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Problems of

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Peace and Socialism

REVIEW

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**Panama—
her road**

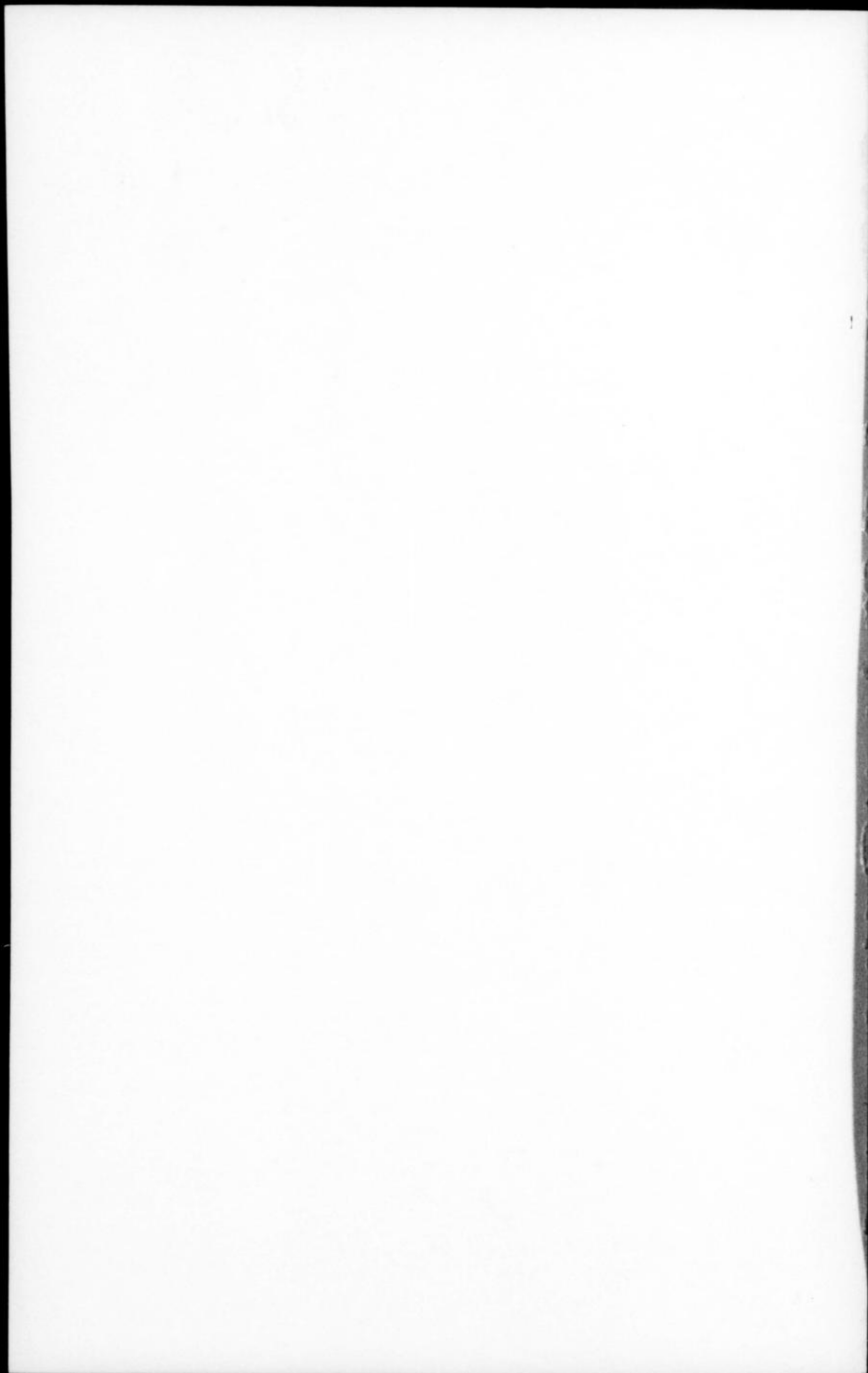
**Contradictions
under socialism**

**'Materialism and
Empirio-criticism'**

**Zionist deception of
Jewish masses**

**L. American priests
in revolt**

**Data on
wage labor**





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Workers' Parties

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Victory for the peoples, defeat for imperialism

The historic victory of the Vietnamese people is a triumph for the forces of peace, socialism and the national liberation and democratic movement.

The U.S. war machine, the most powerful in the imperialist world, could not break the will of a people risen to decisive struggle for the right to shape its own destiny. The Democratic Republic of Vietnam, the first socialist state in Southeast Asia, and the South Vietnam liberation forces have administered a fitting rebuff to the aggressors and their hirelings.

Vietnam withstood all the ordeals and won. And this despite the use against it of mass destruction weapons on a scale and concentration unknown in the whole history of wars. U.S. planes dropped more than 7,000,000 tons of bombs on Vietnam. Systematically and methodically they tried to destroy towns and villages, dams and dikes, railways and bridges, schools and hospitals. In the South, the U.S. militarists made wide use of the most insidious weapons—poison gas and chemicals, biological weapons, defoliants, napalm, pellet bombs. The U.S. imperialist aggression against a sovereign socialist state and the forces of national liberation developed into a war of annihilation in which no mercy was shown to women, children and old people.

The American people also paid a high price for the U.S. military invasion. More than 2,500,000 Americans, according to official U.S. data, were thrown into this Vietnam holocaust, and more than 55,000 were killed in the fields and skies of Vietnam.

The blood shed in this dirty war is a damning indictment of imperialism. Nothing will ever mitigate the guilt of the American militarists, the monopolists and politicians responsible for the imperialist barbarity in Indochina. And never will there be any justification for the aggressors who, even on the threshold of peace, subjected the DRV to air bombings on an unparalleled scale. The conscience of mankind revolts against the social and political system that breeds such cruelty.

Wrath and indignation—such are the feelings imperialism has earned itself by its criminal war. But world opinion will not con-

fine itself to emotional condemnation of America's defeated aggression. The end of the war prompts one to analyze anew all the events connected with it and the general trends of our time. Very serious conclusions follow from the victory of the Vietnamese people, from the collapse of the imperialist intervention.

The most important lesson of the Vietnamese war is that it has powerfully reaffirmed that, with the international support of the forces of socialism and progress, a people fighting with self-sacrifice in defense of its national rights and social gains against imperialist encroachments – such a people is invincible.

The courage, fortitude and heroism of the Vietnamese are rooted in their profound patriotism and in their clear understanding of the aims of the liberation struggle. This factor is of immense political and psychological significance; it is a weapon which the aggressor, for all the wealth of his arsenal, could neither match nor destroy.

It was the Vietnam Party of the Working People and the South Vietnam National Liberation Front that made possible the unity of the people against the imperialist intervention. The Communist and Workers' Parties today pay homage to their able ideological and political leadership and organization of mass heroism at the front and in the rear, to their far-seeing home and foreign policy, their consistent military, political and diplomatic actions in defense not only of the Vietnamese people's national rights, but also in defense of the interests of all the forces of peace, democracy and social progress.

Led by the Party of the Working People reared by Ho Chi Minh, that great patriot and internationalist, the Democratic Republic of Vietnam withstood with honor all the grim trials of the war. In this socialist republic heroism was truly universal. And its resistance to the aggressor demonstrated anew that socialism forges the indestructible unity of the people, enabling it successfully to repulse the frenzied attacks of imperialist reaction.

Significant success has been achieved in the liberation struggle of the South Vietnamese patriots. The National Liberation Front and the Provisional Revolutionary Government formed at the height of the struggle have now become an influential, universally recognized political force in South Vietnam. U.S. imperialism and the Saigon clique are compelled to reckon with it as a factor exercising a real and tangible influence on the country's future.

Another lesson of the war is that it reaffirmed the enormous significance of the international unity and solidarity of all the anti-imperialist forces.

The history of the heroic resistance to aggression by the people of Vietnam is at the same time part of the history of the great internationalist aid rendered by the states and peoples of the socialist system. Their moral, political, economic and military aid was a direct contribution to the victory over the imperialist intervention in Southeast Asia. The states of the socialist community, their Communist parties, have always regarded support for the fraternal Vietnamese people and the elimination of the aggression and seat

of war in Indochina as one of the central objectives of their foreign policy. The victory in Vietnam is an important international success for the Soviet Union and the entire socialist system.

During the long years of the war people of different views and convictions joined the worldwide movement of solidarity with fighting Vietnam. They were united by a common urge to end the imperialist piracy and violation of the principles of national freedom. The banner of the movement was inscribed with these simple words, cherished by every decent person — peace, freedom, social progress.

By their consistent solidarity with the courageous Vietnamese, the anti-imperialist, democratic and peace-loving forces contributed to an atmosphere of deep international isolation of the aggressor. Washington's representative appended his signature to the cease-fire agreement in a situation in which even the governments of a number of bourgeois countries, mindful of world public opinion, were obliged unambiguously to condemn U.S. policy in Indochina.

In the United States itself, the wave of protest against the war led to the emergence of one of the biggest mass political movements in American history. The pressure it exerted on the ruling imperialist circles played an important part in the world-wide struggle to halt the U.S. aggression.

The Communist and Workers' parties have throughout been the vanguard force of the movement for solidarity with Vietnam. True to the principles of proletarian internationalism, they made the Vietnamese heroic struggle their own vital cause. The 1969 International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties issued a call that mobilized people of good will throughout the world — 'Independence, Freedom and Peace for Vietnam!' This fervent appeal powered a new upsurge of the anti-imperialist movement. The demands it listed became a program of action for the worldwide democratic front against the U.S. aggression. The Communist and Workers' parties have every right to consider themselves active participants in this victory over imperialism in Vietnam.

Events have fully confirmed the correctness of the conclusion drawn by the 1969 Meeting: 'The stronger the unity and solidarity of the internationalist Communist movement and all other anti-imperialist forces in the struggle against the common enemy, imperialism, the greater will be their successes.' The triumph in Vietnam of the forces of socialism and national independence convincingly demonstrates that the mass movement against imperialism grows in strength and scope and that its results become more effective the more resolutely the Communist and Workers' parties lead the struggle against the imperialist policy of diktat and aggression.

The incontrovertible lesson of the Vietnam war is that it revealed the futility of imperialist attempts to resolve international issues from positions of strength.

The Vietnam epic is an important component part of the global confrontation of socialism and imperialism. Its outcome is evidence of the fundamental change in the international alignment of forces

and vivid confirmation of the tremendous strengthening of socialism, the international working class, the national-liberation movement and the forces of peace. The end of the war is an important step towards wider acceptance of peaceful coexistence of states with differing social systems, a success for the socialist countries' peace offensive, and a clear manifestation of realism and reasonableness in international affairs. It accords with the tendency towards détente and opens new opportunities for the international normalization and consolidation of world peace.

The U.S. failed to attain any of its objectives in Vietnam. None of the military, economic or political means it employed proved effective. The strategy of escalation, the 'Vietnamization' policy, the savage plan of Asians exterminating Asians, have all ended in complete failure. Towards the end of the war the organizers of the imperialist aggression were compelled to speak publicly of 'peace with honor' and 'face-saving.' None other than President Nixon admitted on the eve of the signing of the Paris agreement that it was high time 'to give up the old, ineffective policy.' Time will show whether the U.S. will match these words with deeds.

The outcome of the Thirty-Year War of the 20th century, successively waged by the military-colonialist elements of Japan, France and the United States, will go down in history as a profound defeat of world reaction. A powerful blow has been struck in Vietnam not only against the international positions of the United States, but against imperialism as a whole.

The events that comprise the history of the Vietnam war yield yet another lesson the peoples should never forget. The world was witness to the perfidy of the U.S. imperialists in the final phase of the war, to their readiness to launch fresh aggression even when a peace settlement had been agreed upon in principle. It is naive to assume, if only in the light of that recent experience, that, having suffered and admitted defeat, imperialism will completely abandon its main aims and the dangerous methods it chooses to achieve them.

In this war the U.S. imperialists could not crush a socialist outpost in Asia or block the Indochina peoples' path to freedom and social progress. Nor could they suppress the revolutionary national-liberation movement. Their plans to destroy the world anti-imperialist front and change the balance of forces in their favor likewise ended in failure. But imperialism has no intention of fully renouncing its military-political plans in Southeast Asia. The very first weeks after the peace agreement indicate that imperialist policy still associates far-reaching aims with the reactionary Saigon dictatorship. The U.S. is maintaining its air bases in Thailand and its fleet off the shores of Vietnam in a state of combat readiness.

That being so, the peoples of Indochina and the anti-imperialist forces everywhere consider it their task to launch a persistent struggle for implementation of the Paris agreements to prevent new aggressive imperialist actions. The peoples want to see Vietnam living in peace and prosperity. They welcome the favorable

opportunities for re-uniting the country in peace and democracy. The socialist countries, the Communist and Workers' parties, now as during the war, see their international duty in maximum support for Vietnam's just cause, the continued building of socialism in Vietnam, and the efforts to advance South Vietnam towards democracy, independence, national concord and unity. The socialist countries are determined to help Vietnam rebuild its devastated towns, villages and industries and make rapid progress in its peaceful development.

Making a virtue of necessity, the imperialists claim credit for the cease-fire. Nor is this merely demagoguery and propaganda. It is a carefully planned political maneuver. Its purpose is to lull the anti-imperialist movement, deprive it of the ideas and slogans that helped, along with other factors, to unite it on a worldwide scale. The danger of these designs against the international unity and solidarity of the democratic forces is obvious. And it is incumbent on the peoples of the world to show constant vigilance, unity and cooperation.

The end of the war in Vietnam is an event of historic significance. But, of course, it is not the end of the world struggle against imperialism. The explosive tension in the Middle East, engineered by U.S. imperialism and the Israeli rulers, U.S. expansionist ambitions in Latin America, rampant racialism which tramples on the rights and human dignity of the indigenous population of South Africa, the terror of the Portuguese colonialists—they all call for extension and deepening of the anti-imperialist fight. Imperialism has not abandoned its plans, fraught with the danger of aggression in other parts of the globe. Nor has it renounced its doctrine of adapting the 'Vietnamization' policy to the concrete conditions of Latin American, Asian and African countries.

Israel's aggression against the Arab peoples, continuing with U.S. backing, and the Israeli ruling circles' stubborn refusal to withdraw their troops from all occupied territory and fulfil the Security Council resolution of November 22, 1967, presents a special danger.

At the same time the tasks of the anti-imperialist, democratic movement are not confined to frustrating military ventures and interdicting gross violence. For the movement has to battle against all forms of oppression and exploitation, for the right to self-determination and freedom. This is the struggle of the whole of mankind against its common foe, imperialism. And in this struggle are united all who cherish peace, democracy, independence and social progress.



Scientific analysis, communist partisanship

INTERNATIONAL RESEARCH GROUP STUDY ON 'PRESENT-DAY RELEVANCE OF LENIN'S MATERIALISM AND EMPIRIO-CRITICISM'

The confrontation of socialism and capitalism heightens the role of the class struggle in ideology and, consequently, the battle of philosophies. Philosophy plays an increasing part in public life, the revolutionary movement, the refashioning of social relations, the strategy and tactics of the fight for democracy and socialism. And in this struggle the Communists draw on the theoretical wealth of Lenin's philosophical thought.

The present-day implications of **Materialism and Empirio-Criticism** was the subject of a study by a research group composed of **A. Dansoko**, Political Bureau Member, African Independence Party of Senegal and its representative on WMR; **Ts. Namsarai**, Alternate Central Committee Member of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party and its WMR representative; **I. Narsky**, Professor of the CC CPSU Academy of Social Sciences; **V. Ruml**, Member of the Ideological Commission, CC CP Czechoslovakia and its Institute of Marxism-Leninism, and **R. Steigerwald**, Board Secretary, German Communist Party.

Their purpose was to show how importantly the ideas set out in this Lenin classic relate to the present-day struggle against bourgeois ideology, revisionism and Right and 'Left' opportunism.

With this summary of the research-group study, we continue our series on the present-day implications of Lenin's fundamental works.*

The publication of *Materialism and Empirio-Criticism*** was a cardinal landmark in revolutionary Marxism's fight against revisionist departures from dialectical materialism in theory and against opportunism in politics. At the turn of the century many leaders of the international Social-Democratic movement drew on the ideas of neo-Kantianism, Berkeleyanism and positivism in an attempt to dis-

*See WMR May and September 1972 and January 1973.

**The book was written in 1908, first published in 1909 and since republished in hundreds of editions in many languages.

lodge Marxism from its scientific world outlook and sidetrack the workers' movement into reformism. Coming at a time when aggravation of the contradictions of capitalism, now in its imperialist stage, was leading the world to the very threshold of socialist revolution, this revisionist attack was especially dangerous. Lenin's study played a crucial part not only in routing Russian and international philosophical revisionism, but also in advancing the theoretical principles of the Communist movement and the workers' revolutionary struggle in conditions of the 20th century.

Modestly sub-titled *Critical Comments on a Reactionary Philosophy*, the book goes far beyond polemics with the advocates of Machist empirio-criticism. Taking as its basis the experience of the revolutionary struggle, and generalizing the new advances in the natural sciences, it creatively developed dialectical and historical materialism and resolved the crucial philosophical problems confronting Marxist thought in the early years of the century.

It gave Marxist philosophical materialism a new, more modern image. It formed the philosophical core of that amalgam of ideas that constitute the *Leninist stage* in the development of Marxist philosophy. Both in subject and ideas, *Materialism and Empirio-Criticism* is organically tied in with Lenin's other philosophical works, all of them part of a single development process of Lenin's theoretical thought.

Lenin's criticism of bourgeois philosophy and revisionism in the opening years of the century retains all its validity, as does the methodological axis of that criticism, the principle of partisanship in philosophy.

PHILOSOPHY, A CLASS WORLD OUTLOOK

Recent philosophy is as partisan as was philosophy 2,000 years ago. The contending parties are essentially—although this is concealed by a pseudo-erudite quackery of new terms or by a weak-minded non-partisanship—materialism and idealism.

... One must not fail to see the struggle of parties in philosophy, a struggle which in the last analysis reflects the tendencies and ideology of the antagonistic classes in modern society. LENIN

In *Materialism and Empirio-Criticism*, it was pointed out, Lenin showed how the partisanship principle operates in the specific historico-philosophical process. That principle, however, is not confined to philosophy; it has a much wider significance. In this 20th century, no political party can hope for appreciable success if it has not formulated a definite philosophical program. For the Communist parties that program is Marxism-Leninism, the ideological basis of all their activity, of their strategy and tactics.

For the first time in the history of theoretical thought, our philosophy scientifically and frankly defines and appraises the place of every philosophical concept in the class struggle, its social background and its impact on men's minds. For the Communists partisan-

ship is not only a factor in the cognitive process, but also a guide in their ideological struggle.

Philosophy is a class world outlook. Marxism-Leninism – and this is one of its basic features – develops in ceaseless struggle against the hostile ideology of the bourgeoisie. Dialectical and historical materialism are an active and dynamically offensive theory. That thought was formulated in *Materialism and Empirio-Criticism* and re-emphasized anew in Lenin's 1922 article, *On the Significance of Militant Materialism*.

I. Narsky. The Lenin principle of partisanship has much deeper implications than the mere recognition that philosophy is divided into two distinct camps. That in itself does not explain such a major development in 20th-century philosophical thought and writing as the wide spread of concepts that claim to 'stand above' materialism and idealism. If a doctrine accepts the basic division in philosophy but ignores the social roots of one or another world outlook, then its claim to 'neutrality' is an anomaly – an anomaly, perhaps, that fits into its pretension of philosophical 'neutralism.'

If, on the other hand, a doctrine accepts the dependence of philosophy on the socio-economic setting, but leaves out of account the concrete mechanism that links a given philosophy to the class struggle, the only result can be to emasculate the partisanship principle. And this opens the door to vulgar sociology which, in the final analysis, reduces the whole problem to an over-simplified interpretation of 'neutrality' as merely a piece of deliberate camouflage.

R. Steigerwald. The principle of Communist partisanship in philosophy presupposes a concrete historical approach and appraisal of phenomena. And *Materialism and Empirio-Criticism* sets an example in this respect. For in criticizing positivism Lenin carefully traced its evolution, demonstrating how its role changed with the change of historical conditions.

The history of philosophy provides many examples of this. The positivist-nominalist tendencies in the doctrines of the late Middle Ages, or in the so-called English empiricism of the early decades of the 17th-century bourgeois revolution, were, relatively speaking, progressive. Or take the 17th-18th century French sceptics: their scepticism was not a form of idealism, but rather a protest against religion, against fideism. That, however, does not apply to their present-day successors. In this age of imperialism, agnosticism and positivism are reactionary trends.

I. Narsky. The depth of Lenin's analysis lies precisely in his use of the partisanship principle in all its implications. In other words, Lenin took into account the position of the philosopher vis-à-vis the basic division in philosophy and the concrete relation of the given doctrine to the socio-economic situation and its place in the ideological struggle. Only that comprehensive Leninist approach can convincingly bring out the class determinative and the partisanship of every 'non-partisan' philosophy. And – especially important – this approach lays bare the objective social origins of philosophical 'neutrality.'

Partisanship of philosophy is the concentrated expression of its ideological function. That is why Lenin considered it vitally important to examine the motives behind the positivists' repeated claims that they had bridged the gap separating the two main parties in philosophy.

In our time, these claims to philosophical 'neutrality' stem from the unstable position of the intelligentsia in a bourgeois society torn by contradictions. Hence, the ideological discord and the frequent changes of political position, the vacillation between cowardly liberalism, Right opportunism, super-revolutionariness and the Leftism of the anarchist, Maoist or neo-Trotskyist variety. Hence, also, ideological self-delusion, the urge to interpret one's political weakness as strength and philosophical wavering as 'standing above' the antagonistic world outlooks. And, incidentally, this is also the origin of the myth of a 'free' intelligentsia standing above classes and therefore endowed with 'exclusive prevision'—an intelligentsia associated with scientific and technological endeavor, as the technocrats claim, or with the humanities, as Marcuse and other representatives of the Frankfurt school* contend.

V. Ruml. I should like to add that pretensions of philosophical 'non-partisanship' have their roots not only in intellectual dismay, nor even in the social misadventures of the petty bourgeoisie, oppressed as it is by monopoly domination and frightened by the revolutionary ideas of the working class. The central social aspect of philosophical 'neutrality' is that it serves the interests of the bourgeoisie as a class.

Ts. Namsarai. Our ideological opponents persist in their attacks the Leninist partisanship principle. Either they reject it out of hand or try to discredit it by vulgarizing it or attributing to it non-existent internal contradictions.

I. Narsky. Indicative in this respect is the attitude of the neo-Thomist (Catholic) 'Marxologists' G. Wetter and I. Bochenski. They have set out to prove that the Marxist thesis on philosophical knowledge being determined by socio-economic factors contradicts the Marxist thesis on the relative independence of philosophy. Such arguments reveal not the weakness of Marxism, but the weakness of its critics, their inability to understand the dialectical interconnection of social being and world outlook. Opponents of Marxism also attack the historico-philosophical content of the partisanship principle. Taking it abstractly, they admit that philosophy is determined by social factors, but they negate the struggle between materialism and idealism as the general law of the development of philosophical thought.

V. Ruml. Such examples are clear proof of the partisanship of contemporary bourgeois philosophers who speak for their class, and thus provide added confirmation of Lenin's proposition that philosophy is partisan.

But we should always bear in mind Lenin's emphasis on the fun-

*A group of bourgeois philosophers and sociologists formed in Germany in the early 30s. Its founders, and present followers, use Marxist categories and terminology to construct ideological schemata far removed from Marxism.

damental difference between bourgeois and communist partisanship in philosophy.

Communist partisanship frankly admits its class bias. Its scientific objectivity combines with principled assessment of one or another doctrine from the standpoint of the working class.

Bourgeois partisanship, on the other hand, tries to conceal, even negate, its true essence. And this, primarily, is why bourgeois philosophy is at such pains to appear 'non-partisan.' That, in fact, was behind the clamor raised in the 60s around the utterly false contention that philosophy and sociology, and public life in general, were being 'deideologized.'

Ts. Namsarai. This inherent trait of bourgeois philosophy clearly and fully explains why we cannot trust bourgeois philosophers, economists and bourgeois ideologists in general. In *Materialism and Empirio-Criticism* Lenin emphasizes that 'not a single professor of political economy, who may be capable of very valuable contributions in the field of factual and specialized investigations, can be trusted one iota when it comes to the general theory of political economy. For in modern society the latter is as much a *partisan science* as is *epistemology*' (Coll. Works, Vol. 14, p. 342).

But, of course, we have to see both the subjective and objective sides of this bourgeois partisanship. The Lenin approach to philosophical 'neutrality' teaches us not to simplify the problem – as if all bourgeois philosophical thought centered on deliberately distorting the true picture of the world and assiduously camouflaging its real aims and actions. We must distinguish between deliberate lies – a regular practice with bourgeois ideologists – and self-delusion, or what Marx and Engels, as early as in *The German Ideology*, described as a form of illusionary social consciousness.

I. Narsky. The Lenin principle of partisanship gives us the key to an understanding of the complex interdependence pattern that links the struggle of philosophical trends with the position and struggle of social classes and parties. There is thus revealed the character of the reverse impact of philosophy on the life of society and the role it plays in social conflicts, in politics, etc. And from this follows that there cannot be two principles of partisanship, one in philosophy and the other in politics. Communist partisanship encompasses both the Marxist-Leninists' world outlook and their revolutionary activity, their constructive work in building socialism and communism.

V. Ruml. Yes, the partisanship principle is not confined to selecting one's position on philosophical issues. It exerts a definitive influence on the social, political and cultural life of society. And in this context I want to draw attention to a problem which has now acquired special topical importance. I refer to the relation of partisanship and scientific method.

First of all, let it be said that in the concrete sciences partisanship manifests itself differently than in philosophy, and in the natural sciences differently than in the social sciences. Indeed, in many cases the natural sciences – which, one would think, are far

removed from the struggle of classes and political parties – are a potent weapon in the ideological confrontation. Two examples will suffice: the theories of Copernicus and Darwin. The part they played in the social and political struggle of their time is well known. Of course, there is no such thing as a 'proletarian chemistry,' just as there cannot be a 'bourgeois physics.' But the concrete content of different sciences, their progress and achievements, inevitably require philosophical interpretation. We can take, for example, Machist empirio-criticism with its argument, demolished by Lenin, that 'matter has disappeared.' That threw the door open to idealism in philosophy and opportunism in politics. The argument that 'science is non-partisan in the struggle of materialism against idealism and religion is a favorite idea not only of Mach but of all modern bourgeois professors' (Vol. 14, p. 139). And as Lenin showed in *Materialism and Empirio-Criticism* – and as we know from our Marxist understanding of history – that idea is false.

Ts. Namsarai. Determining the philosophical position of a scientist does not imply that we approach his work with prejudice and suspicion. Lenin urged the most careful and attentive approach to the real achievements of scientists even if on philosophical questions they belong in the anti-Marxist camp. The task, he said, was to 'assimilate and rework' their scientific findings.

And it should be emphasized that Lenin's approach to this problem holds good not only for the natural sciences, but also for the humanities, where, of course, the partisanship issue is very sharply posed. Referring to bourgeois economists, Lenin exposed their class and political function as 'salesman of the capitalist class.' But he added: 'You will not make the slightest progress in the investigation of new economic phenomena without making use of the works of these salesmen. . . .' (Ibid., p. 343). A Leninist approach to the works of bourgeois scientists means 'being able to lop off their reactionary tendency, to pursue your own line and to combat the whole line of the forces and classes hostile to us' (Ibid.).

V. Ruml. There is a dialectical interconnection between partisanship and scientific approach. Those who put the accent on the latter and belittle the former are objectively gravitating toward idealism in philosophy and Right opportunism in politics. Conversely, those who separate partisanship from scientific approach pave the way to metaphysics in philosophy and 'Leftism' in politics.

An example of orientation on 'non-partisan science' was given in the early 1900s by Bernstein. He tried to justify the bourgeois reformist separation of socialist theory from the practical labor movement by arguing that the science of Marxism should have nothing in common with political ideology. With certain alterations this is being advocated now by the latter-day revisionists. For instance, the renegade Ernst Fischer managed to convert this argument into a direct call to 'wind up' the activity of the Communist parties. This and similar arguments are akin to the concept of K. Mannheim, a bourgeois sociologist who renounces all ideology as 'false consciousness.' Another kindred theory is 'deideologization,'

now all but abandoned by Bell, its author and main exponent. They are a motley crew that disparages the significance of scientific methods in the ideological and philosophical struggle. There are, for instance, the champions of 'humane socialism' who accuse the Marxists of being bogged down in 'scientism' and 'futile ontologism.' That is the position of the Hegelianist revisionists gathered around the Zagreb magazine *Praxis*. Their kindred minds in Czechoslovakia showed their true anti-socialist colors during the 1968 events. The Leftist-minded theorists of the Frankfurt school seemingly stand at the opposite pole. In reality, however, by absolutizing philosophical partisanship to the detriment of science, they can fully be classed with the Zagreb 'philosophers of practice.'

Ts. Namsarai. In this ideological group are also the Maoist theorists who, in the name of 'revolutionary partisanship,' negate the scientific and cultural achievements of other peoples, and sow the poisonous seeds of nihilism with regard to the spiritual development of their own country. However, when they find it to their advantage, they will eulogize the very bourgeois scientists they have only just denounced. They thus play into the hands of the anti-communists who make a caricature of the partisanship principle. G. Wetter says that partisanship gears philosophy to the zig-zags of current policy. I. Bochenski treats it in much the same light. In the view of T. Blackeley the partisanship principle is used by Marxist-Leninist theory to replace scientific analysis by 'subjective bias' and 'aggressive temperament.' It should be observed that Maoist ideology and practice neatly fit into these conceptions. But all this is a very far cry from the partisanship principle as understood by Marxist-Leninists.

R. Steigerwald. *Materialism and Empirio-Criticism* is itself an example of how to approach and solve the problem of the relation of partisanship and science, for it is both scientific and partisan. Consistent application of philosophical partisanship enabled Lenn to make an invaluable contribution to the scientific theory of knowledge, notably to our understanding of practice as the criterion of truth. On the other hand Lenin's profoundly partisan philosophical and political conclusions are based on a generalization of the new achievements in science.

Materialism, dialectics and the technological revolution

The basic materialist spirit of physics, as of all modern science, will overcome all crises, but only by the indispensable replacement of metaphysical materialism by dialectical materialism. LENIN

Discussion of the interconnection of the scientific and the partisan approach leads on straight to problems arising, in particular, from today's rapid progress in science and technology. The research group put it on record that many of the scientific discoveries*

*Meaning, first of all, the discovery of the fission of the atom and the electromagnetic properties of the electron, as well as the early notable gains in the evolving mathematical concepts of the microcosm, etc.

philosophically interpreted by Lenin in *Materialism and Empirio-Criticism* contained the embryo of future, qualitatively new and more rapid development, which today expresses itself in the scientific and technological revolution. To use the achievements of this revolution for material and social progress, we must interpret them correctly in terms of philosophy. *Materialism and Empirio-Criticism* indicates the principles and methodology of this interpretation.

Ts. Namsarai. Many theses of Lenin's book give a direct answer to ideological and general theoretical questions posed by the current technological revolution.

Lenin's theory of matter, for instance, paved the way for overcoming the ideological difficulties resulting from the mathematicalization of microphysical knowledge and the failure of the narrow concept of the material world. This solved the problem of the relationship between matter and energy. Subsequent progress in science and technology raised a new question, that of the interrelation of information and matter. Today information processes, spreading fast to new fields of knowledge, leave a deep imprint on production and the whole sphere of man's interaction with nature. The exponents of modern 'information' idealism see this as an argument for further attacks on materialism. The only way to avoid a philosophically wrong interpretation of information as a special kind of being is to adhere to Lenin's theory of matter.

Lenin's estimation of the cognitive value of signs and symbols is highly relevant. While rightly criticizing idealistic distortions of the epistemological and practical function of signs and the tendency to make a fetish of them and treat them from a subjectivist point of view, Lenin pointed to the essential role of signs in cognition and practice. This is very important now that semiotics, the information theory and cybernetics have gained prominence in science and technology.

R. Steigerwald. The ideas of *Materialism and Empirio-Criticism* are perfectly valid for devising special cognition methods in keeping with the contemporary level of scientific and technological progress. Among other things, I would like to call attention to Lenin's definition of the contradictory nature of the cognition process. This process is carried on by constantly differentiating knowledge and by making independent sciences of new branches of knowledge. On the other hand, we have what is called integration and condensation of the informativeness of knowledge ('economization'). Indeed, recent decades have seen the rise of numerous overlapping 'hybrid' sciences, widespread recourse to modelling, and application of the principle (freed from subjectivism) of 'economizing' knowledge. Lenin took a firm stand against a subjective idealist treatment of the concept of 'economizing thought.' But he showed that from the scientific standpoint of the theory of reflection, this concept cannot be rejected altogether. It should be used whenever likely to produce a cognitive effect.

A. Dansoko. We should also note that Lenin predicted changes in the structure of scientific knowledge which heralded, as we now

know, an immense future: subatomic physics and certain branches of mathematics came to the fore in scientific knowledge. Specifically, Lenin stressed that 'the unity of nature is revealed in the "astonishing analogy," between the differential equations of the various realms of phenomena' (Vol. 14, p. 289).

V. Ruml. Furthermore, Lenin's statement that 'reactionary attempts are engendered by the very progress of science' (Ibid., p. 308) is proved entirely correct today. The epistemological mechanism of these impulses, disclosed in *Materialism and Empirio-Criticism*, consists in absolutizing individual aspects and particular methods of the cognition process, as well as in misinterpreting the relativity of knowledge. I wish to stress that this is also true of the social sciences. They understandably concentrate on new phenomena in man's social, political and spiritual life. But anyone who makes an absolute of these phenomena, snatching them out of their historical context, may find himself, before he knows it, among scientific bankrupts and political and ideological reactionaries, which is actually happening to numerous bourgeois scholars and Right or 'Left' opportunists today.

Lenin's methodology enables us to grasp new phenomena and discoveries from a genuinely scientific point of view. They 'have always been the stronghold of dialectical materialism,' not a refutation of it (Ibid., p. 281), provided they were properly understood. In the long run, it is only dialectical materialism that ideologically explains the breath-taking achievements of modern science and technology, which often pose challenging philosophical problems.

A. Dansoko. We may cite as an instance of reactionary and unscientific speculation born of the very progress of science, bourgeois and revisionist philosophizing over the fact that the technological revolution is virtually global. The concepts of W. Rostow ('development stages') and D. Bell ('post-industrial society') and R. Garaudy's revisionist constructions are based on one and the same primitive formula; technology defines the pattern of society. Since the technological revolution would ultimately result in the formation of a homogeneous complex of productive forces throughout the world, social relations, too, are bound to become homogeneous. And this would make all social and ideological boundaries separating the two opposite social systems pointless.

One can appreciate the indefensibility of this concept in the light of Lenin's ideas set forth in Chapter VI of *Materialism and Empirio-Criticism*. The chapter contains a devastating critique of the falsifiers of historical materialism, who accused it of identifying social consciousness with social being. The methodology of Lenin's critique should serve as the basis for analysis revealing the fallacy of present-day sociological constructions of the type I mentioned.

I. Narsky. The concepts which Comrade Dansoko spoke of may be described as an ideological estimation of the technological

revolution from the Right. 'Left' revisionists take a different approach. While the Rightists idealize scientific and technological progress, ignoring its important social aspects, their 'Leftist' counterparts are at pains to inspire fear of this 'latter-day Moloch of the twentieth century.' They warn mankind against 'technological alienation,' the 'enslavement' of man by machines and the 'dehumanization' of society. It is, in fact, a reactionary romantic response of bourgeois ideology to the social and spiritual implications of the technological revolution in bourgeois society. This trend it represented, above all, by the existentialists and the ideologists of the 'older generation' of the Frankfurt school—Horkheimer, Marcuse and Fromm.

Their 'Leftist' guise does not prevent these views from coinciding, in the final analysis, with the Rightists' position on the main point, since in either case the technological revolution is presented, analyzed and estimated irrespective of the social conditions of its development.

R. Steigerwald. Revisionists who take their cue from the Frankfurt school deny that natural science is a reflection of objective nature. Accordingly, they make out technological progress to be all but a voluntarist act of those who are accomplishing it. The ideal society advocated by the Frankfurt ideologists is an ephemeral phenomenon deprived both of high-productivity, technologically up-to-date production and natural environment. Like certain existentialists, they interpret all that is objective as a reduction of the subjective to self-alienation. But history, practice and labor become indeed a mere abstraction if cut off from nature and the environment. Revisionists and 'Marxologists' like Horkheimer, caught in the meshes of their own idealist constructions, can supply no sound answer.

