

WORLD

Problems of

MARXIST

Peace and Socialism

REVIEW

Feb. 1973, Vol. 16, No. 2 50¢



**Imperialism
in the 70s**

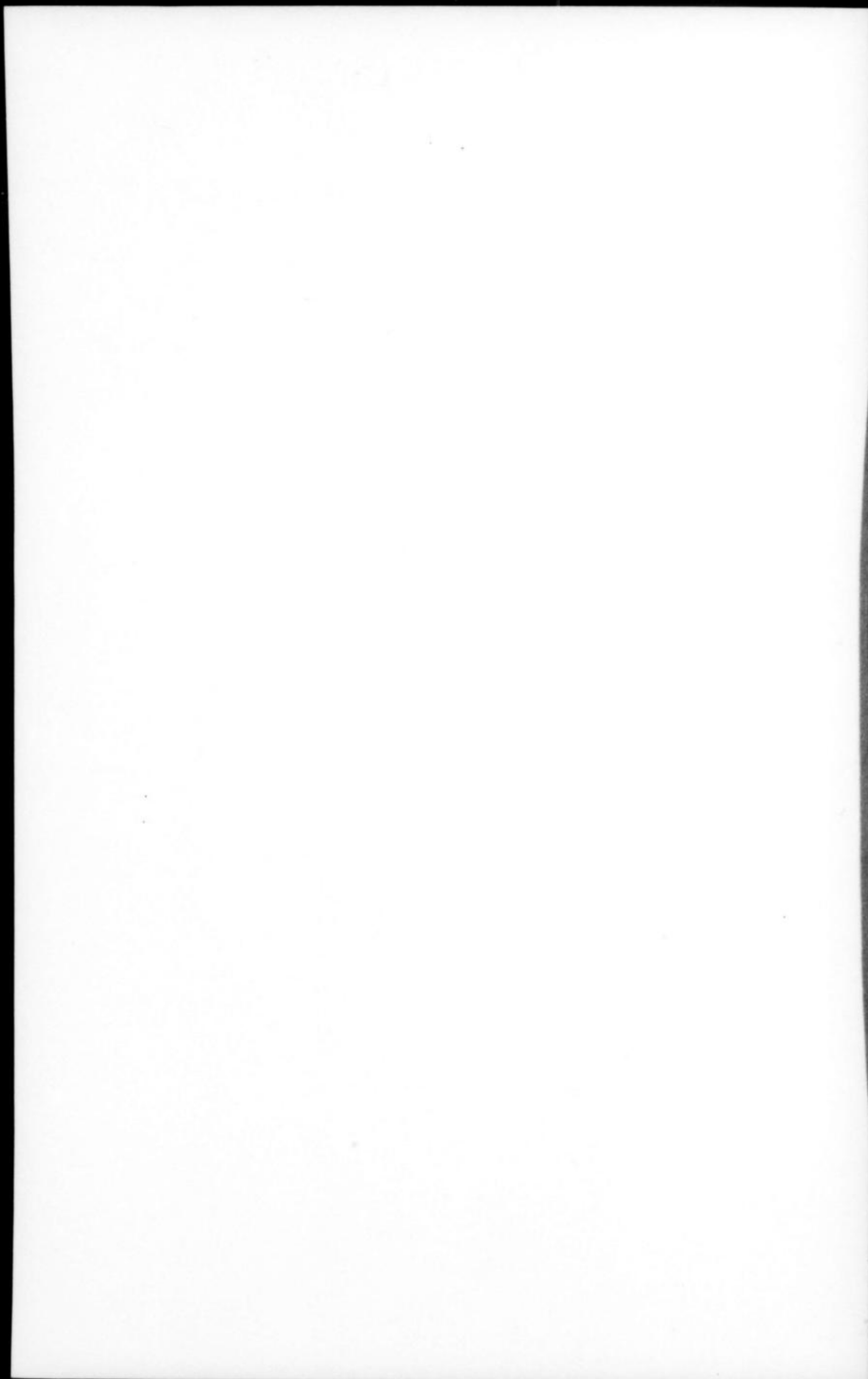
**Arab national-
liberation movement**

**'Market socialism'
myths and reality**

**Working class in
socialist countries**

**Ruling class in
Poland's Sejm**

Uruguay





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

Theoretical and information
journal of Communist and
Workers' Parties

February 1973, Vol. 16, No. 2

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Second class mail registration number
2352. Printed in Canada.

WORLD MARXIST REVIEW is the North Ame-
rican edition of the monthly journal Prob-
lems of Peace and Socialism published in
Prague.

Microfilm edition available through Uni-
versity Microfilms Library Service.

SUBSCRIPTION RATES: \$5.00 a year \$9.00 for
two years. Single copies 50 cents. Over-
seas: \$8.00 a year.

PROBLEMS OF PEACE AND SOCIALISM is also
published in Arabic, Bulgarian, Czech,
Danish, Finnish, French, German, Greek,
Hungarian, Italian, Japanese, Mongolian,
Norwegian, Persian, Polish, Portuguese,

Rumanian, Russian, Singhalese, Spanish,
Swedish, Turkish and Vietnamese.

Subscriptions to these may be obtained
through PROGRESS SUBSCRIPTION SERVICE,
487 Adelaide St. West, Toronto 133.

Or, in USA from IMPORTED PUBLICATIONS,
320 West Ohio St.,
Chicago, Ill. 60610

WORLD MARXIST REVIEW is published by
PROGRESS BOOKS, 487 Adelaide Street West,
Toronto 133, Ontario, Canada.

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The force of unity

Today, when Lenin's prediction that socialism would become a force 'capable of exercising a decisive influence upon world politics as a whole' (*Complete Works*, Vol. 31, p. 148) has come true, it is especially important for the socialist countries to coordinate their actions and expand all-round cooperation. Their unity is essential for creating a favorable climate for the further development of the revolutionary, anti-imperialist movement and cohesion of its detachments.

The socialist world system's contribution to the common cause of the anti-imperialist movement is measured primarily by its growing economic power. Over the last twenty years average rates of industrial growth in the socialist countries were double those of the capitalist world. This is convincing proof of the socialist economy's dynamism and ability to advance rapidly to the frontier where it will attain the world's highest level of per-capita output of basic goods.

Today, however, the industrial, technological and economic maturity of the socialist system cannot be properly measured in terms of such general quantitative indices as growth rates. Highly significant is the *qualitative* aspect of the society's economic activities expressed, in the first place, in the effectiveness of investment and production and high labor productivity. As Lenin stressed, 'capitalism can be utterly vanquished, and will be utterly vanquished, by socialism creating a new and much higher productivity of labor' (Vol. 29, p. 417).

This has always been the guideline for Communist economic policies, an inspiration for creative work. The community of CMEA member-nations has entered a development stage offering greater possibilities for utilizing the advantages of the socialist system in the competition with capitalism. 'This is furthered,' as the 1969 Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties noted, 'by evolving and applying better economic and political forms corresponding to the requirements of mature socialist society, which already rests on the new social structure.'

In advancing the economy the socialist countries naturally lay the accent on greater utilization of the potentialities inherent in cooperation. Highly important is the consistent implementation of the Comprehensive Program of Socialist Economic Integration adopted in 1971; this is the surest way of fortifying economic ties and gradually aligning the economic levels of the fraternal countries, thus strengthening the socialist world system.

Important headway has been made recently. The 26th session of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance, held in July 1972, noted with satisfaction the important agreements concluded on industrial, scientific and technological specialization and cooperation, improvement of forms and methods of foreign trade, financial relations and the legal basis of cooperation, facilitating the formation of highly efficient economic structures in the member-countries. With the development of socialist integration planning necessarily becomes international in character. Coordination of national five-year and long-term plans in the CMEA framework is supplemented by their joint elaboration.

The consistently internationalist and genuinely democratic nature of socialist integration is illustrated by the unanimous decision to admit Cuba to the CMEA.

In the socialist world integration processes are not imposed by formal decisions, but are impelled by objective economic needs. Consequently, the terms on which different countries enter them are flexible. The doors of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance are wide open to countries wishing limited participation or observer status. An example is Yugoslavia, which has been cooperating with CMEA bodies since 1964 and whose delegation took part in the Council's 26th session, which was also attended by an observer from the Korean People's Democratic Republic.

The policy of strengthening contacts between CMEA member-countries and other socialist states is based on an understanding of the laws of development of world socialism, especially the dominant trend towards the internationalization of economic and social life, and is aimed at ultimately ensuring the economic superiority of the socialist social system over capitalism on a national and international scale.

The socialist world system has formed a solid structure of political relationships. Reliable methods and forms of harmoniously combining national and international interests, overcoming difficulties and resolving contradictions have been evolved by combined effort. A body of experience has been accumulated in joint action on the international scene.

Agreed foreign-policy action by countries of the socialist community has been crucial in promoting a European détente and the formalization of the continent's realities in international law. The consultative meeting of 34 states in Helsinki to prepare for an all-European conference on security and cooperation was also an important political accomplishment of the socialist community, which initiated the drive for such a conference. The fraternal

countries' cohesion was a tangible factor in the Soviet-American talks in Moscow, the results of which have been justly hailed as a major step towards the assertion of the principles of peaceful coexistence of states with different socio-economic systems.

The socialist countries' consistent, coordinated support of the peoples fighting against imperialist aggression and colonial oppression has yielded tangible results. The principled policy of all-out aid to heroic Vietnam promoted by the socialist community, the Soviet Union in the first place, was instrumental in repulsing the American aggression. Encountering the firm resistance of the freedom-loving Vietnamese people, helped and supported by the socialist countries, the working-class and the national-liberation movements, and all champions of peace, U.S. imperialism has suffered an obvious defeat.

Though socialism's peace offensive has forced imperialist reaction to give up one position after another, it seeks comfort in the illusion that an international thaw might weaken the fraternal alliance of socialist nations. The strategists of anti-communism hope that détente will blunt the people's class vigilance in the socialist countries, making them more 'receptive' to hostile ideologies and providing scope for nationalistic tendencies. These are vain hopes, for the cohesion of socialist states is based not on the fluctuations of world politics, but on their common social system devoid of class antagonism, on common fundamental interests, including economic, which, as Lenin stressed, 'lie at the root of both our home and foreign policy' (Vol. 27, p. 365).

In the confrontation of the two world systems, which assumes different forms, the unity of the socialist states and their all-round cooperation, including military-political, is of the utmost importance. Lenin emphatically called for the closest military-political unity of the revolutionary peoples of the former Russian empire, and his words that 'any attempt to violate this unity we regard as absolutely impermissible, as a betrayal of the struggle against international imperialism' (op. cit., Vol. 30, p. 325), are completely applicable to relations between socialist countries in our time.

Practice has shown that the revolutionary transformation of society and the emergence of a new type of relations between states is a complex historical process and the utilization of the tremendous opportunities created by the new system depends primarily on the Communist and Workers' parties in power, on their ability to find Marxist-Leninist solutions to problems of socialist development.

The Communist Parties' decisive role in shaping the international relations of socialist countries imposes tremendous responsibilities on Communists. All decisions must be based on sound scientific reasoning; there is no place for subjectivism or incompetence; due consideration must be given to international interests and collective experience; the mechanisms of fraternal cooperation must be perfected and effective forms of inter-Party relations utilized to the utmost.

These forms include bilateral and multilateral talks and meetings between leaders of the Marxist-Leninist parties of socialist countries held whenever necessary to exchange views or urgently elaborate a common stand on the international scene, to promote joint action or meet a new situation.

The mounting dynamism and fruitfulness of bilateral Party contacts is borne out by last year's top-level visits of Party-Government delegations from the USSR to Hungary; from Bulgaria to the Soviet Union, Poland and Czechoslovakia; from the GDR to Bulgaria, Hungary and Rumania; from Mongolia to Cuba; from Hungary to Rumania; from Cuba to the European CMEA member-countries; from Poland to Bulgaria, and of a Soviet Party delegation to the Korean People's Democratic Republic, etc.

Progress in Soviet-Yugoslav relations was further enhanced by the friendly visit of L. I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CC CPSU, to Yugoslavia in 1971 and of the visit of I. Broz-Tito, President of the SFRY and Chairman of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, to the USSR in 1972. The development of these relations is a vivid example of what can be achieved, given good will and a desire to strengthen mutual contacts and lay emphasis on what unites the socialist countries instead of accentuating dissimilar views and positions on individual questions.

Another effective form of contacts between parties is multilateral consultations between the leaders of the Communist and Workers' parties of socialist countries. A new, good tradition, in particular, are the 'Crimean meetings' which have in the last few years provided a forum for discussions on socialist construction and the development of fraternal relations.

The cooperation and unity of socialist states is welded not only in direct contacts between leaders, but also in the day-to-day work of Communists, who implant the principles of proletarian internationalism in their countries. A notable aspect of the fraternal parties' work is the ever greater creative utilization of the collective experience of socialist construction. In connection with the 50th anniversary of the formation of the USSR, Communists in the socialist community carried out large-scale ideological and political work to show the international significance of national-state development in the first socialist country and to promote the internationalist education of the people.

Socialist unity is embodied in the agreed actions in defense of the common interests of world socialism, adherence to the collectively worked out norms of equal relations, observance of jointly adopted decisions, and promotion of cooperation, mutual assistance, respect of sovereignty and non-interference in internal affairs.

Marxist-Leninists are waging a tireless struggle to remove various obstacles erected by anti-communists, reformists, Right and 'Left' opportunists to greater fraternal unity and the transformation of the socialist world system into a politically, economically and ideologically cohesive community. They regard defense of the gains of socialism as their internationalist duty.

The unity of socialist countries is a powerful driving force of the revolutionary process. It undermines the world positions of reaction and frustrates the aggressive aspirations of imperialism. Therefore the further strengthening of the socialist world system – the decisive force in the anti-imperialist struggle – and the unity of countries it includes are not only in their own interests but also in the interests of the international working-class and national-liberation movement. The worldwide victory of the new social system is forged in the fraternal mutual assistance and comradely cooperation of the socialist states. The prototype of the future international association of all peoples of the planet is being moulded today.

May durable peace, freedom and national independence triumph throughout the world! Let everyone join in the struggle for these noble and humane aims! Let everyone contribute to realization of the cherished aspirations of mankind: to live in a world of peace, freedom and social progress!

(From Address to the Peoples of the World adopted Dec. 22, 1972, by anniversary meeting of the CPSU Central Committee and the Supreme Soviets of the USSR and RSFSR)

The unity Lenin forged

The celebration of the Soviet Union's half-century will long be remembered, even by those who will celebrate its centenary. Gathered in the Kremlin were representatives of the more than 100 Soviet nations and nationalities. They played host to representatives from more than 100 countries come to pay homage to the first socialist multinational state.

There was also our delegation from *World Marxist Review* – we felt ourselves in the very focus of history in the making. Listening to the report of L. I. Brezhnev on the anniversary of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, and to the speeches of delegates from these republics and from foreign lands, we tried to think back to 50 years ago, to the dreams of the men and women gathered in the capital of a devastated country to build a state unknown in the whole of human history. And we felt sure that their thoughts were of the future of their country, of a union of free peoples of the world.

On December 31, 1922 *Izvestia* newspaper came out with this headline: 'The formation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics is a New Year's gift to the world proletariat.' Addressing the first

USSR Congress of Soviets, Vasil Kolarov, a Bulgarian, General Secretary of the Comintern, said: 'The great union founded here today will powerfully influence the life of all peoples.'

And now, at the jubilee meeting of the CPSU Central Committee and the Supreme Soviets of the USSR and RSFSR, on December 21-22, 1972, we could see that this prediction had come true. Among the delegations from the socialist countries was one from Bulgaria. Its leader, Todor Zhivkov, said in his speech: 'From the very day of our victory we have led Bulgaria along your path, marching shoulder to shoulder with the Soviet Union.'

The founders of the Soviet Union had no ready pattern to follow in shaping this voluntary union of peoples in a socialist state. They had to devise that pattern, and uphold it in struggle with opponents. In his report, L. I. Brezhnev recalled the discussions in 1922, when there were proposals for a loose confederation without a strong central power, for 'autonomization' which would have restricted the independence of the republics. Lenin's plan was adopted for a single union state, a voluntary union of equal republics. Today one can fully appreciate Lenin's far-seeing policy. For the ideas he advanced have given the socialist Soviet Union unshakeable durability, enabling it to withstand not only the test of time, but also the ordeals of a terrible war, and to become an example for the peoples of the world. And all of us in the vast Kremlin Hall applauded Fidel Castro when he declared: 'The development of this community of socialist republics within a single multinational state has created the prototype of the future world of closely linked socialist nations. Man's dream of a world without frontiers will be realized. We share that ideal.'

Fifty years ago, four socialist republics concluded a treaty providing for the formation of a united state. Today fifteen Union Republics celebrate the jubilee of that union. The celebrations were attended by Party and government delegations from 11 fraternal socialist countries, statesmen from many countries, delegations from 65 Communist and Workers' parties in non-socialist countries, delegations from national-democratic and Left-Socialist parties, more than 70 trade-union delegations, representative groups from national and international public organizations. Expressed in these figures is the march of modern history, the first chapter of which was opened by the October Revolution. A necessary prelude to the formation of the USSR, it also stimulated other political events that have shaped the world of today. The interconnection of the socialist revolution and the rise of the USSR were emphasized by many speakers. George Marchais, General Secretary of the French Communist Party, said: 'As Marx and Engels demonstrated, only socialism can put an end to national discord. Only implementation of Lenin's national policy, as the Communist Party of the Soviet Union has done, could assure the free development of more than 100 equal nationalities and the rise of a new historic community, the Soviet people.'

Soviet experience has contributed much that is new and charac-

teristic of socialist reality. One such contribution is the intertwining of the common features cultivated in the last half century within this united family of nations with the nationally-distinctive. For in this fraternal family each nation has not only preserved, but has greatly developed its culture, has more saliently expressed its individual identity. At the same time, there has emerged something quite new, belonging to no one nation, but the common property of all – the new historic community, the Soviet people.

The rise of this new community was an objective process but not a spontaneous one. It was directed by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Its active and purposive work has brought to reality a hitherto unknown fraternity of peoples and has fashioned relations between them that could never be achieved in an exploitive society. And under the banner of the Party, the Soviet peoples are building communist society.

The jubilee session in the Kremlin was not only a coming together of nations; it was a coming together also of generations. All of us were moved by the speech, delivered after a message of greetings from the Soviet youth, of an old Bolshevik, V. P. Vinogradov, who had been a delegate to the First USSR Congress of Soviets. The words of this veteran Leningrad worker about the young generation, that worthy heir of the revolutionary traditions, were one more confirmation that the Soviet Republics had chosen the correct path 50 years ago.

The formation of the Soviet Union gave splendid reality to Lenin's ideas. Its half-century development and the emergence of the system of socialist states is bringing to life Lenin's dream of a brotherhood of peoples free of capitalist oppression. As Lenin foresaw, the community of socialist nations can, depending on objective conditions, develop in diverse forms. Thus, the most significant objective process of our day is the all-round, and above all, economic, association of socialist countries. It is based on fraternal mutual assistance and planned cooperation, now assuming the form of socialist economic integration. No less important is the political, ideological, cultural and military cooperation of the fraternal countries. All this is a further manifestation of Lenin's ideas.

The experience of the USSR, the very fact of its existence, the assistance the Soviet people are giving other peoples striving for social and national liberation, are of vast importance also for countries which, in their own specific conditions, are taking the socialist path of development. That point was made by Hernan del Canto, a member of the Chilean government speaking on behalf of that government, the parties of the Popular Unity alliance and the Socialist and Communist party delegations present at the meeting. The founding and growth of the Soviet Union, its active foreign policy, inspire the working class of capitalist countries in its fight for socialism and contribute to the success of countries that have won national independence – these thoughts were expressed by Gus Hall, General Secretary, CPUSA, S. A. Dange, National Council Chairman of the Communist Party of India and many other foreign delegates.

We had occasion to speak to many Soviet people. One encounter was especially impressive. During an interval we were approached by one of the Soviet Union's famed war heroes, Alexander Pokryshkin, thrice Hero of the Soviet Union. Learning that one of us was from Canada, he said: 'Canada? So we are neighbors - I'm from Siberia.'

Though said in jest, these words have great meaning: all peoples are near to each other; they are not divided by distance, language or color of skin, but by class and economic inequality, by militarism and capitalist exploitation. That is why the words of the Address to the Peoples of the World adopted at the jubilee session will be understood by everyone. It calls for intensified concrete efforts to preserve and strengthen peace, eliminate the flashpoints of imperialist aggression, strengthen the positions of socialism, abolish all colonial oppression, uproot social injustice, national oppression and inequality, safeguard man's cultural and moral values. We know that the great union of socialist nations, founded half a century ago, has indicated the sure way to the attainment of these goals.

Delegation of
World Marxist Review:

Bistra Avramova, Alternate
Member, CC Bulgarian CP;
Sarda Mitra, Member,
National Council, CP India;

Mel Doig, CC member,
CP Canada;

Teodocio Varela,
Alternate Member, Executive
Committee, CC CP Colombia.



Imperialism in the 70s: deepening of crisis of the system

International Marxist discussion

THEORETICAL CONFERENCE ON NEW FEATURES OF STATE-MONOPOLY CAPITALISM AND CLASS STRUGGLE IN DEVELOPED CAPITALIST COUNTRIES

An exchange of views on this subject began last year on the pages of WMR.* The discussion aroused wide interest and it was decided to continue it at an international theoretical conference. It brought together Marxist scholars from Communist and Workers' parties in the following 35 countries: Algeria, Argentina, Austria, Brazil, Britain, Bulgaria, Canada, Chile, Colombia, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, France, FRG, GDR, Greece, Hungary, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Israel, Italy, Japan, Jordan, Luxemburg, Mongolia, Paraguay, Philippines, Poland, Portugal, Rumania, Soviet Union, Spain, Sudan, United States.

The conference was opened by Editorial Board member *Paul Courtieu* (French CP), Chairman of the journal's commission on problems of the class struggle in developed capitalist countries.

The discussion centred on analysis of some of the *new or insufficiently studied features* of state-monopoly capitalism (SMC) – the *channels* through which the bourgeois state influences public life; the causes and implications of the malfunctioning of the SMC regulatory mechanism in the early 70s, as expressed in the crisis of capitalism's monetary and financial system. Three focal points were singled out for analysis:

1. 'Internal' problems of state-monopoly economic regulation in leading capitalist countries.

2. State-monopoly capitalism in international economic relations.

*See articles: 'State-Monopoly Capitalism – New Phenomena,' by L. Maier (No. 3, 1972); 'State-Monopoly Capitalism and Its Austrian "Modernizers,"' by H. Kalt (No. 6, 1972); 'Apropos the Crisis of State-Monopoly Capitalism,' by P. Boccara (No. 11, 1972); 'The Ideological Essence of "Post-Industrial Society",' by H. Lumer (No. 12, 1972); 'The Strategy of International Concerns,' by L. Mueller and F. Rische (No. 1, 1973).

3. State-monopoly capitalism and the problems of the class struggle.

In his introductory remarks, the journal's Editor-in-Chief, K. I. Zarodov, emphasized that in our time the revolutionary process is truly worldwide; the battle against imperialism and for socialism is being fought in every part of the world. Closely united with the socialist world system – the decisive force of the anti-imperialist struggle – and with the national-liberation movements, the Communists in the developed capitalist countries stand on a crucial front of the great class battles of our time.

Led by the U.S. these countries are the main bastions of modern imperialism, the centers of reaction and aggression, the support points of neo-colonialism. All this places a great internationalist responsibility on the Communist parties, which, speaking figuratively, operate inside the fortress walls of modern imperialism. Their success in the revolutionary struggle would be a decisive blow at the imperialist positions and of immense help to the world's anti-imperialist forces.

Their historic responsibility requires that they profoundly analyze, from a class standpoint, new features and developments in the system they are fighting, and work out a strategy and tactics that promote the interests of the masses, leading by the shortest and least painful path to the abolition of the exploitation of man by man.

We begin our discussion equipped with a dependable compass – Marxism-Leninism. All of us know that the great Lenin accomplished the historic task of creating the scientific theory of imperialism. He made an exhaustive and profound study of its nature, its main features, regularities and contradictions. His methods of analyzing imperialism, which combine the objectiveness of science with a strictly class approach to all the phenomena of socio-economic life, are of permanent significance and value. Lenin studied imperialism not only as a scientist, but also as a revolutionary: not only as a theorist, but also as a great practitioner of revolutionary struggle. That is why his brilliant works on imperialism, which ushered in a new stage in the development of Marxist economics, also vastly enriched the science of revolution.

The present-day Communist movement follows this Lenin method. And in this respect the 1969 International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties made a very valuable contribution to our understanding of present-day state-monopoly capitalism. The strategy it worked out for the anti-imperialist struggle and the further development of the revolutionary process takes into account the special features of the present state of imperialism.

Extremely important is its conclusion that a distinctive characteristic of imperialism today is its striving to adapt itself to the struggle of the two systems and the requirements of the technological revolution. This lies at the root of many of imperialism's new features, primarily its more pronounced state-monopoly character. The correctness, the accuracy of these propositions is now especially

clear. Capitalist state interference in the economy has assumed vast proportions, and the fusion of state and monopoly has, in effect, become capitalism's form of existence. These questions have been further elaborated in the documents of the recent congresses of fraternal parties. Our journal, too, has constantly sought to contribute to the elaboration of fundamental problems.

Notwithstanding the differing conditions in the developed capitalist countries, recent years have brought out these common features of ruling-class strategy:

- lavish state aid to the monopolies in accumulating capital, intensifying exploitation and concentrating production;
- state-monopoly regulation of the economy, in various forms, to overcome the more dangerous consequences of market and production anarchy;
- state financing of science and education, and of the development and introduction of new technology;
- militarization of the economy, build-up of military power, mounting influence of the military-industrial complex on home and foreign policy;
- monopoly efforts to strengthen the state, its power;
- intensified capitalist integration in its private-monopoly and state-monopoly forms;
- neo-colonialist policy designed to keep the developing countries within the capitalist world economy.

A study of inter-imperialist contradictions in the conditions of state-monopoly capitalism would be of great value. The main contradiction of our epoch is between the socialist and capitalist systems, but that does not mean that other imperialist contradictions diminish or disappear. We should therefore examine the special features, and their manifestation, of the present stage of the contradictions between the three main centers of monopoly capital: the USA, Western Europe and Japan; between imperialist countries, especially the U.S. and other imperialist powers; multinational monopoly organizations and national monopolies; the policy of restricted international state-monopoly groups and the desire of some monopolies to develop relations with the socialist and developing countries.

For a deeper understanding of all these problems, we must clearly see how the scientific-technical revolution affects every aspect of the imperialist crisis: economic, monetary and financial, social, cultural and moral. This integrated analysis (coupled with analysis of the concrete features of state-monopoly capitalism and its contradictions) will enable us not only to obtain a clearer idea of the factors underlying the deep-going decay of the imperialist system, but also to determine the most effective forms of the class struggle. Marxism-Leninism calls for concrete analysis of concrete situations, without which there can be no scientifically substantial Communist party policy.

Knowledge of all the inner working of modern imperialism is necessary also for effective ideological struggle against our class

opponents. There are many attempts to 'reanimate' such old apologia as the Kautskyan 'ultra-imperialism' theory. All manner of theories are invented to show that capitalism has been 'rejuvenated' and cured of its congenital and incurable ills. State-monopoly capitalism is proclaimed all but the dawn of a new 'era of prosperity' free of economic contradictions and class antagonisms.

Small wonder that bourgeois ideologues hail Galbraith's book, in which imperialism is described as 'the new industrial society.' The thing that probably attracts them most is Galbraith's contention that in this industrial society all the reasons and motives for revolution have 'disintegrated.' Significantly, the ideas of this bourgeois economist have been seized upon by the Right Social-Democrats, for whom socialist revolution has long since become a nightmare.

Lastly, a Marxist-Leninist analysis of state-monopoly capitalism is important for exposing Right and 'Left' opportunism, which distorts the situation in the developed capitalist countries and negates the revolutionary potential of the working class. The series of articles in the *New York Times* and *International Herald Tribune* on the 125th anniversary of the 'Communist Manifesto' is typical of such distortion.

It is not for the sake of 'pure science' that Communists should analyze the intrinsic problems of state-monopoly capitalism, K. I. Zarodov emphasized. Such analysis is needed in order to draw political conclusions concerning the most important thing, the purpose for which Communist parties were founded and exist—the replacement of the capitalist by the socialist system. We have to come to grips with the pressing problems in the revolutionary struggle and single out the new elements introduced by the present situation in the developed capitalist countries.

One such problem is the relation between democratic and socialist aims. Marxist-Leninists have never contrasted the struggle for democracy to the struggle for socialism; they consider it part of the latter. This approach was taught us by Lenin, who, better than anyone else, knew that it is by no means a simple matter. 'One should know how to combine the struggle for democracy and the struggle for the socialist revolution,' he wrote in December 1916, 'subordinating the first to the second. In this lies the whole difficulty; in this is the whole essence' (Lenin, *Coll. Works*, Vol. 35, p. 267).

This is a fundamentally important remark: in knowing how to combine the struggle for democracy with the struggle for socialism lies the whole essence, and at the same time the difficulty. What, at present, are the 'mechanism' and the special features of combining the two? How should we go about fulfilling our democratic and socialist tasks so as to subordinate the former to the latter?

It would be useful to exchange views on the strategy of revolutionaries when there is no revolutionary situation, but when they have to be prepared for a sudden explosion of social contradictions. For experience shows that the increasing instability of the capital-

ist system has transformed such sudden outbreaks of crisis from a hypothetical possibility into a political reality.

Due to the changes wrought by the scientific-technical revolution in the class structure of capitalist society, the Communist parties have to devote considerable attention to the role of the alliance of the working class, peasants, intelligentsia and other population groups in the fight against imperialism, for peace, democracy and socialism. And highly indicative in this respect is the present discussion in the Communist press on the composition of the working class, the part played by the intelligentsia, the role of the strike movement, especially the general national strike as a revolutionary weapon, the fight for transformations that transcend ordinary reforms and pave the way for a final blow at the exploitive system. Or take the question of how to consolidate victory, which, experience shows, is not easier and is sometimes more difficult than the capture of power.

Finally, the growth of international monopoly and of capitalist integration, and the appearance in Western Europe alone of almost 10 million migrant workers, call for a new, still more concrete, approach to the question of international solidarity and stress the need to internationalize the anti-imperialist struggle.

I feel sure, K. I. Zarodov said in conclusion, that the discussion will contribute to the great revolutionary cause to which all of us have dedicated our efforts.

ESSENCE OF THE CRISIS

The contradictory nature of state economic regulation has in recent years become especially apparent in practically every developed capitalist country. Social conflicts and class polarization stand out in sharper relief against a background of all-embracing and deep-going crisis developments in production marketing, finance, credit, international trade and payments.

Vicious circle

Anti-cyclical regulation to moderate crisis upheavals clashes with efforts to secure stable growth rates, long-range programming and planning. In a number of countries the result has been a slow-down in industrial development, mass unemployment, and marketing difficulties compelling restrictive import quotas.

The economy of many capitalist countries is caught in a vicious circle: measures designed to assure 'high and stable' growth rates generate inflation, and measures to curb inflation by inhibiting economic growth produce more unemployment, well above 'normal' rates. Inflation and unemployment are, alternatively, economic problem No. 1. In some countries they are intertwined, creating additional difficulties for capitalism. And more than ever before, capitalist contradictions are closely intertwined with imperialist contradictions.

All this made the following question central to the conference discussion from the very start: do these periodic malfunctionings and stalemates of state-monopoly regulation, both nationally and internationally, allow us to speak of a crisis of the entire SMC regulatory mechanism?

Most speakers gave an affirmative answer. In the seventies, E. Bjarnason (CC member, CP Canada) said, state-monopoly capitalism is in deep crisis. Its monetary system has collapsed. Its Keynesian system of stabilization has run its course and exhausted its capabilities. The capitalist countries, big and small, are confronted with economic, sociological and ecological contradictions to which they do not have answers.

Having analyzed the difficult position of the capitalist world economy, which he contrasted to the achievements of the socialist countries, the speaker drew this conclusion:

— the crisis of the 70s is not a mere cyclical crisis. The collapse of the dollar is not the temporary effect of short run factors, but the culmination of a long-run process which is not reversible. Capitalism will not emerge from this crisis unchanged.

G. di Stefano (member of Economic Commission, CC CP Italy) described the crisis of state-monopoly capitalism in Italy as 'deep and multiform.' Strong inflationary processes are attended by stagnation in production. The two are intertwined and aggravated by recession in some sectors of the economy. The regulatory mechanism cannot overcome the crisis. Nor can the government openly resort to deflation in view of the resistance of the working class and the people generally. It does not venture to devalue the lira though it has been maneuvering in that direction and the menace of devaluation has by no means been eliminated.

The crisis of state-monopoly capitalism and its consequences was comprehensively discussed by C. Quin (Executive Editor, French CP journal *Economie et politique*). The specificity of the present crisis, he said, is persistent multiplication of diverse economic and social difficulties. He cited these examples:

1. Accelerating inflation and monetary dislocation resulting from large-scale speculation and, in the more general plan, the international currency crisis.

2. Sharper capitalist rivalry on the international market exacerbates economic contradictions, with their menace of trade wars.

3. Mounting unemployment and slowdown of economic growth. The postwar 'economic miracles' are over. Increasing instability in production. Higher productivity and speedup are over-saturating the market. Pilfering and parasitism have grown to unparalleled dimensions.

4. Patently inadequate appropriations for science, education, health and the social services, against a background of growing needs;

5. Growing indebtedness of former colonial countries, which even now are under imperialist domination.

6. Upsurge, and new content, of political and social struggle in

developed capitalist countries; growing mass urge for democracy and socialism.

7. The crisis is not confined to the economic basis, production relations; it is assuming a more general character, becoming a political, ideological and moral crisis, the crisis of education, culture, the schools, the church, etc.

Quin emphasized that what we have is the beginning of a decisive phase of capitalism's general crisis – the crisis of the entire mechanism of the capitalist system. And the crisis extends to state-monopoly capitalism which is incapable of resolving its own contradictions, though it has at its command all the power of the state and is stepping up the exploitation of wage labor and the robbery of the non-monopoly sections of the bourgeoisie.

Bankruptcy of ideas, malfunctioning of the regulatory mechanism

Even the men who speak for the monopoly bourgeoisie, Quin remarked, do not venture to deny that capitalist society is in a state of crisis. The French weekly *Express* (October 1972) wrote: 'After 1968-70 we entered a difficult era, one that will probably see the most difficult crisis of all. To a greater or lesser degree – and probably to a greater – the capitalist countries have lost control over the fateful trio: currency, prices, unemployment. Discontent . . . is mounting. . . . Industrial expansion has assumed dimensions bordering on chaos and environmental destruction.'

These pessimistic forebodings are attended by outright admissions of bankruptcy from the Danish Conservatives, a party that traditionally stands at the extreme Right and is closely associated with big business. Its 1970 program, adopted when the Conservatives were part of the government coalition, contains this passage: 'After World War II it proved impossible to achieve the four-in-one goal of economic policy: a high growth rate, full employment, stable prices and balance of payments equilibrium. Full employment boosts wages and spending to a point that produces inflationary price rises, excessive demand and monetary imbalance.'

Citing this passage, *Ib Norlund* (CC Executive and Secretariat member, CP Denmark and its representative on the journal), remarked that it was a fitting epitaph on postwar 'regulated capitalism.' Its full bloom came in the early 60s, when a high level of business activity coupled with new methods gave it a reputation of 'effectiveness.' At any rate, there was much talk of capitalism having cured itself of its inherent maladies and could now develop without crises, a contention echoed in the labor movement. But those times are over. Now aggravation of capitalism's general crisis is expressed in the crisis of state-monopoly regulation and is shaking the very foundations of the capitalist system.

Big business is fully aware of the depth of the present crisis and that explains the monopolies' social maneuvering. Significantly, in Denmark SMC policy is now more frequently presented as a policy of bourgeois *reformism* which more or less accords with the Social-Democrat variety. The Danish Conservatives' program says the aim

is to 'introduce reforms that will prevent excessive tensions,' for – and this is frankly stated in the program's original draft – otherwise there is always the risk that conflicts might lead to revolutionary situations.'

Monopoly capital, B. Zaharescu (CC member, CP Rumania and its representative on the journal) told the conference, is desperately looking for a way out of the crisis. SMC cannot be regarded in isolation from the general crisis, which has laid its imprint on every aspect of world capitalism. It is important to see SMC as a phase of monopoly capitalism, as a form of its general crisis.

V. M. Shundeyev (Executive Editor, *World Marxist Review*) pointed out that despite different formulations ('all-embracing crisis of the regulatory system,' 'crisis of state-monopoly capitalism,' 'decisive phase of capitalism's general crisis,' etc.), the assessments of the present state of capitalist society have much in common. First, references to the conjunctural or cyclical character of capitalism's difficulties are less frequent than before. Such customary terms as 'slump' and 'recession' no longer fit the more general and deeper crisis phenomena present in virtually every sphere of capitalist society – production and sales, finance and credit, international trade and payments. Social conflicts have become more acute and the class polarization of society sharper. New antagonisms born of the technological revolution are now being added to the old, 'classical' ones.

