Later he was elected governor on the ticket of the most conservative political party. His main allies – Antonio Carlos, governor of Minas Gerais, and Joao Pessao, governor of Paraiba – also represented the most conservative circles.

In 1929-1930 a struggle for government posts erupted between the oligarchic groups. 'Revolution by us before revolution by the people!' was the catchword of Antonio Carlos. The confrontation between the two groups into which the ruling classes split was a reflection of the confrontation between the imperialists of Great Britain and the United States. American capital, interested in forcing the British out of their positions in Brazil, came to the aid of Vargas. With the help of a 160-million dollar loan from the Dillon Read bankers, Vargas set up the Rio Grande do Sul state bank. Antonio Carlos sold the power plant supplying electricity to the state capital to the Yankee controlled Light & Power company of Canada. With all this money Vargas performed the 'miracle' of politically uniting the bourgeoisie of Rio Grande do Sul dissatisfied with the Washington Luis administration. Thus did the Liberal Alliance appear.

But whereas I saw Getulio Vargas as a spokesman of latifundists and big business linked with U.S. imperialism, almost all my former comrades gave their support to him. Our ways parted.

Shortly before that my second meeting took place in Buenos Aires with Communist Party representatives Paulo Lacerda (CP Central Committee) and Leontio Basbaum (the Young Communist League). They asked me to run for president on the Communist Party ticket. Although I agreed with the Party's election program, I refused, feeling myself morally linked with the Tenentists, whom I still hoped to win over to revolutionary positions by showing that a Vargas victory would not improve the people's lot or rid the country of imperialist oppression, that if the Tenentists, not being an independent, organized political force, joined a Vargas administration, it would mean surrender to the ruling classes, a move which would discredit them in the eyes of the people.

Then, in May 1930, I issued a manifesto in which I deliberately broke with the other leaders of the Column. The Manifesto presented an anti-imperialist revolutionary program of struggle against the latifundia, for the power of the working people. 'The Brazilian revolution,' it declared, 'cannot be carried out on the basis of the limited Liberal Alliance program. Merely replacing those in power, the secret ballot, the promise of free elections, an honest administration, respect for the Constitution, stability of the cruzeiro and other panaceas can resolve nothing nor win the interest of the vast majority of the population, without whose support any revolution will simply be a struggle between representatives of the ruling oligarchy. . . . Contrary to their revolutionary demagoguery, contrary to liberal claims that they are fighting for the repeal of oppressive laws, not a single voice in the Alliance was raised against the

fierce political persecution and victimization of proletarian organizations during the last election campaign. Working people fighting for their demands were ruthlessly suppressed during the election in Rio Grande do Sul. This is in full harmony with the intentions of the rival oligarchy groups.'

The Manifesto was seen as a declaration of adherence to the Communist movement. However, I was not yet a Communist and was still thinking of the possibility of setting up an organization with a radical platform capable of joining the Communist Party as an independent political force. Some Brazilian intellectuals holding Trotskyite views decided that I was the man for them. They sought me out in Buenos Aires, and for a while influenced my quest for a revolutionary road. Hence my idea of a Revolutionary Action League and the publication of a new Manifesto to the Brazilian people in July 1930. It did not criticize or attack the Brazilian Communist Party, but some of its formulas reflected leftist, sectarian and even typically Trotskyite views.

It was at this point that I met a man, a Communist, who helped me choose the correct path, reject imperialist and latifundist blandishments, break out of alien influence and become a soldier of the consistently revolutionary army, the Communist and workers' movement. This man was Comrade Rustico, at that time head of the Comintern South-American Bureau in Buenos Aires. He contacted me through Argentine comrades shortly after my May Manifesto, which he highly praised. But he had no praise for the manifesto of the Revolutionary Action League: he frankly told me it was a step back from the May Manifesto. Whereas the latter was evidence of my sincere rapprochement with the Communist movement, the former called for a political organization which, not being proletarian, could only become a bourgeois party.

By this time Argentina was under a military dictatorship and it was not easy to arrange meetings with Rustico. At the two or three we managed, he told me of Lenin's fight against the Narodniks, Economists and Mensheviks. These lectures on the history of the Bolshevik movement helped me appreciate the significance of the Russian revolution.

I was arrested on October 2, 1930, on the eve of the rising that brought Vargas to power. The chief of the Argentine police threatened to have me shot. The reason—my unpublished United Press interview which had fallen into the hands of the police. In it, I said that the Argentine generals had sold out to U.S. imperialism. I was released on condition that I quit the country forthwith. I made my way to Montevideo in neighboring Uruguay, where I was joined by Comrade Rustico. We met frequently and had long talks. These and my own studies of political problems convinced me that my Revolutionary Action League plan was both erroneous and unfeasible.

When the Brazilian army took action in October 1930—it was instigated by the Liberal Alliance—I sent a friend to the Brazilian border, where I had many supporters. My purpose was to find

out whether there was any possibility of organizing an armed movement to change the direction of the popular struggle unfolding in Brazil. But on October 24 President Washington Luis was overthrown by a generals' coup. The armed struggle subsided. Vargas took over and struck a deal with U.S. and British imperialism. As a concession to the latter he appointed Jose Maria Whitaker, an agent of the British banking interests in Brazil, his Minister of Finance.

I followed the activities of the Vargas government from Montevideo. All my former Column comrades held important posts in it, with the exception of Antonio Siqueira Campos, who had been killed in an air disaster. I issued a series of statements exposing the reactionary character of the new government, its submission to the imperialists and latifundists, its deeply anti-popular essence.

My break with the Tenentists strongly influenced the formation of my new ideological views and brought me closer to the Communist and workers' movement. In a statement issued in March 1931, I said: 'To all sincere and honest revolutionaries and workers who at this time of disappointment and despair come to me for advice, I can indicate only one road - agrarian anti-imperialist revolution with the unconditional hegemony of the proletarian party, the Brazilian Communist Party, the Brazil section of the Communist International.'

In the land of the Great October

The Vargas government amnestied participants in the Tenentist movement and the Column. But with the anti-Communist terror in Brazil, there could be no question of my returning. Life in Montevideo was hard, and the Uruguayan comrades suggested I go to the Soviet Union, where I could find work as an engineer and study Marxism-Leninism and Soviet experience. I readily agreed, and in November 1931 I arrived in Moscow together with my family.

To one who had just seen West European capitals, Moscow in those days seemed a very depressing place. In the capitalist countries all the shops were chock full of goods which no one was buying because of the economic crisis. In Moscow the shops were empty. Everything was rationed and one had to stand in line to buy even bare essentials. For months we had to take our tea without sugar. Buying clothing or shoes was always a problem.

Despite all these difficulties, I could not but admire the gigantic effort of the Soviet people to complete the first five-year plan in four years. I was deeply impressed by the work of the Communist Party, the way it patiently explained to the people the reasons for these temporary difficulties. In a historically short span, the Soviet Union was laying the foundation of socialist society.