V. Ruml. In an effort to support their position with philosophical arguments, 'Leftist' critics of the technological revolution refer to the greatly increased importance of combinatorial analysis, machine manipulation, and so on. They are reviving in a new form the Machist concept of the coordination (mutually conditioned character) of subject and object, which maintains that the object does not exist independently of the subject and is only brought into being by the latter's manipulations. Fear of reality is an invariable concomitant of these voluntarist constructions, which prove to be useless in both cognition and revolutionary practice.

R. Steigerwald. Lenin was very correct in stressing that Marxists should criticize, first and foremost, what is common to all idealists and not what sets them apart. Horkheimer, who subscribed to the concept of the 'fundamental coordination' of subject and object, found himself at one with Mach and Avenarius and, indeed, with Schopenhauer and Carnap. Philosophically and ideologically, this is a far-reaching concession, not just to idealism, but to fideism, or theology. Politically, it is an argument in support of the anarcho-syndicalist principles of the ultra-Leftists, who are intent on abolishing the state in the FRG by purely adventurist means.

I. Narsky. The technological revolution gave rise to a number of sciences whose appearance greatly stimulated the study of problems of theoretical knowledge. It soon became obvious that epistemological investigations run into a blind alley or follow a vicious circle unless guided by dialectical materialism. This lot befell, in particular, French philosophical structuralism and 'analytical philosophy,' the present-day successor of Machism. Conversely, generalization and dialectical materialist interpretation of the latest scientific discoveries and technological achievements are powerful factors for the progress of Marxist-Leninist philosophy. Specifically, we in the Soviet Union have launched intensive and promising research into the whole range of epistemological and social problems of the scientific and technological revolution.

A truly great theoretical work not only solves current problems but also poses new ones. *Materialism and Empirio-Criticism* is a work of precisely this nature. The development laws and trends of scientific knowledge, brilliantly discovered by Lenin are central to science and technology today. Marxist philosophical thought based on Lenin's ideas effectively generalizes the achievements of the scientific knowledge, brilliantly discovered by Lenin, are central to view and, moreover, serves as an unfailing theoretical guide to further scientific progress.

In the centre of the ideological struggle

... By following the **path** of Marxian theory we shall draw closer and closer to objective truth (without ever exhausting it); but by following any other path we shall arrive at nothing but confusion and lies.

... Wage a ruthless fight on all varieties of idealism and agnosticism. LENIN

Like Marx's *The Poverty of Philosophy* and Engels' *Anti-Duehring*, *Materialism and Empirio-Criticism* deals with topical problems of the revolutionary, ideological and political, struggle of its day. Like other Marxist classics, this book has over the years and decades retained both its theoretical validity and its political force. Now, as over half a century ago, the philosophical message of *Materialism and Empirio-Criticism*, its methodology and the spirit of Communist partisanship running through the book are an invaluable weapon for Marxist-Leninists in the worldwide battle of ideologies. Now, as in the past, Lenin's philosophical thought is under fierce attack from ideological enemies of Marxism. It remains in the center of the ideological struggle.

Materialism and Empirio-Criticism is vastly important as a model of Leninist, genuinely scientific and partisan critique of bourgeois philosophy and revisionism. Methodologically, this critique is based, first of all, on the revolutionary-critical character of the theory of Marxist materialism and dialectics. In Lenin's book, the critical spirit of Marxism translates itself into a partisan solution of the fundamental problem of philosophy, including the question of the

relation between subject and object in cognition and practice, into the doctrine of matter and the theory of truth, and into elaboration of the principles of the general interconnection, development and contradictoriness of the phenomena under investigation.

Materialism and Empirio Criticism supplies profound answers to questions bearing on the dialectical materialist theory of knowledge: the problems of transition from matter to consciousness, the cognitive function of sensations, the dialectic of relative and absolute truth, the role of practice as the basis of knowledge and the criterion of its truth, and the inexhaustibility of the world as a source of knowledge. Lenin's solution of these problems is the only dependable guide to an understanding both of the general ideological aspects of contemporary knowledge and the specific problems of the physiology of higher nervous activity, general and social psychology, modern logic, the information theory, semiotics, linguistics, and other sciences.

Operating from the positions of the dialectical materialist conception of truth, Lenin revealed the metaphysical fallacy of both extreme relativism and dogmatism. Thereby he laid solid theoretical and methodological foundations for the ideological struggle against both Right and 'Left,' or sectarian dogmatist, revisionism.

Applying the principle of partisanship in epistemology, determining the place of a given trend among philosophical schools, analyzing the theoretical links between a given concept and the ideas advanced by natural science and by particular sciences generally, comparing 'the theoretical foundations of this philosophy . . . with those of dialectical materialism' (Ibid., p. 357), and lastly, comparing and confronting them in regard to every aspect of content, arguments and practical deductions – up to the sphere of politics – are all requirements of the Leninist methodology of criticizing bourgeois philosophy and revisionism.

V. Ruml. I would like to specify the critico-methodological content of Lenin's positive solution of a number of philosophical problems. The definition of matter as an objective reality disproved the arguments of the positivists and outspoken idealists who speculated on the fact that matter turned out to have more than one form. But, as we know, revisionists in the 50s and 60s again countered dialectical with 'physicist' materialism, based on interpreting matter as the totality of physical data on its structure. The most effective methodological means of criticizing these views is the distinction, demonstrated by Lenin, between the philosophical concept of matter and scientific notions of it.

A. Dansoko. That is a very important point in repulsing attacks on Marxist materialism, which invariably go hand in hand with revisionism in politics. Let us recall that when Lenin's book came out the Social-Democrats, who had succumbed to Machist influence, tried to reconcile materialism with idealism, while the opportunist Bernstein called the materialist ideology 'a Calvinism without God.'

Even today, no revisionist can reconcile himself to the militant materialism of Lenin's philosophical thought. In the late 50s A. Le-

febvre, peddling revisionism in theory and anti-communism in practice, described *Materialism and Empirio-Criticism* as a 'dogmatic' work. R. Garaudy says Communist philosophy 'cannot in principle be either idealist, materialist, religious, or atheist.' Attack on materialism is one of the main lines of the anti-Marxists' philosophical activity. And this makes it a most important theoretical as well as political task for Marxist-Leninists to defend materialism.

R. Steigerwald. Revisionists occasionally use subtle arguments against dialectical materialism. Garaudy, L. Goldmann and other revisionists oppose *Materialism and Empirio-Criticism* to Lenin's other work, *Philosophical Notebooks*. They contend that in the former Lenin upheld materialism without linking it with dialectics. As for the latter work, Lenin is said to have devoted it entirely to dialectics and this in isolation from materialism, or in only its Hegelian, idealist form. Nor is that all. *Philosophical Notebooks*, treated as an exposition of Hegelian dialectics, is called the only source of philosophical substantiation of Lenin's approach to problems of revolutionary practice. This means misrepresenting the materialist essence of the Marxist-Leninist world outlook by alleging that revolutionary theory has nothing to do with materialism and needs only an idealist basis. In this way, our ideological adversaries would like to drive a wedge between materialism and revolution.

The several intervening years between the *Philosophical Notebooks* and *Materialism and Empirio-Criticism* were for Lenin a time of busy political activity, which, too, was a model of applying materialist dialectics to the concrete practical tasks of the workers' revolutionary struggle. Chronologically, the writing of the *Philosophical Notebooks* coincided with the writing of the classic *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism*. The materialist substance of the theory set out in the latter volume (here the reference is to historical materialism) is beyond question. Lenin's teaching on imperialism is intimately connected with, and contains many of the essential elements of his theory of revolution. Lastly, the unity of materialism and dialectics (but Marxian, not Hegelian) is also affirmed in Lenin's last philosophical article, *On the Significance of Militant Materialism*.

What may result from disparaging philosophical materialism and from not understanding Marxist-Leninist dialectics is seen in some of the theoretical exercises of the ultra-Left of the Frankfurt school. Take the following absurd construction: since in Russia the tasks of the bourgeois revolution were not yet accomplished in the first decade of the 20th century, the ideas set forth in *Materialism and Empirio Criticism* apply to the conditions in Western Europe of a century before, and are, therefore (sic!), essentially 'pre-Marxian.' This is just another ideological aberration in the spirit of Korsch and Pannekoek, who claimed – and this in the 1920s – that since Lenin's theory of revolution had been successful in a relatively backward country it has eliminated the connection between the socio-economic level of society and the revolutionary movement. In the philosophical context such notions are tantamount to a total

renunciation of materialism. Yet Korsch and Pannekoek, like their present-day 'Left' counterparts, paraded as the sole true bearers of Leninist ideas. Need we recall how strongly Lenin objected to all manifestations of the 'Leftist' infantile disorder, to political adventurism and other varieties of pseudo-revolutionism that overlooked the objective facts of social life, i.e., to philosophically out-and-out idealistic attitudes and actions.

A. Dansoko. Lenin's method of criticizing bourgeois and revisionist concepts is basically part of the over-all dialectico-materialist method of cognition and practical activity. Lenin would never reduce criticism to a mere portrayal of the contradictions implicit in bourgeois theories any more than he would reduce it to a mere exposure of their proponents as political reactionaries. The former approach overlooks the link between the idealistic doctrines, religious obscurantism and reactionary policy, while in the latter case it is the theoretical basis of the hostile ideology that escapes criticism. Lenin's method of criticism combines the logico-philosophical approach with the socio-political, and that is one of the reasons why it is so effective.

R. Steigerwald. The immense power of Marxist philosophy infuriates all its bourgeois and revisionist opponents. One of the crudest and most ineffectual means they use to attack Marxism is to ascribe to it propositions which it consistently opposes. Take *Materialism and Empirio-Criticism*. Its every page is an indictment of fidesm, of religious obscurantism. Now take the evaluation of Marxism by Carl Popper, the modern English philosopher and sociologist. He would have us believe that dialectical and historical materialism is, of all things, a religion. Why so? Because, Popper the 'critical rationalist' says, Marxist theory is (as he sees it) indifferent to all new phenomena and is reconciled with the facts by means of 'verbal devices.' The class hatred that is blinding Popper the anti-Communist, prevents him from seeing that Marxist theory has ceaselessly developed throughout the 20th century, and has been substantially enriched. Lenin contributed to it such important propositions as the definition of matter consonant with the latest scientific discoveries, the idea that socialist revolution can win in one country, consonant with the new epoch of imperialism, and many others. These are not 'verbal devices,' but truly scientific discoveries with a profound bearing on man's activity. The theory of Marx, Engels and Lenin is not an ossified extra-scientific dogma; it is a living doctrine sensitive to new facts and tendencies, absorbing them and thereby multiplying its theoretical richness.

By declaring Marxism a 'religion,' Popper implies that historical materialism lacks the ability of scientific foresight or what he calls micro- and macro-forecasting.* An agnostic and semi-positivist, Popper holds that the objective laws of history are unknowable. He would be more consistent, however, if he did not reserve the right to make macro-forecasts or, as he also names it, to 'social engineer-

*By the former he means relatively short-term sociological forecasts, and by the latter general forecasting of the basic trends of development of, so to speak, the history of the future.

ing,' as in his program of half-baked bourgeois-liberal reforms. By the way, his 'social engineering' ideas have been borrowed by the West-German Social-Democrats, who used them as the foundation for the so-called long-term program of state-monopoly regulation of socio-economic life up to 1985. If, as Popper maintains, the future is not cognizable, he should admit that his 'social engineering' experiment is doomed to failure.

But what interests us in this case is something else: the bourgeois philosophers' desire to ascribe to Marxism their own weaknesses. And Popper's example is typical. It is bourgeois philosophy that has proved incapable of equipping its 'futurologists' with the theoretical essentials and the methodology of macro-forecasting. Marxism is the only teaching that casts the light of scientific knowledge not only on the immediate, but also on the more distant future. It provides a clear idea of the common laws and regularities of social development, and man's practice in the present transition from capitalism to socialism bears out the scientific quality and correctness of Marxist forecasting.

V. Ruml. The structure of bourgeois theoretical thinking has changed since the turn of the century. The bourgeois variety of pseudo-Marxism, which seizes on problems discussed by Marxists and employs terminology similar to the Marxist, is becoming increasingly fashionable. At one time, as Lenin wrote, 'revisionists... gained a sad notoriety for themselves by their departure from the fundamental views of Marxism' (Vol. 14, p. 20). Nowadays, bourgeois ideologists seem to think they will make their reputation by a simulated acceptance of Marxism.

The present-day ideological struggle, therefore, is witnessing a variety of both bourgeois and revisionist concepts parading in Marxist garb. Many of them proclaim the same broadly advertised intention of 'improving' Marxism. And to combat these currents is as important a task as that which Lenin undertook when working on his *Materialism and Empirio-Criticism*.

A. Dansoko. In Senegal, for example, the attempts of Senghor and his group to impose on the liberation movement a particular 'Negro world outlook' go hand in hand with the efforts of certain African ideologues to 'improve' Marxism by 'relativizing' it on the plea of adaptation to local conditions. Ultimately, this is aimed at corrupting Marxism, at breaking it down into a multiplicity of variants, even incompatible ones. Here we have the 'plurality of Marxism' once again - this time in an African garb. And the exposure of its reactionary substance will not be effective unless it follows Lenin's principle of partisanship in world outlook and politics.

I. Narsky. Many bourgeois and revisionist ideologues maintain that to 'improve' Marxism it must first be made 'open.' This was the contention of Lefebvre, Kolakowski and others in the 50s and 60s. In his article, *Marxism and the Trends in Philosophy*, M. Prucha said Marxism ought to be 'made sounder' through the inclusion of neo-positivist and existentialist ideas.* And we must give credit

*Praxis, No. 2, 1967.

to Popper, that outspoken anti-Communist. Marxism, he says, must be 'opened up,' not to 'improve' the Communist doctrine, but, he frankly admits, to undermine and 'abolish' Marxist theory.

M. Cornforth, the English Marxist philosopher, showed convincingly in his book, *The Open Philosophy and the Open Society*, that by virtue of being a living and creatively developing teaching, Marxism-Leninism is always open to all the new elements of scientific knowledge and the experience of social practice, the social and political struggle of the peoples. But it has been, and always will be, closed to any and all incursions of hostile ideology.

A. Dansoko. The ideas and methodology of Lenin's *Materialism and Empirio-Criticism* still play an outstanding part in the battle against the bourgeois outlook and the revisionist distortions of Marxism. 'We criticize the Machists,' Lenin wrote, for their purely revisionist trick of betraying the essence of materialism under the guise of criticizing its form' (Vol. 14, p. 251). This passage contains a most important methodological pointer, bidding us to be ideologically vigilant in our encounters—so frequent these days—with attempts to 'touch up' or 'correct' Marxism. No motive can justify departures from the basic concepts of Marxist-Leninist theory.

Another important quality of Lenin's book is its democratism: philosophical abstractions of the most complex kind are presented in a manner comprehensible even to the less initiated reader. This, too, is an accomplishment of Marxist-Leninist philosophy, which is the pattern for the outlook of millions of people throughout the world today.

The research group arrived at the conclusion that all the past and present experience of the ideological struggle raging around *Materialism and Empirio-Criticism* and around Lenin's philosophical thought in general, proves an important fact: dialectical materialism alone liberates the consciousness from the shackles of hidebound reactionary thinking. One cannot be a real Marxist revolutionary, a fighter for communism, unless one faithfully follows Lenin's principles in philosophy and adheres strictly to the dialectico-materialist outlook defending it actively against the attacks of its ideological adversaries.

Dialectical and historical materialism is a profoundly revolutionary theory. Its broad dissemination helps remove many of the ideological barriers impeding the growth of the political consciousness and the greater maturity of the masses.

The Communist and Workers' parties have always attached cardinal importance to questions of theory. As stressed by the International Meeting of 1969, 'Marxist-Leninist theory and its creative application in specific conditions permit scientific answers to be found to the questions facing all contingents of the world revolutionary movement, wherever they may be active.' Lenin's philosophical thinking, the ideas in his classic *Materialism and Empirio-Criticism*, are an invaluable theoretical asset, an effective ideological weapon of the world Communist movement.

Social requirements: their formation and satisfaction

Herbert Warnke
Member PB, CC SUPG,
Chairman Central Board,
Federation of Free German
Trade Unions

**THIS CONTINUES OUR SERIES ON
THE PROBLEMS OF DEVELOPED SOCIALISM.***

Objective character of main task

Scientific socialism has given mankind knowledge of the objective laws of social development. The rise of the first workers' state and, subsequently, of the socialist world system made it possible to apply this knowledge for planned management of the formation process of the new society. For the first time in history, the Communist parties of the socialist countries are consciously and on a scientific basis guiding social development and solving new, often very complex, theoretical problems. For in the course of revolutionary practice many problems arise in new or in substantially changed conditions.

The Marxist-Leninist classics considered the building of socialist society a creative process consciously carried out by millions of working people under the leadership of the Marxist-Leninist parties. And the parties proceed on the understanding that the point and purpose of socialism lies in raising the living standard of the workingman and providing ample scope for the formation and cultivation of the socialist personality. Shortly after the revolution, in 1918, Lenin said: 'Socialism alone will make possible the wide expansion of social production and distribution on scientific lines and their actual subordination to the aim of easing the lives of the working people and of improving their welfare as much as possible' (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 27, p. 411). Socialism, and even more so mature socialism, is conceivable without a powerful and modern material and economic basis. But the building of the new society is not confined to this, for there also emerges a new, planned organization of social labor typical only of socialism, and the formation of the new man.

The two are not contradictory. Refashioning of the personality, the evolvment of new relations between people, a higher organiza-

*See article by P. Demichev, 'Developed Socialism, a Stage on the Way to Communism,' WMR, January, 1973.

tion of labor, are all fully consonant with the basic economic law of socialism which calls for increasingly fuller satisfaction of the constantly rising material and cultural requirements of society and all-round development of the personality. But there is the complex theoretical and practical problem of establishing a correct ratio between the two objectives. It is the duty of the Communist party, the leading party of the working class which voices the working people's vital interests, to resolve that problem. The Party bases its policy on Marxism-Leninism but also on the concrete conditions of the given country and the level of its socio-economic development. It takes into account also the opportunities and results of socialist economic integration.

The countries that launched out on socialist construction after World War II were in a different position than that of Soviet Russia immediately after the October Revolution, for they could rely on the all-round generous assistance of the Soviet people, who by that time had laid the foundations of their socialist economy and created a socialist culture. Besides, some of these countries, including the GDR, were relatively developed economically.

Nevertheless building the foundations of socialism inevitably laid an imprint on social policy. The persistence of elements of different economic formations hampered full operation of the basic economic law of socialism. Indeed in the early years of the GDR its operation was restricted also by the fact that the country's material and technical basis still bore the imprint of the capitalist structure. And there was also the fact that the devastation caused by Hitler's war had not yet been repaired.

Bourgeois ideology found a receptive soil not only in the ingrained habits of the past, but also in the still existing private-property relations.

The situation is different today. Socialist society is developing on its own foundation. Practically all private and state-private enterprises have been reorganized into publicly-owned, and last year the public sector accounted for 99 per cent of industrial output. Our republic now ranks with the top industrial powers of the world. A generation has taken over that has never worked under capitalism, has always worked for the benefit of society and, hence, for its own benefit.

For a clear picture of SUPG social policy in these conditions it is best to examine the main task. Everyone in the GDR knows what the 'main task' means; there is no need to explain. And this, in a certain way, is one more confirmation that all our working people regard the main task as their own vital concern. This is how it was formulated by the Eighth SUPG Congress in 1971: 'The main task of the five-year plan is to achieve a continued rise in material and cultural standards through a high growth rate of socialist production, higher effectiveness, scientific and technological progress and higher labor productivity.' And our Party emphasizes that the main task is not a short-term aim and goes far beyond the current five-year plan.

I might be asked: was not attainment of a higher material and cultural standard the aim of Party policy in the past, too? And was that aim not achieved by boosting socialist production? All that is true, of course, but there are certain differences. In the past the Party had other important tasks to accomplish, among them the struggle to assure the victory of socialist production relations. That is no longer a problem: the foundation of socialism has been laid, and we are building a developed socialist society. In the past we had fewer material resources for raising living standards. Now, with our greater industrial potential, we can allocate much bigger resources for this purpose. Our Party takes this into account in formulating policy and is now concentrating on giving the working people a higher standard of well-being.

However, as Comrade Honecker remarked in the Central Committee Report to the Eighth Congress, 'It will take much time and much work before we can say that the building of socialism in the German Democratic Republic has been completed. This will require a higher level of productive forces, socialist relations and socialist consciousness.' What are our present social achievements and tasks in building developed socialism?

Integrated socialist rationalization

If we were to capsule into a single word the main methods of solving our socio-economic problems, that word would be 'intensification.' For the idea is to intensify the all-round development of the personality and the use of available economic resources. That task was set by the CPSU at its 24th, the SUPG at its eighth, and the fraternal parties of other socialist countries at their respective congresses. Intensification is an attribute not only of developed socialism, but also of the period of its building, and that means it is part and parcel of present-day life in the GDR.

Let me make one more observation (probably superfluous for readers in the socialist countries): production intensification in our conditions has nothing in common with capitalist intensification of labor. The chief means of intensifying production in the GDR is socialist rationalization. This briefly is its essence: production technology and organization are improved with the help of the creative activity of the working people and in this way we steadily raise labor productivity. Our particular concern now is the reconstruction and modernization of existing enterprises.

Now, in the third year of the five-year plan period, we can speak of tangible results towards accomplishment of our main task. Industrial output rose 5.5 per cent in 1971, and 6.3 per cent in 1972; productivity in industry rose by nearly 10 per cent over the two years. The production rise was thus achieved mainly through higher productivity. The trend is the same in other branches of the economy. Substantial advances have been made in raising the standard of living. The Eighth CC Plenum described 1972 as a year of economic consolidation and meaningful advance in many spheres of

social life. The 1973 economic plan envisages continuation of the course set by the Party congress.

The worker influences socialist rationalization in two ways: as producer and as owner of the means of production. This fundamentally distinguishes his role from that of the worker in the process of capitalist rationalization. Firstly, our worker feels himself the true master of the economy and initiates many rationalization measures and actively helps to put them into practice. This is something no worker in a capitalist enterprise is likely to do. Secondly, enterprise collectives, from worker to manager, realize that rationalization, the process of production, are not aims in themselves. The workers know that, in the final analysis, they are producing for themselves, so as to live better. Hence they are interested in improving that considerable part of their life they spend at the enterprise. In other words, they are interested not only in raising productivity, but also in improving what we call the culture of work, conditions in the factory, welfare amenities, etc.

That aspect of rationalization is receiving much attention. There are cases – as foreseen by Lenin, in the 1920-21 discussion on the trade unions – of factory managers being carried away by a narrow understanding of state interests and underestimating this aspect of rationalization, the need to improve working and welfare conditions. To obviate that, the Party orients trade-union functionaries on unremitting attention to this, consistently and persistently working to see that the workers' needs are properly looked after.

For several years now all industrial establishments include in their economic plans measures to improve working and welfare facilities. Socialist rationalization is planned as an integral process covering all aspects of production. And the plan to improve working and welfare conditions is drawn up with active worker participation. It takes into account their suggestions and provides for management to report back on fulfilment. The main points of the plan are cleared with the local authorities. For example, the 1972 welfare plan for the Engels synthetic fibre plant at Premnitz contains many suggestions from workers, made either at the plan discussions or at trade union meetings. As a result heavy physical labor has been substantially reduced and conditions improved for 1,300 workers.

The building of developed socialism requires that the people's needs be taken into account in the overall nationwide production plan. Accordingly, the five-year plan contains an impressive catalogue of social measures. They are being carried out in a planned way, in conformity with the joint decisions of the SUPG Central Committee, the central trade union leadership and the Council of Ministers of April 27, 1972.

The movement for a socialist work culture holds a considerable place in the life of our republic. The building of developed socialism presupposes consistent elimination of heavy physical, injurious and dangerous work, also monotonous and unskilled jobs. No less than

17 billion marks have been allocated for hygiene and safety arrangements in the five-year period ending in 1975, an increase of 40 per cent on the previous five years. Production collectives now have everything needed to improve work-place and environmental conditions.

The achievements of science are being used effectively to improve health and safety facilities. Many research centers are cooperating with scientists in other socialist countries to find more effective means in this respect. The number of jobs in which accident risks and health hazards have been completely eliminated has increased substantially. One indicator of the different conditions under socialism and capitalism is the accident rate per 1,000 workers in the two German states:

	GDR	FRG
1969	40.54	110.55
1970	40.79	110.33
1971	40.35	107.09

We are working towards a still lower industrial accident rate.

Another aspect (not dealt with here in detail) is the use of scientific and technological achievements in combination with the advantages of socialism. That is an important feature of our integrated rationalization. We take advantage of the fact that in modern production science is becoming a direct productive force. This radically alters the very process of work, increases its productivity and has far-reaching social implications.

New requirements

Developed socialism means a high and constantly heightening level of material requirements. It also means completion of the basic tasks of the cultural revolution, primarily a high educational level for all working people. Last but not least, it gives rise to new requirements typical only of socialism. The Party's social policy is geared to deal with these processes.

The Eighth SUPG Congress directives on the five-year plan envisaged an annual 4.1 per cent increase in the supply of goods to the consumer. Actually, retail trade increased 6 per cent in 1972 and the sale of industrial goods 8.7 per cent—both are record figures for the GDR. The current five-year plan provides for a more ambitious housing program. It is being carried out: last year alone, housing conditions were improved for 350,000 citizens of our republic.

In five years there will be an increase of 21.5 per cent in the net income of the population. For wage and salary earners it will be 23.5 per cent. In fulfilment of these decisions, in the first two years of the Five-Year Plan, wage and salary earners received a pay raise of 11 per cent, with 2.3 million working people getting increases in pay and bonuses.

Although wage increases remain the main source of the rise in income levels, the expenditure on social services is also expand-

ing. This specifically socialist measure caters, in the first instance, for educational needs, health services, holidays and sports activities. Implicit in the building of developed socialism is the planned expansion of the social services.

A considerable portion of these resources is devoted to social insurance, controlled by the trade unions. In 1972, social insurance expenditure reached almost 14.3 billion marks and covered 81 per cent of the population. The joint decision of the CC SUPG, the General Council of Free German Trade Unions, and the Council of Ministers of the GDR, includes socio-economic measures entailing 22 different kinds of services within the social insurance scheme. Notably, during 1972 alone, 3.4 million people received increases in their pensions.

The SUPG aims to improve holiday and recreational facilities to enable working people to take holidays with their families. The growth of trade union departments catering for holiday-makers, and the anticipated increase in the number of rest homes belonging to industrial enterprises means that by 1975 there will be accommodation for two million people. To this should be added that in the same year the GDR Tourist Board is to organize trips abroad for 1,360,000 people.

People's needs grow and undergo qualitative change. This applies to all countries, albeit in different ways, due to the influence of scientific, technical and cultural developments. In bourgeois society, profit is the motive force of production. Production is anarchic and linked to great waste of social labor. It is sufficient to cite the urban crisis which has arisen in many capitalist countries due to the chaos in the development of housing, transport, and public and cultural services. By contrast, the construction of new centers in Berlin, the capital of the GDR, Dresden, and other large towns of our Republic, shows how we strive to solve the urban problems in the interests of the working people, by adopting a scientific and planned approach.

Actually, when we understand how a given society arose and what motivates its requirements, we are able to assess what kind of humanity and culture it represents, one of the chief aspects of its life. Take the Springer press in the FRG. Characteristically, its dissemination of the most shameless lies about the socialist countries and world progressive forces is accompanied by cheap sensationalism, the portrayal of violence and pornography, as well as the unqualified affirmation of material blessings as the most important criteria of success in life.

Socialism, in its own way, moulds the diverse requirements of the individual, and obviously it differs from capitalism in this respect. But we can also observe a difference between the stage when the basis of socialism was being created and the period of the building of a developed socialism. During the present stage ever wider possibilities for moulding the personality come to the fore, and it increasingly frees itself of the survivals of bourgeois consciousness; it is characterized by a high degree of socialist consciousness,

expressed in the first place, in a socialist attitude to work and public property.

Together with the continuing growth in material needs, which also change and become more diversified, there is a rapid growth in the spiritual requirements of increasingly significant sections of the workers, and an intensification of the desire for knowledge and an urge to absorb cultural riches. This need is met in the first place by the expansion of education for the people. By the beginning of this Five-Year Plan, already 85 per cent of students had received a 10-year course of general education, and most of the remainder had passed through 10-year general schooling within the vocational training system. The GDR considerably exceeds the FRG in number of students in higher educational establishments per 10,000 of the population. Some 150,000 workers also study, either at evening classes at higher and secondary specialist educational establishments, or take correspondence courses.

The life of every family is increasingly affected by cultural interests. More than 100 million books are published annually in our Republic, and the circulation of journals has increased from 134 million copies in 1955 to 418 million in 1971.

The difference in the approach of socialist and capitalist societies to the way in which most important social requirements are influenced and satisfied, particularly in administration, in working out and adopting decisions vital to the community, is very obvious. Capitalism distorts and suppresses this need, socialism consciously cultivates it.

Lenin distinguished between running the state *for the working people* (but only by the advanced section of the proletariat) and administration through the working people, with the participation of the broad masses. To achieve the latter, 'we are confronted by a problem which cannot be solved except by prolonged education.' (Vol. 29, p. 183.) Millions of workers in the GDR are active in party, state, and public bodies. Today, 2.4 million workers use their right to take part in managing state, economic and social affairs by involvement in trade union committees, production meetings, and other bodies operating within the trade union orbit, as well as arbitration committees.

Parliament, local government and their commissions, the National Front Committees, total another 900,000 workers who systematically take part in the administration of public affairs, and it is also noteworthy that 76 per cent of the civil service are of working class and peasant origin.

The deep involvement in the solution of problems affecting their collective is seen very clearly by the way in which the workers play an active part in discussing the plans of their establishments. Such creative mass activity reflects a high degree of responsibility by the working class and the influence of the trade unions as schools of management, schools of the economy, schools of communism. Thus, more than 300 suggestions made during a discussion of the plan by workers of the Otto Grotewohl Works in Boehlen, and

of the petrochemical plant in Schwedt, resulted in an increase in the production and export plans for 1973, and with a smaller labor force.

Incentives

One of the most important processes in man's consciousness during socialist construction is the changed attitude to labor. A characteristic of all exploitive social formations is that work is compulsory. This compulsion is either extra-economic or economic, but it is always compulsion. Only the establishment of workers' power and development of the sense of proprietorship, or to be more exact, co-proprietorship, impels the worker to labor, conscious of the social value of his labor, and not merely in order to receive purely personal material benefits. Such an attitude to labor is a sign of high socialist understanding, and a most important step in moulding the consciousness of Communist man. But this is not yet the final step on the road to the great transformation of man's personality. A still higher stage is reached when all external incentives pass away, and labor itself becomes an inner urge. Naturally the achievement of this stage presupposes not only a change in consciousness, but also a fundamental transformation in the material basis of society, a transformation which will make every productive process not only safe and physically easy, but varied, interesting, and creative.

By no means all technical progress leads to this result. Marx wrote that 'capital uses the machine only to the extent to which it enables the worker to expend a more significant portion of his time on capital . . .' Thus, the use of machines, like scientific progress generally, is, under capitalism, directed towards increasing the profits of the capitalists. Under socialism, on the contrary, scientific and technical achievements are at the disposal of society as a whole, and assist in the constant enrichment of the life of the working man. The words of Marx and Engels in the 'Communist Manifesto' which they wrote 125 years ago, are thus confirmed: 'In bourgeois society, living labor is but a means to increase accumulated labor. In Communist society, accumulated labor is but a means to widen, to enrich, to promote the existence of the laborer.'

Characteristic of a developed socialist society is the constant growth and deepening of a socialist attitude to labor, based on a correct combination of moral and material incentives. The task of our economic and social policy is to perfect the system of labor incentives according to reality, not going too far ahead and not falling behind the needs of social development.

In a developed socialist society wages still remain the main form of material incentive for the workers. In accordance with the decisions of the Eighth Congress of the SUPG, the Party and the trade unions support a wages policy in keeping with the socialist principle of payment according to work done, and aimed at in-

creasing the working class share in the utilized national income. Every worker must be made to see clearly that higher labor productivity leads to higher wages. The system of payment should also stimulate the worker to improve his qualifications, and must be simple and easily understood by everyone. All these principles are being taken into account in the present elaboration of plans for new wage rates.

However, alongside the material incentives to labor, there are increasingly observable the moral incentives born of socialist development. A more concentrated expression of the new relation of the masses to labor is the socialist emulation movement, in the course of which, and especially during the effort to win the honored title of 'Collective of Socialist Labor,' many new ideas emerge. These are related to modern organization and conditions of production, and modern social relations that reflect the growing understanding by workers of their responsibility for the successful development of our society. At the Eighth Congress of the SUPG, the initiative of workers at an electrical equipment plant in the Berlin district Treptow prompted a discussion on 'Do we make proper use of our social property?' A fruitful exchange of views developed, revealing that the interest and understanding of the workers went far beyond their own immediate problems, and that their recognition of responsibility to their place of work and to society is growing.

The nearly two years since the Congress have witnessed many examples of similar valuable initiatives. They are all closely allied to socialist emulation under the slogan 'Production According to Plan - Sensible Rationalization for the Good of All.' The workers now have a more profound understanding of how their personal interests are tied to those of their socialist society. By joint decision of the Party, the trade unions and the government, outstanding achievements in socialist emulation were rewarded by the highest Government honors.

The formation of new socialist attitudes to work are clearly linked with the continuous raising of working class qualifications and education. A marked transformation has taken place in this sphere in recent years. From the 50s onwards the number of worker-specialists* in the GDR has doubled. One out of every two workers in production holds a worker-specialist certificate, and on the other hand, the number of unskilled and semi-skilled workers is constantly decreasing. Now only ten per cent of workers are unskilled. In the process of production, physical and mental elements of labor merge.

The development of a socialist personality is a continuous, difficult and prolonged process. All spheres of life come into play, but first and foremost, creative labor for the benefit of society. This process is hastened by the successes in social development and

*In the GDR the term 'worker-specialist' refers to a worker who has completed a two-three year course at a technical school. Most of those entering trade schools have had either ten or eight-year general schooling.

itself serves as a guarantee for new successes in our society. The social policy of the Party and Government influence this process. Let us consider an important feature of the socialist way of life, such as a sense of security. A man of the socialist world is not worried whether he will find work, whether there will be room for him in an educational establishment, whether he can pay his doctor's bills, or whether he will have sufficient for his old age on retirement. All this he receives from society. A sense of security undoubtedly plays a powerful part in the development of a new understanding. At the same time we know that transforming man's personality is not as speedy a process as the transformation of the material conditions of his life. 'Here we are confronted chiefly with organizational, cultural and educational problems.' (Lenin, Vol. 29, p. 183.)

Our Party solves these tasks on the basis of the supreme principle of our policy, announced at the Eighth Congress of the SUPG: All for the good of man.

Source of progress

Prof. Wolfgang Eichhorn,
Prof. Gottfried Stieler
Humboldt University, Berlin

CONTINUING THE DISCUSSION ON CONTRADICTIONS UNDER SOCIALISM*

With the formation of socialism as a social system and the consequent realization of the need to use the advantages of the new system to the utmost for accelerating scientific, technological, economic, social, political and spiritual progress, social development acquires a new quality and its dialectics reveals new laws and aspects. Knowledge of these laws, and above all of the inherent contradictions of mature socialism, is a fundamental ideological prerequisite of revolutionary thought and action, a highly important instrument of leadership and planning under the most advanced social system of today.

The dialectical materialist doctrine of the role and function of contradictions is universally valid. It applies to nature, society and thought at every stage of development. The founders of Marxism-Leninism investigated the system and operation of social contra-

See G. Glezerman. 'Contradictions Under Socialism.' WMR, March, 1972; Ts. Namsarai. 'Concerning Contradictions Under Socialism.' November 1972; A. Wirth. 'A Twofold Task.' February, 1973; V. Ledenev. 'The Objective Aspect.' February, 1973.

dictions chiefly under capitalism. They showed that the fundamental antagonisms of this society account for its movement, development and inevitable downfall. At the same time they stressed the universal character of contradictions, and Lenin said explicitly that contradiction and antagonism are two different things, the former also remaining under socialism while the latter disappears.

Contradictions are the ultimate source of development of socialist society. The opinion that they are a flaw, a disruption of harmonious interconnections, is basically wrong. Indeed, it implies that contradictions are either something accidental or something purely subjective, caused by human error. And their nature thus remains unknowable.