Can we say that we are witnessing a qualitatively new phenomenon in the whole history of capitalism, one unprecedented for its all-embracing scope? Evidently we can. Without laying any claim to original formulations and leaving aside the special question of the causes of the present situation, we can safely say that the general crisis of capitalism has indeed entered a new phase – and it should be stressed that we are dealing with a *general* crisis. For in examining any of its manifestations we cannot abstract ourselves from operation of the basic contradiction of our age, the contradiction between socialism and capitalism, and from the impact on imperialism of the national-liberation revolutions.

State-monopoly methods of managing the economy and society are products of this general crisis. They are employed under diverse slogans and labels: 'full employment,' 'anti-crisis policy,' 'incomes policy,' 'welfare state.' But whatever the label, the purpose is to rid capitalism of its intrinsic maladies. The fact is that, *in terms of history, the state-monopoly mechanism has proved ineffectual as a mean of directing the economy and society.* But there is no denying that at one or another stage it was effective. For we know that a number of capitalist countries have, for a certain time, been free of sharp overproduction crises, even enjoyed periods of high growth and relatively high employment. That cannot be said of the present period: after half a century, state-monopoly capitalism has not eliminated or even mitigated, but has multiplied the contradictions and extended the crisis of the capitalist system.

Its danger for the system's future is compounded by the free

flow of its consequences from one national commodity, capital and labor-power market to another. Nowadays no capitalist country can seal itself off from the international monetary and credit troubles, fluctuations on the investment market, trade and payments difficulties. Nor can any country, even the biggest imperialist powers, substantially lessen its difficulties by 'exporting' some of them to economically less developed areas. . .

The many questions put to the speakers were evidence of deep interest in the subject under discussion, but also of inadequate elaboration of some problems. There was also a certain dissimilarity of views.

Thus, C. Quin gave a new interpretation of the relations between the state and the monopolies within SMC. The phase of state-monopoly capitalism, he said, both accords with and differs from the preceding phase of 'pure' monopoly capitalism. SMC continues the process of strengthening monopoly hegemony. But there is also this difference: though under tighter monopoly control, the state nevertheless enjoys relatively more independence in looking after the interests of the monopolies. Consequently, there is neither coalescence nor division between the monopolies and the state, but closer interaction, with each motivated by its own considerations, often contradictory, but both working towards one and the same aim, namely, accumulation of capital and monopoly concentration, intensified capitalist exploitation, increased monopoly profits.

Ts. Namsarai (alternate CC member, Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party and its representative on the journal), recalling that Lenin spoke of the coalescence of state and monopoly, asked: What is the point of abandoning this accepted formula and replacing it by 'close cooperation,' which creates the impression that the state represents non-monopoly forces? Replying, C. Quin said that his formula more accurately reflects the relationship between monopoly and state and explains the genesis of contradictions between the state and individual monopoly groups. Asked by M. Doig (CC member, CP Canada and its representative on the journal), about the grounds for this contradiction, Quin emphasized that in conditions of SMC the state, of course, speaks for the common interests of the monopolies, is of the same social nature and allows monopolies the last say in decision-making. As for sources of conflict between the two, Quin singled out these; contradictions between general monopoly interests, as expressed by the state, and the private interests of monopoly groups; rivalry between monopolies and their groups; heterogeneous composition of the state apparatus, in which various influences clash.

S. Aaronovitch (Consultative Economic Commission, CP Great Britain) questioned the theses advanced by Quin (and earlier in the article of another French economist, Boccara).^{*} Though he supported the attempt to define the new phase in state-monopoly capitalism, he maintained that the theoretical model presented by his French colleagues was inadequate and looked very much like

^{*}See WMR, No. 11, 1972, pp. 42-45.

the theory of stagnation developed in the 1930s. Some of the data used to confirm their analyses was open to question (J.M. Gillman's figures cited by Boccara). Moreover there is an attempt to define the beginnings of this new period as from 1967-69, in other words, a complete new phase of SMC is based on three-five years of experience. Aaronovitch proposed that the discussion be continued on the pages of WMR.

CONTRADICTIONS OF INTERNAL DEVELOPMENT

The position in individual countries was analyzed in the light of the specifics of the present stage of capitalism's general crisis.

Canada. Its unique position in the system of imperialist relations was described by E. Bjarnason. Though Britain, France and the FRG, he said, have experienced a high degree of penetration by U.S. capital, none even approaches the situation in Canada. More than half of Canadian big business is American-owned. Canada is confronted with the dilemma of extra-territorialism. Formally, Canadian-registered companies are subject to Canadian law. But the owners of such companies are beyond the reach of Canadian law. Innumerable instances could be cited of U.S. legislation determining the decisions of 'Canadian' business. All this restricts state-monopoly regulation. Though Canadian capital is controlled from outside, it cannot be said that it is fully subjugated.

In reply to questions, Bjarnason discussed the whole problem of relations between the Canadian and U.S. big bourgeoisie (in this context it will be recalled that at its last, 21st Congress, the Communist Party of Canada amended its 1962 program, in which U.S. and Canadian finance capital were treated as a 'single whole.' The program now speaks of the contradictory character of the Canadian-U.S. monopolies partnership). At present there is a definite, very pronounced split in the Canadian bourgeoisie over relations with the United States. There has developed a strong movement among the Canadian bourgeoisie to free itself of American domination. In fact, it is now more acutely aware of the danger of losing its control over the country's finances, something it cannot possibly accept.

Japan. The development of state-monopoly capitalism toward subordination to the U.S., S. Toyoda (CC member, CP Japan and its representative on the journal) said, is a specific and important condition for Japan's rapid economic development and the maintenance of high growth rates. Japan is a highly developed capitalist country but, at the same time, a country semi-occupied by U.S. imperialism and dependent on it. Another feature characteristic of Japanese SMC is the increasing fusion of monopoly and state. A series of measures has been introduced to mobilize state and private resources to serve the monopolies.

In Japan, SMC has accentuated all the contradictions of capitalism. Economic relations with the U.S. have been aggravated, espe-

cially after President Nixon's proclamation of his emergency economic policy in August 1971. Nonetheless, the Security Treaty and the Economic Cooperation Agreement with the U.S. remain the basis of Japanese monopoly policy.

By the close of the 60s the measures to accelerate capital accumulation created a number of serious problems – overproduction, unparalleled environmental pollution, sharpening of the urban crisis, and declining living standards resultant on inflation. All these contradictions have been so aggravated that they are now hindering economic development.

The solutions sought are in the interests of state-monopoly capital. To maintain high growth rates, the ruling classes have launched out on industrial dispersion, relocating industry in the less developed parts of the country. That, in fact, is the substance of the plan to 'remould the Japanese archipelago' which Prime Minister Tanaka presented to the new cabinet last July. It envisages a tremendous outlay, over 400,000 billion yen up to 1985 to move industry from the coastal areas to other parts of the country. But this 'remoulding' will produce more environmental pollution, will sharply increase land prices, concentrate industry and capital still more, promote more capitalist 'rationalization' with its inevitable concomitants of more inflation and higher taxes. The military buildup presents a big danger too. Under the fourth five-year plan adopted by the government in October 1972, military spending is double the figure for the third plan.

Comrade Toyoda was asked many questions. *I. Cox* (CPGB representative on the journal): Do the Japanese comrades consider U.S. domination a permanent factor? Is it becoming stronger or weaker or does it remain stable? *M. Doig*: How is one to reconcile the thesis of Japanese imperialism being subordinate and dependent with its rapid expansion? Is there no contradiction here? Whom does the CP Japan consider the main enemy of the working class? *F. Balagtas* (CP Philippines): Does not the proposition that Japanese imperialism is subordinate to the USA tend to underestimate the strength of Japanese monopoly capital? And if so, does this not weaken the anti-imperialist struggle in Japan and in countries under the influence of Japanese capital?

S. Toyoda replied: Our Party Program says Japan is today ruled by U.S. imperialism and its subordinate ally, Japanese monopoly capital. But the Program also says that, though a highly developed capitalist country, Japan is now virtually a dependent country, semi-occupied by U.S. imperialism. Hence, we have two enemies, U.S. imperialism and Japanese monopoly capital, and we consider the attainment of real national sovereignty the main task of the Japanese people.

Speaking of the position of the working class, Comrade Toyoda emphasized that Japan's high growth rates are based on intensification of labor, low wages, new technology and rapid renewal of fixed capital. Japanese capital has made a good thing out of serving America's aggressive wars, first in Korea and then in Indochina.

Japanese military supplies during the Korean war amounted to \$200 million a year and five times that figure in the Vietnam war.

France. In his analysis of French SMC, C. Quin showed the extension and sharpening of capitalist contradictions. The changes, he said, affect capitalist production relations, though their assence remains the same. The changes are in the following three directions:

1. The functions performed in the past by a multitude of small businesses have now become part of the capitalist reproduction sphere. The result has been a vast increase in wage and salary earners, with a tendency to level-out the conditions of various categories – workers, farmers, white-collar workers, professionals.

2. Rapid concentration of production and of the working class. Its increasing historic and social role as the rallying point for all strata suffering from monopoly policy.

3. More state intervention in the economy, with relations of exploitation extending to the whole of society.

State-monopoly capitalism breeds new contradictions. The requirements of the technological revolution come into conflict with capitalist anarchy. The tendency towards internationalization of production makes the economies of the capitalist countries more interdependent and more sensitive to competition. The result: more difficulties for each individual country, adversely affecting internationalization of the productive forces and increasing economic instability, which generates new and sharper social contradictions.

Britain. S. Aaronovitch drew attention to the fact that compared with pre-1939, the working class is far more organized and in a period of relatively full employment had greatly increased its bargaining power, in particular its strength on the factory floor. In the 60s, the Labor government had to reckon with this. Given the balance of class forces, it strove both to maintain the arms program, but also to expand state expenditure. By the end of 1967, the government was forced to devalue and the Tory government has carried out a further de facto devaluation by floating the pound. The Tories, who came to power in 1970, set out to change the relation of class forces which was to the disadvantage of big business. Their strategy consisted of:

1. A policy of severe deflation, intended to discourage imports, build up the balance of payments surplus needed for meeting the costs of entry into the Common Market and create a climate that would 'choke off' wage increases.

2. Encourage ruthless rationalization, refuse government funds to ailing firms (no support for 'lame ducks'), and compel firms to shed labor.

3. Combine unemployment with legislation to curb the power of the trade unions, limit the use of the strike weapon and impose a wage freeze by pressure of economic forces plus legal constraint on the unions.

Speed was of the essence for this strategy: a few swift brutal strokes to demoralize the working class and clear the decks for Common Market entry and the necessary rationalization. The work-

ing class, however, struck back and the Tory timetable was disrupted.

In replying to questions, Aaronovitch dealt with U.S. capital penetration and the U.S. monopoly attitude to Britain joining the Common Market. U.S. firms, he pointed out, account for 10 per cent of British industrial output, about 12 per cent of profits and 20 per cent of exports. The big American concerns favor British EEC membership on the assumption that it will help them overcome some of the barriers raised by regional economic blocs.

Austria. Nationalization and the role of state-run enterprises in a SMC situation was the main subject of a paper by F. Hager (Politbureau member, CC, CP Austria). A distinctive feature of present-day Austria is its extensive state-monopoly 'public economy' sector. It accounts for about one-third of the entire economy, for about one-third of gross national product and 20 per cent of exports.*

The Socialist Party leadership demagogically contrasts this 'public economy' sector to private enterprise, maintaining that Austria has achieved a 'capitalism without power' that is fully subordinate to 'politicians and managers.' The facts, however, show that nationalized industry, due chiefly to the Socialists' policy, serves local and foreign capital and not technological, democratic and social progress.

Hager drew attention to the role of the nationalized sector in forming a state-monopoly oligarchy into which are integrated a sizeable part of the Socialist Party and trade-union bureaucracy. This is a relatively new development and one that points to a very important trend in SMC, namely, integration of the traditional financial oligarchy and its apparatus of direct and indirect domination with the officialdom in charge of nationalized industry and banking, cooperative and municipal services.

Austrian Communists are explaining to the working class the real nature of government power, the composition and aims of the state-monopoly oligarchy. At the same time the Party is campaigning for retention and expansion of the nationalized sector in industry and finance as a more progressive form of capitalist ownership. But the Communists are fighting to make the national sector serve the interests of the working class and the whole of society, not merely the needs of monopolies. They want to see it uphold neutral Austria's economic and political sovereignty. Towards that end the Communist Party demands reestablishment of parliamentary control of the nationalized sector and expulsion of representatives of Austrian and foreign big capital from the management boards of state companies and banks.

FRG. The new monopoly onslaught on the working class was discussed by G. Schaefer (staff researcher, Marxist Research Institute, Frankfurt-on-Main). One of the main targets is the trade unions' right to conduct wage negotiations without state interference and to use the strike weapon in support of wage demands. In 1967

*See also H. Kalt's article in WMR No. 6, 1972.

there came the 'coordinated action' mechanism – a procedure for consultations between employers, the state and the unions to 'orient' the latter in the matter of wages. This had little effect: the September 1969 and 1970-71 strikes brought wage rises, some of them considerable. Now the Christian-Democrats and others are demanding an end to 'persuasion' and a stiff policy of 'taming' the trade unions.

As long as Social-Democrat influence is strong enough to prevent an active trade-union wages policy, the monopoly bourgeoisie will try a 'light-hand' incomes policy, but it is prepared to use a 'firm hand' too. Reproduction of labor power requires outlays that only society as a whole can afford. This applies, in particular, to education, health, public transport, environmental protection. For a long time the West German monopolies paid scant attention to public consumption. Now they have come to realize its importance and actually advocate its expansion, but on condition that it will not affect their profits. Accordingly, they are against even such 'reforms' as could stabilize the SMC system. And they are distinctly cool to the Social-Democrats' 'reform euphoria' (the Social-Democrats fought the election on the slogan of 'Better quality of life').

Spain. The spread of SMC in Spain, *Carlos del Rio* (staff researcher, Economic Commission, CC CP Spain) said, should be seen against the background of the inadequate development of capitalist relations. This explains the unstable and distorted development of the Spanish economy.

The following are some of the characteristic features of SMC in Spain: growing state investments in industry (attended by extensive foreign capital penetration); state intervention in the economy through the two stabilization plans and three- and four-year development plans, regulation of wages and prices, service charges, etc.; economic militarization, accounting, directly or indirectly, for 10-15 per cent of national income; state 'custody' of enterprises and whole industries of 'national importance'; direct representation of monopoly in government and government institutions; state finances and tax policy geared to big business interests; 'regulation' of foreign trade in the same interests; employing the state apparatus to assure absolute domination of the financial oligarchy. According to the International Monetary Fund, national income and gross national product nearly trebled in 1961-69.

It should be borne in mind, however, that economic development began from a very low base, and after 20 years of hunger and poverty further aggravated by Franco terror. Continued economic deterioration jeopardized the prosperity of the ruling classes. This prompted the financial and landed oligarchy to resort to state-monopoly methods, in particular to accelerate production concentration. Thus, in 1959-1970, 987 enterprises were reorganized through mergers and takeovers into 251 with total assets of 113 billion pesetas.

This does not, of course, make for stabilization. On the contrary, there are major social upheavals. The Franco regime is in a state

of political, economic and social crisis. The only way out is political, economic and social democracy, an anti-feudal and anti-monopoly revolution, beyond the horizons of which are the contours of socialism.

CONFLICTS IN INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC RELATIONS

Life confirms the correctness of the Marxist-Leninist thesis that contradictions between imperialist powers are as unavoidable as their uneven economic development. The fight between monopoly groups for markets and spheres of influence grows more acute.

The currency paradox

The vulnerability of the capitalist system has been most manifest in the monetary crisis of the last few years which is, in turn, fraught with grave consequences for the functioning of the capitalist world economy.

The world monetary crisis, B. Zaharescu stressed, must be treated not as a result of market fluctuations but as an aspect of the general crisis of capitalism. He offered a detailed analysis of the basic features of the postwar monetary system and its inherent contradictions, concluding that gold has ceased to function as a universal value unit, both on domestic markets and on the world capitalist market. And since the U.S. dollar, a national paper money, is also incapable of performing this function, a paradoxical situation has resulted in which symbols of value entirely at the mercy of inflationary processes function as world money. This is a direct result of state interference in financial relations, of state-monopoly measures.

Speaking of monopoly inflationary policies, B. Zaharescu said it was necessary to fight against two fallacious concepts of bourgeois political economy. According to the first, inflation is caused by rising prices, and rising prices, it is alleged, begin with rising wages. Events of the last few years have confirmed the fallacy of the other theory, which claims that there exists an inverse relationship between unemployment and inflation by virtue of which growing inflation leads to lower unemployment, while deflation breeds unemployment. Both these notions are belied by facts, and in the United States and other capitalist countries inflation has been going hand in hand with mounting unemployment. Thanks to the strength of the working class and its organizations, monopoly capital can no longer reduce wages. Therefore the state pursues a consistent, overt or covert, policy of controlled inflation.

B. Zaharescu took a pessimistic view of attempts to repair capitalism's international monetary system through the mechanism of 'special drawing rights.' Various plans for easing the crisis were suggested at the International Monetary Fund conference in September 1972, but differences prevented a final decision. One suggested palliative is the creation of a single Common Market

currency, but, whatever may come of it, the benefits will be short-lived because the monetary crisis is part of the general crisis of capitalism.

E. Bjarnason also stressed that the contradictions of state-monopoly regulation have been most manifest in the sphere of international monetary relations. The Canadian economist pointed to the deepening contradiction between policies aimed at preventing any sharp deterioration in the balance of payments and the requirements of internal economic development. A vivid example is President Nixon's 1971 summer emergency program which sought to bring about a favorable balance of payments by such measures as the devaluation of the dollar, revaluation of other currencies, temporary tariff surcharges and tax subsidies to U.S. exporters, wage controls and a form of price control. Some normalization on the domestic market was purchased at the great cost of reduced external economic stability.

E. Bjarnason also dwelt on the ways in which the consequences of recessions, inflation, unemployment and other economic difficulties are transferred from the more developed countries, notably the U.S. to the less developed. The use of the U.S. dollar as an international reserve currency means that the U.S. is in a position to engage in unilateral 'trade' to the volume of dollars held in foreign exchange reserves. In pursuit of its imperialist aims, the U.S. government has used this unique power in an undisciplined manner. Dollars which cost the United States nothing more than the cost of printing them, have been utilized to make military expenditures abroad, to subsidize friendly dictatorships and client states, and to finance the takeover of foreign subsidiaries by U.S.-controlled international corporations. As long as the dollars involved were held in foreign treasury reserves, or in private Eurodollar pools, the cost of these ventures was in reality being borne by the rest of the world, rather than by the United States. In effect, the U.S. has imposed inflation on the other capitalist countries through the expansion of U.S. currency and its irresponsible monetary operations. It has robbed those countries of the ability to carry out state-monopoly regulation of their own economies efficiently, since they do not control the volume of Eurodollars, which has surpassed \$75 billion.

The imperialist countries are seeking a solution in the form of an international reserve currency to replace the U.S. dollar. But there remains the question of reconciling this solution with the existence of the huge outstanding balance of U.S. currency. Inevitably, Western Europe has sought a regional solution in the form of a Common Market currency bloc.

Conglomerates and multinationals.

Hyman Lumer (member, Political Committee CC CPUSA), dealt with the part played by international monopolies in the economics and policies of state-monopoly capitalism. Capitalist development in recent years, he noted, has been marked by two striking and

interrelated features. One is the spectacular rise of conglomerate corporations, notably in the U.S.; the second is the growth of multinational corporations. From 1950 to 1969, U.S. direct private investments abroad rose from \$11.8 billion to more than \$70 billion, a nearly sixfold increase. If we add the amount of foreign capital controlled through these investments, the total comes to well over \$100 billion. Among the top 500 U.S. industrial corporations a group of 187 have subsidiaries in six or more foreign countries. There is a proliferation of multinational banks, and foreign assets of U.S. banks rose from \$6.9 billion in 1964 to \$57 billion by the end of 1971.

There is a pronounced change in the character of investments, with a considerable shift to investment in manufacturing. At the end of 1969, 42 per cent of all U.S. direct foreign investment was in manufacturing, compared to 28 per cent in petroleum and 8 per cent in mining and smelting. The focus of U.S. investment today is the industrially developed countries of Western Europe and Canada. In the developing countries, too, investment have shifted in the direction of manufacturing, markedly affecting the pattern of imperialist domination, though traditional investment spheres are preserved.

What is essentially new is the unprecedented internationalization of production. Depending on where costs are lowest, a U.S. company may produce parts in, say, Taiwan or South Korea, assemble them in Mexico and sell the finished product in the United States. Or it may turn out its product in factories in Britain, France, Italy, Spain or Ireland and import it into the United States. This explains why the volume of sales by foreign subsidiaries has risen far more rapidly in recent years than that of exports from the United States. The share of profits derived from foreign operations has steadily risen and it is estimated that currently these come to 20 per cent or more of total U.S. corporate profits.

The development of multinational corporations has been a feature of all the leading capitalist countries. But U.S. companies hold more than 60 per cent of the assets of all multinational corporations. As of 1968, of the 500 largest corporations in the world, 306 were U.S. firms and only 74 were West European.

European monopoly capital, finding itself confronted with a superior competitor, is driven to intensified resort to the help of the state. On the other hand, the U.S. multinational corporations, striving to paralyze measures to restrain them, have come to increasingly rely on the economic powers of the U.S. state. Apart from the traditional subversive machinations of the State Department, the Pentagon, the CIA and other state agencies with the purpose of providing a 'suitable climate' for U.S. investment, the United States has in the postwar years devoted huge sums to foreign 'aid' in the form of grants and credits aimed at opening the door to penetration by U.S. monopoly capital. Thus, the government has provided lavish tax concessions on foreign investments and even insurance against expropriation. Payment of taxes on

foreign corporate income may be deferred until such income is repatriated – which in some cases means permanently. The administration is considering the easing of certain anti-trust restrictions and further tax concessions on foreign profits.

H. Safari (Candidate member, Executive Bureau, CC People's Party of Iran, and its representative on WMR), who dealt with the military, political and economic aspects of oil imperialism, stressed the expansion of international monopolies. International monopolies are among the main bulwarks of state-monopoly capitalism and inspirers of neo-colonialism. The oil industry leads all others in concentration of capital and production. In 1971, seven cartel members (five American companies, one British and one Anglo-Dutch) accounted for 1,296 million tons, or 63 per cent of the total extracted oil. In economic power the private monopoly concerns are superior to practically all the oil producing countries.

Figures on oil profits speak for themselves. Thus, although Middle Eastern oil accounts for only three per cent of all direct U.S. foreign investments, it yields about half the profit.

In few fields is the merger of the state and monopoly capital so obvious. The British and French governments are direct partners in British Petroleum and Compagnie Française des Pétroles, respectively. Strenuous efforts are undertaken to split the members of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) by means of a 'differentiated approach' to such countries as Iran and Saudi Arabia.

Nothing, however, H. Safari said, can halt the process of oil nationalization, which is spreading to more and more countries. Contradictions between them and consumer countries are increasing. More and more capitalist countries are seeking to get their oil directly from the producers. Events of the last few years show that the peoples and governments of oil-producing countries are increasingly undermining the positions of oil imperialism.

Imperialist integration

Communists take into account the dual character of integration processes in the capitalist world economy. They differentiate between the objective requirements of the productive forces and the subjective calculations and plans of monopoly capital, its reactionary internal and external policies.

Many speakers noted the new subjective, class motivations of big business with regard to the Common Market. Thus, Ib Norlund, analyzing Denmark's accession to the EEC, emphasized the bankruptcy of the Right-wing bourgeois parties' economic policies opposed by the working class. Danish big business lost interest in national-state instruments of economic regulation in favor of passing the responsibility for unpopular anti-labor measures to supra-national EEC bodies. The *Berlingske Tidende*, leading newspaper of the Right, quite frankly invoked this argument for joining the Common Market when it wrote back in 1970: 'Nine out of ten

decisions in economic policy which had occupied most of the time of Danish politicians will be taken by EEC bodies . . . There is no need to regret this. For generations the Danish political system has demonstrated its unwillingness or inability to adopt essential economic and political measures or decisions.'

The ruling classes won the recent referendum thanks to a campaign of intimidation that swung the votes of the politically passive, mainly petty-bourgeois, sections of the electorate. The working class, youth and big-city dwellers, however, unequivocally rejected the EEC. New sharp clashes between the popular democratic movement and the monopolies, which are more than ever before threatened with isolation, are inevitable.

S. Aaronovitch cautioned against exaggerating objective factors in analyzing capitalist integration processes, notably the role of the scientific and technological revolution.

F. Hager characterized the recent agreement between Austria and the Common Market as a continuation of the Right-wing Socialists' line of cooperation with big business on the national and international scale.

'We Communists,' he said, 'reject the treaties with the EEC as they mean the involvement of Austria in West European integration under the aegis of monopoly capital. This contradicts Austria's policy of active neutrality and thus works against détente and peaceful coexistence in Europe. The best source for the neutral states following the dissolution of EFTA would be the creation of a European security and cooperation system free from discrimination and capable of removing the obstacles to international trade and guaranteeing the economic and political sovereignty of all states.'

Some differences emerged in the assessment of the Common Market's future. Thus, G. di Stefano was, on the one hand, critical of the EEC while, on the other, he spoke of plans of democratizing its institutions from within. C. del Rio took an essentially similar line. While opposing Franco Spain's joining the Common Market, he said, the Communist Party would be prepared to waive its objections to Spanish participation as an associate member when the dictatorship is overthrown. In that case the CPS, as stated in the decisions of its Eighth Congress, would pool its efforts with those 'of the Communist and Socialist parties and other forces seeking the democratization of the EEC and the transformation of a Europe of monopolies into a socialist Europe, the only perspective compatible with the growth and internationalization of the productive forces.'

E. Glueckauf (Head of CC department, SUPG, and its representative on WMR) asked the Italian economist to clarify his position concerning the Common Market, which seemed contradictory. He pointed out the mounting opposition to the EEC. Moreover, he said, conflicts between monopolies of different countries are mounting within the community. This creates conditions for the joint struggle of the working class and all anti-monopoly forces, not only against various aspects of the EEC, but also for formulating an independent

policy and strategy on a broad range of problems of economic and social development.

Responding, G. di Stefano referred to the CC ICP statement concerning the EEC Paris summit, published 19 October, 1972, which notes the participants' failure to overcome contradictions and give added incentive to the EEC. It also notes the impossibility of concealing the community's profound crisis and the distrust with which it is viewed by the peoples of Western Europe. However, he went on, while reaffirming our opposition to the Common Market, we also reaffirm our undertaking to fight for a radical democratization of all its institutions. We also raise the question of new relations between the EEC and the socialist world, the Soviet Union in the first place, because we want to make the Common Market a factor of economic development in a framework of European and international cooperation.

The idea of the possibility of democratizing the Common Market of European monopolies was questioned by I. Cox.

'We British Communists,' he said, 'consider the Common Market to be an important channel to strengthen and unite state-monopoly capitalism in Europe and to use it as an important channel to secure relatively cheap raw materials and primary goods and to intensify the super-exploitation of millions throughout the African continent. In this respect we have a different analysis and view of the correct revolutionary strategy towards the Common Market than that held by the Italian Communist Party, and perhaps these differences could become the subject of a dialogue of a future conference.'

New 'ultra-imperialism'?

Economic integration and the emergence of powerful international corporations have provided food for new apologetic theories. One, advanced by George Ball, former U.S. Undersecretary of State for economic affairs, sees in the emergence of the 'denationalized' multinational corporation 'the first appearance of a supranational world order – an order in which the terrible and violent rule of competitive nationalism would be gradually superseded by an internationalization of production, regulated by the impersonal constraints of profit. . . . What is envisaged is a "businessman's peace" in which pragmatism and production take precedence over national pride and vainglory."*

Another American economist, Howard Perlmutter, predicts that 'some 300 corporations (200 of them American) will soon dominate the world economy in much the same way that the fifty or one hundred top American corporations dominate our economy.'**

Citing these statements, H. Lumer stressed that in Ball's view we find expressed a modern version of Karl Kautsky's theory of 'ultra-imperialism,' Kautsky wrote: 'Cannot the present imperialist policy be supplanted by a new, ultra-imperialist policy, which will

*See Robert L. Heilbroner. 'The Multinational Corporation and the Nation-State.' *New York Review of Books*, February 11, 1971

**Ibid.

introduce the joint exploitation of the world by internationally united finance capital in place of the mutual rivalries of national capitals? Such a new phase of capitalism is at any rate conceivable.* To Ball, apparently, this is more than conceivable; it is in the process of becoming a reality. But even such a bourgeois economist as Heilbroner questions this and leans towards the opposing view that the conflict between the demands of the nation-state and those of the corporations leads to an exacerbation of the world conflict rather than to a resolution of it.

Business Week (June 14, 1969), mouthpiece of U.S. monopoly interests, speaks of the multinational company as one which 'sets up production facilities around the world to serve markets in the most rational way without regard to national boundaries' and states that 'the closer the big international corporations approach this unfettered manner of doing business, the more trouble they seem to have with local governments and businessmen who feel their sovereignty is threatened and their interests ignored.'

It is increasingly maintained that the multinational corporations have developed interests distinct from those of any government, including that of its country of origin. Samuel Pizar, author of 'The Multinational Corporation and the Nation-State,' says that 'multinational firms have detached themselves from their American moorings and have taken off on the high seas. Now they are stateless.' He sees the situation as 'the confrontation of two gigantic forces: the political power of the nation-states and the economic power of the multinational corporations.'**

H. Lumer draws the conclusion that both these bourgeois views are equally wrong. On the one hand, the notion of world harmony and peace growing out of the internationalization of capitalist production has even less validity now than it did in Kautsky's day. In the advanced stage of the general crisis of capitalism which exists today, Lenin's strictures against 'ultra-imperialism' carry greater weight than ever before. He said: 'Inevitably imperialism will burst and capitalism will be transformed into its opposite long before one world trust materializes, before the "ultra-imperialist," worldwide amalgamation of national finance capitals takes place' (Vol. 22, p. 107).

The shift towards manufacturing investment in developing countries and toward investment in Western Europe is in the first place a consequence of the setbacks suffered by imperialism. It represents an effort to accommodate to the new relationship of world forces.

On the other hand, those who pose the problem as simply a conflict between economic internationalism and political nationalism are no less wrong. This serves only to obscure and to avoid coming to grips with the real contradictions, the real conflicts between capitalist states. The proponents of this view can offer no solution other than vague schemes for the creation of supranational

*See V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 22, p. 293.

**Quoted by Gus Tyler, 'Multinationals: A Global Menace,' *The American Federationist*, July 1972.

agencies. Among these are the idea of a 'world corporation' or a 'UN corporation' which will govern the whole multinational corporate world structure.

The multinational corporations are by no means cut adrift from the state. IBM, General Motors or General Electric are U.S.-owned, they have their headquarters in the United States and it is there that decisions are made. Furthermore, the activities of such U.S.-based corporations are governed by U.S. law and U.S. foreign policy, which is not infrequently at odds with the policies and interests of other imperialist states.

Monopolies and neo-colonialism

J. Fuchs (alternate member, CC CP Argentina, and its representative on WMR) showed how the state-monopoly exploitation mechanism functions and how the neo-colonialist policies of state-monopoly capitalism are pursued. The Yankee monopolies operating in Latin America are assisted by the U.S. state machinery which employs all the tools of neo-colonialism – economic, political and military. The White House uses funds from the state budget and operates through the U.S. Export-Import Bank, the IMF, the International Reconstruction and Development Bank and the Inter-American Development Bank. Imperialist objectives are served by the 'Alliance for Progress' program, all types of 'aid,' 'national economic development programs,' and plans of integration under U.S. aegis. And the traditional methods of imperialist intervention are also maintained. The Pentagon-controlled Inter-American Defense Council has worked out its 'internal front' doctrine. In the last 20 years the U.S. was directly involved in more than 30 coups d'état on the continent.

Speaking of the expansion of American capital in Latin America, J. Fuchs pointed to such consequences of its domination in Argentina as a lopsided economy, greater technological dependence, denationalization of important industries, the transfer of large sums abroad, further narrowing of the domestic market and mounting exploitation.

The neo-colonialist policies of U.S. monopoly capital have entered a period of crisis. This is seen in the profound structural crisis that has hit all the main countries of the continent. The revolutionary process is expanding. Today opposing imperialism alongside socialist Cuba are Chile, Peru, Panama and the peoples of other countries.

The ideological struggle is mounting, with imperialism attaching special importance to the propaganda of anti-communism and anti-Sovietism. Grist to the mill of reactionary propaganda is brought by peddlers of pseudo-Left views, such as the Maoists with their notions of 'two superpowers' and division of all countries into 'rich' and 'poor.' Their purpose is clear: to isolate liberation movements from the USSR, the decisive anti-monopoly force and genuine ally of the peoples fighting for political and economic independence

and social progress. Other 'innovators' have advanced the theory of 'neo-imperialism' which equates the state capitalism found in Latin American countries with the state-monopoly capitalism of imperialist powers. Others speak of 'Argentine imperialism' or 'Brazilian imperialism.'

In the development of state-monopoly capitalism, J. Fuchs summarized, one can trace the dialectical interconnection between economy and politics. The anti-imperialist struggle for political power through mass movements aimed at achieving structural changes in the name of social progress and socialism has risen to a new level. In the making are new anti-imperialist, anti-oligarchic fronts.

T. Varela (alternate member, Executive Committee, CC CP Colombia, and its representative on WMR) spoke of SMC manifestations in the export of capital. The IMF, one of the tools of American expansion, requires countries seeking credits to 'put their budgets in order' by devaluation, higher taxes, higher prices for municipal services and wage freezes. Various conditions are imposed, such as 'open door' policies for foreign capital and the banning or restriction of trade with the socialist countries, the Soviet Union in the first place. Similar guidelines are employed by other SMC-bred credit and financing organizations, such as the International Financial Corporation and the U.S. Export-Import Bank.

I. Cox cited facts and figures about the financial plundering of the Third World. In his view, one of the biggest factors which has enabled state-monopoly capitalism, especially British imperialism, to cushion itself against an even more serious crisis has been the ability to increase (despite the general advance of the national-liberation movement) the exploitation of the millions of people in Asia, Africa and Latin America. Whilst we have no official figures on the vast scale of tribute which the capitalist world takes from the Third World, we have certain fairly reliable estimates. Thus, U Thant estimated that profits from the Third World to the capitalist world had risen from £1,300 million in 1960 to £2,300 million in 1970. Apart from this, as a result of the price mechanism on the world market the prices of the products of these countries go down, while they have to pay more for their imports of manufactured and capital goods. UNCTAD estimates that these countries lose more than £1,500 million a year due to this price mechanism. Again, payment of high interest on loans amounts to more than £2,000 million a year. So if you add these together you find that the capitalist tribute from these countries amounts to at least £5,000 million a year.

Arising from this situation the outstanding need is to translate proletarian internationalism into practice in solidarity with the struggle of the workers and peasants of Asia, Africa and Latin America. When the news today reports that the dockers in South Africa are on strike, they are fighting against the giant monopoly firms, the common enemy of the British working class, the French working class and the German working class.

THE STRATEGY OF ANTI-MONOPOLY STRUGGLE

The working people and their Communist Parties in the capitalist countries have the inalienable right and duty to wage a resolute class struggle for the liquidation of the monopolies and their power, for the establishment of a genuinely democratic system, for the establishment of socialist power.

Solidarity

The struggle of the working class and its allies against the monopolies occupied a prominent place in the collective analysis of the development of state-monopoly capitalism.

H. Lumer discussed some of the specific tasks involved in resisting the multinational corporations. In Western Europe, he said, the invasion of the U.S. monopolies has confronted the workers with increased speedup and elimination of their jobs.

In their search for superprofits the multinational corporations have sought to restrict worker organization and collective bargaining. And where workers have resisted these encroachments, they have been met with threats to close down the plants and move to other countries. What has come to be known as the 'export of jobs' is an all too familiar phenomenon. Direct statistics are lacking, but an AFL-CIO estimate places the number of jobs eliminated by imports of goods produced in foreign subsidiaries of multinational corporations during the period of 1966-1969 at 700,000 or more. It has become painfully clear that unions cannot cope with these multinational giants on a purely domestic basis. The growing assault of the multinationals on the working class can be effectively met only by posing against them the common interests of the workers of all countries.

H. Lumer noted reactionary attempts to guide the workers' dissatisfaction with the operations of multinationals along convenient channels. In keeping with this reactionary line is the promotion by some trade unions of a 'Buy American' campaign. In other cases union leaders have joined with employers in demanding higher tariffs as a protection against 'foreign cheap labor.' These are chauvinist measures, playing into the hands of the monopolists in their drive to split U.S. workers from their brothers in other countries.