It was in the USSR that one could fully appreciate the vanguard role of the Marxist-Leninist party, its ability always to be in touch with the masses, carry out its political line, unite, organize and inspire the people in the accomplishment of tasks that required a

high degree of consciousness, utter dedication and selfless effort. I attended meetings of the Comintern Latin American Secretariat and thus kept in touch with the struggle in other countries under the leadership of their Communist and workers' parties. I attended the 12th and 13th Plenums of the Comintern's Executive Committee, followed the fight against fascism, made the acquaintance of prominent Communist leaders Togliatti, Thaelmann, Pieck, Thorez, Kuusinen, Bela Kun, Wang Ming, and many others.

Together with Spanish worker delegations I visited various parts of the country, the great construction projects in which were concentrated the gigantic efforts of the Soviet people. It was here that the foundations were laid for the present strength of the Soviet Union.

My stay in the USSR determined my political future. The Brazilian Communist Party at first considered it inadvisable to admit a man of my social background. But in August 1934 the Party central organ, *Classe Operaria*, announced that I had been admitted to the Party. That was the culmination of my evolution from Tenentism to the proletarian party. From an officer in the service of the ruling classes I became a soldier in the great army of the proletariat.

Before returning to Brazil at the end of 1934, I had the good fortune to meet Georgi Dimitrov. We discussed the situation in Brazil, where the fight against fascism was gaining momentum. On parting, Dimitrov said that the duty of a Communist intellectual was selflessly to serve the working class, safeguard the unity of the Party and support its leadership.

All that was nearly 40 years ago. The years since then have been years of tense struggle, long spells in prison, the difficulties and dangers of clandestinity, the ebb and flow of the revolutionary movement. Today the masses on our continent share the communist conviction that only socialism can solve their problems. Looking back on this long path, I am happy and proud in the knowledge that I had made the right choice. It confirms the accuracy of Lenin's thought: 'We cannot be revolutionary democrats in the twentieth century, and in a capitalist country if we fear to advance towards socialism' (Vol. 25, p. 356).



To our readers

The Editorial Board and Editorial Council, representatives of 45 Communist and Workers' parties, convey to you Best Wishes for the New Year, for success in the revolutionary struggle, for your personal well-being.

We are inaugurating a new section at readers' requests. It will contain letters and replies to readers' questions, articles suggested by our readers. It will, we hope, make for closer ties and cooperation with our readers.

Our readers are many and varied. They live in practically every country of the world, speak many different languages. We receive letters from leaders of fraternal parties, from workers, farmers and intellectuals. A composite portrait of our reader would have to reflect his part in building communism and socialism, in the offensive against the imperialist monopolies, in the struggle to uphold national independence. All our readers are united in their dedication to peace, socialism and social progress, their fidelity to Marxism-Leninism and the political and moral ideals of the Communist Party. They are front-rankers of the world revolutionary movement.

Many recent letters note that the journal is now entering its fifteenth year: in September it will be fifteen years since the first issue of *Problems of Peace and Socialism (World Marxist Review)*. And during these years many representatives of fraternal parties have helped to put out the journal. After a stint in the editorial offices, they return to their respective countries. Definite traditions have taken shape; the principles and standards of our work have been tested by time. We would like to acquaint the reader with them and with our plans.

How we work. Representatives of the parties suggest themes for discussion and articles for publication. These, together with other suggestions, are examined in commissions and at meetings of the Editorial Council.

Members of the Editorial Council and Editorial Board initiate and conduct creative discussions, travel to various countries to participate in conferences, seminars, etc., organized by the Com-

munist parties, arrange for articles or to meet our readers. Party representatives organize research-group discussion of pressing problems of the Communist and workers' movement, with the results published in the journal.

All our work is on a collective basis.

We draw on the rich experience of the world Communist press. Addressing the staff of the *Communist International* magazine in 1937, Georgi Dimitrov said that the journal's center is where the struggle of the working masses takes place, and the editorial office (then in Moscow) is but a representation. The same with this journal – its offices in Prague are but a representation. Most of our material comes from different countries, in many cases direct from the anti-imperialist battlefield.

In all our work we are guided by the recommendations of the December 1971 Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties that reviewed the work of the journal.

What have we accomplished in 1972? More than 80 countries figure in the articles and international discussion materials, situation accounts, book reviews, etc. All in all, we published more than 300 items, of which about 100 were contributed by General Secretaries and leading functionaries of fraternal Parties.

In them, we discussed crucial problems, theoretical and practical, of the international Communist movement, socialist construction, the anti-imperialist struggle. We held 10 theoretical conferences and seminars. We have been receiving more letters from readers and there have been more readers' conferences – in Bulgaria, Hungary, Poland, the GDR and FRG. Our representatives met with readers in the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and India.

What we plan for 1973. In scanning through this issue you will notice many innovations. They have been introduced at the suggestions of readers. For instance, F. Abdullah of Syria, S. Krasilnikov of Moscow, propose a series of articles depicting the features of developed socialism. One such article appears in this issue. We are beginning a series on Latin America, a political portrait of the continent, in compliance with suggestions from W. Jarvis of Syracuse, New York. We also acknowledge letters from readers Luis Delgado (Cuba), Kula Abdulayev (Baku, USSR), Walenty Czarnik (Poland), and Migel Renteria (Stockholm). Their suggestions have been taken into account.

In common with previous years, we shall devote much space to international Marxist discussions, which, judging from letters, are popular with readers. International theoretical conferences sponsored by the journal with the participation of representatives of many parties will continue to be a regular feature. Problems listed for discussion in the coming year include specifics of the transition from socialism to communism, Communist party experience in the fight for Left unity, neo-fascism and manifestations of the danger from the Right, the condition of foreign workers in Western Europe.

We will concentrate on articles dealing with such vital problems as unity of the world Communist movement, the fight for socialism, peace and security, for a united anti-imperialist front.

We invite our readers to take an active part in the work of the journal. We await your letters and questions, suggestions and remarks. Address your letters to our Editorial Office in Prague or to any of the addresses listed on the back cover.

Questions invited

Dear Romesh Chandra,

Readers who write to us suggest that we should publish more items on the forms and methods used by social forces in their struggle for peace and international security. Considerable changes towards international détente are taking place in the world arena today. What is the impact of the social forces on the process? We would like you as General Secretary of the World Peace Council to discuss this topical problem.

If you are agreeable to the offer we will announce it in this journal and ask readers to send us questions they wish to put to you.

Editorial Board

PROBLEMS OF PEACE AND SOCIALISM

To the Editors of **Problems of Peace and Socialism**

Thank you for your letter and the interest you show in my work. I shall gladly answer questions bearing on the **opportunities of contributing to the maintenance of world peace and security which social forces have today.**

I look forward to readers' questions.

*Romesh Chandra,
General Secretary
World Peace Council*

And so, we have the consent of Romesh Chandra, General Secretary of the World Peace Council.

Readers are invited to send in questions for Romesh Chandra.

Centrism: a variety of opportunism

Reader Vaclav Novak (Czechoslovakia) writes: 'The Communist movement has to fight continuously against Right-wing revisionism and "Leftism." But Lenin also sharply criticized centrism as another brand of opportunism. In what way did it endanger the working-class movement, what were its socio-political roots, and can it re-emerge today?'

Interest in the problem is also expressed in letters from readers I. Jensen (Norway) and J. Hernandez (Ecuador).

Teodosio Varela, candidate member of the CC Executive, CP Colombia, answers.

