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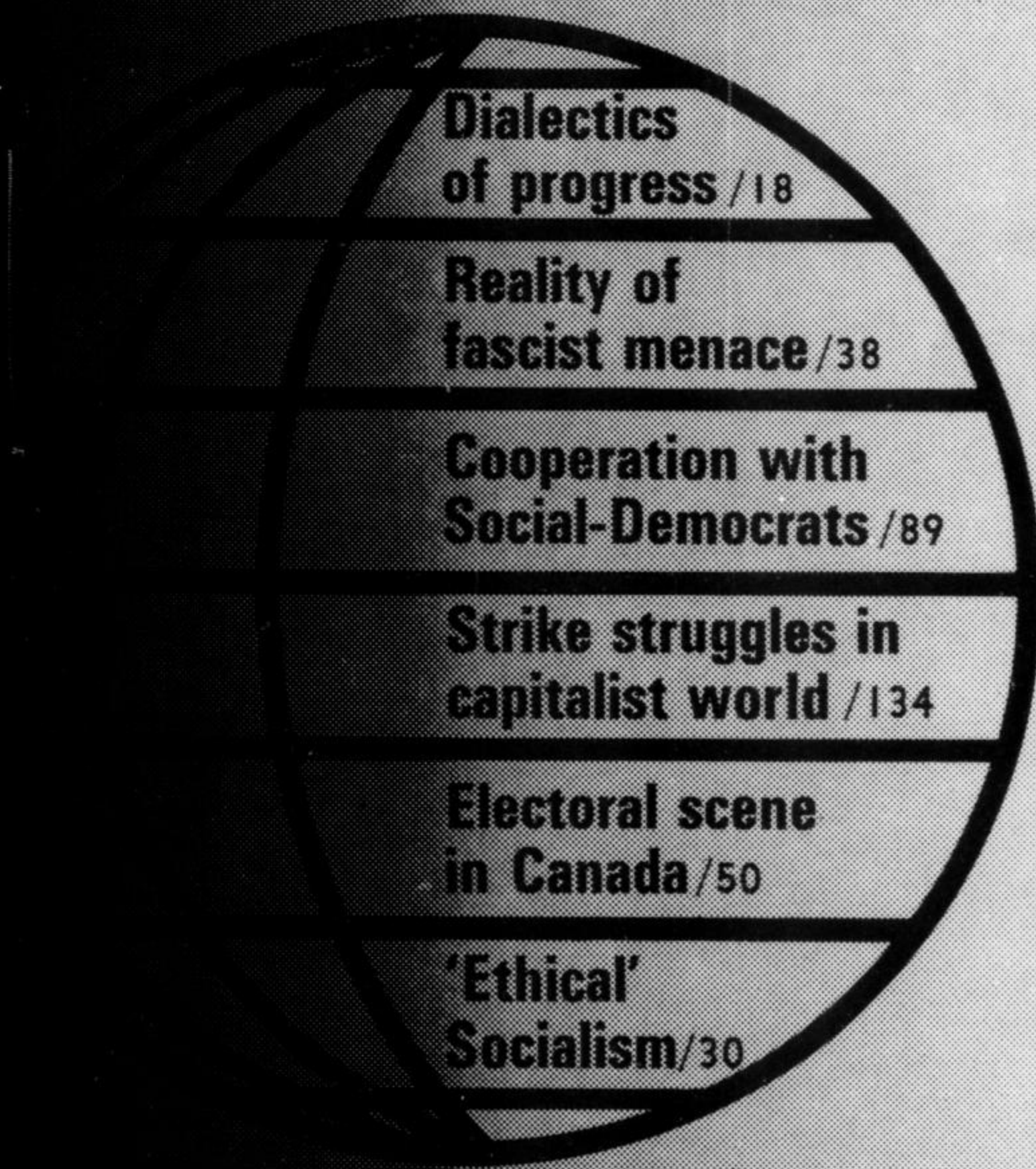
MARXIST

Peace and Socialism

REVIEW

April 1973, Vol. 16, No. 4

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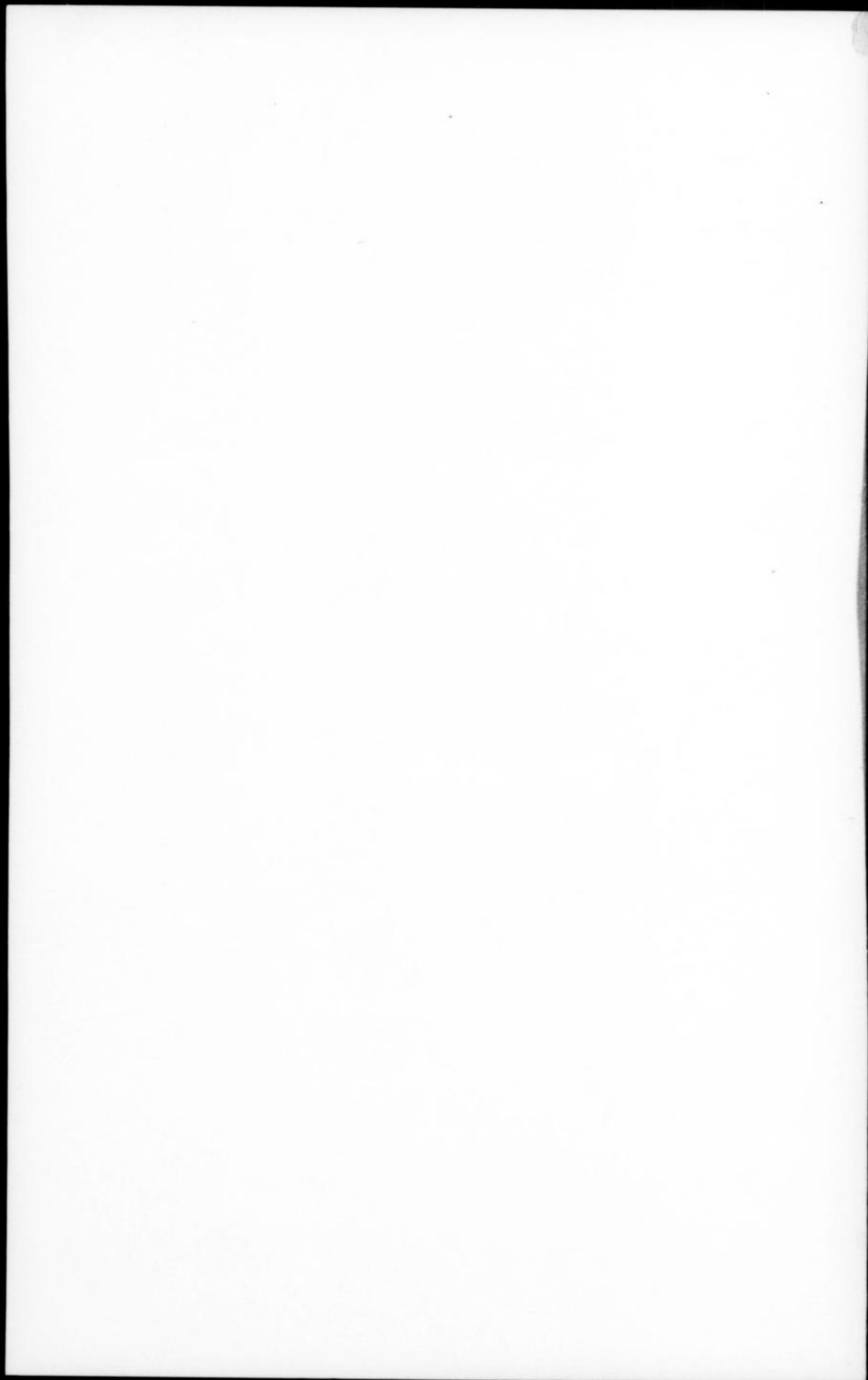
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journal of Communist and
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Communique

ON A MEETING OF REPRESENTATIVES OF COMMUNIST AND WORKERS' PARTIES

A meeting of the representatives of 27 European Communist and Workers' Parties was held in Moscow on February 21-22, 1973, to discuss problems of work among the youth.

The meeting was attended by the representatives of the Communist Party of Austria, Communist Party of Belgium, Bulgarian Communist Party, Communist Party of Great Britain, Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, Socialist Unity Party of Germany, German Communist Party, Communist Party of Greece, Communist Party of Denmark, Socialist Unity Party of West Berlin, Communist Party of Ireland, Communist Party of Spain, Italian Communist Party, Progressive Party of the Working People of Cyprus, Communist Party of Luxembourg, Communist Party of Norway, Polish United Workers' Party, Portuguese Communist Party, Rumanian Communist Party, Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Communist Party of Turkey, Communist Party of Finland, French Communist Party, Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, Swiss Party of Labor, Left Party - Communists of Sweden, League of Communists of Yugoslavia.

The delegations compared notes on their Parties' experience of work among young people and exchanged views on the prospects of wider participation by young people in the movement for European security and cooperation and in the common struggle of the forces of progress against imperialism, for peace, democracy and socialism.

The meeting was held in a spirit of complete understanding and friendship.



Working with the youth

Our correspondent asked representatives of three fraternal parties about their experience of work among young people.

PAUL VERNER

PB Member, Secretary CC, SUP of Germany

The socialist education of the rising generations is an inseparable part of Party work. Our primary task is to equip young men and women with knowledge of Marxism-Leninism and an understanding of the Party's general line and draw them into the process of building a developed socialist society. We point out to all Communists the need to bring up politically conscious citizens of the socialist state devoted to the ideals of socialism, patriots and internationalists with a socialist attitude towards labor, active in public life and irreconcilably opposed to bourgeois ideology.

We consider active participation of young people in the effort to build a developed socialist society in the GDR and promote firm unity with the other countries of the socialist community, the main aspect of revolutionary youth education.

The connections between education and socially useful labor are diverse, and emphasis is laid on ensuring a unity of political and special training. In view of the coming 10th World Festival, the accent in this academic year will be on popularizing the progressive youth struggle all over the world. Every year eighth-class students have special courses to prepare them for the pledge of allegiance to socialism, a tradition of the German revolutionary workers' movement.

A great deal of educational work is carried out by the Free German Youth League. Its members study the fundamentals of Marxism-Leninism in 'Young Socialist Circles.' The League is helped in its activities by Party propagandists. Our experience shows that steady strengthening of the Party nucleus in the Youth League is an earnest of its mounting political and ideological influence over the young generation.

We give special attention to young workers. They are highly militant and disciplined and show all young people an example of how to fight for socialism.

At present, at the suggestion of the SUPG, the Youth League is helping to frame a new youth law.

The Political Bureau and all regional and district Party organizations have youth commissions. These formulate Party policy on youth questions and check implementation of Party decisions. The SUPG regards the establishment of close ties between all leading Party bodies and Party branches, on the one hand, and the Youth League and all young people, on the other, as an important task.

The SUPG has always helped the young generation and continues to do so. But this does not mean that we act the nursemaid. We trust our youth and give it every opportunity for displaying initiative.

JEAN COLPIN

Alternate Member, PB, French CP

Our Party relies constantly and most emphatically on the Communist Youth Movement. I would like to stress that the CP has reviewed its role in our common struggle in keeping with the new place youth problems occupy in political life and the importance of the youth as a basic component of the democratic and revolutionary forces.

The spiritual 'crisis' of the young generation, of which so much has been written in the West, is a direct result of capitalism's inability to respond to its aspirations and needs in the conditions created by the scientific and technological revolution. Young people react sharply to the 'paradoxes' of a society in which economic progress comes into contradiction with social progress; they denounce the system subjecting them to capitalist exploitation and age discrimination in wages and jobs, and the various bans it imposes.

The youth, whose circumstances reflect the crisis of bourgeois society, is at the same time one of the main forces for resolving it. Revolutionary sentiment is spreading among young people, who realize the need for profound social change and are increasingly attracted to socialism. Only natural, therefore, was the extent of the youthful response to the joint government program adopted by the Left parties for the March elections. It offered millions of young men and women a concrete opportunity to express their aspirations for deep changes in social life. The feasibility of attaining an advanced democracy that opens up the road to socialism has had a tremendous mobilizing effect on young Frenchmen.

Still, there are youth sections that must be freed from the influence of the bourgeoisie, which employs different forms of ideological subversion to undermine the broad democratic youth movement, push it towards political indifference and moral degradation. Although the social soil of gauchism has lost some of its fertility, the bourgeoisie continues to foster 'Left' opportunism as a means of combating genuinely revolutionary movements. But it may be noted with satisfaction that, barring a few exceptions, the bulk of the youth opposes bourgeois policies.

At the same time, attempts continue to use young people against

Communists to undercut our influence and dominant position in the Left alliance. Lack of experience makes some young people vulnerable in the face of such attempts. They have yet to learn to resist the negative influences of class cooperation or the danger of drifting into political combinations at variance with the popular interest. Right and 'Left' opportunists have sought, and will continue to seek, to exploit the impatience of some young people in order to set up unprincipled alliances to the detriment of our Party's positions. That is why, in the course of the last election campaign, we relied on the working class to forcefully expose any attempt to detract from the role, or undermine the influence, of Communists and thereby reduce the chances of the joint program.

FERNANDO BLANQUI TEIXEIRA
CC Member, CP Portugal

In Portugal the fascists have lost the battle for the young generation. They have failed to inculcate in it a reactionary and chauvinistic outlook. Owing to the absence of mass support, fascist youth organizations have all but disappeared. Young Portuguese are more and more actively opposing the fascist dictatorship and the colonial wars in Guinea-Bissau, Angola and Mozambique. Young workers and students are fighting for freedom and democracy and recognition of the right of the peoples in Portugal's colonies to full and immediate independence. The ideas of international solidarity with peoples suffering from imperialist aggression are becoming increasingly popular. And Portugal's younger generation is deeply grateful to the youth of the world, notably the Soviet Union and all socialist countries, for their solidarity with our struggle.

In party work with the youth it is necessary to take into account, in addition to the common goals uniting young people in the struggle against the dictatorship, for freedom, the specific tasks facing various detachments. In industry the movement of young workers (including students at technical schools) is gaining in strength. It is backing demands for better working conditions, higher wages, promotion and vocational training, trade union rights, and measures against unemployment, notably in cases when employers deny jobs to young men who are soon to be called up for army service. Young people voice their demands at various cultural and sports events. The working youth movement is using flexible forms of semi-legal activity, adapting them to local conditions.

The student movement is a special question. It is based mainly on legal mass organizations and academic associations. Students fight for the right to organize and for freedom of activity and demand official recognition of their elected leadership. They oppose fascism's attempts to dissolve their associations and protest against repressions. The students advocate democratization of the educational system and put forward social and cultural demands.

The student movement is a tested detachment of the popular struggle in which our Party has considerable influence. In January,

1972, a Communist Student League was set up on the basis of former Communist Party student organizations. Communists are fighting consistently against petty-bourgeois Leftist trends – anarchistic and Maoist – in the academic community.

Young people are joining our Party. A substantial number of members and many branch leaders are under 25 years of age. They are filled with enthusiasm, faith in our country's working class and its revolutionary party. Dissemination of knowledge about the great revolutionary victories of our time, the international Communist movement, the achievements of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, defense of the gains of socialism and popularization of its historic experience – these are the principles that guide our Party in its work with young people aimed at winning them over to the side of the working class, the exploited masses and their just cause.

MAY DEMOCRACY OVERCOME

LIFT BAN ON STUDENT UNION

In January, a regrettable incident in Rabat resulted in the death of a policeman, whereupon the authorities dissolved the National Students' Union of Morocco. We protest against this act, which is contrary to democratic principles.

After independence the Union was officially recognized as a public association of Moroccan students, representing their interests. A just reward for the students' participation in the national liberation movement. Now, too, the Union follows democratic principles, fighting against neo-colonialism and imperialism. It has always worked for the just cause at home and on the international scene.

Certainly, the Students' Union cannot be held responsible for the Rabat incident and the policeman's death. Certainly, it is not a valid reason for its dissolution. The Union does not represent any one group or specific political trend. It is a union of all students, irrespective of their beliefs. Its dissolution, if it remains in force, is sure to create unrest among students so suddenly deprived of their legitimate right to organize.

We demand the lifting of the ban on the National Students' Union.

Ali YATA



Leninist party in struggle and construction

Arvid Pelshe

Member, PB, CC CPSU,
Chairman, Party Control Com-
mittee, CC CPSU

THE 70th ANNIVERSARY OF THE SECOND RSDLP CONGRESS

The history of the 20th century furnishes irrefutable proof that the socio-political ascent of the working class, its great gains in the battle against capitalism and for the socialist reconstruction of society, are determined by the combat ability of the revolutionary vanguard, the Marxist-Leninist party, its political, theoretical and organizational maturity. A scientific analysis of these gains will show that all of them have an internationalist basis. For proletarian internationalism, its development and enrichment, predetermines the success of each Communist party and enhances its theoretical and practical achievements, which become part of the theory and practice of the world revolutionary movement.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union has accumulated vast experience in its work of revolutionary transformation. This July we shall be celebrating the anniversary of an important landmark in its history and in the growth of the international workers' and Communist movement—70 years of the Second Congress of the Russian Social-Democratic Labor Party (RSDLP). Its epochal importance lies in the fact that it marked the triumph of the principles of Leninism, the principles of Bolshevism, which represent the creative development of the ideas of Marx and Engels in adaptation to the new conditions of history. The Congress laid the foundations of a genuine revolutionary Marxist party of the working class, a party of the new type. 'As a current of political thought and as a political party,' Lenin wrote, 'Bolshevism has existed since 1903' (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 31, p. 24).

After the Second RSDLP Congress, notwithstanding the adamant resistance of reformists, Right and 'Left' revisionists, sectarians and nationalists, Lenin's concept of the party won recognition in the international workers' movement and became basic to the work of Marxist-Leninist parties. 'This was the great heritage Lenin bequeathed to the world revolutionary movement and to the builders of socialism and communism,' L. I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CC CPSU, emphasized in reference to the new-type party.

The beginnings of Bolshevism

Russia's Marxist party was formed at a historical turning point. In the opening years of the century capitalism entered its highest and last, imperialist stage, marked by its degeneration into parasitic, decaying and moribund capitalism. Proletarian revolution became an immediate practical issue in the capitalist countries. The interests of tsarism and world imperialism were closely intertwined. Russia became the focal point of all the contradictions of imperialism. This is how Lenin defined the content and significance of the Russian proletariat's revolutionary struggle: 'History has now confronted us with an immediate task which is the *most revolutionary* of all the *immediate* tasks confronting the proletariat of any country. The fulfilment of this task, the destruction of the most powerful bulwark, not only of European, but (it may now be said) of Asiatic reaction, would make the Russian proletariat the vanguard of the international revolutionary proletariat' (Vol. 5, p. 373). Ranged against the autocracy and the bourgeoisie was the yet numerically small but highly concentrated Russian proletariat. And it had reliable allies in the vast mass of poverty-stricken peasants and oppressed peoples. This laid a definite imprint on the development of the class struggle and determined the distinctive character and international significance of the newly-founded Leninist Party.

The Russian revolutionary movement went through a difficult and tortuous path before the working class could create its own independent Marxist political party. In the latter half of the 19th century many Russian revolutionaries were already acquainted with the works of Marx and Engels, with whom some maintained personal contact. The first Marxist trend in Russia dates back to the 80s: in 1883 a Marxist group, the Emancipation of Labor, was organized under the leadership of G. V. Plekhanov. Its propaganda of Marxism prepared the ground for the organization of a workers' party, but the group itself had no links with the mass workers' movement.

The new stage in the development of that movement is associated with Lenin. It was on his initiative that a Social-Democratic organization, the League of Struggle for the Emancipation of the Working Class, was founded in St. Petersburg in 1895. It became the embryo of the Russian proletarian revolutionary party. The arrest of Lenin and other League leaders was a telling blow to the revolutionary workers' movement, but could not halt its development.

In 1898, when Lenin and many of his comrades were in exile in Siberia, the Social-Democratic organizations held their first congress which proclaimed the founding of the Russian Social-Democratic Labor Party.

However, as the experience of the labor movement in Russia and several other countries shows, the founding of a party does not always mean the founding of an effective militant political organ-

ization. For to give effective leadership to the proletarian class struggle, the Party must be united ideologically and organizationally under a single central leadership. The first Congress did not draw up the party's program and rules; party organizations did not subscribe to a uniform political line and did not have scientifically grounded tactics.

The formation of the Party was prepared by the truly titanic ideological, theoretical, political and organizational work of Lenin in the turn-of-the-century years. Briefly, this work consisted in, first, upholding, explaining and developing the teaching of Marx and Engels. And Lenin waged a vigorous struggle against liberal-bourgeois revision of Marxism by the so-called 'Legal Marxists,' against distortion of Marxism by the 'Economists,' that Russian variety of international opportunism, against the narrow circle spirit and organizational looseness. By creatively developing Marxism in adaptation to the age of imperialism, Lenin enriched it by his interpretative generalization of the new experience of the Russian and international workers' movement. He formulated a consistent, integral theory of the Communist Party as the working-class vanguard and formulated its theoretical, political and organizational principles. Without such preparatory work, the rise of a genuinely revolutionary Marxist party would have been inconceivable.

The methodological base of Lenin's theory of the Party is the Marxist understanding of the dialectical interconnection between the objective and subjective in the process of history, between the law-governed development of society and the enhanced role of the working class and working people as the makers of history.

Lenin was adamant in combatting any tendency to bow to spontaneity, which would have doomed the working class to passivity and subjection to bourgeois ideology. More, it would have confined the Marxists to the narrow framework of propaganda circles and would have prevented uniting Marxism with the workers' movement, and, in the broader sense, refashioning the world in the interest of the working class and the people. The Second Congress adopted the Party Program, with its scientific formulation of the proletariat's immediate tasks at the bourgeois-democratic stage of the revolution (minimum program) and in the fight for the triumph of the socialist revolution (maximum program).

At the Congress, Lenin and his followers upheld the fundamental proposition of Marxism, dictatorship of the proletariat, as the basic issue of socialist revolution. On their insistence this was incorporated in the Program. The Leninists thus scored a momentous victory which was to have an immense impact on the development of the revolutionary movement.

At the Congress, Lenin and his comrades posed and upheld – and subsequently translated into reality – their organizational concept of the revolutionary party as the conscious and organized vanguard of the working class, armed with knowledge of the laws of social

development and the class struggle and with the experience of the revolutionary movement. Only such a party, ideologically steeled, united, directed by a single leadership and animated by a single will, could successfully lead the working class to victory in the fight for power.

The revolutionary proletarian party in Russia took shape as an international political organization. In this multinational country, where 57 per cent of the population was non-Russian, and where the autocracy cultivated 'tremendous *estrangement* between the working classes of the various nationalities' (Vol. 6, p. 462) this was no easy task. Lenin wrote that 'in matters pertaining to struggle against the autocracy, the struggle against the bourgeoisie of Russia as a whole, we must act as a single and centralized militant organization, have behind us the whole of the proletariat, without distinction of language or nationality' (ibid., p. 335).