G. di Stefano stressed the importance of consolidating and extending the Italian workers' democratic gains in and outside the factories, promoting trade union unity through the creation of a federation of the three union centers, ensuring democratic local government, and struggling against attempts to restrict the right to strike and against authoritarian or fascist tendencies. Our objective, he said, is to bring down the Center-Right government, bring about a shift to the Left and install a government capable of using state interference to oppose monopoly concentration on both the national and international scene.

Union demands are aimed not only at economic gains but also at having a say in work organization at the factory, at restraining and restricting exploitation, at forcing the introduction of more advanced methods of production and stimulating new investment.

Union demands are devoid of the corporate spirit and therefore attract all workers, becoming a part of the greater anti-monopoly struggle for a democratic program and the utilization of the state sector in the interests of society as a whole. The working class operates on the political and economic scene not as an egoistic force seeking satisfaction for only its own demands, but as a leading class seeking to lead the whole process of democratic change. This enables it to draw into the struggle other social strata looking towards a new type of government and liberation from monopoly tyranny.

S. Aaronovitch spoke of the fight for swaying the British trade unions and, accordingly, the mass base of the Labor Party, to the Left. He noted, in particular, the significance of the major strike struggles that swept Great Britain in recent years. It is the mounting revolt of the workers that is the biggest problem now facing the Tories.

What has been the strategy of the CPGB? It envisages a process of mass struggle carried into and reflected in the mass organizations of the working class and especially the trade unions.

'We see such a movement,' he said, 'altering not only the policy but the leadership of these organizations. As a result we have seen the possibility of increasing sections of the trade union movement shifting to the Left on both immediate and long-term issues, influencing the policy of the Trade Union Congress, as well as the direction and composition of the General Council. Simultaneously, both directly and by way of trade unions we see the increasing pressure on the Labor Party at all levels. We expect the result of this strategy, if successfully pursued, will be to break up the coalition of Right-wing trade union and Labor Party leaders and create a political crisis for the Right wing.'

It was the partnership of these Right-wing leaders that had helped entrench reformism in the British labor movement. The new strategy is not only of theoretical interest but has already yielded some important results, and unlike any previous period since the formation of the Labor Party, the leadership can no longer depend on solid and overwhelming trade union support. This is a truly historic change.

Economic and political tasks

'It seems apparent,' H. Schaefer remarked, 'that the contradictions of capitalism will be most generally manifest in the sphere of reproduction of manpower, in the sphere of both personal and social consumption. That is why we should by no means underestimate the importance of economic struggle.'

The class battles in France, Italy, Great Britain, Sweden and

West Germany are testimony to the insolvency of views denying the rallying nature of economic demands on assumption that the working class is quite content with its present circumstances. This is certainly not so. It should also be remembered that without stepping up the economic struggle one cannot step up the political struggle. Not for nothing did Lenin stress that this was a 'general law' deriving from the fundamental features of capitalist society. Under capitalism, he wrote, 'there always exist backward sections which can be aroused only by the most extraordinary accentuation of the movement, and it is only by means of economic demands that the backward sections can be drawn into the struggle' (Vol. 16, p. 417).

Another aspect of the relationship between economic and political struggle was taken up by Ib Norlund, who spoke of the danger of the emergence of a 'state-monopoly economism' similar to the 'imperialist economism' of which Lenin wrote.

In his article 'The Nascent Trend of Imperialist Economism' (1916) he noted that a characteristic feature of this new economism was that it 'cannot solve the problem of *how to link the advent of imperialism with the struggle for reforms and democracy*—just as the Economists of blessed memory could not link the advent of capitalism with the struggle for democracy' (Vol. 23, p. 15). 'Imperialist Economism,' Lenin wrote, displayed two trends, 'Right' and 'Left,' whose advocates separate the economic from the political struggle. The 'Right' deny the need to fight for the democratic rights necessitated by the development of imperialism (e.g., self-determination of nations); the 'Left' are opposed to a minimum program, to reforms and democracy, as 'contradictory' to socialist revolution.

'The mistake of Kautskyism,' wrote Lenin, 'lies in projecting correct democratic demands into the past, to peaceful capitalism, and not into the future, to the social revolution'; Bukharin's mistake was of regarding 'these demands as incorrect' (Ibid., p. 18).

In Norlund's view, something like this can be observed today and Lenin's analysis offers excellent guidelines for all Communists. The common purpose of communist anti-monopoly programs is to present an alternative to SMC policies and show that social issues can be resolved in the working people's interests. The 'Left' opportunists who reject such minimum programs have revealed their political impotence for all to see. Yet the struggle frequently poses the question: how, and in what spheres, can the working class push through measures that would really be able to harness the monopolies?

'We in Denmark,' Ib Norlund said, 'have accumulated a substantial body of experience indicating that demands for reforms, including those put forward by the Communists, can be met to a degree, but only insofar as they do not radically affect the state-monopoly system, which finds ways of compensating itself for the concessions it makes. More, in the final analysis this working class may even have failed to strengthen its positions. This is true even on the nationalization question.'

An example of the emasculation of reforms and their 'integration' into the SMC system are the plans of so-called 'economic' or 'production democracy' peddled by the Right-wing Danish Social-Democratic leadership.

'Economic democracy' is represented as a means whereby wage earners gradually acquire ownership rights over the means of production. This, it is claimed, is achieved by deducting a percentage of workers' earnings for a special investment fund controlled by either the central trade union leadership or 'political,' i.e., government, bodies. In reality, of course, this can in no way encroach on the monopolies. For one, the means for this fund are deducted in the well-known form of compulsory savings, and secondly, the fund itself is subject to capitalist market conditions in which private capital rules. Most important, the fund is controlled by bodies guided by SMC interests.

'Production' or 'factory democracy' is primarily meant to give the worker participation on company boards. However, there are numerous examples that such participation in no way affects the monopolies' decision-making powers. At the same time, characteristically enough, nothing is done to promote even such an elementary prerequisite of factory democracy as the protection of shop stewards from attacks and dismissals.

That is why, the speaker concluded, we should always reflect on what is meant by anti-monopoly reforms – as distinct from reforms which, though granting concessions to the workers, make for no marked change in the relation of class forces. The principle should, in any case, be to inject *economic and political class content* into every reform.

For reforms, against reformism

C. Quin cited the activities of the French CP to illustrate some of the problems of the struggle for democratic reforms. The Party sees a way out of the crisis through the creation of an advanced political and economic democracy opening up the way to socialism. This is the purpose of the Party's program for a popular unity government. It is also the purpose of the joint government program adopted June 27, 1972, by the CP and Socialist Party and subsequently supported by the Left Radicals.

Like the earlier CP program, the joint program outlines radical changes in both the political and economic spheres. The main task is expansion of the nationalized sector to include the key branches of the economy. This can be ensured by state control coupled with far-reaching democratic reforms in the nation's political, social and economic life.

This should ensure the prevalence of a new economic and social mechanism based not on competitive profit-making but on cooperation and competition between businessmen within a framework of democratic planning and with the active participation of the working people. Obviously, such political and economic democracy is

not yet socialism. However, French Communists see it as a form of revolutionary transition to socialism. This program cannot be implemented without an active class struggle.

The role of the masses in the movement for democratic reform and radical political change was discussed by S. Toyoda. All sections of the Japanese people have a common concern and a common interest, he said, in particular, on such questions as prices, environmental disruption, housing, social security, overcrowding, etc. The advance of the people's movements in support of demands on each of these problems is one of the important characteristics of the Japanese people's struggle in the course of which all sections gain a better understanding of the need for democratic reform and fundamental political change: the formation of a popular government to take over the power from American imperialism and Japanese monopoly capital.

The situation makes more important the significance of a program of democratic reform and change to oppose the anti-popular policies of state-monopoly capitalism and to link this program with the struggle for the formation of a united front of all democratic forces with peace, neutrality, democracy and a better life as its central tasks and the establishment of a democratic coalition government.

F. Hager singled out the problem of exposing the true essence of state-monopoly capitalism. This is especially important in Austria, where the Right-wing Socialist leadership has done a lot to promote the theory and practice of 'class harmony' and managed to create an atmosphere of 'class peace' at many enterprises. It can be overcome only by mobilizing the workers for the class struggles for both their immediate demands and their broader socio-economic and national interests. The CP distinguishes four main aspects of this task:

- analysis and exposure of specific government plans of state-monopoly reforms;
- elaboration of anti-monopoly alternatives and the struggle for their implementation;
- elucidation of the general socialist alternative (through comparison of the situation in Austria with the socialist world and propaganda of our ideas of a socialist Austria and the ways of achieving it);
- strengthening of the Communist Party, the only organized anti-monopoly force in the country.

The interrelationship between the international class struggle and strengthening working-class positions in the developed capitalist countries was pointed out by S. Aaronovitch.

In countries where the working class is predominant, he said, especially in the United Kingdom and, perhaps, also in France, the link between democracy and socialism is very direct; the substantive issue is necessarily that of working class power.

Replying to H. Lumer, who asked whether the issue of working-class power raised the question of a government which would pro-

ceed to the construction of socialism and whether the proposition was that it had become the immediate issue, S. Aaronovitch said, 'any Labor government which now comes to office has to face the crucial question whether it will act on the program emerging on the Left, which has very great similarity in certain respects to the kind of governmental program adopted by the Communists and Socialists in France, or whether they will simply act to operate capitalism. It is in that sense that it is argued that the issue of working-class power is the substantive issue. This certainly does not mean to imply that the issue of a government which will proceed to the construction of socialism is immediate in the sense that this is right now on the order of the day. To proceed to the point where a government is prepared to act in this way is evidently a prolonged process.'

As before, imperialism bases its ideological subversion of the Communist and labor movement on anti-communism, the ideology of Social-Democracy, and Right-wing revisionist theories, said R. Urbani (member, Executive and Secretariat, CC CP Luxembourg, and its representative on WMR. But it is also increasingly seeking the services of 'Left' opportunism and ultra-Left petty-bourgeois adventurers of a Maoist or Trotskyite type. This is amply illustrated by the Luxembourg trade union movement, whose Social-Democratic leaders—all dyed-in-the-wool reformists—not only tolerate Trotskyites in the unions but even encourage their activities. They lately even recommended a book by the Trotskyite E. Mandel as a theoretical guide for trade union studies and were forced to drop it from the lists only after energetic worker protests.

On the other hand, the Socialist press readily disseminates the Right-revisionist views of Garaudy, Fischer, Marek and the exponents of 'democratic socialism' that have fled from Czechoslovakia, and speaks favorably of the Peking leadership. The purpose of all this is to confuse the workers, which is why the Luxembourg CP, like the Communist parties of all developed capitalist countries, must do everything to enhance its ideological work. Of special importance in this respect is to explain the connection between revisionism and nationalism. Opportunist and nationalistic deviations inevitably lead to the counterposing of national and international tasks of Communists and negation of proletarian internationalism.

Political alliance of democratic forces

The 1969 Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties noted that joint anti-monopoly and anti-imperialist action creates favorable conditions for the formation of a political alliance of all democratic movements; such an alliance can decisively restrict the role of the monopolies in the economy, put an end to the power of big business and carry out radical political and economic reforms capable of ensuring favorable conditions for the continued struggle for socialism.

In France, for example, conditions are ripe for the formation of a firm alliance of democratic forces, though there is much work ahead, especially in the political and ideological field. The alliance would unite the overwhelming majority of the working people and middle sections around the working class. This is the purpose of the joint government program adopted by the French Communists and Socialists (C. Quin). The idea of a united front of all democratic forces on the basis of a program of peace, neutrality, democratization and higher living standards advocated by the Communist Party of Japan is meeting with ever wider response. The masses are coming to realize that the revolutionary course can be halted only by creating a democratic coalition government on the basis of a united front (S. Toyoda). In Italy the conditions are there for an alliance of the working class with the middle producers, i.e., the people engaged in small and medium businesses, handicrafts, small and medium retail trade and, naturally, the middle sections of the countryside. The CP line is aimed at supporting the demands of these sections and their hopes of preserving and consolidating their position in the society.

The split within the Confederation of Italian Industrialists has led to the formation of an independent organization of small and middle industrialists who take a basically democratic stand, do not oppose the working class on collective bargaining, and reject the idea that trade union struggle necessarily affects the market and leads to inflation or even stagnation. The unions, for their part, while opposing lower wage levels, try in their collective bargaining to take into account the conditions in which small businesses operate (G. di Stefano).

G. Banchemo (alternate member, CC CP Chile, and its representative on WMR) spoke of the experience of the Popular Unity Government.

Most significant, he said, is that revolutionary changes are being carried out within the framework of the Constitution and legislation carried over from the past. As the same time, the 1970 Popular Unity victory yielded only one branch of the three branches of government in Chile, though the executive branch is, of course, the most important. The enemy is resorting to the most desperate actions in its efforts to overthrow the Popular Unity administration; the democratic forces are working to consolidate their gains and advance to complete power. Concerning the Communist stand, G. Banchemo said:

'We view our Party's work not in isolation but as a joint effort together with our allies. To be sure, at times it may seem easier to go it alone, but in our case it would mean nowhere to go. The road to victory lies through joint action by all social and political forces favoring far-reaching renovation of the society. The policy of unity means fighting erroneous concepts within the coalition and promoting an independent proletarian policy. At the same time, we realize that the dialogue with our allies should be objective and involve concrete problems and real issues. Chilean Communists hold

that the main task in the revolutionary process is for the working class to assume the role belonging to it historically and rally all the forces taking part in the process. This requires resolute support of the legitimate demands and democratic rights of every class and social stratum capable of joining the anti-imperialist and anti-oligarchic struggle.'

The work of the conference was summed up by V. Shundeyev. It provided a forum, he said, for an extensive, lively and comradely exchange of views on a wide range of problems of great importance for analyzing the present stage in the development of the capitalist system and defining Communists' tasks in the anti-monopoly struggle.

The conclusion can be drawn that, despite the contradictory nature of various aspects of state-monopoly development, they have contributed, to a greater or lesser degree, to the creation of a situation favoring the expansion of the class struggle on the economic and political level. Of special importance in these circumstances is to define the new spheres of class struggle, elaborate the stand to be taken by the Communist parties, and exchange experience between them. The contradictions of state-monopoly economic regulation have recently surfaced most prominently in three spheres: the monetary crisis, runaway inflation and mounting unemployment. In all these spheres the Communist parties have presented workable alternatives stemming from the day-to-day tasks of the labor movement and in accord with the interests of the broad masses of the people; they are working to develop this policy into a program of mass struggle capable of driving home to the masses the inability of the capitalist system to resolve its internal contradictions.

In the last few years a considerable body of experience has been accumulated in the organization of the struggle against the multinational corporations exploiting the proletariat of various countries. International action has been instrumental in repulsing monopoly attacks against individual detachments of the proletariat. Communists give special attention to the question of international working-class solidarity.

At a time when the troubles of capitalism are mounting the workers' movement has to deal with a crafty, dangerous enemy seeking to enlist the support of Right-wing radicals, traditional conservatives, reformists and revisionists, up to and including the most vocal ultra-Leftists. Hence, an important component of the proletariat's class struggle is, today, the theoretical elaboration of the complex problems bred by the new phenomena in the development of state-monopoly capitalism.

Peaceful coexistence
-- political reality
-- form of class struggle
-- revolutionary factor

Kurt Erlebach

Presidium Member, German CP

Peaceful coexistence of states with differing social systems is no new problem, theoretical or practical, for socialist foreign policy. Its essence was disclosed by Lenin, and worldwide revolutionary change has made it one of the sharpest issues of the times.

Lenin spoke of nations 'living side by side' as the proletarian state's most desirable and advisable form of its inevitable coexistence with capitalist countries, one that accords with the development of the socialist revolution and social progress. Marxist-Leninists have shown that there is now a real possibility of avoiding world war, a proposition that has helped develop the concept of peaceful coexistence as an historic necessity.

As a result of the sustained struggle of the Communists and all peace-loving forces, Lenin's idea of peaceful coexistence is gradually being translated into a generally acceptable form of international law and contractual relations. Even the U.S. government found itself compelled to give concrete support to this principle in Point 1 of the Basic Principles of Relations between the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the United States of America. Some West German monopoly circles have likewise been obliged to take a more realistic approach to the international situation. The staggering defeat of the Right forces and their chief party, the CDU/CSU, is indicative of the vast role the issues of peace and normal relations with the socialist countries now play in the internal political struggle. The multilateral consultations in Helsinki to prepare for a European security and cooperation conference are still another important symptom of international détente. This explains the keen interest in peaceful coexistence and its influence on the revolutionary processes of our time, and not only among Communists, but among the general public and the young generation in capitalist countries, the FRG included.

More, bourgeois ideologists have followed bourgeois politicians in conceding the need for peaceful coexistence which, for them, is an entirely new concept. Indeed, what we have here is a curious ideologico-psychological phenomenon. For it is not so long ago that bourgeois theorists dismissed the peaceful coexistence idea as a figment of 'communist propaganda.' Of course they give it a bourgeois interpretation, endeavoring to adapt it to their own purposes.

All this should prompt us to examine the theoretical aspects of the problem, taking as our starting point the reality of political practice.

The problem of peaceful coexistence and class struggle is sometimes inaccurately formulated. The two are treated as inter-connected, but at the same time as autonomous processes. Actually, they are phenomena of one and the same order. Peaceful coexistence of states with mutually-opposed social systems is a form of class struggle carried into the domain of international contacts. And in this context we have to deal with three interconnected problems. First, the substance and significance of the class struggle waged by the proletarian state in international relations. Second, the character and influence of this struggle on the revolutionary class battles within the capitalist countries and on the national-liberation movement. Third and last, the impact of the class struggle in capitalist and developing countries on the process of asserting and consolidating peaceful coexistence and international affairs.

From the very first days of the October Revolution the proletarian state and the Party had to choose the means of class struggle in the foreign-policy sphere. Deeply aware of the importance and complexity of the problem, Lenin wrote of '... the struggle on a proletarian state surrounded by capitalist states. The situation is an entirely novel and difficult one' (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 29, p. 58).

Peaceful coexistence as the general line of socialist foreign policy vis-à-vis the capitalist countries is based on the regularities of the world revolutionary process and its development, the need to strengthen Soviet power, and also on the objective interdependence of states determined by the development of the productive forces and the historically-formed international division of labor. The basic principles of this policy are widely known. They have stood the test of experience and are embodied in programmatic documents of the Communist parties: non-aggression, respect of sovereignty and territorial integrity, non-interference, respect for the right of all peoples freely to choose their socio-economic and political system, cooperation based on equality and mutual advantage.

The successful struggle to impose peaceful coexistence on the imperialists, the steady introduction of its principles in international life, represent a vast achievement for all the revolutionary forces. The class implications of this process lie in the fact that the proletarian state – though it cannot, of course, abolish exploitation in the capitalist world – begins energetically to eliminate relations of domination and subordination in international affairs, asserting in their place the general democratic norms violated and ignored by imperialism. Peaceful coexistence does not erase the class antagonism between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. However, in international relations, the character of this antagonism is modified, for the working class in power is not exploited by the international bourgeoisie and confronts it as an independent force.

Our ideological adversaries have sought to distort Lenin's idea of peaceful coexistence. Witness the German Social-Democratic *Neue Gesellschaft*: 'Lenin considered peaceful coexistence with

bourgeois states possible only for a short time. Peaceful coexistence was determined by the need to adapt to the then international situation, on the understanding that it could at any time be replaced by military confrontation to extend the revolution. Cooperation with bourgeois states, therefore, was likewise possible only to a limited extent.*

Such assertions have nothing in common with Lenin's views and are contrary to historical facts. For 55 years ago, at the time of the Brest armistice and peace talks, Lenin vehemently fought Trotsky and the 'Left Communists' who shared similar views. Exposing the absurdity and adventurism of the 'Lefts' who, as a 'matter of principle,' called for a 'revolutionary war,' Lenin wrote: 'Such a "theory" would be completely at variance with Marxism, for Marxism has always been opposed to "prodding" revolutions, which develop with the growing acuteness of the class antagonisms that engender revolutions' (Vol. 27, pp. 71-72). The victorious proletariat, Lenin said, is destined to exert a decisive influence on the world revolutionary process by its economic policy.

Of course, as a realist Lenin warned that an imperialist attack on the USSR was possible and in definite circumstances inevitable. But the reason for this lay not in the existence of two mutually-opposed social systems, but in the aggressive nature of imperialism.

Today, too, the Communists are guided by Lenin's principles of class scientific analysis of international relations. A creative approach to peaceful coexistence in present-day conditions requires a profound study of the new lineup of forces characterized by the growing superiority of world socialism over imperialism; a study, also, of the substance and implication of the revolution in military technology. Both these factors must be taken into account for a correct appraisal of the international situation. But the new lineup of world forces, the achievements of socialism, and the struggle of the working class and all the peace forces, are of decisive importance, for they compel imperialism to move towards peaceful coexistence.

Does this mean that peaceful coexistence is not to the advantage of the bourgeoisie? No. It is to the advantage – to use Lenin's words – of a 'huge section of the reasonable bourgeoisie and the governments' (Vol. 33, p. 139). And it falls to the Communists to help, by their struggle, the development of such 'reasonable,' realistic trends and to rebuff all aggressive and revanchist proclivities on the part of the bourgeoisie. The 'ultra-revolutionaries,' those ultra-dogmatists, do not understand this dialectic of revolutionary struggle. Lenin's demand for a precise analysis of 'those varied interests of different classes that coincide in certain definite, common aims' (Vol. 12, p. 404) is entirely beyond their ken. And there are many such common aims in international relations today, and both socialist and capitalist countries have an objective interest in their at-

**Die Neue Gesellschaft*, February 1971, 'Friedliche Koexistenz, ideologischer Kampf und Ostpolitik,' p. 125.

tainment. This applies above all to preventing a world thermonuclear war which (were it to start) would mean mass destruction and would hurl society back.

It was no accident that the 1969 International Meeting defined the struggle against the war danger, against the menace of thermonuclear war, as the main link in united action of the anti-imperialist forces. The Peace Program adopted by the 24th CPSU Congress gives prominence to measures to lessen and remove the menace of a missile and nuclear war. Progressive mankind, all sensible people, welcomed the recent Soviet-American strategic arms agreements which, for the first time in history, set quantitative limits to the most destructive types of weapons.

The Communists of course know that what is needed so that the means of mass destruction shall no longer be a constant menace to peace is general and complete disarmament. But such a situation, ideal from the communist standpoint, can be reached only through long and difficult struggle. The chief obstacle to this ideal is imperialism, whose aggressive nature has not changed. However, as the 1969 Meeting noted, with the progress of socialism and the struggle of all the peace forces, the contradiction between imperialist attempts to follow a positions-of-strength policy and its ability to do so stands out ever more saliently.

Guided by Lenin's proposition on the need to advance the 'simplest and most obvious decisions and measures' that would lead to peace and eliminate the danger of war (Vol. 33, p. 386), the Soviet Union and other socialist countries continue their efforts for disarmament. In the present situation progress in this respect is a realistic possibility.

Of vast importance for assuring durable peace is the struggle of the socialist states, the Communist parties and all progressive forces, to extend the political and economic basis of peaceful coexistence and lessen the tension in Europe, the center of military confrontation of the two world systems. An important contribution to this end would be a European conference that could lay the foundations of a collective security and cooperation system. The conditions for it were created primarily by the active, coordinated policy of the countries of the socialist community headed by the USSR. Of major significance were the agreement on West Berlin, ratification of the treaties between the FRG and the USSR and Poland, carried out after a fierce fight with the ultra-Right forces in the CDU/CSU leadership straining back to the cold war, and the treaty on basic relations between the GDR and the FRG. The crucial point is recognition of the inviolability of Europe's postwar boundaries, notably the Oder-Neisse line and the GDR-FRG frontier, and the renunciation of force or the threat of force, and no amount of 'interpretations' by reactionary circles can emasculate this aspect of the treaties. It can be claimed that Europe is at the threshold of a new stage in its history.

Political détente can and should, of course, be cemented by the development of mutually advantageous commercial and other ex-

ternal economic ties, by scientific and cultural contacts between socialist and capitalist countries.

Peaceful coexistence can only strengthen the international positions of socialism, expand the social base of the world revolutionary process, and enhance the impact of socialism on history. It is a form of class struggle on the international scene that provides favorable conditions for resolving the key class objective of socialism: higher labor productivity than under capitalism and, on this basis, the ever fuller satisfaction of the growing material and spiritual requirements of all the people. For this the new social system needs peace. These ideas of Lenin's are especially relevant as today scientific and technological progress is one of the main spheres of the competition between the two systems, hence the main problem of developed socialism is that of combining this progress with the advantages of the socialist system.

Only our deadliest class enemies have anything to gain from a cold-war climate, the arms race and aggravation of international tensions. They use these to try to erode the socialist countries' development and divert for defense means and resources needed for creative purposes.

Having accepted peaceful coexistence with the socialist states, the imperialist governments will not stop trying to strengthen their positions in this sphere too, since direct military confrontation with socialism has no promise of success. But whatever the imperialists may gamble on, peaceful coexistence is to the advantage of the revolutionary worker and national-liberation movements. Why?

As a principle of inter-state relations between socialist and capitalist countries, peaceful coexistence does not apply to relations between classes within bourgeois society or the relations between the peoples of colonial and dependent countries and their imperialist oppressors. It certainly means no lessening of the anti-imperialist struggle, as testified, among other things, by the Vietnamese people's historical achievements in their heroic struggle against the U.S. aggressors. Furthermore, in a climate of peaceful coexistence socialism has greater opportunities for vividly demonstrating its advantages, not only in the social and political spheres but in the decisive, economic, sphere as well. In the conditions of the confrontation of the two systems this means that, as socialism advances, the working class can wage an increasingly effective struggle for a better living and social and political rights. The class explanation of this is that the bourgeoisie is compelled to make concessions in the vain hope of 'buying off' revolution. The experience of the FRG, which adjoins the first German socialist state, confirms that improvements in the conditions of the workers' life and struggle in capitalist countries are the result of their stubborn economic and political battles, which are the more successful the stronger the mighty bastion of the socialist community.

Peaceful coexistence holds out to the proletariat the prospect of winning power without armed struggle. It is not accidental that

the Communist movement's detailed elaboration of problems of peaceful coexistence and of the peaceful road to socialism coincided in time, for there exists a direct link of cause and effect between them. It is no secret that the international monopoly bourgeoisie is always prepared to export counter-revolution, including its armed variety. Communists, who advocate peaceful transition to socialism, must take this into account and work actively to create international conditions to keep imperialist military intervention in check.

The socialist countries' policy of peaceful coexistence is also in the best interests of the proletariat because it helps the class struggle against monopoly capital, weakens the most aggressive circles associated with the reactionary military, and isolates the ultra-Right. This, in turn, creates favorable conditions for the struggle to democratize social life.

The working-class and democratic actions in the FRG against Strauss' and Barzel's attacks against the treaties with Moscow and Warsaw and for their ratification were among the largest mass political actions in our country. Resolutions, collections of signatures, demonstrations, meetings and strike action provided the bourgeoisie and its spokesmen in Bonn with vivid proof of the working people's strength and will for peace and détente. This was also demonstrated by the unequivocal outcome of the elections of 19 November, 1972. All of this reaffirms that the people are stronger than the ultra-reactionary Right-wing forces, that the millions are stronger than the millionaires. The working people are capable of influencing political events in their interests if they act resolutely and exercise their democratic rights both inside and outside of parliament.

Finally, our Party's experience shows that an atmosphere of peace and détente provides opportunities for working-class and youth public and political organizations to improve relations with similar organizations in socialist countries. This provides a means of expanding the flow of truthful information about socialism and its achievements, facilitating the moulding of class consciousness. It also makes it harder for anti-communist and anti-socialist propaganda (at least in its more reactionary manifestations) since détente has driven home to the people at large the falsehood of the 'communist menace,' the main bogey of crude anti-communism. Thereby the objective basis is being created for extending the Party's ideological influence, especially among the younger generations.

The conclusion drawn by Marxist-Leninists is that the struggle of the socialist countries and the international working class for peaceful coexistence has a direct and indirect *revolutionizing impact on domestic life in capitalist countries*. They reject the sallies against the socialist countries' peaceful policy by latter-day 'ultra-Leftists' who, like 55 years ago, are 'concerned' that peaceful relations may prevent the victory of world revolution.

What are the arguments put forward in support of this 'theory'?

It is said that the development of economic relations between socialist and capitalist countries, by facilitating employment and industrial growth in the latter, improves the proletariat's living conditions and, as a consequence, leads to the loss of its revolutionary energy and to its 'integration' in the capitalist system. However, the slogan, 'the worse the better,' like words about the revolutionary 'salubriousness' of poverty and pauperization, have nothing in common with the interests of the proletariat, the main bearer of the foremost material and spiritual culture of our time. The upsurge of class struggles in the 60s in capitalist countries, including the United States, in spite of comparatively favorable economic conditions, is convincing practical refutation of these Left-opportunist theories.

Only those see the expansion of ties between socialist and capitalist countries as an obstacle to socialist revolution who ignore the laws of development of capitalist society discovered by Marx and Engels, which state that it perishes as a result of the aggravations of inherent *internal* contradictions. This is the decisive prerequisite for the replacement of the bourgeois system by the socialist.

Communists hold that peaceful coexistence is an objective development, a historical necessity. However, historical necessity is not yet reality. Peaceful coexistence is but one of the real possibilities of relations between countries of the two systems; objective changes in the correlation of forces on the world scene due to the strengthening of socialism are not enough for it to come finally into effect; what is also needed is the *conscious, purposeful actions of all anti-imperialist detachments*. Peaceful coexistence is not only a condition favoring the anti-imperialist struggle in the developed capitalist and developing countries, but also a consequence of it. The working class and its political vanguard must wage a persistent struggle for both the policy of peaceful coexistence and its active utilization in their own interests. That is why the Theses of the Duesseldorf Congress of the GCP state: 'Implementation of the policy of peaceful coexistence in the Federal Republic is a class struggle against the most reactionary and aggressive forces of monopoly capital, which resist it by all possible means. The fight for peace remains, as before, the primary task of the anti-imperialist forces.'

Mass activity and struggle must be emphasized because, although the Right-wing forces of big business and military-industrial capital are currently on the defensive, neither they nor their political representatives have modified their strategic objectives. Here is what CDU chairman Barzel declared in the Bundestag: 'We are aware of the balance of forces in the world today, but our objective must remain the same.'*

It should be also taken into account that, although the bourgeoisie has adopted the concept of peace in its political vocabulary,

*Bulletin des Presse- und Informationsamtes der Bundesregierung, No. 68, Vol. 11. May 1972, p. 967.

it seeks every means of imposing its own 'variants' of peaceful co-existence, modifying it with policies of 'peaceful' interference in the affairs of socialist countries, 'bridge-building,' so-called 'selective coexistence,' etc.

In the same category belong Right-wing opportunist claims that peaceful coexistence means an end to ideological confrontation. But this is impossible. The struggle between bourgeois and socialist ideologies is a result of objective factors and its importance is in no way affected by the success of peace policies. Besides, as has been amply shown, ideological differences and contradicting views are no obstacle to the development of economic, scientific, technological and other relations between socialist and capitalist countries, given mutual interest and a businesslike, realistic approach.

Stable peaceful coexistence is not easily achieved. It must be won in stubborn struggle with the imperialists.

In its struggle for peace the GCP must also take into account that the more realistic tendencies displayed by the SDP leadership in its relations with the socialist countries go hand in hand with a mounting anti-communist campaign inside the country, attacks against the Communist Party and other progressive forces, and a flat refusal to work together with the Communists of the FRG. This is additional confirmation that peaceful coexistence does not remove the fundamental contradictions between Marxist-Leninist ideology and bourgeois ideologists of any brand, including its Social-Democratic variety.

'Market socialism' myths and economic reality

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It has become customary for the bourgeois world to react to socialist successes with a welter of 'scientific' comment purporting to show that our achievements are accidental, a 'paradox,' or contrary to the very nature of socialism. Steps towards fuller realization of socialism's objective development requirements are usually regarded by bourgeois scientists from narrow methodological positions so that their very approach reveals the stagnation of bourgeois economic thought. They see the fundamentally new socio-economic formation through the prism of the old production relations. They can be linked to a medieval alchemist using his ingrained concepts to

explain the modern process of organic synthesis. This methodological fallacy stands out with special clarity when they try to dissect the mechanism of socialist economic management, and in their concept of 'market socialism.'

Attempts to 'install' the mechanism of free capitalist competition in a model of socialist society are nothing new. One need only recall the concepts coined by E. Barone, I. Schumpeter, F. Taylor, R. Hall and other bourgeois scientists. In all their work, blind faith in the perfection and eternity of free competition is engagingly combined with admissions that capitalist organization of production has its seamy side too. It is safe to assume that at the beginning 'market socialism' was the liberal professors' peculiar reaction to monopoly omnipotence.

The fact that socialism is the only real alternative to monopoly capitalism was bound to react on the thinking of reformist ideologists. But, then, the question arose: what should it be like, this socialism? And what came immediately to mind were the concepts of a market economy suggested by the Austrian and English schools of political economy. And so, the structure of the future socialist society was fully conceived. That, essentially, was the none-too-sophisticated recipe for 'market socialism.'

Though obviously abstract, the 'market socialism' concept proved extremely attractive to bourgeois investigators of the socialist economy. For, taking it as their guide, they could operate within the customary realm of bourgeois market categories. One had only to apply the 'market socialism' model to structural changes in economic management and incentive methods in the USSR and other socialist countries to get a 'scientific analysis' of development trends in socialist society. Besides, this concept makes for 'progressive thinking': we are not against socialism; indeed we are for it, but only if it is market socialism. And depending on circumstances, this pattern can be 'tied in' with the convergence theory and disquisitions on the 'non-viability' of the Soviet 'variant of socialism.' In short, the concept, bourgeois theorists believe, is suitable for *understanding* socialism and as an *alternative* to socialist reality.

Bourgeois ideologists are not a little disconcerted by the far-reaching and consistent methods to perfect economic management in the USSR and other socialist countries. And since they have no new ideas, they have had to fall back on old theories. However, this 'rejuvenation' of the market socialism concept has not paid off. On the contrary, it has conclusively exposed the eclectic and superficial approach of its new advocates and their utter indifference to the truth — both are camouflaged by slick formulations.

The 'market socialism' theory rests on two propositions, both of them fallacious. First, the grossly simplified and deliberately primitive and vulgarized treatment of the substance and method of socialist economic planning. Second, an uncritical approach to the model of free competition, idealization of the market system as a mechanism for optimizing economic growth.

Let us take a closer look at each of these propositions.

Metaphysics has always been part of bourgeois economics. Accordingly, planned management of social production is seen merely as a system composed of a central planning agency with full information and authority, and a multitude of producers and consumers cast in the role of puppets. From this it is deduced that any retreat from this pattern, any measures to make central planning more flexible and operative, promote independence and initiative at enterprise level, give the producer a bigger material interest, are a retreat from the very idea of planning and surrender to the advantages of the market. That in fact is the stereotype used to assess the decisions of the March and September 1965 CC CPSU plenums, which blue-printed the Soviet economic reform, by American experts in their report of the Economic Committee of the U.S. Congress. In their view, realization of the economic reform would inevitably create a situation in which 'the plan disappears and markets take over.'* Bourgeois economists cannot conceive of such categories as finance, credit, profit becoming organic elements of a planned socialist economy. Either they do not exist 'because they can never be' (to use the words of a Chekov character), or this is not 'pure' socialism but a 'mixed economy.'

It might be noted that the bourgeois scientist is, on this point, in full agreement with extreme 'Left' Trotskyite groups. Thus E. Mandel maintains that in a developed socialist country, at any rate in some branches, commodity relations could be abolished for 'in socialist society the product of labor is directly of a social character and has no value.'**

And so, either a complete economy in kind with rigid regimentation by a single center of all actions of all its elements, from big amalgamations to the individual worker, or an unregulated market economy. This artificial alternative, however, is beginning to irritate even bourgeois scientists who take a realistic view of things. And among them you will find judgements of this type: 'Contrasting abstract models, ideal types of a purely market economy to a purely centrally managed economy, is becoming tedious and we should no longer engage in such exercises.*** A very interesting admission, to be sure. But it has this drawback: when bourgeois scholars pass from such 'contrasting' to proclaiming the 'mixed economy' the ideal towards which both capitalist and socialist countries should strive, all the old methodological fallacies break through to the surface. Planning, for instance, is seen as a one-dimensional colorless model, devoid of its multiformity, and the 'all-powerful' market, injected into the model, as an 'elixir of life.' In the end what we have is not a 'mixture' but rather a 'market dilution.' The concoction is simply produced: all indicators of social production effectiveness, all material incentives, all organizational measures to heighten responsibility of executives for the results attained by their units and, lastly, even accentuating the principle of distribution according to work done and extending the variety of consumer goods - all

*New Directions in the Soviet Economy. Studies Prepared for the Subcommittee on Foreign Economic Policy of the Joint Economic Committee, U.S. Congress, Washington 1966, p. I, 15.