Opportunism, although its essence never really changes, can appear in various brands and forms, depending on the circumstances of the time. One such brand is centrism, a trend in the international socialist movement hostile to Marxism-Leninism.

Its origins go back to before World War I, but it emerged as a distinct trend with the outbreak of hostilities, after the collapse of the Second International. Two irreconcilable camps appeared: the opportunists who had degenerated into social-chauvinists, and the revolutionary internationalists.

The 'centrists' were, as the name implies, those who claimed to stand between them. Internationally, centrism, the 'marsh,' was identified with Karl Kautsky (and often referred to as Kautskyism) a leading exponent of centrism and all it stood for. The question, of course, was not so much that of personalities, notably Kautsky and his allies in Germany, as of an international type of pseudo-Marxists who professed to steer clear of extremes while actually drifting towards Right-wing opportunism masked as centrism.

In works written after the first Russian revolution and, especially, in 1914-1916, Lenin presented a comprehensive explanation of the political essence, class nature and tactics of centrism.

As defined by Lenin, centrism is *the most subtly camouflaged and cloaked opportunism*, 'a blend of loyalty to Marxism in word, and subordination to opportunism in deed' (V. I. Lenin, *Coll. Works*, Vol. 21, p. 312) – which is what makes it so harmful and so dangerous for the ideological independence of the working class. Open renegades, Lenin wrote, are 'better' for the proletariat than covert ones (Ibid., p. 187). When World War I began, the overt, cynical social-chauvinists openly denounced revolutionary action and made no secret of their allegiance to their governments. They were an apparent evil.

Camouflaged, Kautskian opportunism was another matter, it hid its defense of chauvinism behind a mask of scientific aloofness and objectivity, and was harder to expose. The centrists' claim was that they never deviated from Marxism: they were merely elaborating new tactics and being 'flexible' in the new historical conditions and circumstances. 'Undisguised opportunism, which

immediately repels the working masses,' Lenin stressed, 'is not so frightful and injurious as this theory of the golden mean, which uses Marxist catchwords to justify opportunist practice' (Vol. 21, p. 257).

Centrism had its social base among the worker aristocracy and petty bourgeoisie, whose very circumstances compelled them to vacillate between the proletariat and the big bourgeoisie, making them incapable of an independent stand on fundamental class issues. Hence the lack of political *principle* so characteristic of the centrists, their tactics of conciliation, of obfuscating contradictions between the consistently revolutionary line of the proletarian party and opportunism in national labor movements and internationally. The centrists sought to reconcile all and everything, to blunt practical and theoretical issues of principle, adjust conflicts, hiding their ideological sources, and neutralize conflicting trends. The 'brokers' of conciliation justified their unprincipled diplomacy of peacemakers and unification projects by pleading the great principle of proletarian unity. Theirs was an indiscriminate unity of all without distinction, a medley of diverse elements irrespective of convictions. With utter lack of principle, they held that if individuals, groups or factions could not be brought together on a common platform, the platform should be stretched to make it acceptable to all.

The opponents of Marxism have often cried 'unity' to mask its disruption. They called the revolutionary Marxists, the Bolsheviks, splitters, accusing them of intolerance, inability to cooperate and to conduct a constructive dialogue with other sections of the labor movement. The accusations were many, but there was not a grain of truth in any of them. Lenin, the Bolshevik Communists, regarded revolutionary unity as a prerequisite for success in the class struggle. What they rejected was unity 'at any cost,' philistine conciliation dooming revolutionary work to impotence and favoring the wreckers of genuine unity and certainly not its exponents.

The theory of centrism substituted eclecticism for revolutionary Marxism. It was *eclecticism* that characterized the theoreticians of the Second International, who sought to combine Marxism with other philosophies.

Yet adherents of the 'center' claim to be innovators in theory and politics, to be representative of an independent trend and to be asserting their own, allegedly open-minded, point of view. They like to present themselves as broad-minded people who have risen to dizzying heights of impartiality, stand 'above dissension' and have overcome the 'extremes' of the conflicting sides of a higher synthesis. In actual fact, however, they are, by their very essence, incapable of being a 'special power' or independent force, just as they are incapable of offering a clear-cut, definitive answer to any important social question. 'These gentlemen,' to use the words of Marx and Engels, 'have almost as many views as they have heads.'

Lenin rejected the pretensions of unprincipled centrist groups which sought to form a trend of their own with no definite ideological, class platform, owed their ephemeral existence to passing

circumstances or political intrigue, and were at best capable of creating a 'spray' but certainly not a current.

In the Russian labor movement centrism was propagated by Trotskyite groups. Trotsky, who, in Lenin's words, 'all too often has represented the "Centre" policy in Russia' (Vol. 23, p. 203), was the principal spokesman of ostentatious conciliation, a political deserter. Today Trotsky's name is usually associated with the Leftist and ultra-Left slogans of some neo-Trotskyites. But there is a system in Trotskyite metamorphoses: in times of mounting class struggle, at historical junctures, the opportunist moves easily from Right to Left or vice versa, depending on what he sees as the more suitable position for attacking Marxism-Leninism. But from whatever side he attacks, his position is always opposed to the consistent proletarian line. Thus, before the October Revolution Trotsky embraced centrism and conciliation as a means to fight the Bolsheviks. What were his tactics?

In the years of reaction (1908-1912) that followed the defeat of the first Russian revolution, the Bolshevik Party could not operate legally, and some people began to advocate the creation of an open, nebulous organization of a liberal-bourgeois type, the liquidation of the underground revolutionary proletarian party. This anti-Party faction is known in the history of the CPSU as the 'Liquidators.'

At a time when the Party was being torn apart by irreconcilable differences, Trotsky came out with meaningless, clamorous calls for 'unity' which would have the Bolsheviks reconciled and united with the Liquidators - on an opportunist platform, of course. Essentially a Liquidator on all basic issues of the revolutionary movement, Trotsky claimed to be personally above factions.

Opportunist agitation against the 'underground,' for the creation of a nebulous open party was firmly resisted by the politically motivated workers. This forced the enemies of Marxism to maneuver, distort the essence of ideological arguments and conceal their views. Trotsky helped them in this. 'The Liquidators,' Lenin wrote, 'advocate an "open," legal party. They are now afraid (the workers have made them afraid, and Trotsky advises them to be afraid) to say so plainly' (Vol. 18, p. 394).

Lenin exposed the centrists' muddling of important ideological and tactical issues, he ridiculed the ostentatious reconciliation of pseudo-Marxists who, observing the fight against opportunist groups, only bewailed the harm of controversy and thought unity possible without the airing of differences. Protests à la Trotsky against polemical 'extremes' actually justified the condoning of revisionism and hampered the fight against it.

Lenin caricatured the image of a conciliator in his article 'Conversation,' written in the form of a dialogue between two Bystanders. Replying to the distressed First Bystander, the Second Bystander, in whom one readily sees a consistent Marxist, says: 'There can be no struggle without enthusiasm and no enthusiasm without extremes; and as far as I'm concerned I hate most of all people who focus their attention on "extremes" in the struggle of

classes, parties and factions. I always get the impulse – pardon me again – to shout at those people: “I don’t care if you drink, as long as you understand what you are doing”’ (Vol. 19, p. 44).