The theoretical, political and organizational principles of the Party formulated by Lenin and which the Second Congress made the basis for the party of the new type, have consistently guided the development of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

From its very inception, the RSDLP regarded itself as part of the international revolutionary workers' movement. The first Party Program, adopted by the Second Congress, contained this passage: 'The Russian Social-Democracy considers itself a contingent of the world proletarian army and pursues the same ultimate aims as Social-Democrats of all other countries.'

The Second Congress was a turning point in the history of the international workers' movement. Its decisions were a powerful blow to the ideological and organizational tenets of the Russian opportunists and of the revisionists of all other countries. And as Lenin's ideas gained currency, the struggle between Leninism and revisionism became more and more severe. The revisionists sought to contrast Lenin's theory of the party to Marxism. They maintained that Lenin's views were unrelated to the international experience of revolutionary struggle and were merely a reflection of Russian reality. The Social-Democratic leaders tried to camouflage this opportunist approach by hypocritical professions of fidelity to Marxism, which they gave a reformist interpretation. Leninism, they contemptuously declared, was doomed to defeat and oblivion.

But the complex, often contradictory, yet on the whole ascendant development of the international workers' movement was to demonstrate the ideological and political fallacy, the historical inconsistency and servitor function, of Right opportunism. The workers' movement, indeed modern history itself, followed the path predicted by Lenin. His proposition, formulated in strict accordance with the materialist understanding of history, that the role of the subjective factor, i.e., the militant revolutionary vanguard of the working class, in the revolutionary process would grow in importance – that proposition played a major, in many cases determinative, part in the class struggle.

Lenin's idea of the party of the new type, brought to reality by Communists in various countries of the world, lives and is developing in the struggle and creative activity of the working class.

Features of the Marxist-Leninist party

The Marxist-Leninist party's organizational principles are determined by the conditions in which it operates, its objectives, and the tasks the working class is capable of posing and resolving at the given stage of history. On the basis of a deep scientific analysis of the new epoch – an epoch of imperialism, with its revolutionary storms and great social upheavals – Lenin theoretically demonstrated that the new type of Marxist party represents a marriage of scientific socialism with the mass working-class movement; its ideological and theoretical basis is integrated Marxism; it is the vanguard and political leader of the working class, its guiding force and weapon in preparing and carrying out the proletariat's revolution.

The party's fighting ability is ensured by its ideological and political cohesion, organizational unity based on democratic centralism, the strict discipline of its members, and its close ties with the masses. The Party's historic mission is to carry out the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism, establish the dictatorship of the proletariat, change society along socialist lines, and assure the triumph of communism.

From its inception the party of Lenin was characterized by high ideological integrity, purposefulness, cohesion and militancy. Lenin thoroughly elaborated the principles of the relationships between party, class and masses. 'The party,' he wrote 'is the politically conscious, advanced section of the class, it is its vanguard. The strength of that vanguard is ten times, a hundred times, more than a hundred times, greater than its numbers' (Vol. 19, p. 406). In 1902, Lenin wrote of a compact group of Russian revolutionaries marching along a precipitous and difficult path, firmly holding each other by the hand (see Vol. 5, p. 355). And what happened later? The group expanded into an army of Communists. And we participants in the October Revolution* saw for ourselves how swiftly the party's ranks can swell and the working masses rally around them when it speaks for their basic interests, when it is ready to fight and prepared for resolute action. In the brief span between February and October, 1917, Party membership increased 15-fold from 24,000 to 350,000, and on the eve of the October armed uprising Lenin could say with full justification, 'We have the following of the majority of a class . . . we have the following of the majority of the people' (Vol. 26, p. 24).

After Lenin's death, the Fifth Congress of the Communist International upheld his ideas in the fight against the Right, which

*The author, a member of the CPSU since January 1915, was a delegate to the Sixth Congress of the RSDLP, held semi-legally in July-August, 1917, which targeted the Party on armed uprising and socialist revolution. – Ed.

insisted that first it was necessary to win over the majority of the masses in purely statistical terms, claiming that 'it is useless to speak of serious revolutionary battles until the Communists win over virtually 99 per cent of the working people.' On the other hand, the Congress resolutely denounced the ultra-Leftists who had failed to grasp the meaning of the slogan 'To the masses!', the importance of the struggle for broad sections of the working people. This was a dialectical, Leninist approach to one of the most important questions of revolutionary strategy and tactics.

At the Second RSDLP Congress Lenin elaborated on his thesis of the lofty calling of a Communist, emphasizing that each member is responsible for the Party, and the Party is responsible for every member. The norms of Party life and leadership principles formulated by Lenin stipulated strict observance of the Rules by all Communists, from rank-and-file to leaders, consistent implementation of the principles of democratic centralism, activity of all members and collective discussion of important issues as a guarantee against elements of chance or one-sidedness in every sphere of Party activity.

The critics of Lenin's organizational principles usually mechanically split the formula 'democratic centralism' into two parts and then attack the one or the other. But, as Lenin pointed out, democracy and centralism are not different principles, but two sides of the same, the pivot around which all internal Party relationships revolve. Experience has shown that consistent observance of democratic centralism makes for the success of Communist activity, while disregard for one of its aspects either gives rise to organizational looseness and weakens the Party's fighting ability, or leads to bureaucratic centralization. As the Central Committee report to the 24th CPSU Congress pointed out, 'both anarchic lack of discipline, presented as democracy, and bureaucratic centralization, hindering the promotion of the initiative and activity of Communists, are equally injurious to the Marxist-Leninist Party.'

The founder and leader of the first party of the new type, which had accumulated a great body of experience, Lenin also attentively studied the work of Communist parties in other countries. He helped them to master revolutionary theory, stressed the importance of being principled Marxists, prompted political activity and helped them to work out a correct strategy and tactics, implement their plans successfully and perfect organizational structure in accordance with the requirements of the class struggle. Lenin stressed that all this was absolutely essential for building up Communist parties as militant, genuinely revolutionary mass parties. Lenin generalized the experience of revolutionary class struggle of the working masses of Russia and other countries, the experience involved in the creation and strengthening of Communist parties, the experience of the struggle against Right and 'Left' opportunism, social-chauvinism and centrism, Trotskyism and nationalism, and substantially enriched and expanded the principles of the new type of party first formulated in preparation for and during the Second Congress of the RSDLP.

Various aspects of the new type of Party have evolved in response to new tasks facing the working class, but the fundamental principles formulated by Lenin remain valid to this day. All genuine Marxist parties are guided by the Leninist principles of organization of the working class' revolutionary vanguard, creatively enriched and developed in accordance with the historical traditions and national peculiarities of this or that country.

And that is just why these principles are under continued opportunist fire. The recent past has seen a number of frenzied attacks of this kind. Some revisionists have sought to undermine the principle of democratic centralism, others rejected the Marxist-Leninist party teaching in toto, pleading the changed historical conditions and the alleged dilution of the working class in the general mass of working people and dissipation of its revolutionary activity; some even spoke of the need to turn Communist parties into reformist associations. The world Communist movement has repulsed all revisionist sallies and is beating back elements that persist in their splitting anti-Party activities. It is creatively developing Lenin's party principles, enriching them with new experience – a prerequisite for enhancing the Communist movement's prestige and influence.

Lenin's theory of the Party has been developed, in line with the world revolutionary process at the present stage, in the CPSU Program, Congress decisions and other Party documents. As the CC CPSU Lenin Centenary Theses point out, the Marxist-Leninist Party of our epoch is a revolutionary party that aims all its work at gaining power in the form of the dictatorship of the proletariat; it is the politically conscious vanguard of the masses, closely linked with them and leading them; it is a party consistently upholding proletarian internationalism; it is a cohesive militant organization guided by the principles of democratic centralism which rallies the working class and all working people in the revolutionary struggle; it is irreconcilable to opportunism and splitting activities of whatever kind; it ably applies the common principles of Marxism in concrete conditions and in every situation fights for the ultimate goals of the working-class movement.

The value of CPSU experience

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union created by Lenin has accumulated a vast body of theoretical and political experience in leading the working class's work of revolutionary changes at different stages and in different historical circumstances.

The history of the CPSU tells how a mighty revolutionary force was born, how, on the basis of the objective requirements of social development, and expressing the aspirations of the masses, it provided the theoretical substantiation, and practical leadership, of three revolutions and led the country to socialism.

Lenin and the Party offered a brilliant example of how to guide the masses to revolution. Stubbornly and persistently, purposefully

and consistently, the Bolsheviks led the working class and toiling peasantry towards revolution. When rallying the masses to the struggle for specific tasks, they never lost sight of the ultimate goal. In every historical situation the Party employed the most effective means. In preparing the masses for the decisive revolutionary battles it stressed the need for different forms of struggle.

Under the Party's leadership the working class staged mass economic and political strikes and general strikes. In the extremely difficult conditions of tsarist Russia able use was made of every opportunity for parliamentary activity and election campaigning, notably during the State Duma elections. The small but militant, principled and active Bolshevik group in the Fourth Duma did much to explain the Party's policies. Lacking a majority in the Soviets, which in 1917 had been taken over by the Mensheviks and Social-Revolutionaries, the Bolsheviks used their participation in them with the utmost skill in the fight for the masses. Our Party has never been sectarian, it has always met all progressive fighting forces half-way, assisted them, and formed blocs and alliances, though without ever sacrificing its principles.

The CPSU has always striven to resolve revolutionary tasks by peaceful means, but it has also accumulated a body of experience in various methods of armed struggle. At its call and under its leadership the masses fought on the barricades in the revolution of 1905-1907 and rose in the armed insurrection of October 1917. The Party was the leading force in the Civil War and organizer of the defeat of the Nazi hordes in the Great Patriotic War.

The preparation and carrying out of the October Revolution, when the Party skillfully employed all forms of struggle, peaceful and armed, occupies a special place in history. The Bolsheviks thoroughly analyzed the objective processes involving different classes and the mood of the masses, and their correct policy and tactics helped to steer events along a course favorable to the revolutionary cause. Correctly assessing the alignment of class forces, the Party would remove tactical slogans not in keeping with the new conditions in favor of new ones. When the revolution's political army was ready and the bourgeoisie resorted to arms in its attempt to crush the mass movement, the Party opted for armed insurrection. The October Revolution's triumph is a classical example of the able utilization of the objective laws of revolution, correct political leadership, and ability to meet every political exigency.

Adherence to Lenin's political principles of leadership of the class struggle requires:

- work with the masses, the constant expansion of the bonds with them, winning them over to the side of the revolution and an exact assessment of the circumstances in which they should be led in direct assault on the bourgeoisie's positions, or when flanking maneuvers are called for;

- the mastering of every form of struggle without exception and being prepared and able to select and employ the most suitable ones in any given circumstances;

- a flexible tactical line in keeping with the changing situation;
- that the working class vanguard remains consistently revolutionary and takes a proletarian class approach to all social tasks.

Lenin's Party of the new type led the working people to power, headed the building of socialism and demonstrated in practice the validity of his theoretical conclusions that its leading role must be maintained and enhanced. Analyzing the CPSU's leadership in the revolution and in carrying out the first socialist reforms, Lenin showed that its experience was of tremendous international significance.

The wealth of experience accumulated since then by the CPSU and other Communist and Workers' parties has completely vindicated Lenin's position that the Party's leading role increases as the world revolution advances. It has been confirmed in practice in the defense of the proletariat's class interests, in the fight against fascism, in the struggle against monopoly domination, in triumphant revolutions, in the building of socialist society, in the fight against opportunism.

Right and 'Left' revisionists and Trotskyites have unsuccessfully attempted to belittle the importance of the Leninist-type Party, but their subterfuges and pseudo-theoretical concoctions do not stand up to Marxist-Leninist criticism, and are refuted by life. The class struggle has shown that failure to appreciate the Communist Party's role in the leadership of revolutionary battles leads to grave defeats. And in socialist society, too, whenever the leading role of the Marxist-Leninist Party was undermined the consequences have been very serious.

In defining the ways and means of enhancing the Party's leading role, Lenin stressed the need to master the laws of class struggle and the scientific principles of social government. He taught that 'politics is a science and an art that does not fall from the skies or come gratis, and that, if it wants to overcome the bourgeoisie, the proletariat must train its own proletarian "class politicians," of a kind in no way inferior to bourgeois politicians' (Vol. 31, p. 80).

An essential prerequisite of success, Lenin pointed out, is the Party's ability to combine the general and the particular, the international and the national. 'In this question too, as always, the task consists in learning to apply the general and basic principles of communism to the *specific relations* between classes and parties, to the *specific features* in the objective development towards communism, which are different in each country and which we must be able to discover, study and predict' (Ibid., p. 89). It is essential, he pointed out, to give the very highest priority to the general tasks of world revolutionary development and the defense and consolidation of socialist gains.

Consistent adherence to these tenets, the cornerstone of proletarian internationalism in present-day conditions, has contributed to the outstanding victories of the international communist army; conversely, every manifestation of nationalism has inevitably harm-

ed individual parties and countries and the Communist movement as a whole.

At the 1969 meeting of Communist and Workers' parties many speakers noted that the unity of the international Communist movement and the socialist world system was threatened by both Right-wing revisionist and Left-wing sectarian and extremist views. Both weaken the international cohesion of the proletariat and the socialist world system in the face of the imperialist enemy. The greatest danger to the international Communist movement, world socialism and the cohesion of all anti-imperialist forces is the great-power chauvinism and policy of the present Chinese leadership.

Lenin attached tremendous importance to the study and analysis of the experience of class struggle in elaborating the Communist movement's strategy and tactics, and he never lost an opportunity to discuss these questions with theoreticians and leaders from other fraternal parties. On the basis of a comprehensive analysis of the latest experience Lenin arrived at the great conclusions which determined the content, strategic orientation and tactical principles of Communist Party work for many years after. All of Lenin's basic propositions and conclusions have stood the test of time and, enriched by more than half a century's experience in the development of the world revolutionary process, they have retained their significance and viability in present-day conditions.

Lenin showed that the Communist movement's basic strategic task is to ensure the victory of socialism on an international scale, and he elaborated theoretically the possible ways of achieving this. More than anyone else, he understood that revolutions cannot be exported, that they mature in accordance with the laws of social development and that the coexistence of countries with different social systems is an objective necessity. He regarded peaceful coexistence as a specific form of proletarian class struggle on the international scene.

Lenin's strategic conception of merging the struggle for democracy with the struggle for socialism and uniting all working people under this slogan, with the leading role assigned to the proletariat, is of fundamental theoretical importance and has been accepted by all Communist parties. The policy of a united worker and popular front is now of primary tactical importance. 'The purpose and sense of the tactics of the united front,' Lenin wrote, 'consist in drawing more and more masses of the workers into the struggle against capital, even if it means making repeated offers to the leaders of the 2nd and 2½ Internationals to wage this struggle together' (Vol. 42, p. 411).

The idea of merging the struggle for democracy with the struggle for socialism lay at the root of the anti-fascist struggle, it played a constructive part in all accomplished revolutions, and it permeates latter-day concepts of a broad anti-monopoly front.

Lenin's teaching of the Party as the highest form of socio-political organization of the working class, of its leading role in social change, and the ideological, theoretical, political and organizational

principles of its work is being creatively advanced by Marxist parties and the international Communist movement.

It was significantly enriched by the international meetings of Communist and Workers' parties held in 1957, 1960 and 1969. The Document adopted by the 1969 meeting emphasizes that 'loyalty to Marxism-Leninism and to proletarian internationalism, and dedicated and devoted service in the interests of their peoples and the common cause of socialism are a requisite for the efficacy and correct orientation of united action by the Communist and Workers' parties, a guarantee that they will achieve their historic goals.'

Its loyalty to the ideas of Lenin has made the Communist movement the most influential and organized political force of our time.

The CPSU, whose historic struggle and revolutionary ascent date back to the Second Congress of the RSDLP, and which continues to head the Soviet people along the road to communism, reverently cherishes, develops and enriches Lenin's immortal ideological and theoretical heritage and the Bolshevik traditions.

Today our Party is concentrating the people's efforts on carrying out the decisions of its 24th Congress, which had a tremendous impact on the Party's life and enhanced its role as political leader of the people. The Congress decisions which continue Lenin's ideas on Party organization, have greatly strengthened the Party, inner-Party democracy, the Party's links with the masses, Marxist-Leninist education of its members and have promoted greater discipline, political consciousness, activity and responsibility for the Party's cause.

The 24th CPSU Congress gave a scientific analysis of the present stage in the confrontation of socialism and capitalism, and this is of tremendous importance to the struggle of all revolutionary forces of our time. When we Soviet Communists hear representatives of brother parties speak highly of the CPSU's theoretical and practical contributions to the advance of the world revolutionary process, this is a source of new creative energy for us. We shall steadfastly continue to do our internationalist duty to the world workers' and Communist movement.

The dialectics of progress

RESEARCH GROUP EXAMINES RESULTS OF DISCUSSION OF CONTRADICTIONS IN SOCIALIST SOCIETY

Among the problems facing Marxism-Leninism with the birth and development of socialism a conspicuous place belongs to the study and elaboration of the dialectics of the new society, of its inherent contradictions. A theoretical discussion was held on this subject in

this journal, opening with an article by **G. Glezerman** (USSR), and to which contributions were received from **Ts. Namsarai** (Mongolia), **A. Wirth** (Hungary), **V. Ledenev** (USSR), **W. Eichhorn** and **G. Stieler** (GDR), and **N. Trendafilov** (Bulgaria).^{*} The articles, which aroused a lively interest among our readers, showed both a similarity and a certain dissimilarity in views on the character and role, classification, and ways of solving contradictions in socialist society.

A research group was formed to examine these problems, consisting of **W. Wesolowski**, Professor of Warsaw University; **G. Glezerman**, Professor and Prorector of the Academy of Social Sciences of the CC CPSU; **B. Zaharescu**, Corresponding Member of Rumanian Academy of Science, Professor of Bucharest University, Member of the CC RCP and its representative on WMR; **L. Nagy**, docent, and representative of the HSWP on WMR.*

The group concentrated on problems which it regarded to be of greater scientific and practical interest. It lays no claim to having found the answers to all issues or to an exhaustive examination.

INTRINSIC FEATURE OF SOCIALISM

The new society's sources of development, origin and classification of contradictions

The authors of the discussion articles called for a concrete historical and realistic approach to contradictions inherent in the socialist social system. This approach destroys the idealized, abstract utopian notions about socialism as a 'realm of harmony' and determines socialism's real advantages over capitalism. These advantages take material shape, among other things, both in the nature and in the methods of solving its intrinsic contradictions. The development of the scientific and technological revolution, for example, give rise to contradictions even under socialism; they arise in connection with the re-training and distribution of manpower, the relation between society and the natural environment, between different sectors of production, spheres of social life, and the like. But by nature they differ from the contradictions triggered by the scientific and technological revolution under the exploiting system: they do not make inevitable either the class collisions or the other deep-going conflicts observed in the capitalist world.

'The Marxist view of contradictions under socialism,' **W. Wesolowski** said, 'has undergone a certain evolution, ending the once widespread notion that they are an alien feature. Nowadays, they are seen as intrinsic and natural. As I see it we are advancing from somewhat abstract definitions to an ever more concrete analysis. While recognizing that contradictions are natural for socialism, because they are a source of development, we should remember that they must be promptly discovered and eliminated. We should not regard them fatalistically, and should take an active approach to them.'

^{*}See WMR, No. 3, and No. 11, 1972; No. 2 and No. 3, 1973.

'The postulate of Marxist-Leninist dialectics that development is impossible without contradictions,' B. Zaharescu said, 'also applies to socialism. Otherwise we would have to say, paraphrasing Marx, that until now history existed, but now no longer exists. The need for a continuous analysis of contradictions is obvious, and making an analysis today does not relieve us of the duty of examining those that may arise tomorrow. The elaboration of general theoretical conceptions implies study of the concrete contradictions reflecting the specific development of this or that country, the distinctive historical conditions in which socialism is built in each of them.'

Under socialism, Wesolowski said, the mechanics of the stimulating influence of contradictions on social development differs from that of other formations. Take the law of the revolutionizing role of the productive forces on production relations. It is also valid in socialist society, but operates differently.

Under capitalism the interaction of the productive forces and relations of production has definite 'phases': the latter act at first as a 'lever' in relation to the former, but subsequently become a brake on progress. The socialist relations of production, on the other hand, based as they are on public ownership of the means of production, are a permanently active factor of progress in the development of the productive forces, though some aspects of the production relations may at certain times be in contradiction to the requirements of this development. The forms in which production is organized, their management, for example, may become outdated.

The question of classifying contradictions raised in the discussion, the research group noted, is of more than mere academic interest. It has a bearing on practice, and helps reveal the sources and nature of contradictions in socialist society.

G. Glezerman pointed to three aspects underlying the appearance of contradictions.

First, the relationship between contradictions inherited from the preceding system and those created by the development of socialism. Inherited contradictions, he said, should not be treated as 'alien' or 'accidental.' Eliminating them is an important function and historical objective of socialism as the first phase of the communist formation.

The concrete historical conditions in which socialism is built may alter the content of inherited contradictions and their impact on social life. As Ts. Namsarai pointed out in the discussion, inherited contradictions in the Mongolian People's Republic differed in many ways from those passed on from capitalism in the European socialist countries.

The contradictions that spring from the socialist system are an organic feature; apart from the imprint it inherits from the past, the new society is also building the future, building communism. Examining these two groups of contradictions in the context of the collision between, and the relation of, the old and the new, we may speak of a struggle between the old and the new, but also

between the new and the obsolescent. In the latter case, this implies things born of socialism itself. On the other hand, the struggle of the old and the new connotes not only a negation of outdated things, but also the preservation and use of certain forms and relationships which socialism inherits and changes.

Second, there are two groups of external contradictions stemming from the historical conditions in which socialism exists and develops, but fundamentally different in character: on the one hand, the antagonistic contradictions between the socialist and capitalist worlds, which cumulatively express the central contradiction of our epoch and whose solution leads in the long term to the triumph of the socialist system on a world scale, and on the other, the non-antagonistic contradictions between the socialist countries, external in the case of each country but internal for the socialist system, which are resolved by the consolidation and development of friendly cooperation and mutual assistance among the fraternal countries and the internationalization of the social and economic life of the socialist community.

The internal and external contradictions always interact, A. Wirth's article noted rightly that the antagonisms dividing socialism and capitalism may have an effect on the internal contradictions of the socialist countries and their mutual relations.

Third, the relation of the objective to the subjective in the emergence of contradictions.

The discussion showed the fallacy of the contention that contradictions are always or mainly generated by the action of subjective factors. True, some mistakes may create contradictions, sometimes quite serious ones, but by and large the contradictions of socialism have an objective origin, that is, are not accidental and express a natural necessity.