**E. Mandel, *Traite d'Economie Marxiste*, Paris, 1962, Vol. 2, p. 232.

***Wirtschaftsplanung im Ostblock. Stuttgart, 1966, p. 64.

these are proclaimed elements of a market economy in the socialist countries.

The trouble, let it be said, does not lie in the term 'market.' We use it, too, to denote the 'system of product realization.' The trouble lies in the very substance of the term, in the role of the market as the basic regulator of economic development, in contrasting the market to the planned economy. Socialism uses commodity-money relations in the interests of economic development, but in accordance with their new content – production relations based on public property. The very fact that under socialism labor power is not a commodity fundamentally alters the very essence of economic relations, but to believe the bourgeois economists, we are making a concession to 'traditional' economic methods, i.e., to capitalism. Marx long ago exposed the 'logic' of this approach, remarking that the vulgar economists 'are unable to conceive the forms developed in the lap of capitalist production, separate and free from their antithetical capitalist character.' (*Capital*, Vol. III, Chapter 28).

Socialist economic management is subordinate to the basic aim of socialist production, namely, satisfaction of the people's rising requirements. We can single out three major aspects of the planning process. First, *informational-statistical* – compilation and processing of statistical information; second, *algorithmical or model* – a system of models for long-range, intermediate and current plans, methods of estimating social requirements and economic potentialities and the direct and long-range consequences of economic decisions; third and last, *incentive* – forms of bringing plan assignments to their executors in a way that the social interests set out in these assignments are accepted by collective and individual workers as part of their direct interests. The working people have an active part at every stage of the planning process.

The incentive aspect of planning is virtually ignored by bourgeois economists. They equate incentives, a central element of socialist management, with the market mechanism. And since the latter is conceivable only as operating spontaneously, the plan, according to their reasoning, is bound to clash with economic stimulæ.

The socialist state has at its command a variety of means to ensure balanced and planned economic development. Nothing could be more erroneous than contrasting the different methods used. For central directive planning and the use of economic levers are but *methods of assuring balanced and planned development*. Plan indicators can be 'directive-specific' with each enterprise handed down a definite assignment for, say, volume and variety of product. But indicators can also be 'directive-unspecific' applicable to all enterprises and comparable in a way to 'traffic rules.' This applies to prices, assets formation, etc. Such indicators are, of course, equally binding. The economic reform carries further this system of indicators as one variety of the normative method of planning.*

Bourgeois theorists are at pains to prove that the Soviet planning

*The experience of the USSR Ministry of Precision and Automation Engineering shows how the method is applied. Stable proportions (indicators) have been set for a five-year period for allocation of profits between the industry and the national budget. The budget is thus assured steady revenue, and the industry adequate funds for operational, research and development needs.

system cannot, by its very nature, assure correct economic evaluations in the rapidly changing conditions of the technological revolution. That defect of a 'command' economy, we are told, can be eliminated by adopting a model of market socialism which 'in a certain sense is an economy of choice.'*

The market socialists deliberately ignore the fact that the market cannot provide anything like a correct appraisal of the *long-term* consequences of economic decisions. Furthermore propaganda of this celebrated 'economy of choice' is being conducted in a situation when free competition is only a memory in the capitalist countries and when monopoly holds sway both in the capital and consumer-goods markets. The concentration of capital in a few monopolies and the latter's coalescence with the state to a certain degree solve the problem of financing major scientific and technological development projects requiring an immense outlay and long periods for experimentation and assimilation. But it does not dispense with the question: who sets the goal of socio-economic development and what is the object of technological progress?

The admissions made by some bourgeois scientists are not without interest in this context. American economist J. K. Galbraith frankly admits that the corporations mould public opinion to give the aims of private firms a national coloring. As for the real aims of the corporations, 'there is little doubt,' Galbraith remarks, 'as to how, overwhelmingly, this choice is exercised. It is to achieve the greatest possible rate of corporate growth as measured in sales.' And so, expansion, but to expand one must sell more. Hence, the need to shape public demand to suit corporate interests. And that is why, Galbraith says, 'the economy for its success requires organized public bamboozlement.'

This alone should make it clear what the 'economy of choice' means in conditions of present-day capitalism. To somehow avoid the 'directives' of a free market economy, and the 'shortsightedness' of the market, which gears economic decisions to current demand and squanders productive resources, the capitalist economy has sacrificed 'consumer sovereignty,**' that key element in all the models produced by bourgeois political economy, and an element, moreover, that has not only economic implications but also a definite ideological coloring.

How does socialist planning take into account the interests of the public? The overall socio-economic effect of one or another investment program is appraised at the early stage of compiling long-range and five-year development plans. This calls for a system of reliable criteria to assess expenditure and results of different plan variants. And a central criterion at this stage is the indicator

*P. Kende, *Logique de l'Economie Centralisée. Un exemple la Hongrie*. Paris, p. 464.

**It should be observed that long before monopoly capitalism, Marx ridiculed all the talk about 'consumer sovereignty.' 'The consumer,' he wrote, 'is no freer than the producer. His judgment depends on his means and his needs. Both of these are determined by his social position, which itself depends on the whole social organization. True, the worker who buys potatoes and the kept woman who buys lace both follow their respective judgments. But the difference in their judgments is explained by the difference in the positions which they occupy in the world, and which themselves are the product of social organization' ('The Poverty of Philosophy,' Chapter 1).

of investment effectiveness. Also relevant and important are price indicators, rent assessments and assessments of damage caused by environmental pollution.

Bourgeoisie economists allege that concentrating on overall results rather than on individual incomes tends to depersonalize the worker and deprive him of initiative incentives. This is an obvious confusion in terms. Improving overall results does not mean disregarding the contribution of each production nucleus. For essentially, plan indicators serve to measure individual achievements from the standpoint of society, and the incentive system, closely tied with these economic indicators, is meant to assure that the material reward of these nuclei is commensurate with their contribution. In this way economic indicators become an organic part of planned economic management.

But this harmony does not come of itself. If there is to be optimal combination of directive planning methods with economic indicator methods, the closest attention must be paid to achieving a correct ratio between the material and cost factors. That is one of the most important, and also one of the most complex, problems in perfecting planning. But as soon as we come to the question of improving cost indicators, the financial and credit system, price structure and allocation of profit, bourgeois economists immediately trot out their theory of the market mechanism penetrating the socialist economy.

Price planning is a favorable target of the bourgeois economists. A noted French economist, for instance, has this piece of advice: 'Since it is impossible to design an optimal price system in advance, we should renounce administrative price fixing altogether. Prices should form spontaneously through a market mechanism properly adjusted to the requirements of a planned economy.'*

Soviet economists, however, have no intention of designing a price structure in isolation from the plan or prior to its formulation, just as they have no intention of orienting the economy exclusively on a *posteriori* market information. In a planned economy prices must reflect expenditure of socially-necessary labor and must be defined *simultaneously* with compilation of the plan, must follow from the plan and stimulate its realization. Only if that is done can we get an optimal price structure. And if prices have to be amended, then the plan is amended too.

The plan achieves rational combination of social needs and production potentialities. An optimal balanced plan requires careful analysis of the many factors that go into consumption, individual and national. Prognosticating individual consumption is complicated by the fact that it quickly reacts to changing economic conditions, income, social status, fashion, etc. However, technical progress has made for a wide choice of utilizing material resources in framing one or another economic decision. All the factors that go into consumption, productive as well as individual, are finally expressed

*J. Marczevski, *Price Theory in a Planned System*. Paper read at the Social and Economic Research Center, Florence, 1966.

in the intensity of demand, and production potential, in the scale and structure of supply. Balancing the two, both in terms of base and finished product, is achieved through the financial balance. In this way, prices, income levels, money in circulation, etc., are, in a socialist planned economy, defined *not* prior to the plan and, of course, are *not a substitute* for the plan, but its reflection in the specific form of economic indicators. In particular, prices should express the balance, through the plan, between production and social requirements. The economists call such prices balanced plan prices. And they reflect to a maximum degree the expenditure of socially necessary labor.

Bourgeois economists allege that the socialist countries are indifferent to the need to balance incomes of the population, prices, volume and structure of consumer-goods production. The Soviet economists, the allegation goes, believe that a planned economy enables them to regard these factors in isolation of each other. That is a false approach to price formation and balancing population incomes and expenditure under socialism. Addressing the 24th CPSU Congress, L. I. Brezhnev formulated the Party's approach to the problem in these words: 'The Central Committee holds that special significance now also attaches to the task of *satisfying the growing solvent demands of the population for foodstuffs, manufactured goods and services*. Consumer goods production must go up at a higher rate than the cash incomes of Soviet people.' These questions were specially discussed also by A. N. Kosygin, Chairman of the Council of Ministers, in his Congress Report. He emphasized that 'the task is not only to meet overall purchasing capacity. The question is what goods will the consumer find in the shops, to what extent will he be satisfied with their variety and quality. This makes bigger demands on industry and trade which must more effectively react to changes in demand.'

Balanced plan prices are the very opposite of the so-called market equilibrium price formed in the course of sharp competition. These equilibrium prices reflect the current market situation – and even that after a definite time lag which, in conditions of the technological revolution, has a particularly adverse effect on the economy. In a socialist economy prices follow from the plan and 'serve' it by stimulating its fulfilment in conditions of operational independence of socialist enterprises. Price formation is based on the same data as the economic plan: assessment of changes in the structure of social production, productivity, population income and other factors during the plan period.

The fundamental difference between market categories and cost indicators in a planned economy extends not only to price formation, but also to such things as profit, rent payments, payments for plant, credit, money circulation. Economic reforms in the USSR and other socialist countries are being carried forward through wide employment of all these economic mechanisms which are an integral part of planned socialist economic management. It will thus be seen that 'market socialism' cannot explain the workings of a socialist economy, let alone 'improve' it.

A twofold task

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CONTINUING THE DISCUSSION OF CONTRADICTIONS UNDER SOCIALISM*

The problems under discussion are highly relevant to both the practice of building socialism and developing Marxist-Leninist theory.

From the point of view of *practice*, it is a matter of accurately assessing the social contradictions arising in the course of the formation and perfection of the new system. Experience shows that these contradictions are surmountable and in the majority of cases can become motive forces of progress. However, experience also indicates that if we ignore them, fail to disclose them in time, or fail to assess them correctly, they may develop into conflicts hampering socialist development. It is very important, therefore, to ascertain the nature and origin of contradictions in socialist society, to foresee and find the most effective methods of overcoming them.

From the point of view of *Marxist-Leninist theory*, it is a matter of applying materialist dialectics in elaborating the doctrine of socialist society, and of showing how the experience gained by the practice of socialism enriches this dialectics. This is entirely in keeping with the scientific tradition of Marxism. Speaking of the theoretical activity of Marx and Engels, Lenin said: 'The application of materialist dialectics to the reshaping of all political economy, from its very foundations up, its application to history, natural science, philosophy and to the policy and tactics of the working class – that was what interested Marx and Engels most of all, that was where they contributed what was most essential and new, and that was what constituted the masterly advance they made in the history of revolutionary thought' (Vol. 19, p. 554).

Lenin, for his part, applied materialist dialectics in analyzing the problems of the epoch of imperialism and socialist revolutions. One of the most important tasks of Marxist-Leninist theory today is to investigate the *dialectics of socialist development*. The following indisputable Marxist theses are the starting points of this investigation:

– Socialism is not a static social condition but a dynamic society whose continuous development takes place through the rise and solution of contradictions. This has now been proved by both the Marxist-Leninist theory of the universal validity of the dialectical laws of development and the practice of real socialism.

– Socialism is a new type of social development. Its distinguishing features are determined by the economic and social structure of this system, by such objective factors as the social ownership of the principal means of production and the abolition of exploitation

*See G. Glezerman, 'Contradictions Under Socialism,' WMR, March 1972, and Ts. Namsarai, 'Concerning Contradictions Under Socialism,' November 1972.

and antagonistic classes, and by the fact that the working people hold power.

An important source and main feature of the new type of social progress is conscious application of the theory of materialist dialectics in directing complex social processes.

The problem of contradictions, fundamental for the general theory of dialectical development, is also fundamental for the dialectics of socialism. It would be wrong, however, to restrict dialectics to just this problem, let alone to deduce all its features from an abstract definition of contradictions.

Lenin pointed out that the laws of dialectics should not be reduced to a sum total of examples, for they are laws of the objective world and of knowledge, whose correctness is verified and confirmed by a concrete investigation of reality and of its reflection in the consciousness. It follows that in analyzing the contradictions of socialism and defining their peculiarities, it is wrong to proceed from abstract formulas or definitions and try to support them with suitable examples selected from practice. *What is needed is a comprehensive dialectical analysis of the objective process of the formation of socialist society and to ascertain the concrete manifestations of dialectical laws in this process.*

Consequently, Marxist-Leninist philosophy is faced with a two-fold task:

- analyzing the social processes of socialism in the light of the laws, categories and concepts of dialectics:

- investigating the specific operation of dialectical laws in socialist society and thereby enriching the general theory of dialectics.

Only by pursuing this twofold task as the paramount factor can we resolve the problem of contradictions under socialism. Only then can we set it apart and examine it by itself as one aspect, albeit a decisive one, in the investigation of the dialectics of socialist development.

The contradictions of socialism are usually defined as non-antagonistic. Lenin said that a distinction should be drawn between antagonism and contradiction because they are not identical.

In general, it is perfectly correct to describe the contradictions of socialist development as being of a special nature. Moreover, defining the distinctions between antagonisms and non-antagonistic contradictions provides a sound basis for comparing and counterposing social processes under the exploiting system and under socialism.

However, while essentially correct, this is sometimes too general when applied to present-day socialist reality. It cannot reflect the vast diversity and all the aspects of the inherent contradictions of this reality. The need to apply this general proposition to concrete facts raises problems which, as I see it, Marxist literature has as yet insufficiently studied.

One of these problems is that socialism's non-antagonistic contradictions do not as a rule manifest themselves in their 'pure form'

but intertwine and interact with the remnants of antagonisms inherited from the past. It is sometimes difficult, therefore, to draw a precise distinction between non-antagonistic and antagonistic contradictions.

Indeed, the fact that anti-socialist forces do not entirely disappear even when the foundations of socialism have been laid – which means that there may be deformations in socialist development due to their activity – is likely to give rise to new antagonistic contradictions. External antagonisms stemming from the existence and struggle of two opposite social systems, also affect the internal contradictions of socialist countries. Besides, the latter may grow due to subjective causes (for, as we know, the subjective factor can actively contribute to the solution of contradictions or, on the contrary, impede it). Experience shows that deviation from Marxist-Leninist policies over a long period, Right and 'Left'-wing opportunism, nationalism, and so on, can breed serious difficulties and conflicts and vastly aggravate even non-antagonistic contradictions. In certain circumstances they may take an 'antagonistic' form and become social conflicts and difficulties not flowing logically from the nature of socialism.

Hence Marxist-Leninist theory cannot confine itself to merely registering the non-antagonistic character of contradictions under socialism. It must investigate the effects of the external and the remnants of the internal antagonisms, establish the circumstances in which non-antagonistic contradictions may become aggravated, and search for ways of preventing their aggravation, or, in other words, devise methods of accurately estimating contradictions and overcoming them in time.

In the light of the foregoing, the problem of classifying contradictions is particularly important. G. Glezerman indicates two important groups: contradictions inherited from the past and transformed by socialism, and contradictions arising in the process of the formation of socialism. Ts. Namsarai speaks of three basic groups of contradictions: contradictions of the objective development process of socialist society, contradictions arising from the subjective factor, and contradictions stemming from the international position of socialist countries.

This classification hardly covers all the numerous aspects. After all, the variety of contradictions is actually far greater and depends on numerous circumstances and causes. I would like to stress, therefore, that classification should not be rigid. In each particular situation, existing contradictions are interconnected like the links of a chain, nor is it easy to distinguish strictly between their causes. To be sure, we can ascertain the main source of each contradiction, but we must also take into account the impact of the totality of all other contradictions.

Another problem is that defining the contradictions of socialism as non-antagonistic merely points to their difference from the contradictions of the exploiting system, but does not give us a positive definition. We must also show how their non-antagonistic nature

changes the structure and mechanism of resolving social contradictions.

Attempts have been made in Marxist philosophical literature to describe and analyze these changes. However, in so doing some authors wrongly questioned the basic structure of dialectical contradictions. Contrary to Lenin, they even came to the conclusion that in the case of non-antagonistic contradictions the unity of their opposite aspects is absolute, while the 'struggle' is relative. Some even believe that contradictions under socialism arise over secondary matters and do not affect the more important processes of social development. This invites a quotation from Lenin: 'Dialectics in the proper sense is the study of contradiction *in the very essence of objects*' (Vol. 38, pp. 253-54).

The contradictions of socialism, like all dialectical contradictions, are contained in the very essence of processes and phenomena. The unity of their component opposites is conditional, temporary and relative, while their 'struggle' is absolute. The actual, positive, qualitatively new character of non-antagonistic contradictions manifests itself in both their concrete content and the conditions and mechanisms of surmounting them:

- Non-antagonistic contradictions do not arise from class exploitation, nor do they express the antithesis of the interests of hostile classes. The social structure of society does not allow their 'conservation.'

- They can be resolved within the framework of the prevailing system, by developing and perfecting it.

- A most important factor for overcoming them is the growing unity of socialist society.

- The growing role of the subjective factor under socialism makes it possible promptly to see the contradictions, anticipate their direction and chart the correct ways of resolving them, avoiding their aggravation.

The fundamental contradiction of socialism has been discussed in this journal. G. Glezerman considers that the attempt to elevate any one contradiction of socialism to the rank of fundamental contradiction inevitably leads to one-sided, and hence, wrong conclusions. Ts. Namsarai, on the other hand, maintains that every epoch of history and every socio-economic formation has its fundamental contradiction which itself is a universal category. I personally share G. Glezerman's misgivings.

To begin with, there is the question of the methodological function and content of this concept as applied to socialism. G. Glezerman is right, to my mind, in suggesting that a distinction should be made between the categories *fundamental* and *main* contradiction.

The category of fundamental contradiction is generally applied in defining the socio-economic formation as a whole and the dialectic of its social processes. Marxism has elaborated this category contradiction of socialism and that, conversely, denial of a fundamental contradiction of capitalism, which expresses in the most

concentrated form the antagonistic nature of this system and accompanies it from its beginning to its end. Both from the substantive and methodological standpoints, this category cannot be mechanically applied to socialism. It is hard, therefore, to agree with those who argue that recognition of the fundamental contradiction of capitalism logically leads to recognition of a fundamental contradiction of socialism and that, conversely, denial of a fundamental contradiction of socialism leads just as logically to denial of the fundamental contradiction of capitalism.

Yet those are two different things. While the content and methodological validity of the category of fundamental contradiction have been precisely established with regard to antagonistic formations, its applicability to socialism has yet to be clarified. This is a separate problem which I believe it is wrong to try to solve by analogy with capitalism.

In trying to formulate the fundamental contradiction of socialism, it is not clear whether the point at issue is the fundamental contradiction of the new social and economic formation as a whole, or the specific contradiction of a definite stage in its development. Socialism, as we know, is not an independent socio-economic formation, but only the first, or lower, phase of communism. At this stage, society deals mainly with those contradictions that, in the final analysis, stem from the fact that socialist society did not develop on its own basis and hence combines features inherited from the past with incipient features of communism. 'It is this communist society,' Lenin wrote, 'which has just emerged into the light of day out of the womb of capitalism and which is in every respect stamped with the birthmarks of the old society that Marx terms the "first," or lower, phase of communist society' (Vol. 25, p. 465).

From the practical as well as the theoretical and methodological point of view, we may justifiably speak of the *main contradiction* of this phase which manifests itself in all the diversity of its inherent contradictions. Such is the contradiction between the communist goals of the new society and the inevitably limited technological and economic basis of socialism. One of the ways in which it shows itself is that production lags behind the growing requirements.

In trying to formulate the fundamental contradiction of socialism, most authors single out one of the contradictions typical of the first phase of communism. These are, as a rule, contradictions of the socialist society of today, which may also be the main contradictions in definite stages of development. But not one of them qualifies as the 'fundamental contradiction' of the new, communist formation.

This explains why a discussion seeking a universal formula of the fundamental contradiction of socialism is fraught with a certain danger. After all, this quest may divert us from analyzing the concrete contradictions, so that conclusions of a purely deductive nature will be imposed on socialist practice.

I fully subscribe, therefore, to the call for an investigation of the *real* contradictions of socialism. This investigation would also serve as a sound basis for the comprehensive elaboration of the dialectics of socialist development.

Creative party approach

M. A. Suslov, Member of the PB and Secretary of the CP CPSU, author of the book* 'A Creative Party Approach,' is well known in the world Communist movement. The works in the collection are representative of his social, political and theoretical activity over more than 30 years as secretary of the Party's Stavropol Territorial Committee, Chairman of the Party's CC Bureau for the Lithuanian SSR, and then, for over a quarter of a century, in leading posts at the Party's headquarters, the Central Committee. The book contains Suslov's reports and speeches at Party congresses and Central Committee meetings and conferences in the Soviet Union, mass meetings in Warsaw, Berlin, Paris and Sofia, at congresses of the Communist Parties of France, Italy, India, Mongolia and Bulgaria, at international forums of brother parties, and articles published in the Soviet and world press.

Suslov deals with events and processes of historic significance. For all the variety of topics, however, the collection reads as a single whole. It shows the policy line of the CPSU in its various stages, the objective laws and distinctive features of Soviet society's advance to communism, the specific phenomena of the world's passage from capitalism to socialism, and the leading role of the working class led by its Communist vanguard.

Special attention is devoted to the development of Marxist-Leninist theory in line with the current objectives of revolutionary practice. Suslov examines the scientific basis and political platform of world communism, the Leninist standards of relations among brother parties, and the conditions and factors of their closer unity and the joint action of all anti-imperialist forces. Underscoring the ideological integrity of the Communist movement, he shows that it follows the path of proletarian, scientific communism and that Marxist-Leninist science provides the correct bearings in the maze of present-day events, yielding the answers to problems of social development and facilitating progress in the social emancipation of mankind.

The author examines contemporary Marxist thought in its genesis as the creative application to concrete historical conditions of

*M. A. Suslov, *Izbrannoye (Selected Works). Articles and Speeches*. Moscow, Politizdat, 1972. 695 pp.

the methodological and theoretical riches of the social science of Marx, Engels and Lenin, as the successive development of its most important propositions relating to the battle for peace, democracy and socialism, and a generalization of the practice of the class struggle and the building of socialism and communism. Exchange of experience among brother parties is an invaluable school of the Communist movement. 'In our time,' the author notes, 'Marxism-Leninism is taken forward by the collective efforts of Communist and Workers' parties on the basis of their vast experience in combating imperialism in diverse specific conditions.'

As he goes through the book, the reader will see how consistently Marxist-Leninists worked out the strategic and tactical principles now accepted in the world Communist movement. He will appreciate the great creative contribution to the progress of social science by the CPSU in common with the brother parties. As L. I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CC CPSU, pointed out in his report, *The Fiftieth Anniversary of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics*, 'the Party continues, as it has always done, to support the innovatory, Leninist approach to the study of complex social phenomena and the efforts of our theorists to promote social theory and creatively analyze reality.'

Suslov substantiates and defends against the attacks of Right and 'Left' opportunists and revisionists and petty-bourgeois adventurers and nationalists the fundamental political and theoretical conclusions recorded in the documents of the international Communist conferences in 1957, 1960 and 1969. The book contains well-grounded criticism of bourgeois ideology, of anti-communism and anti-Sovietism.

The collection portrays the complex and manifold activity of the CPSU in common with the brother parties in strengthening world Communist unity on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, in the interests of the common struggle against imperialism, for peace, democracy, national liberation and socialism.

'Leninism,' Suslov stresses, 'is the Marxism of the new historical epoch. It is logically the ideological and theoretical foundation of the contemporary world Communist movement.'

Evgeni Panfilov

National interests, internationalist aims

That is the title of a collection of articles and speeches on proletarian, socialist internationalism by Zoltan Komocsin, Political

Bureau member and CC Secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Worker's Party.*

Covering the period 1964-72, it deals with a wide range of problems: the class essence of proletarian solidarity, the dialectics of the international and national, socialist patriotism and proletarian internationalism, strengthening of the world system of socialism, unity of the international Communist and workers' movement.

Fidelity to the principles of proletarian internationalism, Komocsin emphasizes, is an indispensable condition for the successful activity of the Marxist-Leninist party. Consistent internationalism that vigorously upholds the class interests of the proletariat, lends immense strength to the international Communist movement and is the earnest of its invincibility. Conversely, those who regard internationalism out of context with the class struggle retreat from this fundamental principle and act in opposition to it.

The author exposes the bourgeois ideologists and revisionists and their attempts to distort the very essence of proletarian internationalism, to which they contrast nationalism and chauvinism, thereby undermining working-class unity.

Much of the book deals with the problems of socialist internationalism and the international policy of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party and the Hungarian government, and with friendship of the Hungarian and Soviet peoples.

In our day, socialist internationalism is expressed in the mutual assistance of fraternal countries, close cooperation of the Communist parties, revolutionary solidarity with the international working class and the national-liberation and anti-imperialist movements. The Marxist-Leninist parties that direct the building of socialism in their respective countries must be able to combine national with international interests. And this is no simple task, the author remarks; it requires of the Communist parties a consistent principled stand and purposive activity.

The two are harmoniously combined, Komocsin says, in the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance. The principles governing relations between its member states contain many of the features of the future world community of working people predicted by Lenin. Socialist economic integration takes into account the interests of each country and of the community as a whole. Coordinated foreign policy helps to consolidate all the progressive forces and exerts a strong influence on the international situation in favor of world peace and security. Continuous strengthening of the socialist community is in the interest of each of its countries. It is also their internationalist duty to the world working class. This was emphasized by the 1969 Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties. It pointed out that the emergence of the socialist world was part of the class struggle in the world arena and that the defense of socialism is the internationalist duty of all Communists

*Komocsin, Zoltan, *Nemzeti erdekek internacionalista celok*. Budapest, Kossuth Konyvkiado, 1972. 319 pp.

The author shows the immense role the USSR has played in the emergence and development of the socialist system and in the fight for peace and freedom. A correct, principled attitude towards the Soviet Union, he writes, is a cardinal factor in the unity of the Communist and workers' movement and of all the anti-imperialist forces.

In discussing foreign policy problems, Komocsin deals especially with the policy of peaceful coexistence. He emphasizes that its main content is the class struggle between the two world systems, socialism and capitalism, now unfolding in new forms in the economic, political and ideological field. He who disregards the class substance of the peaceful coexistence policy, consciously or unconsciously helps the imperialists 'build bridges' into the socialist countries, incite differences between them and undermine their unity.

The book provides a comprehensive picture of the activity of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party which, together with other fraternal parties, is working to strengthen the internationalist unity of the socialist countries and the Communist and Workers' parties.

'In our international policy,' Komocsin writes, 'we have always proceeded from the understanding that only what is good for our friends and allies is good for us and helps to strengthen our country and the community as a whole.'

Gabor Suto



The Arab national-liberation movement

Karim Mroué
PB Member and CC Secretary,
Lebanese CP

The movement is going through a difficult period; it has to contend with serious obstacles; our Party believes there is a danger of losing hard-won major gains.

Stronger Right wing

The Israeli aggression and occupation of extensive areas have greatly complicated the Arab national struggle. A way out has to be found in a situation that leaves little room for maneuvering. The Israeli aggressors continue to deliver blow after blow at the Arab countries without, so far, encountering adequate resistance.

Right-wing groups, not only in Egypt but in other Arab countries too, have taken advantage of the situation. Their leaders blame the policy of the progressive elements who led the movement before and after the six-day war for all its present difficulties. Political clashes and discord among the progressive forces have helped to activate the Right forces. Their influence has increased within and beyond the ruling circles, and their position has strengthened since Nasser's death and the brutal suppression of the Palestine resistance and the Jordanian national movement in September 1970.

There is other evidence of the movement's troubled times. The split between its detachments and within them has become deeper; conflicts have often been violent and destructive. Arab reaction, including the monarchial regimes in Saudi Arabia, Jordan, etc., has consolidated its position and presents a real danger to the gains won in the liberation struggle.

For all that, however, the most alarming symptom is the strengthening of the Right wing within the Arab national liberation movement. There are other problems, too, but they existed before, and though they presented a grave potential danger to the movement, they were not impediments intrinsic to it. For even before the June war, Israel pursued an aggressive policy, imperialist expansion continued and the Middle East reactionary regimes were strong. Nevertheless, for 20 years the movement enjoyed uninterrupted rapid growth.

The present alarming situation is attended by the strengthening of Right-wing views in home and foreign policy and ideology. For instance, latterly there has been much more talk in Egypt of Islam or Arab socialism than of scientific socialism, which Nasser advocated to the last days of his life. This ideological shift accords with the Right-wing policy of revising some of the progressive economic and social measures implemented under Nasser's leadership.

The Rights are hostile to democracy. Out of fear of the working people's historic role in political life they have come out against working-class and other mass organizations and disapprove of political parties. They would like to turn the Socialist Union in Egypt, Libya and the Sudan into loose organizations with no articulate policy, but with compulsory membership of the entire people. And this in societies in which the class struggle is developing in ever sharper forms.

Their views on Arab unity and other national problems, particularly the Palestine issue, are avowedly chauvinistic. This complex problem, closely linked with the rise of national sentiments among the Arabs, merits closer examination.

The prominence given the national aspect of the liberation struggle is due to several factors. First, there is the tragedy of the Palestine refugees, who after the formation of the State of Israel fled to other Arab countries. This has exerted a tremendous influence on the life of every Arab, has become part of his day-to-day concerns. Second, the ever-present menace of Israeli aggression against the Arab states, and primarily the vanguard detachments of the national liberation movement. Lastly, bourgeois attempts to exploit the situation to divert the working class and the masses from the fight for their economic demands, social change and socialism, and channel their energy into the labyrinth of complicated and muddled national problems.

This over-emphasizing of the national question, notably the Palestine issue, and absolutizing, at one period, the idea of Arab unity, have done more than anything else to weaken the class struggle. It has not developed in a way that could be expected in conditions of constantly deepening social differentiation.

But the unremitting struggle for common aims and interests and against a common foe has made Arab unity the legitimate demand of the people, and not merely a goal which at one time accorded with the interests of the developing bourgeoisie. The striving for Arab unity is now more deeply rooted, more closely tied to all the political, economic, social aims and aspirations of the national liberation movement. But this is no justification for the persistent attempts to make independence of the movement the dominant idea and contrast it to the objective need for closer internationalist ties with the world revolutionary movement. That attitude suits the Right-wing forces, who want to use the independence idea as a cover for their anti-communist and anti-Soviet sentiments.

In practice, all this talk of the movement's independence is often

paralleled by encouragement of division within it. This is especially characteristic of Quadafi, the head of the Libyan regime, who makes no secret of his hostility to some sections of the movement. This is clearly evidenced – even within the triple alliance of Arab republics – by his attitude towards Syria.

And that attitude of an Arab state which is considered anti-imperialist finds its most dangerous manifestations in the following:

- in collusion with North Yemen and Saudi Arabia it has worked to overthrow the progressive regime of the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen;

- in its negative attitude to the Palestine Resistance, it has incited one detachment against another, has supported some organizations and denied support to others;*

- on the plea of retaining the national character of the struggle, there is an attempt to join the Right wing of the movement with Arab reaction in a united front spearheaded against both imperialism and Zionism and against the progressive forces.

The essence of Right-wing philosophy is anti-communism, which is becoming increasingly frank and finds expression in anti-Sovietism. Things have reached a point where the Rights ventured to attack Soviet-Arab friendship and relations with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries.

Like other Arab progressives, the Communists believe that such actions, directed against a friendly state which has unfailingly supported our struggle, and at the very least deserves our gratitude, are also meant to change the very character of the Arab liberation movement, its aims and tasks.

Born and strengthened in the crucible of the fight against imperialism and Zionism, for freedom and progress, Arab-Soviet friendship is of everlasting importance. It has been formalized in international agreements and embodied in the Aswan and Euphrates hydro-engineering complexes, the Heluan metallurgical combine, the North Rumeila oilfields and in hundreds of other projects carried out with Soviet assistance. The powerful support of the Arab peoples in their fight against Israeli imperialist aggression is a momentous testimonial to this friendship.

Together with other Arab progressive forces, we consider friendship between the Arab national liberation movement and the Soviet Union and with the world revolutionary movement the basis of our strategy at the present stage of the struggle to liquidate the consequences of the Israeli aggression, eliminate all elements of imperialist political and economic domination and promote democracy and social progress. No contingent of the national revolution can consistently work for the attainment of its goals if it lacks close and durable ties with the world revolutionary movement and its vanguard, the Soviet Union. This has been confirmed

*For instance, in November 1972, Libya refused to attend the All-Arab Peoples' Conference in support of the Palestine revolution, saying it would not sit down with Arab Communists.

by the long record of cooperation with the USSR, both in world affairs and in strengthening the defense capacity of progressive Arab states.

Contradictions of progressive regimes

The situation within the leading circles in power in a number of our countries is reflected in the complex problems of the Arab national liberation movement today.

The rise of the state of Israel, the 1948 events and the defeat of the Arab countries, then ruled by pro-imperialist forces, were followed by a series of coups d'état. In a way, this was a natural reaction to the open betrayal of the big bourgeoisie. These coups were the beginning of far-reaching political changes in our region. The new leaders came in the main from the petty bourgeoisie. Their anti-imperialist pronouncements won them wide popularity and engendered in the masses hopes of political and socio-economic change. The working class, weakened mainly by a series of blows dealt by the big bourgeoisie, was in no position to lead the struggle.

With leadership passing mostly to petty-bourgeois elements, the movement entered a new stage. The policies of the new leaders and their economic and social reforms were, as a rule, a reflection of the ideology and aspirations of the petty bourgeoisie, that large social stratum which plays such a big role in Arab countries.

But the fact should be taken into consideration that the mass of the petty bourgeoisie is now subjected to nearly the same exploitation as the working class. Hence, at the present stage, its economic and social demands are similar to those of the workers together with whom it constitutes the main force of the post-war Arab national liberation movement. And it has given it a new progressive content. It should be borne in mind that the petty bourgeoisie is an unstable mass, with some elements eventually becoming part of the big bourgeoisie and others, part of the proletariat. A regime dominated by members of the petty bourgeoisie accords with the transition stage, after which, apparently, elements committed to more consistent class positions will also come into the leadership.

Our Party program adopted by the Second Congress (1968) says that the rise of progressive regimes and their proclaimed policy of building socialism are in keeping with the stage reached by the Arab national liberation movement, at which 'there is constant enrichment of the movement's content, giving it a more clear-cut anti-imperialist and anti-capitalist orientation determined, in the main, by the social character of the classes and strata interested in its development, i.e., the mass of workers, peasants, and revolutionary intellectuals.'

The program also states that the changed alignment of forces in favor of the revolutionary-minded section of the petty bourgeoisie and its advent to power 'were facilitated by intervention of the masses, their support of the movement's revolutionary wing re-

sulting from their growing political consciousness, which in turn was largely due to the influence of the Communist parties and other progressive organizations.'

It would therefore be wrong to regard the progressive regimes, resulting from the successes of the liberation struggle, as petty bourgeois. Despite the absence of working-class representatives in the governments, nationalist revolutionaries took social, economic and political steps objectively in the interest of workers and peasants.

Later, however, the regimes encountered internal difficulties, which had a far-reaching effect on their policy. What are the reasons for and consequences of these difficulties?

They are traceable to the essence of petty-bourgeois political power. Lack of ideological clarity and an empirical approach to the realities in place of a scientific outlook – all this gives rise to instability in important areas of home and foreign policy. Petty-bourgeois leaders hold that the fact of their being in power, plus their success acclaimed by the masses, guarantees that their progressive program will be implemented. They tend to underestimate the role of the masses, live in constant fear that the masses will unite organizationally, and mistrust the working class and its political organizations and unions. This is evidenced by the continuous changes of attitude towards mass organizations in some of the Arab countries – one day they are dissolved, the next reorganized, with numerous impediments erected to their activity.

Though in content and form the Arab national liberation movement reflects the interests of the working class, peasants and other sections of the people, most parties have not in fact become truly mass parties. The fate of the movement depends chiefly on the personality of its leaders. This injects an element of spontaneity into the course of events.

The petty-bourgeois leaders strive to retain their monopoly on power, in order, they claim, to carry forward the progressive line. But under this pretext they suppress the class struggle, and employ ideological and administrative means to distort its content. This has precipitated sharp clashes between different sections of the Arab national liberation movement, leading to brutal repressions of working-class and Communist organizations.

Furthermore, the progressive petty-bourgeois elements have not succeeded in restricting the growth of the local, especially middle, bourgeoisie. Their measures were mostly indeterminate and inconsistent.

A government that is heterogeneous politically and in class background is not up to the task of eliminating the economic growth levers of the national bourgeoisie. This is borne out by recent developments: the bourgeoisie continues to grow despite the expansion of the state sector (which in Egypt, for example, embraced more than 80 per cent of all industry at one time) and the nationalization of foreign trade.