It is unquestionable that under socialism, too, contradictions may be due to mistakes in leadership, planning or organization. They should be prevented or localized, but they cannot be eliminated altogether. Indeed, they are to a degree inevitable and due to the new system's growing pains and the constantly arising problems for which appropriate solutions must be found. In this sense they are, like any other contradiction of socialism, essentially objective realities which society cannot ignore.

The contradictions of socialist society, whether objective or subjective, are expressive of discrepancies or imbalances between their component aspects (such as production and requirements).

The foregoing does not entirely cover the essence of the dialectical contradiction we call the unity and struggle of opposites, that is, of phenomena which are at the same time mutually complementary and exclusive and form a logical unity. This is true, for example, of the productive forces and production relations, production and consumption, living and accumulated labor, social and individual (collective) interests, centralism and mass initiative. Nor is it a question of rigid structures but of a fluid unity of interacting social processes. Given definite conditions, a discrepancy develops between their levels, making it necessary to resolve the contradictions and advance to a higher stage. These processes involve the activity of the masses led by the Party and the state. Dialectical contradictions, which arise naturally and are as naturally resolved, are a source and stimulus of progress.

Under socialism, every contradiction reflects, in one way or another, the struggle between the old and the new. The triumph of the new advances society and adds to its strength.

An important and complicated problem of applying the Marxist-Leninist theory of contradictions in building socialism is to grasp in concrete historical terms their nature and content, as well as their manifestations and interconnections, and to determine the ways and means of resolving them. To merely put on record the objectively contradictory character of a social process—without probing its innermost laws to ascertain the conditions in which the contradictions develop, the ways of overcoming them, and the social forces which can do this—is of scant benefit to practice and of little theoretical or ideological value.

The experience of building socialism in the Soviet Union and other countries, including the GDR, shows that the concrete historical method of detecting contradictions and eliminating them promptly depends appreciably on how accurately the fundamental contradictions and their interconnections are defined for the specific stages of the communist formation. At each historical stage—from the laying of the foundations of socialism to its developed state—there are contradictions that have to be eliminated. In the GDR, for example, during the period of transition from capitalism to socialism we had to resolve the contradictions between public ownership in industry and small-commodity production in agriculture. Some contradictions, such as that between town and country, change in content. In the case of others new opportunities arise for eliminating them, while qualitatively new contradictions may appear.

The working people of the GDR are building a developed socialist society under the leadership of the working class and its Marxist-Leninist Party. 'To be sure,' said Erich Honecker in presenting the Central Committee report to the Eighth Congress of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, 'it will take us considerable time and much effort before we can say that we have finished building socialism in the German Democratic Republic. This task calls for advanced productive forces, socialist social relations and socialist consciousness.'

The contradictions that have to be resolved at *this stage of social development* differ in social and economic origin, methods of overcoming them, and historical perspective. We may broadly classify them according to the following criteria:

Are they due to the objectively attained level of the material and technical basis, to the prevailing social relations or to particular, subjective shortcomings? Should they be attributed to the internal conditions of socialist development or to the external influence of imperialism? Do they determine the development of society as a whole or of only some individual spheres?

Such a classification is, doubtlessly, very important as a theoretical and methodological basis for Party and government leadership. However, a clear understanding of the essence and content of different social contradictions and the methods of resolving them requires, first of all, a correct idea of socialism's historical place and function.

In building a comprehensively developed socialist society, the elimination of contradictions, on the one hand, and the growth and consolidation of communist elements in every social sphere, and hence the restriction and removal of survivals of capitalism, on the other, go hand in hand, as the founders of Marxism-Leninism predicted. It is the contradictory unity of these elements that largely determines the fundamental characteristics and laws of socialism (as regards both their content and form).

For instance, one will not understand the reasons for the existence of classes in socialist society, and their role and probable

development, or the evolution of relations between them, unless one keeps in mind the dialectically contradictory unity of the following:

- the substantial socio-economic, socio-psychological and other distinctions still existing between the workers, cooperative peasants and intellectuals, and the resultant differences in their interests, are an expression of inherited survivals of the capitalist past;
- the drawing together of classes and social groups is movement towards a classless society.

This dialectical approach is also needed if we want to understand the laws of socialist commodity production, the meaning, function and principles of socialist politics and the development of socialist morality as a new type of class morality.

The 'birthmarks' of the old society, of which Marx wrote in his *Critique of the Gotha Program*, are still to some extent evident during the building of developed socialism. They must not be treated simplistically, as mere vestiges of capitalist production relations or of bourgeois mentality and behavior. They also include phenomena relating to the level of material and technical development and the socialization of production, and to the surviving disproportions between various social spheres. Consequently, these 'birthmarks' cannot be removed by purely political or ideological methods, by rushing through 'cultural revolutions' or introducing egalitarian principles of distribution. To do away with them, it is necessary to create social conditions fully corresponding to the communist formation, or in other words, vastly to increase the economic, political and spiritual potential of socialist society as a whole.

The basic features of developed socialism are proportionate, harmonious development of every social sphere, a high degree of utilization of the achievements of the scientific and technological revolution, fast-growing material production and labor productivity, full socialist ownership of the means of production, and close links between classes and social groups on the basis of socialist production relations and the Marxist-Leninist ideology. To achieve all this, we must eliminate a number of social contradictions, classifiable broadly (as G. Glezerman proposes) in two basic groups, with due regard to their complex interlacement and mutual influence: contradictions inherited from the past but substantially transformed in the course of socialist development, and contradictions which have arisen in the process of the formation of socialism.

In the GDR, we will have to solve diverse problems in the near future if we are to eliminate the contradictions of the above two types.

To build developed socialism, it is necessary, first of all, completely to remove direct vestiges of the capitalist past, or at least to restrict them. Among them are survivals of the bourgeois or petty-bourgeois ideology and the corresponding mentality (primarily in man's so-called ordinary consciousness), and hence attempts to enrich oneself at society's expense, national arrogance, and so on.

Secondly, it is necessary to continue to eliminate phenomena un-

derlying distinctions between the classes, strata and groups of socialist society, such as the virtual social inequality of manual and mental workers, men and women, the urban and the rural population. These phenomena are due, first of all, to the contradiction between the level of the productive forces, education, and so on, and the communist perspective of social life. They can be removed as overall economic and cultural progress goes on. In the final analysis, the task is to ensure that contradictions between the old and the new, between the obsolete and the aspects and forms of social relations belonging to the future, are resolved in favor of communism.

We have said that the contradictions of socialist society are essentially objective even when they are influenced by subjective factors. In a sense we can say that social contradictions have a subjective component because they originate from people's behavior and activity. For example, the contradictions between the level of the productive forces and the requirements is objective and is at the same time expressive of the unity and interaction of opposites traceable to social activity.

The function of the subjective factor stands out above all in the process of eliminating contradictions, none of which is resolved automatically, without organized and purposeful effort. To resolve the contradictions of socialist society by removing shortcomings, surmounting difficulties and generalizing the new and the best is a most important aspect of the historic mission of the working class and a big task in its struggle to consolidate socialism.

Marxist-Leninist parties study social contradictions and strive to control their development and remove them in time and by suitable means. If detected belatedly, let alone ignored, contradictions may grow into conflicts, hampering progress. This applies, in the first place, to economic imbalances likely to harm society. The Party and the state guard, therefore, against budding contradictions. They try to prevent them from erupting spontaneously by controlling their development and elimination.

As for contradictions which impede social development and can be avoided (such as those due to mistakes in leadership or planning), the Party and the state take steps to forestall them as far as possible. This is achieved by continuously perfecting scientific methods of leadership and by bringing more and more working people into the control of social processes.

On the other hand, the Party fosters the development of contradictions based on what is new. 'We must,' Lenin wrote, 'carefully study the feeble new shoots, we must devote the greatest attention to them, do everything to promote their growth' (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 29, p. 425).

The objective trends of a social process may clash with the given level of development. This means that the Party and the state must set new, higher requirements in diverse spheres of social activity and take relevant organizational measures. They direct the people's

effort towards accomplishing urgent tasks, with the result that socialist society makes further headway.

Needless to say, one cannot foresee every contradiction of socialism years ahead, any more than one can specify in advance or in detail the social forces that will remove them or the methods they will use for this. The appearance and elimination of social contradictions is not comparable to clockwork, which, once wound, functions automatically. What we have here is a dialectical unity of the spontaneous and the conscious, the latter playing the decisive role.

Some elements of spontaneity are inherent in the vast scale of the people's social activity and the extraordinary dynamism of social life. A recurrent invasion of *terra incognita* (in both science and creative social activity) and the break-up of the old way of life are, of course, incompatible with 'total' forecasting or planning. This means that we cannot automatically qualify elements of spontaneity under socialism as socially unacceptable.

There is a close connection between objective contradictions and the subjective factor. While contradictions are the source, the subjective factor is the motor, of development. This is why Party and state activity, the Marxist-Leninist ideology, influence socialism's social processes.

Socialist consciousness plays a key role. It impels the working class and other working people to do their utmost for socialism, combat shortcomings and pave the way for the new. It materializes in society's organized solution of pressing problems, and in mass initiative as socialist democracy is perfected – and this is the earnest of promptly eliminating contradictions which hinder progress.

Socialist awareness is a prerequisite of the effective operation of such motive forces of socialist development as material or economic incentives. To dissociate these material factors from the subjective factor would mean to mislead the working people. Unless material incentives are coupled with socialist convictions a petty-bourgeois mentality may develop, resulting in contradictions which hold up progress.

We cannot perfect socialist society without increasing social production or developing the productive forces. The new defeats the old primarily in the material sphere and its victory depends on linking the achievements of the scientific and technological revolution with the advantages of socialism, which derive from emancipated labor, the planning of economic processes and the encouragement of mass initiative. All this makes for firm political convictions and a high degree of professional competence, which modern production requires and for which socialism affords ample opportunities. This is how the socialist individual – the subject of perfecting the new system by resolving its objective contradictions – develops and acquires new valuable qualities.

The dialectics of the new society

Nikola Trendafilov,
Professor, Academy of Social
Sciences and Social Manage-
ment, Bulgaria

There are two erroneous tendencies in interpreting dialectical contradictions under socialism.

The first, as rightly noted by G. Glezerman, denies the existence of objective contradictions in the new society, presenting matters as though under socialism there is complete harmony between both aspects of the mode of production, between the basis and superstructure. Thereby contradictions under socialism are reduced solely to those of a subjective nature due to violations of the objective laws of development, mistakes, etc. But, as Lenin pointed out, there can never be complete harmony, either in nature or in society. Harmony between some categories and phenomena contains elements of disharmony, i.e., contradiction, with respect to others. Socialist society develops on the basis of the appearance, change, evolution and resolution of objective non-antagonistic contradictions. To deny their existence means, in fact, to ignore the source of motion, change and development, for, obviously, contradictions bred by subjectivism cannot serve as such a source and motive force.

The other tendency, which is present in the works of bourgeois ideologues, as well as Right and 'Left' opportunists boils down to the artificial construction of antagonistic contradictions allegedly inherent in socialist society.

Socialist revolution puts an end to the antagonisms of the capitalist system, the exploitation of man by man, social, national and racial oppression, and class conflict. But there are in socialist society other, qualitatively new contradictions deriving naturally from the laws that govern it. In my view, they include, along with the non-antagonistic contradictions that determine the new society's development, certain antagonistic contradictions, either inherited from the past or due to the external influence of imperialism.

Experience shows that exaggeration, or overemphasis of the place, role and importance of antagonistic contradictions in socialist society leads to harmful consequences. This is true, for example, of the Maoist interpretation of such contradictions some of which are unjustifiably absolutized.

Equally dangerous is the opposite tendency of underestimating or ignoring antagonistic contradictions with the class enemy de-

prived of power by the socialist revolution but persisting in its counter-revolutionary activity. This can lead to a weakening of the dictatorship of the proletariat in the face of a threat of capitalist restoration.

From the point of view of bourgeois ideologues, the very recognition of contradictions under socialism is an indication of the 'inherent incompatibility' of Marxist theory.* They see this 'incompatibility' in the fact that Marxism-Leninism, on the one hand, sees the struggle of opposites as a source of socialist development and, on the other, establishes such new motive forces of this development as national, moral and political unity, socialist patriotism, friendship of peoples, etc. Actually, there is no incompatibility, and the struggle of opposites remains the source of motion and development. As I see it, the category 'motive force' precisely indicates the opposites of dialectical contradiction that express the new and progressive. The unity of the working class, cooperative farmers and people's intelligentsia, as expressed in socialist patriotism, national, moral and political unity and friendship of peoples, is a new motive force insofar as it expresses the new and progressive and opposes the old and obsolescent in all spheres of socialist development of society.

The system of dialectical contradictions changes somewhat in the stage of developed socialist society. This is due most especially to the changes in the production forces brought about by the scientific and technological revolution.

In the transitional period from capitalism to socialism extensive factors of economic and social development predominate, but with the building up of a developed socialist society, extensive development breeds contradictions that obstruct the further perfection of socialism. These contradictions can be overcome by intensifying the reproduction process, which means using the benefits of the scientific and technological revolution, raising social-labor productivity, and enhancing the effectiveness of fixed assets and investments.

The scientific and technological revolution changes the nature of the interactions between manpower, the tools of production and the objects of labor. Modern tools of production transformed through integrated mechanization, automation and cybernetics, are made to perform some of the functions of production control and regulation. Furthermore, the chemicalization of production provides new materials which change the object of labor and expand and industrialize the economy's raw material base, providing openings for further development and the rational, balanced distribution of the productive forces. Science becomes a direct productive force in the broadest sense of the word.

All this facilitates not only the rapid growth of, but also qualitative changes in, the production forces which, in turn, gives rise to new non-antagonistic contradictions, whose resolution leads to the further improvement of socialist production relations.

*The idea is elaborated, for example, by the well-known anti-Communist H. Wetter.

For example, as developed socialism is built there appears the contradiction between quantitative and qualitative changes in the production forces stemming from the scientific and technological revolution, on the one hand, and the degree of socialization of the means of production and forms of organization of socialist ownership, on the other.

In Bulgaria we found that the separate industrial enterprise, which was the basic economic unit during extensive development, could not respond to the requirements of the scientific and technological revolution: it lacked adequate access to the latest information on advances in science and technology, as well as the material means of putting them to work. The extent of socialization of agriculture, coupled with crop diversity within the farm cooperative, also came into contradiction with the requirements of the scientific and technological revolution, preventing the use of modern production and management methods.

These contradictions are being resolved by further amalgamation in industry and agriculture. In accordance with the decisions of the September, 1969, and April, 1970, plenums of the Communist Party CC, the basic economic unit in industry is now the big agglomerate that encompasses the whole reproduction process; in agriculture agrarian-industrial complexes have been set up, bringing together, voluntarily and according to production specialization, several cooperative and state farms and they are gradually evolving into independent production and administrative entities. Comrade Todor Zhivkov has noted that the agrarian-industrial complex could be regarded as one of the ways, one of the forms, whereby cooperative ownership will subsequently attain the level of national ownership.

The decisions and the Party Program adopted by the 10th Congress in 1971 devote considerable space to the question of overcoming the essential differences between the two forms of socialist ownership in the stage of building a developed socialist society. The Program stresses that the rapid development of the productive forces will promote a continuous dialectical process of reciprocal interpenetration and enrichment of the two forms of socialist ownership of the means of production, entailing their gradual convergence and merger into a unified national ownership of the means of production. The qualitative changes in the production forces in the course of the scientific and technological revolution and convergence of the two forms of socialist ownership facilitate the further perfection of the socialist principle of distribution and the further rise of living standards by providing workers with greater material incentives.

The system of dialectical contradictions also includes non-antagonistic contradictions between the modern productive forces and some elements of the socialist superstructure, such as obsolete forms of economic organization and management, certain methods of management of public and political organizations and the state apparatus, certain forms of organization and methods of control

of science, education and the cultural sphere. In other words, non-antagonistic contradictions develop between the managed and managing systems. A program for overcoming these contradictions was drawn up on the basis of decisions passed by the July 1968 plenum, which calls for improving the work of local government bodies, the Patriotic Front and the Komsomol, as well as for greater efforts in education, science and raising living standards.

The new economic management system provides for improving the forms and methods of production organization, planning and material incentives. It makes possible better and fuller utilization of the objective economic laws and advantages of socialism and overcoming possible manifestations of subjectivism. This promotes universal concern for eliminating the contradictions between national, collective and personal interests.

Every social phenomenon contains many contradictions, one of which is the main one which determines all the others. It is expressed in the essence of the phenomenon from the moment it appears and up to the radical qualitative change. The main contradiction of a socio-economic structure lies in the mode of production, which determines all social development.

The main contradiction of socialism is non-antagonistic in character. Its existence in a system of other contradictions indicates that socialism is developing in a certain direction, namely toward the transition of socialist society into communist. As I see it, to deny the existence of the main contradiction suggests that socialism has no main direction of development.

This contradiction differs fundamentally from the main antagonistic contradiction of capitalism. Peculiar to it is that, firstly, it exists in a frame of harmony between the social character of production and public ownership of the means of production and, secondly, it is not associated with an antagonistic class structure, as is the case with capitalism, in which the ruling class exploits and oppresses other classes.

The main contradiction of socialism is related to the main economic law of socialism, the law of complete, all-round satisfaction of the material and cultural needs of the people on the basis of continuous development of the productive forces and social productivity of labor. Hence, it can be said that the main contradiction is that between the attained level of development of the productive forces and the constantly growing material and spiritual requirements of the people. And in this context it would be wrong to interpret 'attained level' as meaning a 'low level.'

Marx, in his 'Critique of the Gotha Program,' and Lenin, in his 'The State and Revolution,' noted that under socialism some inequality in the distribution of material wealth continues to exist. Thus, the main contradiction of socialism is expressed in the contradiction between the equal relationship of the main productive force, man, vis-à-vis the means of production representing public property, and the existence of a degree of inequality in the distribution of material wealth.

Total satisfaction of the people's growing needs requires not only the resolution of the contradictions bred by the rapid growth of the productive forces in the course of building the material and technical base of communism, but also the resolution of the other non-antagonistic contradictions stemming from the differences between the two forms of socialist ownership, between physical and mental labor, etc.

In our discussion the question was raised of the relationship between the basic and the main contradictions of socialism. I should like to associate myself with those comrades who hold that there is a basic contradiction and a main contradiction, and that there are differences between them. The main contradiction, in my view, is the one that determines the stage of social development. Its resolution is a prerequisite for transition to the next stage, which also has its main contradiction. The transformation of a secondary contradiction into the main contradiction and its resolution is an important aspect of the dialectics of change and development of every social phenomenon.

The nature of the main contradiction reflects the differences between the stages in the development of socialism. Thus, in Bulgaria, where a mature socialist society is in the making, the main contradiction of the present stage is that between the developed economy, the content of socio-political activity, science and education, on the one hand, and obsolescent forms and methods of organization of social management, on the other. And, as noted at the July 1968 plenum, we should concentrate on resolving it. Resolution of the main contradiction and the related improvement of the whole system of social management, as Comrade Zhivkov pointed out, is the alpha and omega of Party and government work in the Bulgarian People's Republic.

Through the prism of class struggle

Gus Hall's new book* is a sustained, well-structured theoretical and political study of imperialism today. Its plain, lucid exposition combines with revolutionary partisanship and scientific Marxist thought.

The General Secretary of the Communist Party USA investigates all the major development processes of imperialism and the forces ranged against it. "This analysis does not, of course, include accounts of all the manifestations of imperialist aggression or of neo-

*Gus Hall, *Imperialism Today. An Evaluation of Major Issues and Events of Our Time*. International Publishers, New York, 1972, 384 pp.

colonialism in this decade,' Hall writes, 'but I believe that the historical events discussed are representative. They are studies of social, economic and political currents and trends as they surface in the context of current situations.'

The book covers a wide range of subjects and is, in a way, a global study. For it examines, in analytical detail, the growth of state-monopoly capitalism and the military-industrial complex, the economic function of the bourgeois state, the growth of monopolies and their conversion into conglomerates and multinational giants, the quickening pace of the scientific and technological revolution. The reader will also find interesting data and observations on imperialist contradictions, the relation between 'American centrism' and 'polycentrism' in international relations, America's declining role in world economics and politics. Prominence is also given to the issues facing the world revolutionary process. The author convincingly substantiates the historical inevitability of the overthrow of capitalism. Several chapters deal with unity of the anti-imperialist forces and the fight against revisionism and nationalism, anti-communism, anti-Sovietism and Maoist opportunism. 'The concept of "superpowers" is super-opportunism,' Hall writes.

The value of the book lies in the way the author applies to the problems of the revolutionary movement Lenin's theory of imperialism as the last stage of capitalism and the eve of socialist revolution. Without understanding the workings of imperialism in the present two-world system, the author remarks, we cannot evolve a policy and tactics for the anti-imperialist movement. New developments in imperialism are treated not abstractly, but through the prism of the class struggle in the USA. And the experience of that struggle, of the anti-war and anti-racist actions of America's working people, the Blacks, Chicanos, Puerto Ricans and Indians, the experience of the worldwide anti-imperialist struggle, enrich the Lenin theory of imperialism.

The central theme, naturally, is exposure of U.S. imperialism. And here the author cites, and analyzes, numerous facts to show the process of intensifying exploitation of the working class, robbing the people by inflation and taxes, and increasing the oppression of minority groups. All the benefits of the technological revolution accrue to the 'syndicate of imperialism.' The social and political crisis affects every aspect of American life. For it is a crisis of the cities, of the ecology, the dollar. It finds expression in rampant militarism, the growth of crime and drug addiction. Reaction in internal policy is matched by imperialist aggression internationally, by neo-colonialism, subversion and outright military intervention.

Modern capitalism is a sick society. 'There is only one fundamental cure for it,' Hall writes. 'If a surgeon does not cut out the roots, the growth will reappear. The roots of imperialism are in the system of capitalism. It is here where the surgery must take place. This is the epoch of the crisis of imperialism, the epoch of anti-imperialist surgery. Once the cancer is removed, the human society can build a healthy body called socialism.'

The fight against imperialism is a categorical imperative of the times. And throughout the world, new detachments of the working people animated by the need for united action against imperialism are joining that fight under the banner of Marxism-Leninism, under the banner of socialism. The world balance of forces is increasingly changing in favor of socialism. But imperialism, particularly its American variety, is still a strong and dangerous foe. That should not be underestimated. And in this context Hall emphasizes the need for closer unity of all the revolutionary, anti-imperialist forces on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

Jean Santal

'Marxistische Blaetter'

Fritz Krause

Publishing Editor

'Marxistische Blaetter,' a bi-monthly theoretical journal of Marxist-Leninist analysis, is published in the Federal Republic of Germany. The material appearing in the journal examines the political and economic problems of our country, where state-monopoly capitalism has fully developed, with all its inherent contradictions.

The economy

The concentration of capital and production has reached unprecedented proportions. The mergers involving Thyssen and Mannesmann, and the Boelkow-Messerschmidt-Blohm armaments concerns are examples. Technical progress, overtime, the manipulation of wages lead to the gigantic growth of profits.

The aggravation of the main contradictions of imperialism manifested itself firstly in the monetary crisis, causing a perceptible weakening of the mark. The rise in prices, rents and taxes reduces to almost nothing the social gains of the workers, won in the course of the class struggle.

Politics

The change in the international balance of forces in favor of peace, democracy and socialism compels monopoly capital in the FRG to devise a different political strategy.

The attempts of the reactionary forces within the CDU/CSU to maintain and intensify a policy hostile to peace and détente, have failed. The Bundestag elections on November 19, 1972, led to the defeat of the CDU/CSU – the party of reactionary big capital. Thus, an important objective of millions of FRG working people has been

achieved. The election showed that the majority of the population supports the policy expressed in the treaties with the USSR and the People's Republic of Poland, and wants good neighborly relations between the FRG and the GDR, security, peace and cooperation in Europe.

In internal affairs the adjustment of the state system to changing conditions, especially by the Brandt-Scheel government, is reflected in more mobile and flexible methods of exercising power. Currently, we can hear protestations about 'great democracy,' the 'policy of reform,' although a secret, and at times an absolutely open, strengthening of the power apparatus goes on, aided by reactionary laws, and sometimes the employment of repressive police measures.

Class struggle

The state openly intervenes on the side of big business in the struggle of the masses for material improvements. The intensification of exploitation and sharpening of socio-economic contradictions have led to mass working-class actions. These were the strikes of the metal workers in Baden-Wuerttemberg in 1971 and of the chemical workers in 1972. (It is noteworthy that there had been no strikes in this industry for approximately 50 years.) There was also the resistance of the youth to the American war in Vietnam and the strikes and demonstrations during April-May 1972 in support of the ratification of the treaties between the FRG and the USSR and the People's Republic of Poland, and against the attempts of the leadership of the CDU/CSU to remove the Brandt-Scheel government. The actions of the working class and the unions for the right to participate in administering the enterprises are also proof of the growing struggle for the social and political rights of the workers, and of their increasing strength. Just as politics and economics intertwine under the system of state-monopoly capitalism, so also do the economic actions of the working class acquire more of a political character and develop into political struggle.

Ideology

Anti-communism is still the main weapon of monopoly capital. Although it adopts a more subtle guise, nevertheless, virulent anti-communism and open anti-Sovietism have not disappeared.

Even the leaders of the CDU/CSU now claim to be respectable apostles of a 'humane industrial society' and 'reformist politicians of reason.' Otto A. Friedrich, president of the Federation of German Employers, lamenting the 'recurrences' of the class struggle, stated that 'it has become the fashion to divide society into groups hostile to the employers or to the workers.'

Characteristically, the Right Social-Democratic leaders who, a few years ago, described the SPD as a party of the people, now more frequently, as instanced by Helmut Schmidt, declare that German Social-Democracy represents the workers' wing of society. Not

so long ago they shunned the word 'socialism,' but now they loudly proclaim 'democratic socialism.' While doing so they make no secret of their open hostility to the West German Communists.

There is a noticeable revival of Trotskyite, anarchist and Maoist groups, and large quantities of pseudo-Marxist literature are also distributed by bourgeois publishers.

Life, however, shows that despite its subterfuges and political flexibility, imperialism is also losing ground in the ideological field and is being resisted, particularly by young people. Interest in the Marxist solution of contemporary problems is growing, which our journal strives to satisfy by actively disseminating and explaining Marxism-Leninism. Through facts and examples it reveals the unity of theory and practice of scientific communism.

Theory and practice in our pages

In our introduction to the first issue, published in November 1963, we said that the journal was destined to become 'a reliable source, enabling people to study scientific socialism.' The years have passed, and *Marxistische Blaetter* can claim to be achieving its objective. Taking as its starting-point the needs of the working class in its struggle against big capital, the journal, in issues devoted to special themes, examines the theory and practice of the German and international working class movements. The questions which come within its orbit range over economics, political and social problems, and the most important events occurring both at home and abroad. By analyzing social relations and the prospects of the class struggle, we endeavor to provide the reader with arguments pertinent to the current political and theoretical battle against reaction.

Marxistische Blaetter also publishes articles which throw light on the historical experience accumulated by the working class movement.

An idea of the journal's contents can be gained from quoting some titles. 'The Strategy and Tactics of the Working Class Movement,' 'Youth and Society,' 'New Features in the Development of Imperialism,' 'Education and the Scientific and Technological Revolution,' 'Methods Designed to Integrate the Working Class into the System of State-Monopoly Capitalism,' 'Culture and the Working Class,' 'Environment Protection and Society,' 'Bourgeois and Socialist Democracy,' 'Capitalist and Socialist Integration,' 'Economic Crises in Conditions of State-Monopoly Capitalism,' 'The Working Class and the Policy of Alliances,' etc.

Subjects are chosen according to their topicality. For instance, at the end of 1972, in issue No. 6 we dealt with such topics as: 'Aspects of European Security,' 'The USA's West European Doctrine,' 'The Socialist Countries' Policy Towards Europe,' 'The European Policies of the CDU/CSU, SPD and DKP.'

The journal also publishes commentaries on the political life of the Federal Republic. In one issue, for example, the article, 'The

Resignation of Schiller,' exposed the scandal involved in the removal of the Social-Democratic Economics and Finance Minister.

The section 'Information' covers main events in the labor movement, international conferences and meetings.

Our Books Section has now become a regular feature and reviews appear of new publications on the social sciences, politics, etc.

An idea of the type of article occasionally published under the heading 'Discussion' can be gleaned from the following titles: 'Is "Democratic Socialism" an Open Theory?,' 'Communists and Individual Terror - Ancient Truths and Present Reality.'

The section 'Documents' completes the contents of *Marxistische Blaetter*.

Contributors include theoreticians and practical workers in the German and international working class movement, and during the past few years a permanent group has been established, mainly of young writers.

The path to recognition

The journal was launched almost ten years ago by the 'August Bebel Society' in Frankfurt-am-Main, one of a number of groups studying and propagating scientific socialism which had come into being seven years after the ban on the Communist Party of Germany. Despite the fact that anti-communism remained government policy, the 'positions-of-strength' line proved untenable in the struggle with socialist ideas. The journal at that time made the following assessment of the situation prevailing in the FRG:

'The Federal Republic is the only state claiming to be one of the culturally developed countries where, to this day, the ideas of Marx are outlawed. A wide range of research institutes, journals and educational establishments are maintained and encouraged with the sole object of combatting Marxism. Thus, when a citizen of the Federal Republic wishes to learn about scientific socialism, he is presented with a distorted and falsified version. However, increasing numbers of sober-minded people are realizing that scientific socialism, which is of worldwide dissignificance, can no longer be controverted. . . .'

At that time the journal was produced and distributed by only a few Marxists in their spare time. Today, too, it is produced by Marxists active in the working class movement. The journal has occupied a firm place in the class struggle of the FRG, doing everything in its power to contribute to what the bourgeois newspaper *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* writes about: 'There is scarcely a serious publication that does not conduct a discussion on Marxism . . . This proves that a confrontation is taking place which none would have thought possible ten years ago.'

At first bourgeois politicians, manipulators of public opinion, ignored our journal. Then, when this was no longer possible, they slandered it. But, finally, they had to legitimize it. On August 26, 1972, the Extra-Dienst Agency (West Berlin) published the follow-

ing extract from a 'Report to the Bundestag on Internal Security':

'The Communist *Marxistische Blaetter* Press in Frankfurt-am-Main publishes, in addition to its bi-monthly journal, well-produced and cheap pocket-sized books, "*Marxistische Taschenbuecher*," "*Marxistische Paperbacks*," "*Marxist Lehrbriefe*," and "*Classical Works*" . . .'

From 1963 to 1972 the journal's circulation grew from 1,500 to 8,000 copies, and it is meeting with an ever-increasing response and consolidating its influence, particularly amongst the younger generation and progressive circles. This is confirmed by the many public opinion polls conducted by the journal. The theoretical organ of the German Trade Unions *Gewerkschaftliche Monatshefte* said of the series of articles 'Trade Unions and Modern Capitalism' published by *Marxistische Blaetter*, 'Even though not sharing the views of most authors (DKP), this number of the journal should be seen as a valuable contribution to the discussions on the trade unions.'

The pocket editions in the series '*Marxismus Aktuell*' are attracting greater attention. They are principled, scientifically based, yet popularly expounded, Marxist writings. More than 40 titles have already appeared, among them: 'Inflation Today,' 'Conflict in the Far East,' 'Chile - Unity of the People,' 'The GDR: Developments, Problems and Perspectives,' 'Wages, Prices and Profits Today,' 'Women's Liberation,' 'Workers and Peasants Against Bosses and Bankers,' and 'Class Battles in Capitalist Europe.'

Axel Springer's *Die Welt*, the voice of monopoly capital, commented as follows on a pamphlet in the series '*Marxistische Taschenbuecher*':

'The pamphlet "The September Strikes" published by *Marxistische Blaetter* and distributed in large numbers to production councils and trade union officials, strengthens the hidden, but ever-present dissatisfaction. . . .'

Marxistische Blaetter has served, and continues to serve, the cause of the workers of the FRG, and all who are connected with its publication are devoted to this task.



Panama chooses the road

Ruben Dario Souza
General Secretary, People's
Party of Panama

CONTINUING OUR SERIES 'POLITICAL PORTRAIT OF LATIN AMERICA'

Events in our country must be viewed in relation to the victory of the Cuban revolution and the anti-imperialist struggle in Latin America as a whole. Panama is another weak link in the chain of imperialist oppression, one of the fronts in the great struggle for liberation. It will be recalled that on October 11, 1968, shortly after the military government had assumed power in Peru, a group of officers of the Panamanian National Guard carried out a coup d'état. At first it was hard to assess these two events, but later progressive steps taken by the administration revealed that a new development had emerged in Latin American politics: the social base of the anti-imperialist struggle had spread to include certain army circles. And although the new regime in our country started out with repressions against the people, Communists in the first place, the logic of the fight against imperialism soon propelled the progressive element within the National Guard towards the masses. Opportunities appeared for the development of a popular movement. The government's foreign policy acquired an explicitly anti-imperialist character, opening up prospects of freeing the country from the imperialist yoke.

The Canal

The Panamanian people's struggle is taking place in one of the Pentagon's main strategic areas. The U.S. controlled Canal Zone harbors a major military-economic complex which is like a thorn in the heart of Panama and the continent as a whole.

A mass movement for freeing the Canal Zone from imperialist domination is gathering strength. It will be recalled that in 1964 American troops opened fire against patriots demonstrating to hoist the Panamanian flag over the Canal. Under mass pressure the government broke off diplomatic relations with the United States, restoring them only after Washington agreed to start negotiations.

However, the draft treaty drawn up in 1966 failed to meet the national interest.

Talks were resumed after the military government assumed power, but on an entirely new basis. Now the Panamanian representatives are speaking for the masses' demand to restore national sovereignty over the canal and to liquidate American military bases. The U.S., however, has maintained an intransigent position, declaring that if the Panamanian government insists on its demands it will suspend the negotiations.

The United States, with the help of the Nicaraguan dictator Somoza and the reactionary officers' corps in Guatemala, is known to be forming bands of mercenaries to invade Panama. We have information that Haitian ports, constantly visited by ships of the Caribbean fleet, the Pentagon's police force in the area, may be used as bases for aggression. The Yankee monopolies are fanning border disputes between Panama and Colombia in connection with illegal emigration to our country. These are some of the methods by which the imperialists would force the Panamanian government to give up its legitimate demands.

The military authorities' firmness in the canal negotiations are due largely to the support of the people, who realize only too well that no genuine liberation from monopoly domination is possible without the return of the Canal Zone. Obviously, there are various ways of resolving the issue, including appeal to the United Nations, as suggested by Panama's Foreign Minister, but whatever approach is taken the masses at large are entitled to a direct say in the canal's future.

From farmer settlements to cooperatives

When we say that the coming of the present government to power created opportunities for expanding the fight against imperialism we do not mean that the country has taken firmly to the path of revolutionary change. Although the local oligarchy and American monopolies have largely lost control over the government, they still hold key positions in the economy, the country continues to be dependent on U.S. imperialism, and the policies of the petty-bourgeois nationalists in power are far from genuinely revolutionary.

Still, changes have begun, the most significant ones in agriculture. Seventy-six per cent of the rural population, 48 per cent of the total, are landless or poor peasants migrating constantly in search of a living. Our Party's agrarian program calls for giving them land for settlement.

The government put forward its *asentamiento* (settlement) plan, the officially proclaimed objective of which was to give the peasants land. But conditions for changing the structure of the Panamanian countryside appeared only when progressive forces tackled the problem.*

Our Party has been following the *asentamiento* policy with inter-

*On agrarian changes in Panama see WMR, December, 1972 - Ed.

est and we have clearly defined our attitude towards it. We have some experience of work in rural areas and we know the moods of the peasants. Most of them want land—allotments for only three-five years because the soil is soon exhausted and becomes useless: the farmers have no means of restoring its fertility and they want to move.

The migrating peasant has not evolved the psychology of a petty-bourgeois proprietor, he is not interested in land ownership and wishes only to provide food for himself and his family and market the surplus. That is why our Party holds that the peculiar circumstances of Panama allow for the immediate introduction of collective land ownership. The higher organization of labor, availability of credits and better marketing openings would encourage the peasants to settle down.

In the Carrizal area we started, on squatter lands, an enterprise based on community ownership of the land and joint cultivation. The results of this experiment were encouraging. Joint effort facilitated the use of new farming techniques, acquisition of better implements and higher productivity. The people in neighboring villages showed interest in the idea of collective farming. And politically the experiment served as an effective means of encouraging the farmers to take a long-term interest in the land and draw them into active struggle against the landowners.

When the military government embarked on its *asentamiento* policy we exposed its bourgeois-reformist essence and sought to use it as a framework for realizing our own experience. The Party advocates communal distribution of land, the organization of cooperatives (with provisions for small personal holdings), the introduction of new farming techniques, and state economic and technical assistance.