Looking back at the centrists’ activities, one can see that, in the final analysis, they led to betrayal of the revolutionary cause and rejection of Marxism. Thus, after the October Revolution in Russia, Kautsky became an open enemy of the working class, and today the very title of Lenin’s work, ‘The Proletarian Revolution and Renegade Kautsky,’ is a constant reminder of the fate of centrism. Trotsky, too, was till the end a sworn enemy of scientific communism.

Centrism, as a tendency to maneuver between opposing camps, is today as harmful as ever. A reminder of this are recent events within the Communist Party of Venezuela. When a revisionist group headed by Petkoff came out against the Marxist-Leninist fundamentals of the Party, P. Marquez, then a leading Party member, shielded and defended the splitters from a seemingly neutral, centrist stand. At the time hardly anyone expected Marquez to end up betraying the Party. But, as Comrade Jesus Faria, CPV General Secretary, notes, when faced with the alternative – the Party or Petkoff – ‘he chose the latter.’ This is the logic of centrism. The conclusion is that it should be combatted at its very inception.

Doubtlessly, there were people who genuinely believed the Centrists were motivated by lofty objectives. Nor did Lenin lump died-in-the-wool opportunists together with rank-and-file Social-Democrats, with workers who had become victims of false theories. Some of those caught up in the ‘middle’ current, Lenin stressed, can be saved and restored to socialism, but there is only one way of achieving this: through a most decisive struggle against the overt, conscious opportunists. Lenin held that all proletarian parties are by duty bound to expose opportunism, including its centrist brand; they must win away from the bourgeoisie the small proprietors who are duped by it, and the millions of working people who enjoy more or less petty-bourgeois conditions of life (see Vol. 22, p. 193).

In exposing centrist tactics Lenin showed how opportunism masks itself. Lenin teaches revolutionaries to be vigilant, to remember that with the victory of Marxism in the workers’ movement its enemies attempt to carry the fight inside the Communist movement (and in this they see the only possibility of success). We should never forget that centrism is opportunism and revisionism, only slightly changed, confused, garbed in verbal embellishments.

It is, evidently, not enough to seek direct analogies between the old centrism and various manifestations of opportunism in the present-day revolutionary movement. The lessons of the fight waged by Lenin and other consistent Marxist-Leninists against centrism are of fundamental importance. Our opponents’ sallies against Marxism-Leninism continue in different forms and by different means. Thus, nowadays various ‘philosophical schools’ in capitalist countries seek to emasculate the theory’s revolutionary soul under the pretext of creative development. Today, as before, opportunists

often distort the revolutionary teaching while claiming that all they want is to take fuller cognizance of the 'new conditions,' the 'new situation,' to draw 'new intellectual forces' into our movement, and so on, and so forth. Such claims are sometimes even used to justify the injection of nationalism into the labor movement (as if the history of the struggle against social-chauvinism, which had sought to take the proletariat to different 'national homes,' is easily forgotten).

One can find much in common with centrism in trends in the world revolutionay and mass democratic movements advocating ideas of a 'third force' or 'third road.' In Colombia, for example, such notions are peddled as 'Colombian socialism,' 'Christian socialism,' etc. The phenomenon, of course, is complex and it cannot be defined in one word, but the attempts of some theoreticians to prove that there exists a road which overcomes the 'extremes' of capitalism and communism cannot but remind us of those who had once preached the policy of the 'golden mean.'

Whose axe does extremism grind?

This was the title of a political commentary by Jan Prazsky in WMR, June 1972. Readers have expressed different views. We print two letters and Jan Prazsky's answers.

Letter from Neil Gould.

'I read Jan Prazsky's article with great interest. However, I must note that it says nothing of the cause of the proliferation of uncoordinated actions of small groups engaging in individual terrorism and violence, or of the attitude of principle that the main revolutionary leadership should take towards them in face of the enemy.'

Gould next takes exception to the term 'extremism' in a political sense, because, he says, it is applicable to the opposing social forces – extreme imperialist, as well as revolutionary.

'The concept of extremism,' he writes, 'connotes something rather positive for the ordinary worker in a capitalist country . . .

'In Marxist literature, however, the term "extremist" is being used in a distinctly negative sense, which is confusing, because the reader doesn't quite know who is being hit.

'True, the commentator makes clear in the very first line that he is going to speak of elements of a Leftist complexion, but in later reference to "extremist excesses" in the FRG and other countries, he evidently means police agents and fascists, as well as the half-baked revolutionary elements. This is why an unscientific term like "extremist" does not make for lucidity.

'The greatest drawback of the article is that it does not show the attitude of the genuine Communist, in the actual conditions of anti-

imperialist struggle and not merely in theory, towards men who perform desperate acts of terrorism against the enemy or enemy agents. . . .

'Surely a real revolutionary can never side with the exploiters against anyone striking at the enemy, albeit unwisely and at the wrong time, and even if 20 per cent of the organization he belongs to consists of police agents.

'Lenin set us an example when, through knowing about Gapon's provocation in St. Petersburg in 1905, he insisted that the Communists should join the demonstration with revolutionary slogans. So did Herzen, the Russian revolutionary democrat, who remained a friend of Barthélémy, a disillusioned Communist, to the end, even though the latter ended his career with a robbery and was hanged as a common criminal.'

Gould justifies the 'insensate deeds' of exponents of individual terrorism and violence. He thinks the Communists are to blame, because these men were 'doomed by our inactivity to remain pre-Marxist revolutionaries in this epoch of mass Communist parties.' Gould writes: 'We should ask ourselves why a man like Huey Newton* traversed the entire parabola of his fighting career without mastering Marxism-Leninism.' He thinks this happened because the Communist Party of the USA had not put the militant mass of underprivileged workers on the road to Marxism-Leninism. For him it is a sign of sectarianism that the French Communist Party did not attend the funeral of the young Maoist killed in a scuffle with guards at the gate of the Renault plant.

Letter from Alonso Munoz

'The item "Whose Axe Does Extremism Grind?" is timely. Though you have answered your own question, we should like to add a few examples from Honduras.

'In our country the ultra-Leftists are organized in a body styling itself "Communist Party of Honduras." The impostors ignored the fact that a party rightfully known as Communist has long been in existence in this country, and took the same name for their own "movement." Their aim is obvious. Yet they are the only ones to recognize themselves as "Communists", for the real Communist Party was founded and became known more than 18 years ago, or seven years before the ultra-Leftists appeared on the scene. . . .

'You have pointed out rightly that they are "shot through with hate for the Communist movement". This applies to our ultra-Leftists as well.'

'Several years ago,' the letter goes on to say, 'The Communist Party branded the ultra-Leftists as Maoist agents. The "Leftists" denied it, but later developments bore out this view. Their publications, *Unidad* and *Abril*, are of a Maoist type. They went out of their way to publish Lin Piao's report to the Ninth CPC Congress with a preface saying it was an exposition of their own policy. Their Sixth Plenum adopted a "Main Document" whose interna-

*Leader of the American Black Panther Party, who began with calls for violence and ended up advocating 'Black capitalism.' - Ed.

tional section reads like a word-for-word translation from the Chinese. Their arguments are nothing but unsupported allegations, insults and calumnies common in CPC publications. . . .