The contradictions arising from subjective mistakes also have their roots in the objective reality. Mostly, they are connected with real tendencies that have grown to exaggerated proportions. Take the relation between centralized planning and the economic independence of enterprises, between material and moral incentives or between centralism and democratism. These are all opposites, and the relation between them may change, depending on the situation. Failure to find the proper proportions for the various elements of this dialectical unity is a source of contradictions arising from subjectivist mistakes.

The substance of contradictions, L. Nagy said, depends on the concrete state of the society.

'In Hungary, for example,' he said, 'the 10th Congress of the HSWP noted that even after the foundations of socialism had been laid remnants of the past were still in evidence in the lives of people, the spiritual domain, and partly in the economy. The main thing is, however, that socialism has triumphed in the economy and that sprouts of the future, of communism, have appeared. Yet the country does not develop in a vacuum. It is affected by contradictions relating to the struggle of the two world systems. I agree

that contradictions should be classified by two criteria (i.e., whether they stem from survivals of the past or from the building of socialism), but I also join Wirth in stressing that neither type of contradiction operates in pure form and that they are interlaced and interactive.

'Concerning the relation between the subjective and objective sources of contradictions, I should like to refer to the article by Eichhorn and Stieler, which said that contradictions resulting from subjectivist mistakes, "like all the contradictions of socialism, are in substance objective, that is, represent a reality which society cannot ignore." I cannot agree. It is quite true that whatever the origin of a contradiction, one must face up to it once it exists. In this sense, it is real enough, but we should not regard all contradictions of socialism as objective. Mistakes in management and planning, for example, to which Eichhorn and Stieler refer, are not necessarily committed because we follow an unexplored path. They may also be the result of voluntarism, of a refusal to consider objective reality. This we should bear in mind, because it shows the cardinal importance of scientific leadership.'

Situations of conflict

Antagonisms and contradictions. The nature of contradictions does not necessarily determine their form of operation.

'Antagonisms and contradictions,' Lenin said, 'are by no means one and the same thing. Under socialism the former will disappear, while the latter remain.'* This was one of the fundamental guidelines in the discussion.

Though it was clear that contradictions should not be confused with antagonisms, it was far less simple to determine how external antagonisms influence the non-antagonistic internal contradictions of socialism or define the nature of the conflicts in some of the countries during their socialist development.

It is a salient feature of socialism that it resolves contradictions without social conflict. The objective basis for this, all participants in the discussion agreed, is the social unity of society, the identity of the vital interests of its classes, groups and individuals. In socialist society there are no irreconcilable conflicts between the productive forces and the relations of production; it is a society of friendly classes and social strata.

However, it would be wrong to think that the absence of social conflicts – this most important advantage of socialism – is achieved automatically, regardless of the operation of the subjective factors of social development. It requires a correct Marxist-Leninist policy free from subjectivist mistakes violating the objective laws of the development of socialism.

'Some participants in our discussion,' Zaharescu said, 'argued that antagonistic contradictions are impossible after the disappear-

Leninsky sbornik XI (in Russian), p. 357.

ance of antagonistic classes. Others say, on the other hand, that social conflicts can arise if contradictions are dealt with belatedly or are due to erroneous social and political measures. They do not put their case clearly, however, and it is hard to say whether they identify such conflicts with manifestations of antagonisms.

'Upon analyzing conflicts that occurred after the transition from capitalism to socialism was essentially completed, the Communist parties in the countries concerned traced them to grave errors of leadership, which overlooked the appearance of real contradictions or tackled them belatedly. Though non-antagonistic by nature, contradictions of socialism may in such cases, as I see it, assume an antagonistic character, offering hostile external forces an opportunity for intervening. Our every error is a priceless gift for the class enemy: he does everything he can to aggravate a conflict arising in a socialist country and strikes thereby at socialism as a whole.

'All the same, it is important to stress not only the non-antagonistic nature of contradictions under socialism, but also the fact that the socialist system has all the objective and subjective resources for settling these contradictions by non-antagonistic means.'

'To my mind,' Nagy said, 'non-antagonistic contradictions may in some cases become antagonistic, and vice versa. Take Hungary's political development, for which the 1956 events were certainly not natural. Our Party traced their causes to four factors (two of which were unquestionably subjective). First, mistakes of the former Party leadership; second, the revisionist activity of the Imre Nagy group, which disrupted the Party from within; third, the counter-revolutionary activity of the remnants of the exploiting classes; and, fourth, outside interference by imperialism. Cumulatively, it was these causes, and principally the fact that the leadership misjudged the contradictions, that brought about the counter-revolutionary explosion. On the other hand, if the Party deals correctly with contradictions of an antagonistic character, non-antagonistic forms may be found for solving them. Take the possible ways and means of reorganizing agriculture along socialist lines. The contradictions between kulaks and working peasants, between kulaks and their laborers, are unquestionably antagonistic. In the Soviet Union, the kulaks were eliminated as a class through total collectivization. The solution of this antagonistic contradiction was also antagonistic, due to the fact that the Soviet Union was then the only socialist country, and that the kulaks operated as an active anti-socialist force. In our country, on the other hand, total collectivization of agriculture dates to 1959-1961, when the socialist world system already existed and the forces of internal counter-revolution had been smashed. As a result, the revolutionary solution of the contradictions between the kulaks and poor peasants, between the kulaks and socialism, could be non-antagonistic.

'It seems to me, that these two examples show that an intermutation of contradictions, or at least different forms of solving them, is possible, depending on the circumstances.'

'Some of the ideas presented here need to be clarified,' Glezerman said. 'It is probably wrong in principle to deny that non-antagonistic contradictions can become antagonistic, and vice versa. There have been examples in history. But speaking of conditions in which society follows the laws of socialist development, I cannot agree that mistakes of a subjective character can alter the nature of contradictions. I would rather say that contradictions not antagonistic by nature may be aggravated by serious mistakes to the point of a social conflict. And there are facts to support that view—facts showing that a wrong, anti-Marxist policy can jeopardize the people's socialist gains.'

'I fully agree with Comrade Nagy that, given a correct policy, it is possible to find non-antagonistic forms of settling antagonistic contradictions. Past history shows, however, that this depends not only on correct policy, but also on objective conditions, principally the relation of class forces. Consequently, it is not always possible. To overcome class antagonisms is a historical process in the period of transition from capitalism to socialism. As long as exploiting classes have not been completely eliminated, antagonistic contradictions remain in society alongside the non-antagonistic. Building the foundations of socialism means eliminating the basic class antagonisms and settling the question of who gains the upper hand in socialism's favor. Yet remnants of the defeated classes may continue to exist for some time yet, and may make their existence felt.'

Following this exchange of opinion, the research group came to the general conclusion that *the nature of contradictions does not always coincide with the form in which they operate*. If socialist society were to change its nature (as anti-Communists and various renegades harping on the 'degeneration' of socialism, on the appearance of a 'new class,' would have us believe), the character of its contradictions would also change. But since this is not the case, we may speak only of antagonistic forms in which the contradictions operate. The *forms* and *ways* of solving contradictions may change, depending on the objective conditions and the degree to which the subjective factor conforms with them. The *nature* of contradictions, their *character* (antagonistic or non-antagonistic), however, depends entirely on the nature and class relations of society.

The analysis must be concrete

Determining the contradictions. Over-all and differentiated approaches.

The Marxist-Leninist theory of social development rejects methods based on a speculative search for universal formulas and abstract schemes. The research group agreed with A. Wirth that this kind of search may overshadow the analysis of concrete contradictions, as a result of which conclusions obtained by purely deductive means will be imposed on socialist practice.'

The group noted that participants in the discussion differed on the issue of the fundamental contradiction of socialism. Some con-

tributors held that no contradiction of socialist society could be classed as the fundamental one underlying all other contradictions. They believed it would be more correct to speak of the main contradiction, or even contradictions, of this or that stage in history: Others had no doubt about the existence of a fundamental contradiction running through socialist development. Most of those who held this view saw an inherent connection between this contradiction and the fundamental economic law of socialism. In other words, they regarded it as a contradiction between the level of the productive forces and steadily growing requirements.

Members of the research group offered a number of remarks on this point.

G. Glezerman. The fundamental economic law of socialism subordinates production growth to the need to meet society's increasing requirements. Lenin defined the object of socialist production as 'ensuring full well-being and free, all-round development for all the members of society' (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 6, p. 54). The operation of this law, like that of any other law, involves contradictions, in this case between production goals and the possibilities of attaining them. However, all manifestations of these contradictions and the ways of resolving them should be viewed in the light of history. They are not the same during the transition from capitalism, at the stage of laying the foundations of socialism and in developed socialist society.

Contradictions between objectives and possibilities do arise, and are resolved, but it would be wrong to think production is doomed to lag forever behind requirements. Indeed, if this were so it would not be clear why requirements grow. Actually requirements arise on the basis of production and due to it, in step with changing social conditions.

Besides, assuming that consumption will always be ahead of production and that, consequently, there is a permanent imbalance between them, what about the fundamental principle of communism which presupposes complete satisfaction of the reasonable requirements of every member of society? To be sure, there will always be new needs. But the fundamental law of socialism and communism demands precisely that production, its objectives, quantity and quality and the range of products should always be in keeping with people's requirements.

'I share G. Glezerman's view,' said L. Nagy, 'and wish to add that the contradiction between production and consumption is often conceived undialectically. Its various aspects are considered in isolation from one another. This approach is unhelpful in establishing the fact that the historic cause of new requirements is progress in production.'

The exchange led the group to the conclusion that the more theoretical thought concentrates on analyzing specific contradictions which come out under socialism as an existing system, the more fruitful its results. The definition of a number of contradictions of precisely this nature also received attention during the

discussion. N. Trendafilov showed that progress in building socialism in Bulgaria has greatly increased the contradiction between an advanced economy and the development of social and political activity, science and education, on one hand, and obsolescent forms and methods of social management, on the other, and has made it the main contradiction at this stage.

'It is necessary,' B. Zaharescu stressed, 'to study life and to see it as it really is in the socialist countries today. A contradiction develops constantly under socialism, as it has done under earlier formations, between the fast-growing productive forces and production relations. We are in the presence of big changes in the productive forces due to the scientific and technological revolution. Science has become a new productive force. The working class, which plays a key role in production and in social life generally, is growing in strength and changing in composition. Quantitative and qualitative changes in the productive forces bring about changes in production relations.

'Socialism at this juncture is faced with the problem of improving industrial planning and management, and economic management in general. It is a question of improving centralized management while allowing adequate scope for initiative at lower levels. Each party does this according to national conditions. But in every instance the task is one of changing relations between people engaged in production in one way or another. This is also the purpose of measures to improve forms of distribution according to work. Does this mean we have been using unsuitable forms? Not at all. They simply no longer meet the standards achieved by industrialization, mechanization and automation, by scientific progress.

'All this adds up to a process of bringing production relations in line with the productive forces. This progressive effort is organized and led by the Party, with the result that contradictions which arise are not resolved automatically but through scientifically sound measures taken by the Party as the leading force of society.'

'Marxist analysis of social life,' said W. Wesolowski, 'implies both ascertaining the diversity of contradictions and a comprehensive integrated approach to them. Lenin repeatedly warned against one-sidedness in studying society and its evolution. As socialist development goes on contradictions arise both between the productive forces and production relations, as well as between basis and superstructure. Among them are contradictions stemming from differences in the place and interests of social groups (work teams, social strata, classes), industries and geographic areas. Shouldn't we make a deeper and more accurate examination of the interconnections of this set of contradictions? I think such an analysis would contribute to theory and assist practice.

'And this prompts me to raise a question. While the key interests of the various groups of socialist society coincide there develop mutual relations which have nothing to do with antagonisms and yet are not devoid of a certain contradictoriness due to

differences in the relationship to the means of production, the distribution of material benefits or the social division of labor. We must not forget that social groups are real communities interested in the right solution of contradictions between the two aspects of production and are themselves real forces involved in eliminating imbalances.'

'I think the problems raised by B. Zaharescu and W. Wesolowski are very important from the standpoint of both theory and political practice,' said L. Nagy. 'The problem of relations between classes and social groups is particularly relevant in those countries where socialist power is the result of a people's democratic revolution. Why? The primary reason for this is the historical evolution of the national liberation front, which in the case of, say, Hungary, took the form of a front against fascism and involved a section of the bourgeoisie. As socialist changes were effected the class composition of the front changed. At present it is an alliance of the working people expressive of the people's social unity and the common stake of every population group in the complete building of socialism. This is not to say we have completed the process of erasing substantial distinctions between social classes and groups, or the process of eliminating certain contradictions between them, such as those that develop over the distribution of the national income or over the price ratio between manufactured and agricultural products.'

On this problem, the research group expressed the view that progress in relations between social groups is ensured in decisive measure by the growing role of the working class, which expresses the interests of society more fully than any other class. An important aspect of this progress is that the workers' growing proficiency, general culture and political activity help to efface the distinctions between physical and mental labor.

The actual contradictions of socialism, the group stressed, cannot be entirely identical in all socialist countries in either content or form, if only because these countries are at different stages of socialist development. At the same time the community of socialist countries is faced with many common problems. This is why the call for specific analysis in no way detracts from the usefulness and importance of the international sharing of experiences.

Knowledge and action

The Party's role in detecting and resolving contradictions.
The imperative: scientific leadership.

Socialism, group members pointed out, ends the spontaneous rise and development of contradictions typical of bourgeois society. It enables us consciously to direct and regulate the social process. In doing this, we link scientific knowledge with revolutionary action.

This unity of knowledge and action is ensured by the leading force of socialist society, the Marxist-Leninist party. The prompt detection of contradictions and the choice of effective ways of

dealing with them depend on how correctly the party shapes its policy. 'Practice has shown,' the 1969 Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties pointed out, 'that socialist transformations and the building of the new society are a long and complex process, and that the utilization of the tremendous possibilities opened up by the new system depends on the Communist parties in the leadership of the state, on their ability to resolve the problems of socialist development the Marxist-Leninist way.'

'By building a developed socialist society, we come nearer to the leap from the kingdom of necessity into the kingdom of freedom,' said B. Zaharescu. 'The subjective factor, therefore, obviously gains in importance. To resolve contradictions engendered *objectively* by social development, primarily by the growth of the productive forces, we must adopt appropriate measures embodying the operation of *subjective* factors: the party and the socialist state. Production relations in our society do not change of themselves. They can only be a result of conscious activity by the Communist party, the leading force of every socialist country.'

Marxism-Leninism, the group noted, equips the political leadership of socialist countries with a genuinely scientific theory enabling it to detect social contradictions and reveal their nature. The party's leading role in cognizing the dialectics of socialist development is determined by the fact that it consistently applies Marxist-Leninist teachings and methodology in analyzing the totality and interconnections of specific social phenomena.

Performance of this function is fostered by improving party work among the masses, encouraging inner-party democracy, criticism and self-criticism, and exploring public opinion by diverse methods. In this way the party gains concrete knowledge coming from practice and backed by theoretical analysis. Socialist countries do much to make this effort in the field of information and theoretical knowledge more fruitful.

Under socialism, the rise and development of contradictions and their cognition and solution are interconnected processes having dynamics of their own.

W. Wesolowski said that the socialist system provides objective and subjective conditions for *quickly* resolving contradictions. These conditions are, on the one hand, the absence of classes interested in preserving obsolescent forms of social being, and on the other, active encouragement of progress through methodical activity based on a scientific knowledge of the objective laws of history.

'However,' G. Glezerman said, 'attempts are occasionally made to hasten the solution of contradictions although objective prerequisites are still lacking. Sometimes the solution of contradictions becomes overdue. In other words, disregard of the necessary harmony between the dynamics of the development of contradictions, on one hand, and their cognition and solution, on the other, is pregnant with such phenomena as voluntarism or conservatism. This shows how great the party's role is in diagnosing phenomena in time and translating the findings of theoretical analysis into scientifically sound actions.'

Contradictions differ in terms of the possibility of resolving them, the research group noted. Some run through the whole process of socialist development and can be overcome only with the transition to the higher stage of the communist formation. Others are resolved, either partially or completely, at earlier stages. But under all circumstances, definite material and spiritual prerequisites must be created by the work and struggle of the masses under the party's leadership.

W. Wesolowski called attention to the importance of early detection of contradictions. In his opinion, this problem makes itself felt due to, say, the growing proficiency and rising ideological and cultural standards of the working class against the background of the technological revolution and new demands on socialist society in regard to economic efficiency. A contradiction develops between the rising role of the working class in production and in society and, say, earlier forms of economic and social management. Delay in cognizing and resolving this contradiction is fraught with the possibility of forfeiting some of the potential social activity of the working class. This means that the problems solved by the party in revising outdated management forms and methods are not merely organizational or administrative but, first and foremost, social and political.

'The activity and initiative of the working class and the masses generally,' G. Glezerman said, 'depend largely on how their interests are perceived and taken into account. Contributors to the discussion repeatedly stressed that the purpose of party policy is to ensure proper harmony between the interests of diverse social groups and various elements of the social structure of socialism. Experience has shown that real and sometimes very complicated problems arise here and that they cannot be dismissed by merely reaffirming the thesis of the unity of socialist society which, though correct, must not be absolutized.

'In the economic sphere, for example, sustained and meaningful effort is needed to harmonize current tasks with long-range ones, and the interests of the economy as a whole with those of various industries, enterprises or groups of enterprises and economic areas. W. Wesolowski has already commented on the problem of social relations. In a multinational country, party policy is aimed at eliminating all inequality between peoples and at encouraging closer links between them.

'Harmonizing the interests of all social groups, nations and peoples of socialist society may be described as a threefold problem. There is, first of all, the need to *coordinate* these interests by ruling out any counterposing of the interests of some groups (nations, peoples) to those of other groups. There is, secondly, the question of their *integration*, or of merging diverse interests in one stream. Lastly, a certain *subordination* is needed in some cases when the task is, for example, to harmonize national and group, international and national interests. These are not merely "academic shadings." The party, which leads socialist society, takes into consideration all the aspects of these problems.'

The research group pointed out that the parties leading socialist society also perform the important function of cognizing and resolving social contradictions by raising the standard of ideological work. The contradictions of life are inevitably reflected in one way or another in the consciousness of different segments of the people. The party's ideological activity is intended to ensure that the views which take shape in the process are genuinely expressive of a socialist mentality.

Socialist consciousness is asserted by overcoming contradictions between progressive and backward views, between scientific concepts and traditional notions of life. The party resolves these contradictions through ideological education and by promoting the whole of socialist culture. At the same time it combats survivals and influences of class ideologies hostile to socialism.

An essential part of the party's ideological and theoretical work and a requisite of success is to cognize and reveal the contradictions of socialist society. To lead society along scientific lines, it is essential to have both a deep knowledge of social phenomena and a clear idea of the prospects opened up by the laws of socialist development. Realistic consideration of the contradictions of socialism makes economic forecasts and long-term planning, which today receive much attention in various socialist countries and throughout the socialist community, a dependable guide to action.

Building socialism and communism is an intricate dialectical process. The contradictions that develop are resolved by strengthening the material and technical basis of the new society, perfecting social relations and expanding socialist democracy through creative effort backed by scientific knowledge.

'Ethical' socialism and Marxist-Leninist ethics

J. Borgosz, M. Michalik
Polish Philosophers

CONTINUING OUR SERIES 'NON-MARXIST SOCIALISM TODAY'

The fact that moral issues and ethical values are ever more prominently involved in the present-day ideological struggle is a symptom that it is expanding and growing more complex. Our opponents are intensifying their attacks on Marxist-Leninist theory, on the existing socialism, from the abstract ethical and humanitarian angle. Some contend that Marxism has no ethical ideals or moral program. Others, on the contrary, emasculate Marxism's revolutionary ma-

terialistic content and reduce it to an idealistic abstract moral lecture. In both cases, extensive use is made of the theoretical ammunition of 'ethical' socialism.

'Ethical' socialism is not a novel trend. Marxism has had to contend with it throughout its history. The methods of analyzing 'ethico-socialist' doctrines, first advanced by Marx and Engels in the polemics against 'true' socialism in the Manifesto of the Communist Party, were elaborated further by Lenin in his criticism of the 'ethical' socialism of the late 19th and early 20th centuries, which revised Marx's teaching in the spirit of neo-Kantian ethico-philosophical postulates.

The present-day 'ethical' socialism is not an independent school or a consummate system of views that stand apart from other non-Marxist socialist theories. On the contrary, as this journal pointed out,* in many of them the 'ethical pillars' of socialism are quite conspicuous.

'Ethical' socialism, as we know, has been an important philosophical base of the ideology of Right Social-Democrats. What is relatively novel and as yet insufficiently explored, and that we intend to discuss here, is the 'ethico-socialist' trend in the present-day Left-radical outlook, which is, among other things, a specific form of the contradictory petty-bourgeois protest against the facts of capitalism and which has a definite influence on the non-proletarian masses, principally the intelligentsia and students.

What is behind the peculiar 'proliferation' in capitalist countries of various theories with distinct elements of 'ethical' socialism? Let us look at some of them, stemming mainly from the social consequences of the scientific-technical revolution, which has greatly sharpened the crisis of the bourgeois system of values and discredited the so-called consumer model of the individual. This has given impulse to many non-conformist slogans of the Western student 'rebels,' and has impelled liberal and petty-bourgeois ideologues to produce some kind of alternative to the present 'sick' society.

Petty-bourgeois theorists contend that the rapid expansion of the intelligentsia, primarily of technicians, has 'depressed' the political role of the proletariat, the main bearer of Marxist socialism, and created a 'new working class,' which includes the scientist, engineer, student, etc. It is these latter who are portrayed as the makers of the new, 'ethical' form of socialism. A new form of power, styled by many as 'educational dictatorship'** opposed equally to monopoly capital and to the proletarian state, is alleged to be arising in the process of the social movement of this new 'class.'

Some petty-bourgeois ideologists argue that scientific-technical progress in developed capitalist countries has solved the 'material' problem, forging conditions for man's material existence without

*Inter alia, see S. Angelov, 'Ideological Origins of "Humane" Socialism,' WMR, No. 5, 1972.

**See H. Marcuse, *One-Dimensional Man*. Beacon press, Boston 1968. p. 40.

altering the property relationships, and implying thereby that the objectives of a 'genuine' socialist revolution have shifted completely to the spiritual, moral, and social-psychological area.

They maintain further in the spirit of the 'post-industrial civilization' and convergence theories that, like capitalism, the existing socialism is changing into an ordinary 'consumer society.' Hence the search for a 'third' way identified as 'humanizing' or 'ethicizing' of socialism.

In this article, a criticism of present-day 'ethical socialist' concepts, we shall touch on the views of the older generation of exponents of the 'critical theory,' and particularly those of Theodor Adorno of the Frankfurt-on-Main Social Research Institute, and Herbert Marcuse, who, as we know, has a fairly large ideological following among the New Left.