In some countries nothing has been done to eliminate the old

state machine (civic, as well as military) built by the bourgeoisie – inimical to the masses and devoid of patriotism. The bureaucratic elements, whose selfish interests conflict with the interests and requirements of society as a whole, have expanded. And they are trying to promote anti-democratic tendencies in the state, to discredit the earlier socio-economic changes, and, particularly, to obstruct the activity of the state sector. More, they are coming into the open with reactionary, essentially anti-communist, postures.

Home reaction associated with the deposed big bourgeoisie, which had been lying low for some time, is again rearing its head. Taking advantage of the crisis precipitated by the 1967 Israeli aggression, it has renewed efforts to direct political developments along a course more favorable for it.

In sum, the socio-political elements that headed the national liberation movement and eventually came to power, have proved incapable of coping with the complex interrelated tasks of the revolution: total political liberation from imperialism; economic liberation from foreign monopolies and development of an independent national economy; liberation of the rural masses from feudal exploitation and effectuation of an agrarian revolution; liberation of the working class, of the urban masses, from exploitation by foreign and local capital.

Much more radical forces with a homogeneous and consistent outlook should share in the leadership in dealing with the present and future objectives of the national liberation struggle. At present, however, a battle is raging between the Left and Right wings in the progressive regimes and the political organizations backing them. This battle is part of the class struggle in the Arab liberation movement and, as we see it, reflects the intrinsic contradictions that have grown with the growth of the movement.

Growing pains

The Right wing has done a great deal of harm to the liberation revolution in the Arab East. And the damage will be still greater if the Rights manage to retain their present strength.

But we are not inclined to be pessimistic. At the time of the June aggression, Communists declared that it had fallen short of its main objectives despite the grave defeat inflicted on the Arab countries, despite the loss of territory. It had been Israel's main purpose to strike at the progressive gains made in the long years of struggle. The aggressors aimed to overthrow the progressive regimes, emasculate their content and thereby retard the growth of the national liberation movement as a whole.

Yet, the progressive regimes survived. It is safe to say, moreover, that the aggression and the subsequent defeat gave impulse to revolutionary developments in the Arab world. Here are a few:

– the Palestine Resistance Movement grew organizationally stronger, ringing in a new upsurge of the national struggle of the Arab people of Palestine;

- the reactionary government in Sudan was replaced by a progressive regime;
- the feudal monarchy in Libya was replaced by a republic;
- the revolution triumphed and a progressive government was installed in South Yemen;
- a Baathist coup brought national progressive forces to power in Iraq.

However, there were conflicting aspects to all these events. Mistakes coupled with artificially induced growth weakened the Palestine Resistance Movement. The new regime in Sudan underwent a negative mutation and disintegrated due to internal strife. The coup d'état in Libya was controlled by politically and ideologically backward forces, who tried to strip it of its progressive content. The revolution in Yemen experienced convulsions and internal conflicts, which retarded its development. And in Iraq, the new leaders were at first influenced by backward, anti-communist ideology, which resulted in grave damage to the progressive movement and cost the lives of many Communists.

All the same, we are firmly convinced that the difficulties of the Arab national liberation movement are but growing pains - a malaise taking place in unprecedentedly complicated conditions. Take just the most meaningful developments bearing on our appraisal, for these are increasingly determinative for the future of the movement.

Firstly, the political and ideological positions of the working class have grown stronger. The bloody events in Sudan were universally condemned. In all Arab countries, the working class is active in promoting its economic and social demands, and workers, their political organizations and trade unions, are taking an ever more conspicuous part in public life. This is tending to enhance the role and strengthen the Communist parties.

Secondly, the masses are clearly inclined to organize. New progressive organizations are springing up, and are gradually growing into mass parties. This urge to organize is especially evident among workers, peasants, students and the youth of Egypt.

Thirdly, there is a tendency to form progressive fronts embracing different parties, including the Communists. This is opening up the way to participation in governments, even though at different levels, and assures the resolution of the complex problems facing our countries.

Fourthly, the political consciousness of the masses is rising. They are taking a firmer anti-imperialist and anti-reactionary stand, countervailing the indecisive and negative course of the Right wing.

Fifthly, the vast majority of the national and progressive parties, and broad sections of the people in the Arab countries are more strongly opposed to anti-Sovietism.

All these trends are on the upgrade, and here are a few recent facts of a clearly revolutionary complexion:

- the nationalization of oil enterprises in Iraq and Syria;
- the agrarian revolution in Algeria;

— the positive changes that have affected all the organizations in the Palestine Resistance Movement.

The Resistance Movement is following a clearer political and ideological course, and its relations with other detachments of the Arab national liberation and the world revolutionary movements are improving. It needs still greater support of the progressive forces in the Arab countries and the rest of the world, especially of the Communists. Then, by improving its own organization, it will help affirm the progressive content of the Arab national liberation revolution.

The all-Arab popular conference for the promotion of the Palestine revolution, held in Beirut, was a big event for the Resistance Movement and the entire Arab national liberation struggle. Representatives of progressive parties, including the Communists, worker and peasant organizations and trade unions of 14 Arab countries took part in it. Also present were delegations from the socialist states, international democratic organizations and Communist parties of capitalist countries.

The conference announced the constitution of the Arab Front of Assistance to the Palestine Revolution and approved its political program and statutes. What is more important, however, was the evidence it provided of greater unity among the different detachments of the Arab national liberation movement.

Our Party approved the draft of the Front's political program as the minimum acceptable by all Arab progressive forces. As we see it, the Front is an important milestone on the way to unity. And as pointed out by K. Joumblatt, Chairman of the Progressive Socialist Party of Lebanon, who was elected the Front's General Secretary, the conference also showed the intimate link between the Palestine and Arab revolutions, and their link with the international revolutionary movement, with its three main streams: the socialist world system, the national liberation movement, and the working-class movement in the capitalist countries.

With scientific socialism taking an ever firmer hold on the ideology of the Arab national liberation revolution, the role of the Communist parties of Arab countries, and also that of the world Communist movement, is clearly increasing.

Difficulties have never been an insurmountable obstacle. Recall what Marx said in his reply to Kugelmann, who was in the depths of despair after the defeat of the Paris Commune: 'World history would indeed be very easy to make if the struggle were taken up only on condition of infallibly favorable chances.'

Advantages of studying the new society

PAULINO GONZALES ALBERDI, *Los paises socialistas en la historia contemporanea* (The Socialist Countries in Contemporary History). Buenos Aires, Ediciones Centro de Estudios, 1972. 256 pp.

One of the prominent leaders of the Communist Party of Argentina, Paulino Alberdi, here examines the successive stages of the formation, consolidation and development of the socialist world. He pinpoints its growing significance for the international Communist, Workers', and national-liberation movement. The author shows how, influenced by the October Revolution and aided by the Communist International, Communist parties in Latin America were formed, and how the process of influencing working class struggle along Marxist lines developed.

The author emphasizes that the victory of socialism in the USSR and the creation of a socialist world system, opened up new, broad horizons before the national-liberation movement. In Latin America this is steadily developing into a struggle against both feudalism and capitalist exploitation. The rise in mass, democratic actions, the growth in the political role of the proletariat and its Communist vanguard, are the distinguishing features of the movement on the continent today.

In an all-embracing assessment of the socialist world system, its experience and achievements, Alberdi pays especial attention to the main laws applicable to all countries taking the socialist road. These are revealed in the face of great differences in historically-formed national characteristics. Cuba and Chile, in particular, show quite clearly that the advance towards socialism is achieved by taking different ways in conformity with the actual conditions of a given country, and taking into account the combination of national and international factors. To ignore these general laws, as well as national characteristics, to depart from the principles of proletarian internationalism, and to give precedence to 'national models' of socialism, inevitably leads to revisionism and nationalism.

Alberdi expresses the conviction that in the course of their historical development, the people of Argentina will take the socialist way, and in so doing can count on the fraternal aid and cooperation of the socialist world.

T.V.

World will not forgive American imperialism its crimes

As these lines are being written, anyone who harbors a spark of humanity must feel the tragedy of Vietnam more acutely than ever. Only a few days ago, wave after wave of American B-52 bombers unloaded their deadly cargo over Hanoi, Haiphong and other densely populated areas of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam.

The resumption of the bombing followed the Nixon-Kissinger duet about peace, which was allegedly at hand, and the publication in October 1972 of the draft ceasefire, which all genuine lovers of peace in Vietnam were prepared to observe. Millions of people all over the world remember the date, October 31, when the agreement was to have been signed. Instead, one of the fiercest air raids of October took place. Instead, the blood of peaceful Vietnamese was spilled for 60 more days of 1972. And American imperialism alone is to blame that the first days of the New Year have not brought peace.

Washington's cynicism in resuming its aggression aroused the anger of most people. Even politicians remote from the national-liberation movement compared the slaughter in Vietnam with the Nazi atrocities of World War II, with the tragedies of towns and villages like Oradour and Lidice.

For the peoples of Czechoslovakia the very name of Lidice, a village in the heart of Bohemia and Europe, symbolizes the truth that patriots fighting for national and social liberation cannot be cowed by terror. And just as Lidice, which the Nazis wiped off the face of the earth in 1942, has been resurrected, so the cities and villages of Vietnam destroyed by the sophisticated weapons of automated warfare will live and flourish.

Yes, the cities and villages of Vietnam shall live! But who will bring back to life the hundreds of thousands of victims of imperialist, colonialist, racist barbarism? Vietnam will not be bombed back into the stone age as some in the U.S. would have liked, but very, very much time will pass before its wounds are healed and dislocation overcome.

Not only the heroic, unsubdued people of Vietnam suffer from the bombing: it affects millions of peace-loving people all around the world. In 1972, the constructive peaceful initiative of the socialist countries opened up the way to coexistence and cooperation in Europe as well as in other parts of the world. But once again American imperialism has struck at the brightest hopes of mankind.

The bombs are also, as it were, rending asunder American capitalist society, throwing many into a state of despair and depression. More and more Americans are beginning to realize that their real enemy is not in the jungles of Indochina but in the dark 'corridors

of power' in the Pentagon, in the offices of the pillars of the military-industrial complex.

The heroic Vietnamese people, all progressive mankind will ultimately achieve an end to the fighting in Vietnam, but nothing will ever remove the bloodstains left by imperialism in man's history of the latter half of the twentieth century.

Fortunately, it is not American or world imperialism that determines human progress in our century or the character of our epoch. I am writing these words on December 30, 1972, the 50th anniversary of the formation of the USSR, which has become the guiding light of all progressive forces. The whole of its historic road is a guarantee that the forces of national liberation, in Vietnam as well as in other countries, will always be strong. The Soviet Union, the countries of the socialist community and, together with them, the whole of the international workers' and national-liberation movement, are fighting so that the next millennium, which will start in as many years as have passed since the end of World War II, should never know war.

The future belongs to the peace and cooperation of all peoples liberated from colonialism and exploitation, the future belongs to socialism and communism.

Jaromir Sedlak,
Director, Institute of
International Relations,
Czechoslovakia

The facts and the falsehoods

As a result of confidential meetings and exchanges of messages between the governments of the DRV and the USA, on October 22 the sides completed drawing up the text of an agreement on the ending of hostilities and the restoration of peace in Vietnam. It has been agreed that the official signing of the agreement will take place on October 31, 1972.

Nhan Dan, October 27

PRESIDENT RICHARD NIXON: I am confident we will succeed in achieving our objective . . . peace.

International Herald Tribune, October 27

VICE PRESIDENT SPIRO AGNEW: There is no question about the principal parts of the agreement, as I see it.

New York Times, October 30

Arms deliveries to South Vietnam have been considerably stepped up over the past eight days. Aircraft which were to be delivered

to Saigon next year have been taken from Air Force reserves and are being urgently shipped to South Vietnam.

Le Figaro, October 31

In October the Nixon administration increased the use of tactical and strategic aircraft, carried out more intensive shelling from ships, and dropped more than 500 magnetic bombs and mines into rivers and over the provinces Thanh-Hoa, Thai-Binh, Ninh-Binh, Namcha, Quang-Ninh and Haiphong.

Communique of the Commission for the
Investigation of American Imperialists'
War Crimes in Vietnam, November 8

PRESIDENT RICHARD NIXON: The situation in Vietnam is that 'we are going to have a settlement. You can bank on it. Washington and Hanoi have agreed in principle to stop fighting each other. That means final American military withdrawal and an end to the bombing and mining.'

Washington Post, November 10

In November U.S. aircraft dropped 100,000 tons of bombs over Indochina.

Washington Post, December 23

WHITE HOUSE STATEMENT: The road to peace is wide open.

New York Times, December 24

During the just ended series of talks between Kissinger and Le Duc Tho, U.S. aircraft continued to drop an average of almost four tons of explosives every minute, night and day, over Vietnam.

New York Times, December 16

The order to use B-52 bombers over Hanoi for the first time was issued by President Nixon himself.

New York Times, December 24

The heaviest bombings of the whole war in North Vietnam were carried out between December 18 and 25.

Washington Post, December 25

Each day more than 100 B-52 bombers (each capable of carrying more than 24 tons of bombs) and several hundred fighter-bombers took part in the raids.

New York Times, December 26

The oligarchy or the people

Alberto Suarez
EC Member, CC CP Uruguay

CONTINUING THE SERIES 'POLITICAL PORTRAIT OF LATIN AMERICA'

Last year was one of the most difficult for us in recent decades. The country went through a severe political crisis fraught with the danger of an escalation of fascism. A time of trial and tribulation, it offered vivid proof of the Communists' role in the life of the nation, of the correctness of our tactics and activities aimed at rallying the masses. We were working together with the people to channel events in the right direction. To assess them it is necessary to go back to the sources of the Gordian knot of Uruguay's contradictions.

Cardinal question of the revolution

In the mid-50s the Party warned that, instigated by the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the ruling classes were hard at work drafting far-reaching plans for strengthening the positions of the oligarchy and depriving the people of their social and economic gains. It also emphasized that an irreversible revolutionary process was beginning in Latin America. At the time this was most vividly manifest in the Bolivian revolution (1952) and the Guatemalan people's achievements under the Arbenz government (1951-1954). In both countries the people were eventually defeated, but the revolution continued to advance irresistibly, nurtured by the general crisis of Latin American socio-economic structures and the failure of U.S. policies in Latin America. Yankee plans for drawing Latin America into the sphere of their global strategy came up against the peoples' desire for freedom.

In these circumstances it was necessary for the Party to prepare the working class and the people as a whole for the inevitable confrontation with the national oligarchy and the coming fight against imperialism on the continent. An important land-mark in this respect was the 16th Party Congress (1955), which characterized the imminent revolution as a democratic revolution of national liberation, the first stage towards socialist revolution. It defined the place of the social classes in it, stressing the leading role of the proletariat. The Congress pointed out that the main force of the revolution is the proletariat in alliance with the peasants, together with progressive sections of the middle strata (students, intellectuals, etc.), and that mass action could be channeled towards revolu-

tionary change only by a democratic national liberation front. To achieve their strategic objective of forging the social forces of the revolution Communists must strive for working class unity, for creating the conditions in which the working class can carry out its historic mission of leading the revolution; they must unite all political movements favoring an anti-oligarchic, anti-imperialist program; they must engage in a planned campaign aimed at building up a big Communist Party capable of playing a vanguard role. This the Congress described as the cardinal question of the Uruguayan revolution.

The mass struggle for carrying out the Congress resolutions coincided with the beginning of the crisis of the so-called 'traditional' parties, with the oligarchy's attempts to drive the country to the Right and force the IMF diktat on it. A broad working-class, popular movement began for the immediate demands of our program, which showed the way out of the country's economic and structural crisis. From 1959, popular action took on a pronounced anti-imperialist, liberation character with overtones of solidarity with the Cuban revolution.

The masses gradually accumulated experience. The growing unity of the trade union movement found expression in the powerful National Labor Convention (CNT); the progressive Left Liberation Front (FIDEL) came into being; the growth and ideological and organizational consolidation of the CP and YCL continued.

Towards unity

On June 13, 1968, President Jorge Pacheco Areco launched an all-out offensive against the working class and the people as a whole with the adoption of 'extraordinary security measures' tantamount to the introduction of a state of emergency. The oligarchy had been preparing for this for years, the idea being to whip up events.

The ruling classes tried to hold back the mass movement, the main obstacle to their plans, by curtailing democratic rights, by repression and murder. The financial-monopoly oligarchy, which relies on the support of private banks, is linked with the big latifundia and is obedient to IMF diktat, occupied key positions in the government and extended its control over the nation's life.

Our Party's slogan was: to extricate the country from the present political morass through mass action. The years of the Pacheco administration had been full of class battles. The masses, acting primarily on Communist Party initiative, employed various forms of struggle, from strikes to demonstrations and street barricades.

Thousands of worker leaders were jailed, trade unions banned, 70,000 civil servants declared mobilized, opposition papers closed down, opposition parties banned, constitutional guarantees of university autonomy flaunted, schools tampered with. To crown it all, assassinations became commonplace. Killed in the fight for democratic freedom were young Communists Liber Arce, Hugo de los

Santos and Susana Pintos, worker Arturo Recalde and many other young men and women.

The masses rose in response, blunting the edge of the repressions. Our Party took an active part in the struggle for working-class, popular unity. Conditions ripened for a counter-offensive against the Pacheco regime.

There were those who disagreed with our tactics and favored other ways of fighting the enemy. Some had concluded that the working-class and popular movements were on the retreat. But the Communist Party declared at its 20th Congress (December 1970) that revolution, not reaction, was forging ahead, that the three preceding years had been a crucible in which a new national consciousness was forged, and that the mass struggle had advanced to a higher stage.

The creation of the Broad Front in February 1971 confirmed the correctness of our conclusions and showed that the conditions for national unity had matured. It signified a qualitative change in the country's political development.

This broadly based coalition included the Communist and Christian-Democratic parties, FIDEL and substantial sections that had broken away from the 'traditional parties,' the Socialist Party, and Left groups. Significantly, many prominent independents, including military men, joined the Front, and General Liber Seregni became president of its Executive. It should be emphasized that all these forces have come together on the basis of a progressive democratic program.

Strategically, formation of the Front meant an acceleration of the advance towards our goal of creating a revolutionary social force.* In 1971, the masses began to put the Front's program into effect by establishing branches and hundreds of local committees throughout the country. They forged political unity at factories, in villages, in higher educational establishments and elsewhere. At the November general elections of that year the Broad Front, although still new and the target of vicious attacks, was the runner-up in Montevideo, the capital and center of the nation's economic and political life, with a total of 300,000 votes; it won 23 seats in both houses of Parliament and more than 50 in the municipal councils.

Difficult period

Juan Maria Bordaberry, the victorious Presidential candidate, was inaugurated on March 1, 1972. The Party knew that, owing to the class character of the new administration, all that could be expected of it was the continuation of the old anti-labor, anti-popular, anti-national policy and increased activity of fascist elements. The

*The report of the CC CPU to the 20th Congress stated that the coalition being formed was not 'fully in accord with our strategic concept of a democratic national-liberation front . . .' However, it was 'a step of historic significance, and our warm support does not contradict our more radical program or the advance towards our objectives. The Front corresponds to the present stage of Uruguay's socio-economic development and the feasible tasks of the day, which should be taken into account by those who wish to advance.'

unparalleled military-bureaucratic apparatus inherited from the Pacheco administration represented a grave threat to the people.

At the same time, the authorities were weak, primarily because they could offer no way out of the deep economic crisis in agriculture, industry and finances carried over from the preceding regimes. The external debt had reached 800 million dollars, the budget deficit was soaring, living standards were deteriorating, and large sections of the petty-bourgeoisie were on the brink of ruin.

The government lacked a broad social-political base or majority in Parliament, and to strengthen its positions in the legislature it had to make a deal with the small right-wing of the National Party. Another factor contributing to the administration's weakness was that it had to run the country at a time when such subjective factors of the revolution process had come into play as the existence and activity of powerful mass organizations, a viable Broad Front, and the Communist Party which, thanks to its tactical flexibility, ideological firmness and close ties with the people, had become a political force to be reckoned with.

The masses countered the reactionary plans of the authorities with a program of their own and a resolute NO to fascism. The most impressive manifestation of the people's resolve was the general strike on April 13 of last year in which broad sections of the urban population took part alongside the working class. It put forward the alternative, 'the oligarchy or the people,' as opposed to Pacheco's false slogan of 'order or chaos.'

On the day after the strike the oligarchy and the government tried to assume the initiative by launching an offensive against democratic freedoms, using as a pretext Tupamaros* terrorist acts carried out on April 14.

The government declared a state of 'internal war' and suspended constitutional guarantees. Fascist gangs and organizations like the 'death squadron' operating under police protection began to provoke clashes aimed at beheading the labor and popular movement, the Left forces, the Broad Front and our Party.

An armed attack was launched against our Central Committee building. It was only thanks to the courage, calm and discipline of the 800 people on the premises that the attack did not develop into a blood-bath. The Communists' stand foiled the reactionaries' plans of drowning Uruguayan democracy in blood.

Two days later the Communist club of the 20th Sector (one of the proletarian quarters of Montevideo) was attacked by fascists who murdered eight Communist workers: Luis Mendiola, Jose Ramon Abren, Raoul Gancio, Elman Fernandez, Jose Washington Sena, Ricardo Walter Gonzalez, Ruben Lopez, and Hector Jose Cervelli. It was a crime without precedent in the country's history, a monstrous political provocation aimed at intimidating the working class, the people, the Broad Front and our Party and forcing them to retreat. The reaction sought a pretext for an Indonesian-type coup which would have set the revolutionary movement back

*Participants in a national-liberation movement advocating armed struggle. - Ed.

many years. Those were difficult days for Uruguay. The Party as always responded to the crimes and provocations of reaction with mass struggle. The working class staged a 48-hour anti-fascist strike. The Communists appealed to the people to make the funeral of their dead comrades a demonstration against fascism.

The balance of forces was unfavorable for the working-class and democratic movement, but there were possibilities for forcing a change in the political climate. It was essential to formulate a slogan capable of inspiring the masses, making them the main force in the fight for democracy, and halting the escalation of fascism. It was necessary to prevent the state of emergency from leading to the total elimination of civil freedoms while maintaining a formal façade of bourgeois-democratic institutions. On the other hand, it was necessary to prevent the 'gorillas' from exploiting the situation to stage a 'classical' coup d'etat.

Slogan of pacification

One 'Left' weekly wrote at the time that there were two ways: revolution (the conditions were not ripe then) or preservation of the civilian regime. Both variants, though seemingly correct, presumed a passive marking of time and loss of the revolutionary movement's initiative.

On April 22 the Communist Party called a meeting to put forward its solution. On behalf of the Executive Committee, Rodney Arismendi, First Secretary of the CC CPU, advanced the slogan of pacification, expressing in concentrated form the masses' protest against bloodshed, the escalation of fascism and 'Guatemalization' of the country. The slogan demanded the restoration of democratic freedoms, meeting the working people's economic needs and carrying out genuine changes. With the given alignment of forces it made the masses the chief factor shaping the country's destiny.

A few days later General Liber Seregni, Chairman of the Broad Front Executive, addressed a mass meeting. 'Our country and people,' he said, 'are in grave danger. We cannot allow events to take place irrespective of our decisions or influence. What are we to do, then? What decisions shall we make? What solution shall we propose?'

'First answer to these questions. If we are in a state of war we have two ways out: a dialogue between the warring sides or the destruction of one of them. In our national history, civil wars ended in a dialogue. The victors never pushed the conflict to the extreme of destroying the other side. This is why we now propose a concrete solution - trying a dialogue. Let the authorities and the Tupamaros agree on a truce, renounce armed struggle and start talks. We know it is no easy matter but then we see no other solution in the circumstances. We are certain we express the innermost aspirations of the people, who want an end to shooting in Uruguay, and we sincerely subscribe to the demand: no more deaths!'

'Second answer. To bring about genuine pacification, it is essen-

tial to grasp the meaning and causes of violence and reveal its social and economic roots. There are structures that stand for oppression and are an obstacle to the country's progress and a better living standard for the people. The dialogue proposed by the Broad Front does not imply inaction. Indeed, its purpose is to achieve real pacification, and not the kind of peace that only exists on paper or in a graveyard. It cannot be won in the absence of social justice, the promise of prosperity, freedom, or a dynamic economy.

'The Broad Front, the most effective force opposing the regime, is willing to support every positive step. Its support will be of a critical and independent nature—not of the government, but of concrete measures beneficial to the country, even if we regard them as limited. We do not confine ourselves to the limits of our program, as if to say 'this or nothing,' for such a posture would result in isolation and in ignoring reality. We devote our energies to the attainment of our program for we are certain it is the key to solving the country's problems, but we will support any measure coinciding with it. We will not go back on our objectives and this is why we are willing to take any step leading to them. This means we will not settle for lesser gains but will support whatever is likely to bring about greater gains.'

General Seregni's civic courage, patriotism, revolutionary fervor and political vision have made him the spokesman of the most cherished aspirations of the people, who are determined to prevent the growth of the fascist danger and pave the way for democracy. In the days which might have culminated in a reactionary coup, our Party, the working-class and democratic movement and the Broad Front led the action of the masses.

After the crisis

In September 1972 the CC CPU analyzed developments after the April strike. It noted the Communists' increasing role in national life and pointed to the need to strengthen the Party so that it might direct the course of events in the interest of the revolution. The objectives of our Party and the Broad Front meet the interests of all who want an advanced democratic system. They are in keeping with the social, economic and political demands of the working class as reflected in the CNT program, and with the aspirations of the educated middle strata of the urban population and the 'classical' petty bourgeoisie. The CC drew the conclusion that the time had come to consolidate all forces, widen the breach in reaction's front and press forward the offensive for advanced democracy. The people's will for struggle and unity warrants the hope that the oligarchy's plans will miscarry.

The pacification slogan proved correct. The masses went into action to carry it into effect. It was under this slogan that the May Day demonstration, the biggest in the country's history, took place. On June 19, and August 4, the CNT organized mass demon-

strations. The working class called a series of strikes. In June the workers seized and held the factories for 36 hours. In August and September the strike wave engulfed almost all private and state-owned industries. Mass actions stopped fascism. Attempts to crush the working-class and popular movement, the Broad Front and the Communist Party were foiled. The government had to abolish martial law without, however, re-establishing the constitutional guarantees.

In spite of provocations, arrests and tortures, mass action for national pacification narrowed the fascists' field of action and afforded all opponents of a coup greater opportunities to join in the struggle. Popular action revealed that it is wrong to identify the Broad Front with the Tupamaros. It also made possible a more explicit attitude towards the armed forces. The point at issue is not to choose between 'the people and the army' or 'the democratic movement and the armed forces.' The national interest demands, as it always has, joint action by all who long for change. Change is also sought by all non-reactionary servicemen. The struggle for pacification enabled the people to show greater initiative. More than ever before, today the Broad Front is a genuine alternative.

The ruling oligarchy will in all likelihood try to present itself in a different light by disguising the regime's repressive character with demagogic talk. We must take advantage of antagonisms in the enemy camp to improve the Broad Front's chances of taking power. In publicizing its program, we must never lose sight of the strategic perspective, which must not be subordinated to immediate needs.

Taking account of the Broad Front's political influence, President Bordaberry entered into official negotiations with it on certain national problems, such as oil, in August. The government communique on the negotiations listed the questions raised by the coalition. The Broad Front stated its views on oil as well as on wages, food supply, civil freedoms, tortures, the plight of over 2,500 political prisoners and other issues.

In September, following major strikes in industry, the Civil Service and transport, the authorities granted a general pay rise, which came three months earlier than promised. The September actions re-emphasized the need to solve social, economic and political problems, which is what the masses insist on. In other words, the alternative, 'the oligarchy or the people,' which was deliberately ignored after the April events, is now back on the political agenda.

The content of the nation's new period of political activity will be determined by the people's fight for pressing demands and against fascism. This means continuing mobilization of the masses, giving priority to the attainment of solid unity between the proletariat and its strategic allies, extending work in the countryside and the interior, and enlisting the more active participation of youth and women in the common struggle.

Action against the oligarchy and imperialism will be the pivot

of the political campaign. Rampant corruption, a product of fascism, must be exposed. At the same time we must give greater publicity to the advanced democratic program of the Broad Front, the genuinely popular alternative.

Accordingly, the Communist Party must strengthen its alliance with other political forces in the coalition, primarily with FIDEL, the Blanco popular progressive movement and the Socialist Party. Closer links and unity of action between Communists and Socialists are of historic significance.

The Tupamaros and the mass movement

The period under review supplied further proof of the validity of Marxist-Leninist theory, which guides our Party and defeats other ideological conceptions. Uruguay's middle strata are becoming radicalized as in other countries. They join the revolution but, on the other hand, they bring with them their class limitations, vacillation, ideological immaturity and ignorance of the role of social classes, above all the proletariat.

In 1962 some spokesmen of these strata resorted to armed action. Their methods were those of political sensation and terror. The Pacheco regime's repressive measures encouraged this development. The Tupamaros disregarded the people's mood and launched their actions without mass backing. Their concepts and methods were far removed from the experience of the world revolutionary movement; neither were they exactly moulded on the 'theory of seats of guerrilla war.' Their action on April 14, 1972, far from answering the situation, ran counter to the above theory, which disapproves of armed struggle against a government brought to power through elections, even rigged ones. The Tupamaros took action at a time when the Broad Front had won the repeal of the extraordinary security measures introduced under the Pacheco regime and when all who had been jailed under those measures were due to be released in a fortnight.

The national liberation movement was defeated militarily and ideologically. It was unable to keep the secret of its organization and many of its leaders were arrested or killed. Moreover, parliamentary debate revealed that certain army quarters and the Tupamaros had held cease-fire talks. The conditions proposed by the Tupamaros did not so much as mention the need for structural change. This attitude differs entirely from the line of the Broad Front, which is based on a mass movement and seeks radical changes in the country's social and economic structure.

Uruguay's Communists refuse to indulge in fruitless arguments about the radicalization of the bulk of the population and its tendency to armed struggle. Our participation in national life should materialize in actions by the people, whom we help to understand from their own experience the necessity of the Marxist-Leninist course, the course leading to the emergence of the social force of the revolution.

This is why we are against coups and reactionary putsches, for they would drown in blood gains wrested through years of struggle. We also reject use of force under demagogical slogans with overtones of military paternalism. The Party maintains that our situation is different from the situation in those Latin American countries where the armed forces have espoused anti-oligarchic and anti-imperialist tasks. Uruguay has powerful mass organizations, a strong Broad Front and an experienced Communist Party, and the working-class and democratic movement and progressive forces there will play the main role in effecting revolutionary changes.

The outcome of the battle depends on us

The political crisis has shown, as we have said, that now special importance attaches to strengthening the unity of the working class and the Broad Front. We hold that our everyday tactical actions should bring us nearer to our strategic goals. The country's future hinges on the solution of social, economic and political problems. The new stage will see a bitter struggle between the oligarchy and the people. The government's reluctance to restore the constitutional guarantees is obvious. The regime also uses the opportunities provided by the security law recently enacted on the plea that though the Tupamaros have been militarily defeated, the political factors that gave rise to the movement continue to operate. It may well be that the authorities will resort to provocation to justify new repressive measures.

For a long time to come, the attention of the masses will be occupied by the struggle for their program and against fascism. The role of the Communist Party will therefore be still greater. The people's victory will depend decisively on the Party's social influence, numerical strength and ideological and organizational consolidation.

Contrary to those who question the existence of a revolutionary vanguard and reject Lenin's theory of the party, Uruguay's Communists furnish ever stronger proof that they are a real political force and the real leader of the revolutionary movement. In September 1972 the CC again pointed to the importance of building the Party. Its relevant plan calls for an extension of propaganda, ideological and educational work. Ours is a mass party which must win over the majority of the working class.

In Uruguay as elsewhere in Latin America, the masses are emerging on the political scene seeking revolutionary change. The brother peoples of the continent follow different roads according to national conditions—as they fight for freedom. It is safe to say that the outcome of their historic battle against imperialism and the oligarchy will depend primarily on the Communists.

Emulation: a form of socialist democracy

Johanna Toepfer
Vice-Chairman of Board,
Federation of Free German
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The importance of socialist emulation is confirmed by the experience of the socialist countries. Its social significance was stressed by the Eighth Congress of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany (SUPG) in defining the next tasks in building developed socialism in the GDR. It raises the leading role of the working class and promotes the working people's political activity, makes them aware of their responsibility for the economy and the state, and fosters comradeship and mutual assistance.

Motive force

The working class influences the economy and society largely 'through the trade unions, through everyday trade union activity,' as the Eighth Party Congress pointed out. The Federation of Free German Trade Unions (FFGTU) has 7.3 million members and comprises almost the entire working class and the majority of intellectuals.

Thirty-two thousand factory locals, 15,500 standing production conferences, 13,000 innovator groups, 87,600 volunteer inspectors and numerous trade union committees take part in considering and deciding all important problems of production and working conditions.

One of the trade unions' primary functions is to organize and guide the socialist emulation movement, which today involves most working people. Some 3.3 million people, including 1.2 million women, joined the movement under the motto, 'work, study and live in a socialist manner.' In 1971, almost 826,000 people proposed innovations whose realization brought the state 2,900 million marks. 'Never before,' the FFGTU said in its report to its Eighth Congress, 'has the socialist emulation movement been marked by such extensive and active participation, such an enormous variety of ideas in formulating its objectives, or such progress in the innovators' movement.'

The role of emulation in building developed socialism should not be judged only according to the number of participants. It does more than promote the growth of the productive forces and improve economic results. What makes it particularly valuable is its

qualitative aspect, the fact that it fosters socialist collectivism, democracy and better production relations. The socialist emulation movement makes for closer cooperation between manual and non-manual workers. It stimulates the working people's civic activity and gives them a keener appreciation of Party policy. It prompts workers to assume responsibility both for their production commitments and for management and planning at the enterprise, as well as nationally.

The immediate objective of the emulation movement at this stage is to accomplish the principal task of socio-economic development set by the Eighth Party Congress: 'Raising the people's living and cultural standards through rapidly developing socialist production, greater effectiveness, scientific and technological, and higher productivity.'

Very important is the working people's social experience, which tells them that the country is developing as outlined by the Party Congress. This is seen in more housing construction, better rest and recreation facilities, more consumer goods, etc. Far-reaching social and political measures are being taken under a decision adopted by the CC SUPG, Council of Ministers, and FFGTU Board in April 1972. They include tangible increases in pensions, more aid to working women, and better housing and other facilities for newly-married couples. More directly than in the past, the efforts of the Party, government agencies and the unions for the steady social and economic advancement of the republic are aimed at raising the living standard of every working man and woman, their families, and fellow-workers.

Workers' initiative: a key factor

Subjectivist supervision of the emulation movement would bring it into disharmony with economic and social development. The Party guides it on a scientific, objective basis, seeking to make the best use of people's professional skills and experience in building developed socialism.

There can be no rigid patterns, and the effectiveness of emulation is determined, to quote Lenin, 'by *variety* in details, in specific local features, in methods of *approach*, in *methods* of exercising control' (*Coll. Works*, Col. 26, p. 413). It must take into account the competence of the staff involved, working conditions and the contribution of the given enterprise, shop or team to the attainment of set targets. Formulating the terms of emulation drives so that they take into account the ideas and suggestions of every member of the collective is an important aspect of worker participation in management and planning.

This approach has proved its worth by encouraging activity and initiative at grass roots and by bringing out people's abilities. Emulation aimed at devising the best solutions for technological, economic or social problems can never degenerate into rivalry. The rule of socialist emulation is mutual assistance and support, its

participants being motivated by the interests of both their enterprise and the country as a whole: it is thus that they operate as the country's masters.

Socialist democracy has the advantage of being firmly rooted in material production. The emulation spirit fosters an awareness of responsibility for the workers' common cause, first at team or shop level, then on the scale of their enterprise and society as a whole.

Workers everywhere take part in the innovators' movement, steadily improve their skills and see to it that higher labor productivity makes for better working conditions and the elimination of hard and harmful physical labor. It follows that management and planning bodies are not the only ones to deal with problems of technological progress. Socialist emulation links their activity with the workers' creative effort.

At present there are some 40,000 work and research teams in the GDR in which 303,000 workers, engineers and technicians jointly work on questions of production modernization. Their cooperation accelerates the preparation of technological changes and guarantees the successful introduction of rationalization proposals. The role of collaboration between workers and intellectuals will steadily increase, for scientific and technological progress requires ever closer cooperation between all people engaged in production.

At a time when the ideological struggle between socialism and imperialism is growing more acute these are questions of principle. The working people of capitalist countries, forced to wage bitter class struggles, judge socialism according to the workers' rights at national enterprises, to their say in production affairs, to the weight of the working man's word, to the way the society takes account of his wishes and will and rewards his accomplishments.

The socialist emulation movement helps to expand the conscious participation of the working class in administration and planning. An important part in this belongs to state bodies, as well as to the unions, which are most intimately linked with the worker's life. 'The position of exceptional responsibility of the working class in our society,' note the documents of the Eighth SUPG Congress, 'determines the high respect commanded by working people in our labor community, the universal attention to the ideas, and proposals, requirements and interests of the working class.'