'In Tegucigalpa, our capital, where the ultra-Leftists are concentrated in the National University, they address people in the streets about "armed" or "guerrilla" struggle. On the other hand, they all but outdo police provocateurs in slandering the Communists.'

The Leftists claim that they are the only ones with enough courage to defy the arbitrary regime in Honduras, where democracy is conspicuous by its absence and the Constitution is ignored. However, their revolutionary activity is a parody of political struggle.

On Student Day, June 11, 1972, the letter notes, extremist elements smashed in the doors of an American bank to steal, of all things, the window curtain. Afterwards the reactionary *Prensa* gleefully printed a photograph of one of these 'revolutionaries' with a curtain draped over his shoulder. The ultra-Leftists also raided the Labor Ministry's Social Services School.

The provocations and terrorism, Munoz writes, are designed to spark off police repressions, for the ultra-Leftists hold that the atmosphere created by repressions is particularly favorable for revolutionary action. In fact, however, reaction and imperialism take advantage of the 'Leftist' excesses to discredit revolutionary ideas, step up their anti-Communist campaign and attack socialism.

The letter stresses that the ultra-Leftists have no bonds with the people and are particularly far removed from the peasants, even though they describe them as the 'main class of the revolution.' Their social basis in the towns is limited to a section of students and handicraftsmen but even among these elements they are fast losing ground. They keep breaking up into splinter groups and never stop bickering. Recently, one such group expelled from the Communist Party fell apart. Its leaders accuse one another of appropriating funds supplied by the CPC. One of them, Robledo Castro, claims the cash was stolen from him in a Mexican hotel, and others resort to similar dodges.

'Honduran reality,' the letter says, 'is a good school. It will help to isolate these "revolutionaries" and others like them, who disregard national realities and scorn the international experience of the Communist and Workers' parties fighting against imperialism and the oligarchy.'

Jan Prazsky's reply

Alonso Munoz's letter attests to the harm of extremism to the working-class movement. It deals not with abstract theory, but with the everyday practice of 'leftism.' And it answers many of the questions raised by our other readers.

At first glance, Neil Gould's letter attracts one by its sincerity and deep sympathy for all revolutionaries. We agree that a real revolutionary would never side with the exploiters. In sentiment and class sympathy the Communists are on the side of those who

are fighting against exploitation, injustice and oppression. They know the social causes that prompt people lacking proletarian consistency and ignorant of the right way to victory to carry out 'desperate acts of terrorism against the enemy or enemy agents.' Our commentary said that Leftist extremism is 'engendered by the conditions of state-monopoly capitalism with its reactionary extremes, its suppression of the personality, and dictatorship of the moneybags.' It is in this atmosphere that anarchist sentiments are gaining currency again, especially among the youth, in a petty-bourgeois milieu. The imperialist racial policy, national oppression, social inequality and injustice, the brutality of the coercive machinery of the bourgeois state touch off retaliatory acts of violence. Indeed, they are often provoked by reactionaries, who need a pretext for striking at the revolutionary liberation movement. That is just why the 'uncoordinated actions of small groups engaging in individual terrorism and violence,' while posing no real threat to the capitalist system, breed additional dangers and difficulties for the proletariat's revolutionary mass struggle.

But to explain the social roots of terrorism and extremism is not the same as to justify them. The adage, 'to understand is to forgive,' does not apply to politics. This is the point on which we cannot agree with Neil Gould, for his letter is a plea not to criticize Left extremism, nor expose its adventurist tactics, though they injure the political struggle of the working class. Moreover, Gould's line of reasoning suggests that he is inclined to equate disapproval of 'desperate acts of terrorism' to 'siding with the exploiters.'

Indeed, he seems to say that it is the duty of Communists to support 'insensate acts' and to side without qualification with anyone 'who strikes at the enemy, albeit unwisely and at the wrong time, and even if 20 per cent of the organization he belongs to consists of police agents.' Nor are his arguments made more convincing by his reference to history and authorities. Besides, whether he likes it or not, he is arguing against the historical facts.

Take Gould's reference to Lenin, who, he says, 'set us an example when though knowing of Gapon's provocation in St. Petersburg in 1905, he insisted that the Communists should join in the demonstration with revolutionary slogans.' That is wrong. In late 1904 and early 1905 Lenin did not know the real facts about the Gaponiad, which were revealed many months later. As late as April 23 (May 6), 1905, speaking to the Third Congress of the RSDLP of his meeting with Gapon abroad (where Gapon fled after the January events), Lenin said that Gapon had impressed him as being 'unquestionably devoted to the revolution, though unfortunately without a consistent revolutionary outlook' (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 8, p. 416). In *Two Tactics of Social Democracy in the Democratic Revolution*, a work he wrote in June and July 1905, Lenin described Gapon as a 'revolutionary democrat, (Vol. 9, p. 55). This being so, how can anyone say that Lenin knew of Gapon's provocation and yet was willing to cooperate with him? Gapon's link with the police did not become known until March 1906, when he was

secretly tried and executed by the workers. So much for one of our reader's key arguments.

The sentimental story of Herzen's relations with the 'disillusioned Communist' (?) Barthélémy, proves nothing either. Gould infers from it that Herzen supported exponents of extremism even when they stooped to plain felony. Yet Herzen's attitude to terrorism is better illustrated by his condemning the attempted assassination of Alexander II in April 1866, because, as he saw it, it merely aroused sympathy for the tsar. 'That shot on April 4,' Herzen wrote, 'was not to our liking. We expected it to cause misfortunes and were outraged by the responsibility assumed by a fanatic. Generally speaking, we have a strong aversion to surprises, whether at birthday parties or in public squares: the former never come off and the later are almost always harmful.'

The *advisability* of a fighting method, and whether or not it benefits or impairs the struggle in specific conditions, or meets the need of the hour, is of crucial importance to proletarian revolutionaries. Neil Gould examines the matter almost entirely from a moral or ethical standpoint. He overlooks the fact that the Communist movement combats Leftist extremism (and every manifestation of Right-wing opportunism) not for dogmatic or sectarian reasons, but with the sole aim of advancing the worldwide revolutionary process and preventing waste of manpower, particularly of the young people, in hopeless ventures.

This was recommended to Communists by Lenin, who refused to be misled by ultra-revolutionary rhetoric. '... We maintain, of course, our old conviction, confirmed by decades of experience,' he wrote to Franz Koritschoner in October, 1916, 'that individual terrorist acts are *inexpedient* methods of political struggle.' While he did not totally rule out the instrument of political terrorism, Lenin pointed out that 'as revolutionary tactics individual attacks are *inexpedient* and harmful. Only the mass movement can be considered genuine political struggle. Only in direct, immediate connection with the mass movement can and must individual terrorist acts be of value.' (Vol. 35, p. 238). Both the earlier and subsequent revolutionary practice proved Lenin to be right.

But to return to Gould's letter. His complaints against some Communist parties with relation to outbreaks of Leftist extremism, which reflect the political immaturity of their perpetrators, are surely unwarranted. The parties provide a Marxist-Leninist answer to them. The various social strata and classes of bourgeois society do not acquire political awareness simultaneously. Nor does the existence of Communist parties necessarily guarantee that members of these strata or classes will necessarily assimilate Marxism-Leninism and acquire a sound class mentality. It is naive, therefore, to blame the U.S. Communists for unstable pretty-bourgeois radicals like Huey Newton refusing to take the Marxist-Leninist road and clinging to their utopian reactionary illusions.