Adorno's sociological views center on peculiarly conceived 'autonomous'* socialist ethics that disregard the nature of production and the social-political relationships. Abolition of private property, economic development, and the drive to overtake the labor productivity of developed capitalist countries, he maintains, is a false approach, which strips the socialist revolution of its ethical substance, turning it into a variety of 'post-capitalism.' Expanding productive forces and the rising living standard, Adorno claims, create new and ever more refined material values that turn man into a slave of purely economic demands. The activity of individuals and of society becomes instrumental in character, subordinated to the needs of the omnipotent economy, which, however, cannot yield and, what is more, denies, 'reasonable human happiness.' To be truly socialist, he says, a revolution must sweep out everything even faintly reminiscent of the narrow and vulgar *Homo faber* (man-the-producer) economism. For Adorno the main thing is to alter the social consciousness, eliminate the old demands, deep-rooted in the human psyche, and to mould new ones, oriented exclusively on spiritual values. Not until then, he holds, will socialism discover its advantages and become truly anthropocentric.

In a broader context, these views dovetail with the 'critical theory' on the philosophical plane, claiming to have eliminated positivist tendencies alleged to be present in the current Marxist-Leninist political economy and sociology through a 'return' to the ethical philosophy of the 'young Marx.' These tendencies, Adorno alleges, strip Marxist materialism of humanistic content, reduce it to a mechanistic or economic materialism, with the germ of the consumer mentality spreading ever more widely in socialist society.

What is the substance of Adorno's peculiar 'socialism' and 'autonomous' ethics? To this he supplies no positive answer. He cannot, because he bases his disquisitions not on a concrete social formation, but on an abstractly conceived 'industrial civilization,' by which he signifies both capitalism and socialism. Identifying

*See Th. W. Adorno, *Negative Dialektik*. Frankfurt a.M., 1966.

these two opposite systems, Adorno is unable to suggest a scientific explanation either to the past or the present. His criticism centers not only on the anti-humane phenomena of capitalism that deserve to be criticized—imperialist wars, fascism, colonialism, frenzied arming, militarization of science, predatory use of natural resources, and the like—but also negates the progressive and historically deeply rooted social, cultural and moral values of the real socialism. In a way, Adorno 'totally' renounces the entire material and spiritual culture of the past, yet inexplicably spares private capitalist ownership of the means of production, the most profound cause of the moral and social evil against which, it would seem, he draws his sword.

Ignoring the Marxist-Leninist theory of classes and class struggle and ignorant of the dialectical unity of revolutionary negation and historical continuity in social development, Adorno has produced no real alternative to capitalism. More, shortly before his death (1969), faced by the 'student rebellion' that tried to embody its negation of the 'consumer society' in practical action, he abandoned 'ethical' socialism and, in substance, took the side of the 'post-capitalism' that he had so vehemently criticized, saying that it was farthest from his mind to influence the world on any but the theoretical plane.*

Marcuse, too, endeavors to rise 'above' both capitalism and the existing socialism. His point of departure is the same notorious 'industrial civilization' that erases the essential differences between the two antagonistic modes of production; their moral values are equated under the impact of their common principle of raising 'the productivity of labor.' Marcuse campaigns for a worldwide 'aesthetic and erotical revolution.**' that would remould man's requirements along naturalist lines.

A new individual, *Homo novus*, Marcuse claims, will result—an individual with 'new' demands and entirely different in make-up from the present-day man of the 'industrial society.' Yet his definition of the 'new' requirements is negative, rather than positive; that is, it renounces all the requirements that sustain the existing social system and that stimulate the struggle for survival, the drive for higher labor productivity, the psychology of adaptation, etc.

In vain would we search for Marcuse's answer to what is the 'new' man. He only tells us what he is not.

And still more difficult is it for him to tell us how to turn into reality the proclaimed 'new' requirements. Asked by students in West Berlin, he said: '. . . If you want to develop the new revolutionary requirements, you must at first destroy the mechanisms sustaining the old requirements. But before you can destroy these mechanisms, the requirement should appear to do so. In short, we are in a vicious circle from which I see no escape.***' Briefly, Mar-

*See Th. W. Adorno, *Marginalien zu Theorie und Praxis*. Stichworte, Kritische Modelle, Frankfurt a.M., 1969.

**See H. Marcuse, *Das Ende der Utopie*. Berlin, 1967, pp. 9-12.

***Ibid., pp. 35-36.

cuse's ultra-Left theory of "ethical" anarchism that seeks to outdo the revolutionism of scientific socialism, is in an impasse, from which, indeed, there is no escape. The strongest blow was struck at this theory by the student movement of the late 60s, which showed that a revolutionary transformation of the old society is impossible without – let alone in spite of – the working class.

In line with Marcuse's ideas of fostering 'new' requirements is his demand for a new, reduced standard of living. The idea, he explains, is to forego comforts and live a simpler more measured and healthier life. Population growth, he declares, should be restricted and big cities rebuilt on an individual city planning basis so that every person would come in touch with only those whose presence pleases and gratifies.

He compares modern society with earlier phases of social development, which he idealizes, writing that the world of our predecessors 'was a backward, pre-technological world, a world with the good conscience of inequality and toil, in which labor was still a fated misfortune; but a world in which man and nature were not yet organized as things and instrumentalities. With its code of forms and manners, with the style and vocabulary of its literature and philosophy, this past culture expressed the rhythm and content of a universe in which valleys and forests, villages and inns, nobles and villains, salons and courts were a part of the experienced reality. In the verse and prose of this pre-technological culture is the rhythm of those who wander or ride in carriages, who have the time and the pleasure to think, contemplate, feel and narrate.'*

Apparent in his reasoning is a yearning for the Philistine life of the olden days, and it would hardly have been worth mentioning if not for its impact on the thinking of ideologically backward sections of the radical Left youth in the West. This influence is seen, among other things, in demands for doing away with the material and spiritual culture of the past, coupled with calls for a return to simpler forms of existence, to a kind of 'bicycle civilization.' In fact, students in Amsterdam tried for several days to put these ideas into practice by riding bicycles and thereby voicing their 'protest' against bourgeois civilization and its product, the automobile. The most vocal exponents of Marcuse's reduced standard of living even went on to arrange, to the horror of the burghers, a symbolic funeral of the automobile as incompatible with the principles of the new 'socialist morality.'

To be sure, as often as not the anarchistic youth slogans and actions have little in common with the theoretical propositions of Marcuse himself. Objectively, however, his philosophy undoubtedly 'inspires' them.

It is thus readily apparent that this brand of 'ethical' socialism is no more than a mystified reflection of the deepening proletarianization of large sections of the intelligentsia under capitalism, as well as of the worsening economic position of the urban petty bour-

*H. Marcuse, *One-Dimensional Man*, p. 59.

geoisie brought about by monopoly capital. This is the key to understanding many aspects of the ideas considered above and, in particular, of Marcuse's longing for the Philistine past.

This also places in the proper perspective the ideological-psychological causes for the spread of 'ethico-socialist' theories among democratic intellectuals and students groping for the road to scientific socialism. What attracts them in these petty-bourgeois, non-Marxist theories are the elements of moral condemnation of the degradation of present-day bourgeois society.

It is, of course, not enough merely to state these indubitable facts or refute the concrete propositions of the modern 'ethical' socialists and expose their class basis. To expose and overcome the ideas of 'ethical' socialism they must be compared with the Marxist-Leninist definition of moral ideals and values and their place and role in the social program of scientific communism.

The 'ethical' socialists seek to exploit the well-known fact that Marxism-Leninism, as a matter of principle, rejects the idea of constructing abstract socialist ideals or advocating socialism on the basis of moral principles alone, divorced from real-life natural and historical processes and the laws of development of the mode of production and the class struggle. This is not to say, of course, that Marxists deny or belittle the importance of moral or ethical ideals in the anti-capitalist struggle or their role as a tool in the critique of bourgeois society.

Socialist ideology includes criticism of bourgeois mores and attitudes. It is also a moral condemnation and negation of the old society. This is only natural. As it overcomes and destroys capitalism as a mode of production and way of life, the socialist revolution also rejects its morality, based as it is on exploitation, social injustice and the spiritual robbing of the individual, and asserts a socialist morality, which it regards as an essential element of the new society and its culture.

The scientific program of the socialist transformation of society is given adequate expression in socio-political and economic categories, for socialism is a system with public ownership of the means of production, a certain level of the productive forces, a corresponding socio-class structure, etc. But the Communist program does not restrict itself to the requirement of changing the material world of things surrounding man. Contrary to Adorno and Marcuse, socialism implies a profound change in man's subjective world and personality, in relations between people, in their values, mores and ideals. It implies, finally, a change in the relationship between man's inner, subjective world and his material environment.

Capitalism objectively promotes the consumerization of the personality and the subordination of its inner world to purely material, consumer values; the socialist ideal opposed to this is that of a new man, of man as a creator and master of things, whose free, all-round development is regarded as the main objective and fundamental value of the new system. It is to this that the changes

in the material world – industrialization, higher production, better material standards, etc. – are subordinated, although Communists certainly do not regard them as an end in itself. In other words, only scientific socialism makes possible the realization of man's loftiest moral and humanitarian ideals. It is totally alien to the Marxist scientific tradition to either ignore moral judgments of social phenomena and the role of lofty moral ideals, or to counterpose them to the working people's revolutionary class struggle, the main prerequisite of social liberation.

Ideals based on abstract, *a priori* principles come into contradiction with a scientific explanation of the world. This is the fundamental fault of the ethical views of Adorno and Marcuse. Ideals rooted in history, springing from knowledge of the real trends of social development and enriched by an understanding of the ways and means of their realization, are an essential component of the scientific, Marxist-Leninist theory of society.

Unscientific and barren are the 'ethical' socialists' attempts to represent the founders of scientific communism as men who denied the importance of moral and humanitarian motivations in the anti-capitalist struggle or the possibility and need to view socialism from the standpoint of its potential and real values. The methods remain the same: they declare Marx's 'early' work humanitarian, and his later work, notably *Das Kapital*, a retreat from humanism in favor of the ideas of class struggle and theory of social revolution. Engels' work is represented as containing no ideals and offering only a theoretical analysis of the historical and class character of morality. Finally, these would-be critics find no ethical problems at all in Lenin's works and even accuse him of rejecting the humanitarian ideals of Marx, of narrowing the perspectives of socialist revolution and reducing its objectives to bare politics, of Machiavellism, and so on, and so forth.

The claims have already been critically analyzed in considerable detail. In addition to their flagrant distortion of the very essence of the views of the classics of Marxism-Leninism, they reveal the old desire of the 'true' socialists, vanquished by Marx and Engels, to set themselves above the class struggle and 'objectively' champion 'not true requirements, but the requirements of Truth; not the interests of the proletariat, but the interests of Human Nature, of Man in general, who belongs to no class, has no reality, who exists only in the misty realm of philosophical fantasy' (*Manifesto of the Communist Party*.) The class essence of the efforts of the falsifiers of Marxism is obvious: they would deprive its ethical ideals of real force and influence by divorcing them from the materialist theory of society and the strategy of revolutionary struggle.

Communists attach tremendous importance to the advanced morality that promotes the struggle for the ultimate abolition of classes and class exploitation, for the creation of genuinely humane relations between men and peoples. 'To us,' Lenin stressed, 'morality

is subordinated to the interests of the proletariat's class struggle. . . . We say: morality is what serves to destroy the old exploiting society and to unite all the working people around the proletariat, which is building up a new, a communist society' (Vol. 31, pp. 292, 293).

A few words about the Marxist interpretation of the character of present-day technological progress and its impact on the development of the personality. Marxists do not deny that certain aspects of the scientific and technological revolution are common to capitalism and to socialism, inasmuch as they are associated with the laws of development of the productive forces as such. The fundamental social consequences of scientific and technological progress, however, differ, for they are determined by the relations of production and the social structure. The socialist scientific model of development ignores neither technological progress nor well-organized and efficient production of the material values that satisfy human needs. Scientific socialism, which appeared as the ideology of the exploited masses deprived of the means of existence, is not an ascetic ideology of poverty and self-sacrifice. But socialism rejects the model of progress in which material values acquire the character of autonomous, self-contained values, with man the consumer as a function of them.

It is not accidental that at every stage of the revolutionary struggle Communists have opposed the narrow economic approach to the proletariat's class objectives; more, in recent years their program demands have been giving more and more prominence to such problems as improving the qualitative aspects of life, reorganizing and perfecting the education system, etc.

Socialism overcomes the antagonism between technological progress and spiritual development. The improvement of the material conditions of life is associated with perfection of the personality, broadening of its interests, development of intellectual and cultural interests, responsiveness, etc. In this sense socialism frees man from the power of things. It makes him the master of social relations and, on the basis of highly developed material production, creates the conditions for elevating his spiritual and moral requirements and for the blossoming of all his creative forces and abilities.



Reality of the fascist menace

INTERNATIONAL MARXIST DISCUSSION

New Forms of the Fascist Menace, Intensified Reaction and Ways and Means of Combating Them – that was the subject of an international Marxist symposium organized by **Problems of Peace and Socialism** with the assistance of the German Communist Party and held in Essen, FRG. It was opened by **Philip Bart**, CC Member, CPUSA, and Chairman of the journal's commission on problems of the international democratic movement. The welcoming speech was made by **Kurt Bachmann**, Chairman of the GCP, and the main report was delivered by the journal's Editor-in-Chief **K. I. Zarodov**.

Representatives of Communist and Workers' parties from 21 capitalist countries – Austria, Argentina, Belgium, Brazil, Britain, Canada, Colombia, Denmark, Finland, FRG, Greece, Indonesia, Iraq, Ireland, Italy, Jordan, Philippines, Portugal, Spain, South Africa, USA – took part in the discussions, which were held in a comradely and business-like atmosphere.

Printed on this and the following pages are Comrade Bachmann's speech of welcome and K. I. Zarodov's report (both abridged). Other materials will appear in the next issue.

In greeting the symposium participants on behalf of the German Communist Party, Comrade **Bachmann** emphasized the political topicality of the problem and expressed the confidence that its discussion would stimulate deeper study and understanding of the tasks involved in combating reaction and fascism and working for peace, democratic progress and socialism. In the Federal Republic, where the banks and concerns play a decisive part, there is still ground for the war menace and aggressive policies. Rapid capital concentration not only puts the country's economic might in the hands of an ever tighter group of individuals, but is the basis for intensified political reaction and expansionist policies.

The more reactionary elements of big business, the Right nationalist and revanchist circles led by the CDU/CSU, are vehemently opposed to any steps towards a European détente. The CDU/CSU is more frankly acting as the party of the ultra-Right,

the party that speaks for all opponents of peace and détente. As for the Social-Democrat Party, its characteristic features are not only indecision, wavering and anti-communism. Its military program and its attitude towards NATO run counter to its official profession of peace with the socialist countries and détente. The Federal Republic now has its biggest military budget. More men are being called up on the excuse of reducing the military service term. The Bundeswehr has started higher military schools. New anti-democratic laws are being drafted. Communists and other consistent democrats are barred from the civil service. Chancellor Brandt's policy statement indicates that the Right Social-Democrat leaders are out to integrate the working class and other sections of the working people in the system of monopoly capitalism.

A turn towards peace and cooperation in Europe depends primarily on the working people, on intensifying their fight for peace and security. In the FRG peace remains a goal that has to be won in struggle. The GCP, the party of the working class, is also the party of consistent struggle for peace and against all forms of neo-fascism.

In the present situation, Comrade Bachmann said, imperialism remains a serious and dangerous foe. As L. I. Brezhnev pointed out at the 24th CPSU Congress, imperialism is the last, but also the most powerful of all the exploitive systems. Only the people's struggle, only their unremitting vigilance and increasingly active effort for peace and security, and the growing strength and unity of the socialist countries, can compel aggressive imperialism to retreat and accept existing realities.

FASCISM DOES NOT COME IN ONE NIGHT

In convening this symposium, Comrade Zarodov said in his report, its organizers acted on the conclusion of the 1969 International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties that it is necessary—at national and international levels—*'to step up the fight against the fascist menace and relentlessly to rebuff pro-fascist sorties.'* Of late, this has become an increasingly vital problem, and Communists in the various countries are devoting much attention to it.

Present-day fascism, like the earlier variety, is an international phenomenon, and the struggle against it is consequently also international, requiring united action of the progressive forces and the Communists and concerted efforts by the Marxist-Leninist parties both in the theoretical and the politico-ideological fields.

It is proper to note that we have come together in a country where fascism seized power 40 years ago, in January 1933, and held it for more than 12 years. That black chapter of history is a grave warning, a reminder of how important it is to detect the fascist danger at the beginning and to analyze its visible and invisible aspects.

Ours is the first international Marxist symposium on neo-fascism

in recent years. There were some doubts: should we take individual pro-fascist sallies seriously? Does not the problem of combating fascism reduce itself to repelling it in countries where it is now in power? And why speak of a fascist menace, considering that the interests of our main adversary, imperialism, are in most capitalist countries expressed by parties that do not share the fascist ideology? And there was this argument: our chief enemy is U.S. imperialism, not fascism.

Of course, we should not overestimate the fascist danger—the fight against it is not an immediate issue in many capitalist countries—but fascism—as correctly inscribed on the GCP poster at the entrance to this hall—does not come in one night. And, incidentally, the danger of underestimating fascism was the subject of a very serious discussion at so important a forum as the Seventh Congress of the Communist International.

Political implications

Discussing the topicality of the symposium, both from the standpoint of its subject and the time of its holding, K. I. Zarodov singled out these three points.

First. Recent events show that the fascist peril is real. Fascism's crushing defeat as a result of the Second World War and the long and persevering anti-fascist struggle of the masses has not eliminated the possibility of its revival, nor its class basis. Marxist-Leninists have long ago established that imperialism is the bearer of political reaction all down the line. This tendency, much stronger since capitalism's development into state-monopoly capitalism, finds its extreme expression in fascism.

The scale of the fascist menace can be judged from the following facts. In a number of countries (Portugal, Spain and some Third World countries) fascism is in power. Fascist-oriented parties and groups are active in 60 capitalist countries and are coming together in international organizations. They have large funds, and influential protectors in the ruling class and in certain sectors of the government machine, notably the army, gendarmerie and police. Reactionary elements are making more headway in the Right-wing parties of bourgeois democracy. They absorb the remnants of former avowedly fascist organizations, and enter into political coalitions (permanent or temporary) with pro-fascist movements.

In sum, fascism as such exists and we have to examine its roots, origins, forms, ways of penetrating the masses, and, of course, the methods of combating it. This is all the more important because the postwar generation knows fascism only from books and because present-day fascism is adept at concealing its class nature.

Second. In modern capitalist society there are factors conducive to the activation and growth of the poisonous seeds of fascism.

In this context, we should closely examine the changes in the social structure of bourgeois society resulting from the development of state-monopoly capitalism and the scientific technological

revolution. The deteriorating position of the urban petty-bourgeoisie, unable to withstand the competition and onslaught of the big monopolies, the widespread ruin and declining condition of large groups, particularly the peasants, gives rise not only to anti-monopoly sentiments, which objectively makes them allies of the working class, but also – due to their ambiguous position – breeds illusions of a possible return to the old pre-monopolistic ‘free’ capitalist competition, prompting them to seek a new ‘protector.’ In definite circumstances, sentiments of this kind make this social group susceptible to neo-fascist demagoguery; it might become the purveyor of political ‘infantry’ for Right-radical organizations. All the more so, since the neo-fascists adroitly exploit the pressing needs of the masses, not shrinking even from criticizing bourgeois governments and monopolies and posing as the true ‘friends of the people.’

Another factor to be borne in mind is the philistine’s psychological reaction to capitalism’s inability to solve the main social problems. The crime wave and the continuous moral disintegration affecting part of the youth is in some capitalist countries becoming a no less serious national problem than economic instability. In the micro-sociological context, that is, in the everyday life of individuals in a city or district, this arouses a pervasive sense of anxiety, apprehension and fear for one’s property, one’s life, the life of one’s relatives and friends. This creates an oppressive psychological stress, and under its effects the individual gives in to the propaganda of ‘strong government’ that would end all the ‘democratic nonsense’ of the ‘affluent society.’

The deterioration of national relations is another special problem. Uneven development, both of separate countries and of regions of one country, is now becoming more pronounced. And when the regions are inhabited by compact national, racial or religious minorities, economic inequality often becomes national, while economic contradictions turn into national strife. Speculation on national prejudices was a trump card of past fascist movements. These prejudices play a still bigger role today as a nutritive soil for Right-radical sentiments.

Third. Past history shows that fascism rears its head and assumes the offensive at times of political crises, especially if the working class has won definite democratic and social gains. This strikes fear into the ruling class. Hence, its growing urge to use terrorist methods to suppress mass democratic movements and to ward off revolution. Naturally, such crisis situations are possible in our time too, as a result of a working-class political and economic offensive, the democratic forces’ successful policy of united action, materializing, among other things, in electoral struggles. All this makes it harder for the monopoly bourgeoisie to maintain its power by traditional parliamentary methods, and, in a definite conjuncture of circumstances, it may turn to fascism as a tried and tested counter-revolutionary force in the struggle against the anti-monopoly and democratic movement.

These facts (and many more could be cited) show that fascism

is still a reality and a potential menace. We know from history that fascism often goes through a relatively long stage of embryonic development, after which it spreads with plague-like rapidity. That was so in the 20s, when we had an imperceptible accumulation of fascist symptoms. Evidently, today, too, we should reckon with a sudden activization of the fascist movement similar to that of the late 20s. Given instability of the economic and political system, tense international situations, the Right-radical electorate tends to expand. In such circumstances the fascist menace can rapidly grow to catastrophic dimensions. The fraternal parties believe that everything should be done to prevent its growth and strengthening.

The new class alignment in the world and the scientific and technological revolution provide greater revolutionary opportunities for the working class, but do not eliminate the economic, political and social conditions for the growth of the fascist menace. The question is: who will make the best use of the new situation, the revolutionaries, the Communists, or the extremists, the fascists. In short, the next few years should see a sharp political and ideological struggle. Hence, it is important for this symposium, through collective discussion, to answer the following questions: what is neo-fascism, what is its ideology, program, its methods of approaching the masses? What is its real influence and place in political life? What are the reasons for the 'staying power' of political regimes in countries where fascism has been in power for decades? What pressing needs does neo-fascism exploit?

Neo-fascism's distinctive features

The problem of neo-fascism is a relatively new one. And analogies or textbooks will not help analyze it. It must be analyzed in its concrete manifestations, creatively, from positions of Marxism-Leninism. Only the collective effort of Marxists of various countries can solve the problem. Marxist-Leninist methodology requires disclosing the class character of present-day fascism, the continuity and differences between it and the 'traditional fascism,' the concrete forms it assumes in different countries.

In Comrade Zarodov's view, the scientific Marxist definition of the substance of fascism given in the 30s applies to the fascism of the 70s. The past 10 years have seen a sharpening ideological controversy over the concept of present-day fascism. In bourgeois, reformist and Left-sectarian literature we run across the contention that the present-day fascists are not entirely fascists, or not even fascists at all.