An example of mass working-class initiative was the preparation period for the Eighth FFGTU Congress. There were more than a million suggestions on production and socialist emulation, improvement of working conditions, etc. Careful assessment of these suggestions, their realization without red tape, and well-reasoned replies to those which cannot be adopted at once—all this is an important gauge of worker participation in production.

Publicity and effectiveness

The trade unions enjoy extensive rights at factory level. Draft annual and long-term plans are discussed at general meetings of shop

stewards, and only after their views are recorded can factory management forward the draft to higher levels. Standing production conferences discuss and review progress in rationalization.

Of course, the problem of worker participation in the management of production should not be viewed simplistically, and not every management or trade union decision necessarily requires a public opinion poll before it can be taken. But every worker is entitled to know what decisions the trade union makes. Union representatives should prepare decisions jointly with rank-and-file members and report to them on their work.

The workers' desire and readiness to shoulder responsibility for the organization of production is directly related to the management's ability to support initiative at factory-floor level, heed their opinions and seek their advice. Socialist democracy includes the workers' right to direct participation in the preparation of important decisions, notably in drawing up production plans, collective bargaining, formulating socialist rationalization programs, etc.

One of the purposes of the emulation movement, besides expanding production, is the improvement of working conditions and labor culture. How such undertakings are carried out and how the management responds to workers' proposals are important guidelines for judging collective participation in factory affairs.

The Eighth FFGTU Congress set the task of consistently applying Lenin's principles of socialist emulation. This means that we are concerned not only with better results in carrying out plans. Publicity, popularization of the best results and their social recognition play a primary educational role, asserting the moral value of socialism and the creative spirit of emulation. Respect for trail-blazers of the emulation movement is fostered by public knowledge of their names and work, explanation of the motives behind their high achievements, and by material and moral incentives for best individual and collective results. Nor should quantity be the sole guideline: it is essential to spread experience, to show *how* the successes were achieved. Application of Lenin's principles of socialist emulation thus facilitates the moulding of the socialist man.

The Eighth FFGTU Congress also stressed the importance of combatting formalism. The fallacious practice of setting emulation targets without the democratic participation of the working people should be done away with once and for all. At some enterprises a complicated, all but incomprehensible, system of score points is still used to assess emulation results. As a consequence the creative potential of individual workers, their personal accomplishments and motivations are overlooked. Such bureaucratic systems disregard the sentiment of the collective. Emulation is effective when pledges embody the thoughts of every working man and woman. And assessment of results correctly reflects achievements only when they are widely discussed in the collective, at trade union meetings.

Day-to-day economic questions should be aired for public judgment. This promotes (though not without contradictions) the deve-

lopment of socialist relations between management and the rest of the workers. It is incumbent on factory executives to provide comradely help enabling every worker to see the connection between his own tasks and the goals of the national economy as a whole. This, naturally, requires the encouragement of worker criticism, the creation of an atmosphere of intolerance towards shortcomings in factory management. The workers reject information and reports made as a formality: they insist that executives report regularly to the collective, as the law requires.

The expansion of socialist emulation and growth of working-class initiative impose greater demands on industrial executives. Today more and more workers have individual labor productivity plans, but for them to be carried out requires both good work organization and comradely cooperation between workers and executives.

Thus, socialist emulation contributes to our trade unions' primary task of encouraging worker initiative and participation in management. It encourages workers to improve their professional skills and deepen their political knowledge.

In the period preceding the FFGTU Congress 'socialist labor schools' were formed at many enterprises using the relevant experience of Soviet workers. In these 'schools' the workers expand their knowledge of the laws of social development, study new developments in industry and raise their cultural and aesthetic level. Instruction is closely linked with the emulation movement, the work of the collective, and the interests of its members. As emphasized at the Congress, this new initiative must be supported by all trade union committees.

Emulation has been an important factor ever since the dawn of the new society. It is a sure means of rapidly drawing the broad masses of the working people into management. Today, when developed socialism is in the making, the emulation movement is especially important for the promotion of democracy, the working class' creative forces, responsibility, and influence in industry and the life of the society as a whole.

The ruling class in the Sejm and at work

WORKER SELF-MANAGEMENT IN POLAND

as seen by

Hamid Safari, alternate member, CC Executive Bureau, People's Party Iran,

Mel Doig, member, CC Communist Party Canada

Igor Ilyinsky, department head, *World Marxist Review*.

At the invitation of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party we visited industrial plants in Cracow and Silesia, and spoke with workers, Party and trade union officials, industrial executives and scientists. What interested us was worker participation in industrial management.

We would like to start our narrative with an event that happened three years earlier at the Zawadski colliery in Dambrowa Gornicza. Ground water had broken through one of the faces, flooding the drift and trapping 79 miners. Their ordeal lasted four days.

Accidents are rare in Polish coalmines, and the rate per thousand workers is only one-quarter the accident rate in West European mines. We could have begun by listing the industry's achievements and recalling, say, that Poland is one of the world's biggest exporters of hard coal and coke. So why we mentioned this old incident? To draw attention to some of the *dramatis personae*: human relations can probably offer a better idea of the socialist way of life than production achievements.

The fate of the seventy-nine workers depended on the organization of the rescue operations and, no less important, on how they would stand up to the occasion. Together with the miners was shift superintendent Roman Wilk. He quelled the first indications of panic and infected the men with confidence. The rescue operations were led by a former miner, then first secretary of the provincial Party committee in Katowice and now first secretary of the PUWP Central Committee, Edward Gierek.

We met Roman Wilk, who had this to say of himself:

'My father was also a miner. In 1923 he lost his job, left for France and disappeared. My mother was left with three children. I started working after primary school. During the Nazi occupation I was forcibly taken to Germany. I returned to Poland in 1945 and began working in a mine. I studied, and became a mining superintendent. Last year I was elected to the Sejm, where I am a member of the commission on mining, power and chemistry.'

The leader of the country's ruling party is of working-class stock, and the man we spoke with also represents workers, miners in parliament – typical feature in a socialist country!

The Katowice province has elected 14 workers to the Sejm, whose 460 deputies include 90 factory workers, 190 members of working-class stock, and 186 of peasant stock. There are 30 workers sitting on the Council in Katowice. Three workers from Katowice province are members of the PUWP Central Committee, and two are members of the Central Auditing Commission.

The workers of the Lenin Iron and Steel Works have six representatives on the Cracow municipal council, 26 in the local district council and one in the Sejm.

Of the 1,815 delegates at the Sixth PUWP Congress, 757 were workers. The percentage of workers in the provincial Party committees is 37.2, as compared with 25.9 in 1969.

Workers run the state

Facts and figures confirm that a socialist state is run by workers. But worker participation in resolving national issues, though the major manifestation of socialist democracy, is not the only one. Another of its expressions is the workers' say in the affairs of their work collectives.

The Lenin Iron and Steel Works at Nowa Huta employs 33,000 workers. It has a big Party organization, and all its blue-collar and white-collar workers are trade union members. General trade union meetings elect Worker Councils. The Party committee, trade union council and Worker Council constitute the Worker Self-Management Conference, the highest representative body of a worker collective. The Conference also includes representatives of the factory branches of the Socialist Youth League and the Scientific and Technical Society. This is also the structure of Worker Self-Management Conferences in the plants, shops and departments of Nowa Huta, as established by the 1958 Law on Worker Self-Management, which also defines their terms of reference and procedure.

Worker Self-Management Conferences are functioning at 8,000 industrial plants, construction projects and state farms. Their members include 162,000 industrial workers and 60,000 engineers and technicians, 39,000 women, and 34,000 young workers (under 30); 136,500 Conference members are PUWP members.

And here are some of the questions discussed last year by the Worker Self-Management Conference of the Lenin Works: the 1972 production plan; assessment of plant operations and distribution of the social fund; ways and means of reducing production costs and saving raw materials and primary products; preparations for introducing a new financial-economic system at the works.

Between sessions of the Self-Management Conference the Worker Council takes part in discussing management questions. The Worker Council presidium collaborates with the management with-

out, however, infringing on the director's prerogatives in production affairs.

After hearing about the organization of worker self-management we put several questions. The first:

What are the relations between the director and the Worker Council?

Tadeusz Szwaczek, chairman of the Lenin Works Worker Council:

'I would say they could be compared with the relations of a happily married couple. We have quite a few arguments, but never serious enough to lead to divorce. Generally speaking, the director is obliged to carry out Council decisions, and in some cases we have to set him right. For instance, at the beginning of the year we found that the administrative personnel were to receive higher premiums than workers for saving raw materials. We had this changed in favor of the factory workers.'

Zbigniew Slomski, director, 'Telpod' Electrical Engineering Plant, Cracow:

'My relations with the Worker Council are rather special. A couple of years ago it had demanded the resignation of the old director. This demand was supported by the Party branch and the management. That was when I was appointed. There were many issues which we tackled jointly. Gradually we learned to work together. This does not mean that we do not have our differences, but we try to remove them in comradely discussion.'

To what extent are the workers capable of handling the difficult problems the self-management bodies have to deal with?

Jerzy Drozd, first secretary, Zawadzki Colliery Party committee:

'Our workers have changed completely since the first postwar years. They have become more mature and better educated. But management has become more complex, there are many new machines. We try to recommend experienced people to sit on the Worker Councils. Schooling is, of course, an important factor, but not decisive. They should be fighters, if you wish, but not demagogues. We want the workers to discuss things with the director, and not acquiesce with whatever he says.'

Of the 57 members of the Lenin Works Worker Council 42 have a general or specialized secondary education, and six a higher education. Of the 379 members of plant and shop Councils 265 have secondary, and 26 higher, education.

A ramified, effective mechanism of worker self-management has evolved in the years of socialist development. But is it simply a question of the mechanics? Take the capitalist 'participation system' in some West European countries. Much of it is designed merely to create an appearance of worker participation in management. Social relations in a bourgeois society deprive the workers of a real say in management. The constant threat of unemployment puts the worker at the capitalist's mercy, and this no social demagoguery can alter.

What we saw in People's Poland showed that genuine worker participation in management is possible only in a country of the

working people, where they hold the reins of power both in Parliament and at their place of work. Economic and social issues are dealt with quite differently than in an exploiting society. Take the problems created by technological progress. In Canada, for example, they have sparked an acute struggle between the workers and the monopolies. The steep rise of unemployment there is a direct result of technological change and intensification of labor. In 1971, in Ontario province alone 138 factories closed down or carried out mass dismissals, leaving more than 16,000 without jobs. In January 1972, the International Nickel Co. suddenly laid off 725 miners, and soon afterwards 1,240 more.

The unemployment threat and intensification of labor forces the workers in capitalist countries to resort to strike action. Thus, when General Motors opened its new car assembly plant in Lordsburg, USA, the workers soon downed tools to protest against the sweatshop system of labor. In the autumn of 1972, Lakewood car workers walked out to protest gruelling conditions at the conveyor lines and mass dismissals.

The situation is quite different in socialist countries.

'We have no such problems,' said Silesian miner Stanislaw Zawadski. 'Every worker is confident of a job today and tomorrow.'

There are problems, of course, but of an entirely different kind. We were told at the central office of the Miners' Union that worked-out mines are, quite naturally, closed down. But the miners are immediately offered other jobs. Some move to other places, with housing and resettlement bonuses provided. If a change of trade is necessary, retraining courses are available with the trainees receiving their last wage for six more months.

The Lenin Steel Works has set up a training center which comprises a technical school with a night department, a vocational school for teenagers, and retraining courses. Every year more than 10,000 people, almost one-third the Works' personnel, attend the training center.

In the country as a whole more than one million industrial and office workers are involved in different types of trade schooling.

To round out the picture, here are some views gleaned in interviews we had.

Janusz Strzeminski, director, Zawadski Colliery:

'The colliery is being radically modernized. The plans were debated in great detail at worker meetings and the Worker Self-Management Conference. Welfare premises are being reconstructed and labor conditions generally improved. With the completion of this program we are looking forward not only to greater output but also to a shorter working week – without any reduction in wages, of course.'

Wiera Olejnik, worker, Telpod factory:

'Technological progress provides better solutions for social problems. Two-thirds of our workers are women. Thanks to modernization, the number of night-shift women workers has been reduced ninety per cent in the last two years.'

Kazimierz Furgalski, Chairman, Telpod factory Worker Council:

'No reconstruction project is adopted before it is discussed with the workers. They show concern not only for labor conditions, but also for technological innovations as well. Workers are active in the innovation movement, which is a clear proof of their interest in technological progress.'

And here is what we were told at the Central Trade Union Council. The law on industrial safety and hygiene stipulates that an increase in production quotas should not lead to a worsening of working conditions. New plants and shops are inspected by a committee of experts which, among other things, looks into working conditions. Some plants are initially put into operation on an experimental basis so that the workers themselves can pronounce judgment on labor conditions. If there are any violations of the law at a plant, the State Labor Inspection can on its own initiative or at the demand of trade union or health authorities, suspend operation.

SCHOOL OF MANAGEMENT

Worker self-management is an integral part of the system for governing economic and social processes, a system based on democratic centralism. If self-management were to become isolated or self-contained, Polish comrades noted, it could give rise to spontaneous, parochial tendencies. But one of the principal tasks of economic management is to ensure a correct combination of the present and long-term interests of the worker collective and society as a whole. That is why worker self-management, far from being contrary to centralized economic management and planning, operates as an integral part of it, complementing it and facilitating the implementation of Party and government economic and social policies in specific conditions—policies expressive of the fundamental interests of the working people.

The worker self-management system is a living, developing organism. We wanted to know to what extent its possibilities have been realized, what it has accomplished and what are its problems. We asked many people these questions.

What does worker self-management yield?

Jerzy Jarosz, crane operator, Worker Council member, Lenin Works:

'Perhaps the main thing is that we feel ourselves masters of the factory. We have a say in management, we influence production, and directly participate in decision-making.'

Ryszard Gondek, electrician, Worker Council member, Lenin Works:

'Life is more interesting when you go to work not just to knock off eight hours and get your pay. . . .'

Kazimierz Sowa, cutter-loader operator, section Worker Council member, Zawadski colliery:

'Participation in worker self-management makes you realize that

you can make decisions not only at home, in your family, but at work, too. And it's just as hard. . . .'

Longin Skubisz, locomotive driver, vice chairman, Zawadski Colliery Worker Council:

'Worker self-management makes it possible not only to organize production rationally, but to improve the miners' working conditions and meet their social needs as well.'

Zbigniew Slomski, director, Telpod Electrical Engineering Works:

'An enterprise has social as well as production functions, and a manager continuously finds himself involved in questions of human relations. Worker self-management is a means of worker participation in solving production and social problems and, at the same time, a means of collective education.'

What are the problems facing worker self management?

They are thoroughly investigated by economists, sociologists, lawyers. A monthly magazine *Worker Self-Management* is published in Warsaw, and in Katowice there is a fortnightly newspaper *The Worker Council*.

We visited the editorial offices of *Worker Self-Management* where we met with scientists and trade union officials. Here is what they told us.

Professor Marian Rybicki, Rector of Warsaw University:

'Worker Councils were set up in 1956, and Worker Self-Management Conferences in 1958. The system is part of Poland's mechanism of socialist democracy. A professional staff is needed to resolve scientific, technological and other special problems. At the same time, it is the very essence of socialist democracy that the public defines the objectives and supervises the functioning of management. Therefore, Party leadership at factory level is of decisive importance. The PUWP Rules lay down that Party organizations control the work of management through worker self-management bodies. That is why the policy line worked out by the Seventh, Eighth and subsequent Central Committee plenums and endorsed by the Sixth Party Congress has had such an impact on the work of these bodies.'

Leszrek Gilejko, research worker, Central School of Planning and Statistics:

'The effectiveness of worker self-management has been shown in that, firstly, it has helped to revitalize public activity among broad sections of industrial and office workers and promote initiative at the factory level and, secondly, it has, by virtue of the fact that worker self-management concentrates on the factory plan, affected the whole system of management and planning. The Party strategy based on the unity of economic and social policy must be pursued in every collective. Every enterprise should have, in addition to its economic plans, a program of social action.'

Marian Blazejczyk, research worker, Institute of Law, Academy of Sciences:

'The effectiveness of worker self-management can be judged from the extent to which it makes use of its rights. They are exercised most fully at big plants which have many old workers. Things are worse at new plants where the collective is still in the formative stage and the majority are newcomers from the villages, and at small, especially non-industrial enterprises. Some clarification of organizational and legal forms, as well as some expansion of the terms of reference of worker self-management bodies, may be required in future. The time is ripe, as was pointed out at the Sixth PUWP Congress, to inscribe worker self-management into the Constitution.'

Tadeusz Jaworski, deputy chief, economic department, Central Trade Union Council:

'Not all enterprises have Worker Self-Management Conferences. There are none in some industries and in small enterprises. The question now is whether such bodies should be set up there or whether to seek new forms. There are also problems in large enterprises. At Nowa Huta there is a Worker Council for the works as a whole, but there the plants are all next to each other, whereas the plants of some integrated enterprises and amalgamations are scattered in different provinces. What is the best procedure in these cases? These are some of the questions that have to be tackled.'

It should be stressed that worker self-management is an integral part of trade-union activity. Trade union councils prepare and convene Worker Self-Management Conferences and production meetings and organize Worker Council elections.

Ryszard Pospieszynski, Secretary, Central Trade Union Council:

'As in other socialist countries, Polish trade unions have a direct influence on the whole system of social management and administration. The government regularly seeks the Central Council's advice on all questions affecting working people's interests, and the industrial unions (there are 23, with 11 million members) are also invited to state their views on questions of economic and social policy. Representatives of the industrial unions participate in meetings of ministerial boards, not as their members, however, for if they were, we believe they would become mere administrators.'

No new rule or regulation on labor or social policy can be adopted without the consent of the Central Trade Union Council. Wage rates cannot be changed without prior agreement of the union, and factory production quotas must be agreed with the trade union council. Furthermore, any change in rates and quotas must stem from technical or technological innovation.

Drafting has been completed of a new Labor Code. It was drawn up by the Central Trade Union Council after lengthy consultations with worker representatives and scientists; it has been endorsed by the government and will be submitted for public scrutiny and debate, following which it will go to the Sejm for final approval.

THE PARTY AND MASS INITIATIVE

Worker self-management rests on the firm foundation of public ownership of the means of production and workers' power – both inherent in the socialist system. Objective conditions, however, are not, by themselves, enough to ensure the success of worker self-management. Its development is a deliberately guided process in which the decisive role belongs to the working-class party.

Jerzy Drozd, first secretary, Zawadzki Colliery Party committee:

'Worker initiative thrives in an atmosphere of attention to suggestions coming from the factory floor, when the management engages in a dialogue with the collective. This is the atmosphere that we Communists seek to foster. Take, for example, our mine's five-year plan. It was exhaustively debated at production meetings in every section, by the Worker Councils and then by the Worker Self-Management Conference. The latter was a rather stormy affair, not because anyone challenged the targets, but because people were concerned with how to meet them.'

Gerard Kroczyk, Secretary, province Party committee, Katowice:

'We see to it that the rights of worker self-management should be fully exercised. The workers' views are vital in resolving production and social questions. Since views may vary it is essential to give every worker the opportunity of expressing his ideas on the factory's long-term plans and speaking out about the management's work or projects. Open discussion provides a forum for airing outstanding issues, seeking correct solutions and convincing those who disagree with the majority without letting matters come to a head.'

Jan Szczurek, Secretary, Nowa Huta district Party committee:

'Several years ago we had some serious problems due to the fact that the old Party leadership underestimated the importance of the people's social requirements. Today things have changed and every person knows that his legitimate demands will be met. To be sure, there still are executives who need prodding, but in such cases the Party bodies help the collective to quickly resolve outstanding issues.'

Worker initiative is promoted by keeping the collective constantly informed about factory affairs. Also important is information about key national socio-economic problems. Much has been done to this end in the last two years. Party and government bodies regularly inform the people of the problems they take up. The national newspapers print detailed accounts not only of plenums of the PUWP Central Committee, but also of Politbureau meetings, not only of sessions of the Sejm, but also of meetings of the Councils of Ministers.

Stanislaw Kowalczyk, Secretary, CC PUWP:

'Our important task is to add momentum to the country's economic development. The Party has laid down the strategic guidelines; their realization depends on the people. The Party's policy enjoys the active support of the masses in general and the working class in particular. The results of the first two years of the current

five-year-plan period indicate that marked achievements have been chalked up.

'At the beginning of 1972, the Central Committee of the PUWP appealed to all workers to produce 20,000 million zlotys' worth of goods over and above the plan by the end of the year to meet market demand and export requirements. Factory collectives undertook to produce even more and raise the figure to 25,000 million zlotys. In the first eight months of 1972 output over and above the plan already totalled about 22,000 millions.

'The Party does everything to ensure fulfilment of five-year-plan targets ahead of schedule. The possibilities for this are there. For example, under the plan real incomes were to increase by 18 per cent; in the first two years the increment was 12 per cent. There was a 12 per cent increase in production in the first eight months of 1972. Obviously, a major step forward has been made.

'This does not mean that we have no shortcomings. Production costs are still high, we use up too much raw material and primary products, and returns on investment are sometimes long in coming, though of late positive developments have been taking place.

'Central Committee functionaries interview industrial executives and worker representatives regularly with the aim of directing their efforts to the solution of key economic problems.

'Consultations made it possible to establish realistic guidelines for a substantial increase in consumer goods production this year. Consultations with factory collectives made it possible for us to increase the output of building machinery. Similar consultations helped increase the output of building materials, though we still experience a shortage of them.

'The Worker Self-Management Conferences have an important part to play in tackling economic problems. They were set up at the Party's initiative, they are functioning under its leadership, and at most enterprises they are functioning well. Their role will doubtlessly be further enhanced by the expansion of the rights of enterprises, many of which started working under a new financial-economic system from January 1, 1973. They will now have fewer directive targets for their production planning; on the other hand, the role of central planning in defining strategic objectives and the fundamental proportions of economic development will be greater. And greater independence for individual enterprises means greater responsibility for the management and the worker self-management bodies.'

There exists a tremendous body of experience in socialist worker self-management dating back to the Paris Commune and the first Soviets in revolutionary Russia. During the trade union debate of 1920-1921, V. I. Lenin repeatedly referred to the 1919 Program of the Russian Communist Party, which stated, in part: 'The trade unions, ensuring . . . indissoluble ties between the central state administration, the national economy and the broad masses of working people, should draw the latter into direct economic man-

agement on the widest possible scale. At the same time, the participation of the trade unions in economic management and their activity in drawing the broad masses into this work are the principal means of combating the bureaucratization of the economic apparatus . . . and making possible the establishment of truly popular control over the results of production" (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 32, p. 66). Present-day systems of worker participation in management in different socialist countries are the outgrowth of the strategies and tactics of Communist parties taking into account both the general laws of socialist development and local features. But there is one main feature common to all these systems: they are an expression of the real power of the ruling class – the working class.

Rumania's young builders of socialism

Martian Dan
Alternate Member,
CC CP Rumania

Life has propelled the young generation into the fore of public affairs, involving it in major political events. It is said that one can judge a society by its youth. This is indeed so, for the development of young people, the opportunities they have for displaying their abilities depend to a decisive degree on the nature of the society. The deep socialist changes in Rumania created favorable conditions for enhancing the young generation's role in public life. The youth is an active force in the building of the new society, the creation of an advanced material and spiritual culture, the development of relations based on the principles of socialist ethics and justice.

Heroic traditions

Last year, the Young Communist League celebrated its 50th anniversary. The emergence of this revolutionary organization of Rumanian youths was no accident: it was a natural development, a socio-historic necessity. Rumania's working-class revolutionary struggle experienced a mighty upsurge during and after World War I. The socio-economic and political contradictions that shook the bourgeois-landlord system and the impact of the Great October Socialist Revolution gave it tremendous power and scope and led to a growth of proletarian consciousness. The formation of the Rumanian Communist Party on May 8, 1921, marked the beginning of a new, higher stage in the country's labor, revolutionary and democratic movements, in the history of our people.

The youth movement was inseparably linked with the proletariat's expanding class struggles, its growing political maturity,

the spread of communist ideas. Numerous working-class youth groups appeared after World War I. They carried forward the democratic, progressive traditions of the young generation and the socialist movement of the latter half of the 19th century. Soon they began to form 'socialist leagues' in which positions rapidly crystallized, tending to the Left, Communist movement.

The formation of the Rumanian Communist Party had a profound impact on the revolutionary youth movement. At its May congress in 1921 the Communist Party launched a drive to bring together all socialist youth organizations and foster in them a revolutionary, Marxist-Leninist spirit. This was the political line of the General Socialist Youth Conference in Bucharest on March 19-20, 1922, which laid the groundwork of the revolutionary Marxist-Leninist youth league.

Born in the crucible of class struggle, the YCL immediately joined with the working-class and revolutionary, democratic forces. The Bucharest conference declared: 'United in an organization of its own, the youth should not be seen as an alien part of an integrated proletarian organism, but as an organization participating naturally and directly in the proletarian movement.'

The Young Communist League inscribed pages of unforgettable heroism in the nation's history and proved its devotion and courage in the difficult conditions of underground work. In the trying times of the bourgeois-landlord regime it was the Communist Party's closest ally and reserve, a detachment consciously taking part in the revolutionary struggle inspired and led by the Party. The generation which was to bear the brunt of the struggle in preparing for, and carrying out, the national anti-fascist armed uprising of August 23, 1944, grew up and matured in the ranks of the Communist Party, the YCL and other, often illegal, democratic organizations.

A new era began with Liberation Day: the revolutionary change in Rumania put an end to the oppression and exploitation of the working people, throwing open broad vistas before the young generation. In this period of profound social and political change the YCL mobilized the majority of young men and women in support of the policies of the Communist Party, whose program reflected their longing for social justice and the transformation of Rumania into a free and independent nation with a developed economy capable of ensuring a decent life for all working people. During the years of struggle against reaction, the establishment of the new system and the restoration of the national economy, the youth took an active part in building the first important enterprises of socialist Rumania; a movement of Patriotic Work Teams was launched at all major national projects.

With the transition to socialism and the structural changes in our society, young people joined the drive to carry out the five-year plans, contributing their share to industrialization and the socialist transformation of agriculture, the development of education, science, art and culture, the raising of living standards. Looking

back at this 20-year period, we are fully entitled to draw the conclusion that Rumania's youth – the young workers, peasants and intellectuals, the representatives of all our country's nationalities – Rumanians, Hungarians, Germans, Serbians, and others – proved themselves worthy continuers of the traditions of their predecessors; they not only enjoy the fruit of the great social changes but are themselves transformers of society. As pointed out by Comrade Nicolas Ceausescu, General Secretary of the RCP, in his address to the Ninth Congress of the YCL: 'Embodied in all our achievements over these years are also the abilities and industry of the young generation which, together with the people, has not spared, and will not spare, any effort to implement the magnificent program drawn up by the Rumanian Communist Party.'

Unity of ideals

The younger generation has contributed enormously to the nation's historic advance because it shares the ideals of the people as a whole. This unity of ideals is the result of the Party's able approach to youth problems. The RCP applies, in accordance with Rumanian conditions, the Marxist-Leninist teaching on the young generation as an active social factor, the character and tasks of the revolutionary youth organization, and the role of the Party as instructor of the youth and leader of its organization.

The youth is not merely an object of change. It is itself an active factor in the development of society. In socialist conditions the youth's communist education takes place in the context of its joint work, together with all working people, to expand industry and agriculture and create and consolidate the material basis of socialism. What is needed is to help young men and women to channel their energy in the right direction. This is confirmed by the participation of young people in all spheres of social and state life.

The great changes that have taken place, especially since the Ninth Congress (1965), have given the youth a bigger role in building the new Rumania. The continued perfection of the socialist system of relations, the deepening of socialist democracy and the introduction of a scientific system of social management have expanded the scope of conscious mass involvement in national life and, at the same time, enhanced the role of social, including youth, organizations of the working people.

The Communist Party guides and coordinates the work of all organizations taking part in the communist education of our youth: schools, cultural establishments, the mass media and, of course, the YCL.

It goes without saying that the tremendous educational impact of social and cultural factors does not reduce, but rather increases the YCL's specific role as a revolutionary organization. The YCL, with its mass membership, provides ample scope for youth initiative, dynamism, innovation, and for the development of individual

abilities and talents, for pursuing one's interests and aspirations. It is a genuine school of political education and political practice.

In 1967, the CC RCP analyzed the possibilities of improving educational work among the youth and adopted resolutions aimed at expanding the tasks of the YCL, specifying its functions, sphere of activity, and contents and forms of work, and improving its organizational structure.

The Party believes that young people should have opportunities to demonstrate their ability in all fields of economic and social activity. Accordingly, in the last few years special steps were taken to enlarge youth participation in socio-political life and to institutionalize youth representation in public and government bodies.

At present the YCL participates, through its representatives, in the collective management bodies in industry, agriculture, scientific and educational institutions, and in local and central government bodies, including the Council of Ministers, with the First Secretary of the CC YCL a member of the government as Minister for Youth Affairs. Thus, young people take a direct part, along with all sections of the working people, in decision-making and implementing measures relating to the nation's domestic and external policies. For the young generation this is a school of social management that prepares it for the tasks it will be called upon to tackle in the future.

The youth is an integral part of society, an active factor in its forward movement. It is, however, a specific factor. Only by taking into account its specifics, the dialectical links between the youth and society, can we ensure continuity and active youth involvement in social life. Conditions have been created for the socio-political organization of the youth based on age and interests.

Education through work

The youth of Socialist Rumania constitutes a substantial part of the population, particularly the gainfully employed population. Every third citizen is under 25. Four million boys and girls attend school. The proportion of young people (14 to 29 years) in the nation's work force is as follows: *

Social group	Total per cent	of which	
		Urban	Rural
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
Blue-collar workers	40.5	68.1	25.0
Intellectuals and white-collar workers	11.6	22.2	5.7
Cooperative farmers	39.4	4.5	58.9
Private farmers	5.4	1.4	7.7
Handicraftsmen	3.0	3.7	2.6
Others	0.1	0.1	0.1

*Population and housing census, March 15, 1966.

As a result of the country's socio-economic development, the trend in recent years has been towards more young workers, technicians and engineers going into industry, construction and agriculture. Young men and women are swelling the ranks of the working class. In 1968 some 22 per cent of industrial employees were under 25, according to the latest census of job-holders. So were half of newly employed in 1964-1968.

Labor education, cultivating a conscious attitude to one's work, is part of the communist schooling of youth and an important function of the YCL. For young people, adherence to the most progressive world outlook, socialist patriotism and socialist awareness mean mastering a trade or profession, steadily improving their knowledge and skill, raising their cultural standard and making a concrete contribution to the national effort.

Like their elders, young men and women work to fulfil the tasks set by the 10th Party Congress, which adopted a program for a comprehensively developed socialist society, later supplemented and concretized afterwards by the Party's historic National Conference in July 1972.

The YCL membership includes over 800,000 industrial workers and technologists. The League is proud of their contribution to the fulfilment of the main economic tasks for 1966-1970 and those set by the current five-year plan. Youth teams have built some of our big industrial projects.

The current five-year plan and the need to perfect economic management confront YCL organizations with new tasks. One of these is to encourage young workers to contribute more to production and strive for higher quality. The League also encourages the study of science and technology, youth initiative and innovation, self-improvement and ability to readjust to rapid changes in production technology.

The YCL does much to help young people to learn a trade or improve their skill. In 1971, over 165,000 young men and women took part in vocational competitions sponsored by the League. The League cooperates with other organizations to improve young people's working and living conditions.

YCL organizations had an appreciable share in the far-reaching changes in the countryside. National programs for agricultural development, specifically for modernization through mechanization, chemicalization, irrigation and the use of progressive methods of crop-farming and animal husbandry, are carried out with the active cooperation of rural youth and rural League organizations. The prospects of economic, social and cultural progress in the countryside provide new possibilities for integrating youth into rural life. And the YCL is working to strengthen the bonds linking young people with the farming community. It helps them learn new trades, especially those needed to modernize farming. It sees to it that there are more industrial and semi-industrial jobs and more service facilities in rural areas. In short, the League is working to bring rural life closer to urban standards.

Social progress, which goes on all along the line, puts growing demands on education, in particular scientific and technological training. Significantly, the proportion of wage and salary earners with secondary education doubled in 1958-1968 and those with higher education rose by 75 per cent.

The principal function of League organizations in the school is to encourage higher achievement, assimilate what man's genius has created over the centuries, acquire sound knowledge and be able to use it in practice. In accordance with the Party's call for close links between study, production and social life, youth organizations initiate measures to improve vocational proficiency, perfect every stage of practical training in school and university and equip school workshops with adequate facilities.

One of the League's functions is to contribute to the communist, Marxist-Leninist education of youth, make them ever more socialist-minded and help to form the new man. The salient traits of our youth today are devotion to the Party, country and people, political activity, a socialist attitude to labor, public property and their civic duties, a sense of public duty and social justice, a desire to attain high vocational skill and assert their individuality in every respect. The League fosters young people's socialist patriotism, helps to develop fraternal relations between young Rumanians and young members of our country's other nationalities, and fosters internationalism.

The YCL devotes all its energies to the fulfilment of the vast socialist education program which the Party put forward in November 1971 on Nicolae Ceausescu's initiative and according to his theses. The program was approved by the National Conference of the RCP in July 1972 as part of the task of building a comprehensively developed socialist society. We help young people to make the world outlook of the working class their own and to develop forward-looking political thinking.

In step with building a comprehensively developed socialist society, increasingly favorable material, social and spiritual conditions are created for the definitive establishment of the principles of socialist ethics and justice. The younger generation's awareness of socialist moral criteria manifests itself in the gradual disappearance of outdated views and sentiments, individualist habits and the influence of the bourgeois way of life. This goes hand in hand with the development of new socialist principles and moral standards. Our society infuses youth with love of labor and justice, condemnation of parasitism, and other anti-social phenomena.

League organizations use numerous forms and methods of arousing interest in science, technology, culture, the arts and letters among youth, encouraging their thirst for knowledge and helping them in receiving a comprehensive education. We give much attention to young people's recreational activities through Houses of Culture, clubs, hobby groups and sports societies, by organizing tourism, and so on.

To meet the requirements of youth, the YCL must steadily im-

prove its organizing work, diversify methods according to interests, provide the right atmosphere for an open dialogue, encourage innovation, promote internal democracy and draw on young people's initiative and militancy. This is the only way of satisfying League members that the YCL is *their* organization, the one which affords them favorable conditions for political and civic activity according to age, requirements and aspirations.

Working for peace and progress

Rumania's youth, loyal to their internationalist tradition, support the efforts of our Party and state for international relations based on peace, security, cooperation and progress. The national and international tasks of our youth movement merge, just as the home and foreign policy of our Party and state, a policy expressing the fundamental interests of our people, of peace and socialism.

The YCL participates in implementing Socialist Rumania's foreign policy objectives and principles. The League and the Union of Student Associations of Rumania maintain friendly relations with more than 400 youth and students' organizations of the world. Our youth advocates cooperation, durable contacts and lively dialogue – on the principle of mutual respect and trust – with the revolutionary, democratic and progressive youth of all countries.

An important international activity of the YCL is to promote friendship with the youth leagues of all fraternal socialist countries on the basis of their common ideology and common ideal and of appreciation of the contribution which the youth of each country makes to socialist building, on the principle of respect for the autonomy and independence of each organization.

The younger generation of Socialist Rumania identifies itself with the revolutionary youth of all countries and their organizations fighting for social renewal and a healthy international climate. In view of the present situation, the changes in youth thinking, in political maturity and activity, and the heterogeneity of youth and student forces, the YCL and Union of Student Associations develop relations with organizations holding different political, ideological and philosophical views and belonging to different international associations. Both organizations champion closer united action by the younger generation with democratic, progressive, anti-imperialist forces.

The YCL supports the struggles and other actions of youth and the public for European peace and security, for a European conference and the transformation of the Balkans into a denuclearized peace zone.

Now that the peoples show an ever stronger will for peace, national independence and progress, youth are in the van of the fight for a future without an arms race and the imperialist policy of force, diktat and domination. To achieve these objectives, it is necessary to establish the principles of equality in international relations, respect for national independence and sovereignty, non-

interference in domestic affairs and respect for each other's interests. The YCL and Union of Student Associations are convinced that the younger generation can and must contribute its share to the achievement of these goals.

The current five-year plan and the tentative development plans for the coming decades offer the Rumanian people and youth the prospect of building a comprehensively developed socialist society. This prospect is based on steadily growing productive forces, modern industry and agriculture, a new standard of economic activity, rapid progress in science, education and culture, improving production relations and social organization, increasing participation of the working people in public affairs, application of the principles of socialist ethics and justice, and deepening socialist democracy. It determines the main content of the program to which the younger generation, as all our people, are devoting all their energies. 'The communist system of tomorrow,' said Nicolae Ceausescu, General Secretary of the RCP, in his message to youth, 'will be as we plan and build it today. I can say that it will also depend on you what the communist society in which you are going to live and work will be like. This is why I call on you, dear friends, to steadfastly follow the general political line of the Rumanian Communist Party, to study, and to prepare to join the ranks of the most active builders of the society of the present and future.'