We hold that the *asentamiento* policy should involve all landless peasants, including squatters on lands owned by American monopolies. Communists say: the key to the land problem is not colonization of state lands but expropriation of unused landlord estates. We also stress the need for a nationwide *asentamiento* organization to create a social base for revolutionary change in the countryside.

We have managed to bring about some changes in government policies. A peasant movement for radical democratic agrarian reform has sprung up. *Asentamientos* are evolving into cooperative farms based on new production relations. Prospects are opening up for revolutionary change in agriculture with a fairly high level of socialization of the means of production.

Of course, the 127 *asentamientos* embracing 7,000 families are not yet a solution to the problem. They do, however, serve the purpose of drawing the peasants into the struggle for transforming the government's reformist plans into a radical agrarian reform.

State control of the economy

The government's economic policy remains based on the principle

of a dominant private sector with North American capital. It has been amply shown that such a policy cannot bring freedom from the monopolies or do away with dependence and poverty. It is a policy promoted by petty-bourgeois reformists brought up on neo-colonialist conceptions disparaging the role of the state in managing social production.

The reformists have announced their so-called five-year plan which concentrates on the service sphere to the detriment of industrial development. Its cost is set at 1,200 million dollars, more than half of which is to be contributed by private capital, North American included. It is furthermore suggested that if a government-established enterprise begins to pay its way it will be handed over to private interests. One of the negative consequences of the program will be increased dependence on Yankee monopolies, as Panama's national debt will increase by several hundred million dollars.

Progressives demand a new national and patriotic economic policy. Under mass pressure the authorities were forced to start setting up enterprises with the participation of state, private and cooperative capital. An example is the construction of a sugar agro-industrial complex (at a cost of 12 million dollars). Such undertakings, however, are few.

The government has nationalized the North American monopoly that supplied electricity to the country's two main cities, Panama and Colon, and there is talk of nationalizing other North American and Panamanian businesses. These steps, however, are not a logical continuation of government policy, but rather a response to economic sabotage by reactionary forces seeking to create dislocation and prevent the development of the national-liberation movement.

It is therefore incumbent on the progressive forces to step up the struggle against neo-colonialism, against the plans of making big private ownership the basis of the national economy, for doing away with dependence on foreign monopolies and expanding state participation in economic development. This can be achieved only when the government becomes truly popular, with representatives of the workers, peasants and revolutionary intelligentsia in it. The call for such a government is steadily mounting.

United front

The worker, peasant and student movements are merging into a single stream of mass struggle for genuine national liberation.

Panama's trade unions were formed in different conditions, some under American occupation in the Canal Zone, others in the sovereign part of the country. Add to this the oligarchy's splitting activities, and one can imagine the difficulties in achieving working-class unity. With the military government in power, working-class unity gathered momentum, culminating in the setting up of a national organization including unions in the occupied territory. The Pana-

manian authorities now allow for a degree of joint worker action as, for example, for new labor legislation.

The trade union movement is gathering strength, spearheading united action against oligarchy attempts to stage a comeback, and for national sovereignty over the Canal Zone, i.e., it has begun to put forward political demands. The masses realize the need for joint action and they are fighting stubbornly for collective bargaining and against the rising cost of living.

While realizing that it is impossible to unite the workers in one day, we can say that the idea of unity has become widespread and gained a firm foothold at local level.

Considering the present opportunities for proletarian unity and the mounting peasant movement for agrarian reform, the Communists' task is to build up a firm worker-peasant alliance and to participate, along with other forces, in a united anti-imperialist bloc.

Youth and students play a great part in the fight for freedom and democracy. Back in the 40s, young Panamanians, supported by broad sections of the people, launched a resolute struggle for the democratization of the education system and forced the government to make concessions. The youth spearheaded the mass movement that compelled the U.S. Army to relinquish 45 bases set up on our territory during World War II. All this promoted unity.

Up to the 60s student organizations met with fierce repression. They suffered great losses, but then regrouped and came out, under the leadership of our Party, for the expansion of the education reform. It was within this movement that the anti-imperialist moods of Panama's intellectuals germinated.

After the 1968 coup, the youth, students especially, openly opposed the military government, which responded by disbanding their organizations. Later, when the situation changed, the students held a national congress which restored their federation. This also promoted the cohesion of anti-imperialist forces and was a step along the road towards the united front consistently advocated by our Party.

Fighting reaction

As mentioned before, the government's policies do not encroach on the fundamental interests of big business and American monopolies. Internal and external reaction hatches plots and does its best to prevent mass participation in resolving the nation's problems. In these conditions the responsibility of the proletariat and its party for the destinies of the nation is especially great.

The People's Party of Panama (PPP) has encountered many difficulties since its formation in 1930, but today we can claim with full justification that we have built a Marxist-Leninist party of the working class and accumulated a large body of experience in revolutionary struggle. A manifestation of our maturity was that, in spite of the repressions that followed the 1968 military coup, we were able to discern the prospects opening up before the country. Communists

did not panic or become embittered, they continued to work patiently among different population groups. We did not, as the saying goes, lose sight of the forest for the trees.

Today the PPP is the only political party that has preserved its structure. Although we are still officially banned, we have strong ties with the worker, peasant and student movements. This is the earnest of our vanguard role. For a number of objective and subjective reasons our Party's membership is not large, but we enjoy growing influence among the masses, which has enabled us to establish links with progressive sections of the petty-bourgeois, nationalistic military government. This is a result of long and persevering political work among the people, a consistent strategy, and a thorough Marxist-Leninist analysis of the peculiarities of Panamanian society and the character of the revolution in our country. It is also a result of class struggles, the confrontation with Right and 'Left' opportunism, the struggle for the Party's revolutionary cohesion and effectiveness.

Bourgeois reformism is incapable of showing a way out of the social crisis. The treacherous oligarchy, ousted from the seats of power, is losing its positions. Contradictions between the nation and American imperialism are mounting. The demand for change is coming from wider and wider sections of the people. Thanks to our Party's prestige and consistent revolutionary policy, it is, in these conditions, acquiring a place of growing prominence in Panamanian life.

In March 1969, the Central Committee analyzed the situation, formulated our policy, and set guidelines for resolving the nation's main problems. It stressed the need to make use of every opportunity to turn the military government into a popular, anti-imperialist administration, unite all forces capable of joining the national-liberation movement, and create a broad political front.

At the time various factions of the National Guard were fighting for control of the government. It was then that the Right resorted to repression. Our Party resolutely supported the progressive factions within the government and organized popular action in defense of democratic freedoms under the slogan of fighting 'authoritarian, repressive militarism.' The persecution ended.

There are quite a few patriotically minded officers among the military who support the idea of national-democratic, anti-imperialist change. Though they are not Marxists, these people help the progressive forces in explaining the situation to the masses and drawing them into the struggle against the oligarchy.

It should be stressed, however, that joint action for the objectives of a national-democratic revolution with broad participation of the petty and some sections of the middle bourgeoisie is possible only within the framework of an intense class struggle for the hegemony of the working class. The struggle is especially bitter in the ideological sphere, which obliges us, as a Marxist-Leninist party of the working class, to be vigilant and spare no effort to maintain our independence.

In other words, as the objective conditions for a national-democratic revolution ripen the tasks of ideological struggle become more and more complex. This requires an open and serious confrontation with every brand of opportunism.

After the elections

Another key issue of political and ideological struggle besides the Canal is the role of the National Assembly as a branch of government.

Last year's August elections opened the way to government for genuine representatives of the people. Our candidates received 70,000 votes, 14 per cent of the total. This is an indication of the Party's strength, a major achievement, proof of the emergence of a new political reality and the people's desire for revolutionary change. The overwhelming majority of the largest faction in the National Assembly are active functionaries of democratic organizations, which makes for greater worker-peasant unity.

The imperialist-inspired reaction—the oligarchy, the Right wing of the National Guard and the government, and opportunists of every brand—are trying to neutralize the National Assembly and reduce its role to debating changes in the Constitution and election of the president, after which they want it dissolved.

Fearing the mounting Communist influence, the combined forces of reaction will undoubtedly try to undermine and isolate the Party. But Communists are tempered by difficulties. There is no force capable of removing us from the country's political life.

Our main task is to bring all democratic, patriotic forces together in a united anti-imperialist front based on worker-peasant unity and make the process of change that is beginning in Panama irreversible.

Man in the new society

A WMR group recently visited the Socialist Republic of Rumania at the invitation of its Communist Party Central Committee. It included L. Buchali (Socialist Vanguard Party of Algeria), J. Fuchs (CP Argentina), V. Novy (CP Czechoslovakia), P. Courtieu (French CP), S. Toyoda (CP Japan), Ts. Namsarai (Mongolian PRP), M. Pereira (CP Paraguay), F. Malaya (CP Philippines), S. Zapirain (CP Spain).

They visited several towns and villages, where they saw factories and farms, schools, cultural centers, and met and talked with Central Committee secretaries C. Burtica and S. Andrei, and District Party and economic officials.

Their impressions are recorded on this and the following pages.

Impressions of Rumania could be prefaced by a fact widely

known and recorded in international reference books: 'Rumania, a socialist country situated in Europe . . . proclaimed a people's republic in December 1947 . . .'

Socialist Rumania counts its progress from that date. Of course 25 years is but a brief span measured against history. But it has seen transformations that enabled the country, under Communist Party leadership, to overcome the backwardness of bourgeois-landlord Rumania, socialize the entire economy, considerably strengthen and restructure its material and technical basis and, in this way, lay the foundations of socialism and take up the work of building a comprehensively developed socialist society. For all the national specifics, the common regularities of building the new society have asserted themselves here as an objective necessity.

This we had known. We had also known that many difficulties had to be overcome and there still remained unresolved problems. We had recently read in the report on the national Communist Party Conference of the steps being taken to resolve them—in the economy, in the sphere of social and economic management, in ensuring a faster rise of living standards.

What is it that characterizes life in Rumania today? This can be understood only from first-hand acquaintance with the country and its people, just what we had come for. And what we saw and learned could not have been gleaned from any reference book.

Most of all we were interested in what socialism has given to the working people, men and women of diverse professions, ages, city dwellers and farmers.

Master of his destiny

Ion Mazilu, milling machine operator at a Bucharest engineering plant is not yet 30, but something of a veteran in a collective, where the average age is 23. In fact, young people, the coevals of the republic, make up the core of Rumania's working class. We saw them at their lathes or at the control panels of complex machine systems, at workers' meetings and at evening classes at the university. Their knowledge of exploitation, of the humiliations the worker was subjected to, comes only from books or the stories of older people. Their own experience is of an entirely different kind, shaped by the vast opportunities socialism offers for the all-round development of the personality.

But to quote Mazilu: 'Seven years ago we started building this plant on an empty lot on the outskirts of the capital. We put in all the equipment and mastered its operation. We owe everything we have to socialism. . . .'

Socialism has given the people, above all, the right to work, free and creative work. The old Rumania, a backwoods of capitalist Europe, was handed over by its venal rulers to be robbed by foreign monopolies. The working class was burdened by exploitation, doomed to unemployment and privation. Socialist Rumania began building the new life with industrialization. This meant not

only work for all, but also making the working class the master of its destiny.

In Bucharest and Ploesti, Brasov and Pitesti, Sibiu and other towns, we visited some of the hundreds of factories built in the years of popular rule, some of them in what were once quiet villages which, it seemed, life had passed by.

One of these was Pitesti, a very old but now also a very young city. About 100 industrial units have been built here in the last five years. Much the same is true of Ploesti, habitually referred to as an oil-industry center.

'That is not entirely so,' we were told by Alecu Gheorghe, Secretary of the Prahova District Party Committee. 'Of course, oil is the basis of our economy and Ploesti accounts for 70 per cent of Rumania's oil refining. But now Ploesti is also an engineering center. We produce equipment for the oil industry.'

There are industries which are entirely new for Rumania - power, chemicals, machine-building. Rumania produces passenger cars, computers and much more. Nearly two-thirds of the country's requirements in machinery, machine tools and other equipment is now produced at home, a reflection of the drive for maximum diversity of the economy.

All this was made possible by a high rate of industrialization. Our Rumanian hosts spoke with pride of the fact that in the 20 years beginning with 1951 industrial output has increased at an annual average of 12.9 per cent. The figure for pre-war Rumania was 4 per cent, so that the present output level would have been achieved only by the year 2015.

The heavy engineering works in Bucharest manufactures turbines and generators. Currently preparations are on for building high-capacity units for future hydraulic and thermal electric power stations.

'We carefully study the experience of the power industry in the fraternal countries,' says the plant's general director, Constantin Nicu. 'It is useful to us in launching new production and accelerating the output of new products.'

We heard much the same at other factories, where everything is done to digest and utilize the latest achievements of technological progress. Not accidentally, a characteristic feature of Rumania's production base today is the 'rejuvenation' of its fixed assets, 75 per cent of which were invested in the last 10 years. This, of course, involves considerable outlays, and 30-32 per cent of the national income goes into accumulation, that is, the further expansion of industry.

Nor is the 'rejuvenation' restricted to fixed assets. Young industrial workers are mastering new trades and modern technologies. It is a truly mass development, with the state providing every opportunity for it, and in this we saw yet another characteristic feature of socialism.

'The fact is,' we were told by Ion Danghe, operator at an oil refinery in Brazi, 'that every work team is a kind of school. Our

team, for instance, which was organized about eight years ago, has produced several foremen, four members are finishing their course at an evening college, two have been placed at the control panel.'

It is also significant that at every plant we found people who had made industry their life vocation, whose interests and aspirations are determined by what could be called a proprietor's concern for industrial advance.

'But don't get the impression,' we were told, 'that we have no difficulties. At worker meetings we discuss ways and means of improving production, quality and working conditions.'

The importance of better quality, said Comrade Gheorghe Cioare, member of the CC Executive of the Rumanian CP and first secretary of the Bucharest municipal Party committee, is emphasized by the expansion of Rumania's foreign commercial and economic links, notably her participation in the international socialist division of labor. The socialist countries account for 55 per cent of Rumania's foreign trade. The economy is increasingly dependent on imports, and this necessitates enhancing export opportunities and hence manufacture of products that are up to world standards.

Our interviewees invariably referred to the decisions of the latest national Party conference, which called upon the working people to make the fullest use of all industrial reserves and possibilities.

'The five-year plan in four and a half years,' is a motto we saw displayed at many factories that responded to the call of the Bucharest municipal Party organization, which pledged that the city would produce 52,000 million lei of goods over and above the five-year plan targets. An emulation movement for the fulfilment of the five-year plan ahead of time has swept the country.

Fruit of collective labor

At Brasov we met Constantin Petcu, director of a tractor factory. He spoke with animation as he showed us charts illustrating the growth of production and changes in the range of products.

'You could call this the report of our collective to the country,' he said. 'Every worker at his machine tool or the conveyor fully realizes his contribution. I myself began to earn my living here under the bourgeois regime. It used to be a small aircraft assembly shop. The engineers were foreigners. The owners held that the less a worker knew the better. All that interested the workers was to keep their job; they could not care less about the plant itself. Today all basic questions of factory operation are tackled jointly with the worker committee made up of workers elected at a general meeting and representatives of the management, Party, trade union and youth organizations. There are also commissions on various production affairs whose prime task is to uncover reserves for fulfilling and overfulfilling the plan. They also deal with improving working conditions and facilities, work organization and remuneration.'

'We are against wage-levelling,' the director stressed in response

to our questions concerning the remuneration system. 'Wages are differentiated, though steps are being taken towards the gradual reduction of the gap between the highest and lowest levels.'

At the tractor works and other plants we inquired about working hours. The maximum is eight hours a day; nursing mothers and adolescents work four to six hours with full wages. The annual paid holiday is from 15 to 24 working days, pending on seniority.

The state has undertaken full responsibility for housing, and in the last 20 years about one-third of the population has moved into new homes. Our stay in Rumania coincided with the announcement of a raise in minimum wages and grants for large families. Pensions, too, are being steadily increased.

The peasantry has benefited in the years of people's power, in respect of both working and living conditions.

'Today every farmer feels himself owner of the land, everyone strives for better results on his collective farm,' says Costica Misca, chairman of the Road of Lenin cooperative and deputy of the Grand National Assembly.

'When it was founded in 1962, the cooperative had common assets worth 700,000 lei; today they are worth 26 million, with gross output amounting to 16.5 million. Grain production is completely mechanized, and mechanization is under way in animal husbandry and other branches.'

'All this is taking place where there was once one plough for every three farms and one harrow for every four—a good illustration of the farmer's "equipment" during the bourgeois regime,' added Alexandru Apostol, chief engineer of the cooperative. His is an enterprise of considerable size, with trucks, electric motors and a wide range of farm machines and implements to look after. In addition the cooperative enjoys the services of a state machine-and-tractor station.

Our conversation was joined by Constantin Radu, secretary of the cooperative's Party organization.

'Cooperation, which leads to socialist life,' he said, 'is the only right way for the peasant. We have many visitors from different countries and they can all see the fruit of our collective labor.'

We, too, saw the results. Well-tended fields, gardens, greenhouses, mechanized livestock sections; almost one thousand new houses, a cultural center, a stadium. A farmer gets twice as much for a day's work as ten years ago. Cooperative members have a guaranteed income, they and their families enjoy free medical services, including hospitalization. They are entitled to resort vouchers at one-third cost, large families receive grants, old people get pensions.

'One source of concern, which is at the same time a positive development,' Costica Misca said in conclusion, 'is the outflow of manpower to the cities. This forces us to think more about mechanization and the introduction of industrial work methods. We are moving towards changing the very nature of peasant work.'

Tradition and innovation

In a picturesque neighborhood of Bucharest stands a spired build-

ing: Scinteia House, a publishing and printing combine which produces the central organ of the CC of the Rumanian Communist Party. Equipped with the latest in printing machinery, its spacious typesetting shops and rotary press halls turn out millions of copies of newspapers and magazines, including the two thousand copies of our magazine's Rumanian-language edition.

We were offered some figures: Rumania publishes some 700 newspapers and magazines with an aggregate circulation of almost 1,350,000. Book publishing is on a large scale. In the last five-year-plan period 19,000 books were published in a net printing of 348 million copies.

Rumania is now completing the introduction of universal compulsory ten-year education, whereas before the war 60 per cent of the people were illiterate.

Professional and technical training is promoted on a large scale. In the past five-year period the country trained 369,000 skilled workers.

The acute need for skilled personnel – today and especially in the future – was emphasized wherever we went. More than a million new jobs (almost as many as there were wage and salary earners in 1938) are expected in the present five-year period. They will be filled by the natural increase in the urban able-bodied population; what is more, an influx of at least 400,000 will be required from the villages.

All these people will have to be taught their jobs. The aim is for every school-leaver to know a trade. The system of vocational and evening schools, and correspondence courses, is being expanded. The newly opened Gheorghiu Academy of Social and Political Sciences will train Party and managerial personnel.

'It is not enough, however, to provide professional training,' we were told by Comrade Dragan, member of the Executive Committee of the CC RCP and First Secretary of the Party's Brasov District Committee. 'We must also find concrete and effective ways of bringing up the man of socialist society. It is especially important that he should have political knowledge and a Marxist-Leninist approach to political problems at home and abroad. Among other things, we are acquainting the people with the Comprehensive Program adopted by the 25th session of CMEA. This also instills a spirit of internationalism and fraternity with all socialist countries and solidarity with the proletariat's revolutionary movement and the national-liberation movement all over the world.'

Committees for culture and socialist education are active in all districts. They are mixed Party-government bodies, operating under the guidance of the Propaganda Secretaries of the Party's district committees. The propaganda secretaries are simultaneously deputy chairmen of the local People's Councils, just as the First Secretaries of district and municipal Party committees are chairmen of the Councils, and the Economic Secretaries are deputy chairmen.

Talking to the leaders of the Sibiu District, one of us asked whe-

ther this structure of leadership did not tend to substitute Party for government organs.

The system, we were told, was suggested by experience. When Party organizations deal with the same problems as state bodies there is always the possibility of overlapping on the one hand, or passing decisions without adequate knowledge of the situation, on the other. That is why in elections the Party puts up the secretaries of district and municipal Party organizations as candidates for the leading bodies of People's Councils. This makes Party leadership more responsive and closer to the concrete tasks.

The Party-government bodies are looking for effective cultural and educational methods.

'The idea,' said Grigore Comartin, propaganda secretary of the District Party Committee, 'is to combine the people's progressive traditions with the requirements arising as we build the new society. We cherish and develop our best traditions, cultivate pride in the country's history among the people, and show the people's struggle for social and national liberation, the path traversed by our Communist Party.'

'By keeping our traditions alive we are able to put a new content into deep-rooted forms of cultural life. For example, in old Rumania some villages had cultural societies whose members, the local intellectuals, spread knowledge among the population. Our district Party committee decided to revitalize these societies. Scientists and researchers, engineers, cultural workers, Party cadres and others were called upon to join the cultural societies of their native villages and towns. A meeting of the society in one mountain village, for example, was attended by journalists from Bucharest. In another case scientists hailing from one village organized a scientific conference there.'

The cultural societies are one of the forms of socialist education. There are others, for example 'materialization of vocations.' This academic sounding term turned out to connote far-flung and varied work: conversations with people about their vocations and aspirations, about the sense of honor of the working man and the diligence of students, about the dignity of elder people and the conscientious discipline of the young. The talks are differentiated. Workers with a penchant for innovation are told of innovations in technology; in schools and higher educational establishments young people are told of the students' commandments: diligence, honesty, comradeship. All this is meant to instil in people the standards and criteria of socialist ethics and justice, to mould communist principles that guide every man at work and at home.

Socialist Rumania is building up her industry and her cities and towns. A new man is developing in the process. His moral standards and socialist consciousness cannot be measured statistically. Yet they are a very important index, showing the growth of the new society.

Monopoly hunting ground

Horst Schmitt

Member Bureau and Secretariat,
Board of SUP of West Berlin

The many political arguments over West Berlin in the postwar have mainly concerned its international status, while the city's own internal problems were left in the shade.

West Berlin with its impressive economic potential has a population of some 2,200,000, living in a climate of constant conflict between labor and capital. More than 900,000 West-Berliners are wage and salary workers. The city's industrial output (nearly DM30 billion annually) is greater than that of half the UN member-states. Yet its working class is denied the opportunity to influence its politics, economy and life in general.

This is why the Socialist Unity Party of West Berlin seeks co-operation with the Social-Democrats, CDU-affiliated workers, unaffiliated workers, students and working youth – all opponents of the state-monopoly system – to radically alter the relation of forces and neutralize elements hostile to peace and détente.

Elite in the saddle

Never before has economic and political power in West Berlin been concentrated in so small a group of big capitalists.

According to the economic institute of the DGB (German Trade Union League), the FRG and West Berlin economy is dominated by 130 industrial concerns and banking, commercial and insurance companies. It is they who decide what to manufacture and where to invest, what factories to open or close, where to cut back or stop production, and they who set the prices and who share the profits. This highly select and exclusive circle, which includes H. Quandt, H. Abs, O. Wolf and the Siemens clan, controls all the levers of economic and political power.

The vaunted 'free market economy' assures the concerns unrestricted economic dominion. They spend more on advertising alone than the city allocates for public education.

Capitalist concentration puts the economy and society more and more under the sway of uncontrolled monopoly groups. The big lie of 'social partnership' and the shopworn slogan of 'giving the worker a share in ownership' cannot alter the class character of capitalist society. However hard apologists of capitalism may try, they will never succeed in disguising the contradiction between labor and capital, and between the interests of the people and of the monopolies. The so-called 'popular shares,' 'tariff agreements,' and the like, cannot change the distribution of incomes. In fact, these

devices benefit none other than the concerns and monopolies, which thereby gain access to additional credit from banks that mobilize the workers' savings or take direct charge of workers' money invested in stocks and shares.

The fiction of 'fair distribution'

The 'social symmetry' in distributing the accretion of the national income between industrialists and workers, promised by former Social-Democratic Economic and Finance Minister Karl Schiller, has really resulted in social asymmetry. And the 'fair distribution of property' promised by the Right-wing Social-Democratic Party leaders is, in fact, a total fiction.

This has been a source of discontent for many West Berlin workers. Part of the working class, especially the youth, is critical of the capitalist system. The workers are becoming more class conscious. They are more strongly aware of their situation and interests.

In face of the growing omnipotence of the big concerns, the working class must unfold a mass struggle for its rights in factories, in the economy and in society. Not only must it fight for its right to participate in decisions affecting its interests, but also for the right of production councils and trade unions to participate in management and in decisions related to investments, prices and profits, and to exercise control over the entire West Berlin economy.

This is totally consistent with the provisions of the West Berlin constitution which envisages economic and public life organized along democratic lines and provides for the pursuit of social progress and peace.

The monopolies, however, could not care less for democracy and social progress. They ignore the workers and their production councils when shutting down or cutting back production, or transferring factories or parts of factories to the Federal Republic. All important research projects have already been moved to the FRG and the adverse consequences of moving industrial enterprises from West Berlin to the FRG are recorded, among others, in last year's report of the local board of the Metalworkers' Union.

In the past 11 years, employers' technical innovations have eliminated 47,000 skilled jobs. Reduction of wages and rates, and intensification of labor are the rule in all enterprises. The threat of dismissal is especially great for elderly workers and employees.

West Berlin has become an industrial appendage of the FRG economy. Though the Social-Democratic Party has been the ruling party there for over 20 years, neither the Chamber of Deputies nor the Social-Democratic-dominated Senate have offered an alternative to this deplorable state of affairs. On the contrary, they have helped it to develop.

The profit spiral

The cost of living has climbed disastrously, pushed up by the

monopolies' thirst for higher and higher profits. Recent developments bear out the view set forth in our Party's Action Program: Those who want to give more to the workers can do so only at the expense of the monopolies and big capital. The only way the workers can maintain, let alone improve, their standard of living, is by fighting for higher wages.

The monopolies and their press aver that higher wages will prejudice investments, create unemployment and have 'a negative effect on economic development.' This was vigorously contradicted by H.-O. Vetter, Chairman of the DGB: he denounced an economic policy that regards investment as an idol, requiring the sacrifice of vitally necessary reforms in education, taxes, environmental protection, and the like.

The monopolies' resistance to workers' demands is motivated by anything but concern for the workers' jobs or, as they hypocritically declare, by the aim of 'universal welfare.' On the contrary, monopoly profits are going up, and big concerns are granted huge tax reductions.

The latest 'targets' of the Joint Committee for German Economy are highly indicative. Employers, they show, projected a 14 per cent increase in net profits and incomes in 1972, while assuming that with prices going up 4.5 per cent workers would be content with 6.5 per cent higher wages.

Increases in consumers' purchasing power have never precipitated any crises. Crises stem from the contradictions implicit in the capitalist system and, first and foremost, from the contradiction between the social nature of production and the private capitalist form of appropriation.

Higher wages and rates, coupled with an active wage policy, our Party holds, are an important area of the workers' struggle against monopoly capital. West Berlin's Communists will stand firm in this point, siding with the people and their unions. To defeat the designs of monopoly capital, the workers must take organized, united action.

The employers are quite capable of paying up. In just 1970-1971 their gross income rose from DM173.3 billion to 180.5 billion, while the percentage of wages in their turnover is declining yearly.

If wages and salaries had kept pace with the capitalists' profit, they would have risen DM19.3 billion between 1968 and 1970. The facts show, however, that the profit-price spiral is not matched by any wage-price spiral.

Hence, the alleged disproportionate 'growth of costs,' ascribed to rising wages, is pure fiction. What is not fiction is that exploitation in West Berlin enterprises is more intensive. In 1971, the city's gross industrial product went up two per cent, says the Senate's 10th Economic Report to the Chamber of Deputies (March 1972), while employment declined 4.2 per cent. 'The simultaneous decline of employment and expansion of production,' the report says, 'has substantially raised the productivity of labor in industry. The increase of output per working hour, amounting to 9.1 per cent, quite obviously exceeded that for the FRG (5.6 per cent).'

The facts confirm estimates that in eight hours of work the worker labors only 90 minutes 'for himself' and the remaining 6.5 hours for the employer and tax collector.

The Social-Democratic Party's election promises of 'welfare and security for all,' 'stable prices,' and of reforms in the workers' interest are so much pie in the sky. The Senate pretends that there is no way of getting funds for improved education and health, environmental protection and other projects. We say to this that ample means could be marshalled by abolishing the tax privileges of the big concerns, ending West Berlin's position as the preserve of profit hunters.

Which way out?

The working class will not perform its historic mission until it rallies against monopoly domination and campaigns for deep-going social change.

In West Berlin, our Party holds, anti-monopoly struggle means a workers' movement for democracy and progress, against monopoly power and reaction; for an active wage policy and stable prices; against growing rents; for the workers' rights in the factory, economy and society, and for their 'production councils' and unions' rights to participation in management and in controlling investments, prices, profits and dividends; for a radical change in the content and aims of education in the interest of social and technical-scientific progress; for the repeal of the tax advantages of monopolies, concerns and big shareholders; for channelling funds derived from the redistribution of taxes into public health, education, and the like.

Our members and followers are urged by us to work perseveringly for the satisfaction of the workers' demands. What is needed is united workers' action against monopoly capital and its main party, the CSU.

Big capital is methodically fighting against the working people. The bourgeoisie is out to intimidate the workers and their unions. And if they hold forth about 'class harmony,' 'social partnership' and 'concerted action' by labor and capital, it is to create the impression that welfare is universal. They are aided by the Right-wing Social-Democratic leaders, who maintain that capitalism has shown itself 'capable of social advance.'

Our reply: so long as capitalism exists, the workers can make gains only by bitter and arduous class struggle. That is how they won the eight-hour working day. That is how they gained the right to form production councils. That is how they obtained social insurance. Now, too, class struggle is the only means of attaining the demands for higher pay and better conditions. The ruling classes never give up anything without a fight; everything has to be wrested from them by force.

Capitalism benefits none but the Krupps, Flicks, Quandts and Siemenses, the big shareholders and investors, who make billions

on the workers' labor and occupy the commanding heights in the economy and in society. Though working people comprise the vast majority and make all the values, they are denied participation in decisions affecting enterprises, the economy and society, and are also denied the benefits of education and culture. It is a society ruled by the profit motive, and gain for big capital is the only measure of goodness.

The working class alone can end this state of affairs and pave the way to a just social system, in which man's labor will be the sole gauge of value.

The first step is to restrict the power and influence of the monopolies, to unfold strong anti-imperialist action.

The Socialist Unity Party of West Berlin is working for an order in which, consonant with the democratic principles of the West Berlin constitution, each citizen will have his freedoms and rights, society and the economy will be repatterned along democratic principles and politics pressed into the service of social progress and peace, and shaped to suit the interests not of big capital, but of the majority of the people.

Just 7.2 per cent of FRG and West Berlin enterprises account for nearly 70 per cent of the work force. Just 1.7 per cent of all families own 74 per cent of all private productive capital. Just 0.8 per cent of the families hold 90 per cent of all stocks and shares and bank accounts.

In the past ten years the four giants—Thyssen, Hoesch AG, Krupp and Salzgitter—have increased their share in the turnover of the steel industry from 58 to 90 per cent.

Four automobile concerns control nearly 90 per cent of the FRG and West Berlin market.

Siemens, AEG-Telefunken, Bosch and IBM control 50 per cent of the electrotechnical goods market.

In the past 10 years, 50 of the biggest firms have increased their share in the aggregate industrial turnover by nearly one half. Eight control 25 per cent of all FRG and West Berlin foreign commerce.

The gross turnover of the Siemens concern, DM8.9 billion in the 1967/68 fiscal year, was officially estimated to have gone up to DM14.9 billion in 1970/71. Meanwhile taxes paid by Siemens dropped from DM474 million to DM375 million. Thus, while the turnover increased 60 per cent, taxes decreased 21 per cent.

In the past ten years, the share of wages in Siemens' turnover declined from 34.5 to 32.2 per cent.

The share of wages in the aggregate turnover of West Berlin's metalworking industry was 30.5 per cent in 1967, and only 28.1 per cent in the first six months of 1970.

The average annual output per Siemens worker went up from DM36 thousand to DM50 thousand in the past five years.

The concern's net profit in 1970/71 was DM238 million against DM213 million the year before.

Per worker output at AEG-Telefunken went up from DM29 thousand to DM60 thousand in 1966-1971. Though since 1970-1971 its work force in West Berlin decreased eight per cent, the turnover rose nine per cent.

Average per worker output at the Babcock-owned Borsig-Werk climbed from DM33 thousand to DM 53 thousand in 12 months. Innovations reduced jobs by one thousand, while profits rose 22 per cent.

In 1960-1970 corporation taxes dropped from 9.5 per cent of total West Berlin tax revenue to 5.7 per cent, while those paid by wage and salary earners went up from 11.6 to 23 per cent.

Official West Berlin Senate statistics: the cost of living increased 5.8 per cent between March 1971 and March 1972, with house rents and prices still rising.

Latin America's priests in revolt

Alvaro Delgado

Member, CC CP of Colombia

In working for democratic unity against imperialism and reaction, for democracy and socialism, it is important for Communist parties to take a stand on the Church and the believers. This applies above all to Latin America, which is 90 per cent Catholic. I would like to deal with certain favorable changes in the attitude of the Latin American priesthood and with the possibilities of bringing the progressive priests into the revolutionary struggle.

Winds of change

The bishops of Latin America held their second conference (CELAM II) in Medellin, Colombia, over four years ago. The documents adopted by the conference were based on the renovating theses of the Second Ecumenical Council* and *Populorum Progressio*, an

*The Council (1962-1965) was convened to adjust the Catholic Church to changed world conditions. As well as advocating bourgeois reformism, Council documents admit the need for the dialogue with Marxists and condemn war and the arms race. — Ed.

encyclical of Paul VI.* Ever since then, the process of change in Latin America's Catholic Church has gone on mainly along the following lines: attempts to adapt Church ideology to social reality, and secondly, growing insistence on implementing the ideas of the Ecumenical Council and the encyclical.

Some priests not only join in the liberation struggle but make common cause with fighters for socialism. Why is this? How does it come that the Church, which until recently seemed to be a bulwark of reaction, is beginning to raise its voice against the power of the propertied and to demand changes in the people's condition?

The changes in the position of the Latin American Church are due to numerous complex circumstances and, first of all, to the persistence of crying social inequality in our countries, the crisis of bourgeois institutions, growing popular action and the struggle of the proletariat.

The worldwide 'crisis of faith' has an important aspect on our continent: ordinary people, the sheep of the Catholic flock to which the Church has always owed its strength, are coming to realize that God will never help them solve their problems. The poverty-stricken masses are beginning to question the validity of the Christian doctrine. Along with growing alarm and despair, they show a mounting hatred for the oppressors. These are facts which the Church cannot afford to ignore.

The achievements of the socialist world have a strong impact on the priesthood. In spite of imperialist aggression and blockade, Cuba has done what no other country of the continent has accomplished – it has abolished exploitation, won full sovereignty, given the land to those who till it and eliminated illiteracy. The progress of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries in every field meets with widespread approval. The priests look with interest at the new world which has ended exploitation and class hatred and established universal equality. They preach justice, yet it does not exist in their countries.

With the blessing of Pope Pius XII,** communism was for a long time seen by Latin American priests as a 'destructive horde.' But the hostile, anti-Communist zeal of Christ's soldiers is spent. Pius XII has been forgotten by all while his successor, John XXIII,*** lives on in the hearts of Catholics because he refused to strengthen the association of the Church with imperialism's militarist policies. Having set out to uphold peace, the noblest cause of our times, the priests' attention was inescapably drawn to socialism. More and more often, they spoke of the need of a dialogue with the Com-

*The encyclical (1967) criticized certain aspects of contemporary capitalism. – Ed.

**Pius XII (Pope 1939-1958) was a militant anti-Communist who urged a crusade against the Soviet Union and abetted the crimes of fascism. After the war he hailed the formation of the aggressive NATO bloc and contributed to the cold war against the socialist countries. – Ed.

***John XXIII (Pope 1958-1963) proceeded to revise the Vatican's policies in terms of religious pacifism and a more realistic approach to the socialist countries. Some of his encyclicals are expressive of the evolution of the Catholic doctrine. – Ed.

munists. A movement for the renovation of the Church came into being.

Today we have every reason to apply to Latin American countries the 1969 Meeting's conclusion that 'cooperation and joint action between Communists and broad democratic masses of Catholics . . . are developing in some countries. The dialogue between them on issues such as war and peace, capitalism and socialism, and neo-colonialism and the problem of the developing countries, has become highly topical; their united action against imperialism, for democracy and socialism, is extremely timely.'

Who are the renovators?

This is the name by which members of the 'new Church' advocating a renovation of Catholicism are known.