For Marxists, the essence of neo-fascism is clear. It is the same as in the past. Neo-fascism in power is the undisguised terroristic dictatorship of the most reactionary, the most imperialist, the most chauvinist elements of finance capital. It amounts to rabid, pathological anti-communism, which directs petty-bourgeois and lumpen-proletarian discontent with the capitalist system against

the organized working-class movement, democracy and socialism. It is the reaction of the forces of counter-revolution to the forces of democracy and revolution. In all its forms, all its manifestations, in all phases of development, neo-fascism is the inveterate enemy of the working class, of all working people, all democrats. Neo-fascism is not a national phenomenon; it is inherent in the capitalist world.

The fascism of the 70s possesses some substantive features of its own, and to pinpoint them is of fundamental importance for devising effective methods and forms of repulsing the present-day fascist peril. These features stem from the new socio-political reality. The world balance of forces has changed radically. Fascism's main class enemy – the organized international working class – is much stronger, so is the democratic movement and the new, socialist world system. Nowadays, the task of combating the fascist menace is being set in a world in which socialism and the organized working class are continuing their sustained historic advance whereas before the war the same task was set – specifically by the Seventh Congress of the Comintern – when the working class in a number of capitalist countries had suffered grave setbacks due to the split of the anti-fascist forces, and when the concrete situation was, by and large, favorable for fascism, for its temporary success.

On the other hand, before the war monopoly capital used fascism as the main tool of counter-revolution, as the main fire-brand of the Second World War, whereas in the postwar period fascist movements are, in the main, a political reserve of the imperialist bourgeoisie, which has so far used it on a relatively limited scale. A highly developed production apparatus and greater opportunities for expanding production, coupled with the achievements of the scientific and technological revolution, have given the ruling class a much wider area for social maneuvering within the framework of bourgeois democracy, even in crisis situations. The bourgeois-democratic parties which compete with fascism in furthering the interests of monopoly capitalism have changed too, have become more flexible.

Hence, the concrete manifestations of fascism differ from those of 40 or 50 years ago. Even 'traditional fascism' has changed in some respects, and so have the fascist regimes that survived the storms of the Second World War. There have appeared Right-extremist and Right-radical trends. Tyrannical and military-fascist regimes, but with new features, have emerged even in Third-World countries. That is why we must weigh and generalize the new facts, study the national and other specifics of neo-fascism in the different countries and regions. Still valid today are Georgi Dimitrov's words at the Seventh Congress of the Comintern that it would be a gross mistake to think that fascism develops in the same way in all countries and nations, because such a set pattern would, far from helping us, only hinder us in the real struggle.

A few words about the fascist regimes that survived the Second World War. Pressure by the mounting popular movement has thrown

them into a political crisis. The survival of these fascist regimes is in many ways traceable to their place and role in imperialism's global strategy. Following the Second World War, they became a tool of U.S. imperialism's aggressive policy against the socialist world. Military bases spearheaded against the socialist countries were established in the fascist states. That is why U.S. imperialism is so anxious to maintain the fascist regimes in defiance of the will of the peoples fighting these regimes: the interests of the more aggressive U.S. imperialist elements played a leading part in the fascist coup in Greece, which they wanted to turn into a military staging area. In K. I. Zarodov's view, the existing fascist regimes have acquired a collaborationist complexion. This leads to their increasing isolation, with large sections of the people uniting to fight them, and not only on an anti-fascist, but also on a national, patriotic platform.

In the developed capitalist countries, those citadels of imperialism, there are parties and groups of the traditional fascist type. In some their core consists of veterans of the Hitler and Mussolini fascist movement, men who had been personally connected with the fascist regimes. Again and again, 'traditional fascism' makes itself felt on the political scene by terrorist acts against Communists and democrats, by engineering racial disorders, campaigning for the vindication of Nazi war crimes, public scandals in which its exponents were found to be preparing armed provocations and, last but not least, by subversion and espionage against the socialist countries. These groups have become more active in the 70s. There have been attempts to unite all the Nazi extremists, build a new international 'axis' of fascist, anti-communist and nationalist emigré groups active in Western Europe.

In discussing fascist opposition to bourgeois-democratic regimes, we should take into account yet another trend: the far-Right and extremist groups and organizations. All of them are in opposition to even the most conservative and reactionary elements using bourgeois democracy in the interest of monopoly capital. Our appraisal of these ultra-Right movements should, of course, be differentiated, based on their specific approach to the masses. In the speaker's view, it would be proper to say that the modern exponents of fascism are the ultra-Right advocates of terrorist dictatorship who address themselves to the masses and use their political activity to protect the capitalist system. And it is in this capacity that the Right-radical movement perform the same role, the same socio-political function, as prewar fascism in safeguarding the power of monopoly capital. We know, of course, that fascism exercises its outright terroristic dictatorship through a political party that exploits the masses to further its reactionary, counter-revolutionary aims.

The Right radicals and extremists prefer to disavow the discredited fascist movements of the past, their ideas and slogans. However, a concrete analysis shows that many of them are in one way or another successors to the fascist movements of the inter-war period.

Their program is a blend of socio-political conservatism and the reaction of the ruling class with the illusions and rebelliousness of the petty-bourgeois mass, so characteristic of prewar fascism. The neo-fascist methods of influencing and rallying the masses are quite clearly patterned on the prewar fascist parties.

The realignment of forces, which began after fascism's defeat in the Second World War, is doubtlessly still under way in the Right-radical camp, the speaker remarked. This process may give rise to, and strengthen, the neo-fascist parties that have adapted themselves to the new political realities in the long, and still continuing, 'natural selection' of elements most 'needed' by monopoly capital.

In our day, the fascist menace is not confined to parliamentary and extra-parliamentary struggle. With the development of state-monopoly capitalism, it is finding more support within the capitalist state apparatus. There is a growing power-lust among the reactionary civilian bureaucracy as bourgeois democracy is curtailed and uncontrolled interference by the executive authority in all economic, social and cultural processes is increased, with the result that vast power is concentrated in officialdom. This goes hand in hand with the creation of a juridical basis for police repressions in the form of anti-labor and other reactionary legislation.

The economic and political power of the military-industrial complex is growing. It is, in fact, becoming a self-contained force and is more and more setting itself against the bourgeois-democratic system in an endeavor to bring it under its control. The top brass and the military circles generally are becoming more susceptible to fascist ideology as imperialist aggressiveness grows, and this could find expression in a conservative reaction to the successes in the struggle for peace and détente.

There is thus the danger of fascization of the bourgeois government machine from within, the spread of neo-fascist forms of monopoly-capital power in which are combined elements of the bourgeois-democratic and outright terrorist regimes. We are thus faced with a new danger: the gradual transformation of the bourgeois-democratic into a fascist regime, with possible abrupt jettisoning of the remnants of parliamentarism in favor of dictatorship.

A closer look at the political geography of postwar fascism will reveal still another characteristic detail. Defeated in the citadels of imperialism, fascism has since the war been spreading to the former colonial and semi-colonial periphery. And here it appears in the new role of dependent helper or satellite of imperialist powers, who use it as one of their main weapons in the fight against the forces of national liberation and social progress.

Export of fascism is, at the present stage, one of the characteristic methods of power takeovers in this part of the world: fascism in the form of military terrorist regimes is implanted from outside by governments which at home retain (in lesser or greater degree) the attributes of bourgeois democracy. The chief base of such

regimes is international capital, and first and foremost, U.S. imperialism. Within the system of world imperialism, exported fascism is a weapon of neo-colonialism, a means of imposing the dictate of the imperialist bourgeoisie on developing countries.

There are, of course, other characteristics of neo-fascism, and they should be examined against the background of conditions in the various countries.

The fascist menace and the communists

The fascist menace can be repelled only in the general context of the anti-imperialist struggle. That is how the question stands today. However, the anti-fascist struggle is also a specific task for the working class, all democrats and all supporters of freedom.

That, too, is taken into consideration by the Communist and Workers' parties in formulating their tactics.

The documents of international and regional conferences and Party congresses have given us the tactics of organically combining the anti-imperialist and anti-fascist struggle. What are today the chief elements in the fight against fascism? In the speaker's view, they can be reduced to the following:

- more effective support for the national progressive forces battling against fascist and tyrannical regimes; systematic action, national and international, against the policy of repression, actions to save the lives of patriots and democrats facing the death sentence, against judicial tyranny with regard to Communists and other patriots, for the release of imprisoned democrats;

- a firm rebuff to all attempts by the imperialist bourgeoisie to curtail or abolish, by anti-labor legislation and by other means, the democratic rights and freedoms won by the working people in hard-fought class battles. Nor is it merely a matter of defending the working class's immediate economic and political interests against reactionary encroachments. We must fight for democratization of all aspects of social life. The roots of fascism can be destroyed only through an offensive against monopoly capital, an offensive for democratic demands that will weaken imperialism as a whole and undermine the very foundations of its dominance;

- unremitting struggle against the warmongers, against imperialist attempts to keep alive and heighten international tension, which offers a nutritive soil for reaction; action to counter the growing political influence of militarism and the reactionary militarists, those natural supporters of fascism;

- exposure of anti-Sovietism as a chief condition for the success of the anti-imperialist and anti-fascist struggle, inasmuch as the Soviet Union, the socialist world, are the bulwark of all the anti-imperialist and anti-fascist forces;

- the use of peaceful coexistence as an effective form of political, class struggle against aggressive imperialist forces and fascist regimes;

- a resolute rebuff to imperialist-engineered counter-revolutionary

plots, reactionary coups d'état, export of fascism, armed intervention, all acts of aggression;

– struggle against all manifestations of the man-hating ideology and practice of racism, chauvinism, reactionary nationalism, revanchism, Zionism and anti-Semitism.

Understandably, all these lines of struggle against the present-day fascist menace should be concretized in adaptation to the conditions in one or another country. And it would be useful for our symposium to exchange views on these problems. In this context, K. I. Zarodov drew attention to the following three points.

The harm of underestimating neo-fascism. It is sometimes said that the opportunities open to fascism are now very limited and we need not reckon with a fascist danger. We are told, for instance, that with the growth of education and culture, the masses are less receptive to anti-democratic, chauvinist, racist and militarist ideas. And this – the argument goes – means that the menace of fascism is being reduced to nought, is spontaneously outliving itself. There is also the suggestion that in countries where whole generations have been reared on democratic traditions there is no reason to fear fascism. Alas, experience points in the very opposite direction. Before Hitler came to power, many believed that fascism stood no chance whatever in Germany, a highly developed and highly cultured country with strong labor-movement traditions. But it was precisely in Germany that fascism was at its most bestial.

Marxist-Leninists emphasize that neither the fundamental changes in the world situation in favor of socialism, nor the recent trend towards less international tension, nor the successes of the working class and people of the capitalist countries in the fight for democracy and progress should inspire a feeling of complacency or lower our vigilance. Of course, the question of combating fascism and reaction is posed and resolved differently in different countries. But the fact remains that, in sharp crisis situations, fascism's emergence on the political scene is evidence, on the one hand, that the working class is inadequately using available revolutionary opportunities and, on the other, of the weakness of the bourgeoisie. And there is the proof of experience that fascism can, and does, appear on the political scene even before the masses make a decisive turn towards revolution.

In these dynamic times, we should not preclude sharp political crises that could precipitate a fascist coup d'état or fascization of state-monopoly government, the consequences of which, in this nuclear age, it would be very risky indeed to underestimate.

Should Communists be alerted to this danger and make timely preparations for such an eventuality? Yes, that was emphasized by the 1969 Meeting of the fraternal parties, and if for that reason alone, this symposium (which is a theoretical, not an inter-Party forum) acquires profound political significance.

Exposing neo-fascist ideology. The Communists' ideological fight against avowed fascists is now easier than in the 20s or 30s. Easier because, put to the test of practice, fascist ideology has proved bank-

rupt. The peoples now know from their own experience what fascist domination implies. This does not mean that we can afford to under-rate neo-fascism's ability to poison people's minds and make them fanatical supporters of its ideas. We know from past experience that in many of the countries where fascist parties managed to capture power, they were able to overcome the workers' movement ideologically before suppressing it by outright terror.

Fascist ideology cannot be exposed, let alone demolished, merely by theoretical criticism. For the strength of the fascist ideological contagion lies in the fact that it is unscientific, a priori, eclectic, unprincipled, primitivist. It is addressed not to the politically mature, but to the politically immature, backward and inexperienced mass. It absorbs all the products of the ideological disintegration of capitalist society.

Neo-fascist ideology can be effectively exposed if account is taken of the level of consciousness of the population groups the latter-day fascists want to win over. It is necessary to prevent them in time from capturing the politically immature mass by exploiting not only ingrained prejudices, but also discontent with the policy of bourgeois government, the monopoly stranglehold and the inability of the parliamentary mechanism to satisfy immediate economic needs. We must know the specifics of neo-fascist ideology, how, in what way, it penetrates the masses.

Neo-fascist ideology seeks to employ, for instance, the socio-psychological prejudices of ethno-centrism: moral appraisals of all phenomena are based on preference of one's own life-style and rejection of all others. Everything is seen through the prism of specially selected historical and cultural traditions which are imposed on the mass consciousness as universal standards. Thus, present-day fascists claim to be the custodians of 'Europism' or 'Americanism.' They advocate the idea that West Europeans and North Americans are culturally and morally superior to other peoples, and have the 'right' to shape the world's destinies. The 'Europism' and 'Americanism' slogan is a dangerous variety of chauvinism used to underpin the idea of 'social integration,' that is 'social peace at home' in order to withstand the 'external foe,' the socialist countries and the liberation movement. Another dangerous idea taken up by the neo-fascists is that the masses are no longer capable of making history: that has to be entrusted to an elite with a monopoly of willpower, scientific and professional knowledge, and understanding of the common interest. The idea is being inculcated in the masses that they are incompetent to resolve the issues of social life and must place their future in the hands of an elite.

Neo-fascism, bourgeois democracy and the united front. Veterans of our movement will remember that in the early stages an unclear understanding of the essence of fascism hampered the struggle against it. Today's 'Lefts', with their talk of the vanishing division between neo-fascism, reactionary and other bourgeois parties, are pushing the movement to sectarian positions.

The proposition advanced and substantiated by Dimitrov at the

Seventh Comintern Congress is of fundamental importance for an understanding of the problem before us: 'The accession to power of fascism is not an *ordinary succession* of one bourgeois government by another, but a *substitution* of one state form of class domination of the bourgeoisie – bourgeois democracy – by another form – open terrorist dictatorship.'

We Communists are irreconcilable foes of fascism. But we also fight against any shift of bourgeois democracy to the right, for this would mean suppression of the workers' democratic freedoms, curtailment of the rights of parliament, stronger positions for reaction and more repressions against the revolutionary movement. But we also appreciate the immense political difference between such a shift to the right and the liquidation of bourgeois democracy. Of course, under state-monopoly capitalism, any shift to the right strengthens the tendency towards fascization of the bourgeois state and this could facilitate a fascist take-over.

A question of especial importance, and therefore deserving especial study, is how the united anti-imperialist front can become an insuperable barrier to the spread of fascism. This is all the more necessary since our ideological adversaries – R. Garaudy, for example, in his recent book, *The Alternative* – contend that the victory of the anti-imperialist bloc might – of all things – create the most favorable conditions for the fascists.* Comment is superfluous. Now, with the Communists working with other Left forces in a united front, or in building one, in most capitalist countries, a correct theoretical and practical understanding of the fascist menace and the struggle against it within an anti-imperialist bloc is, in the view of fraternal parties, a major factor of success.

In the years to come the revolutionary workers' movement and its allies will have to wage a hard struggle against imperialism, reaction and fascism. Hence, the organization of this struggle, uniting all the democratic forces, becomes an important tactical problem for the Communist movement. Many Communist parties are of the opinion that, already today, we should develop an anti-fascist movement, and not only on a national, but also on an international scale.

We Communists have our own, special accounts to settle with fascism, K. I. Zarodov said. Of all the political parties, of all those who champion freedom, democracy and the people's interests, the Communists sustained the greatest losses in the battle against fascism. No less than three million Soviet Communists gave their lives in the Great Patriotic War against the fascist invader. The Nazis destroyed thousands of members of one of Europe's biggest and most militant Communist parties, the Communist Party of Germany, and its leader, Ernst Thaelmann. Many were the sacrifices made by the Communists of Italy, Spain, Portugal, France and many other countries.

Today, too, the Communists are the main target of fascist terror. Reports from Portugal, Spain, Guatemala, Guinea (Bissau), Greece,

*R. Garaudy, *L'Alternative*. Edition Robert Laffont, Paris, 1972.

Brazil and a number of other countries evoke a feeling of indignation and wrath.

It is the duty of every Communist to step up the fight against fascism in countries where it is still in power. Communists must be the first to raise their voice against the neo-fascist menace in countries where, so far, there are only small fascist groups, but where fascist propaganda is increasing. We should not wait until fascism, and all the terror for which it stands, comes out in the open.

That is why it is so politically important to give a theoretical analysis of neo-fascism, disclose the specific feature of its development and activity and the various forms and guises it uses.

From this country, which has lived through the nightmare of Nazism, a country where Nazi forces are still operating, and from this city, Essen, renowned for its anti-fascist traditions, let there come a message from all Communists fighting fascist dictatorships, a warning of the danger of neo-fascism and a call to expose and repel it.

In conclusion, K. I. Zarodov expressed the hope that the symposium would make for a deeper understanding of the danger offered by present-day fascism and would indicate the ways and means of activating the anti-monopoly and anti-imperialist struggle.

What the Canadian barometer indicates

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The recently held Federal election in Canada left a politically unstable situation in its wake. One aspect of this was the return of the Trudeau Government as a minority government. This is the fifth minority government of the postwar period. Seven elections were held in this period and only twice were majority governments elected. This trend is due to economic instability and a sense of insecurity arising from the inability of the parties of monopoly to solve the basic problems confronting the country and people. Growing numbers of working people break away from these parties and seek satisfaction of their interests through other political forces. The elections of the recent period showed that this trend is a reflection of a polarization of Canadian politics and of a breaking down of the two traditional parties' parliamentary monopoly.

Twofold approach to minority government

The election of a Liberal minority government has been a matter of considerable concern to the financial oligarchy. No sooner were the results in than spokesmen of the latter declared that they would insist on a new election at an early date. Monopoly wants a stable government, but above all a government which will undertake some harsher measures against the working people. These measures include a reduction of government expenditures for social security programs and welfare, some form of wage freeze amendments to the unemployment insurance act – so that benefits paid will be below that of the lowest-paid worker – and amendments to Labor Acts restricting the right to strike in the public service and replacing it by compulsory arbitration.

These positions of monopoly coincide with the program of the Conservative Party in the recent election, a program demagogically covered up with proposals for policies to end unemployment and inflation. The increased support given the Conservative Party in the election was an expression of disappointment and discontent with the Liberal Government's economic and social policy. At the same time one should not ignore the fact that this discontent was used for shifting politics to the right.

Monopoly's program is directed to meet the prospect of trade wars and sharpened competition by placing the burden of growing inter-imperialist contradictions onto the backs of the working people.

This is why monopoly wants a strong majority government. The working people of Canada see the issue in a different light. Past experience suggests that minority governments are willing to make concessions so as to stay in power. There is good reason to believe that similar concessions could be wrested this time, all the more since this time one of the important results of the election was the return of a group of members of the New Democratic Party (NDP) large enough to constitute the balance of power in Parliament. This has created more favorable conditions for the working-class and democratic movement to press for and win a legislative program of jobs, curbs on inflation and rising prices, and changes in the taxation system to compel corporations to pay their share of taxes.

While the NDP is under Right-wing leadership as are the trade unions which support it, it is compelled to reflect the pressures of the working people, the workers and farmers, which helped elect its members to Parliament. In point of fact, it became the balance of power as a consequence of the many-sided struggles of the workers and their trade unions, as could be seen in the main industrial centers of the country, particularly in Ontario and British Columbia. The electoral support given the NDP is a reflection of a movement towards independent political action on the part of sections of the working class. However, the majority still vote for the Liberal and Conservative parties.

Taking into account the present relationship of forces in Parliament, the Communist Party calls for 'critical and conditional' sup-

port of the Government providing it adopts a legislative program in favor of the working people. At the same time the Communist Party calls upon the labor and democratic movement to prepare for an election which may be called within the next six months to a year.

While the Conservative Party reflecting the interests of sections of monopoly, is urging the calling of an early election, the Liberal minority Government is in no hurry to call one because it needs time to mend its political fences. The Trudeau government was accused of giving too much power to French Canadians in government. It has changed this situation by giving the main Cabinet posts instead to English Canadians and placing the French Canadians in a secondary position. It was accused of imposing bilingualism on the English-speaking people. It has modified its bilingual program. It was accused of 'subsidizing idleness' and of undermining the 'work ethic.' It has indicated that some steps will be taken to modify unemployment insurance benefits. It was accused of being 'too friendly' to the Soviet Union and the socialist countries and too 'critical' of the USA.

Minority government strategy will evidently be to veer both to the right and to the left, seeking temporary support from either political group in Parliament until it is ready to call another election. Not to be excluded is the possibility of a Liberal Party Convention selecting another leader of the Party before such an election takes place.

As can be seen, the situation is politically fluid. In a sense, the latest Federal election was a barometer indicating unsettled weather ahead.

Monopoly offensive

The economic situation remains uncertain. After what appeared to be an increase in production there came a slight relapse, and recovery gave way to stagnation, to rising unemployment and rising prices. Unemployment is presently seven per cent of the labor force while the cost of living rises at the rate of from four to five per cent annually. It is now being publicly admitted that the Government is unable to maintain full employment, rising standards and stable prices—in short, to realize the aims set in 1964. The original declared aim of reducing unemployment to three per cent of the labor force has gone by the board. Indeed, it is admitted that unemployment cannot be lowered to 4.5 per cent even by 1975. Now there is an effort to persuade the working people that unemployment at the level of five per cent is equivalent to full employment. This means, as the Communist Party has repeatedly warned, that working people, men and women alike, will be faced with the threat of permanent unemployment.

The monopoly offensive against the working people has been stepped up in all parts of Canada. Workers lose their jobs as plants close, full-time jobs give way to part-time ones, labor is intensified and attempts are made to control wages. Monopoly and the state

aim at weakening the power of the working class, at regulating the trade unions, at curtailing the right to strike and the right to collective bargaining. In other words, an effort is being made to integrate the trade unions into the mechanism of state-monopoly capitalism and transform them into tools of class collaboration with the active aid of the Right wing in the trade union movement and in the NDP.