The Black Panther leaders, including Newton, had an opportunity to follow the correct way. 'At one point,' wrote Henry Winston, National Chairman of the CPUSA, '... it appeared to some that the

Black Panthers might be turning away from these original concepts, that they might supplant the Little Red Book and . . . anarchism with Marx and Lenin. This was in the summer of 1969 when the Black Panther Party called for studying the historic report on the united front by Georgi Dimitrov. But instead of linking theory with practice, the actions taken by the Black Panther turned the concept of the united front into a sectarian caricature of the Marxist-Leninist principles on which it is based. . . . They disdained the working class and glorified the super-“revolutionary” tactics of confrontation by an anarchistic elite’ (‘The Crisis of the Black Panther Party,’ WMR, No. 12, December 1971, p. 28).

Just as groundlessly Gould questions the wisdom of the French CP’s refusal to have anything to do with demonstrations held by French Maoists. On March 1, 1972, the Political Bureau of the FCP stressed that, under the guise of protesting against the killing at Renault’s, ‘Leftist’ groups had organized a demonstration against the Communist Party and the General Confederation of Labor. ‘The same groups want to carry out a similar operation against the CP and GCT at the dead man’s funeral. Naturally, the Communists will not join in the demonstration, which is, moreover, intended to split the working-class and democratic forces.’

Now, Gould’s question about the ‘attitude of the main revolutionary leadership’ to ‘leftist’ extremism. A brief recapitulation ought to suffice since the commentary dealt with the matter at some length.

The communist parties see their task in showing that ‘leftist’ adventurism is politically indefensible and harmful. They countervail it with consistent Marxist-Leninist revolutionary tactics. But they do not identify ‘leaders’ and provocateurs with temporarily misled young people. The latter wish in good faith to bring social change nearer, but simply do not know how to go about it. Marxist-Leninists try to protect the youth against the pernicious influence of ‘Left’-wing adventurists and to direct its energy to genuinely revolutionary political action. At the same time, they firmly resist reactionary propaganda attempts to brand every participant in the armed national liberation struggle as a ‘terrorist.’

Lastly, there is Gould’s objection to our journal’s using the term ‘extremism.’ True to his inclination to search for historical analogies (some of which are risky, as we have seen), he claims that ‘the concept of extremism connotes something rather positive as far as the ordinary worker in a capitalist country is concerned.’ Reality, however, does not bear him out, as is seen in the widespread condemnation of Leftist extremism by class-conscious workers in various countries. Incidentally, this is also reflected in the fact, admitted by Gould, that in Marxist journalism ‘extremism’ has become an unquestionably negative concept. There is nothing unscientific in this term, for it merely denotes advocates of extreme views. By simply adding the adjective ‘Rightist’ or ‘Leftist,’ we specify the kind of extreme that is meant, which is necessary.

These are comments which Neil Gould’s letter invites.



Army of wage labor

Prepared by the Statistics Group, Institute of the International Working-Class Movement, Academy of Sciences of the USSR.

There were 230 million wage and salary earners in the capitalist world in 1972. The following table reveals the growth trend of wage labor.

<i>Distribution by key economic branches in 1971</i>								
	(million)					(per cent)		
	1960	1971	Industry ¹	Agri-culture ²	Service Industry ³	Industry ¹	Agri-culture ²	Service Industry ³
Total ⁴	190	225	116	7	102	51.7	3.1	45.2
USA	56.1	74.1 ⁵	31.9	1.3	40.9	43.0	1.8	55.2
Canada	5.3 ⁶	7.4	3.3	0.2	3.9	44.6	2.7	52.7
Western Europe ⁴	99	109	62	5	41	56.9	4.6	38.5
FRG	20.0 ⁶	22.4 ⁵	13.9	0.3	8.2	62.1	1.3	36.6
France	13.6 ⁷	16.2 ⁵	8.5	0.6	7.1	52.5	3.7	43.8
Italy	13.4 ⁶	13.3 ⁵	7.9	1.3	4.1	59.4	9.8	30.8
Britain	22.0 ⁶	22.4 ⁸	12.6	0.4	9.4	56.2	1.8	42.0
Australia	3.2 ⁶	4.0 ⁸	2.1	0.2	1.7	52.5	5.0	42.5
Japan	24.0	33.5 ⁵	18.0	0.5	15.0	53.7	1.5	44.8

¹Extractive and manufacturing industries, electricity, gas and water, construction, transport and communications.

²Including forestry and the fishing industry. ³Service industry, trade, finance, Civil Service.

⁴Estimates. ⁵1970. ⁶1961. ⁷1962. ⁸1966.

Sources: *Year Book of Labor Statistics*, 1965, 1971, ILO, Geneva, and national yearbooks and monthlies.

In a number of developed capitalist countries, over half the employed population is engaged in the service industry. This has been true of the United States ever since 1945, Canada since 1958 and Belgium, the Netherlands and Sweden since 1969/1970. In Japan, the FRG, France, Britain and Italy, however, the service industry accounts for only 30 to 45 per cent of the employed.

The nature of traditional occupations is changing and new trades and professions come into being. Changes in professional skills are greatest in the USA. In the twenty years (1947-1967) since the appearance of the *Dictionary of Occupational Titles*, about 8,000 entries were taken out and over 6,000 included. About 5,000 more occupations had been added by 1972. New occupations are born

of the scientific and technological revolution. The proportion of white-collar workers is growing. In the USA they add up to roughly half the total of the labor force. In the FRG, 8.8 million of the 20.8 million members of the working class hold non-manual jobs, according to the Institute of Social Sciences under the CC SUPG.

The use of female labor is expanding. In the developed capitalist countries women exceed 35 per cent of the labor force (against 25.6 per cent in Italy and 39.2 per cent in the USA).

The core which cements and guides the working class in the developed capitalist countries is the *industrial proletariat*, which ranges from 85 to 90 million. It is made up of workers employed in the extractive and manufacturing industries, construction, transport, communications and utilities, and includes part of the agricultural proletariat, whose labor has become a variety of industrial labor due to the rise of agro-industrial complexes.

Growing unemployment

All countries show an absolute (Britain, Italy, France) decline in employment or decline in employment growth rate (USA, FRG, Canada, Japan), mainly in material production.

In the United States, the drop in employment growth rate between 1970 and 1972 was accompanied by a sharp decline in the proportion of job holders in the extractive and manufacturing industries (by 21,000 and 759,000, respectively, in 1971), construction (86,000) and transport (23,000). At the same time employment went up in trade (by 252,000 in 1971), the service industry (287,000), the Civil Service (232,000) and finance (110,000). In Britain the total of employed fell off after 1966 by five per cent, mainly due to cuts in the manufacturing and extractive industries, as well as in agriculture and construction. There as in the United States, employment in the Civil Service, finance and the service industry is up. An indication of the decreased demand for labor is the drop in the number of hours worked in manufacturing (due to less overtime and a shorter working week). In 1971 this decline was 3.8 per cent in the USA, 1.6 per cent in Japan, 4.2 per cent in the FRG, 6.6 per cent in Britain and 2.4 per cent in Italy. The table on following page shows the proportion of registered unemployed (000's).