Rumania's youth, the Young Communist League, are resolved to do their share under the banner of the Communist Party to build a comprehensively developed socialist society, to build communism, and bring about the triumph of peace and socialism throughout the world.

Born and tested in struggle

Renato Guttuzo
on the political poster



This poster appeared in Rome two years ago for the national anti-fascist demonstration. It was reproduced in miniature on the badges worn by many of the 300,000 demonstrators. The interesting thing is that Renato Guttuzo had designed it in 1950 and now, more than 20 years later, it was still a clarion call to action.

Guttuzo is one of those artists whose work is proof that a political poster has a much longer life than the concrete occasion for which it was drawn.

Our correspondent interviewed Guttuzo in his Rome studio about his work on political posters.

A landscape or still life is expressive of the ideas of its

creator, but they are not simply transferred to canvas. Even the most noble ideas might be discredited, if the picture is not done by a masterly hand, if it is not expressive of the artist's distinctive style.

Not so with political posters. The most expressive poster is one in which craftsmanship and artistic detail do not obscure idea. For posters are not meant for careful examination; their function is to bring home an idea in a clear, immediately understandable form and emphasized by a terse catchy caption. The poster should be seen, read, digested at first glance, subconsciously perhaps, by the passer-by, by people in a passing bus.

The artist often draws his subject from the daily press, TV programs, conversation, arguments. And once the subject is clear in my mind (Guttuzo said) I put it on paper and send the drawing to the editor. Sometimes I am asked for a drawing on a definite subject, and I always try to comply. Of course, the thoughts and feelings of the Communist artist find expression in all his work.

But that does not exempt him from the duty of every Party member to take a direct part in politics, attend meetings, demonstrations and, more especially, respond to requests for drawings. Fulfilment of Party assignments has been deeply satisfying.

In the early 50s, Giuseppe di Vittorio, the late secretary of the General Italian Confederation of Labor, asked me for a May Day placard. I drew the hand of a worker holding a carnation. It was reproduced in two colors in the *Unita* newspaper.

That evening I met Di Vittorio. He warmly embraced me: 'You couldn't have done better. We want people to see the worker's hand as a symbol of all that is noble and beautiful; to realize that the worker is capable of producing beautiful things and not only of doing the hard, coarse work to which he is doomed by capitalist society.'

The fascists always tear down my posters, Guttuzo said. That too is a sign of 'appreciation.' Once they even tried to destroy one of my paintings at an exhibition. And on one occasion there was an attempt to put a group of artists, myself among them, on trial for arranging an exhibition of anti-war paintings when the NATO commander-in-chief was visiting Italy.

That motif—a worker's hand holding the flower of hope—has an important place in all of Guttuzo's work, as has another—the Dove of Peace. One of his most impressive posters, done in 1962, is a dove against a clear blue sky and, below, an open window with a hammer and sickle on the sill. Ten years later, in 1972, Guttuzo designed a huge placard—a dove soaring over the Colosseum—for the *Unita* festival in Rome's Olympic village.

Guttuzo recalled his early political posters. Two of them were designed together with his friends, Mirko Basaldella and Marino Mazzacurati, when Rome was still occupied by the Nazis. One showed a gaunt hand tracing a trail of blood across Italy, the other the fascist swastika spread over the land and broken by the hammer blows of the Allies.

Many years later, Guttuzo remarked, I saw a similar poster by the Soviet Kukryniksi cartoonists, one more evidence that we and the Soviet people shared the same thoughts.

In 1944 I designed a poster for the anniversary of the October Revolution. I drew the figures of the sailor, soldier and peasant from photographs I had seen before the war in the magazine *USSR in Construction*, and the word 'October' I cut out of a Soviet magazine. The poster was never printed, but later it appeared in the Communist Party weekly *Rinascita*. There was quite an argument before I could get back my drawing; the comrades decided to keep it in the editorial office. But it was very dear to me, a reminder of our youth, dominated and inspired by the hope embodied in the Soviet Union.

Some of Guttuzo's best political drawings, covering the last 30 years of his work, have now been put out in an album for *Unita* subscribers. They cover a wide range of events—the Civil War in Spain, the armed struggle against fascism, the national liberation

movement in Asia, Africa and Latin America, the civil rights struggles in the U.S., labor's fight against war, for peace and socialism. The style of his work has changed but the dominant theme, the inexorable march of history, stands out clearly in all his drawings, etchings and paintings. And these should be seen as details of a single monolithic work, born and tested in struggle.

In conclusion, as if continuing some argument, Guttuso said: 'I can't understand why some people believe that the political poster has lost its value and significance. We are living in an age when the mass media influence people always and everywhere, at home, in the street, at work, in their free time. In this battle for people's minds and hearts we cannot afford to ignore so powerful a weapon as the political poster. To say that it has no place in the world of today, is not only politically wrong judgment, but wrong judgment of man's way of life.'

BEWARE: A COUNTERFEIT!

Dear Comrades:

Of late persons unknown have been distributing a booklet purporting to be a publication of Globus-Verlag, with Comrade Ludwig Berg named as its editor. We ask you to warn your readers that this is a counterfeit. Globus-Verlag publishers have reported the case to the appropriate authorities.

CC, Communist Party of Austria

The counterfeit is a booklet entitled 'The Voice of Workers of the World' and the cover and size resemble publications of the World Federation of Trade Unions, the printing being attributed to the Vienna-based Globus Verlag. The publication, which is rabidly anti-communist and hostile to working-class unity, has been denounced by the WFTU. However, in spite of WFTU and Globus Verlag protests, the counterfeit is still being distributed in many countries.



As in the past, this year's editorial plans envisage publication of materials on unity of the democratic forces in the fight against imperialism and reaction, for democracy, for socialism. The problem has acquired greater topicality and the **WMR** Commissions decided to set out, in the form of theses, the Communist view on the unity issue, based on documents of the international Communist and workers' movement.

We feel that the theses will attract the attention of readers and help towards a constructive exchange of views in preparation for the theoretical conference on 'Problems and Experience of the Communist Parties in Uniting the Left' in the latter half of the year.

Marching together

Role of Communists
in building a broad alliance
of democratic forces

The core of revolutionary strategy

The task of uniting the anti-imperialist, democratic forces is given prominence in the general political decisions and program documents adopted by Communist and Workers' parties at their congresses in the past few years. They reaffirm, develop and adapt to local conditions the policy, supported by the 1969 International Meeting, of active Communist participation in the fight for close cooperation of parties and organizations of the working class, all working people, for a broad alliance of democratic forces.

United action is already a reality in many countries, where it takes a variety of forms and is promoted at different levels – from joint participation in demonstrations, strikes and other mass actions to inter-party political alliances.

In a number of developed capitalist countries major steps have been taken to unite the democratic forces. In France, the Communists, Socialists and Left Radicals have agreed on a joint government program. For the first time in French history, the Left parties are concentrating their efforts on so comprehensive and detailed a platform. In Italy, the Communists and Socialists are cooperating in municipal, provincial and regional councils. In Japan, the united front of democratic forces, formed locally by Communists, Socialists and representatives of other Left organizations, won many municipal elections and formed progressive local government bodies in areas accounting for a third of the country's population.

In Britain, with its all-embracing trade union movement as the main base of the Labor Party, the advance towards unity has taken a different form. The Communists have been able through the trade unions and the shop stewards to develop a mass movement which has imposed big changes in official Labor policy. The CPUSA has become the center of attraction for the progressive forces opposed to imperialism, militarism and racialism in all its many manifestations.

In Latin America, the biggest united-action achievement was the Popular Unity bloc victory in the 1970 Chilean elections. The Broad Front in Uruguay has made impressive headway. The National Meeting of Argentinians, uniting Communists, Left Peronists, Socialists, Radicals and Demochristians, enjoys increasing influence. Popular coalitions have been, or are being, formed in a number of other countries.

In the Arab East, there have been meaningful positive changes in the struggle to unite the progressive, liberation forces, with Communist participation. There is the National Progressive Front in Syria and steps towards a similar front have been taken in Iraq. The formation, at a conference in Beirut last November, of the Arab Front in support of the Palestinian revolution, in which Communists, revolutionary-democratic and other patriotic parties and organizations of 14 Arab countries are represented, is evidence of the increasing cohesion of the anti-imperialist forces.

The Communist parties of several South Asian countries (e.g., India, Sri Lanka) have enriched their experience in uniting the democratic forces by participating in successful election alliances and in the central and provincial governments.

In suggesting cooperation to other political forces, the Communists do not conceal or abandon their revolutionary aims and ideals. The policy of unity for the sake of unity is utterly alien to them. Under no circumstances will the Communists abandon their ideological principles or the interests of the working class, whose will they express.

Constant reliance on mass support, joint action with all the forces of social progress, cooperation with all democrats prepared to come out against reaction, political obscurantism and monopoly rule — such is the very essence, the unalterable core, of Communist revolutionary strategy.

The fundamental strategic principles of class and political alliances in the proletarian revolutionary struggle were formulated by the founders of Marxism. In the *Communist Manifesto* Marx and Engels emphasized that in the various stages of development of the proletarian struggle, the Communists 'always and everywhere represent the interests of the movement as a whole.' And from this followed, with inexorable logic, the need to forge unity of the working class and achieve revolutionary cooperation of its parties and organizations. At the dawn of the Communist movement the need to unite the proletariat with all the toiling and exploited masses stood out in full clarity. As Marx wrote, only in close alliance of the working class and peasantry would 'the proletarian revolution acquire the chorus without which its solo would in all peasant countries become its swan song.'

Lenin emphasized that the main thing in Marxism is that 'it brings out the historic role of the proletariat as the builder of socialist society' (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 18, p. 582). But he also emphasized that the working class could perform its revolutionary mission only in alliance with the peasantry, with the movement of the nationally oppressed peoples, in cooperation with all the forces involved in the general democratic struggle. The Communist strategy of class alliances is an organic part of the Leninist theory of the general-democratic revolution growing into the socialist. The tactical manifestation of this general strategy at each revolutionary turning point depends on the lineup of social and political forces. But Lenin's warning that one of the biggest and most dangerous mistakes made by Communists 'is the idea that a revolution can be made by revolutionaries alone' (Vol. 33, p. 227) retains all its validity.

'Without an alliance with non-Communists in the most diverse spheres of activity,' Lenin wrote, 'there can be no question of any successful communist construction' (*Ibid.*). These words determine the permanency of the strategy of uniting the democratic forces at every stage of the Communists' revolutionary struggle — both in the fight to abolish the exploitive system and in the effort to build the new society.

History has convincingly proved that this strategy is effective. The world's first victorious socialist revolution was the result of the struggle of the Russian proletariat in league with the poor peasantry and supported by the peoples oppressed by tsarism. In a number of countries the working class, led by the Communist Party, piloted the socialist revolution, supported by a coalition of democratic parties, popular or patriotic national fronts, which today have an important part in building socialism.

The Seventh Comintern Congress expressed the strategic principle of an alliance of democratic forces in its call for a popular front. The 1969 Meeting expressed it in a general platform of broad anti-imperialist unity. The Communists, it emphasized, 'will do all they can to bring about greater mutual understanding between the numerous and diverse anti-imperialist trends and movements, taking

into consideration their specific features and showing respect for their independence.' Guided by that principle, and with due account to local conditions, the Communist parties are today advancing concrete programs for anti-monopoly coalitions, broad popular fronts and progressive national blocs.

The WMR commissions believe that the Communist effort for unity of the democratic forces requires further elaboration, in our journal, of the theoretical questions of class and political alliances, with constant reference to the ideological heritage of the Marxist-Leninist classics and analysis of Communist party experience in the fight for unity of the democratic forces.

The demand of our times

The objective world situation today is more favorable than ever for uniting the anti-imperialist, democratic forces.

With the decisive change of the world balance of forces in favor of socialism, the whole system of capitalist exploitation, both nationally and internationally, is being undermined and discredited. Socialism is increasingly becoming the ideological and political point of attraction not only for the vanguard of the army of wage labor, but also for other population groups, including petty-bourgeois strata.

In developed bourgeois society the contradiction between labor and capital is not only sharpening; it is growing into a contradiction between the overwhelming majority of the nation and the financial oligarchy. Increasing exploitation of the working people in the production sphere, runaway inflation which robs the people in the consumption sphere, monopoly control of the mass media which robs them in the ideological and moral sphere — these are all distinctive features of imperialist rule. And as a direct consequence of these developments, which reflect the depth of the general crisis of capitalism, there is the growth of class consciousness among ever new groups of working people, bringing broader masses into the political struggle and giving a radical accent to social moods and movements.

A broad social base is thus being created for an anti-monopoly coalition. The working people of town and country are prepared to unite in it and it is favored by growing numbers of the intelligentsia. Sizeable groups of small and even middle businessmen have joined, or are prepared to join, the fight against the monopolies. The progressive youth, women and the oppressed national minorities are being drawn into the mass movement against monopoly rule and exploitation. These forces of a broad democratic front are politically active and uniting them around a common purposive program is a major task of the Communist parties.

The social axis of such a united front, the condition of its durability and effectiveness, is unity of the working class. And the urge for joint action with their Communist comrades is growing among Socialists, Catholics and people of other views and convic-

tions. There is ample practical experience to show that there are no insuperable barriers to cooperation of Communists, Social-Democrats – among whom there is a process of differentiation – Catholic workers' organizations and trade unions of progressive orientation.

In many countries of Latin America with more or less developed capitalism, the structural crisis is deepening. The domination of imperialist capital and landlord oligarchies has produced a combination of social and national oppression that draws the broadest masses of the people into the protest movement and spurs them to political struggle.

In most Afro-Asian countries, where many years of colonial domination have left a heritage of extreme economic and social backwardness, imperialism and local reaction try to halt the development of the national-liberation revolution and prevent the progressive renovation of the forms of social life. Patriotic forces initially representing different classes, social strata and ideological trends are drawn into the active quest for the roads of national progress. The subsequent development of capitalist relations, even on a limited scale, aggravate social differences and the class struggle. This crystallizes the social base of unity. The withdrawal or isolation of openly conciliatory elements favors the development of cooperation between all genuine national forces in the framework of a broad anti-imperialist front. Communists regard participation in this front and work for its success as their patriotic duty and a necessary condition for the effective solution of the tasks of the deepening national revolution. Especially important in this connection is the strengthening of cooperation between Communist and revolutionary-democratic parties and groups. Imperialism and reaction pin their hopes on ideological differences between them, but the common concern of Communists and revolutionary democrats for guiding national development along the road of far-reaching social change can and should be the reliable cementing force of their alliance.

In their drive for the unity of different social and political forces in the fight against the monopolies, imperialism and reaction, the Communists are not only guided by the principles and traditions of their revolutionary strategy but also take into account the imperative demands of the time.

The tasks facing the united anti-imperialist, democratic forces are broader and their possibilities greater than when the Seventh Comintern Congress formulated and elaborated the idea of a popular front. The conditions for carrying out these tasks have been created by the strengthening of the world positions of socialism, the growth of the labor and general democratic movements in capitalist countries, the successes of the struggle against neo-colonialism, for national liberation and the liquidation of the colonial system. The Communist parties, which are in the vanguard of the fighters for uniting the forces of democracy and progress, have matured, grown stronger and acquired rich political experience.

Recent congress decisions targeting Party work on the unification

of democratic forces are based on Marxist-Leninist analysis of the situation in the world and the respective countries. Further studies of economic processes, changes in social structures and public psychology will make it possible to reveal more fully the revolutionary potential of different classes and population groups in the capitalist and developing countries. The WMR commissions would consider publication of the results of such studies an important contribution to the debate on problems of democratic, anti-imperialist unity sponsored by WMR.

Important mission

United popular action is essential for the solution of the key tasks of the revolutionary movement's present stage, a stage of general democratic change aimed at curtailing the power of state-monopoly capital, a stage of further expansion of the national revolution aimed at overcoming the consequences of colonial and semi-colonial dependence and introducing higher forms of social organization.

The Communists do not regard the political alliance of heterogeneous social forces advocated by them as a tool for the attainment of socialism. Its purpose is to draw the masses into an organized democratic movement and weld them together in the struggle against the economic, political and spiritual tyranny of the monopolies. Communists hold that this is the best school in which the majority of the people can gain confidence in their own strength, realize their interests more fully and, with the experience gained, arrive at an understanding of the need for the socialist transformation of society.

Such is the dialectics of democratic, anti-imperialist unity, and it destroys the basis upon which attacks are made on the Communist policy of popular unity from both the Right and the 'Left.'

Bourgeois claims and Social-Democratic suspicions that this policy is no more than a camouflage designed to mask narrow party interests are totally groundless. Resolute and convincing refutation of these views is an important prerequisite for removing the barriers erected by anti-Communist propaganda on the road to the creation and strengthening of the alliance of democratic forces. Such an alliance is in the best interests of all working people, not only the Communists, of all sections of the population experiencing the oppression of the monopolies, reaction and imperialism.

The popular unity policy is also vilified by Leftist elements infected with the ideology of petty-bourgeois 'revolutionism.' They view any alliance of Communists with other democratic forces as the mortal sin of 'betrayal of the revolution and socialism.' In actual fact their 'Leftness' and sectarian attitudes are a serious obstacle to the organization of the popular struggle essential for the advance to socialism.

Communists regard combating Right and 'Left' opportunism as an essential component of the ideological and political work aimed at unity of the anti-imperialist, democratic forces.

In their documents the Communist parties emphasize that by entering into alliances with other political forces and cooperating with them sincerely, consistently, and with the necessary flexibility, they assume the important mission of being the most resolute, active and steadfast fighters in the ranks of the anti-monopoly coalition. They are prepared for this by both their revolutionary experience and the Marxist-Leninist theory that illumines their path. Communists always remember Lenin's words that the main thing in their policy of alliances and coalitions is to use it 'to raise - not lower - the *general* level of proletarian class-consciousness, revolutionary spirit, and ability to fight and win. (Vol. 31, p. 74).

These are not one-day tasks for the purpose of knocking together shaky election coalitions. The aim, rather, is a long-term, relatively stable bloc of democratic forces. And this lends primary importance to the Communist parties formulating forward-looking programs on national issues. Life has demonstrated that the ability to show a constructive way out of the crisis brought upon society by the monopolies and to provide a platform of joint action is one of the conditions of success in the fight for popular unity.

From the point of view of the ideals of scientific socialism such a program must, of course, be of a restricted nature. But it is not the 'creeping reformism' which even the monopolies would be prepared to accept, nor the rejection of revolutionary change the opportunists on the 'Left' would have us believe. It represents a formalization of the general democratic tasks in the struggle for which the people's understanding of the necessity of socialism matures.

The relevant program demands include measures aimed at directly curtailing monopoly power, up to and including nationalization of monopoly properties.

Joint support of the masses' economic and social demands, agreed solutions for such problems of national concern as education, public health, housing and environmental protection occupy a prominent place in the democratic unity program.

Another section of the struggle where the interests of all forces of the anti-monopoly coalition converge is the struggle for democratic freedoms, democratization of state and public institutions and greater real mass participation in running the country.

A must for any alliance of popular forces is resolute opposition to political reaction, which becomes more active as the crisis of bourgeois society deepens, to all manifestations of fascism, racialism and the ultra-Right threat. The defense and expansion of democracy is a primary concern of the unity policy.

A fundamental demand of democratic unity is an independent foreign policy and expansion of ties with the decisive force in the anti-imperialist struggle, the socialist world system headed by the Soviet Union.

Curbing the aggressive aspirations of imperialism and support of the peoples engaged in anti-imperialist liberation struggles are common tasks of all democrats. Effective expressions of anti-im-

perialist unity are the movements of solidarity with fighting Vietnam and the other countries of Indochina that have fallen victim to U.S. aggression, with the Arab states fighting to liquidate the consequences of Israel's predatory attack, with the peoples of the Portuguese colonies in Africa fighting for independence, with the indigenous peoples of southern Africa languishing under the yoke of racist regimes. Historical experience as well as the experience of the last few years offers convincing proof of the tremendous importance of broad popular unity in the struggle for peace and universal security.

Communists hold that mass working-class and popular action is decisive in achieving democratic unity as well as in pursuing the goals of the political alliance formed on its basis. An essential aspect of Communist party activity to unite the democratic forces is work with the masses and among the masses.

The features, forms and methods of the fight for unity vary from country to country. Marxist-Leninists hold that different conditions objectively make for different tactics. But this does not mean that the experience of each Party is of only national significance. On the contrary, it can always be creatively analyzed and applied by other detachments of the international Communist movement.

In the commissions' view, exchange of this experience in the pages of the journal would be a useful contribution to the WMR-sponsored debate on the many problems concerning the struggle for democratic, anti-imperialist unity.

**World Marxist Review
commissions**

- for Problems of Class Struggle
in Developed Capitalist
Countries
 - for Problems of Latin American
National-Liberation
Movements
 - for Problems of Afro-Asian
National-Liberation
Movements.
-

Third congress of the SUPWB

Gerhard Danelius
Chairman SUPWB

At their Third Congress the Communists of West Berlin made a sober assessment of the results of their struggle for the social, economic and political interests of the working people and laid plans for the immediate future.

The Congress noted that the Party's policies had become more effective. Its influence on the working class was growing, and Party groups had become more active, above all in big enterprises.

Since its Second Congress held in May 1970, 2,019 new members have joined the Socialist Unity Party of West Berlin of whom 1,191 wage and salary earners, 349 students, 163 apprentices and senior school pupils and 80 intellectuals.

Of the 574 delegates to the Third Congress, 122 (21.2%) were under 25 years of age, 91 (15.8%) between 25 and 30, and 122 (21.2%) between 31 and 40. No less than 413 delegates, or 72 per cent, were workers, and 325 delegates have been Party members for two to ten years.

No 'front-line' city!

The policy of peaceful coexistence is gaining ground in Europe and the system of collective security and cooperation is becoming more clearly delineated. Decisive factors making for these advances were the Soviet and Polish treaties with the FRG, the four-power agreement on West Berlin, the treaties and agreements signed by the GDR with the FRG and the West Berlin Senate, and especially the treaty on the principles of relations between the two German states. The four-power agreement on West Berlin, which is binding in terms of international law, declares that West Berlin is not part of the FRG nor can be administered by it. These treaties marked an important stage in the peace offensive of the Soviet Union, the GDR and other members of the socialist community.

A few years ago our Party's demand for recognizing the GDR and ending the CDU, SDP and FDP policy of regarding West Berlin as a 'front-line city,' met with little response. Communists were thrown out of their jobs, expelled from trade unions and persecuted in other ways for following the Party's line. Nevertheless, the Party helped to hasten the solution of the pressing problem of ensuring that the city ceased to be a nerve center of world politics and contributed its share to peace and European security.

It was in this climate that the Third Congress of the SUPWB met last October to decide on the Party's subsequent activities.

For over a quarter century Berlin was the focal-point of the cold war. We realize, of course, that imperialism has not abandoned its plan to avenge, if need be, by aggressive means, its defeat in World War II. Revenge-seekers stick to their traditional policy. The forces of reaction try to misrepresent and nullify the substance of the four-power agreement and to stimulate and keep alive their policy and ideology of Berlin as a 'front-line city.' Only by adopting a determined stand for the implementation of treaties which promote peace, security and cooperation can we consolidate the important changes brought about in Europe.

Strategic goal

It was in the light of this situation that our Congress stressed the importance in our political work of raising the standard of agitation and propaganda, establishing closer links with the working people, including young workers and other sections of the population, and defending their social, political and spiritual interests more consistently. The Congress emphasized that it was the paramount duty of the Party Executive as well as district executives and the leadership of the enterprise and neighborhood Party groups, to help their members to appreciate the complexities of the class struggle, and equip them with arguments enabling them to put forward Party policy and refute the arguments of their opponents.

The extent to which the Party can establish its leadership will depend on its ability to awaken the class consciousness of the workers and free them from the fetters of bourgeois ideology.

Aided by the Party more workers are realizing the need to intensify the class struggle in the enterprises and unions; their consciousness is gradually changing. Workers, particularly young workers, have become more active in the anti-imperialist movement, the movement of solidarity with the peoples of Indochina, and the campaign to safeguard and extend their democratic rights and freedoms.

Indicative of the workers' increased political awareness is the fact that virulent anti-communism and anti-Sovietism fermented by the CDU and the Springer press, are losing ground. Their consciousness is growing under the influence of internal and external factors. The contradictions between labor and capital are becoming sharper and so are those between the people and the monopolies. Furthermore, the socialist countries' gains in improving the people's living and cultural standards and in vindicating the policy of peaceful co-existence have an ever stronger impact.

We must not forget, however, that many workers are still influenced by bourgeois ideas and believe in the alleged transformation of capitalism into an 'industrial society.' They nurse the illusion that their condition may improve radically under this system. The working class of West Berlin is faced with an experienced and wily bourgeoisie which does not rely on brute force alone, and uses subtle methods to disguise the actual relations between labor and

capital, resorts to flattery, demagoguery and promises, and makes concessions on matters of secondary importance, in order to retain its power.

How does the bourgeoisie go about holding up the growth of the workers' class consciousness? It promises a 'prosperous' capitalist system through 'evolution' and through 'harmony' of all social strata while at the same time promoting its 'convergence' theory. The bourgeoisie and its Right Social-Democratic apologists try to persuade the workers that social relations can be altered in their favor through reforms, without recourse to revolutionary change. The widespread acceptance of Marxist-Leninist ideas and the existence of real socialism compel Right-wing opportunists to pose as socialists and preach 'humane' or 'democratic' socialism.

But whatever the stratagems of the bourgeoisie and its ideologists and however they may praise capitalist society, they cannot in the long run conceal its class character.

The SUPWB upholds every demand that aims to improve the condition of the workers. It insists that the working class can achieve no stable standard of living under the present system with its irreconcilable contradictions between labor and capital. Every social or economic concession, let alone every extension of democratic rights, however small, has to be wrested from big capital and its state. It will take an enormous amount of effort to change the alignment of forces in favor of the working class and clear the ground for the workers' victory.

Our strategic goal, as specified by the Congress, is to win democratic changes paving the way for socialism, and for this, working-class unity is essential. Unity of action by Communists, Social-Democrats, non-party people and all workers means fighting together against the curtailment of social benefits, against greater exploitation, against the unchecked increase in prices and rent, for higher pay, for rights in the enterprises, in the economy and society, for an end to the capitalist system.

The policy of united action implies that no participant should expect any privileges nor demand that others should renounce their principles or autonomy. Every theoretical, ideological or political concept which prevents the working class from maintaining its basic interests or tends to make it subservient to monopoly capital, must be exposed.

The Social Democrats, who still influence a considerable section of the working class, promise reforms which they claim will bring the workers lasting improvements in their living standards. We Communists do not reject reforms as such. Indeed, we are the most determined champions of genuine reforms. But we warn against reformist illusions and criticize 'reforms' designed to stabilize state-monopoly capitalism politically or economically. We demand reforms which extend the rights of the working class and strengthen its positions in the struggle to curb and defeat monopoly power.

The Congress formulated the immediate socio-political demands of the working class and the prospects of the workers' fight for a

democratic system – the alternative to monopoly power. These demands include nationalizing all private monopoly organizations and big enterprises; granting the workers, their production councils and trade unions, the right to participate in decisions affecting the operation of the enterprise, such as production, prices, profit, dividends, accumulation or investment; establishing public control over profit and prices.

To achieve united action by the working class and to build a broad anti-imperialist front we must advance immediate social and political demands and set tasks with long-term objectives.

Ideological training

The Party becomes stronger as the working class strengthens its positions, youth and students become more politically aware and the struggle against imperialism gathers momentum. Increasingly, people are finding that the Party answers their needs. Consequently, Party groups in the enterprises are growing and their influence extending. Good work, too, is being conducted in schools and universities. The Party organizes ever more powerful actions and its ideological work is becoming more effective.

A sign of the Party's mounting influence is the mighty movement of solidarity with the heroic people of Vietnam, involving demonstrations numbering thousands of people, who collected over DM500,000 for the Vietnam relief fund.

Our Party also deserves credit for reviving in 1968 the revolutionary tradition of celebrating May Day – a day of working-class struggle for peace, democracy and socialism. No longer can this day be used to fan the flames of the cold war. May Day demonstrations now attract increasing numbers. In 1972, about 70,000 workers, apprentices, pupils, students and intellectuals joined in a demonstration sponsored by the Communists, Social-Democrats, production council members, trade union functionaries and youth organizations.

The sharper the contradictions between labor and capital, between the interests of the people and those of monopoly, between socialism and imperialism, the higher the demands on our ideological and political work. One of our prime tasks is to impart Marxist-Leninist ideas to the mass of workers, and the Party has organized evening classes to this end. The numbers attending have increased, especially among young people, and for the 1972/3 courses about 1,100 workers, students and intellectuals have enrolled in classes on political economy, philosophy and problems of the international working-class movement.

Systematic ideological work enables us to speed up the training of staunch Marxist-Leninist fighters for socialism.

The youth is with us

The bourgeoisie prophesied, incorrectly, that we Communists would be unable to cope with the influx of young people into our ranks.

Young comrades deserve and enjoy our confidence and we have no generation problem. Yet our enemies on both the Right and the 'Left' relished the prospect of a clash between the young generation of Communists and the seasoned veterans.

The Party appreciates the significance of the growing youth movement, in which it actively participates and popularizes the ideas of scientific socialism. We patiently explain to young people the dangerous implications of 'Leftist' trends, help them choose the right methods of fighting against imperialism, for democratic and socialist changes in social relations.

Pseudo-revolutionary groups were still rather strong in the city in the second half of the 60s. As a result of our principled policy towards them and our exposure of their anti-Leninist concepts, many young people, who a few years ago were taken in by ultra-Leftist talk, now regard the SUPWB as their revolutionary organization.

Our policy towards the student movement also proved correct. We held that a growing number of young members of the scientific and technological community were realizing that the outdated capitalist system with its inhuman monopoly power, had to be replaced. We exposed the ultra-Leftists and their disastrous policy of belittling the everyday struggle for social and political reform, and of opposing it to the fight for socialism, while denying the role of the working class and its Marxist-Leninist Party. We bore in mind that the student movement is basically progressive and reflects the deep contradiction between monopoly and the people.

The younger generation of West Berlin feels that the social system under which the wealthy reign supreme is politically and morally sick. It sees both the façade of capitalism and its incurable, hidden ills. Young people are searching for the right way to a society without class contradictions, a society in which man and not profit will be put first.

The young people's resistance to reaction is increasing. Many more of them are fighting for the workers' rights in the enterprises, the economy and society, for a democratic and up-to-date educational system, for peace and European security. They are beginning to realize that war is not a natural calamity and that the anti-imperialist movement can avert it.

The ruling class cannot expect that youth will meekly continue to create more wealth for the rich and entrust their future unquestioningly to those who destroyed many generations in the flames of war and even now wish to set young people against socialism – against their own future.

Young men and women see that capitalism makes it impossible for them to find a place in life which corresponds both to their own interests and the needs of society.

The Congress appeal to the younger generation states that to fight for the interests of youth, peace, freedom, democracy and social progress is to fight on the side of the working class and its Marxist-Leninist party, the SUPWB. This is the only party in our

city which has nothing in common with capitalist interests and upholds the demands of young workers and students in every field.

Member of the great family of communists

The Congress listened with enthusiasm to speeches by the leaders of brother party delegations and numerous messages of greetings to our Party, a member of the great family of Communists.

Anti-imperialist unity is needed more than ever. It will help to consolidate gains already won. To score new victories we must strengthen the world Communist movement on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, must promote working-class unity of action against imperialism and its policy of aggression, against monopoly and reaction, for peace, democracy and socialism.

The Congress reaffirmed the bonds of fraternal friendship linking the Communists of West Berlin with all Marxist-Leninist parties, the anti-imperialist movement and the heroic people of Vietnam.

In a special resolution on the 50th anniversary of the formation of the USSR, the Congress sent Communist greetings to the Soviet people and their glorious Communist Party on behalf of all members and supporters of the Socialist Unity Party of West Berlin. The delegates signified their unswerving loyalty to Ernst Thaelmann's dictum that the attitude to the Soviet Union is the most important criterion of every Communist. They pledged themselves to fight on unrelentingly against anti-communism, and above all against anti-Sovietism, and to help infuse the working class and other working people of West Berlin with fraternal friendship for the Soviet Union.

The Third Congress set the Party new tasks in its work among the masses. At the next stage, we propose to draw still more people from every strata of our society into the fight against monopoly and to speed the unification of all anti-imperialist forces and all supporters of radical social changes. Our Party is certain it can attain this goal as it fights for peace, democracy and socialism.

Greater numbers, greater influence

Toranosuke Iwabayashi
Member of Presidium,
CC of Japan

The Communist Party of Japan has inherited the progressive and revolutionary tradition of the Japanese people and has undauntedly fought for the fundamental interests of the Japanese working class and working people. Last year the Communist Party of Japan

observed the 50th anniversary of its founding. It has stood the ordeals of half a century, and has now developed into a political party which exerts a great influence upon real politics in Japan.

Up to the time of Japanese imperialism's defeat, our Party was subjected to much successive oppression by the cruel Tennaist government's tyranny and had a membership of only about one thousand-odd and a circulation of several thousand of its paper, although it had always fought in the van of the struggle of the people for democratic freedom and a better life.

Our Party, having won its legality after the war, had a membership of over one hundred thousand and the organ's circulation of about two hundred thousand while the working people's struggles for life and rights were developing.

A serious blow was, however, delivered to our Party by the U.S. Occupation Forces authorities' oppression in 1950, the Party's split linked with an international factor, the ultra-Left tactics taken by a part of the Party and so on. As the result, our Party's membership declined to about thirty thousand, the organ's circulation to less than forty thousand.

Later on, at the Seventh Party Congress in 1958, our Party summarized its past activities to make clear the cause of its errors and to consolidate the foundation of its organizational unity. At the Eighth Party Congress in 1961 it decided its Program to establish its correct basic line and laid a cornerstone for the correct tactics and activity method.

Today our Party's strength expressed in figures is a membership of a little over three hundred thousands, the organ's circulation of two and a half million* and about five million votes obtained (in the House of Councillors** election held last year). The number of our Party's Diet members is 48, and that of local assemblymen 2,573. The area where the united front of the democratic forces*** triumphed in elections for the heads of local self-governing bodies' and where it has established so-called progressive self-governing bodies has so developed that it now covers the area of Tokyo Metropolis, Kyoto, Osaka, Okinawa and Saitama Prefectures with one-third of the total population of Japan. The Party's strength expressed in those figures is about 10 times in membership and 50 times in the organ's circulation in comparison with the time of the Seventh Party Congress held 14 years ago.

In the period of the last ten and odd years our Party has attained a rapid development, above all by firmly upholding the programmatic line which applies the scientific socialist theory to the concrete and historic conditions independently and creatively, as well

*Akahata, the central organ of the CPJ, appears in daily and Sunday editions. The circulation of the daily edition (appears every day, including Saturday and Sunday) exceeds 500,000 copies, and that of the Sunday edition reaches 1.9 million copies. Due to the bourgeois boycott of Akahata, it has to be sold 'from house to house' by Party volunteers.

**The Diet consists of the House of Representatives (lower chamber of 491 deputies elected for a term of four years) and the House of Councillors (the upper chamber of 252 deputies elected for six years, with half the deputies re-elected every three years).

***As a rule, the front includes Communists, Socialists and representatives of the trade unions and pacifist and various Left organizations.

as by posing radical and concrete policies for national politics to meet changes in the situation and thereby extending the understanding and support given by the broad people's masses to our Party.

Whether Japan's reality can be transformed or not depends on the expansion of our Party's ranks, which are the driving force for transforming Japan's politics, and on the strengthening of its leading ability and also on the extent of the formation and development of the National Democratic United Front. From this point of view, our Party regards the expansion and consolidation of Party strength and the growth of the National Democratic United Front as inseparable and pursues both of them systematically.

Since the Seventh Party Congress those who held 'Left' and Right opportunist ideology linked with flunkeyism seen in a part of the Party – later on, one after another they have been degraded to Party-subversive elements hostile to the Party – had also opposed the deliberate and conscious expansion of Party strength. They insisted that Party strength spontaneously grows and develops in the development of the mass struggle and opposed conscious efforts to be made for Party strength expansion. All sorts of anti-Party elements are political and theoretical opportunists and, at the same time, opportunists with regard to the Party's organizational and political building. Without fighting against opportunism, our Party would not have been forged nor could it have attained the results of today.

Our Party has also made systematic efforts in Party building for qualitative improvement as well as for quantitative expansion. Without those efforts, the rapid growth and development of Party strength would also have been impossible.

What has assured the success?