The immediate target of the attack are the workers in the public service. However, once legislation is adopted to prevent strikes in the public service, this would become the signal for imposing compulsory arbitration in negotiations everywhere. With over 25 per cent of all Canadians living below the officially defined 'poverty line,' with wealth by and large concentrated in the hands of a few, wage controls would perpetuate economic inequality, legalize poverty and reduce the workers' share of the national wealth. They would curtail the right of the working class to seek higher living standards. Moreover, with the technological revolution developing apace, productivity is rising and ensuring higher and higher profits for monopoly. In these circumstances, monopoly can afford to maintain the pretence of a freeze on both wages and prices.

The working class fights back

In response to the attack of monopoly backed by the state, the workers are uniting their ranks and using ever more militant forms of struggle. The struggle to increase wages is coupled with the battle for jobs and for job security, shorter hours of work, increased pensions and earlier voluntary retirement, protection against technological change, at workers' expense. The right to work has become a major issue for the working-class. The fight for the 32-hour work week with no reduction in take-home pay is gaining in intensity.

Despite the efforts of governments to check the working class and push it back, despite the treacherous role of the Right-wing in the labor movement, the workers' class consciousness and desire for unity and solidarity are growing. Here is a vivid example. At the height of the cold war, in the 50s, two progressive trade unions – United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers, and United Fishermen and Allied Workers – were expelled from the Canadian Labor Congress. Recently they were readmitted, and even the capitalist press called the event an 'historic decision.' Undoubtedly, developments of this nature open up prospects for strengthening the Left in both the trade union movement and in the political field.

The fight-back of the workers has also found reflection in growing support for Communists in union elections as well as in some Provincial Federations of Labor and in the Canadian Labor Congress.

These votes signify that the cold war is on the wane in the trade union movement, that the working class, faced with the reality of a hot war by monopoly on its standards, its jobs and rights, sees

the need for policies to meet it and for men and women to lead the struggle. The votes at the same time are a form of criticism of the concept of class collaboration which is exposing itself more and more as bankrupt and as a means of propping up capitalism at the expense of the working people.

The struggles of the past period in Canada also show that the white-collar workers in the public service, including teachers, are developing a high degree of militancy and are determined to maintain their right to strike and to win their demands.

The sharpening class struggle has given additional proof of the growing militancy of the working class. All the various theories about the working class having lost its revolutionary spirit, about the elimination of class distinctions and therefore of the class struggle, have proved groundless. Reality has shown that the working class is the main driving force in the struggle against monopoly. It was its struggle linking up with various general democratic movements that created favorable conditions for the formation of NDP governments in three western provinces of Canada – Manitoba, Saskatchewan and British Columbia – and helped the NDP to win more seats in the recent Federal election. The deepening antagonism between the working class and the bourgeoisie, between the people and monopoly, stimulated the trend to unity and created new opportunities for unity of action of the working class and all anti-monopoly forces.

U.S. imperialism 'getting tough'

As social tensions build up Canadians are stepping up resistance to the offensive of U.S. imperialism, which is out to prevent Canada from achieving an independent position either in foreign policy or in economic development. For all the high-sounding statements of President Nixon and Prime Minister Trudeau during President Nixon's visit to Ottawa last year, and the President's demagogic protestations of respecting Canadian independence, the 'get tough with Canada' policy remains the guideline of U.S. imperialism.

President Nixon's emergency measures in the economic field had a particularly dangerous impact on Canada, which because of large-scale trade with the U.S. (75 per cent of its total trade) is more vulnerable than other capitalist countries to U.S. economic and trade policies. This unilateral action rudely shattered the special relationships established between Canada and the USA in the postwar period. It was made clear that the U.S. wants Canada to adjust its trade policy so as to ease the U.S. balance of payments crisis.

With this objective in mind the U.S. Administration has been pressing for an alteration in the Canadian-U.S. automotive Pact and in defense 'sharing.' As part of its pressure upon Canada, including other capitalist countries, the U.S. Government adopts more and more protectionist measures. It presently has the Hartke-Burke Bill before the Congress which if implemented, could result in the loss of 360,000 jobs in Canada. All these protectionist measures

taken together would have a serious effect on the Canadian economy and add to already high unemployment in Canada.

These difficulties are being further aggravated for Canada as a consequence of the process of integration in Western Europe and Great Britain's entry into the European Common Market. It should be emphasized that the 'new relationship' between Canada and the USA is not of a temporary nature. It reflects the changing position of the USA in the imperialist system, the loss of its hegemony, which is further mirrored in the dollar crisis and the overall monetary crisis. The U.S. is trying to resolve its difficulties at the expense of its allies, including Canada. The Common Market, of which Great Britain is a part, on one hand, and U.S. protectionism, on the other, place in sharp focus the question of which way for Canada.

It is argued in some quarters that there is no other road open for Canada than that of ever greater integration with the USA because of the emergence of various trade blocs in the capitalist world, from all of which Canada is excluded. The apologists for this point of view claim that integration is an objective process and that nothing can stop it. The logical conclusion of this point of view is acceptance of loss of independence for Canada and its absorption in one way or another by U.S. imperialism. Directly or indirectly, the advocates of integration represent the multi-national corporations in Canada and those sections of Canadian monopoly whose interests are tied in with that of U.S. imperialism, even though from time to time some differences do arise amongst them.

What Canada needs in reality are policies for genuinely independent economic development; policies of large scale, mutually beneficial trade with the socialist countries; and an independent foreign policy. It is precisely such policies based on public ownership and democratic control that can guarantee the political independence and sovereignty of Canada.

Who is to own the resources of the North

For U.S. imperialism, Canada is of great strategic importance as a secure source of raw materials. Its aim is the 'peaceful' take-over of the country, its annexation by dollars, not by arms. What the U.S. wants particularly is a 'partnership' in Canada's energy resources in the form of a 'continental' energy policy. The U.S. Government proposes the pooling of uranium, coal, hydro-electrical power and water resources. Pressure on Canada to agree to such integration has been covered up with the high-sounding phrase of 'jointly sharing the North American market.' In fact, however, there would be no 'joint sharing.' The energy resources U.S. imperialism wants to integrate are on Canadian territory. A 'continental' energy policy would mean placing these resources at the disposal of U.S. monopoly interests to the detriment of both the immediate and future development of the Canadian economy. Whoever owns and controls these resources decides the future of the country and

whether it shall have a future at all. This issue is particularly important today because of huge gas and oil discoveries in the North.

The government has created the impression it will keep this area free from foreign ownership and control. With this in mind, it is being suggested that the pipeline to bring the gas to the southern part of the country be 51 per cent Canadian-owned. However, nothing has been said about the ownership of the gas, oil and other mineral resources of the North. Indeed, during the recently held election campaign Prime Minister Trudeau spoke of Canada becoming a corridor through which the wealth of the North would flow to the USA. This concept has great danger for Canada. It would perpetuate Canada's role as a supplier of raw material resources to the USA. The concept of Canada as a corridor is the concept of transforming Canada into a second Panama Canal.

The Communist Party proposes a completely opposite policy, one which ensures that the resources of the North are used for satisfying the needs of the Canadian people and for developing industry. The Party proposes that these resources, as well as the pipe-lines, be publicly owned under democratic control. In this way there is the assurance that the wealth of the North will accrue to the benefit of the population of the North, and of the Canadian people generally.

U.S. imperialist pressure to bring about a 'continental energy policy' is part of the larger drive against Canadian independence. This is seen in the continued growth of U.S. investments in Canada. They rose by 400 per cent from 1945 to 1966, i.e., from 5 billion dollars to close to 25 billion dollars, a large portion of it coming out of the surplus value extracted from Canadian workers. It is interesting to note that the increase of U.S. investments does not come from the U.S. as such; it comes in the form of profits by U.S.-owned companies in Canada which are then ploughed back into the Canadian economy, leading to a further strengthening of U.S. control over the economy. U.S. corporations finance 90 per cent of regular operations in Canada plus expansion there with money earned or borrowed in Canada. This led Mr. T. C. Douglas, previous national leader of the NDP, to declare that 'Canada is being bought out with its own money.' The above facts expose the myth that Canada cannot develop without investment from the USA, that these investments are necessary to assure jobs for Canadians.

U.S. imperialism would not have succeeded in undermining the sovereignty and independence of Canada without the connivance and agreement of the main Canadian monopoly interests and their governments. However, there is another point to be borne in mind.

While the Canadian big bourgeoisie share with U.S. monopolies the profits from the development of Canada's raw material export industries, they have their own interests which they constantly strive to advance. The growing financial strength of Canadian capital and of Canadian finance capital has made it possible for the Canadian big bourgeoisie to become the main force confronting the U.S. monopolies in the competitive imperialist struggle for

Canada's resources. Indeed, the conflict between Canadian and U.S. capital for control over the Canadian economy is the most important element of imperialist contradictions in Canada today. This struggle, however, is intended to achieve maximum profits for Canadian monopoly, not to establish genuine Canadian independence.

As the Program of the Communist Party of Canada the 'Road to Socialism in Canada' declared, 'Canadian monopoly is more than a junior partner of U.S. imperialism. It is an integral part of the world imperialist system whose interests are interwoven with those of U.S. and British finance capital. What it now finds increasingly important is external expansion both in the sphere of trade and export of capital, the securing of market outlets for raw materials, manufactured goods, and investments. Its partnership with U.S. imperialism is an antagonistic partnership, that of being simultaneously collaborators and competitors.'

Hence one cannot depend upon Canadian monopoly or its governments to uphold genuine Canadian independence. The struggle to win independence is simultaneously a struggle against U.S. imperialism and Canadian monopoly capital. While individual capitalists may support the struggle for Canadian independence, and, from time to time, governments may reflect this in their policies as has seemed to be the case with the Trudeau Government, the bourgeoisie as a class will not lead the struggle for genuine independence. This must be done by a united working class, which can defeat monopoly capital in Canada.

The Communist Party of Canada directs particular attention at this time to the demand for nationalizing energy and natural resources under democratic control. It calls for effective measures to enable U.S. subsidiaries in Canada to trade with the socialist countries without interference by the U.S. Government and establish Canadian-based trading operations for the same purpose. However, it does not limit itself to these immediate demands. It stands for the curbing and restricting of the power of domestic and foreign monopoly through public ownership of big industry, transportation and communications, the banks, credit system and insurance companies.

The failure of the Liberal Government to place the issue of Canadian independence at the center of the recently held election was an important contributing element in Trudeau's setbacks. However, the issue cannot be ignored. With the election over, the Nixon Administration exerts increasing pressure on Canada. The more the pressure, the greater the resistance of the Canadian people. Hence there is every reason to consider that the issue of Canadian independence will continue to act as a catalyst shaping political alignments, as does the struggle for national self-determination and equality.

Against chauvinism and separatism

The struggle for genuine Canadian independence is organically

linked up with the right to national self-determination and equality for the French Canadian nation. In Canada one can see the continuing denial of equal rights to the French Canadian nation, the disgraceful treatment of the Indian and Inuit peoples, the subtle and open discrimination of immigrants coming from Europe, Asia and Africa. What is also to be seen is a bourgeois chauvinist policy directed to take away from the French Canadian people the gains recently held federal election. Unless it is combated in a decisive way they have won in struggle with the help of English-speaking democratic forces. This chauvinist wave was particularly evident in the way, chauvinism will pose grave dangers to Canada.

Lenin correctly pointed out that the right to self-determination up to and including secession and the formation of an independent national state for all nations as a principle does not mean that Communists are obliged to support every demand for separation. Lenin demanded that this question be decided on the basis of historically concrete conditions, above all, the class interests of the working class, the overriding task of preserving the unity of the working class against capitalism, for democracy and socialism.

Our Party approaches the question exactly that way in fighting against monopoly and U.S. imperialism, for socialism. It opposes separatism, which is designed to create division in the working class on the basis of nationality.

In the concrete conditions prevailing in Canada, our Party proposes a freely negotiated new Confederal Pact between the two nations – French and English speaking – a new Constitution based on the right to self-determination of the two nations, and a voluntary, equal partnership of the two nations in a bi-national, sovereign democratic state. The pact should be buttressed by structural reforms and other democratic measures to end inequality in Quebec. Such a democratic settlement of the national question would create the necessary conditions for strengthening the unity of the working people, and for uniting all genuinely national and democratic forces in active struggle against monopoly and for the realization of a democratic coalition which could bring an end to U.S. imperialist domination in Canada, strengthen Canadian independence and pave the way for the transition to socialism.

These developments take place on the background of a changing world situation and are influenced by them. The cold war is crumbling down. The virtual collapse of the capitalist monetary system, the emergence of trading blocs, the sharpening of inter-imperialist antagonisms, on the one hand, and the steady economic, political and military growth of the Soviet Union and the socialist system, the successes achieved in the peace offensive waged by the USSR, the easing of tensions in Europe and the Vietnamese people's victory, on the other, all show that imperialism has been compelled to retreat. However, one must remember that imperialism's aggressive nature is unchanged and that it will undertake new adventures wherever it can.

Communists and the coming election

It is on this background that the Communist Party is preparing for the coming Federal election, which is likely to take place this year. The electoral tactic of the Party is not designed for a specific election. It is bound up with an overall and longer-term objective: ending the rule of the parties of monopoly through a new people's majority based on a democratic coalition, and forming an anti-monopoly government as the transition to socialism in Canada. Specifically, the electoral tactic is designed to stop the drift to the Right which reactionary, anti-democratic and anti-labor groups are encouraging, and to shift politics to the left by electing a large progressive group to Parliament and by achieving a substantial Communist vote.

These aims fit in with the present reality. There is no democratic alternative as yet to either a Liberal or a Conservative government. The best alternative in these circumstances would be the return of a larger progressive group to Parliament upholding the people's interests and fighting against monopoly domination, a group dedicated to the struggle for full employment, for genuine Canadian independence, for control of the economy through public ownership, starting with natural resources and energy, for full employment, new trade policies, an independent foreign policy, a new Canadian Constitution.

In some past elections views were expressed that our Party run only a small number of candidates and throw all its energy into the battle to elect the NDP. Experience, however, has already shown us that such an electoral policy is self-defeating in that it tends towards liquidationism in our Party, opens the door to unqualified and uncritical support of social democracy, rather than a policy of conditional and critical support. This distorts the united front. The fact is there will be no united front electorally without a strong Communist Party, including Communist representation in Parliament.

Moreover, our electoral policy is an integral part of the struggle to bring into being a democratic coalition of which the Communist Party is part. The running of as large a number of candidates as the Party is capable of, and advancing a soundly based alternative program, is therefore bound to stimulate the Left and progressive forces in the NDP, the trade union and farm movements, amongst youth and women, and become an important part of the battle for unity of the Left.

The starting point for the development of a democratic anti-monopoly, anti-imperialist coalition is to win ever wider support for it in the working class and in mass movements. It is necessary to emphasize this because, while all the objective conditions are maturing for such a coalition, what is hampering its development is the immaturity of the subjective factor, that is, the weaknesses among the democratic forces and the resistance of the Right-wing to the formation of a united front which includes the Communist Party.

This situation can only be changed by strengthening the Communist Party in every respect. Our Party participates and will continue to participate in elections as an independent revolutionary force, coming forward with its own solutions for national problems and of those of the Canadian people, at the same time seeking to be a unifying factor of all the patriotic, truly national and democratic forces combining this with struggle to achieve unity of action around the basic issues facing the working people of our country.

The initiative is in the hands of left and democratic forces

N. K. Krishnan
CEC Member,
National Council Secretary,
Communist Party of India

INTERVIEWED AT AN EXTENDED MEETING OF THE WMR COMMISSION ON PROBLEMS OF THE AFRO-ASIAN NATIONAL-LIBERATION

Exchange of experiences between Communist parties enriches revolutionary theory and practice, warns against mistakes, and serves the cause of national and social liberation. And I take especial pleasure in sharing our experience in India with representatives of Communist and Workers' parties on the journal. Before answering questions, I should like to give a very general picture of the situation in India after the 1969 split in the ruling party, the Indian National Congress (INC). Since 1969, Indian political life has been marked by the democratic forces' successes in the fight against imperialism, feudalism and the local monopolies. The objective basis for this should be seen in the capitalist development of the economy in 1947-67 when the Indian national bourgeoisie held the monopoly of power. During this period distinct contradictions were growing within Indian society:

first, between the aims of imperialism and the local monopolies – which were seeking to impose their complete control over the economy – and the interests of India's independent economic development;

second, between the strengthening state sector in the economy and the strengthening private sector controlled by Indian monopolies;

third, between the local monopolies and the middle and also

small bourgeoisie, which have grown considerably since independence in all the states. (This contradiction has become especially apparent in recent years);

fourth, between the entire toiling mass of town and country and the exploitive classes – the basic antagonism inherent in the capitalist development of a country that has not rid itself of feudal survivals.

Due to the aggravation of all these contradictions, there sprang up a widespread mass movement against the policy of the Indian National Congress, in which the pro-monopoly forces played a dominant role. Our Party and other Left parties played a very big role in this nationwide movement. The INC was heavily defeated in several states in the parliamentary elections of 1967 and in the 1969 local elections. This further aggravated the conflict within the bourgeoisie, between those sections which were closely linked with imperialism, feudalism and monopoly capital on the one hand, and those sections which wanted some action against the imperialists, feudalists and monopolists, on the other.

Those were the factors which led to the split within the bourgeoisie and its main political party, the Indian National Congress. The reactionary pro-imperialist and pro-monopoly elements started their own party, the Congress Organization. However, the bulk of the Congress membership, under pressure of objective factors, on a number of issues took a stand corresponding to the interests of the majority of our people. Of course this Leftward shift by Congress did not mean that it became consistently democratic and that on all issues it unhesitatingly comes out against imperialism, the monopolies and the feudal elements.

The split in the INC was followed by a very sharp confrontation of a bloc of Right-wing parties, which includes Swatantra, the Congress organization and Jan Sangh, and represents the interests of the monopolies and the feudal landlords and princes and is openly supported by U.S. imperialism and the CIA, and the camp of Left and democratic forces. Our chief partners in the fight against the Right danger are the radical and progressive forces within the INC. Unfortunately, in this crucial confrontation, during the 1971-72 election campaigns,* the Left parties failed to achieve unity: the 'Socialist Party' supported the Rights, and the parallel Communist Party (CPM) came out against the CPI and the progressive forces within the INC. Nevertheless, the Indian people, in these elections, inflicted a decisive defeat on the reactionary Right and opportunist 'Left.'

The progressive movement is gaining momentum, with the Communist Party playing an increasingly important role in it. I would like to cite these two examples.

In 1970 our Party launched a mass movement for radical agrarian reform. The government was obliged to introduce a number of important measures to limit the amount of land which a family

*Pre-schedule parliamentary elections in 1971 and state elections in 1972.

can own, to take over surplus land from the landlords and rich farmers and distribute it to the poor peasants and agricultural labourers.

Or this example. In October 1972, our Party started a national mass campaign against rising prices and unemployment. The purpose was to stop the government's slide-back in policy and force it to fight the sabotage of the monopolies, which were out to throw the country into a state of economic chaos. The campaign was supported by the radical section of the INC and its mass following. The government was obliged to make concessions: it decided to take over wholesale trade in food grains in order to bring down prices and rejected the monopoly demand for 'cooperation' with the state sector which, in practice, would have meant monopoly control.

The labor and trade union movement has made significant headway in recent years. For the first time a coordinating committee has been formed of the three most important national trade union centers.

The radicalization process was greatly facilitated by the events leading up to the emergence of Bangladesh. The Indo-Soviet Treaty of Peace, Friendship and Cooperation has had a tremendous influence on Indian life. The development of progressive trends in Indian foreign policy has found expression in closer friendship with the socialist countries. India has now given full recognition to the German Democratic Republic and has established diplomatic relations at ambassadorial level with the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. And India spoke with a more decisive voice against America's colonial war in Vietnam and the Israeli aggression in the Middle East.

Recent events have shown that the initiative is in the hands of the Left and democratic forces. Our Communist Party is confident that, supported by fraternal parties and the world revolutionary movement, these forces will repel all reactionary attacks and advance to new victories.

Threat of the Right opposition, situation in the Left camp, the national problem, and foreign policy – those were all matters that aroused the interest of all present at the interview

- What are the new characteristic elements of the working-class role in the democratic and anti-imperialist movement?
- Can the three main trade union centers eventually be merged?
- What forms did the October 1972 campaign against rising prices and unemployment take?
- What social forces are represented in the Communist Party?

I will begin with the last question. Workers, poor peasants and agricultural laborers make up the majority of the Party. And these classes have grown very appreciably since independence. This is

especially so in the case of the working class, in which there is a large section of educated and highly-skilled workers. The rural proletariat has also increased. In fact in many villages nearly 40 per cent of the population are landless agricultural laborers. Two years ago our Party formed the first All-India Association of Agricultural Workers. It had conducted major mass struggles, many of which ended in victory.

White-collar workers, whose position is very close to that of the blue-collar worker, have become an important force in the trade union movement.

A new feature is the accent on political issues. In the past five or six years there have been more political strikes, and one-day stoppages in support of heroic Vietnam have been carried out in several states.

Progress is being made towards trade-union unity. But I would emphasize that our objective, a united trade union organization, can be achieved only after a long period of joint mass actions, co-ordination committees, common experience and mutual discussions.

The working people's fight for their rights is growing in strength and scope. The October 1972 mass campaign against rising prices, unemployment and monopoly economic sabotage, was conducted as the traditional Satyagraha, that is, symbolic violation of the law.

This is a specifically Indian form of protest: you go and stand before a government office and prevent the staff from entering it. Then you get arrested. Yet the government offices are physically prevented from functioning – that is one of the objects of the movement. The whole idea is to get hundreds and thousands arrested. There will be millions of people who will be watching this and who will follow the people when they are arrested, many will accompany them to prison. In this way millions come to understand the Satyagraha slogans and our propaganda reaches millions of people through this form of struggle.

- What is the situation in the 'Socialist Party'? Are there other socialist-type parties in India?
- What is the present position in the parallel Communist Party and the Maoist groups?
- What steps is the Communist Party taking to win over the rank and file of these organizations?
- What was the effect on the Maoist group of the recent actions of the Chinese People's Republic in the United Nations and in international affairs generally?

We had two socialist parties: the United Socialist Party and the People's Socialist Party. There was a split after the 1971 elections in the latter. Part of its organizations merged with the former to establish the 'Socialist Party.' It took an anti-Congress and anti-Communist stand and suffered a staggering defeat in the 1972 elections. Since then it has split up into four groups, quarreling with one other and each looking for new allies. In several states, many

branches of the former People's Socialist Party refused to merge, rejected the leadership's reactionary policy and are cooperating with the INC and the Communists.

After its big defeat in the 1971-72 elections, the parallel CP is in a state of crisis. In many places its local branches are coming over to our Party as the result of friendly discussions we have had with its cadres and rank and file. That has happened in Kerala, where in the past the parallel CP enjoyed considerable influence. Our Party stands for joint action with the parallel CP on issues affecting the working people, but we reject its basic line of building up an anti-Congress political front.