Most of them are parish priests and Catholic schoolteachers and hence represent the more democratic section of the priesthood. Their activities are varied. They found mutual aid societies in their parishes, carry out sanitation measures, set up schools, stand up for the homeless and organize mass actions by working people. Their influence is particularly strong in poor neighborhoods, schools, seminaries and universities. The people back them and protest when renovators are dismissed from their parishes or deported for their activity.

Renovators often side with the proletariat and support its economic and political demands. Working-class organizations take a favorable view of the priests' support, especially when it benefits unity.

The experience of Golconda, a Colombian Catholic group, is most instructive. In 1968 it came out in support of the people's fight for national liberation and socialism. But the group leaders held anti-Communist views and minimized the role of the working class and its political vanguard. As a result, they lost their influence on the masses.

Many renovators are unaware (a serious shortcoming) of the danger of Maoist, 'Left' extremist and neo-Trotskyist splitters. These elements, which are often linked with reaction, exploit anti-Communist prejudices to inveigle opposition-minded priests in dubious ventures and isolate them from the working class. Hence the importance of the Communist-Catholic dialogue, of combating anti-communism and exposing pseudo-revolutionary ideas.

The Latin American movement for a renovated Church is ideologically heterogeneous and still in a state of flux. Fewer and fewer groups in it respond to the primitive appeals of outspoken anti-Communists. Favorable changes are taking place in the thinking of advocates of the so-called 'third way,' who are against both capitalism and communism. Trends demanding a 'turn towards Marxism' are becoming more vocal.

The renovators' political activity materializes in disobedience to the discredited top leadership of the Church, resistance to despotic

regimes and united action with revolutionary forces, which they join in the struggle for socialism.

While the 'new Church' has not yet won a single battle, it has already paid a toll in lives. An example of staunchness in political struggle was set by Camilo Torres, a Colombian priest.* He showed that real Catholics can fight alongside revolutionary workers and peasants. No Latin American priest had said as explicitly as he did that the revolution is not a privilege of anyone and that Catholic priests can and should ally themselves with the Communists.

'Liberation theology'

The drama of Latin America's dependence and backwardness is a topic of heated Church debates. Many priests have stopped warning against the Communist 'danger.' They agree that one of Latin America's biggest problems is glaring social inequality and backwardness. Even Church leaders say so.

Bishop Manuel Larrain** won considerable renown in the Catholic world. 'The fact that our countries are underdeveloped,' he said, anticipating the ideas of *Populorum Progressio*, 'loses them every year as many people as died in the five years of world war. No battle could take a heavier toll than that.'

The main document of CELAM II, mentioned at the beginning of this article, gives a fairly vivid description of the situation in our countries, which it says are fettered by 'dependence on an economic power center.'*** They often 'have no control of their wealth nor can take economic decisions.' Coupled with such factors as the arms race and rabid nationalism, this dependence became 'the negation of peace where there is an unfair inequality of men and nations.' Suppression of the people by groups in power is 'a constant and inevitable source of rebellion and wars.' One should not 'abuse the patience of a people who for years have put up with conditions hardly acceptable to those who are more aware of human rights.'

The ideas of the Ecumenical Council, the encyclical and CELAM II formed the basis of the 'liberation theology' whose rise in Latin America is an indication of crisis of the Church's social doctrine and a sign of quest for a new orientation. The renovators want to avoid the contradictions between Christian principles, the people's interests and the outlook for our countries' historical development. In Latin America, they note, believers need a doctrine projected into the social sphere and connected with the people's struggle for liberation, which they see as a struggle to free man and the Church.

Contrary to the traditional view that the function of the Church

*Camilo Torres Restrepo scathingly criticized Colombia's reactionary regime. He put forward a program for radical democratic reforms and fought for Left unity. In February 1966 he was killed in a guerrilla clash with government troops. - Ed.

**Founder of CELAM, of which he was Vice-President and then, from 1964 on, President. He died in 1966. - Ed.

***The essentially bourgeois reformist documents of CELAM II were the Church leaders' reply to the renovators' demand for a new Church policy. - Ed.

is confined to prophecy, contemplation and 'spiritual liberation,' the renovators regard religion as a variety of social activity with a definite political perspective. The 'new Church' maintains that eternal bliss is attainable not only in the 'beyond,' but also in this world. More, it is attainable at once, today, not tomorrow. Everything that religion had promised before in the beyond, should be attained here, in this ordinary life, which is itself a miracle. People are equal not only after death, the renovators say, equality is needed in their mundane life, for the dead do not need equality. The priest's vocation is to serve society. Preaching the word of God is meant to affirm human dignity. Wealth is nothing compared to the danger that the masses will renounce their faith. We must go with the poor against the handful of those who own and control, the renovators say, emphasizing that they want nothing for themselves. Their only aim is to attain happiness together with the victorious people.

One can hardly deny breadth of vision to the renovators. They look to the future, modernize their methods, enlist specialists and forecasters, and employ the latest achievements of science and technology to gain a better understanding of the world and to fortify the Church in society.

The clash between the renovators and advanced social science is opening their eyes to the fact that the truth is not a monopoly of the Church, and that they must also hearken to other voices. Shortly before his banishment from Colombia, Padre Domingo Lain declared that 'Marxism provides us with a methodology and makes Christian love more effective. My convictions differ from those who believe that the poor must forever bear the burden of exploitation and injustice.'

It would, of course, be a gross exaggeration to say that the renovators are imbued with Marxist ideas. It is not their purpose to master the most advanced social science, but rather to adapt it to the needs of the Church and thus win the sympathy of the exploited. And though the renovators are not Marxists at all, let alone Communists, this does not deliver them from attacks by reactionaries who regard even the new technology and methodology of teaching in Catholic schools as 'Marxist.'

During one of the frenetic campaigns against the 'new Church' in Colombia, teachers of the Catholic Marymount College (Bogota) were accused of 'inculcating Marxism' among the students, the daughters of wealthy families. Speaking to the press, the nuns remarked sarcastically, 'if Marxism is the essence of the doctrine of the modern Church set forth in the statements of Pope John XXIII, by the Second Vatican Ecumenical Council and the Encyclical, *Populorum Progressio* of His Holiness Paul VI, then we accept this burden with resignation.'

The activity of the 'new Church' in Latin America centers mainly on social problems. Its criticism of the vices of bourgeois society and the reactionary policy of the ruling classes, is having increasing socio-political influence and is objectively helping to radicalize the

mass of believers. The conflict between conservatives and renovators thus transcends the framework of purely Church affairs.

Collapse of the age-old alliance

Troubled by the 'Left swing' of the Latin American priesthood, the ruling oligarchy and the reactionary section of the Church firmly oppose the renovators' efforts to put their proclaimed positive postulates into effect. Soon after CELAM II, continental reaction mounted an offensive against the winds of change in the ecclesiastic world.

The Institutional Act No. 5, passed by the dictatorship in Brazil in December 1968, abolished the remnants of bourgeois-democratic freedoms in the country. The wave of repressions also rolled over the progressive priesthood. Arrested priests are brutally tortured to make them confess to 'subversive activity.' Fascist terrorist organizations have been set up to suppress 'rebellious sentiment.' One is the 'Tradition, Family, Property,' which, like all the others, is closely connected with the government's repressive apparatus and the Catholic ultra-Right. Brazil has become the nerve-center for the reactionary element of the Latin American Church.

In Colombia, repressions by temporal and religious authorities have for a time cut short the activity of the renovators, particularly of the Golconda group. Rebellious padres have been stripped of their Catholic dignity and their parishes. The Church hierarchy has banned the Jesuit journal, *La Hora*, and suspended its own publication, the newspaper *El Catolicismo*, the editorial staff of which was subjected to a thorough purge. Repressions were showered on the priests also in Mexico, where various clerical groups, formed after the Vatican Ecumenical Council, began a bitter controversy with the hierarchy.

The terrorism of the reactionary regimes, backed by ultra-Right elements in the Church is arousing the anger both of priests and believers. This may be illustrated by the example of the latest episcopal conferences in a number of countries.

In August 1968 the Bishops of Bolivia published a pastoral message in the spirit of the *Populorum Progressio* Encyclical. Following promulgation of Institutional Act No. 5, a conference of bishops in Sao Paulo urged democratization and structural reforms. Last year an extraordinary assembly of the bishops of Paraguay came out in defense of human rights, declaring that the country was living in 'a climate of systematic persecution of the Church for supporting Paraguayans humiliated and oppressed by the present structure.'

In Peru, where the military-revolutionary government follows a consistently anti-imperialist and anti-oligarchic policy, the Church speaks out more definitely. The conference of Peruvian bishops, held early in 1969, demanded the condemnation of the socio-economic system prevailing in Latin America and spoke out for democratic education and solidarity with workers' organizations. The unjust

reality is not an isolated phenomenon, the bishops stressed. It is a characteristic feature of a worldwide process – the concentration of economic and political power in the hands of international imperialism and capital, the accomplice of the Peruvian oligarchy.

There are also significant developments in the Church in Chile. After the Ecumenical Council, there arose the 'Group 80' Movement, renamed 'Christians for Socialism' in April 1971, when the Popular Unity government was already in power. A year later it held its first assembly in Santiago, attended by more than 400 delegates from all the Latin American countries and observers from the United States, Canada, and some European countries. The ideas voiced at the meeting are a substantial advance from the postulates of CELAM II.

There are only two possible solutions in Latin America: either a dependent capitalism, and consequently underdevelopment, or socialism, the assembly declared in its concluding resolution. History has proved the fallacy of intermediate positions between capitalism and socialism and of the various kinds of reformism. Supporters of the renovation movement recognize the total collapse of the Democratic 'third way' and are eager to join in the historic process of the continent's liberation. Society must be radically restructured. Not until it acquires economic and political power will the exploited class be able to build a new, socialist society devoid of oppressors and oppressed and offering extensive opportunities for the development of the individual.

The resolution stresses that Christians do not advocate, and do not wish to advocate, their own particular political path. They join proletarian groups and parties on the same footing and with the same obligations as other revolutionaries. Those Christians who have espoused socialism regard the proletariat of their own country and that of the continent as the vanguard of the liberation movement. They are ever more conscious of the need for a strategic alliance between revolutionary Christians and the Marxists. Such an alliance transcends short-term tactical agreements.

The provisions of this resolution show that the 'new Church' in Chile has identified itself with the revolutionary struggle of the people, and that it is prepared to join the progressive forces in building socialist society. All this is highly symptomatic. It shows that the age-old alliance of the Church and the oligarchy is crumbling. Ever broader groups of the priesthood are being drawn into the revolutionary process.

The Communists and the priesthood

Our examples testify to a profound crisis in the Church, which is one of the institutions of the archaic structure of Latin American society. It stands to reason that we can hardly agree with those who think that the Church will disappear as a result of this crisis. But on the other hand it would be a mistake to say, as some do, that the changes in the Church do not open the way for an alliance of its

progressive elements and the democratic forces for participation in the liberation struggle.

In assessing the new developments in the Latin American Church from the standpoint of possible joint action against imperialism and for peace, democracy and socialism, Communists should bear in mind that the changed attitude of the priesthood is, first and foremost, an attempt to adapt to the new conditions of political struggle, and that besides progressive elements there are still highly influential reactionary groups in the Catholic Church, who support the ruling oligarchy and its guardians, the North American monopolies. However, the spread of democratic sentiments among the priesthood means that the proletariat is finding class allies in their milieu as well. And, what is most important for us, they represent masses of Catholic working people.

In our work among the non-proletarian population, which includes the priests, we Colombian Communists follow the Marxist-Leninist theory of class alliances. In its assessment of the changes in the Latin American Church, our Party's 11th Congress stressed that elements of the priesthood close to the people are advocating a new church that would appreciate the aspirations of the masses, and are going against the upper hierarchy, which serves the interests of the exploiters. These elements are beginning to join the revolutionary struggle. Thus, the perspective of unity between Catholics and Marxists is coming into sight in the struggle for national independence and socialism.

Bankruptcy of a reactionary idea

Wolf Ehrlich

Chairman, Central Control Commission, CP Israel

HOW THE ZIONISTS DECEIVE THE JEWISH MASSES

Zionism is a reactionary ideology expressive of the interests of the big Jewish bourgeoisie which is closely connected with the monopoly elements of the imperialist powers.

In the Middle East, it is embodied in the expansionist and annexationist policy of the Israeli ruling circles against the Arab peoples and particularly against the Palestinian Arab people, and in their anti-Sovietism and anti-communism.

Zionism is being carried into practice by a ramified system of organizations, and serves as an important weapon of imperialism's global strategy, is active against the socialist community, the world Communist and working-class movement, against the national liberation struggle of the peoples.

Zionism is used as an ideological and political instrument to misguide and deceive Jewish working people, and to place them under the influence of the Jewish bourgeoisie. Naturally, Zionism has to be presented to the Jewish working people in a form covering up its pro-imperialist, bourgeois reactionary essence, and has to propagate theories that might be attractive to them. This was done mainly by the general thesis that 'Zionism would solve the Jewish question.'

In this article, I shall confine myself to just the glaring failures of the basic Zionist dogmas.

From the very beginning, it was the central thesis of Zionism that it would deliver Jews from discrimination and persecution. It will be recalled, that the full title of the pamphlet, 'The Jewish State,' by Theodor Herzl, the founder of political Zionism, published in 1896, contained the line: 'An attempt at a modern solution of the Jewish question.' The Jewish question, i.e., the existence of anti-Semitism, stems in Herzl's view from the minority status of Jews among the other peoples: 'The Jewish question exists wherever Jews live in perceptible numbers . . . When it does not exist, it is carried by Jews in the course of their migration. We naturally move to those places where we are not persecuted, and there our presence produces persecution.'¹

Herzl's basic conception was that Jews and non-Jews cannot live together peacefully and that no historic development of human society is able to change this. The logical consequence of this conception is that Jews and non-Jews cannot and should not struggle together against anti-Semitism and racism, but should separate. The Jews should leave for some country of their own, preferably Palestine. Then, ostensibly, the Jewish question would at once disappear in the other countries. 'The outgoing current,' Herzl wrote, 'will be gradual, without any disturbances, and its initial movement will put an end to anti-Semitism.'

'If we only begin to carry out our plans,' he added, 'anti-Semitism would stop at once and for ever.'² These thoughts were summed up by Herzl at the First Zionist Congress in 1897: 'The Jewish problem could only be solved by large-scale migration and settlement of the country.'³

This line of thought became the dominant essence of Zionism,⁴ clad in various high-flown formulations. The Zionist leader and later prime minister of Israel, David Ben-Gurion, stated in 1944: 'This is the doctrine of the Jewish revolution – not non-surrender to the Galut⁵ but making an end to it . . . There are only two means to this end: the ingathering of the exiles and independence in the homeland.'⁶ The most recent program of the World Zionist Organization, the amended Jerusalem Program, adopted at the 27th Zion-

ist Congress in 1968, has as its main demands 'the unity of the Jewish people and the centrality of Israel in its life; the ingathering of the Jewish people in its historic homeland Eretz-Israel.'⁷

What do Marxists counterpose to this 'theoretical line of thought' of the Zionists? They do not deny that a national, and therefore a Jewish, question exists in various capitalist countries. The Communist Party of Israel, in the resolutions of its 16th Congress (1969), after rejecting the existence of a worldwide 'Jewish question,' defines it in the case of some capitalist countries as 'the question of the discrimination, persecution and even annihilation (especially under Nazi rule) of Jews for being Jews.' The resolution goes on to say that 'the problem of the solution of the Jewish question is, therefore, the problem of the liberation of the Jewish masses from the anti-Semitism which appears in various forms in the society of class exploitation.'

Anti-Semitism exists not due to some inborn incompatibility of Jews and non-Jews. It has a social foundation. When the ruling bourgeoisie is faced with sharp class struggles of the working class and its allies, and particularly in periods of a revolutionary upsurge, it uses racism, including anti-Semitism, in order to divert the working people from the class struggle by setting them against other national, ethnic or religious groups. The way to fight anti-Semitism is, therefore, the united democratic struggle of the Jewish and non-Jewish working people against the reactionary bourgeois regimes. In order to eradicate racism, including anti-Semitism, where it exists, it is necessary to eradicate its social roots, to abolish class exploitation and build socialist society. Only socialism can fully solve national questions, including the Jewish question.

The Zionist thesis on the 'solution' of the Jewish question is that the Jews will live in Palestine in security and peace. History has disproved this.

Has the state of Israel brought security and peace to the Jews living here? There is, perhaps, no other country in the world where the Jewish population lives in such constant and high tension. Tension heightened after the Anglo-French-Israeli aggression against Egypt in 1956, and reached the present high pitch after the Israeli aggression against the neighboring Arab countries in June 1967. Every hour the average Israeli switches on the radio to hear the news because 'maybe something has happened.'

In other words, it is the Zionist aggressive expansionist policy of the Israeli ruling circles that is responsible for the tension and insecurity. The Herzl dictum, 'dying peacefully in our own homes,'⁸ sounds absurd today when mothers tremble with fear of their sons' dying in the occupied Kantara or Kuneitra.

And the other part of this dictum, 'living as free men,'⁹ sounds no less absurd with the ever-increasing dependence of the Israeli government on U.S. imperialism, its global strategy, its Phantoms, its dollars, and its loans. In addition to the grave political subjection, this policy has brought to the working people of Israel grave

economic and social subjection. In 1971 military expenditures swallowed half of the state budget and more than 30 per cent of the gross national product. The policy of aggression led to a rapid development of the military sector of Israel industry, and to an increase in the control by foreign capital of essential positions, especially in electronics, metallurgy and chemicals. The inflationary process is accelerating, real wages are declining, and prices are going up. Prices rose 20-25 per cent in 1971. According to the official national insurance agency, 132,000 families in the towns, comprising nearly 520,000 people, that is, nearly one-quarter of the urban population lived on or under the 'poverty line.' Only 11 per cent of these families receive help from the Social Security Ministry. The 17th Congress of the CP of Israel said in its document: 'The main reason for the deepening of class exploitation, the decrease of real wages, and of widening poverty in Israel in the latest years, is connected with the policy of the government, the policy of going on in aggression and occupation, with the huge military expenses, and the deep connection with foreign capital.'

The failure of the Zionist doctrine is clearly admitted by some Zionists. In 'The Israelis,' the Zionist journalist and writer, Amos Eilon, writes: 'In Israel today, Jews, as Jews, live in greater danger of their lives than anywhere else in the world.'¹⁰ And Professor Amnon Rubinstein said at a symposium in Tel-Aviv (October 1971): 'Zionism aimed at normalizing the Jewish situation . . . This found concrete expression in the work of the first Zionists. Their intention was to liquidate the Jewish-Gentile complex. The intention was so deep and so extreme that the Zionist leaders were seized by some—I hesitate to use the word, Zionist anti-Semitism, but by some retreat from traditional Judaism, and all that because of the tendency to bring about normalization. This tendency has not been realized . . . The hope of Zionism has not been realized for various reasons . . . In a certain way, we have returned to the traditional Jewish position.'¹¹

That Zionist policy itself, pro-imperialist and expansionist as it is, is to be blamed for this state of affairs, will appear as paradoxical to the naive and uninitiated only. As long as the Zionist Israeli rulers are able to go on unhindered, supported by U.S. imperialism, ignoring the interests of the people, they follow the inner logic of their ideology and practice, tending towards aggression, colonization and service to imperialism. The Zionists hope that in exchange for increasing their services to U.S. and other imperialisms, they will get more help in realizing their plans of expansion. The tenser the international situation becomes, they hope, the more imperialism will require their services in the Middle East. Zionist groups, especially in the United States, are trying to exercise pressure on the policy of imperialist governments, hoping thereby to sharpen their relations with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, and to fan anti-Sovietism. Rather than confining themselves to various means of ideological struggle against the social-

ist world, Zionists follow the directives of their organization in conducting subversive activity inside socialist states.

The Israeli ruling circles exploit the lack of security in Israel to bolster their claim that they have 'no alternative' to an aggressive policy, and to justify their intransigence towards a political solution of the Israeli-Arab conflict, their racist persecution of the Arab population, and their continued policy of expansion and annexation. Being ideologically not less adventurous than politically, the Zionist leaders are putting the new thesis of 'the state of Israel being in need of the Diaspora' alongside and before the classical thesis of 'the Jews of the Diaspora being in need of the state of Israel.' What this amounts to is that Israel requires the support of Jews living elsewhere. And this is not accidental. The dogma that it is the duty of all Jews of the Diaspora to help solve the 'Jewish question,' mainly by immigrating to Israel, has failed because it was rejected by the vast majority of Jews all over the world. By introducing and putting forward the new thesis, the Zionist leaders tried to 'compensate' for this ideological 'loss.' They expect that on this new formula, this new basis, a relationship can be forged between the state of Israel and the Jews of the Diaspora.

The other thesis of the Zionist doctrine – the promise to eliminate anti-Semitism outside Israel – has not withstood the test of time either. In various capitalist countries anti-Semitism continues to exist. The Herzlian utopia of 'anti-Semitism stopping at once and for ever' failed to materialize any more than did the later improved version that the 'state of Israel would give security to the Jewish communities of the world.' This failure Zionist leaders and propagandists have been compelled to acknowledge. One of them, Avraham Shenkar, said at the Founding Convention of the Zionist Federation of the USA in 1970: 'Contrary to the classical conception, the establishment of Israel has not led to a restriction of anti-Semitism. . . . It sometimes appears that the opposite is the case.'¹²

The years since 1948 have proved that the establishment of the state of Israel has not made the situation of the Jews in capitalist countries any easier. On the contrary, it has become rather more complicated in consequence of the Zionist policy followed by the Israeli rulers and by many leaders of Jewish communities, who identified themselves with this policy. This identification has made many people in capitalist countries suspicious of these community leaders and their self-confessed 'split loyalties.' The facts show that in the conditions of today Zionism may, by artificially contrasting Jews and non-Jews, be a factor, like anti-Semitism, in creating a Jewish question in this or that capitalist country. Zionism may do so in two ways: it may help the reactionary circles in spreading anti-Semitic feeling, and, on the other hand, give impulse to chauvinistic feelings in Jewish circles. In any case, it places Jewish communities in capitalist countries outside Israel often in a rather uncomfortable position. Some people hold them responsible for the aggressive policy of the Israeli rulers, especially if they identify themselves with this policy. Also, the Israeli government and the

Zionists try to use Jewish circles in other capitalist countries as 'pressure groups' against the governments in those countries, and this again may give rise to anti-Semitism.

The national question cannot be solved by migration and national separation. The experience of Israel has proved this once again. The national question is not a geographical question, but a social and class question. While explaining this to the masses, the Communists lay the main emphasis on fighting against the aggressive policy of the Israeli rulers, and at the same time differentiate between the Israeli ruling circles and the Jewish masses in Israel, whose interests are those of peace and socialism.

Today, it is the so-called 'socialist' wing of the Zionist organization that continues to hold up the slogan that Zionism will 'solve' the Jewish question. Expanding on the point of view of the Mapam, the main representative of this wing, Eliezer Shavid writes in his book *Jewish Nationalism*: '... The Zionist movement intended to make the Jewish people healthy economically, socially, politically and culturally, to guarantee it uninterrupted continuation of existence and creation of possibilities, and to put an end to the hatred engendered towards it, by ingathering it in its homeland and building an independent political-social foundation to all its enterprises.'¹³

At one time this Zionist wing tried to reach a 'synthesis' between 'socialism' and Zionism. Its forefather, N. Sirkin, wrote in 1898: 'It is necessary for the Jewish state, if established in the future, to be a socialist state. And it is necessary for Zionism, if it aims to be the ideal of the Jewish people, to get into marriage with socialism.'¹⁴ However, his attempt at squaring the circle was bound to fail. Sirkin and his followers wanted to build socialism without any revolutionary transformation of the existing society. In practice, they accepted the tenets of Zionism, and spiced them with 'socialist' declarations, which in this context became meaningless and demagogic. The so-called Socialist-Zionists gave preference to Zionism over the socialist ideas. Meir Ya'ari, the Mapam leader, declared in Jerusalem in 1927: 'Our ideological program speaks about two stages: the pioneering and the revolutionary.' Adding that these stages should not be separated, he went on: 'We set two stages, *one after the other* (my italics - W.E.)'¹⁵ From this it is obvious that according to this program the struggle for socialism is put off until the Zionist 'solution' of the Jewish question is accomplished.

Among the Jewish toilers there are many with socialist and progressive aspirations. Aware of this, Zionists also portray Zionism as a national liberation movement in an attempt to attract progressive Jewish groups and circles to Zionism and to gain influence over progressives in Israel and especially in other capitalist countries.

But Zionism has never been a national liberation movement, because its program and practice are based on cooperation with imperialism. Both in theory and practice, Zionist organizations have

always stood against socialism, have always acted hand in hand with imperialism.

The Zionist doctrine of 'solving' the Jewish question has failed the test of practice. History has disproved it completely. But this bankruptcy of Zionist theory does not mean that the grave harm done by Zionism is a matter of the past. Recent years have shown that many Jewish people in Israel and other capitalist countries are among the victims of Zionist ideology and practice. To bring the truth to the Israeli people and to the Jewish masses in capitalist countries, to struggle against the poison of Zionist ideology and the dangers of Zionist practice – this is in the genuine national interest of the Israeli people and in the interest of the Jewish working people wherever they are, as well as in the interest of the general cause of peace, national liberation and socialism.

¹Theodor Herzl. *The Jewish State*, English ed., New York, 1946, p. 75.

²*Op. cit.*, pp. 83, 156.

³*Encyclopaedia Judaica*, Vol. 16, Jerusalem, 1971, p. 1163.

⁴There were also minority voices in the Zionist camp. Ahad Haam, proponent of 'Spiritual Zionism,' was of the opinion that political Zionism was bound to fail; it would not put an end to the Jewish question, and would not help to reduce anti-Semitism. See his article, 'The Jewish State and the Jewish Problem,' written against the conclusions of the First Zionist Congress, quoted in the anthology, 'The Zionist Idea,' ed. by Arthur Hertzberg, New York, Atheneum, 1971, pp. 262, 59.

⁵Galut, or Diaspora – Zionist term for the Jewish communities outside Palestine.

⁶The Zionist Idea, pp. 609-610.

⁷*Encyclopaedia Judaica*, Vol. 16, p. 1178.

⁸Herzl, *op. cit.*, p. 157.

⁹*Ibid.*

¹⁰Amos Eilon. *The Israelis*. London, 1971, p. 231.

¹¹'Betfutsot Hagola,' Quarterly of the World Zionist Organization, Department for Organization and Propaganda, 60/61, Jerusalem, 1972, pp. 21, 24.

¹²'Betfutsot Hagola,' No. 54/55, 1970-71, p. 54.

¹³Eliezer Shavid. *Jewish Nationalism*, S. Zack and Co., Jerusalem, 1972, p. 7 (in Hebrew).

¹⁴The Zionist idea, p. 271.

¹⁵P. Mirhar. *The History of the Labor Movement in Palestine*. p. 106. (in Hebrew).



The French CP fights for popular unity

Paul Courtieu

Member Central Committee, FCP

APROPOS THE 20th FCP CONGRESS

The 20th Congress of the French Communist Party, held in mid-December 1972 at Saint-Ouen, was a congress of struggle for the triumph of the joint Left government program.

It was an extraordinary political event in an extraordinary internal and international situation, highlighted by a great political battle decisive for the future of France.

For five days, 1,236 delegates (average age 33) discussed the results of the past three years of struggle. A policy was formed to secure the victory of the joint program, forging the popular unity required for its triumph and specifying the Party's tasks and international obligations.

The Congress was in the focus of public attention at home and was extensively covered by all the mass information media.

It affirmed the Party's image as a dynamic vanguard party of innovation deeply devoted to its principles and sensitive to change, to developments at home and abroad—in short, a great national and democratic party grown to the challenge of participating in the country's administration. The preparations for, and proceedings at, the Congress showed that the FCP is closely united and that all members and branches are in full agreement with the Central Committee's activity since the preceding 19th Congress. The delegates unanimously approved the policy set out in the Central Committee report and the political resolution, and endorsed the report and resolution on *L'Humanité*, amendments to the Party Rules, and the Appeal to the people of France.

Attended by a record number of foreign guests representing 58 Communist and Workers' parties and 18 national-revolutionary movements, the Congress was a striking display of internationalism. The French Communists' profound internationalism and friendship towards their foreign comrades was also reflected in a series of resolutions.

The Congress reaffirmed support for the peoples of Indochina, and called on all Frenchmen to step up their solidarity campaign

to compel President Nixon to conclude a peace and observe the cease-fire agreement. Congress voiced its backing of the Arab national liberation movement and the progressive states, and revolutionary forces of the Middle East struggling to compel Israel and its U.S. protectors to carry out the UN resolutions and recognize the national rights of the Palestinian Arab people. Also, it reiterated solidarity with the peoples of Europe, Asia, Africa and Latin America fighting against dictatorial, fascist or colonial regimes, for sovereignty and independence, for free choice of political and economic system.

The FCP is working for European peace and security, for the success of the All-European Conference, for disarmament, and for the peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems, which, the Congress pointed out, did not eliminate the fundamental contradiction between capitalism and socialism and in no way impeded the liberation struggle of the oppressed peoples and the class struggle in the developed capitalist countries.

The crisis of French society

First and foremost, however, the Congress devoted itself to a thorough analysis of the situation in France.

For years, monopoly capital has ruled undivided by means of an authoritarian regime and an authoritarian party. The levers of state power are entirely dedicated to the aims of big capital – to intensify the exploitation of wage labor and appropriate the greatest possible share of the profit in all sections of the national economy. Capitalists are granted unwarranted tax privileges, state finance is placed at the mercy of their insatiable appetite, the most profitable industries of the nationalized sector are gradually falling under their control, and the process of eliminating small and medium-sized enterprises is gathering added momentum. Public consumption is being restricted, spending in the service sphere cut back, the state inhibits the growth of wages and salaries, and encourages more intensive exploitation.

Serious difficulties appeared in the functioning of the capitalist system in France in 1967-1968. Of late, they have become more serious still, and the FCP described them as the sign of a serious turn, the beginning of a special crisis. In the present situation even large doses of state-monopoly regulation cannot help capitalism solve its contradictions. On the contrary, it only tends to deepen the old and breed new ones.

In the Central Committee Report, Comrade Georges Marchais described the meaning and significance of the crisis that has struck French society: 'It is not a simple transient crisis and, on the other hand, not a sharp and devastating crisis like the one in 1929; neither is it just another phase of the general crisis of capitalism, which began in 1917. What is at stake is the functioning of the system itself, that is, ultimately, of capitalist society in its present, state-monopoly stage, marked by a close interlacement of monopoly and state power.'

'It is not only an economic crisis. Since big capital has seized control over everything in the country, the present situation is marked by a general crisis, which is in evidence in all areas – the political, ideological, and moral.'

The Congress examined the various manifestations of this crisis of French society.

The most obvious consequence is the deterioration of the social condition. The majority of the people suffer difficulties. The facade of prosperity conceals a 'misère moderne,' which has become the lot of millions of people. The masses are experiencing an acute shortage of material means, instability, fear of the future, lack of cultural and social institutions, a deterioration of municipal facilities, and a shortage of leisure; besides, they are exposed to arbitrary treatment at work, and by the government agencies. Peasants, artisans, traders, and small and medium producers, too, are encountering difficulties.

The crisis has spread to the state machine. There is total alienation between the state and the citizen, and strife and division inside the state apparatus.

The foreign policy of the present regime has not escaped the crisis either. The cooperation between France and the USSR and other socialist countries is unquestionably a positive development. But there is a drift towards Atlanticism. The government is tailing behind the developments in the rest of the world.

Decay of the ruling element is another sign of the crisis. The present system breeds numerous scandals, corruption, and immorality. The breakdown of the bourgeoisie's moral values is accompanied by a profound crisis of its ideology.

Those are the reasons behind the sharpening and growth of the class struggle, the upsurge of the popular movement. The social and political battles of today speak clearly of the intention of the people to refashion society, to change the way of life.

The reassessment of ideas forged by the old, exploiting society, has spread dramatically to all sections of the working people, encompassing all ideological currents, all public, professional and cultural organizations, and the Church. The working class and other social groups exposed to monopoly oppression are boldly challenging the policy and the very pillars of the present regime. This has precipitated turmoil in the parties of the ruling coalition, and added to the difficulties of reaction in defending the interests of big capital.

In sum, the monopoly regime insists on ruling alone, though it has shown its inability to solve the problems of society. 'This does not mean that the big bourgeoisie no longer has the means and opportunities to maneuver,' Comrade Marchais said at the Congress. 'It still has considerable means, and its possibilities are still not exhausted. For all that it can no longer hope to find a stable solution of the problem now facing it – the problem of maintaining its hegemony in the country.' The economic, social and political problems have reached a pitch where they can no longer be solved

by a mere face-lifting. A new answer is required. The crisis of French society sets the imperative of profound internal changes, also made propitious by the far-reaching changes on the international scene.

The FCP Congress described the set of treaties concluded between the USSR, Polish People's Republic, and German Democratic Republic, on the one hand, and the FRG, on the other, and the conclusion of the Soviet-American agreements, as events of tremendous importance, ringing in a real change in the international situation – a turn towards détente, peaceful coexistence, and international security. The advance towards peace, freedom, progress and socialism is, despite occasional serious setbacks, the leading tendency in the development of the world. The new climate in international relations, the Congress noted, facilitated the agreement concluded by the Left parties and has created exceedingly favorable conditions for the success of their joint government program.

The way out of the impasse

The joint program of the Left shows a way out of the crisis in France.

It envisages far-reaching democratic changes in the economic and political areas, striking a decisive blow at the power of the monopolies and directing the country along an entirely different way. The aim set by the program is: all-round satisfaction of the needs of the working people and the masses. It offers all Frenchmen the opportunity and guarantee of living in freedom, and at last participating in state affairs at all levels and in all public forms. Social progress will then become the vehicle of economic progress and a radical repatterning of our political and economic institutions.

In foreign relations the program envisages a new policy consonant with the spirit of our times, with our sights set on détente and co-operation with all countries without discrimination.

The policy, described in the joint program as 'to live better, to live in freedom, to live in friendship and peace,' conforms with the interests and needs of the entire nation. In fact, it is prompted by the country's interests.

The implementation of the program will not bring about socialism, of course, but the advanced social and economic democracy envisaged by it, may, through development, become a form of transition to socialism in France.

The agreement of the Left parties (to which the Communists made the decisive contribution) has ushered in a new phase in the battle for far-reaching changes in the country. Ending monopoly domination, and securing the triumph of a new, democratic policy – this has become a concrete and realistic perspective. And if unity swells like an irrepressible stream, it will enable the working people, our entire nation, to advance far towards emancipation.

But the big bourgeoisie is doing, and will do, its worst, to prevent

our victory. We must therefore translate the unity of the Left parties round the joint program into deeds.

The joint program, the Congress noted, is winning ever greater support. A meeting in Paris on December 1 was attended by 100,000 people. And the presence of delegations of Socialist and Left Radicals at our Communist congress confirmed the further consolidation of our cooperation. This success is creating an atmosphere of growing confidence and generating an upsurge of the popular movement. The unity developing 'from below,' in towns and villages is providing the so essential mass support for the agreement of the Left parties.

Towards new successes

Summing up the results of the battle for unity, the congress reaffirmed some of the aspects of our concept of Left cooperation. There are differences of opinion between the Communist and Socialist parties. Chiefly, they concern the world outlook, organizational principles, the role of the working class, evaluation of the achievements of socialist countries, and the role of U.S. imperialism. Both parties want to be what they are. But the main point is that they both wish, and can, jointly help France to pass through an exceedingly important phase on the road to democracy and socialism.

Their pioneering policy envisages a government of democratic alliance consisting of representatives of Left political organizations, and those republican leaders committed to promoting the joint government program. All participants in the government will have the same rights and duties. The Communists have no intention of dominating it; they want to cooperate. This does not contradict our Party's desire to play a vanguard role. We hope to win this role by winning the recognition of the masses. Today, we are prepared to stand in the front ranks of the battle for the aims of the joint program, and tomorrow in building socialism, and we invite our partners to vie with us.

Nothing could be more alien to the French Communists, the Congress noted, than the thought that they can at will choose the mould for the new society. We have our philosophy and we hope to persuade others to accept it as well. As we see it, this philosophy should, in a democratic society, occupy a place consistent with its influence in the modern world. But we have no intention of making it the 'official' philosophy of the state and society of tomorrow. Likewise, while adhering firmly to the organizational principles of our Party, we have no intention of making them the model for the organization of society.

The Communists are determined to fulfil the provisions of the joint program faithfully, and hold that all the partners in the Left alliance should act in the same spirit.