Unemployment has spread to almost every economic branch, including the service industry, and its social area has extended. In France, 70,000 engineers and technologists had no job early in 1972 – a 54 per cent increase over 1971. Mass unemployment involves a greater number of countries – Australia, Sweden, the Netherlands and Austria are now among the countries where unemployment considerably exceeds 'normal' proportions. In the United States there were over 20 million people registered as unemployed or as people who had lost their jobs once or more than once during the year, and in Britain two million. The proportion of partially employed has grown sharply and in 1972 it stood at 3.5 million in

	1960	1965	1966	1967	1968	1969	1970	1971 (first half)	1972
Total ¹ (million)	7.9	6.6	6.1	7.1	7.0	6.5	7.9	10.0	10.5
USA	3,852.0	3,366.0	2,875.0	2,975.0	2,817.0	2,831.0	4,088.0	4,993.0	5,090.0
Canada	446.0	280.0	267.0	315.0	382.0	382.0	495.0	552.0	608.0
Western Europe ¹ (million)	3.1	2.4	2.5	3.1	3.0	2.6	2.7	3.4	3.8
EEC countries	2,257	1,649	1,607	1,907	1,790	1,499	1,485	1,756	2,010
Belgium	114.3	55.4	61.5	85.3	102.7	85.3	71.3	70.9	85.0
Italy ²	1,746.0	1,285.5	1,209.4	1,106.1	1,048.3	964.2	960.9	1,120.0	1,163.6
Netherlands	28.8	26.7	37.3	78.5	71.9	52.9	46.5	62.1	108.7
France	131.1	142.1	147.7	156.0	253.8	222.9	262.1	336.6	379.5
FRG	237.4	139.0	154.0	445.0	314.0	173.0	144.0	178.0	273.7
Austria	82.3	65.5	61.4	64.6	70.8	67.1	58.4	52.0	55.5
Britain	393.0	360.0	391.0	599.0	601.0	597.0	640.0	849.0	1,067.5
Denmark	31.4	16.1	18.3	21.8	38.7	31.2	23.9	29.9	39.4
Ireland		28.6	31.8	36.2	27.3	36.1	41.6	42.4	50.3
Norway	17.1	13.4	11.9	11.4	16.5	15.6	12.5	12.2	15.0
Sweden		44.0	59.0	79.0	85.0	73.0	59.0	101.0	113.2
Australia		60.7	71.5	79.1	77.8	80.0	74.7	87.6	135.8 ³
Japan	500.0	390.0	440.0	630.0	590.0	570.0	593.0	639.0	788.3

¹Estimates. ²According to the Ministry of Labor. ³First quarter.

Sources: Statistical Yearbook 1969, UN. Monthly Bulletin of Statistics, October 1972; Rassegna di statistiche del lavoro, No. 5, 1972.

Italy, one million in the USA and 79,000 in Belgium. Unemployment grew, in particular, through massive layoffs as enterprises closed or a shorter working week was introduced (below-capacity operation in the manufacturing industry in 1970/1971 ranged from 20 to 25 per cent in most countries). Structural and technological unemployment goes on mounting due to the use of new techniques and technologies and capitalist rationalization. Unemployment of this origin varies from 50 to 60 per cent of the unemployment total in the leading capitalist countries.

International labor migration to the more developed West European countries from developing countries, as well as from Italy, Spain, Portugal and Greece, is on the rise. Centers for the recruitment and resale of foreign labor have been set up everywhere. By mid-1972 there were 2.3 million foreign workers in the FRG (11 p.c.), 1.6 million in France (10p.c.), one million Switzerland (35 p.c.) and 0.8 million in Belgium (25 p.c.). The total of foreign workers in Western Europe topped ten million.

Greater exploitation

There is evidence of greater exploitation and the use of subtler methods of intensifying labor. The proportion of industrial accidents, occupational diseases, mental disorders, and so on, has been growing accordingly. In the USA 14,000 workers die of accidents every year and another two million are incapacitated. In the FRG, every year sees one in ten employees the victim of an industrial accident or an occupational disease. In 1971 alone industrial accidents added up to 1.9 million, 3,000 of them ending in death, and the incidence of occupational disease rose to 24,300. Britain in one year lost 22.8 million work days through neuroses, nervous disorders, mental diseases, and so on.

Labor productivity in manufacturing (output per man-hour) in 1971 rose by 4 per cent in the USA, 6.4 p.c. in France and 5.3 p.c.

in Britain while the growth rate of real wages was 1.9, 5.3 and 2.6 per cent, respectively.

The working week in most countries is longer than stipulated by the law. In France it lasts 44 instead of 40 hours (March 1972), in the FRG, 43 hours (1971) instead of the 40 envisaged by collective agreements and in the USA, 40.9 instead of 36 to 40 hours (June 1972).

Steadily mounting inflation whittles down wages year after year. Retail prices in the area of developed capitalism in 1970/1971 went up 4.8 to 5 per cent.

The past decade has seen the prices of food products go up 35 per cent in the USA, 60 p.c. in Japan, 45 p.c. in France, 24 p.c. in the FRG, 34 p.c. in Italy and 58 p.c. in Britain. In the same period, rent has gone up from 25 to 50 per cent.

In 1972 alone, federal taxes in the USA increased by 18 per cent and local taxes, 12 per cent. Up to 68 per cent of all federal taxes are paid by the workers and taxes swallow an average of 30 per cent of wages. The ordinary American must give away one-quarter of his working time to pay local and federal taxes. As for the big monopolies, the tax system enables them to evade tax payment by concealing part of their profit. French employers are estimated to rob the Treasury in this way of an annual 15 to 25 billion francs.

Class battles

	Strikes	Strikers (000)	Strike man- days (000)	Strikes	Strikers (000)	Strike man- days (000)	Strikes	Strikers (000)	Strike man- days (000)
	USA			BRITAIN			FRG		
1961-1965	3,592	1,362	27,300	2,456	1,512	2,562		84	485
1966-1970	5,092	2,653	45,166	2,691	1,353	5,540		111	157
1971	5,135	3,263	47,417	2,228	1,171	13,551		334	2,599
1972	2,785 ¹	1,028 ¹	16,333 ¹	1,610 ²	1,233 ²	19,453 ²		9 ³	8 ³
	FRANCE			ITALY			JAPAN		
1961-1965	2,039	2,102	2,794	3,666	2,971	12,816	1,311	1,422	4,432
1966-1970	2,057 ⁴	3,755 ⁴	32,139 ⁴	3,274	4,044	17,676	1,611	1,232	2,992
1971	4,801	3,234	4,529	5,598	3,891	12,948	2,527	1,896	6,029
1972	2,444 ²	1,620 ²	2,076 ²	3,050 ³	2,796 ³	5,225 ³	1,293 ⁵	1,095 ⁵	2,547 ⁵

Based on official statistics, which discounts political and "unofficial" strikes, "fighting days," and so on. ¹Seven months. ²Eight months. ³Six months. ⁴Including the general strikes in May and June 1968, ignored by official statistics. ⁵Four months.