The Maoist groups are in a state of crisis, too. Six or seven years ago they were active in several states and tried to build up a mass base among the poor and backward part of the rural population. But such events as the Sino-U.S. rapprochement and Peking's opposition to Bangladesh UN membership precipitated a crisis. And with no mass support the groups have degenerated into factions constantly fighting each other.

Our Party has been following a principled and realistic policy towards these groups. While we have been ideologically fighting Maoism, we have been conducting discussions with these people, mobilizing our own cadres to combat ultra-Leftism. To Maoist sectarianism we oppose our policy of developing genuine mass movements. These methods have proved effective. In some states, the entire mass base of the Maoists and many of their local leaders have come over to our side and have joined our Party. In Andhra State where the Maoist-led armed struggle ended in failure, the tribal population upon which it depended turned away from it and is now increasingly supporting the Communist Party.

-- The Western press claims that the Bangladesh secession from Pakistan will make for national disintegration in India. What is your view?

This kind of propaganda comes primarily from imperialist circles and has absolutely nothing in common with reality. I can tell you categorically that since the liberation of Bangladesh and also before that, no ethnic group in India has demanded the right to secede and form an independent state. There have never been oppressed and oppressor nations in India. All Indians, regardless of nationality, language and other distinctions, were oppressed by British imperialism.

In our country the national question is a question of the formation of new nationalities, linguistic equality, overcoming the backwardness of some national regions, adjusting state boundaries and the use of rivers flowing through several states. Let us take, for example, the recent unrest in Assam, instigated by certain sections of the bourgeoisie.* The majority of the population speak Assamese but in one particular district the majority language is Bengali. This was the cause of the dispute. But even when some new nationalities

*In October 1972 there was a clash between Assami students and the Bengali population.

demand a separate state, there is no question of withdrawing from the Indian Union.

The Communist Party stands for full equal rights for all the nationalities of India, for use of their own language in local education and administration, for the removal of regional economic backwardness, for more power to the various states consistent with the needs of a strong central government. Only such a solution can promote unity of the Left and democratic forces and facilitate the struggle for socialism.

- Have the Right parties achieved organizational cohesion, or is there only an identity of political and ideological positions?
- At its Ninth Congress, the CPI expressed its apprehension that the Rightist elements would return to the ruling party after the elections. Has this been the case?

The Swatantra Party, the Congress Organization and Jan Sangh are cooperating not only ideologically and politically; in the 1971 general elections, they acted as a single united bloc. There was also a secret alliance in the 1972 elections and now their representatives maintain close contacts in the central parliament and the state legislative assemblies.

Besides, as we foresaw, in a number of localities the reactionary elements are returning to the INC. The danger of Right-wing activation within the INC is still there. But there are some countervailing factors prodding the Congress more to the Left. I have mentioned some of them. The counter-offensive started by the monopolies is forcing the Indira Gandhi government, under pressure of the mass movement, to take steps against the monopolies. The reactionary elements who have come back to the INC are thus on the defensive.

- Does not cooperation with the bourgeoisie (as personified by the INC) in Kerala tend to restrict the Party's freedom of action?
- Does the possibility now exist for a coalition government of the Left and democratic forces?

In discussing the experience of the United Front Government in Kerala we must bear in mind that the political complexion of the INC differs from state to state. Kerala is one of those states where the INC leadership is in the hands of radical and democratic elements. This made it possible to set up a coalition government under Communist leadership and with the participation of Congressmen, with the INC rank-and file firmly supporting our Party on many important issues.

Our difficulties in Kerala are not due to the nature of the coalition. On the contrary, Kerala is the only state where a genuine agrarian reform is consistently being carried out, the position of

the working class improved and radical changes implemented. And all this in alliance with the INC. Our difficulties are due to other things. The Indian Constitution severely limits the financial and economic powers of state governments. The central government does not always support projects begun in Kerala and does not allocate the necessary funds. The difficulties are also complicated by the divisive policy of the parallel Communist Party.

The question about the possibility of establishing a Left and democratic coalition government in India is much more complicated. We should not forget that, despite all the achievements of the Left and democratic forces, the national bourgeoisie still enjoys very strong influence. It will require a much bigger shift to the Left before we can even approach the formation of such a coalition.

- How has U.S. imperialism reacted to India's increasing role in the Asian anti-imperialist movement?
- What are the essential features of imperialist subversion in India?

The main strategy of U.S. imperialism – and I am sorry to say also of Maoist China – is to try to encircle India. U.S. imperialism is concentrating on Sri Lanka, Nepal and other neighboring countries. In Pakistan, the U.S. has the Gilgit military base which serves as an espionage center against India and other peaceable countries. Washington and Peking are trying to prevent normalization of relations between India, Pakistan and Bangladesh. U.S. activity and the attempts to revive Japanese imperialism aim at converting the Indian Ocean and other parts of Asia into a center of imperialist expansion. India is one of the main targets. It will thus be seen that the objective basis of contradictions between India and U.S. imperialism remains.

Last autumn, Prime Minister Indira Ghandi sharply condemned the CIA for activizing its work in India. The CIA is bribing intellectuals, teachers, scientists, is operating among ultra-Left and ultra-Right student and youth groups, is exploiting divisive elements among the Left forces and also prejudices among a certain section of national communities in some states.

One of the main fields of CIA operations is the Indian bureaucracy, a reactionary, pro-imperialist group, a government within a government. It holds key positions in the administration of state sector enterprises and does everything it can to protect monopoly interests and sabotage development of the state sector.

- Do not some groups of the Indian bourgeoisie exploit the widespread sympathy for Bangladesh to demand certain privileges in that country?

Yes, some of the top monopolies are eager to get a foothold in Bangladesh. But the Indian and the Bangladesh governments have agreed that their trade shall be conducted by government agencies.

-- What has the treaty with the USSR given the Indian economy?

The Soviet Union is our true and tested friend. The events of the early 70s show that the USSR is always prepared to help the peoples of our sub-continent. That explains the immense popularity of our treaty with the Soviet Union. As for its economic aspects, it provides a basis for coordinating our plans. This will be achieved through a joint commission which will work out various forms of economic cooperation. In some cases the Soviet Union will receive raw materials from India to produce manufactured goods for India. In other cases we will produce manufactured goods for the USSR out of Soviet raw materials. India will get raw materials which until now were the monopoly of imperialist powers. Our two countries will also explore the possibility of joint projects in third countries. The treaty is of vast importance for developing our economy and providing employment. It will help India cope with the difficulties created by imperialist blackmail and economic diktat, break out of the world capitalist system and, eventually, take a more active part in international division of labor with the socialist countries. And this, I might add, is a crucial prerequisite for the non-capitalist development of such countries as India.

-- How do you visualize India's non-capitalist development?

This is a very important question. It should be remembered that the present government represents the national bourgeoisie and is leading the country along the capitalist path. Our aim, and this is set out in the Party Program, is a national-democratic state which will set the country on the non-capitalist path.

The social basis of such a national-democratic state is the working class in alliance with the peasantry, and middle strata and the non-monopoly bourgeoisie. The class nature of this coalition predetermines the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal changes in the social, economic and political structure. In India, a country with a medium level of capitalist development and with elements of pre-capitalist formations but also with monopoly elements, non-capitalist development will be linked with anti-monopoly struggle. That is why we attach so much importance to differentiation of the national bourgeoisie and support its radical and anti-monopoly wing.

Non-capitalist development presupposes nationalization of all the big monopoly concerns, accelerated expansion of the state sector with democratic workers' control of production at all levels; radical land reform and distribution of surplus land to poor peasants and agricultural workers through a system of their own Popular Committees; gradual cooperative organization of the peasantry.

The state will make full use of its levers of economic and financial power to help middle and small-scale industries. The present bureaucratic structure will be completely changed and the state administrative apparatus fully democratized; living standards will be raised and democratic rights of the working people extended.

In the present situation the aim of the mass political movement is to build up the front of the Left and democratic forces. The emergence of such a united front will bring us nearer to the stage when the bourgeoisie will not be able to rule India without joining a coalition with the proletariat and other consistently democratic forces and their political parties. That will bring into being a national-democratic government that will carry out the full program of non-capitalist development.

I may be asked: Are you sure that exactly this will occur in India? Let me put it this way: we are not soothsayers but Marxist-Leninists, and are working for this perspective.

Dictator versus people

Pedro Gonzales Torres,
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CONTINUING OUR SERIES 'POLITICAL PORTRAIT OF LATIN AMERICA'

Last autumn, Comrade Bernardo Alvarado Monzon, General Secretary of the Guatemalan Party of Labor, and five of his comrades were brutally murdered by the dictatorship of Arana Osorio. This new crime aroused the country and evoked widespread anger and indignation all over the world.

What is going on in this area of Central America? What lies behind the brutalities of the regime's satraps, who have come to be part and parcel of Guatemala's political life? To answer these questions it is necessary to present an outline of the situation in our country.

Oppression and terror

Guatemala's socio-economic system is in a crisis rooted in the contradiction between the potentialities of national development in the interests of the people and the obsolete traditional social structure which the ruling classes and imperialism are bent on perpetuating.

Foreign, particularly North American, capital dominates the public services, agriculture, mining and, as a consequence, political life. Under the signboard of the Central American Common Market, the monopolies are penetrating all spheres of the economy. According to the Economic Commission for Latin America, in 1969 foreign investments had reached \$306 million, 90 per cent belonging to U.S.

monopolies, which have become especially active since the recent exploitation of nickel deposits began. They have plans for investing more than \$200 million in nickel.

In spite of these 'injections' the economy is stagnating, with agriculture, its main branch, in a chronic crisis. As a result industrial production is lagging and export possibilities are restricted. Price fluctuations, monetary difficulties and a huge foreign debt are responsible for a permanent balance of payments deficit.

The overwhelming majority of Guatemalans live in inhuman conditions, the victims of unemployment, poverty, hunger and disease, while a handful of local and foreign exploiters wallow in luxury and abundance. Social injustice is rampant and the people's rights are trampled under.

After the overthrow of the progressive government of Jacobo Arbenz in 1954, the counter-revolutionaries, who came to power with the help of North American intervention, suspended all political freedoms. Typically fascist legislation gives freedom only to the reactionary parties. Revolutionary organizations are banned, bourgeois reformists are restricted. The elections are a comedy, a product of political bargaining and machinations in which the final word belongs to the advocates of U.S. imperialism.

The trade union movement is split and infested with agents of the government, local capitalists and Yankee monopolies. The peasants are virtually prevented from setting up organizations of their own. In their efforts to hold on to power the counter-revolutionaries have made violence the main weapon of political struggle. Since 1954 repression has become the rule. In the last six years (1966-1972) more than 13,000 people were murdered by the authorities and fascist-type organizations are operating with their blessing.

The regime is sensitive about its crimes and does its best to conceal them. The bodies of patriots tortured to death have been dumped into the sea or into volcanoes. But there are so many of them that people often discover mutilated bodies on roads and in vacant lots.

And that is why the democratic forces and broad sections of the people have been driven, even though all the means of unarmed struggle have not been exhausted, to reply with revolutionary violence to the terror of reaction.

Washington spares no effort to bolster the regime. Five million dollars a year is a considerable sum for the repressive forces of a country like ours. Yankee 'gifts' of munitions and materiel arrive in a steady flow. Many Guatemalan Army and police officers are trained in special centres in the U.S. We have more military advisers than anywhere else on the continent.

North American sociologist Susana Bodenheimer has called Guatemala the United States' anti-rebel laboratory for Latin America. In her words, a fiendish transplantation of techniques employed in Vietnam is now taking place. In 1966-1968, napalm and other weapons of mass destruction were employed against Guatemalan rebels. 'Green Berets' of Vietnam vintage have taken part in punitive

anti-guerrilla operations. At the same time, the methods of torture employed by Americans in Vietnam bear a remarkable similarity to those employed by the security forces in Guatemala.

'The reactionary forces headed by Arana Osorio ruling our country,' the CC GPL stressed in March 1972, 'are bent on consolidating the repressive totalitarian political regime and establishing an open fascist-type dictatorship.'

The present administration is dominated by died-in-the-wool ultra-Rightists, both military and civilian. But behind them lurk the real criminals who bear the blame for the Guatemalan people's tragedy: the bourgeois-landlord oligarchy and North American monopolies. And this elite trinity seeks to perpetuate the present regime by a reign of terror.

Alignment of class forces

Against the background of deepening crisis a further polarization of class and political forces is taking place. The big bourgeoisie and landlords are bound together by financial and family ties. The most powerful economic and political groups comprise the bourgeois-landlord oligarchy, the core of the exploiter classes, a bulwark of imperialism. Their objectives are in line with those of the Yankee monopolies. The oligarchy's main political organizations are the National Liberation Movement and the Constitutional Democratic Party. They care nothing for the national interest, concerned as they are only with election campaigns, not the solution of the nation's vital problems. They are reactionary, anti-Communist groups speaking for exploiter interests.

The propertied middle strata constitute a politically unstable segment. They may fall for liberal ideas, but under the pressure of the oligarchy and imperialism, and fearful of any sharpening of the class struggle, they are basically on the side of reaction and act as a 'constitutional' screen for the military dictatorship. Thus, the so-called Revolutionary Party, which won the 1966 election, immediately struck a deal with imperialism and the oligarchy and began serving them in defiance of all its election promises to the people.

Middle-class interests are also represented by the Christian-Democratic Party and the Democratic Revolutionary Unity Front. The former is national-reformist in orientation and, despite some restrictions on the part of the regime, is active in the towns and villages. It has put forward a program of limited reform and on many occasions protested against the terror methods of the Arana Osorio administration. The Unity Front is a party of liberal intellectuals without any clearcut ideological platform and has no legal status. Both parties rank themselves with the 'democratic Left' and talk a lot about reforms within a framework of bourgeois democracy, but they are also inclined to conciliation with the regime and frequently take an anti-Communist stand.

Popular movements against the dictatorship have spawned such organizations as the Rebel Armed Forces. Although they declare

themselves to be guided by the principles of Marxism-Leninism, their ideology and methods of struggle are not Marxist-Leninist. From the class point of view the RAF represents the impoverished, radical middle sections of the urban population and portions of the peasantry, and is inclined to ultra-Leftist attitudes. Its ideas of political struggle are one-sided and militaristic, as demonstrated by its anarchistic, adventurist actions.

Nevertheless, it must be said that among the RAF are many sincere revolutionaries, most of them young. Their difficult and instructive experience, coupled with the Communists' patient and flexible work aimed at Left cohesion, is gradually forcing the RAF to review its ideological and political positions, and there is a possibility that it will take the correct road.

The most consistently revolutionary political force is the vanguard of the working class, the Guatemalan Party of Labor (GPL). From its foundation in 1949, it has functioned legally for only three years during the democratic administration of Jacobo Arbenz. Since 1954, the party has been forced underground. Basing itself on the principles of Marxism-Leninism as applied in our conditions, the GPL has become the genuine voice of the working people. In their daily work the Communists take into account that the regime of terror is gradually moving towards isolation: the political struggle is growing more acute and in spite of all difficulties prospects are reopening for the development of the revolutionary-democratic movement.

Main strategic objective

Our main task is to rally all democrats and revolutionaries in the struggle against the fascization of the country, put an end to the government's reactionary, repressive policies and rescue Guatemala from the threat of the establishment of an even more centralized, authoritarian, terrorist rule.

The dictatorship's terror has seriously weakened the working class and peasantry. Their actions are sporadic. The students are politically active, but repressions have split their ranks. Some sections of the people have been intimidated by the dictatorship. The armed resistance to the regime is at present of a local character, has no mass base for development and no decisive impact on the country's political life. To take advantage of the opportunities for developing the revolutionary-democratic movement and the new trend toward unity within it we must join forces to overcome its fragmentation, lack of organization and vacillations.

Of tremendous importance in these circumstances is the elaboration of a correct tactics. Only by creating a united front of revolutionary forces and a legal and illegal democratic opposition can we put an end to the present regime. This is a task that requires painstaking work.

Our Party is persistently seeking the most effective organizational forms of joint worker, peasant and student action against the government's anti-popular policies. We hold that concrete results in

this sphere will promote the development of the revolutionary struggle as a whole.

In calling for unity we realize, of course, that the anti-imperialist and anti-oligarchic sentiments in the opposition camp are frequently timidly expressed. Democratic, petty-bourgeois organizations waver and hold opportunist positions. This makes it more difficult to draw them into active revolutionary struggle. Nor are we blind to the sectarianism and adventurism of the Left-radical groups participating in the armed movement, though we take into account that they enjoy influence over, and the sympathy of, considerable sections of the people.

Imperialism and the oligarchy are doing all they can to neutralize our efforts. They are, figuratively speaking, bluffing and playing with several packs of cards. In their efforts to halt the revolutionary movement they may at some stage support the ultra-Right or, choosing a different tack, throw their support to the centrist elements with their superficially democratic program. This makes it doubly important to expose reactionary maneuvering.

Two main factors dominate the political situation in the country. Firstly, the all-out terror, exemplified by the brutal killing of six leading members of the Guatemalan Party of Labor. The Arana Osorio government has been discredited by its foul crimes, but they are also a pointer to the possibility of a further escalation of repressions.

Secondly, there is the general election scheduled for March 1974. The election campaign will doubtlessly lead to the polarization of political forces, aggravation of the confrontation between reaction and the democratic opposition, the deepening of contradictions within the ruling clique and changes within the army. It may well revitalize the struggle of the workers, peasants and middle strata for their essential demands and democratic rights.

It is hard to predict the course of events. There is always the possibility of a new reactionary military coup if the ultra-Right begin to doubt the outcome of the elections. But this may arouse powerful opposition, not only from the people, but even among some Right-wing elements who realize that a coup is no way out of the nation's economic and political crisis.

In this difficult situation our aim is the unity of all democratic, popular and revolutionary forces. It is incumbent on Communists to raise the standards of military work within the Party and among the masses with the purpose of making it always and in all circumstances politically orientated, controlled and in line with the concrete conditions.

We seek to exploit the contradictions in the counter-revolutionary camp and isolate its most aggressive and rigid elements. While exposing the government's demagoguery and contrasting it with the people's urgent demands, we fight manifestations of opportunism and conciliation among the democratic forces, exposing the erroneousness and superficial effectiveness of ultra-Left, anarchistic ideas, which merely mislead the masses.

As the CC GPL emphasized in December 1972, the Guatemalan Communists' main task is to build up the Party into a political organization capable of leading the masses to the revolutionary changes the country needs so much and carrying the cause of our dead comrades to its triumphant end. The formulation of concrete objectives, the organization of popular movements, the elaboration of forms and methods of struggle in keeping with the Party's tactics will help change the balance of forces in our favor, open the way to power for the revolutionary-democratic forces and proceed with the agrarian anti-imperialist revolution, with the prospects of its developing into socialist revolution — our main strategic objective.

Birth of a class

Damiranzhavyn Zagasbaldan,
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INDUSTRIALIZATION AND FORMATION OF A NEW SOCIAL STRUCTURE ON THE WAY FROM FEUDALISM TO SOCIALISM, BYPASSING CAPITALISM

Up-to-date large-scale mechanized production in town and country, Lenin taught us, is the foundation of socialism. Progress in building the new system is not measured solely by the degree to which means of production have been socialized; the level of the productive forces and the depth of the social changes should also be taken into account.

It is especially difficult to build socialism in economically backward countries, such as pre-revolutionary Mongolia. In the Central Committee report to our 16th Congress (1971), Comrade Y. Tsedenbal said, among other things, that the completion of socialist construction will take a whole historical period, a series of phases of economic growth. He underscored the importance of the country's conversion into an industrial-agrarian land in the near future, to be followed by the building of a developed socialist production potential.

Despite the peculiar historical and socio-economic background in the Mongolian People's Republic, the ways of building the optimum socialist economic complex are essentially the same there as in other socialist countries. To build a versatile economy requires accelerated industrial development, which is planned and balanced, so that the key sectors of industry are effectively har-

monized. It should be borne in mind, however, that in Mongolia industrialization laid the economic, and with it the social and cultural, foundation for building socialism in a formerly feudal and colonial country that was but recently totally devoid of a modern industry, building, transport and communications, and hence also of a working class.

Taking advantage of the social patterns in pre-revolutionary Mongolia, world capitalism used even pre-capitalist methods in exploiting the country. Foreign commercial and usury capital did not bother to reshape the feudal economy, and fed on it like a parasite. It was the worst, most reactionary type of usury, which, to use Marx's definition, occurs in 'Asiatic forms' and leads inexorably to economic ruin and political corruption. Growth of the productive forces was inconceivable until the feudal and colonial regime was overthrown by the popular revolution of 1921, which triumphed in the new epoch rung in by the October Revolution in Russia.

Mongolia began her intensive industrialization only recently, in the early 60s. This was also the beginning of a new period in her social growth – the period of completing the foundations of socialism. The way was paved by the lengthy and difficult process of building up national industries, construction, transport and communications, and equipping all branches of the economy with new technology. The pre-revolutionary economic structure changed. A mere 50 years ago cattle-breeding was almost the only source of national income, whereas nowadays more than one-fifth of it – and more than one-third if building is included – is yielded by industry. Industry accounts for as much as 50 per cent of the export and retail trade. In 30 years the social product increased 530 per cent and national income 440 per cent. People's Mongolia has grown from an agrarian into an agrarian-industrial country.

In old Mongolia all the equipment of her 'industrial enterprises' fitted snugly into the tool-boxes of the artisans. Today, the country's nearly 220 industrial enterprises have the latest plant. The average factory produces 30 million tugriks worth of goods annually, or as much as the country's entire industry in 1937.

The progress is especially striking in agriculture, where but recently spades, axes and hand-shears (to clip sheep) were the only implements. Now our more than 300 large socialist (state and co-operative) farms average 28,000 head of cattle, 181 tractors (in 15 h.p. units), 38 combine harvesters and 28 automobiles in the case of state farms and in the case of cooperatives 61,000 head of cattle, with ample farming machinery. Land cultivation, sowing and harvesting are 100 per cent mechanized, and haymaking, and planting, harvesting and sorting of potatoes (in the case of state farms) 80-100 per cent mechanized. The average cooperative has 800 times as many head of cattle as the average pre-revolutionary farm.

Life expectancy and population have almost doubled. The general educational, cultural and technical niveau has risen steeply. We have

2,258 students per 10 thousand population, including 66 in higher educational establishments. Forty-four per cent of the country's population is urban.

The Mongolian People's Republic owes its striking progress of the past 50 years to its class alliance with the victorious Russian proletariat, to world socialism. Its industrial growth benefits from the systematic aid and rich experience of the Soviet Union, and the incalculable advantages of all-round cooperation and mutual assistance and international division of labor in the socialist system as a whole. The Mongolian example proves that combination, rather than counterposition, of the efforts of each country and all-round cooperation with other socialist states is a propellant of rapid political, economic and cultural growth. The newest factors of economic growth, related to the scientific-technical revolution, are made effective by socialist integration.