Popular unity is the main condition of success. And since some ascribe to the Communists attempts to oppose this concept to the formula of the Left alliance, and even to substitute one for the

other, the FCP Congress defined what Communists imply by popular unity. The unity required for the success of the joint program cannot be confined to just the organized Left political forces, to those Frenchmen who have already shown their trust in it. To win and implement their common program, the Left parties must win active and constant support of the urban and rural masses, of all the victims of the policy of the capitalist monopolies, of the majority of the nation. And this unity could, in scope, surpass the unity of 1936 and 1945.

Such unity of the working-class movement, of all national, democratic forces (the working class, technicians, engineers and administrative personnel, teachers, intellectuals and art workers, the vast majority of peasants, the youth Catholics, patriots) round the joint program is what constitutes the popular alliance. The alliance of the Left lays the foundation for popular unity. It is our Party's slogan to assure the triumph of the joint government program and to do our utmost to build a popular alliance round the program of the alliance of the Left forces.

The parliamentary elections on March 4-11, 1973, are of the utmost importance for the battle for the joint program. In effect, Frenchmen face a cardinal choice: either let the present reactionary policy continue or open up the way to social and democratic renovation through the implementation of the government program of the Left. From the outset of the election campaign the reactionary coalition has been putting up frantic resistance, not shrinking from slander and intimidation. It has tried to scare the voters with the prospect of economic collapse and 'dictatorship' in the event of a Left victory; it has resorted to demagoguery and anti-communism; nor can the possibility of provocations be written off.

The tactics of the Communist Party are aimed at building up a powerful popular movement and drawing the majority of the nation into it. The goal of the Party is that all Left forces should win and that the Party should win as much ground as possible. And it has mounted a calm but dynamic offensive against the Right parties. It seeks the support of all democrats, of the entire people. It is telling the people that to vote for 'the candidates of the FCP, for popular unity, for the victory of the joint program, is to support the Party's continuous activity in favor of Left unity. This also means voting for a party that guarantees that the struggle for the social and political changes envisaged in the joint program will be conducted with determination and success.

The Party of the people

The formation of the popular alliance and success of the joint program depend directly on the growing influence and organization of our Party. The Party's responsibility is therefore much greater than ever before, and its propaganda and organizational activity, the ideological equipment of its cadres, must match the requirements of the day.

The majority of the people should be acquainted with the joint program. The majority of the people must support it. Therefore, all Party organizations must mount a massive, intensive, varied and creative campaign, involving extensive use of all means of party propaganda.

It was in this connection that the Congress laid special emphasis on the decisive part of *l'Humanité*, whose circulation is still far below our needs. The paper figured as a separate item on the agenda and there was a special resolution. The Congress also amended the Rules to stress the responsibility of Party committees, branches and members for their paper, its circulation and protection.

The political struggle requires an over-all improvement of the Party's ideological work, the ideological standards of its members and cadres. The Congress called the attention of all Party branches to the necessity of new measures in this area.

The Party has 19,500 groups and more than 400,000 members. But even this is not enough in the new situation. The Congress stressed that fresh forces should be recruited more extensively. A few changes, suggested by practice, were made in the Party Rules; their main purpose is to help the groups improve their work, and invigorate inner-Party democracy, the best guarantee for the Party's effectiveness. The aims of Party policy require each organization, each activist to show more initiative and daring, promotion of new, young cadres, and more emphasis on collective leadership.

Party organizations, the Congress stressed, should devote special and continuous attention to the Communist Youth Movement, the main vehicle of communist influence among the rising generation of Frenchmen.

The FCP is determined to fulfil its international obligations, which it regards as part of its struggle. The 20th Congress reaffirmed the Party's resolve to abide by the principles formulated at the 1969 International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties, reaffirmed in the joint statements of the FCP and CPSU in July 1971, and work for the greater unity of the world Communist movement, raising it to a point consistent with the present opportunities and the demands of the anti-imperialist struggle.

The FCP also intends to increase cooperation with revolutionary democratic movements; it maintains good relations with them, and with forces fighting against exploitation, oppression, colonialism and imperialism. Similar relations, it holds, should exist between the Communist and Socialist parties of Europe, facilitating joint action on concrete issues despite the existing differences; joint action could be taken in such areas, for example, as the struggle against the policy of multinational monopolies, or for European collective security.

The unanimously elected Central Committee consists of 118 instead of the previous 107 members. Many young comrades, women, peasant activists and intellectuals, and economic specialists, have been elected to it.

Due to Comrade Waldeck Rochet's poor health, the Central Com-

mittee decided not to re-elect him to the Political Bureau. It paid tribute to Comrade Rochet and thanked him for everything he had done for the Party in the past 30 years by electing him its Honorary Chairman. Comrade Georges Marchais, who had been Deputy General Secretary, was elected the Party's General Secretary.

The French Communist Party is wholly dedicated to serving the working class, the men and women engaged in manual and mental labor in town and country. The Party serves its people and country. Equipped with the decisions of the 20th Congress and filled with faith and optimism, the French Communists are now applying every effort to assure the success of the joint program. They are doing their utmost to live up to the responsibility assumed by the Party to the workers and people of France, to the international Communist and working-class movement.

Communists and the trade unions

Ture Forsberg
Secretary of the LPC

PROGRAM DOCUMENTS OF 23rd CONGRESS OF LEFT PARTY – COMMUNISTS OF SWEDEN

The 23rd Congress of the Left Party – Communists (Stockholm, October 1972) devoted itself to discussing the new Fundamental Program and Action Program, as well as to the Party's tasks in the trade unions and the enterprises. We shall look into these documents chiefly where they bear on trade union problems.

The new Fundamental Program unanimously approved by the Congress lists the following principles and lines of Party activity:

'The Left Party – Communists is part of the Swedish labor movement. It came into being in the course of working-class struggles.

'The Party's duty is to take part in and promote every movement defending the working people's interests. It fights against all curbs and for the greatest possible extension of the people's right to national self-determination, to universal and equal participation in elections to people's representative bodies, the right to elect and replace the government, freedom of association, assembly and demonstration, freedom of speech and the press.

'The Party's main task is constantly to link the working people's movement with socialism. The Party is based on scientific socialism, the revolutionary theory of Marx and Lenin. It strives to apply this

theory, carry it forward and fuse it with the struggle of the Swedish working class.

'The Party organizes in its ranks the more politically conscious section of the working class. It sees its goal in ensuring that the struggle of the working class and the people, guided by the ideas of revolutionary socialism, leads to victory over capitalism and the establishment of a classless society.'

In the widespread discussion preceding the Congress, many of the remarks and suggestions of Party organizations and members, as well as many Party press comments, were concerned with precisely this part of the Program. Clarity on these issues had been inadequate in the Party. Discussion resulted in unanimous approval of the final wording of the Program.

The fight for socialism must not be confined to theory. A party which reduces its activity to declarations, propaganda and the study of problems, without taking part in the everyday struggles of the working class, is isolating itself from the masses. Such a party cannot champion socialism. Isolation leads to distortions of theory.

However, our Party should not yield to the temptation of confining itself to current matters. In campaigning for higher wages, against growing prices, rent and taxes, it must show the inherent contradictions of capitalism and stress that socialism alone can solve all of the people's problems.

Our task is to link the working-class movement with socialism. This underlies the struggle for the working people's everyday demands, in which the forces that will effect the transition from capitalism to socialism are forged. That is the Program's key idea.

Against sectarian sentiments

The Program states the Party's attitude to the trade unions as follows:

'Various organizations – trade unions of wage and salary earners, tenants' associations, cooperatives – serve the people as a weapon in their fight for a higher standard of life. Realizing the necessity for unity in struggle, the members of these organizations strengthen and extend them. . . .

'Monopoly capital and its state try to rob the working people of this weapon. The reformist policy of class peace puts on mass organizations the shackles of cooperation with the state and the big monopolies. It makes for division and passivity among the working people. The trade union leadership has surrounded itself with a bureaucratic apparatus which in crucial situations operates against the interests of the rank and file.

'The struggle of the trade unions is directed against capital and against the state as the instrument of the political power of capital. It requires constant readiness for action by the masses.

'A militant policy fosters unity. It is the basis on which to end class cooperation by joint effort, eliminate the bureaucracy, restore democratic order and the rights of the rank and file and turn the

unions into militant organizations of the working people. As a result, the trade union movement will again be able to seek an end to exploitation. This will be a decisive step towards extending the basis of revolutionary policy.'

Sweden's Communists sharply criticize the policy of class co-operation followed by leading trade union bodies under reformist influence. We condemn the bureaucratic and centralist measures through which the union rank and file are denied a direct say in important decision-making. However, while criticizing, we remember that the unions are class organizations and that their lower echelons are operating in an atmosphere of acute class struggle. Our criticism is constructive and we want to mobilize all forces of the trade union movement as a united militant organization of the working people.

A small group of Congress delegates upheld a line of its own. They claimed that the Party should set up in the enterprises 'anti-capitalist groups' whose main function should be agitation as distinct from the activities carried on in the trade union movement by Communist clubs. In general, they declare, the unions should be used as an agitation platform and not as a weapon in the fight for the working people's interests.

Sectarian sentiments have no backing in the Party. Not surprisingly, the overwhelming majority of Congress delegates voted down that would-be union policy. If the delegates gave the matter some attention, it was only because there is a certain connection between the erroneous line advocated at the Congress and the agitation carried on for a long time by various Left sectarian groups. Operating from without, these groups tried to lead the struggle in the enterprises and divide the working people, which was grist to the capitalist mill. Shortly before the Congress, members of the so-called 'Communist League of Marxist-Leninists' in Goeteborg disrupted the wage struggle at the Arendalsvarvet shipyards.

The Congress found it necessary to adopt the following emphatic statement on the matter:

'The Left Party - Communists consistently supports the struggle of the working class in the enterprises for higher wages, the right to participate in decision-making on working conditions and remuneration forms, and the repeal of Art. 32* and all class legislation. The LPC fights for the workers' right to strike and takes a stand against the restrictions which the employers try to impose. We condemn their methods of dismissal and thought control.

'At the same time, the Party declares that it is for the working people themselves and active trade unionists to determine the ways and means of struggle and that relevant decisions should be made in the enterprises and in trade union organizations.

*The reference is to Art. 52 of the Statutes of the Swedish Employers' Union, which grants employers the right to discharge workers at their own discretion and to exercise unilateral control over production and job distribution. A precedent established by industrial courts imparted the character of law to this article.

'We reject attempts by any group operating from without to jeopardize the success of the struggle by prompting or meddling with provocative intent.

'Step up the fight for higher wages, for the workers' right to participate in decision-making on working conditions and remuneration forms!

'Turn the trade unions into militant organizations!'

A similar stand is taken in the amendment to the Party Rules adopted by the Congress. The new section of the Party reads in part:

'Party members take an active part in the working people's everyday struggles for material, social and cultural demands and link it with the struggle for socialism.

'The Party has no interests running contrary to those of the working class. By evolving and implementing a policy which takes account of the working people's current demands and by drawing proper lessons from struggle, the Party strives to ensure that the working class wins a leading position in society.

'The Party works steadfastly to extend its political influence among the working people and to acquire a mass character in this way.

'The Party is opposed to coups d'état, conspiratorial activity and individual terrorism. It fights against those who substitute phrases and slogans divorced from reality for sustained revolutionary work.'

The action program

One of the sections of the Action Program is entitled 'Trade Union Struggle.' It specifies the demands which the Party is going to fight for, and sets out the Party's views on the trade union movement.

It largely reaffirms the fundamental demands of the Action Program adopted by the Party in 1969. The point is that the Swedish employers still wield unlimited power which is safeguarded by class laws and cooperation agreements. Despite the laws in force, the working people in recent years have stepped up their strike movement to uphold their interests in the enterprises. The LPC backs their struggle and takes part in it. The new Program, like its predecessor, insists on the demand to void the provisions of Art. 32, revise the anti-labor laws of 1928 on industrial courts and collective bargaining, abolish the 'guidelines' for the settlement of labor disputes and revoke the decisions of the dismissals committee. It is essential to delete from the laws laying down the status of civil servants and communal employees provisions analogous to those of Art. 32.

On the parliamentary level, the Party formulated its demands in a motion drafted for the 1973 Riksdag with specific provisions regarding the working people's right to negotiate and strike. Labor legislation should provide, as the IPC sees it, for the workers' right to choose the form of labor remuneration and should end arbitrary dismissals and transfers, as well as transfers of industry

to other areas. It should permit agitation in the enterprises and trade union meetings during working hours.

The government has formed a commission for labor legislation. However, its instructions are so vague that it will hardly be able to do a better job than its predecessors and draft proposals likely to change the alignment of forces in labor relations. On the other hand, late in 1972, the government tabled a motion in parliament on worker representation on the enterprise boards and had it carried. As regards our Party, it does not think that these representatives, who will be in a minority, will be able to defend the worker's interests. Representation as it stands now can only mean a continued and extended policy of class collaboration. The Party's new Action Program stresses the decisive importance for the wage and salary earners to win rights in the enterprises.

Prominent in the new policy document is the problem of working conditions. The Program points out that they are steadily deteriorating because machines receive more attention than the worker, technological progress being prompted by a bid for higher profit. Industrial accidents are on the rise and so is the proportion of people disabled by the speed-up.

To check this dangerous trend, it is necessary to link the struggle for a shorter working day, a change in remuneration forms, longer holidays and a lower pension age with the struggle against speed-up. The Action Program also demands setting pension age at 63 in the near future and reducing it today to 65 and to 60 for those working underground or in comparable conditions. The working week should be cut to 35 hours, with a seven-hour working day, and there should be a five-week annual holiday. It is also necessary to introduce guaranteed pay in the event of transfer from one job to another and to stop dismissals on account of age or deformity. Labor legislation should be revised to grant the unions, labor safety committees and their representatives the final word in judging working conditions. Workers' health care should be extended and subordinated to regional bodies.

The LPC wants to mobilize the working people to fight for such a policy. During the Congress debate on trade union activity, speakers emphasized the decisive importance of Party work at grass roots, in the enterprise. This is the only basis on which adequate support can be secured for a sound trade union policy. The Action Program, like the fundamental Program, criticizes the policy of class cooperation pursued by trade union bodies under Social-Democratic control. It calls for struggle against the ideology of 'mutual understanding,' which has resulted in timidity and inaction over wages. The link with capitalist interests and government policy, which is typical, must be served and big capital combated throughout the sphere of political and economic relations. It is on the basis of solidarity with the lower-paid categories of working people that incomes equality should be sought.

The demand that class collaboration be replaced by class struggle is inseparable from the demand for the restoration of trade

union democracy. Hence the Action Program calls attention to centralist methods and bureaucratic procedure, which reformist leaders use in their policy of class collaboration. The Party urges active trade unionists to campaign against the right of veto exercised by the leadership of trade union federations and to insist that delegates to congresses or conferences on collective bargaining be elected in all federations directly and that the trade union rank and file be entitled to vote on draft collective agreements. Trade union functionaries should be elected for a specific term and provision should be made for time off from one's main job to carry out trade union or political assignments.

The Action Program also underscores the need to strengthen unity of the working people of various countries and develop a common strategy against multinational monopolies. Swedish capital operates in Sweden. Foreign labor is imported to Sweden primarily for use on low-paid jobs and to reinforce the labor reserve army. Hence the need for greater solidarity and cooperation among working people, regardless of state frontiers or national distinctions, to fight the common enemy, capitalism.

Organizing activity

Our Party has risen from the working class, as the very composition of Congress delegates shows. Of the 231 delegates, 179 are employed in industry and belong to a union; 137 of them are factory workers and 42, salaried employees. Eighty-four delegates hold elective union posts. It is also worthy of note that 133 delegates are active in communal bodies and many others in tenants' associations and in cooperatives.

The main report suggested, however, that the Party's organizing activity still has serious shortcomings. While the incipient trend towards a decrease in Party membership has been stopped, growth is still inadequate and out of keeping with the present political situation.

The debate on the main report and on organizational matters ended in the adoption of a statement on organizing work. The Congress pointed to the necessity of winning new members and expanding and strengthening Party organizations. Since the industrial enterprises are the main field of economic and political battles, the emphasis in Party work should be shifted to the enterprises. We should set up Communist trade union clubs wherever possible and improve Party work in the unions.

The important, programmatic decisions adopted by the Congress bring a ready response from both the Party membership and numerous active trade unionists, as developments since the 23rd LPC Congress have shown.

Building up strength

*Operating underground, braving repression,
Communists extend their influence*

A dialogue between *Dionisio Bejarano Ramos*, General Secretary, CC CP Honduras, and *Miguel Angel Soler*, Secretary, CC CP Paraguay.

Bejarano. I'm glad we are having this interview, Miguel, and I'd like to discuss many things with you. What is the situation in your country? What about your Party? Honduran Communists want to know more about your struggle. I like the Editorial Board's suggestion that the main points of our dialogue be made known to the Communists of other countries.

Soler. Thank you, Dionisio. I agree with you. We have similar problems. We both need to establish closer links with the masses. And perhaps we should begin with that.

The old and the new

Soler. But first, what is the position after the recent coup in Honduras?

Bejarano. The coup of December 4, 1972 was carried out by the armed forces but it was not typical of Latin American military coups of the past. Let me explain why.

What kind of government did the coup topple? It was a government under Ramon Ernesto Cruz of the Nationalist Party, which speaks for imperialist and oligarchic interests. Cruz proved a narrow-minded and dishonest politician. Embezzlement of public funds and economic disruption aroused universal anger. The workers went on strike, peasant unrest surged high, the students went into action. The people came out into the streets. The people had had enough of Cruz. And, as so often in Honduras history it was the military who took over, under General Arellano.

This time, though, no one was jailed or deported; also, representatives of the two traditional ruling parties, the Nationalist and the Liberal, were not included in the new government.

Soler. Does that mean the situation for the Communist Party is better?

Bejarano. It is too early to judge, though there are some changes. For example, certain curbs have been imposed on the reactionary parties. Meanwhile the trade unions and peasant organizations are operating unhampered and are, indeed, becoming more active. The National Peasant Association has demanded of the new head of state that the Agrarian Reform Law enacted 10 years ago be enforced.

Peasant, trade union, student and other democratic organizations, and, of course, our Party, did their utmost to bring about the down-

fall of the Cruz government, and, logically, expect a square deal from the new one.

The Communist Party carefully analyzes domestic political trends. While avoiding unwarranted optimism, we must see and assess the new, as Lenin taught us. Communists work among the masses, study their moods and try to gain better insight into the overall situation. We are extending our work among all sections of the population.

Your Party is operating in much more difficult conditions.

Soler. Yes, the Stroessner dictatorship is one of Latin America's worst. Stroessner seized power over 18 years ago through a military coup engineered by the U.S. military mission. His government is a tool of the bourgeois and landowner oligarchy and imperialist, primarily U.S. monopolies, but that is only part of the story.

The regime is notoriously corrupt. It has made a good thing out of the drug traffic. In fact, Stroessner told a delegation he could not abolish the traffic because it was the 'price of peace in the republic.' In other words, the military and civilians in high positions are free to get rich on narcotics.

That's the kind of regime we have in Paraguay. It has sheltered and goes on sheltering even Nazi war criminals like Mengele, the SS doctor and executioner.

While protecting smugglers and murderers, the dictatorship hounds the Communists. It has passed such repressive laws as Law 209 and 294.

Bejarano. What are they?

Soler. Anyone spreading Marxist-Leninist ideas can get up to 10 years in prison and a harsh sentence for any activity against the existing order. You know, hundreds of the regime's political opponents have been in detention for years now. They include Antonio Maidana, our Party Chairman, and CC members Julio Rojas and Alfredo Alcorta. They have been in jail for over 14 years, longer than the legal maximum. Communists are still behind bars in spite of a court decision freeing them taken 10 years ago.

Bejarano. So the authorities violate even their own laws?

Soler. Yes. They say our comrades were arrested on the President's orders under the emergency. The fact is, however, that the government is at war with the people. The dictator boasts of the 'peace' he has established, and has made this the keynote of official propaganda. The regime pretends to forget that a permanent state of emergency is illegal and that Stroessner is prolonging his rule contrary to his own Constitution. There's a saying in Paraguay: 'We have a contented general and general discontent.' The regime is an autocratic, one-man regime of absolute arbitrary rule.

Legal opportunities and underground work

Bejarano. When I compare the conditions in which our two parties are operating I realize that we have somewhat greater opportunities for mass work.

We publish *La Vanguardia Revolucionaria*, a modest weekly with a circulation of about 10,000. There's also *Trabajo*, a theoretical journal mainly for Party members. And now we've started publication of *Problemas*, the Honduras edition of *Problems of Peace and Socialism*.

Inner Party life has become more intensive. We can now work more systematically and plan our activities. We've set up various commissions, including organization and publicity. They are doing a good job. Our educational commission runs classes in Marxism-Leninism (they're legal) for the rank and file and for Party workers. Besides, many Party workers take courses in Party policy and in methods of conducting it.

Soler. How much legality do you enjoy?

Bejarano. The Party as such is not formally legal. But to describe it as illegal would be wrong. We are operating both openly and clandestinely. For example, Party leaders address meetings of workers, peasants and students. Many Party meetings are held legally. On the other hand, our press is illegal.

That is the situation. It's difficult and complicated and varies from place to place. Party organizations adapt to local conditions, of course. Work is harder on the North Coast, where imperialist domination is particularly strong. In the capital, however, we don't try to keep out of the public eye but, on the contrary, do our best to be 'seen' as often as possible because we want people, first of all the workers, to know us.

We exert influence over some mass organizations, such as the Socialist Student Front (FES), our university outpost, which accepts Marxism-Leninism. The FES sign is prominently displayed at its headquarters, the center of much youth activity. The house is watched, of course, but the students and our Party members know how to look after themselves.

Generally speaking, our policy is to combine legal and illegal work. We use every opportunity to increase Party influence among the masses, and are prepared to switch to new methods when necessary.

Soler. Our Party follows essentially the same policy. But we encounter numerous difficulties.

Party organizations were virtually inactive from 1965 to 1970 and most Party leaders were in exile. It's no easy matter to revive the Party, that is, restore its branch organizations and leading committees. We are now working on this task. After the Third Party Congress, we set out to regain our positions and strengthen our link with the masses. Now the enemy is much concerned at the Party's political activity. Stroessner's mouthpiece, *Patria*, has lately carried several editorials warning against growing Communist activity in the country. The reactionaries had announced the collapse of the Communist Party and proclaimed it dead. Yet those whom they wrote off as 'dead' are 'hale and hearty,' as *Adelante*, our Party paper, put it. Despite brutal repression, our Party has shown that

it cannot be destroyed, any more than other Communist parties loyal to Marxism-Leninism.

We know it's important to steadily extend our links with the people. True, we are not very strong in numbers. Besides, some Communists were at one time carried away by the opportunist idea that mass work was impossible without a strong Party. The Third Congress stressed the harmfulness of this view.

Our watchword is to work among the masses under all circumstances. There's no other way of strengthening the Party's positions or increasing its membership. The Party is trying to reorganize first on the basis of small nuclei, never missing the slightest opportunity to win positions in legal mass organizations. In general, we play an active part in the working-class, peasant and student movement, in the people's struggles.

For a united front of the working people

Soler. Communists and other revolutionaries and democrats throughout Latin America are working to set up broad anti-imperialist fronts. How is your Party coping with the task?

Bejarano. Our Party is moving to organize a National Democratic Center that would make more effective the fight against the country's backwardness, poverty and dependence on North American imperialism. We call on all revolutionaries and democrats to unite on common aims. Some progressive groups are less explicit than we in these aims, but that is no obstacle to cooperation with them.

We have made known to trade-union organizations, first of all the Confederation of Working People, our strategy of political alliance and united action. And at its last congress the Confederation adopted a program containing democratic demands.

I think the Communists of our countries have yet another political ally, the Christian Democratic movement. Are we Communists doing enough to promote cooperation with it on a common democratic platform and to carry on a constructive dialogue?

Serious changes are taking place in the Church, as our Party program notes. Many Church leaders are democratic-minded. Their program is addressed primarily to the peasants, but they are also close to the working class and the students.

Democratic-minded Church leaders show willingness to cooperate and we are out to establish closer relations with them even though their activity is often stamped with petty-bourgeois 'revolutionism.'

Soler. Speaking of the situation in our country, the Stroessner dictatorship has always tried to isolate the Communist Party so as to split the opposition, but with no success.

Consistently democratic opposition groups have sprung up in a number of parties under the impact of growing economic crisis and popular discontent. At the Christian Democratic Party's latest congress, the opponents of the 'elections' planned by the government gained the upper hand. The Colorado Popular Movement, an im-

portant opposition force, is a large group which broke away from the government party to join the active fighters against the dictatorship. Most of its leaders were deported. Spokesmen of the more radical groups declare for cooperation with the Communists.

Contradictions between the dictatorship and the legal bourgeois and landowner opposition are growing. This was particularly obvious when, in 1972, the movement of workers, peasants and students and the people's political activity generally intensified. This makes it possible to establish an anti-dictatorial front. In many cases there is everything needed to give it organizational form. I mean, first of all, cooperation with youth and revolutionary democrats.

The Party is campaigning for a broad anti-dictatorial front encompassing the discontented even among the ruling classes. These people are, of course, far from seeking democracy, but at the moment they are against the dictatorship, if only up to a certain point. We believe the campaign for a broad anti-dictatorial front will have to go through several stages.

Needless to say, it isn't easy for the Communists, working underground, to coordinate their effort with parties and movements enjoying a legal, albeit a precarious and limited, status. However, there are solutions for these and more sensitive problems. The important thing is to start centers coordinating the struggle of the workers, peasants, students and intellectuals. The next step would be to set up a national coordinating center. The campaign should culminate in agreement on a common program, action methods and the structure of the anti-dictatorial front.

Bejarano. You stressed the active role of youth in the campaign. We, too, work in close contact with youth organizations. Let me give you an example.

On hearing of the brutal murder of Comrade Bernardo Alvarado Monzon, General Secretary of the Guatemalan Party of Labor, and of members of the Party's Central Committee, we printed the CC GPL protest in thousands of copies and had young people distribute it in the streets. The Socialist Student Front held mass meetings and put out leaflets condemning the dastardly crime. That was our homage to the fallen fighters. Guatemala is our neighbor. The fallen comrades were our friends, we often met to discuss various problems. You can imagine the anger and revulsion we feel for their murderers. The death of the brother Party's leaders was a blow to all of us. But when have atrocities broken Communists?

We must know each other better

Bejarano. You were right in saying that our main task is to establish closer links with the masses. To win the right to lead working people, Communist parties must fight side by side with them.

Proletarian internationalism implies extensive exchange of experience. We must get to know each other better and help each other. Like all other Latin Americans, we have a common enemy —

imperialism, the landed interests and the oligarchy – who have brought misfortune and poverty on our countries.

I wish the fraternal Paraguayan Communist Party every success. I'm certain your efforts will bear fruit and the comrades now in jail in Asuncion will be free.

Soler. Problems of Peace and Socialism is using a new, effective form of exchanging views – dialogues between Communists of various countries. We welcome this initiative because it helps informal discussion.

We are certain the Paraguayan people will sweep away the dictatorial regime, win political freedom and embark on agrarian and anti-imperialist changes.

Thank you for your kind words. I wish the Communists of Honduras new successes.

Principled policy, effective action

Adolf Dobieszewski

Lecturer, Higher School of Social Sciences, CC PUWP.

The strength and authority of the Polish United Workers' Party (PUWP) rests in the fact that its political program and practice combine working-class socialist ideals and interests with the interests of the entire people, the interests of Poland with those of the socialist community and the international aspirations of the oppressed and exploited throughout the world.

Based on a scientific approach to reality and knowledge of the laws of social development, Party policy is constantly perfected as this knowledge accumulates and deepens. Using Marxism-Leninism as its guide, the Party closely analyzes the new phenomena of social life, the motivations behind the actions of classes and groups, and the factors that go into the formation of people's views and requirements. And measuring Party policy against these views and requirements, we are able to make the necessary corrections in the light of experience and social practice.

The Party strives to determine and correctly assess in a timely way the opportunities the present period of history opens to the working class and the people. But it is also important correctly to assess the people's requirements at a given stage of social development. The decisions of the Seventh and Eighth Central Com-

mittee Plenums (December 1970 and February 1971) reaffirmed the strength of the PUWP and its ability objectively to appraise its activity. The Plenum decisions showed that the Party is able to make the necessary corrections in its policy, eliminate undesirable developments in socialist construction, lead the working class in overcoming difficulties, chart out and confidently lead the country along a correct course.

The program of Poland's socialist development adopted at the Sixth Party Congress (December 1971) combines long-range aims with the day-to-day interests of the working class, the various social strata and production collectives, and strengthens the people's unity in building the new society. The pre-congress discussion and the practical work of bringing the program to reality have reaffirmed anew that our people deeply appreciate the Party's leading role. They bring to the Party their suggestions, follow its initiative, and cooperate with it, for in the Party they see their leader. The creative initiative of the Central Committee and Political Bureau members elected at the Sixth Congress, their ability to give interpretative generalization to new developments and political expression to new tasks and requirements, and, last but not least, their close link with the people, have multiplied the Party's strength and raised its prestige.

The authority of the Party rests on the authority of each member

The leading role of the Party is largely determined by the quality of its membership. If the Party is to cope with its many complex tasks, and if it is to enjoy still greater authority, it must have a membership fully aware of what direction the development of society should take; a membership prepared actively to fight for progress in every area of Polish life and promote the ideals of the working class. The PUWP is a vast army of fighters for socialism. It has gone through years of political ordeals and has been repeatedly tested in action.

Two years ago, about 60 per cent of Party members had joined in 1961-71.* In recent years, more than half of the new recruits are under 25, most of them having received their ideological and political schooling in the socialist youth organizations. Educational standards among Party members are considerably above the national average. This is not only due to more young people joining the Party, but also to the fact that older members are steadily improving their general and political knowledge.

For all that, however, it should always be borne in mind that the Party is a living political organism, that it constantly strengthens its ranks, recruits politically mature workers, farmers and intellectuals and rids itself of those who do not live up to their duty as Party members or have shown neither the desire nor the ability actively to work on its behalf.

*More details on PUWP membership, press, etc. will be found elsewhere in this issue - Ed.

In 1968, our Fifth Congress emphasized that, since the Party had topped the two million mark and its organizations were representative of practically all social strata, the accent should now be on improving the quality of the membership. Unfortunately, not all Party organizations drew the necessary conclusions. In examining Party membership, the Sixth Congress again drew attention to the quality factor, particularly the need to strengthen the Party's working-class core. That is fully in accord with Lenin's emphasis on the Party assuring ideological cohesion and purity of its ranks and retaining its proletarian core. After coming to power, Lenin warned that the Party must guard against the influx of those petty-bourgeois elements, careerists, ideologically and politically unstable elements for whom the Party membership is a means of furthering their selfish aims. He wrote in 1922 'the temptation to join the ruling party at the present time is very great,' for even 'types who are very remote from everything proletarian have been carried away by the political successes of the Bolsheviks' (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 33, p. 256). And in purging the Party of those who have 'attached' themselves to it, Lenin recommended relying on the experience and judgment of the non-Party workers and peasants.

In the year between the Seventh Plenum and the Sixth Congress, the central and local committees did much to improve membership standards and to re-adjust Party work to eliminate the undesirable phenomena in the Party's development over the past period. One method of achieving this was through heads of Party organizations interviewing individual members. This is nothing new; the method was used in previous years, too, but never on such a scale. These talks were held in all Party branches and involved nearly half of the membership. Conducted on a high ideological level, they proved very valuable in preparing the Sixth Congress, in strengthening the Party ideologically and organizationally and promoting membership activity. They helped to rid the Party of passive elements, of those who were indifferent to the Party's authority or tried to exploit it for their own personal interests. In 1971, about 124,000 were expelled for passivity and more than 13,000 for violations of the Party Rules.

All Party committees and branches were instructed to make such individual talks a permanent form of Party work, involving about one-third of the membership every year.

Amendments to the Party Rules adopted by the Sixth Congress are likewise meant to heighten membership standards. The Rules now set more stringent admission criteria, emphasizing such things as the applicant's attitude to his job and fellow-workers, uncompromising struggle against all manifestations of evil and arbitrariness, a desire to improve things in the life and work of the collective to which he belongs. The Party must be open only to those who are prepared actively to work for the country's continued progress, the ideals of socialism, social justice, equality and freedom for individuals and peoples, against exploitation, imperialist oppression and war. In short, the Rules require that when the choice is

between personal interests or personal convenience and social duty, one's duty to the country and Party, a Party member must choose the latter and always be guided by the interests of the community. It is by devoted labor that a Party member justifies his place in the van of the fighters for our common cause, and he seeks the assistance and friendly criticism of his comrades in the Party branch.

And the Rules make it incumbent on the branch to assign concrete tasks to candidate members. They raise the responsibility of members recommending new recruits and re-establish the procedure under which branch decisions on admitting new members are subject to approval by the higher Party committee.

Both the Rules and congress decisions provide for a greater role of the general branch meeting. The Rules make it obligatory for Party organizations periodically to review the professional and social activity of members, irrespective of what position they hold. This enhanced role of the branch and its general meeting strengthens a crucial link in the Party's structure.

Based on the working class

The success of Party work depends on close contact with the masses, primarily the working class, the main force of the socialist revolution and the building of the new society. Addressing the Sixth Congress, Comrade Gierek said: 'The social base of our Party is the working class. It has a deep understanding of the people's interests and identifies itself with them and with the ideals and principles of socialism. Naturally, our chief support base is in the big industrial centers, with their rich traditions of class struggle and their high political and professional culture.'

In the past the role of these big industrial centers was often underestimated, the Congress pointed out. Not everyone realized that these traditional working-class centers should be the main bastion of socialism, the forge of Poland's economic might and a school for Party and other cadres. Nearly 25 per cent of the industrial work force is concentrated at 160 big enterprises. Their collectives play a key role in creating Poland's national wealth and exert a powerful influence on the workers' political thinking and on public life. Party policy and activity in these enterprises largely determine the success of all Party work.

After December 1970 we made it a rule to consult their Party branches and worker collectives on all major issues. This was later followed by similar consultation with trade-union and other mass organizations so that now this is a permanent feature of Central Committee work. CC departments and provincial committees have been instructed to help Party branches, primarily at leading enterprises, in organizing such consultations. The government, too, has been recommended systematically to consult with Party branches and worker collectives on draft legislation (e.g., on mass production of consumer goods, purchase of foreign licenses, wage scales, finance, etc.)

And these recommendations have been carried out, with the result that the working class has a constructive and more active part in drafting important economic and social measures. Workers' views and suggestions are often the basis of fundamental amendments to draft decisions of the Central Committee, Party organizations and the state authorities.

Operation of the Central Committee pre-Congress directive that worker representation on Party Committees be at least proportional to the number of workers in the given organization has altered the composition of all elected Party bodies. It also affected the composition of the Sixth Party Congress: workers made up 42 per cent of the delegates, or slightly more than their share in the Party. Workers now make up more than 54 per cent of branch committees in industry, 33 per cent in district and 37 per cent in provincial committees. The Sixth Congress elected 51 factory-floor workers to the Central Committee and the Central Auditing Commission, a larger number than in the past.

Strengthening the Party's proletarian core does not contradict recruitment of representatives of other social strata—primarily peasants and intellectuals—nor does it in any way belittle their role in the life of our society. Quite the contrary, in this age of technological revolution the Party's leading role can be consolidated only given close unity of the working class and the intelligentsia, now a sizable segment of the Party. Accordingly, the Sixth Congress made this important amendment to the preamble of the Rules: 'The Party unites the intelligentsia with the popular masses, bringing it into closer contact with the working class. This is of decisive importance for organically combining the scientific and technical revolution with the socialist system. The Party aims at training highly competent intellectual cadres devoted to socialism.'

Unity of democracy and centralism

The very concept of the Marxist-Leninist Party, its organization and activity, rests on the fundamental principle of democratic centralism. This gives it a structural pattern assuring interconnection between Party organizations and between them and the central leadership. Democratic centralism is essential for the Party's ideological and political cohesion and unity of action, and also for regulating the functioning of the Party organism and all its parts.

The need for a centralized party follows from the very nature and historic mission of the proletariat. The Party must, in all situations, unite the working class as an integral force. Its centralized structure calls for a united and flexible leadership, and this in turn calls for strong central Party organs empowered to set uniform principles of action binding on all organizations and members. The Party can accept only persons prepared to act in accordance with its Rules. And the Party itself must always act as a closely united force. That is how Lenin understood its centralized structure.

Party discipline, the same for all organizations and members,

rests on conscientious acceptance. All the experience of the revolutionary and workers' movement shows that effective discipline can be based only on conviction, devotion and self-sacrifice in the struggle to carry out Party policy. And this implies that Party discipline cannot be regarded as something handed down from the center: it has another important element, democracy. This unity of centralism and democracy was very aptly formulated by Comrade Gierek at the Eighth Plenum: 'More discussion prior to adopting decisions, more discipline in carrying them out.'