Sources: *Year Book of Labour Statistics*, 1971, ILO, Geneva; *Handbook of Basic Economic Statistics*, August 1972; *Department of Employment Gazette*, September 1972; *Wirtschaft und Statistik*, Nr. 5, 1972; *Bulletin mensuel de statistique*, October 1972; *Bollettino mensile di statistica*, settembre 1972; *Monthly Labour Statistics and Research Bulletin*, August 1972.

Even a cursory survey of the strikes called in 1972 reveals an upsurge in class battles. Worthy of special note among the major actions of the British working class in 1972 were four strikes, called by the miners, railwaymen, dockers and building workers. The dockers' national strike was countered by resorting to the repressive Industrial Relations Law. The General Council of the TUC decided on a general strike for the first time in 46 years. The government had to give in. It released the arrested dockers and met the strikers'

main demands. The building workers' national strike involving 300,000 people lasted two months.

In Japan eight million people struck during the 'spring offensive' of 1972. In March there was a demonstration by two million people, the biggest in years. On July 13, 1972 the seamen's strike, the longest in the history of Japanese labor (91 days), ended in victory. The strikers' demands – higher pay, an end to 'rationalization' at seamen's expense, normal working conditions – were satisfied in the main. It should be noted that class conflicts in Japan in 1972 took place in an atmosphere of economic recession and inflation.

The national strike of 1.7 million Italian farmhands and agricultural workers lasted intermittently for more than one year. The strikers' perseverance compelled the big landowners and employers to sign a new collective agreement. In November another three million people went on strike, including metal workers, civil servants and academic personnel. The tactic of token strikes was effectively used.

Late in 1972 General Motors employees called a series of strikes against speed up.

The total of strikers taking (into account new strike forms) was 45 million in 1970, 48 million in 1971 and 25 million in the first half of 1972.

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Marc Drumaux



Comrade Marc Drumaux, a leading figure in the Belgian and world Communist and workers' movement and Chairman of the Communist Party of Belgium, died in Brussels on November 16, 1972.

Born May 10, 1922, the son of a railwayman and himself a railway worker, Comrade Drumaux was one of those who joined the political struggle in the grim days of World War II. As a teenager he had an active part in the Resistance and in 1942 joined the underground Communist Party of Belgium. From that day on his whole life was dedicated to the workers' cause, to building up the Com-

munist Party and spreading its influence among the masses. As head of the CPB delegation at the 1969 International Meeting in Moscow he proudly said: 'Our Party has won a place for itself in the politics of the country . . . and has been playing a prominent role in numerous struggles.' That was in large measure due to his own efforts.

Energy, initiative and political staunchness were the dominant strands of his character. He was active in progressive youth organizations, worked on the Party paper, **Drapeau Rouge**, and for a number of years was leader of the Communist organization in Tournai. In 1957 he was elected to the Party's Central Committee and in 1960 to its Political Bureau. In 1961 he was elected to parliament from the Borinage mining area. In 1966 he became Deputy Chairman and two years later Chairman of the Communist Party.

Comrade Drumaux was a dedicated champion of the Belgian workers and also a confirmed internationalist. 'The successes that our working people can achieve hinge on the further development of internationalism in the fight for peace, freedom and socialism,' he declared. He called on Belgian Communists to combat Right and 'Left' opportunism and every manifestation of anti-communism and anti-Sovietism; he urged them to work for unity of the world Communist and workers' movement.

Marc Drumaux will always be remembered by Communists throughout the world as a friend and comrade in the struggle.

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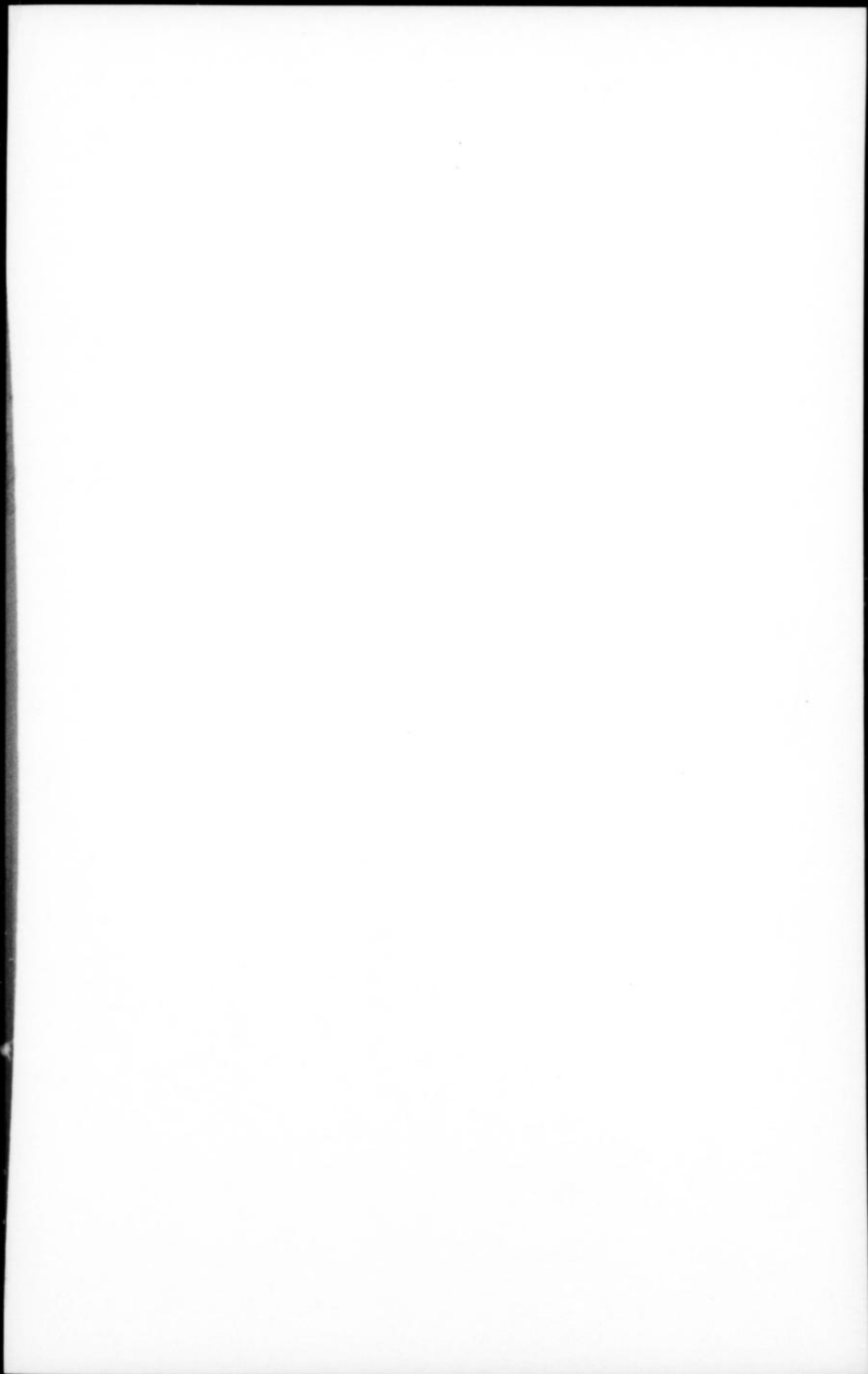
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