Comprehensive annual plan

It was for the first time decided at the Eighth Party Congress in 1961 to work out and fulfil the comprehensive plan for Party strength expansion and ideological-educational activity. Since then it has been put into practice and developed. In that case we put up our targets in figures and carry out our activity to fulfil them planfully. Subsequently our Party constantly developed the contents of the plan at each Party Congress to meet the concrete situation. As for individual aspects of the matter, the development was not smooth, but took a zig-zag way of leap and stagnation. Nevertheless, our Party has made a great development in the period of ten and odd years. This is because our Party has firmly upheld the Party-building line for always making Party bodies and Party organizations work out a plan for Party strength expansion and study-education and fulfil the plan consciously.

Our success is due largely to the fact that we actively built the mass movement and simultaneously pursued constantly the task of Party building as an independent task; namely we have made

efforts to develop this two-pronged process as the fundamental of the Party activity.

For this purpose, whatever struggle-task is taken up, every Party organization is given such a guidance as to consciously pursue and report the following points without fail:

- How far were the masses' political and economic demands pursued and what results were obtained by the particular struggle?

- How far did political consciousness of the masses in workshops, villages and localities grow and how were mass organizations strengthened in the place where the struggle had been fought?

- What happened with Party strength expansion and Party life through the struggle? In other words, what was the increase in the Party membership and the organ's circulation, how much stronger did the unity of the particular branch (the Party's basic organization) become and what was the extent of study by Party members?

By formulating those points, we maintain it as the basic line for the mass struggle and assure planned and conscious pursuit of Party building.

Communist education

The growth of the Party's ideological and theoretical level is one of the most positive characteristics of Party building since the Seventh Party Congress. In order to systematize the educational activity, our Party set up Party schools at the national, prefectural and district levels 10 years ago. For the basic organization, an elementary education system was introduced. It was encouraged for every Party member to voluntarily study and literature was designated for self-study to meet the theoretical level of each Party member. The designated literature is the Party's resolutions and important articles and specific articles of the classical works by Marx, Engels and Lenin.

Besides, a 'Tutor-Qualification Test System'* was introduced and a large number of education-activist cadres have been brought up who work as tutors for Party schools of all grades, tutors for branch study meetings and tutors for the education of newly recruited Party members. In the recent four years, tutor-qualification test was held five times and more than 20-odd thousand qualified tutors were brought up.

The Party's influence among all strata of the people

The political line of the Party is formulated in our Program which takes the line of proceeding to a socialist revolution through the new democratic revolution of the people to oppose the U.S. imperialist and Japanese monopoly capitalist rule and establish a Japan of independence, democracy, peace and neutrality and aims at rallying all national anti-monopoly and progressive forces to a National Democratic United Front for that purpose.

*Every member of the CPJ can qualify for a propagandist. There are three types of tests: primary, medium-level and higher.

We make systematic and planful efforts to build invincible basic organizations in important factories, enterprises and offices which should be strongholds of the Party activity. At the same time, we attach importance to building Party organizations consciously and planfully in enterprises, villages and districts where no organization of our Party exists, that is, to overcoming the so-called blank place (no-party's-land).

Trade union and the Party in every establishment, peasant organizations and the Party in every village – this has been the slogan for our Party building for those several years and is one of our preferential tasks.

Dissemination of the Party newspaper

In Japan, the commercial press has been developed to an extreme extent and in order to positively unfold the entire Party's activity and to firmly tie the Party to every stratum of the people, we also must have our own mighty medium of information. Pointing to the special importance of the mighty press for the revolutionary movement in Japan, our Party strives for the development of the 'Party activity centred on the organ papers.'

The central organ and other Party publications are the Party's propagandist, agitator and organizer, a weapon for every political struggle, economic struggle, ideological struggle, united front activity and every mass struggle and a weapon for building a powerful Party. In short, they are a blood vessel that links the Party Center with the entire Party, a compass which indicates the daily destination of the Party and people and a bond that links the Party with the masses.

From this point of view, our Party makes the activity to increase the circulation of the central organ and other Party publications a permanent important task. And for this purpose we attach importance to the following points: to establish a system to deliver Party organs to subscribers promptly, surely and safely and to collect bills from subscribers, to have ties in all forms with subscribers and for every Party body, Party organization and Party member to actively carry on such activities.

The delivery of *Akahata* is assured by the untiring activity of countless Party activities. And in not a few cases we find even participation of cooperators outside the Party. Such activities are maintained by inconspicuous and yet devoted efforts of countless Party members and Party supporters. This is our Party's pride.

The art of organization

Following were what the Party Center paid its particular attention to: to give guidance to every Party member to make him work actively with revolutionary consciousness; to make our Party display all the potentials it has; for that purpose to establish a method of scientific, rational and militant.*

*The CPJ attaches much importance to scientific and rational methods in its organizational, propaganda and other activities.

For the last ten years, while maintaining the secured guidance to make Party members strengthen the attitude of faithfully fulfilling the Party's decisions, we have established individual and concrete guidance so that each Party organization and each Party member fulfil the general line by concretizing it in accordance with respective conditions, abilities, levels of consciousness and so on. In other words, we have guarded ourselves against our guidance becoming general and uniform and stressed it as the fundamentals of guidance to eliminate perfunctory and administrative guidance into which we are apt to fall and to grasp possibilities concretely, to draw and develop them in accordance with conditions of respective districts, Party organizations and Party members.

Based on our experience, we have systematically made efforts to improve our guidance and activity in the following direction: to make the Party basic organization raise its political and organizing ability and concretize and realize the Party Program and decisions self-reliantly and, for that purpose, to make every Party basic organization have its own policy and plan and to enable all Party members to share their tasks and to consciously carry out their organizing and planful activities.

A series of documents regarding the improvement of the organizing activities which were approved by the Sixth Plenum of the Central Committee of the Eleventh Congress at the end of last year are the concretization of the Leninist principles on the Party activity in accordance with Japan's present condition and the characteristics of today's stage of our Party's development and are the line to establish a lawful Party activity system on the basis of Party basic organizations. This line is a very concrete guiding line to improve the Party activity. It takes a general form of the 'For the improvement of the party activity' and at the same time, such a form of 'Handbook' for the Party member's activities as 'For the advance of the activity of the Party organization in the establishment,' 'For renovation of the Party's organizing activity to meet the changing situation in the village,' 'The activity of the Party organization and Party member in the residential quarters' and 'The activity of such Party members as housewives, aged people, the needy and sick people who have special difficulties.' Those 'Handbooks' aim at correctly drawing out each Party member's activity-ability, and at establishing a Party style with both genuine heroism and proletarian humanism by linking that ability with the advanced Party member's heroic, self-sacrificing activity tested in hardship. In our Party's 'Grand move for Party advances in commemoration of the 50th anniversary of the Party's founding,' the most rapid advance in the Party history was obtained by increasing the circulation of *Daily Akahata* and *Sunday Akahata* by over five hundred thousand copies in only two months. This result is connected with both the entire Party's enthusiasm for proudly greeting the 50th anniversary of the Party's founding and the improvement of the Party activity based on those 'Handbooks.'

Under Japan's concrete conditions of today, it is of important

significance for transformation of Japan to have a powerful Diet-member group and local assemblyman groups. For this purpose, too, it is important not to reduce the election campaign to a narrow hunting after votes but to carry out in advance political propaganda among broad sections of the people, to increase the Party's polling score on the basis of Party strength expansion and to develop the expansion of the Party's influence in the election campaign into the increase of the Party membership and organ's circulation. We are making efforts to maintain the two-pronged process even during the election campaign.

Observance of the Party constitution

This is what the greatest importance has been consistently attached to by our Party since the Seventh Party Congress as the lesson drawn from the bitter experience of the Party split for several years since 1950. In our Party a practice has been established that all of the Central Committee, local Party bodies and basic organizations strictly observe the Party Constitution to hold their meetings regularly, to decide their lines collectively and to develop their activities by examining the results of their practice. This might be regarded as quite natural for a Marxist-Leninist Party, but has to be carried out by constant, conscious efforts. Conscious operation and activity of the Party based on the Constitution are the basic condition for the Party unity and unity is really the basis for the development of the Party.

Our Party's organizational policy, which can be summed up in a few characteristics mentioned above, is the lesson drawn from the experience of the activities for ten-odd years.

In view of our Party's historic mission it is by no means permissible to be complacent with the attained results. As pointed out by the 11th Party Congress decision, what is now demanded from the entire Party is to build a Party that can meet the new historical stage, that is, to build a Party which has the strength to resolutely fulfil, under any turbulent situation, the historical cause imposed on the 1970s, the cause to form a united front for peace and neutrality, to rally the support of the majority of the people to the side of the united front and to establish a democratic coalition government together with the people's masses. For that purpose, while developing the hitherto gained results of Party building the entire Party should make further advance by boldly breaking down mannerism that lacks creativeness and original ideas.

Putting up the above-mentioned aims, the 11th Party Congress decision raises the following concrete tasks:

- to attain literally the Party membership of several hundred thousands and the organ's circulation of several millions and to form living, organic ties between the Party and millions and tens of millions of people by building invincible Party organizations among the workers, peasants and other strata of the people.

– to have a group of scores of Party Diet-members in the Diet, and to have a group of Party assemblymen in every local self-governing body and thereby to raise the Party's voice by leaps and bounds in both national and local politics.

– to raise the entire Party's theoretical political level and to make Party bodies at all levels and basic organizations acquire the ability to play the leading role as the Party in all sorts of political problems and mass struggles so that each Party member can make the best of the scientific socialist theory and our Party's Program, decisions and policies as the guiding line for his activity.

– to establish the Party style fully of the spirit of proletarian heroism and proletarian humanism over every field of Party life and Party activity so as to enjoy the confidence of the broad people in morality in both social life and political life.

Those tasks raised as our Party's immediate tasks in Party building are the proper tasks necessary for concretizing the immediate political task to establish a democratic coalition government based on the united front of the democratic forces in a possible not belated time of the 1970s while firmly upholding the basic line indicated by the Program. The obtained results based on annual plans from the 11th Party Congress to date convince us that it is possible for our Party to fulfil the task put forth by the 11th Congress. Naturally the fulfilment of this task is not easy. The Seventh Plenum of the Central Committee held last July brought forward to the entire Party that with the historical 50th anniversary of the Party's founding as a new starting point the targets of the annual plan for Party strength expansion and the ideological-educational activity, which the Party itself set up to fulfil by the 12th Party Congress scheduled next year, should be basically fulfilled within this year. Steps have been outlined to carry out successfully and comprehensively all of the activity for a great advance, the immediate mass struggle and the activity for Party strength expansion and gave necessary instructions for that purpose.

Now, the entire Party is taking up these tasks with fresh determination.

Pre-scheduled parliamentary elections to the Chamber of Representatives were held in Japan in December 1972. More than 10 per cent of the voters cast their ballots for the Communist Party. Communist seats in the Lower Chamber increased from 14 to 38. Under the rules of procedure Communists now may submit bills to Parliament which adds to the Party's resources in the fight for the workers' interests.



All that glitters is not gold

Ezekias Papaioannou,
General Secretary, Progressive
Party of Working People of
Cyprus (AKEL)

Of late imperialism has been spreading petty-bourgeois ideas about revolutionary tactics as a tool in its fight against the worker and national-liberation movement in our and many other countries. 'Theoreticians' like Marcuse have been straining to prove that in our epoch of rapid scientific and technological advance the working class has ceased to play a decisive revolutionary role, which, it is alleged, now belongs to the students and intellectuals. This petty-bourgeois view is utterly false, and its aim is becoming increasingly clear; either to paralyze working-class action or to provoke extremist adventures to expose the working class to the attacks of its class enemies.

Undoubtedly, science and technology play and will continue to play an increasingly important part in the life of society. This is a law of the progress of civilization. But civilization is advanced by the working class, which, better than any other class is capable of utilizing the achievements of science and technology for the good of man.

Life itself refutes the concoctions of Marcuse and the like. In any developed capitalist country a strike by even a section of the workers in protest against unbearable living conditions is sufficient to drive home the fact that in the age of the scientific and technological revolution it is precisely the working people who play the decisive role in the sphere of material production and in the life of society as a whole.

Of course, electronics and other modern techniques require highly skilled manpower. But this is added proof that as science and technology progress and the workers acquire new knowledge the role of the working class increases.

Pseudo-revolutionaries of the age of scientific and technological revolution accuse the working class and its party of losing its revolutionary fervor. Marxist-Leninist parties are attacked for allegedly betraying their historical mission, for allegedly failing to launch a resolute struggle and being content with moderate demands and setting the masses limited objectives.

What would our critics have us do? Their purpose is to provoke

the working class and its party to embark on extremist tactics and thus create a pretext for striking a blow against the working class.

There are many examples of the imperialists, the fiercest and most implacable enemies of the working class, encouraging and actually organizing extremist actions. Why? Because it is to their advantage, because it would facilitate their fight against the working class and its party.

When the party rejects extremist tactics Communists are accused of conservatism in the hope of isolating them from the masses. But the working class is revolutionary by its very nature and is fully capable of distinguishing between the genuine revolutionary and the pseudo-revolutionary spirit; it is fully aware that all that glitters is not gold.

At the same time, one should not belittle the dangers of extremism. There are examples, especially in countries where the working-class party is still weak, of the imperialists succeeding in exploiting such situations for their own ends.

Timely formulation of workers' demands and correct tactics in the struggle for the interests of the working class disarm the demagogues and pseudo-revolutionaries trying to fish in muddy waters. The party and the working class can best protect themselves from petty-bourgeois and pseudo-revolutionary theories and tactics by enhancing the ideological and theoretical standards of all Communists and the Party activists, by extensive mass ideological work.

The working class has always been, and will continue to be, the most consistently revolutionary class.

Weapon of victory

Tim Buck

Chairman, CP of Canada

Under the impression of the celebrations of the 50th anniversary of the Soviet Union, I mentally recall the past and the great lessons of history.

As my comrades from Communist and Workers' parties of different countries correctly note in their replies to the WMR questionnaire, after the October Revolution the working class all round the world anxiously followed the fate of the young Soviet state. Capitalists predicted its demise and spared no effort to overthrow the Soviet government. Winston Churchill called for joint imperialist action 'to smash the Bolshevik eggs in their Russian nest before broods of Bolshevik chickens were hatched all over the world.' His call was widely supported by the capitalist propaganda machine.

The hardships endured by the workers and peasants of Russia were compounded by the dislocation of the national economy. However, our celebrations of every new anniversary of the October Revolution were invariably marked with profound relief as we saw the defeats inflicted upon the armed forces of imperialist interventionists and their lackeys, that the calls of Churchill and his ilk were in vain, and that the Soviet economy was picking up strength with each passing year.

Today we can confidently say that the people's heroic exploit was made possible thanks to Lenin's ideas and Lenin's leadership. World developments testified to the correctness of Lenin's leadership throughout the Great October Revolution and in charting the course for the revolutionary state of which he was the founder.

Few of us were able at the time to explain clearly and correctly the fundamental change that the Great October Revolution had made in the relation of forces which shape world history. The inadequacy of our study of Lenin's work and his teachings weakened our application of Leninism in our day-to-day activities. Because we had not mastered Leninism, our efforts to unite the working class of our respective countries in systematic struggle against imperialist reaction fell short.

In Canada and in all too many other capitalist countries, the period after the October Revolution saw frantic attempts by the capitalist governments to destroy the Communist Party by brutal persecution. The fight was long and bitter. But in the majority of capitalist countries the Communist and Workers' parties survived the attempts to destroy them. This was possible because, inspired by Lenin's advice, they found ways and means by which to maintain and strengthen their living contact with the proletariat.

Leninism is the weapon of victory, and he who wants to win must master it to perfection.

Uniting scientific socialism with social activity of working people

That was the heading of the report of an international research group published in the May 1972 issue of WMR.

We have received a letter from V. Savenko, instructor at the Medical Institute in Saratov, USSR. He writes: 'You arranged an interesting discussion on the problem of uniting socialism with the social activity of the working people. But there is the "reverse side of the medal": the continuous spontaneous penetration of bourgeois consciousness, to which Lenin pointed in his **What Is To Be Done?**

'But much has changed since then. Now bourgeois ideology is in-

culcated in the proletariat of capitalist countries not only as the result of a spontaneous process. For the bourgeoisie realizes that spontaneity is not enough. And it has built, and is perfecting, a ramified mechanism for exerting its influence on the masses.

'That aspect, I think, requires closer examination, all the more so that you mention the difficulties encountered in disseminating Marxism-Leninism in capitalist countries (see WMR No. 5, 1972, p. 5).

'It would be useful to have more information on how the ruling classes in the capitalist world combine spontaneous and conscious factors in assuring domination of bourgeois ideology and what are the "internal impulses" countervailing the process.'

Idris Cox (CP Great Britain), member of the journal's Editorial Board, replies.

Our reader justly draws attention to the need for a deeper analysis of how bourgeois consciousness penetrates the labor movement. But first I would like to deal with another important aspect.

In his *What Is To Be Done?*, Lenin notes that 'spontaneous development of the working-class movement leads to its subordination to bourgeois ideology.' The reason for that, in particular, is that 'bourgeois ideology is far older in origin than socialist ideology, that it is more fully developed, and that it has at its disposal immeasurably more means of dissemination' (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 5, pp. 384, 386). In a society economically and politically dominated by the capitalist class, the ideology of that class is continuously reproduced, 'revived' in diverse forms and imposed on the worker. Even in those days, the capitalists did not rely on spontaneous penetration of bourgeois consciousness. In present-day conditions the bourgeoisie is making a greater effort to direct and control this process and to strengthen the role of the conscious, subjective factor. That is so because after the victory of the October Revolution, and later, with socialism becoming a world system, another ideology, the socialist, rose to a dominant position alongside bourgeois ideology, and is exerting a steadily increasing influence.

To reveal the specific way in which bourgeois consciousness penetrates the masses, we have to analyze every stage of the process. And first, how the bourgeoisie assures elaboration of the ideas it needs, the apparatus and channels through which bourgeois ideology is imposed, the methods the ruling class employs to keep the workers' consciousness within the framework of reformist demands and steer it away from the ideology of scientific socialism.

Capitalism could not exist unless its bourgeois ideology was able to penetrate the masses. Of course, the mechanism of penetration changes as concrete historical conditions change. The British ruling class, before the growth of Marxism, relied mainly on the 'spontaneous' acceptance of its ideology. There was a degree of conscious direction even in the early 19th century, for in the 1830-1840s it was confronted with the growth of Chartism, which was influenced to some extent by socialist ideas. British capitalism at that time had been developing for 200 years, and its ruling class

had worked out subtle ideological and other methods handed down from one generation to another, to maintain its power. With the growth of imperialism at the turn of the century, somewhat earlier in Britain than elsewhere, it was able to create the illusion that the expansion of empire was in the interests of the British workers. In his classic essay on 'Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism' Lenin laid great stress on the ability of British imperialism to bribe and corrupt 'a considerable minority' of the higher-paid workers, the 'labor aristocracy,' out of superprofits coming from the colonies. This influenced the growth of reformism within the Labor movement.

At that time British capitalism could afford to allow universities and other idea-producing centers independently, in a sense even spontaneously, to develop new ideas, but within the framework of bourgeois ideology. But at the turn of the century, the universities came under stricter state intervention and were more dependent on big business and finance capital, and on the large sums of money donated by monopoly firms. Today, this trend of integrating the big monopoly firms with the control of the universities is more evident than ever.

On the other hand, a growing number of students are rejecting the concepts of bourgeois ideology, and even among the staff of the universities there is growing pressure upon the authorities for more attention to studying the concepts of socialism. In the official National Union of Students (to which nearly all students belong) Communists and other progressive forces are in the leadership. Together with striving to change the ideological aims of the universities it has openly declared for solidarity action with the workers.

We have discussed, in this journal (May 1972, p. 5), problems facing Communists in the FRG in raising workers' class consciousness. In Britain, the past two years have witnessed a rapid growth of class consciousness, expressed in more strikes and demonstrations. These have not been confined to one industry or trade union, but have grown into united class battles against the Tory Government and its reactionary legislation. The workers are class conscious in relation to their economic demands, but *still need to develop the conscious recognition of the need to change the social system.*

Lenin always emphasized that the growth of socialist consciousness was not a spontaneous process developing out of economic struggle. But economic struggles do provide a more favorable political climate for the advancement of Marxist-Leninist ideas.

The British Communists are striving to influence the ideology of the workers in favor of a socialist solution, and to win recruits for the Communist Party — which is being achieved on a growing scale.

The bourgeoisie in Britain and other capitalist countries are constantly expanding and 'modernizing' their ideological apparatus to

prevent the growth of socialist consciousness. They own and control the newspapers in Britain – except the Communist *Morning Star*.

The main channels of bourgeois ideology to influence the masses are not only the press, radio, and television but also the schools and universities, the pulpit, public lectures, films, and plays. Every day they pour out lies and distortions about socialism and the aims and policy of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries.

The methods of ideological influence are becoming more flexible, subtle, and sophisticated, giving the impression of being more open-minded, but in reality presenting false pictures of socialism to contrast with the false 'values' of bourgeois society. Despite its exclusion from radio and television, the British Communist Party is actively combating the anti-Soviet and anti-socialist campaigns of the bourgeoisie through the daily columns of the *Morning Star* and its various journals, mass meetings, conferences, schools, and its daily activities among the masses.

The fact that bourgeois ideology is now far more consciously-directed is a tribute to the growth of socialist ideology on a world scale, which is being vastly enriched by socialist advances in every sphere. Socialist ideology is no longer inferior to bourgeois ideology in terms of thoroughness and elaboration (as in Lenin's time), but is far superior. The powerful moral impact of socialist reality and its successful development on ideology within the capitalist countries has a stimulating effect on the struggle against capitalism and to achieve socialism. The fight to defend the existing socialist world is bound up with the revolutionary aims of the workers' movement in the capitalist world, which is one common struggle.

In a country like Britain, still the center of a vast imperialist system, the process of combating bourgeois ideology will be a prolonged one. However, with the advances in the socialist world, the growing movement of national liberation, and the rising class battles in capitalist countries, the prospects are better than ever before.

Idris Cox

WMR welcomes readers' views on the problems raised by Comrades Savenko and Cox. What changes are taking place in the process of imposing bourgeois ideology? How is it being elaborated, inculcated and consolidated? How do the Communists counter the influence of the monopoly-controlled mass media? What role does bourgeois ideological influence play in maintaining monopoly domination?

An exchange of propaganda experience, we believe, will make the fraternal parties' fight against bourgeois ideology more effective.



The working class in socialist countries

A review prepared by research workers of the Institute of Economics of the Socialist World System, USSR Academy of Sciences.

The leading force of society

The growth of the working class is a characteristic feature of the social changes in the socialist countries. It has more than doubled in the last two decades, and in 1970 there were more than 110 million industrial workers out of a total work force of almost 190 millions. Between 1950 and 1971, employment figures for industrial and office workers registered the following increases: 3.6-fold in Bulgaria,* 2.3-fold in Hungary,* 32 per cent in GDR, 3.3-fold in Mongolia, twofold in Poland, 2.5-fold in Rumania, 2.3-fold in the Soviet Union, 81 per cent in Czechoslovakia. In Yugoslavia, the work force increased 2.1-fold between 1953 and 1970; in Cuba it increased by 16 per cent between 1960 and 1970; and China had some six or seven times more wage and salary earners in 1970 than in 1949.

In many socialist countries the proportion of the working class in the population has increased considerably. Thus, in the Soviet Union industrial workers (together with their families) accounted for only 12 per cent of the population in 1928, for 33.5 per cent in 1939, for 49.5 per cent in 1959, and for 59.8 per cent in 1972. In 1970, blue-collar workers accounted for half of all working people in the CMEA countries as a whole, with the highest proportion in the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia, the GDR, and Hungary (from $\frac{3}{5}$ to $\frac{1}{2}$ the total). Altogether, there were 125 million industrial and office workers in the CMEA countries, i.e., more than 76 per cent of all working people, and in 1971 there were 128.5 million. The following table shows how the proportion of industrial and office workers in relation to the total number of working people changed in some socialist countries (per cent):

*In the state and cooperative sectors.

	1950	1960	1970
Bulgaria	29.9	44.8	66.2
Hungary	43.9	61.3	72.3
GDR	—	81.0	84.5
China ¹	approx. 2 ²	—	approx. 10
Mongolia ³	—	46.5 ⁴	56.4 ⁵
Poland	49.2	58.8	62.3
Rumania	25.3	34.0	51.7
USSR	50.8	65.8	80.5 ⁶
Czechoslovakia	61.4	77.5	83.9

1. Estimate. 2. 1949. 3. Percentage of total population (including families. Census data). 4. 1963. 5. 1969. 6. 1971.

Virtually all blue-collar and white-collar workers in the socialist countries are employed in the socialist sector, and, in fact, in most of them there is no private employment. Thus, in the socialist countries, with socialist ownership of the means of production and a planned economy, the workers have become a class free of exploitation.

The working class is the main social base of the Marxist-Leninist parties in the socialist countries. The CPSU membership included 2.3 million industrial workers in 1953, 4.7 million in 1966, and 5.8 million in 1971. Almost every tenth Soviet worker is a member of the Party. In 1971, workers accounted for 40.1 per cent of the membership of the Bulgarian CP and of the Polish United Workers' Party; 56.6 per cent of the SUPG; the Rumanian CP, 43.6 per cent in 1969. In Hungary, 70 per cent of the Party membership are workers or of working-class stock. The percentage of workers in the membership of most of the ruling parties of the socialist countries is increasing. Thus, more than half the new CPSU members who joined between the 23rd and 24th Congresses were workers, and in big industrial centers the percentage was as high as 60 or 70. In Hungary, 46 per cent of the new members since the 10th Party Congress are workers. In Poland, 56 per cent of those who joined in 1971 were workers. The percentage of workers in the executive bodies of the SUPG in 1971 was 51.9. In the PUWP workers accounted for 43 per cent of the members of provincial Party committees. In Rumania, 81 per cent of the members of district and city Party committees are industrial workers, foremen, technicians. Of the delegates attending the 24th CPSU Congress, some 1,200 were workers, and in 1971, 423,000 workers were elected to local Party committees and bureaus.

Of the 1,500 deputies of the USSR Supreme Soviet 481 are workers. Of the 352 deputies of the State Assembly of Hungary 140 are workers or from working-class families. Of the 500 deputies of

the GDR Volkskammer 266 come from working-class families, and 30 per cent are skilled workers. In Czechoslovakia, some 100,000 workers, 47.1 per cent of the total, are deputies of National Committees of all levels. Many Party functionaries and civil servants,* industrial executives, scientists and cultural workers come from the working class.

Almost all wage and salary earners are trade union members – in Bulgaria 95.5 per cent in 1969 and 1970, 95 per cent in Hungary, 91 per cent in the GDR, 90 per cent in Poland, 91.5 per cent in Rumania, 92.5 per cent in Czechoslovakia.

New social structure

In the socialist countries the working class is concentrating on accelerating the scientific and technological revolution, utilizing its achievements, and enhancing the effectiveness of social production. Fundamental changes in the economy are reflected in the industrial, professional and skill structure of the working class.

As a rule, industrialization initially entails the growth of the share of material production with relation to the total work force. The rapid increase in the numbers of workers engaged in industry and construction absorbs the outflow from agriculture. The rising labor productivity generated by scientific and technological progress produces a new trend: the reduction of the proportion engaged in material production and increase of the proportion in the non-material production sphere (education, science, culture, health, etc.). The development of these tendencies and shift from one to the other in different countries is seen in the tables, on the following page, showing the breakdown of industrial and office workers according to sectors of the economy (per cent).

At the same time, progressive changes are taking place in the structure of the working class itself. Industrial workers constitute its main detachment. Between 1951 and 1971, the number of workers in industry increased 3.3 times in Bulgaria, 2.5 times in Hungary, 1.6 times in the GDR, twice in Mongolia, 2.1 times in Poland and the USSR, 2.7 times in Rumania, and 1.4 times in Czechoslovakia. In many socialist countries from one-half to more than four-fifths of the industrial workers are engaged at enterprises employing more than 1,000 workers.

*As noted at the 24th CPSU Congress, in the Soviet Union more than 80 per cent of the secretaries of the CCs of the Union Republics and of territorial and regional Party committees, chairmen of Republican Councils of Ministers and Territorial and Regional Soviets, and some 70 per cent of the ministers and state committee chairmen of the USSR began their careers as workers or peasants.

Industrial and office workers according to sectors of economy (%)

	Bulgaria			Hungary			G D R			Mongolia		
	1950	1960	1970	1950	1960	1970	1950	1960	1970	1950	1960	1970
Material production	74.5	78.0	78.5	81.1	83.1	83.9	78.0	80.6	76.8	65.2	71.8	61.7
of which:												
Industry	44.5	43.4	42.0	42.4	46.0	47.5	50.3	45.1	43.0	37.7	24.4	23.0
Building	8.0	9.1	11.1	10.5	7.8	9.4	3.9	5.8	7.6	2.7	13.3	7.7
Agriculture	4.6	8.3	9.9	9.3	9.4	7.2	3.6	6.3	4.5	12.4	14.1	9.7
Transport	6.8	8.1	7.1	11.1	10.5	9.0	12.2	10.0	9.5	4.5	9.8	9.0
Trade	10.6	9.1	8.4	7.8	9.4	10.8	8.0	13.4	12.3	8.0	10.2	12.3
Sphere of non-material production	25.5	22.0	21.5	18.9	16.9	16.1	22.0	19.4	23.2	34.7	28.2	38.3

	Poland			Rumania			U S S R			Czechoslovakia		
	1950	1960	1970	1950	1960	1970	1950	1960	1970	1950	1960	1970
Material production	77.0	76.6	75.9	72.1	76.7	78.5	73.0	75.3	72.5	78.8	78.5	74.6
of which:												
Industry	40.7	42.1	42.2	38.4	38.6	40.4	37.9	36.5	35.0	44.7	46.3	42.7
Building	10.5	11.2	10.4	8.2	11.4	13.4	8.1	10.2	10.0	9.4	10.3	9.7
Agriculture	7.5	5.5	5.9	10.3	9.6	8.6	8.5	10.9	10.2	7.2	6.1	5.7
Transport	8.2	7.7	8.3	7.1	7.2	7.7	10.2	10.2	8.9	6.5	6.0	6.0
Trade	10.1	10.1	9.1	8.1	9.9	8.4	8.3	7.5	8.4	11.0	9.8	10.5
Sphere of non-material production	23.0	23.4	24.1	27.9	23.3	21.5	27.0	24.7	27.5	21.2	21.5	25.4

Here is how the work force in the industries responsible for technological progress has changed over the years (per cent):

Country	Year	Total	of which:			
			Power	Chemical	Engineering and metal-working	Metallurgy
Bulgaria	1952	100	100	100	100	100
	1960	211.5	185	211	238.3	351.1
	1970	309.3	264	495	469.4	590.9
Hungary	1950	100	100	100	100	100
	1960	210.9	225.4	245.9	202.6	168.3
	1970	268.0	200.0	361.6	271.8	194.8
Poland	1960	100	100	100	100	100
	1970	133.9	136.1	148.7	160.8	134.9
Rumania	1960	100	100	100	100	100
	1970	106.9	258.9	167.2	194.3	158.5
USSR	1950	100	100	100	100	100
	1960	154.5	244.3	182.5	170.1	146.4
	1970	209.6	360.3	356.0	274.4	187.2
Czecho- slovakia	1955	100	100	100	100	100
	1960	118.9	108.7	127.7	124.2	122.0
	1970	132.0	126.0	170.0	128.4	123.8

In the Soviet Union, in 1928, people with a specialized secondary or higher education accounted for 4.5 per cent of the industrial and office workers, for 7 per cent in 1940, and for 18.7 in 1970. In 1959, there were 396 persons with a higher or secondary (including incomplete) education per thousand workers; in 1972 there were 640. In the last 20 years the number of skilled workers has doubled in Hungary and almost quadrupled in Bulgaria; in Poland their numbers increased 2.4-fold between 1965 and 1970.

Progress in production and in living standards

The material and technological base of social production is constantly improving. Thus, per-worker fixed assets in the national economy were (1970 as a percentage of 1950) 489 in Bulgaria, 218 in Hungary, 220 in the GDR, 164 in Poland, 373 in Rumania, 466 in the USSR, and 199 in Czechoslovakia. Per-worker power supply in industry was (1970 to 1960) 318 in Bulgaria, 159 in Hungary, 177 in the GDR, 164 in Poland (the socialist sector), 251 in Rumania, 175 in the USSR, and 164 in Czechoslovakia.

Increased mechanization, better organization, higher skills and more effective moral and material incentives combine to substan-

tially increase labor productivity. Here is how it has been growing in some countries (1950 = 100):

	1960	1965	1970
Bulgaria	190	264	367
Hungary	148	187	222
GDR (1955 = 100)	140	184	243
Poland	224	287	367
Rumania	237	343	488
USSR	204	256	338
Czechoslovakia	200	238	309

As the socialist economy grows stronger the more direct the connection between industrial development and the improvement of living standards. Here is how real wages of industrial and office workers increased in several countries between 1956 and 1970 (per cent).

Bulgaria	193
Hungary	190
GDR	191
Poland	153
Rumania	216
Czechoslovakia	157

In the USSR the real incomes per wage or salary earner increased threefold from 1940 to 1971, and 41 per cent between 1961 and 1970.

In many socialist countries the share of income derived from social consumption funds (which are used to finance a number of requirements in whole or in part) amounts to one-fifth, one-fourth or more of the total income of the population.

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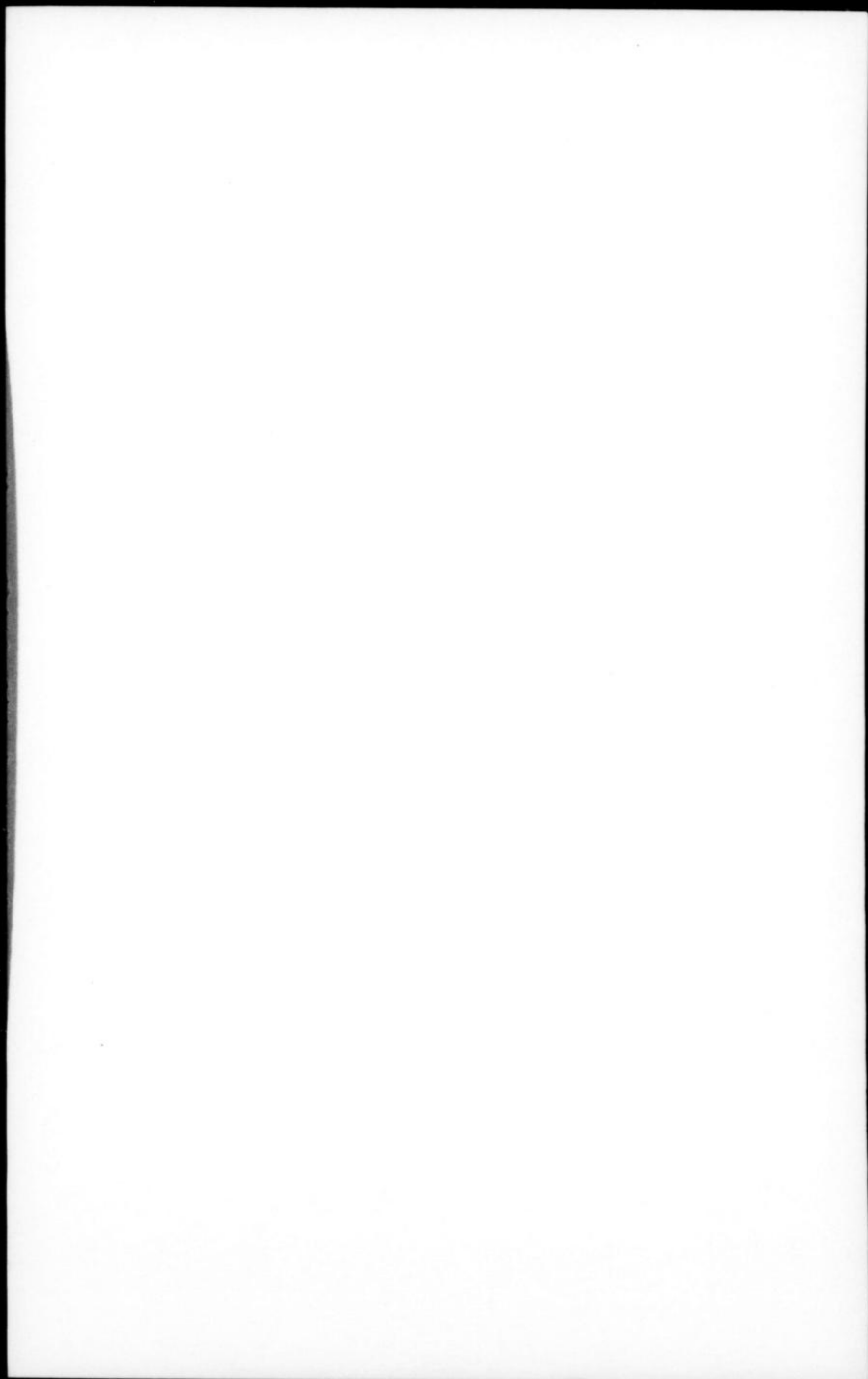
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1973

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