Uniform Party discipline presupposes:

- the same rights and obligations for all Party members, irrespective of position or function. 'No one, now or in future,' Political Bureau member and CC Secretary Babiuch declared at the Sixth Congress, 'is exempt from Party control and criticism.' This logically follows from Lenin's understanding of Party discipline as equally binding on all its members, worker and minister, Political Bureau member and rank and filer;

- equal rights and responsibilities for all Party organizations, their duty to abide by the provisions of the Party Rules. Hence, the amendment to Paragraph 19 of the Rules adopted at the Sixth Congress: Party organizations failing to abide by this principle can be dissolved by decision of the district or city committee bureau with the approval of the provincial committee bureau;

- the minority must submit to majority decisions. The Sixth Congress reaffirmed that a Party member voting against a decision or abstaining must nevertheless carry it out; all Communists must share in implementing Party decisions - that is essential for the Party's unity and leading role.

Some are inclined to contrast centralism to democracy. But with all Communists having an active share in formulating Party policy and decisions, centralism and democracy are merged into one. Given this, the Party acts as a collective of mature and active Communists, a collective, also, of vigorous, initiating and self-acting organizations. This precludes artificial contrasting of centralism to democracy and makes it possible to quickly eliminate bureaucratic distortions of democratic centralism.

A frequent error is a mechanical approach to democratic centralism as merely the sum of centralism and democracy. This leads to treating the two as opposites, to talk about 'adding' (or 'subtracting') democracy or centralism. That, of course, is wrong, for the two must always be seen in their organic unity. Democracy without centralism is impotent, leads to anarchy or empty talk, and ceases to be democracy. Centralism without democracy leads to erroneous decisions far removed from reality, to blind, mechanical discipline not based on conviction or on conscious support by the Party membership.

Correct theoretical understanding and practical implementation of democratic centralism is of tremendous importance for Party work. It helps to consolidate its leading role and its link with the masses. Deformation of this principle can disrupt the necessary

contact between leadership and membership, can lead to malfunctioning of the Party mechanism, wrong decisions, or inability to operate a correct policy. All this weakens the Party's contact with the working class and the people, so necessary under socialism. The Sixth Congress decisions, the work of the Party's central leadership and all its other organizations, are focused on consolidating and promoting democratic centralism, which we understand as the harmonious development of Party democracy and centralism.

Uninterrupted and full information on Party activity, both from 'top to bottom' and vice versa, is a basic requisite for promoting inner-Party democracy, centralism and discipline. For there can be no effective operation at central and all other levels if Central Committee decisions are not made known to local organizations and, on the other hand, if the leadership does not have truthful information about the situation and sentiments at local level. The Congress decision says: 'Party members, organizations and committees must truthfully inform each other of their work, successes and major shortcomings in their particular area and, through day-to-day contact with the people, of the sentiments and views of various groups. We must consistently combat embellishment of information and attempts to conceal negative phenomena.'

The Congress especially emphasized the need for closer contact between representatives of the central leadership and Party branches in industry, and for more direct information between the two. The Congress fully approved the practice of acquainting the public with questions under discussion in the Political Bureau and consultations with the working class and other sections of the population on major issues.

The Party's overall aim is to consolidate and enlarge the gains of the socialist revolution; everything should be subordinated to that. Hence, democratic centralism is not an aim in itself, but a means of attaining our aims. The Party will not allow its democratic rules and norms to be used in ways that are detrimental to its policy. Its organizational principles and structure serve to attain socialist aims. That is in line with Lenin's understanding of the Party: primacy of functions and aims over organization.

There is the proof of experience that mistakes committed in the course of socialist construction are usually the result of violation of the Leninist principles of Party life. Our Party, Comrade Gierek has said, must find the means that will guarantee it against such violations. And there are these tested guarantees: adherence to the Rules, a wholesome moral and political climate, freedom for principled discussion and bold criticism, correct selection of cadres, their high ideological, political, professional and moral standards.

The main guarantee, however, is the Party itself, a Party of politically mature, ideologically alert front-rankers, men and women who are natural leaders in their own particular group, always surrounded by people and always prepared to support the Party and its policy by word and deed.

Inner-Party discussions and creative participation in formulating

Party policy are essential to the Party's organized and effective functioning. A critical and constructive analysis of the past, rectification of mistakes and collective discussion of major problems – it is along these lines that the practical work of the Polish United Workers' Party is now developing.

A sense of the times

'Every Communist is responsible for the Party.'

Bulgarian CP Program

The Sociological Information Center of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party conducted what at first sight seemed to be an ordinary poll. But the questions were rather unusual.

'What part do you have in resolving professional and social problems? How are they discussed?

'How do you keep abreast of new developments and achievements in your profession?

'About how many hours a week do you spend on reading?'

The purpose of the poll was evidently to ascertain how well Communists are prepared for their role in the management of economic and social processes, the extent to which they are able to influence the decisions and functioning of their Party organizations, what interferes with their activity and, in this connection, the state of inner-Party democracy, the observance of statutory regulations.

The Party thus analyzes itself, its efficiency. This very fact and the questions asked are indicative of certain new demands the Party puts to every member.

Luben Pironchev, Deputy Director of the CC Organizational Department, said my impression was correct. 'The point is,' he added, 'that the period of building developed socialism is one of intensive change in society, and hence in conditions of Party work. This is true in vast measure of the sphere of social management and it is only natural that the Party should mobilize, and should build up its creative potentialities, so as to perform its leading function the more effectively in the new conditions.'

What then, are the changes in social management and how does the Party react to them?

Formula of social management

There was a Party meeting at the Zagortsi cooperative, now part of the Nova Zagora agrarian-industrial complex. It had before it a

proposal by experts and management to integrate all repair facilities. After much discussion it was voted down.

'Yet the proposal was a good one and the integration is needed,' said Volcho Tanev, a repair worker, who had been the first to criticize the plan at the meeting. 'I was wrong and so was everybody else who objected. In fact, we wasted time.'

Why did they turn it down? Got it wrong or something?

'You could put it that way,' Tanev replied. 'But it would be more correct to say the experts who planned the change didn't consult cooperative members and were unable to make their point. The meeting saw only the drawbacks of the plan—what cooperative members stood to lose; the gains weren't shown clearly enough.'

'What if the Communists had taken the experts' word for it? Wouldn't that have been better?'

'I'm not sure,' Tanev replied. 'suppose we had backed the experts and then there had been a general meeting. Would the cooperative members have believed us or rebuffed us for making an ill-advised recommendation? Or, suppose it had gone through without a general meeting. That's a virtual impossibility, but just suppose. Can people do something well if they don't believe in it? After all, it's all up to people and when they aren't sure a change is necessary, it can't produce the desired effect. Come to think of it, the Party meeting did the right thing. The project has now been completed, its merits have been made clear to everybody and it'll work out well.'

The Zagortsi Communists called attention to what economists, sociologists and social psychologists talk about a lot—the fast-growing role of the human factor in modern production—meaning both the worker's competence and attitude to his work. This trend is attributed to technological progress, but there is certainly more to it than that.

I talked with Dinyu Terziev at Zagortsi. He was not one of the poor before the revolution and he took his time over joining the cooperative.

'Are you sorry you joined?' I asked.

'Of course not!' he replied. 'Why should I be sorry? Tell anyone today you'll give twenty hectares of land, six cows and five oxen if he sets up his own farm, and there will be no takers.'

'Why?'

Terziev gave many reasons. Wealth today is measured by different standards, he said. He now has free time and values it, and he knows he is secure in case of crop failure or illness, or when he gets old. But the important thing is something else. Asked whether he did not long for the old days when he was his own master, Terziev was genuinely surprised.

The answer was an emphatic no. 'What, an ox and a patch of land! Today I can get up at a meeting and say we need a new machine or a kindergarten or a school, or I can suggest an excursion to the theatre in Town, and the others will discuss it and decide what to do.'

He spoke, in effect, of changed human values. What mattered to him, it became apparent, was not material benefits in themselves, but having a say in the economic and social conditions of his life. The correlation between the individual and the public in the peasant's mind has changed completely; his notions and ideals, judging even from this small episode, differ fundamentally from the mass psychology in capitalist society.

The new sense of being master of one's farm or factory – a collective enterprise, not a private business – of co-manager and co-owner, took years to develop, of course, nor could it have come in the absence of definite social conditions. But now it is becoming an essential factor of social life. Going back to Tanev's arguments, I must say that had the experts taken their decision without letting the cooperative membership discuss it, the result would have been negative because people would have failed to realize the meaning and effect of the proposed change and would, besides, have felt they were denied their right – the right of masters – to decide.

At the Stomana Steel Mills in Silistra, I interviewed Petr Dimitrov, a smelter. I told him about an American steel worker from near Philadelphia who had once asked an engineer what was done with the output he helped to produce.

'That's none of your business,' the engineer snapped. 'Nobody wants you to do any thinking, we've got people who are paid for that.'

That engineer was Frederick Winslow Taylor, founder of a scientific system of labor organization.

'We wouldn't stand for that sort of thing,' Dimitrov said.

'What sort of thing?'

'Being told to mind our own business.'

'Why not?'

'We're used to something else. There are some parts in the yard made by me. Suppose they lay around rusting, do you think I'd remain silent?'

I know he meant it. Our interview began with Dimitrov telling me how he took issue with the management at a Party meeting because he thought the foundry was not being reconstructed fast enough. 'We're used to something else' suggests a definite mentality. People refuse to regard themselves as members of a system divided into producers and decision-makers. They think of themselves as masters. More, one can sense in Petr Dimitrov's words and actions a response to Lenin's wish that 'every politically conscious worker should feel that he is not only the master in his own factory but that he is also a representative of the country,' that he should 'feel his responsibility' (Vol. 27, p. 403). This is a social achievement, and in a sense, a social problem.

Everyday observations and the research carried out to date speak of what may be called a growing urge to take part in management. An analysis of trends in young people's social requirements led the Sociological Center of the Bulgarian Youth Organization to the

conclusion that the desire to participate in production management is becoming very important. Interesting observations were made by the commission for the study of public opinion at the Orgtekh-nika plant in Silistra, where 75 per cent of the employees have a secondary education. The commission established that as the workers' educational standard improves their sphere of analysis and criticism extends from their immediate field and immediate superiors to what goes on at the plant, in the town and in society, from analysis of facts to analysis of processes and phenomena.

Bourgeois sociologists note something similar in the sentiments of some workers in capitalist enterprises although, needless to say, comparison is out of the question in dealing with a tendency which socialist society encourages and capitalist society suppresses. True, many bourgeois experts regard Taylor's methods as outdated. Some employers try – by selling shares, profit-sharing and other devices – to make the workers believe they are, in a way, co-owners. They do so because the scientific and the technological revolution require employees who are not indifferent to their job but show initiative and creativity. But such measures do not solve the problem.

The desire to manage production is, I believe, essentially a transformed desire for ownership of the means of production. Transformed and corresponding to present-day standards of socialization. Capitalism cannot meet it without changing its own nature, without renouncing private property, any more than it can overcome the alienation of the individual without abolishing its basis, the alienation of labor. Socialism, however, can, because ownership is public, the desire in question is constantly met in one way or another, and at every new stage new ways and means are sought of meeting it more fully in the changed circumstances.

This developing requirement is met, and working people are drawn more and more into production management, in the conditions of the scientific and technological revolution, with increased socialization of production.* This is a noteworthy sign of the times.

Some contend that the scientific and technological revolution brings a 'technostructure' of scientists, experts and managers to power. They oppose scientific to democratic management, computerized to human decision-making. The very nature of socialist society rules out this opposition. In managing economic and social processes, socialist society combines scientific with democratic methods. 'The main line of development of social management,' the BCP Program says, 'is consistent development of socialist democracy and continued raising of scientific standards of management.'

Science plus democracy is the key formula of management in the period of developed socialism. It is on this basis of knowledge and participation that conscious discipline, responsibility, civic spirit and a statesmanship mentality are fostered in people.

*An unquestionable reflection of it in Bulgaria is the formation of large industrial amalgamations cutting through different industries, and the setting up of agrarian-industrial complexes which embrace state and cooperative enterprises.

I could say a lot about how this principle is implemented in Bulgaria. But I began with the Communist Party, nor was this unintentional. The Party is the highest form of political organization and it is primarily through the Party that the working class, the leading class of society, exercises its will. The Party is the country's leading force and to an enormous extent determines the entire social climate. The problem of combining the scientific with the democratic in society cannot be solved unless it is first solved in the work of the Party. Documents of the 10th BCP Congress and the Party's new Program deal with its theoretical aspects. During my tour of the country I saw how the Party mobilizes to perform its leading role in the new conditions.

The potential of knowledge, and collective effort

The Silistra City Party Committee received complaints from the Dunav garment cooperative, that the chairman of the board was a poor organizer, with the result that production was going from bad to worse. Ganka Andreyeva, First Secretary of the City Committee, went to the cooperative and talked with members of the Party Bureau and some 15 other Communists. The consensus of opinion was that the complaints were justified and the cooperative would have to meet to decide on replacing the chairman. However, they first held a Party meeting.

It began with critical remarks. But eventually one of the speakers said the chairman had been an ordinary worker shortly before and an efficient one. He had been made team leader and then foreman and had always done his job well. What was wrong now? Perhaps he didn't get enough help?

The meeting took an unexpected turn, most Communists suggesting that they should help the chairman rather than replace him.

'Frankly speaking, I was a bit uncertain,' Andreyeva said later on. 'Afterwards I was accused of failing to show "firmness" at the meeting, especially when it became evident that the chairman would have to go anyway.'

Yes, it was not long before everyone felt that the chairman was not doing well, which he himself admitted at a meeting of the Party Bureau. At the general meeting of the cooperative, Communists spoke with conviction. The upshot of it was that they recommended making another specialist chairman. He has been working in close contact with the membership ever since.

This, then, is another fact showing that democratic discussion seemingly makes it difficult to adopt the right decision. I must say this is no frequent occurrence. I deliberately picked 'controversial' situations to show that at both Zagortsi and Dunav the ultimate result was positive and that this is logical. There are no ideal, infallible projects and it is not merely the removal of this or that shortcoming that makes collective discussion valuable. The important thing is that solutions to economic or management problems are sought not only from the standpoint of overall effective-

ness but from numerous angles, often unexpected ones, and with due regard to the interests of each worker. Only thus can the greatest social effect be achieved. As a result of discussion the opponents of a particular solution often become its advocates, even enthusiasts. And surely a solution which is not imposed but opted for by those whom it concerns is worth a great deal. Lenin pointed on more than one occasion to the importance of the masses satisfying themselves of the soundness of a solution from their own experience. This applies all the more to Communists.

'The City Committee would have made a mistake if it had stepped in too early,' Ganka Andreyeva said. 'I think Communists should be allowed to take the initiative in such situations. After that stormy meeting they weighed all aspects: the interests of the collective and of its customers, the position with the plan. That is the main thing: to arrange things so that the Communists could take a broad, statesmanlike view of the matter and then take the right decision.'

Seeing how Party branches worked, I realized that this is an important principle and that it is consistently applied. 'Every Communist is responsible for the Party,' says the BCP Program, thereby defining both the right and the duty of every Party member to have a say in decision-making and policy formulation at all levels.

I discussed this with Professor Petr Georgiev, a Communist Party member since 1910 and participant in the historic CC meeting that voted for armed uprising in September 1923, and he emphasized how important it was for every member of a ruling party to possess a sense of responsibility.* For in these conditions it means responsibility for the situation in the society, for all that goes on in it and the state as a whole, for every person.

The dialectic of individual and collective responsibility is not at all simple. The individual has plans and opinions of his own, the organization has its program and policy. Where members are not in a position to influence the shaping of the organization's program and policy these lose their collective character. But where members fail to subordinate their actions to the collective goal, unity of the organization becomes impossible and the organization useless. Marxist-Leninist parties have evolved and verified the principle of democratic centralism in both theory and practice, proved the necessity for every Communist to work actively in his organization, and put forward the demand: '*Unity of action, freedom of discussion and criticism*' (Lenin, *Coll. Works*, Vol. 11, p. 320). It means that every member can and should voice his views when a problem is debated, but once the decision is made everyone works to carry it out. This has become the mentality of millions of Communists. But to say this is not to say everything.

Lenin insisted that every Communist should be familiar with the situation in the Party and society, and that he should study

*Bulgaria has another ruling party: the Agrarian People's Union.

facts and documents (being uninformed is no excuse for irresponsibility). To make a decision nowadays requires extensive economic, social and other information, whose acquisition is complicated by at least two circumstances: the rapid pace of development, and the need for a certain standard of knowledge to be able to understand the information.

Lenin attached great importance to the factor of consciousness and the ability to analyze. This is far more important today because the mass of workers have risen from a 'powerful class instinct' (Vol. 7, p. 274) to conscious class analysis.

An important Communist quality has always been the ability to convince people. Today it too has a distinctive aspect, for such purely emotional devices as a passionate speech or appeal, or a rousing slogan are becoming less and less effective, especially among the educated. People want to see the rationale, which means offering objective assessments of situations, trends and problems.

If some major change in public life is contemplated, if a difficult situation arises or a new, serious problem has to be settled, the Party leadership appeals to all Communists, who discuss the issue in order to thrash out the best possible solution. Through its members the Party addresses the masses at large, reaching out to every person in explaining its policies and seeking advice. The most recent example was when the new Constitution was being drafted (it was then endorsed by popular referendum). This is the procedure when state plans are drawn up, and each enterprise submits its proposals – the 'counter-plan,' they call it here. Only thus, I was told, was it possible to overcome difficulties, however perplexing, and at the same time foster a statesmanlike approach and civic maturity in people.

A member can bear responsibility for the state and policies of his organization if at least three conditions are met: he has joined the organization of his own free will, its Rules give him a say in policy-making, and this right is actually ensured by the general atmosphere in the Party. This is perhaps the least simple thing, for what is needed is not declarations, but specific deeds by Party bodies in specific circumstances.

I learned many interesting things on this score in Silistra: about Party discussions of government problems, about economic executives reporting to the City Party Committee on how they comply with the Party Rules, about how those who suppress criticism are called to account. But what I found particularly interesting was a series of Party meetings held in the recent period – as regards both their organization and the subjects discussed.

First to meet were Party groups. They discussed the Communists' vanguard role. There was no main speaker. Every Communist, whatever his position, rendered account to his fellow-Communists, who discussed his professional and social work. At one meeting, a Communist who was being criticized asked angrily why only his shortcomings were mentioned. He was told there was no point in singing one another's praises – the task was to ascertain who was passive

and why, who refused or was afraid to criticize, who showed indifference.

Then came a new stage—meetings of branch organizations, at which the theme was formulated as 'The Party Organization and the Collective.' Three months in advance, Communists elected a committee of five to seven rank-and-file members to prepare the main report. The committee members talked with every worker, recorded their opinions about the work of the Party organization, its Committee members and other Communists, and asked what people expected of them. I was deeply interested to read the reports: they were practically devoid of general statements and almost all offered an earnest, concrete analysis of the activity of each Communist and the atmosphere in the organization. One in three Communists spoke at those meetings. When I was in Silistra preparations were under way for a plenary meeting of the City Committee to sum up the results of the meetings.

My trip to Silistra had been suggested by Petko Rusev, editor-in-chief of the journal *Partierna Zhivot*.

'Silistra is typical,' he told me. 'Perhaps they've accomplished a bit more than others.'

Speaking of what was done to enhance the Party's role in social management, Rusev mentioned some important lines of work.

To begin with, there is the effort to make every Communist more active. The problem was discussed at Party meetings, and not only in the way it was done in Silistra. In Sliven, for example, many organizations studied and examined essentially the same problem but they did so in terms of how Communists combat negative phenomena in the economic or social sphere. Branch organizations hear lectures on modern management. The Sociological Information Center of the CC BCP carried out two sociological studies of Communists' activity and Party democracy. The Organizational Department of the CC made a special study of the interconnection of Party democracy and discipline in Yambol District and in Shumen District, of the role of the Party branch organization in the collective. The Secretariat of the CC BCP used these investigations as a basis for relevant decisions.

Secondly, administrative and economic executives are educated as political leaders. A series of theoretical conferences were held in which workers of these categories took part. They discussed the problem of linking up-to-date scientific management methods with democratic principles. What is the difference between a socialist executive and a capitalist manager? How should work among people be carried on? How should decisions be made? These are only a few of the numerous questions dealt with at the conferences. In Kyustendil, extensive research was followed by a plenary meeting of the District Party Committee to discuss the role of specialists.

The third and most important line is raising the scientific standard of Party work. This was, strictly speaking, the theme of a national theoretical conference about to be held in Varna when I was in Bulgaria. There had already been conferences of groups of

branch organizations and zonal conferences to which each district submitted its report. Their agendas included inner-Party information, forecasting in Party work, methods of working out decisions and criteria of effectiveness.

Petko Rusev said nothing about the work being carried on by the press along all these lines, but it is tremendous. A theme raised by *Partien Zhivot* is worthy of special note: the application of scientific achievements in the theory and practice of Party building. This was the subject of a debate sponsored by the journal, and of a number of other materials. Indispensable and highly effective devices of Party Building today are systems analysis, forecasting and modelling, sociological research, and recommendations by social psychologists and educators.

Correspondence of the Party's policies and working methods and of its very organization, to the problems which objectively have to be solved today is a requisite of success, particularly in this age of scientific and technological revolution and rapid social change.

A. Volkov

Sofia-Prague.

In brief

GREAT BRITAIN

John Gollan, General Secretary CP GB, spoke on Party tasks in 1973 at a meeting of the Executive Committee. Although a net gain had been made in Party membership last year and 14 out of 18 Party districts showed a bigger membership, he said, a larger and more mass Party is needed. The Executive Committee appealed to Party members to 'go all out to achieve a bigger membership at the 33rd National Congress this year than at the last congress,' and called for greater efforts to increase sales of the *Morning Star*.

INDONESIA

The illegal Communist Party journal *Takad Rakjat* (Will of the People) is five years old. Writing editorially, the journal says that its main concerns are, as before, strengthening the Communist Party, cooperation between Communists and patriotic forces within the country in the struggle against the present regime, and consolidation with fraternal parties on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

CONGO

A Special Congress of the Congolese Party of Labor adopted the new Party Rules and Program and discussed a new draft Constitu-

tion. It also elected new leading bodies of the CPL.

The Congress stressed the Party's resolve to ensure the country's development along the non-capitalist road.

The political resolution stresses the need for expanding the Party's ideological work, Marxist-Leninist propaganda and fostering the class consciousness of the working people. It was decided to open a Party school to train ideological workers. The National University will start a course in Marxism-Leninism.

While the Congress was in session the country marked Party Day – the third anniversary of the founding of the CPL and proclamation of the People's Republic.

NORWAY

A Plenum of the Central Board of the CP Norway discussed unity of action in creating a united front of Left forces for the Parliamentary elections in the autumn of 1973. Measures were also examined to improve the material conditions of the working people in view of rapidly rising prices and taxes.

YUGOSLAVIA

The first ten volumes of a 40-volume edition of the Collected Works of V. I. Lenin in the Serbo-Croatian language are ready for the press. They were prepared from the Soviet Fifth, complete edition.

This year it is 70 years since the first publication of Lenin's Works in Yugoslavia.



Who is to blame?

Gabriel Banchero

Member, CP Chile, answers a
reader's question

Editor, WMR,

Some time ago the Paris *Le Monde* reported that the U.S. Embassy in France had arranged a public lecture by an American economist Fremont Felix to counter the pessimistic view current in the West that the world's natural resources were rapidly being exhausted. Mr. Felix's optimistic argument was that the world economy would grow at a progressively diminishing rate!

However, he was careful not to sow pessimism among the French. For, according to statistical calculations, the French economy, under the direction of Finance Minister Giscard d'Estaing, would in a matter of 15-20 years advance to fourth place in the world. France, he suggested, would be the exception that proves the rule.

At one time Chile defied the 'Felix law,' but for more than two years now its economy, directed by the Popular Front government, is, in the opinion of the American economist, reverting to the diminishing growth-rate pattern. The French, he intimated, should draw a lesson from that. That piece of advice has a definite object: it was offered shortly before the French elections, which are being fought by a united Left. In short, the French are left to draw the obvious conclusion.

The *Monde* item has implications that cannot simply be brushed aside. For economic difficulties, rising prices and temporary food shortages are a reality in Chile today. This could mislead people, could undermine the international significance of the Chilean example. Your magazine, I believe, ought to react to all these doubts and questions.

N. Alexandrov
Leningrad

Our Leningrad reader has indeed raised a serious question. Not being a specialist on France, I do not venture to pass judgment or make any forecasts, and still less compare the position in France with that in my own country, Chile. I leave that to our French comrades. But I do want to comment on the problems raised in the letter, for they follow from the revolutionary changes in Chile.

When picking up a bourgeois newspaper or magazine, whether of the 'popular' or 'quality' variety, it is not difficult to know beforehand what and how they are likely to write about Chile, 'Inevitable collapse of Chilean revolution,' 'Chilean workers strike,' 'long food queues,' 'economic dislocation,' 'discord in government coalition,' and so on and so forth.

Are there economic difficulties in Chile? Yes, many. Meat and other foods are sometimes in short supply. Prices have gone up. There is a black market. Not everywhere has productivity reached target level.

However, it would be wrong to think that all these difficulties are something new. The economy had its ups and downs for many years before election of the Popular Unity government.

Let us look at the position today. What is the reason for the main difficulties? Government economic policy? Mistakes by the government? No, though, of course, nobody will deny that there have been miscalculations due to lack of experience and, perhaps, inevitable in a country undergoing fundamental structural changes.

The central feature of government policy is the return to the people of all of the country's natural wealth. Two years ago our copper, iron, saltpeter and coal were in the hands of foreign, mostly North American, concerns. Now they have been nationalized. The Allende government has thus fulfilled the people's mandate. An extremely important step has been taken towards a completely independent and healthy economy. Who, except the monopolies and their ideologists, can challenge the justice and necessity of this step?

The Popular Unity government has carried out an agrarian reform based on a law promulgated by earlier governments. True, a far from perfect law: it limits land holdings but leaves the latifundists in possession of their cattle and farm machinery. Despite all the shortcomings, however, the law has been consistently implemented, and we can now speak of the abolition of the latifundia system, a scourge from which Chile suffered for three centuries.

To make up for deficiencies in the reform, the government has assigned large sums to help the peasant farmers buy machinery and cattle. It has also taken energetic measures to develop cattle farming and solve Chile's perennial food problem. Who, except the landed oligarchy, can object to that?

As a result of the government's economic policy, huge incomes no longer accrue to the monopolies and the oligarchy, so that national income is distributed in favor of the working people and used to satisfy their pressing needs. In the past two years wages and salaries have increased, and so has purchasing power. This has stimulated production of consumer goods by as much as 40 per cent in 1971 compared with 1970. Food supplies are 27.2 per cent above the 1970 level and unemployment is down from 8.8 to 3.7 per cent, the lowest figure in the past 16 years.

All this is evidence of economic progress under the Popular Unity government. And evidence also of the social, class orientation of its policy. That being so, it would be absurd to expect local

international reaction to allow the Allende government freedom of action and not try to impede realization of its reform.

Imperialism and Chilean reaction responded to nationalization of the monopolies and the banks by 'quiet' economic aggression. Washington pressured international banks to deny Chile \$200 million in loans. The U.S. Kennecott company tried to impose an embargo on Chilean ore. The world price of copper has been forced down from 64 to 48 cents a pound, incurring a loss of \$240 million for Chile. And in common with many other developing countries, Chile has suffered from the capitalist world's monetary upheavals. Dollar devaluation has drastically devalued our own foreign exchange resources.

Understandably, this was bound adversely to affect our economy, which for many long years was fully dependent on foreign trade and injections of foreign finance. We always imported food and many other goods. Now that purchasing capacity is up, we have to import more, though we have less foreign exchange to pay for it. Help has come from the Soviet Union and other socialist countries.

The Chilean oligarchy, still holding strong positions, has engaged in outright subversion. The list is a long one: sabotage in industry and agriculture, provoked strikes, assassinations, arson, driving off cattle to other countries. The exploiters and their agents are guilty of all this and much more. They are interested in every economic difficulty or shortage that can be exploited to discredit the Popular Unity government and, if possible, turn the clock back in Chile.

This concerted counter-offensive of imperialism and its Chilean allies has added to the economic difficulties, which the bourgeois press is only too happy to publicize and exaggerate. 'Responsibility for these difficulties,' Luis Corvalan, our Communist Party General Secretary, has said, 'rests with those who only yesterday were in power. They are the result of a veritable avalanche of factors built up over many years. But they are also the result of aggressive imperialist policy, for the revolutionary transformations in Chilean society go against imperialism's grain.'

Imperialist propaganda tries to instil the thought that all these difficulties could have been avoided if there were no Popular Unity government. In the light of the past eventful two years we can accept the first part of that contention. Yes, many serious difficulties could have been avoided, but – and this should be strongly emphasized – only if imperialism and local reaction allowed the Chilean people to advance along their chosen path.

Can the present economic difficulties be overcome? The answer of the Chilean people is an emphatic Yes. Our working class, the entire people, fervently devoted to the revolution, deem it their duty to assure the efficient functioning of the economic mechanism. They have the valuable experience of two years: it has convincingly shown that industry can operate without capitalists, but certainly not without workers.

East-West economic relations

A sphere of peaceful coexistence

Two readers' letters on East-West relations and capitalist press reactions:

The Argentine bourgeois press has raised a hue and cry about foreign firms building automobile plants in the USSR. One of the lies spread by the arrant anti-Sovietes behind the campaign is that the Soviet economy has failed and is now having to resort to the assistance of foreign capital. The purpose of this propaganda is to weaken our people's fight against the foreign monopolies that control the basic sectors of the Argentine economy.

Jorge Rivas
Buenos Aires

Many articles on East-West relations are based on the old bourgeois contention that only the socialist countries benefit from trade with the West. Curiously enough, the opponents of economic cooperation of states with differing social systems are being joined by Right and 'Left' opportunists. Their argument is that socialism's present foreign-economic policy does not accord with the revolutionary aims of the international workers' movement.

Pierre Tullemonde
Geneva

JAN PRAZSKY COMMENTS.

Latterly, economic ties between socialist and developed capitalist countries, or East-West relations, have become a focal point of public discussion.

Extension of mutually advantageous East-West economic ties – directly linked with relaxation of the two-systems confrontation – is becoming an important factor in promoting peaceful coexistence of states with differing social systems. This explains the favorable reaction of world opinion – favorable but by no means identical.

The nature, aims and possible consequences of East-West relations – in which economic and political interests of different states, classes and parties are interlaced – have been the subject of diverse, often contrary, judgments and not infrequently also of ideological speculation.

This is not the first time Communists have had to deal with deliberate distortions of the character and motives of socialism's foreign-economic policy. At one time Lenin had to overcome the resistance of various hostile class forces. He had to come out against the 'Lefts,' even within the Bolshevik Party, who were obstructing economic relations between the young Soviet Republic and capital-

ist countries. The 'Lefts' waxed ironic over the appeal to study carefully and take over all that was best in capitalist technology and production organization. To this Lenin opposed a clear principled policy of utilizing economic and other contacts with developed capitalist countries to strengthen Soviet power and the world revolutionary movement. 'With both hands we must take over from abroad everything that is good,' he wrote in a rough draft of his article 'The Immediate Tasks of the Soviet Government.' 'Soviet power + Prussian efficiency on the railways + American technology and organization of trusts + American public education, etc., etc., ++ == Σ == socialism.'

Much has changed since then. Socialism has become a world system, and one that exerts a determinative influence on international affairs. The Soviet Union has become a leading industrial power, surpassing the imperialist states on a number of important economic indicators. In fact, the imperialist powers can now learn much from the Communists, notably in public education, science and culture. But today, too, extension of economic cooperation with capitalist countries holds a prominent place in socialism's foreign-economic policy.

The worldwide scientific and technological revolution and the growing internationalization of economic life enhances the role of international economic ties. And it is indicative that since the war international trade has been increasing at a faster rate than production, and foreign trade accounts for an increasing share in the gross national product of many countries.

However, the cold war started by imperialism artificially inhibited economic ties between the capitalist and socialist countries. The imperialists wanted to retard their economic growth by a policy of economic isolation and trade discrimination. It was a sterile policy, for it disregarded the general objective laws of world development. Ultimately, it boomeranged against the capitalist countries, which vitally needed foreign markets and imports of raw materials and equipment. The tendency towards broader East-West economic relations won out.

The change came in the early 60s. Trade between CMEA countries and the industrially developed capitalist states increased 150 per cent in the past 10 years, and is still rising. Along with commercial ties, other forms of economic relations including production cooperation, now play a bigger part. But economic relations between members of the two systems are still at a low level. Together they account for more than 90 per cent of world industrial output but their mutual trade accounts for a mere three per cent of the world figure. The end of the cold war in international economic exchange now offers better opportunities for economic, scientific and technical cooperation.

Good headway is being made in economic relations between the socialist countries and France, the FRG and other West-European states where the fallacy of self-isolation from the socialist markets is fully understood. Now that détente winds are blowing, there is

need for a program of economic cooperation on an all-European scale, taking into account the two existing basic commercial and economic organizations, the CMEA and the Common Market. Opportunities for business contacts between them can probably be found, provided, of course, as L. I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CC CPSU, said, 'the Common Market countries abstain from discrimination towards the other side and facilitate the development of natural bilateral ties and all-European cooperation.'

The 'geography' of mutually-advantageous economic relations between countries with different social systems transcends the framework of the European continent. Soviet-Japanese trade and economic relations are growing rapidly, due, largely, to the fact that the economies of these two countries are mutually complimentary. According to the Japanese press, businessmen and the government of Japan show a special interest in cooperation in developing the Tyumen oil deposits, Yakut gas and the Sakhalin oil and gas.

For a long time the main obstacle to normalization and global development of East-West economic relations was the negative attitude of the U.S. government. Last year saw definite changes. The Moscow talks between the Soviet leaders and Nixon were of major significance in this respect. The signing of the trade agreement, Lend-Lease settlement and mutual credits accord in October 1972, created favorable opportunities for the development of extensive mutually-advantageous commercial and economic ties. As the then U.S. Secretary of Commerce, Peterson, stressed, trade with the USSR will have a direct economic effect already in the coming few years, especially in view of the aggravated problem of unemployment and the threat of a serious energy shortage. Last but not least, there is the mounting competition on the capitalist world market, as well as the U.S. trade and payments balance deficit.

To sum up, progress in East-West relations means:

Breaking down the many barriers in international trade erected by imperialism;

Rejection by the U.S. and other capitalist states of foreign trade discrimination in favor of economic cooperation with the socialist countries based on the principles of equality and mutual benefit;

Expanded possibilities for more and more nations and peoples to benefit from the international division of labor;

Utilization of new reserves for furthering economic advance in the socialist countries and strengthening their positions not only in world production, but also in exchange. The latter is of especial importance for the socialist countries have a smaller share in world trade than in world production. Thus, the CMEA countries account for one-third of the world's industrial output but for only about 10 per cent of world trade.

When imperialist propaganda tries to interpret the development of East-West economic ties as an indication of the 'failures' of the socialist economy, one is reminded of what Lenin said in 1920 in connection with similar concoctions of the American social-chau-

vinist Spargo: 'No better proof of the Russian Soviet Republic's material and moral victory over the capitalists of the whole world can be found than the fact that the powers that took up arms against us . . . have been compelled, against their will, to enter into trade relations with us in the knowledge that by so doing they are strengthening us' (Vol. 31, p. 414). And: 'While militarism is decaying, we are growing stronger; not we, but they have had the worse of it' (Ibid., p. 431).

Obviously, in the present case, too, it is imperialism's economic policy that has had the worse of it. Objective necessity, the laws governing development of the productive forces, have forced the imperialists to accept the idea of extensive economic links with the socialist world. As for the myth of a 'crisis' of the Soviet economy, 1972, to which bourgeois economists refer, has seen continued progress in the economy. In the second year of the ninth five-year plan, national income (used for consumption and accumulation) increased by 4 per cent over 1971, industrial output by 6.5 per cent, labor productivity in industry, by 5.2 per cent, and average cash earnings of industrial and office workers, by 3.5 per cent. Despite extremely unfavorable weather conditions, grain production in 1972 was slightly above the annual average for the preceding five-year plan period.

It is not a matter of the Soviet economy being 'hard pressed,' but of developing mutually-advantageous economic, commercial and industrial cooperation. It is as absurd to speak of any 'unilateral' interest of the Soviet Union or the other socialist countries as to claim (as some American propagandists still do) that expansion of commercial and economic links with the USSR presents a threat to U.S. national security, because in the long run, it can make the U.S. dependent on the Soviet Union.

Nor is the importance of normalization and development of economic relations between socialist and capitalist countries restricted to purely economic benefits. It promotes mutual confidence and expands the objective basis for peaceful coexistence.

Thus, the struggle for progressive reconstruction of world economic ties is part of the international class confrontation between the forces of socialism and national liberation, on the one hand, and imperialist reaction, on the other. And every success in this struggle is part of the revolutionary transformation process now spreading to more and more areas.

Communists have, of course, never concealed the difficulties or real contradictions in the economic interaction of the two world systems, which follow diametrically opposite development laws. One problem might arise from the fact that each socialist country is quite naturally concerned for the commercial benefits to be derived from its external economic associations. And the imperialist powers often try to exploit this to sow discord within the socialist community by luring individual socialist countries with promises of the 'special benefits' to be derived from trade with the capitalist

world. And, when and where possible, this is used to influence their home policy, undermine their foreign-trade monopoly, etc.

Economic and all other relations between the two systems are an area of sharp class struggle, and therefore have a distinct political complexion. They demonstrate the validity of Lenin's thesis on the primacy of politics over economics. A purely commercial approach to economic ties with capitalist countries, though it must not be ignored, is obviously insufficient. It is therefore most important, in view of the expanding economic relations between socialist and capitalist countries, that the socialist states follow the Leninist principle and act in concert, giving priority to the fundamental interests of world socialism over 'national commercial egoism.' If that is done, the expansion of these ties will strengthen each socialist country and the community as a whole. The socialist countries are primarily concerned with extending economic exchange among themselves and promoting socialist economic integration.

The arguments of the 'Left' opponents of wider economic exchanges between socialist and capitalist countries, have been critically examined in this journal. Of late Right revisionists have been drawing on the shopworn ideological arguments of the ultra-Left dogmatists. They maintain that broader economic ties with the West at best express the national interests of the socialist countries which, they claim, conflict with the interests of the other anti-imperialist forces and the revolutionary movement as a whole. To 'substantiate' this contention they speculate about dialectically contradictory relations between the part and the whole, the singular, the particular, and the general. But such 'dialectics' divorced from a concrete analysis of the concrete situation, turn into their opposite, into sophism. A scientific analysis of the development of the world revolutionary process in any sufficiently long historical period will convincingly show that the strengthening of the socialist system strengthens the entire anti-imperialist front and creates favorable conditions for the struggle of all the main streams and composite parts of the international revolutionary movement.



Brief information on Communist and Workers' Parties

POLISH UNITED WORKERS PARTY (PUWP)

Founded December 1948 at the Unification Congress of the Polish Workers' Party and the Polish Socialist Party, the Polish United Workers' Party is heir to the revolutionary traditions of such Polish workers parties as the Great Proletariat (1882), the Social Democracy of the Kingdom of Poland and Lithuania (1893), the Communist Party of Poland (1918), the Polish Workers' Party (1942), and the Left-wing of the socialist parties.

As of January 1, 1973, the PUWP had 2,262,867 members, 98,966 of them candidate members.

Party organization is according to the place-of-work or residence of members, with the lower branches subordinated to higher bodies. Primary Party branches at industrial enterprises and offices and residential branches (which include mainly pensioners) are subordinated to *powiat* (city or district) committees. Village organizations are subordinated to *gmina* (rural) committees, which are in turn subordinated to *powiat* committees. The *powiat* organizations belong to *wojewodztwo* (provincial) organizations directly subordinated to the Central Committee.

The PUWP has at present 19 *wojewodztwo* committees (including two city committees equated to them), 390 *powiat* committees, and 69,952 primary Party organizations.

The branch general meeting elects a bureau, and conferences of district, city, and provincial organizations elect the respective Party committee which in turn elects a bureau.

The Party's supreme authority is the Congress, convened by the Central Committee every four years. The congress elects the Central Committee and Central Auditing Commission.

The Central Committee elects a Political Bureau to direct the work of the Central Committee in the interim between plenums, and a Secretariat to handle current work, mainly organizing the work of the Party apparatus, following up the fulfilment of Party decisions, and personnel selection.

The Central Committee sets up the Central Party Control Commission.

Workers account for 39.6 per cent of the PUWP membership, farmers for 10.5 per cent, white-collar workers for 43.6 per cent, and the rest, mainly pensioners, 6.3 per cent.

Women account for 22.8 per cent of the membership. More than 54 per cent of the members are under 40, nine per cent have a higher education, and some 30 per cent, an incomplete higher or secondary education.

Seventy-eight per cent of the Party members work in the main branches of the economy, of which 36 per cent are engaged in industry, 24 per cent in agriculture and forestry, 7 per cent in transport and communications, 6 per cent in trade, and 5 per cent in construction.

The Party press:

Trybuna Ludu, newspaper, CC organ, published since 1948, circulation 486,000.

There are 17 *wojewowdztwo* newspapers with an aggregate circulation of 4,212,000.

Nowe Drogi, theoretical and political monthly of the CC, published since 1947, circulation 67,000.

Chlopska Droga, newspaper, CC publication, founded 1945, twice weekly, circulation 141,000.

Zycie Partii, CC monthly, published since 1949, circulation 74,000.

Ideologia i Polityka, monthly of the CC Propaganda, Press and Publishing Houses Department, devoted to questions of Party education, published since 1970, circulation 67,000.

Zagadnienia i Materiali, twice monthly magazine of the Propaganda, Press and Publishing Houses department for the Party active, published since 1957, circulation 142,000.

Theoretical and research centers:

Higher School of Social Sciences of the CC PUWP, Main Party Courses Center of the Higher School of Social Sciences, two inter-*wojewowdztwo* Party schools.

In the 1972 Sejm election, 255 PUWP members were elected Deputies, or 55.4 per cent of the total. Of the deputies of local councils, 77,000, or 46.5 per cent of the total, are PUWP members.

GERMAN COMMUNIST PARTY (GCP)

At the end of September 1968, a Federal Committee for the establishment of a legal Communist Party began to function in the FRG. Formation of the GCP was completed April 1969 at the Essen Congress, which adopted a Program Statement and the Party Rules.

By the time of the last Congress in Dusseldorf (November 1971) the GCP had a membership of 33,410.

Party branches are formed according to place of work or residence. Structure: Party groups at place of work or residence, branches in communities, city neighborhoods, districts or regions, Land or area. Three Communists can form a Party group. At the time of the Dusseldorf Congress there were 408 Party groups at

enterprises, 871 in residential neighborhoods and 23 at institutes of higher learning.

The Party's highest authority is the Congress, convened every other year. It elects the Party chairman, his deputy, the Party Board, the Auditing and Arbitration Commissions. The Board elects the Presidium and Secretariat.

Social composition: workers, 75 per cent; farmers and self-employed workers, 2 per cent; students, 11 per cent; engineers and technicians, 3 per cent; representatives of other professional groups, 9 per cent.

Women account for 29.3 per cent of the membership; 30 per cent are under 30 years of age. The age of 70 per cent of new members accepted since January 1972 is also under 30.

Party press: The weekly *Unsere Zeit* is the central Party organ. Founded in 1969, it has a circulation of 60,000, with special issues selling up to 500,000. The GCP Board publishes the journal *Praxis*. Party organizations publish mimeographed newsletters.

The GCP has representatives in some community councils and municipalities, notably in Stuttgart, Nuremberg, Furt, Felklingen, Marburg, Bottrop and Mannheim.

PROGRESSIVE PARTY OF THE WORKING PEOPLE OF CYPRUS (AKEL)

Founded 14 April, 1941, in conditions of British colonial rule, AKEL is the successor of the Communist Party of Cyprus, which existed from 1926 to 1941.

In 1972 AKEL had a membership of 12,000.

Primary Party organizations (Party groups) are set up according to members' place of residence and place of work. In 1972 there were more than 500 Party groups.

In towns, residential Party branches hold general meetings to elect ward committees, while primary branches at place of work elect industrial committees. Representatives of all the primary Party branches of a town hold a conference to elect the town committee. In rural areas, the branches elect area committees. Town and area organizations come within the provincial Party committee, elected every three years. The provincial committee appoints a special bureau for the leadership of area organizations.

The Party's supreme authority is the Congress, convened every four years. It elects a Central Committee and Central Auditing Commission. At their first joint meeting the CC and CAC elect the Party General Secretary and his deputy. The CC elects the Politbureau and Central Secretariat.

Social composition of AKEL: workers, 65.3 per cent, peasants, 17.7 per cent, artisans and small businessmen, 11.9 per cent, professionals and others, 5.1 per cent.

Women make up about 24 per cent of the AKEL membership, and 30 per cent are under 30.

AKEL publishes a daily newspaper *Charavgi*, a political and

theoretical journal, *Neos Demokritis*, and an English language bulletin, *AKEL Newsletter*.

A Central Party School was set up in 1961 to raise the theoretical standard of activists and train Party cadres, and there are also provincial and area schools.

AKEL is represented in Parliament by nine deputies. The most influential political party in Cyprus, AKEL polled 40.7 per cent of the vote in the 1970 election, whereas the leading bourgeois parties, the United Party of National-Minded and the Progressive Front, obtained 26 and 24 per cent, respectively, and the extreme Right Democratic National Party, 6 per cent.

Wage labor in the developing countries

Prepared by Institute of International Working-Class Movement, Soviet Academy of Sciences

At the beginning of 1973, wage workers in the developing countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America totalled between 230 and 235 million, or about half the total for the non-socialist world. The figure represents only 34 or 35 per cent of the gainfully employed population; the proportion in developed capitalist countries is more than 80 per cent.

The vast majority of working people in the developing countries of Asia and Africa are peasants, handicraftsmen, small traders or persons still involved in 'independent' enterprise which provides them with the greater part of their generally meagre income. In Latin America, wage and salary earners make up over 60 per cent of the gainfully employed population (see Table 1).

Latin America. In Chile, Argentina, Uruguay, Costa Rica and Mexico, the proportion of wage and salary earners is between 70 and 75 per cent of the employed, whereas in Haiti it is a mere 15 per cent. In Brazil, Peru and Ecuador wage and salary earners account for about half the gainfully employed population.

North Africa and Middle East. In Lebanon and Kuwait, wage and salary earners make up 65 to 80 per cent of the employed, in Egypt, Libya, Tunisia and Algeria 50 per cent or more, and in Turkey and Iraq between 25 and 30 per cent.

TABLE 1

	Gainfully employed population (million)	Wage labor (million)	Per cent of gainfully employed population
All non-socialist countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America			
1960	494.0	147-154	29.8-31.1
1970	597-609	211-220	34.2-34.7
Latin America			
1960	66.1	36.2	55
1970	87	53	61
North Africa			
1960	16.2	7.1	43.8
1970	19-20	9-11	50-52
Tropical Africa			
1960	87.0	8.5-9	10
1970	106	12.5-13	12
South Africa			
1960	7	4.5	65
1970	8	5.5-6.0	70-75
Middle East			
1960	22.8	6.7	29.5
1970	27-28	9-10	33-35
South and Southeast Asia, Far East			
1960	295.0	84-91	29-31
1970	350-360	122-127	34-35

Here and elsewhere, computed according to Year Book of Labor Statistics (1964-1971). ILO, Geneva, national statistics, census data and population surveys.

South and Southeast Asia and Far East. In Sri Lanka and Singapore the proportion of wage and salaried workers ranges between 65 and 70 per cent of the gainfully employed population and in India, Indonesia, Pakistan and Philippines 30 to 35 per cent, while in Cambodia and Thailand it does not exceed 12 to 15 per cent.

The greatest differences in the degree of proletarianization have been registered in *Africa south of the Sahara*, where wage labor percentages are as follows: SAR, Mauritius and Reunion, 75-85; Niger, Chad, Dahomey and Upper Volta, not more than 3-5; Senegal, Sierra Leone, Zaire, Malagasy Republic, Nigeria and Ivory Coast, 10-15.

Main contingents of the wage labor army in the developing countries by the early 70s: 95-100 million agricultural workers, about 55 million industrial workers and 65-70 million salary earners in trade and the service industries (including public employees) (see Table 2).

TABLE 2

	Gainfully employed population (million)	Wage labor (million)	Per cent of gainfully employed population
Agriculture			
All non-socialist countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America			
1960	339.6	66.5-73.2	19.6-21.6
1970	378-391	93.5-97.5	25
Latin America			
1960	31.0	11.0	35.5
1970	36	13	36
North Africa			
1960	9.8	2.8	28.6
1970	10	3-3.3	30-33
Tropical Africa			
1960	67	2.5-2.6	3.5-4.0
1970	76-77	2.5-3.0	3-4
South Africa			
1960	2.3	0.85-0.9	37-38
1970	2.1	0.9	43
Middle East			
1960	14.5	1.9	13.1
1970	14-16	2.0-2.2	14
South and Southeast Asia, Far East			
1960	215	47.3-54	22.0-25.0
1970	240-250	72-75	30
Industry, construction, transport, electricity, gas and water			
All non-socialist countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America			
1960	67.94	38.34	56.5
1970	90-93	54-55	59-60
Latin America			
1960	15.2	11.9	78.5
1970	21.8	18	82
North Africa			
1960	2.24	1.72	76.7
1970	3	2.4-2.6	80-85
Tropical Africa			
1960	8.4	3.0-3.1	36-37
1970	12-13	5	40

	Gainfully employed population (million)	Wage labor (million)	Per cent of gainfully employed population
South Africa			
1960	2.0	1.85	92
1970	2.7	2.5	92
Middle East			
1960	4.4	3.1	70.5
1970	5.4-5.6	4.0-4.2	75
South and Southeast Asia, Far East			
1960	35.7	16.7	46.7
1970	45-47	22-23	50
<i>Trade and the service industry</i>			
All non-socialist countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America			
1960	86.76	43.03	49.6
1970	120-129	64-68	53
Latin America			
1960	19.9	13.3	66.7
1970	29.2	32	75
North Africa			
1960	4.16	2.58	61
1970	6-7	4-5	70
Tropical Africa			
1960	11.6	3.3	28
1970	16-18	5	30
South Africa			
1960	2.7	1.75	65
1970	3.2	2.2	70
Middle East			
1960	3.9	1.7	43.5
1970	6.7	3.3-3.9	55
South and Southeast Asia, Far East			
1960	44.5	20.3	45.5
1970	60-65	28-30	46

By 1972, Asian, African and Latin American countries had 90 per cent of all farm-hands and day-laborers, over 35 per cent of the clerks, officials and other people employed in trade and the service industry in the non-socialist world, but less than one-third of industrial workers.

Due to a multiform economy and the coexistence of a modern (large-scale) and a traditional (small-scale) economy over a long

period, there are two types of wage labor. One is the modern industrial and agricultural proletariat working in factories, mines, on railways and in large building projects, as well as on plantations, state farms and capitalist latifundiums. The second consists of proletarian and semi-proletarian groups engaged in small-scale production and still linked with the bulk of the peasantry and the urban lower strata.

The modern proletariat in the Third World numbers 50 million, which amounts to roughly 8 per cent of the gainfully employed population, or almost 25 per cent of the wage labor army.

In the South Asian and North African countries having the largest populations, industrial, plantation and other workers add up to 6 or 7 per cent of the employed. In Latin American countries farther ahead in capitalist development (such as Argentina), the industrial proletariat and the groups of agricultural workers close to it already make up at least 25 or 26 per cent of the active population. Lastly, in Tropical Africa, which is the most backward region, the working class at the moment constitutes a small proportion of the gainfully employed population. However, the industrial proletariat is prominent in every sphere of social, economic and political activity.

The potential of the working class and the scope and effectiveness of its actions are largely conditioned by its production-territorial concentration. Due to historical conditions (the domination of foreign big capital in the period of colonial development, rapid growth of the state sector since the winning of independence, the objective need to set up large competitive enterprises, and so on), 30-50 per cent of factory workers in many developing countries are in enterprises of 500 or more workers (40-50 per cent in India, Pakistan and Egypt, 30-40 per cent in Iran and Iraq, 35-40 per cent in Argentina and Brazil).

While the share of workers engaged in agricultural or mineral raw material production does not exceed 10 or 11 per cent of the developed capitalist countries' proletariat, agricultural workers and miners in Asian, African and Latin American countries make up 36-38 per cent. This is a manifestation of the one-sided agricultural raw material economies imperialism imposed on the colonies and dependent countries.

Workers in the manufacturing industry account for only 40 per cent of the industrial proletariat while in Western Europe and North America their proportion varies between 60-65 per cent. Furthermore, over half the factory proletariat in the developed capitalist countries is concentrated in heavy industry, whereas in the main regions of the Third World it does not exceed 30 per cent (see Table 3).

These averages vary considerably, of course. In Sri Lanka, Indonesia, Costa Rica, El Salvador and some other countries, agricultural workers employed on plantations, capitalist farms and latifundiums still constitute the biggest contingent of the modern proletariat. In Malaysia and Guyana the proletariat is composed

TABLE 3

Main branches	Number of employed (1970)	
	Million	Per cent
Factory industry	17-18	40
Heavy	5-6	12
Light	12-13	28
Extractive industry	2	4-5
Transport and construction	11-12	23-24
Plantations, capitalist farms and latifundiums, state farms	15-16	31-33
Total of modern proletariat	46-47	100.0

mainly of agricultural workers and miners. In Kuwait and some of the 'oil principalities' of the Persian Gulf, oil-workers form the bulk of a working class in the making.

Growth dynamics. The proportion of factory workers is growing at a particularly high rate. From 1938 to 1970 the number of workers in the manufacturing industries increased roughly 220 per cent, Latin America showing a 180 per cent increase and South and Southeast Asia and the Far East, almost 250. The growth rate of the factory proletariat in former colonies and semi-colonies in the past 10 to 15 years has been almost twice as high as in developed capitalist countries. The industrial working class is growing two or three times faster than the population.

The fight for economic independence necessitates larger-scale and more rapid industrialization as well as a gradual restructuring of production. From 1938 to 1970, the number of metal workers in Asian, African and Latin American countries grew 5.3 times over, that of chemical workers, almost fivefold and of metallurgical workers, roughly fourfold. Workers in these industries are joining in the class struggle.

In the textile and food industries, for example, the employment growth rate is about half that of the new industries. The proportion of miners, too, is increasing at a relatively low rate.

The fast-growing army of building workers consists mainly of unskilled seasonal workers.

The total number of plantation workers has remained virtually unchanged over the last 10-12 years. In a number of countries the restriction or nationalization of foreign property was accompanied by a reduction of plantation farming and a corresponding reduction in the numbers of these sections of the proletariat. At the same time, even limited introduction of machines and the gradual intensification of production at capitalist landlord estates and kulak farms contributed to the emergence of a new large category of farm workers (tractor and combine operators, irrigation workers, repair hands), which today numbers some five million, or about one-third the agricultural proletariat.

Hired labor in small businesses is the traditional type of wage

earner in backward countries. This category, which includes workers in small-scale handicraft, manufacturing, construction and transport enterprises, numbers, perhaps, around 20 to 28 million. Up to one-half of these wage earners are not factory workers, even in the manufacturing industries, and are scattered through small and tiny 'enterprises' with tiny staffs. But since most of them work in the cities they constantly rub shoulders with factory workers, they have job openings at modern plants, and are consequently drawn closer to the industrial proletariat.

Proletarian, semi-proletarian and pre-proletarian elements of the peasantry and lower urban strata embrace the most numerous detachment of labor, numbering some 80 million. They include permanent farm hands and day laborers on semi-capitalist (or even semi-feudal) landlord, kulak and peasant farms. Most of this category of workers are to be found in South and Southeast Asia, North Africa and some countries of Central and South America.

The socio-economic character of the millions of farm laborers is extremely contradictory. They have virtually no means of production and are forced to make a living primarily by selling their manpower. Wages usually account for the greater part of their meagre earnings. At the same time, however, about one-half of these workers have tiny land holdings of their own, and almost all of them do their 'own' farming on kitchen gardens or small allotments provided by the landlord or kulak as a sort of payment in kind. They thus combine proletarian or semi-proletarian and small private ownership (or, rather, pseudo-private ownership) features, approaching the proletariat in some respects while maintaining their links with the bulk of the peasantry in others.

These, then, are the main sections of the working people comprising, in Asia, Africa and Latin America, the working class and kindred sections. The other part of the labor army—80-85 million people—comprises white-collar workers, civil servants, domestic help and other categories whose social standing and social psychology, in their countries, continue to differ markedly from those of the working class.

Unemployment is increasing rapidly in the developing countries, contributing to the other forms of relative over-population. In 1970-72, there were 35 to 40 million unemployed in Asia, Africa and Latin America, which is three or four times the corresponding figure for the developed capitalist countries. In the cities unemployment is usually 10 to 20 per cent of the total manpower force. The scale of unemployment and mounting pressures it exerts on the labor market in many ways determines the situation of the proletariat and kindred sections of the population.

Farm hands, day labourers and wage earners in small-scale industries and farming are increasingly suffering from under-employment, which in some countries and areas has affected 25 to 35 per cent of the peasantry and lower urban strata.

The class struggle of the proletariat in the developing countries is becoming more and more acute.

Official statistics usually distort the true character and scale of the labor movement in these countries. Political strikes do not as a rule figure in the statistics. In some countries strikes and similar actions are officially or in effect banned and official figures must, therefore, be supplemented and corrected on the basis of trade union reports, studies by progressive organizations and parties, etc.

It has been estimated that in the latter half of the 60s and early 70s economic strikes in Third World countries involved an annual average of at least four or five million workers engaged in the more modern industries. The strike movement is characterized by a high degree of concentration, with about one per cent of the strikes involving some 50 or 60 per cent of the yearly average of strikers.

Other sections of the labor force – office employees, civil servants, teachers, health and social security workers – are increasingly resorting to proletarian methods of action. The end of the 60s and beginning of the 70s saw white-collar workers and analogous categories of labor taking part in 30-40 per cent of all the strikes in most of the countries under review, and in scale, duration and tenacity many were in no way inferior to some of the biggest industrial strikes.

It is estimated that in the last five-ten years about half the strikers were involved in purely economic battles. However, with growing state regulation of the economy, the strikers inevitably find themselves fighting the government and its policies. Such strikes – economic in form but increasingly political in content – accounted for about one-quarter of the total. Finally, no less than 25 to 30 per cent of all labor actions were political in character from the outset, and many had a distinctly anti-imperialist and anti-capitalist coloring.



Falsifiers rebuffed

Put out in English, French and Spanish, this book* was prepared by a group of researchers at the CC CPSU Marxism-Leninism Institute under the supervision of Academician P. Fedoseyev. It deals with such problems of scientific communism as the motive force and content of the modern revolutionary process, the development of socialist society and the role of the Marxist-Leninist party in social progress. It also contains a critique of the revisionist concepts of Roger Garaudy and Ernst Fischer.

The book shows that attempts to belittle the role of the working class as the chief motive and mobilizing force of the revolutionary anti-imperialist struggle and to undermine the Marxist-Leninist doctrine of the proletariat's historic mission, find their theoretical expression in narrowing the concept of the working class to include only those engaged in manual labor or, conversely, extending that concept to obliterate any differences between the working class and intelligentsia. The former tendency is characteristic of bourgeois-reformist, and the latter of Right-revisionist, criticism of the scientific concept of the working class.

Both are nurtured by the changing social structure of society under the impact of the scientific and technological revolution one of the consequences of which has been the expansion of the working class through the emergence of new professions. Besides, in a capitalist setting, the technological revolution accelerates differentiation of the intelligentsia, converting a considerable part into wage earners. And since as such they are subject to capitalist exploitation they are bound to come nearer to the working class in their interests and social status. Absolutizing this aspect of social change has led to the revisionist theory of a 'new historic bloc' in which, we are told, the working class and intelligentsia are merged. The revisionists maintain that, in the world of today, this bloc will act as hegemon, a role that belongs only to the working class.

The authors show that the revisionists deny the socialist system general laws and common features, to which they oppose their 'multiple models of socialism.' And they reject the integral scientific world outlook of the working class and the internationalist principle of party organization, advocating in their stead a loose Social-

*The Science of Communism and its Falsifiers. Novosti Press Agency Publishing House, Moscow, 1972, 144 pp.

Democratic reformist organization. The authors rightly say that these concepts of the present-day revisionists are of a Right-opportunist and petty-bourgeois character.

Written from Marxist-Leninist positions and sharply polemical, the book will help to expose revisionism as the promoter of opportunist practice which does direct harm to the anti-imperialist struggle.

E. Yorgen

Corrupt leaders

JORGE CORREA. *Los jerarcas sindicales*.
Buenos Aires, Editorial Polémica, 1972, 110 pp.

The author describes the corruption in the Argentine trade unions, a problem that is also of major concern for the labor movement throughout Latin America. Bribery of the trade union hierarchy is a well-tried imperialist device which seeks to divide the working class of that continent.

The book recounts the history of the Argentine trade union movement and touches on the method employed by the Right Peronists to split and disorganize the working class. The whole bag of tricks is brought into play: blackmail and intimidation, terror and coercion, and full use of clever demagoguery by the bourgeois press, encouraged by the government. Jorge Correa shows how the 'elite' in the leadership of the All-Union Confederation of Labor and the regional federations came into being; he exposes the misuse of trade union funds, the corruption and link of the hierarchy with the ruling class and big business. At the same time the author emphasizes that many trade union leaders are honest comrades fighting for the workers' interests under difficult conditions.

The concluding section of the book is devoted to an analysis of the class roots of the doctrine of conciliation between capital and labor, that cherished dream of the capitalists, 'which in its more general features is expressed in the concept of a "third way" between capitalism and socialism.'

Jorge Correa's book shows how, under Communist Party leadership, the working class of Argentina stubbornly and persistently strives for a healthier state of affairs in the trade union movement, conscious that this can only be achieved in the course of the class anti-imperialist struggle.

Marcelo Pereira

NEW BOOKS

(Books listed here are in the language of the country of publication)

MARX K., ENGELS F., LENIN W. I. *Ueber proletarischen Internationalismus* (On Proletarian Internationalism). Frankfurt am Main, Verlag Marxistische Blätter, 1972. 200 pp.

Lenin v pechati 1894-1970 (Lenin in Print, 1894-1970). Publication of works by and about Lenin. Statistics. Moscow, Kniga, 1972. 244 pp.

Tim BUCK. *Izbrannyye proizvedeniya* (Selected Works). Moscow, Politizdat, 1972. 659 pp.

BREZHNEV, L. I. *Projevy a stati* (Speeches and Articles). Prague, Svoboda, 1972. 756 pp.

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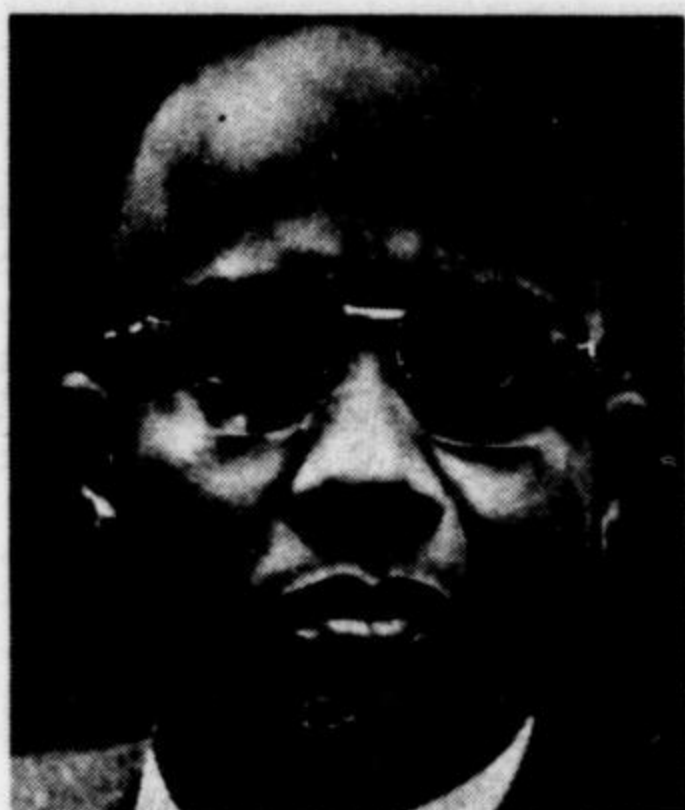
Sozialistische Staatengemeinschaft (Socialist Community of States). Development of Cooperation and Peace Policy of Socialist States. Berlin, 1972. 356 pp.

HUDSON, H. *Black Worker in the Deep South*. New York, International Publishers, 1972. 144 pp.

SZULCZEWSKI, M. *Propaganda polityczna* (Political Propaganda). Warsaw, 1972. 363 pp.



Amilcar Cabral



Amilcar Cabral, outstanding leader of the African National Liberation Movement, indomitable fighter against imperialism and colonialism, has fallen at the hands of a traitor, an agent of the Portuguese colonialists. The foul murder of the General Secretary of the African Party for the Independence of Guinea and the Cape Verde Islands (PAIGC) is part of a ramified colonialist plot designed to behead the liberation struggle of the people of the Portuguese colonies in Africa.

Amilcar Cabral was born on September 12, 1924, in the town

of Bafata in Guinea-Bissau. He was the only one of his compatriots who was able in those years to receive a higher education, and a path to a 'career' in the colonial administration lay before him. Instead, he dedicated his life to the struggle for the liberation of his country.

In 1956, Amilcar Cabral became one of the founders of PAIGC, and he remained its leader from the day of its foundation until his tragic death. It was after the bloody suppression in 1959 by the Portuguese police of the Pidgiguiti dock strike that PAIGC commenced its preparations for an armed struggle. From 1963, PAIGC, guided by Comrade Amilcar Cabral, led the national-liberation war of the peoples of Guinea-Bissau and the Cape Verde Islands. The People's Army created by PAIGC freed two-thirds of the territory of Guinea-Bissau.

Amilcar Cabral was the author of a number of books, among them 'Revolution in Guinea: an African People's Struggle' and 'National Liberation and Culture', as well as many articles. In his

speeches at international conferences he always emphasized the indissoluble ties between the national liberation movement and the other great revolutionary forces of today: the socialist world system and the international working class. 'The eternal, unique genius of Lenin and his teachings,' said Amilcar Cabral, 'are a powerful force which sustains all genuine fighters against imperialism and is for them an inexhaustible inspiration.'

The glorious memory of Amilcar Cabral will remain forever in the hearts of Communists the whole world over, of the fighters for national independence, and all progressives. There can be not the slightest doubt that Amilcar Cabral's comrades-in-arms will carry the national-liberation struggle of the peoples of Guineau-Bissau and the Cape Verde Islands to a victorious conclusion. Neither plots nor assassinations can halt its onward march.

DIARY

K. I. Zarodov, Editor-in-Chief of *World Marxist Review*, visited Poland in the first half of January at the invitation of the Polish United Workers' Party Central Committee. He was received by the Party's First Secretary, E. Gierek, whom he informed of the work of the journal and its plans for the near future and also thanked him for the attention the PUWP Central Committee was showing the journal.

E. Gierek stressed the importance of the journal for the theoretical work and information of fraternal parties, exchange of experience, strengthening the unity of the world Communist and workers' movement, for the struggle for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism. Comrade Gierek emphasized that the Polish United Workers' Party would continue actively to participate in the publication of *World Marxist Review*.

K. I. Zarodov also met with J. Szydlak, Political Bureau member and CC Secretary; J. Lukaszewicz, Secretary of the PUWP Central Committee, and CC Secretariat members R. Frelek and A. Werblan. He spoke of the journal and its plans at a meeting of the Party active in Warsaw, social scientists and journalists, and appeared on Polish television. During the meetings at the PUWP Central Committee and at reader conferences suggestions were made for improving the magazine, providing for deeper analyses of topical problems of Marxism-Leninism and wider reporting of Party experience.

Reader conferences were held in two Bulgarian cities, Sofia and Veliko Tynovo, attended by Party functionaries, scientists, propagandists and journalists. They were addressed by the journal's Executive Editor, V. Shundeyev, who reported on editorial plans, and by G. Banchero, representative of the CP Chile on the journal, and by the Bulgarian representative, Bistra Avramova.

Suggestions were made for improving the journal; topical problems of the international Communist and workers' movement were discussed, and readers suggested that the magazine give special attention to them.

The journal's representatives were received by BCP Central Committee Secretaries A. Lilov and K. Tellalov.

During a short stay in Prague, Pedro Ortega Diaz, Political Bureau Member, CC CP Venezuela, visited WMR and addressed its Latin American commission. He reported in detail on the situation in Venezuela in the light of the general election scheduled December 1973 and described the role of the Communists in strengthening the Popular Unity Front. Questions of ensuring closer cooperation of the CP Venezuela with the journal were also discussed at length.

Fernando Chaves Molina, Member of the Political Commission of the People's Vanguard Party of Costa Rica, visited the editorial offices and discussed ways and means of promoting closer ties between Costa Rica's Communists and the journal.

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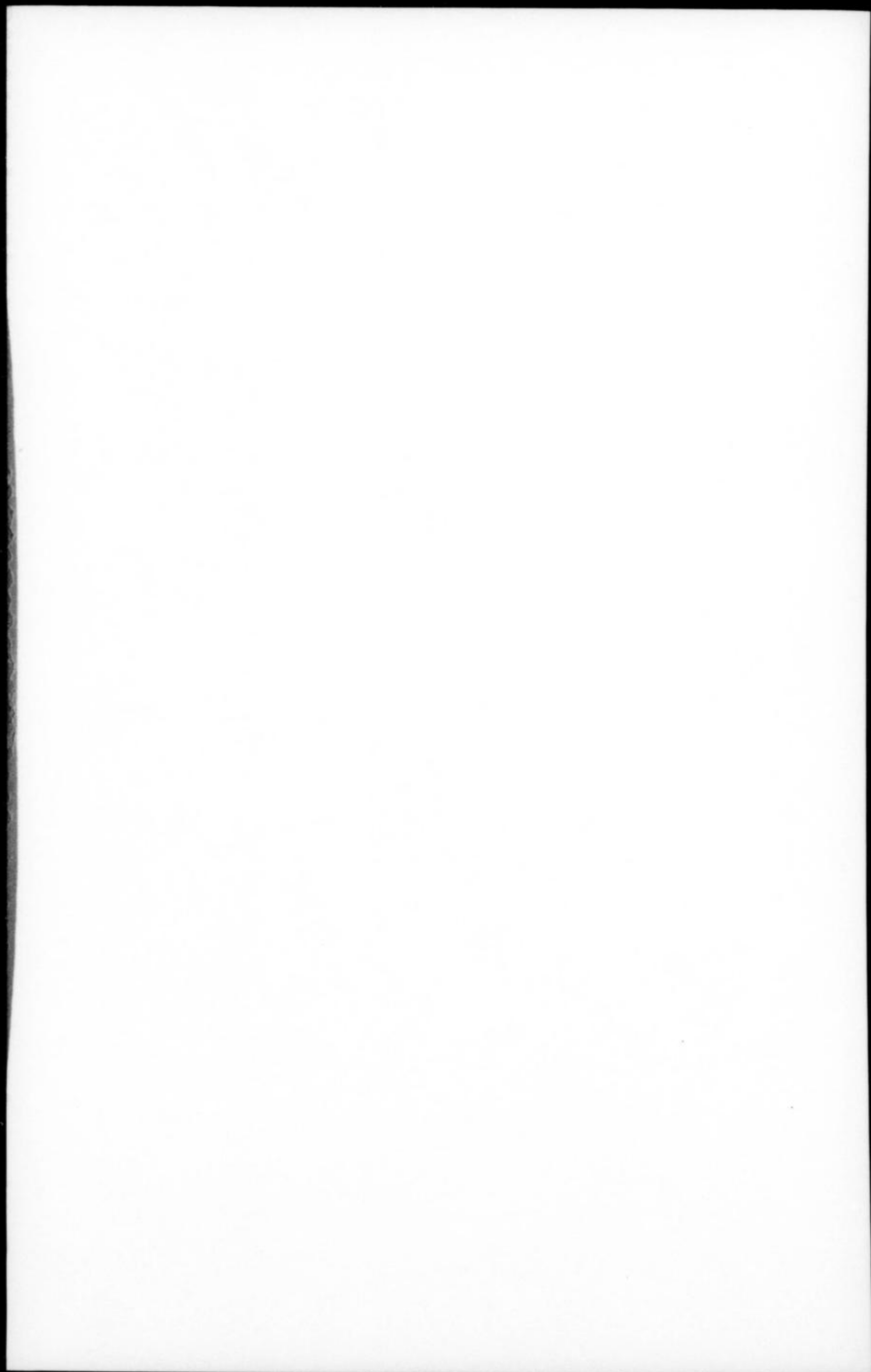
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