As we see it, the concept 'socialist industrialization' may mean two things: a concrete economic policy connoting intensive industrialization, or the general objective process of socialist development. The latter broader concept encompasses not only the laying and development of industry, but also a repatterning of the whole economy, spread of industrial labor methods, training of new personnel and development of a new culture, and in our specific case also the formation of the working class. Socialist industrialization viewed as the principal economic and political target in a definite period, is necessary only for countries whose industry was insufficiently developed before the advent of people's power. Viewed as the strategic aim of economic development, it applies to very many countries.

In Mongolia industry and other industrial economic sectors were virtually built from scratch. They did not take long to pass the various consecutive stages of growth, because large-scale production and up-to-date technology were introduced under a balanced plan.

In some cases, the order in which we built our industries and their structure, differed from those of other socialist countries. Mongolia has fourteen main industries, including coal and ore mining, power, metalworking, building materials, timber and woodworking. Manufacturing industries, especially important for industrialization, predominate, and account for more than 86 per cent of the gross industrial output. Food and consumer goods production determines the image of our industry.

The nature and the disparities between socialist and capitalist industrialization depend less on the order in which branches of industry are built — e.g., priority development of heavy industries — and mainly on the socio-economic conditions and results. Under capitalism, industrialization is in the interest of the bourgeoisie and hinges on exploitation of workers, whereas socialist industrialization is in the interest of the working people, and is centered on improving their lives, while the order of development depends on the historical situation, level of the productive forces, and other concrete factors.

Capitalist industrialization is usually accompanied by the ruin of peasants, intensified exploitation of workers, a widening of the gap between town and village, economic crises, and acute class struggle. Mongolia was spared all this. Elimination of parasitic consumption by temporal and spiritual lords, nationalization of land and natural resources, abolition of serfdom, annulment of state debts and expulsion of foreign capital helped cope with the urgent problems of accumulation and channelled considerable resources into building the new economic complex.

The Mongolian People's Republic has two sources of industrial growth—the domestic and foreign. The percentage of investment funds received from other socialist countries is high. Aid comes mainly in the form of long-term credits, and is mostly in equipment and material, including construction of whole factories and complexes.

It is fortunate for countries building up their industry that the socialist countries' market is regulated and that all commerce between them is based on long-term agreements. This assures a stable outlook and guarantees sales at fixed prices. More, CMEA countries offer incentive prices for Mongolia's farm and industrial products. That, however, is only one of the many aspects of fraternal aid to the MPR under the Comprehensive Socialist Integration Program.

Socialism eliminates economic backwardness by industrial development in a historically short time. Suffice it to say that in the past 20-odd years the CMEA countries' share in total world industrial output has approximately doubled. Industrial development is a law for all socialist countries (not just particular regions, as in the capitalist world), with formerly backward ones rapidly approaching the level of the industrially developed.

Politics is of especial significance in the transition to socialism from the pre-capitalist stage. The role of the superstructure is greater, because the material and technical conditions of socialism that normally begin maturing in the capitalist stage, have to be moulded consciously through truly titanic organizing by the whole system of revolutionary power. Lenin, it will be recalled, stressed to a Mongolian delegation in 1921 that the motor for Mongolia's non-capitalist development is steady improvement of the work of the people's revolutionary party and the government. It is to the Party's credit that, equipped with the teaching of scientific socialism and cooperating with the world Communist movement, it became the Marxist-Leninist vanguard and organizer of the masses in the fight for a new society.

As socialist economy grew, a working class appeared and became the leading force in the country. It did not take form spontaneously, but through the Party's scientifically grounded policy of changing social relations in a country governed by the people in the interest of the people. It appeared and developed as a class possessing the means of production, as the bearer of socialist relations of production, and a class that had never been exposed to exploitation of man by man. It is educated in the spirit of Marxism-Leninism and prole-

tarian internationalism, and develops with the aid of the working class of the USSR and other socialist countries.

The working class began to take shape in the 30s at the height of democratic changes in the country. The establishment of state and cooperative enterprises impelled the appearance of direct proprietors of these new forms of property. Joining in collective labor, these people became aware of themselves as a specific group with a specific place in social production. At first it consisted of former herdsmen, and, secondly, of the handful of laborers from the old small factories and workshops, and, finally, of lower lamas that had left the lamaseries and had taken up socially useful labor. Only a few had preliminary training in trade schools or courses.

The birth of the working class was accompanied by the introduction of the heretofore unfamiliar socialist principle of distribution according to labor. The workers' numbers grew steadily and their participation in social production and administration increased. Having become an independent social force, the working class gained a place in Party, government and public organizations.

The bulk of the workers was recruited from among the arats, whose background differed from that of peasants under capitalism. The conversion of peasants into workers was not the result of a class differentiation of small proprietors usual for the transition from feudal to capitalist production. In the early years of the revolution the arats fought not only against exploitation and for social emancipation, democratic changes and national independence, but were also at the helm of power. Far-reaching changes occurred in their situation. With a big stake in agrarian progress, they defeated the main enemy, the feudal lords, ended feudalism and emancipated labor.

The revolutionary and political activity of the arat herdsmen, impelled by the stormy events of those times, their support of the people's revolutionary party and state, as well as satisfaction with their work – all influenced and taught the burgeoning working class a great deal. On the other hand, the preponderance of small-scale production, based on individualism and the desire for personal enrichment, the predominance of primitive medieval methods of work, and the deep religious beliefs and illiteracy of the arats, their ancient customs and mores, their lack of discipline and organization, left an imprint on the first generation of workers.

At the same time, from the 20s onwards, skilled Soviet workers and specialists came to Mongolia. Not only did they work alongside the Mongolians, they also taught the inexperienced workers industrial skills, the use of machines, and labor discipline. This was training in the spirit of proletarian internationalism, a school of socialism. The constant policy of the MPRP and the people's government was to consolidate the alliance of the arat revolutionary movement with the international working class – first and foremost with the working class of the first country of socialism, and to study and utilize the rich experience of the Soviet working class and its Party.

The basic law of class relations puts the classes representing pro-

gressive production relations in the position of leadership. The leading role of the Mongolian working class was determined by its position in society, its direct involvement with the most important branch of the economy and the more concentrated and organized type of public property. While workers were associated with collective socialist property, the arat herdsmen in the first period of people's power were tied to small, private ownership. However, friendly relations, based on their common interests, developed and became enriched. The alliance of the working class and the arat masses became the main political force of Mongolian society and reflected the main trend towards undividedly socialist production relations.

Agriculture, which had been based on the nomadic existence of the herdsmen dispersed over a vast territory, gradually developed into a socialist agricultural economy. By the end of the 50s this process had been completed, and fundamental changes in the social structure had been established. From that time onwards the union of the working class with the arats, now in cooperatives, became the political basis of our society.

The rapid economic development, the phase of intensive industrialization, gave rise to many new features in the social position of the working class. From 1940-70, the number of workers increased 540 per cent. Herdsmen were still the main recruits to the ranks of the workers, but the proportion of unskilled workers had considerably decreased. Today more than 90 per cent are in the various skill categories. Young people with general schooling become workers. On average, 38 out of every 1,000 workers have had higher and secondary specialist education. Nearly 20,000 young people studied in various technical and vocational institutions during 1966-70, and there are 30 technical schools catering for 70 different trades. Finally, we are witnessing the emergence of second generation workers. Amongst those who have become workers during the last five-year plan, nearly 60 per cent are of working class origin, 30 per cent are arat herdsmen, and 10 per cent come from the intelligentsia. The number of technical engineers is increasing and comprises approximately 10 per cent of those engaged in various branches of industry. Workers and employees and their families now account for 56 per cent of the population.

With intensive industrialization, the concentration of workers in large, modern enterprises has increased. Technical progress, the mechanization of production have begun to change the content of labor.

The strengthening of the material-technical basis of socialism means that the herdsmen can acquire more industrial goods, some types of agricultural machinery and equipment, etc.

The working class, representing the social aspirations of all working people, now wields a decisive influence on socialist social relations. By its high degree of organization, political consciousness, extensive links with technical progress and large-scale production, it sets an example to other sections of the population. Socialist emula-

tion is a well-tried means of mobilizing the creative initiative of the workers, and the movement of leading workers and innovators has encompassed nearly all industrial enterprises. There are now more than 4,450 teams of socialist labor, while 2,100 teams are competing for this title.

The working class has the key role in making social production more effective – the task set by the 16th Congress of the MPRP. In the 1971-75 Five-Year Plan the anticipated increase in industrial production is 56 per cent. This means that in 1975 industry's share in the total social product will rise to 41 per cent and in the national income to 28.5 per cent.

Mongolia's experience shows that socialist industrialization is not simply a 'finishing touch' to the work that capitalism had failed to accomplish in the bigger part of the world. It is a special unprecedented process of social changes and the emergence of a new working class that takes over the future of its country.

Common responsibility for peace

INTERVIEW WITH LENIN PEACE PRIZE WINNERS

The International Lenin Peace Prize, which is awarded every year in April on the birthday of V. I. Lenin, is a most prestigious and esteemed award. It is a tribute to the calibre and achievements of outstanding fighters against war and the threat of war. Laureates of this distinguished prize can be found in many countries. Representing a broad spectrum of political views, they constitute as it were an Order of the Knights of Peace, convinced supporters and advocates of the Leninist principle of peaceful coexistence of countries with different social systems, fighters for disarmament, friendship and cooperation among peoples.

In Great Britain there are three Lenin Peace Prize winners: **Ivor Montagu** (1958 prize), a leading journalist, cinema worker and Communist; **Gordon Schaffer**, (1964), journalist and prominent public figure, and **Eric Burhop** (1970-71), outstanding physicist, professor at London University, and president of the World Federation of Scientific Workers. At the request of our correspondent, the three men got together in London not long ago to talk about some of the present-day problems of the peace movement.

Men of different mould and professional interests, they are good, old acquaintances bound by mutual feelings of trust, understanding and respect. Ivor Montagu is one of the originators of the world movement of peace champions. Professor Burhop is known for his activity in the democratic scientists' movement and his campaigning for the unconditional banning of nuclear, chemical and bacteriological weapons. He is also active in the Pugwash movement. Gordon

Schaffer for a long time headed the British Peace Committee. He is president of the British European Security and Cooperation Committee, vice-president of the National Peace Council, and member of the council of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament.

The conversation began with reminiscences and comparisons. Many years have passed since *Ivor Montagu*, the senior laureate, received the medal with the head of V. I. Lenin embossed on it. It was the Cold War period, when participants in the peace movement were hounded as 'Soviet agents.' *Gordon Schaffer* received his Prize shortly after the Caribbean crisis, when the first symptoms of détente began to appear. When *Eric Burhop* was awarded the Prize, Europe had begun to turn from suspicion and confrontation to the quest for practical forms of collective security and cooperation.

The peoples' powerful peace movement was an important contribution to the betterment of the political climate, and a great part was played by the foreign policy of the socialist countries, the Soviet Union in the first place. All three men agreed on this. *Prof. Burhop* mentioned some of the conclusions he had reached while working in 1972 on a magazine article reviewing the 50 years' history of Soviet foreign policy.

'The Soviet government,' he said, 'pursues a consistent policy of peace and disarmament, especially nuclear disarmament. For 50 years Soviet policy has taken the lead in the struggle for peace. I think it is true to say that all the proposals for banning nuclear weapons originated with the Soviet proposals. . .'

Much time had to pass, however, before the persistent peace policy of the socialist countries began to yield tangible fruit. The development was by no means in a straight line, as *Gordon Schaffer* stressed, recalling the events of the early 60s, particularly the period following the Moscow nuclear test ban treaty and the first advances towards the non-proliferation treaty. It was a time of high hopes, but also great disappointments, especially with regard to European security.

'The most tragic thing of that period,' he said, 'was after the visit to London of Soviet Prime Minister Kosygin in 1967. The two governments had voiced their conviction that countries with dif-

Eric Burhop: 'Scientists realize they have a special responsibility, a responsibility which derives from knowledge.'

Ivor Montagu: 'What is required of us is to keep prodding our opponents, to keep them from quenching public protest, to keep them from pursuing their line unhampered.'

Gordon Schaffer: 'Our objective is to unite all peace forces and isolate the madmen who still see war as a means of resolving political issues.'

ferent social systems can and should engage in peaceful cooperation on the basis of the principles of independence, national sovereignty, equality, non-interference and the rejection of force or the threat of force in resolving issues between countries. The joint declaration had reaffirmed the resolve of both parties to promote détente in Europe and cooperation on an all-European basis. We saw on television Mr. Wilson proudly reading out the text. Under pressure from Bonn the British Labor government went back on its words and it took several more years before European problems began moving towards a solution. . . .

The veterans of peace have certainly had more than their share of disappointments and dashed hopes, and they bear them like the battle scars of old soldiers. But these are men whose work is inspired by the name of the great Lenin, and nothing could discourage them or force them to back down. At the Prize presentation ceremony in the autumn of 1972, Prof Burhop said: 'Lenin knew that war was the most terrible despoiler of the hopes and aspirations of ordinary people. He also knew the tremendous power of science to transform human lives. With great pride and humility I accept this award and will endeavor to be worthy of it.'

The champions of peace invariably turn to Lenin for faith in victory over the forces of imperialism and aggression, for faith in the power of the masses, in their devotion to peace.

'In no case,' Ivor Montagu said forcefully, 'should we draw the conclusion that public agitation and pressure is of no use in opposing government war policy. One must not be discouraged by the number of times one is disappointed, not lose faith in the success of our work, but seek the causes of setbacks. One should see the power of the people, which in the West compels governments to try to suppress ferment and dissatisfaction by every means. What is required of us is to keep prodding our opponents, to keep them from quenching public protest, to keep them from pursuing their line unhampered.'

Recent events have wholly justified such optimism. An example is the evolution of Bonn. Its turn to greater political realism made possible the solution of a number of outstanding European problems. And the fact that the Tory government in London finds itself forced to take part in the preparations for an all-European conference speaks for itself. Sceptics had refused to believe that a country like the United States would ever concede defeat in Indochina. They had no faith in the possibility of the Vietnamese people's victory, in the effectiveness of the socialist countries' military and economic help, in the strength of the international solidarity movement. But dedicated champions of peace never retreated, they never lost faith in the success of their cause.

A symbol of such noble doggedness in Great Britain was the Vietnam Peace Vigil at the American Embassy in Grosvenor Square which lasted almost a year. Day after day, defying rain and wind, scores and sometimes hundreds of men and women, old people and teenagers, Communists, Laborites and trade unionists, maintained

a constant rotating vigil as an expression of the angry protest of the working people of Great Britain against the U.S. aggression. And who knows, perhaps this vigil was one of the straws which, according to Eastern adage, may break the camel's back? Be that as it may, one of the reasons for the universal endorsement of the agreement on ending the war and restoring peace in Vietnam may have been that millions of people all over the world, and especially the participants in the movement for peace and solidarity with Vietnam, felt that they, too, had contributed to the heroic Vietnamese people's great victory.

There is no question that the end of the war in Vietnam is a tremendous success for all forces of peace, which opens up new prospects of greater détente and security. Along with the marked improvement in the political climate of Europe, peace in Vietnam may well usher in a new era in international relations.

Prof. Burhop pointed out some of the positive and negative features of the international situation. Among the former are the series of treaties and agreements that have laid the foundations for establishing a reliable system of security and cooperation in Europe. Another positive development is the pronounced change in Soviet-American relations which paved the way for the strategic arms limitation agreement concluded in Moscow and the agreements on expanding Soviet-American cooperation in many fields.

'The agreement on the SALT talks,' *Prof. Burhop* said, 'was important, but they were beginning: it was an important agreement as regards limitation of ABM weapons, but it is very important that it is followed as quickly as possible by an agreement about the MIRV's (multiple independently targetable re-entry vehicles) because the two things go together.'

'On the negative side, I feel, for instance, that a great deal of strength has gone out of the campaign for the abolition of nuclear weapons. I think it was a burning political issue in the early 60s, but there is much less mass interest in it today, unfortunately. To some extent this was due to the fact that the agreement on the treaty for the abolition of nuclear tests in the atmosphere was successful because a great deal of the force behind the campaign was due to the fear of radioactive fallout arising from these tests. When the necessity to worry so much about the fallout was taken away by the conclusion of the agreement, the campaign for banning nuclear weapons receded.'

'We all remember the time when the peace movement issued its Stockholm appeal,' *Gordon Schaffer* said. 'The millions of signatures gathered under it played an historic role. But there are now 50 times the number of nuclear weapons that there were when we first started launching the appeal. So the need to ban nuclear weapons is more urgent than ever and that is why it is so important to exploit to the fullest the possibilities opening up before the peace movement in 1973, possibilities which we haven't seen since the first hopeful rays in our world peace movement.'

'The UN General Assembly has agreed to a resolution calling

for a world disarmament conference, and preparatory talks are going to take place. The peace movement should exert every effort to ensure the implementation of this important resolution. The United Nations also passed a resolution calling for a permanent ban on the use of nuclear weapons. And so 1973 can be the year of disarmament if we can make use of it. Soviet-American talks on further strategic arms limitations have begun, the NATO and Warsaw treaty countries have begun talking about force reductions in Europe and, of course, the conference of European countries is being made possible by the consultations on its agenda in Helsinki.

'All of this goes to show that the balance of power in the world has changed substantially in favor of peace. And these are the things which we've got to make use of in the coming months. I think that the finale of the first stage of the struggle should be the Peace Assembly to be held this year. Here will be the chance for the people of the world to assert their demands that the nation make peace.'

Détente does not mean any diminishing of the role of public movements. On the contrary, they are more important than ever. Added to their task of upholding peace is the discussion of concrete problems and forms of strengthening security and developing economic, cultural, scientific and other types of cooperation. A good example of such efforts was last summer's Assembly of Public Forces for European Security and Cooperation in Brussels.

Ivor Montagu: 'The time has come to think of how the world peace movement and those of us who work in it can best contribute to getting results that humanity desires.'

'Especially so,' *Prof. Burhop* pointed out, 'in the light of the renewed interest of young people in problems of peace and disarmament, problems of the role of science and technology in modern society, problems of society in general. In the past only some young people were interested in such things. It is only quite recently that we have a level of activity in the Western world and the questioning of whole tenets, of the whole assumptions on which our law and industrial society is based. As a university teacher I find this a very important and encouraging development, and I feel that we older people really haven't learned to evaluate sufficiently the importance of this revolt by our youth and the extent of its progressive impact. I think it is very important for our peace movement to be aware of the great strength of the ferment that has involved large sections of our youth. Of course, one of the problems is that young people sometimes take short cuts to get results, that there are many lines they don't understand. However, I think one of our main tasks is to think about how we can stimulate this revolt of youth and their concern with these matters of peace and disarmament along the lines which strengthen our movement.'

Gordon Schaffer stressed that one development which he regarded as immensely important was when the Committee for European Security was launched.

'We secured support on a scale never before received in Britain,' he said, 'We had support from leaders of the Trades Union Congress. We have several members of the Labor Party Executive, and we have support from certain cultural sections, and so on. All this is an expression of the growing public desire for peace, for the European conference. Our objective is to unite all peace forces and isolate the madmen who still see war as a means of resolving political issues.'

Special consideration was given to the problem of civic responsibility for peace. All three men share the view that in present-day society the responsibility rests with all conscious citizens. A desire for peace without practical action is not yet a measure of political daring.

'I would like to say something about the responsibility of scientists,' said *Prof Burhop*. 'The old Biblical phrase, "To whom much is given, of him much is required," applies to them in full measure. In the course of the development of new discoveries a scientist can perhaps see more clearly than other people where these discoveries are likely to lead. A scientist should not be indifferent to the possible results of his investigations. That is the reason behind the Pugwash movement and the establishment of the World Federation of Scientists. The World Federation was in fact set up precisely because scientists realized they had a special responsibility, a responsibility which derives from knowledge.'

'Of course,' *Prof. Burhop* continued, 'scientists are not the only people capable of seeing clearly the implications of their work. In doing science you don't always know where the work you're doing is going to lead. In my own field, for instance, in fundamental physics, one cannot foresee the implications of the work. One might say "What is the responsibility then?" Should one stop work altogether just in case that something you are doing may be used for some bad purpose at some time in the future? Unfortunately, today some people are saying this. Some young people, some young scientists have gone along a wrong path here because they have actually got an anti-science stand.'

'Now I think this is very bad and wrong because it's a challenge to us, it is our responsibility to see that the very best which can be achieved follows from a scientific discovery and is achieved for the benefit of mankind, and that the evil things which can also follow do not follow. So that I always use my influence when I am talking to my students to expose these anti-science attitudes and show where they can lead.'

In this connection *Eric Burhop* spoke of his work on the Manhattan Project which developed the first atomic bomb. Was he justified in taking part in it? What stand should a scientist take today when faced with a similar dilemma?

'When I was working on the Manhattan Project during the War,' he said, 'I knew perfectly well what I was doing. I don't think I had enough imagination to imagine the horrible destructiveness of that weapon, but I knew there was going to be a very dangerous

weapon. And yet it seemed to me that the contribution I could make to the Allied war effort was to work along these lines. And the destruction of Hitler and Nazism was the greatest political task facing humanity and, therefore, I felt that I was justified in working on this project.

'But do the American scientists who worked for the development of new weapons for the aggression in Vietnam have such a justification? We all read about the Pentagon Papers and about the activities of the so-called Jason Group (which was engaged in work on "special" weapons for Vietnam. - Ed.). I've seen a list of the members of the Jason Group and there are some 30 or 40 very well known physicists, some of them are my own friends. I think that they should have shown a greater sense of social responsibility than to engage in this kind of work. In Vietnam the United States gave an example of a particularly obscene perversion of science and technology. I think we have a duty to try and make these scientists understand the implications of the work they are doing, to show them where they are wrong and try to explain in each case what they were doing. Some of my younger colleagues are in fact being active along these lines. Young people realize and try to bring home that it isn't sufficient to be a good technologist, to be a very good professional as a physicist, but that one must also think of the social consequences of the work one is doing and bear responsibility for it.'

'Besides the responsibility of the scientists,' *Gordon Schaffer* said, 'there is also the responsibility of those who are in control of the fruit of scientific discoveries. I think there ought to be more understanding of exactly how dangerous our continent is. Because if you look at the NATO plans you will see that they depend on nuclear weapons and that the NATO Council has issued guidelines to the generals in the field on the first use of tactical nuclear weapons. And that is just why we must step up the fight to ban them.'

'I also think of the responsibility of journalists for peace. They can play an important part because much depends on the objective supply of public information. I have been a journalist for some 40 years, I've been repeatedly victimized for my views and convictions and I know the importance of honest presentation of facts.'

'Yes,' *Ivor Montagu* concurred, 'the people who help shape public opinion have a great responsibility, especially in the Western world. The habit of repressing tendencies towards knowledge that would run counter to the policies of the government is now beginning to develop an increasing reaction against it. Again and again the courage of men whose jobs are at risk of their profession in the newspaper world and the television world in America and Britain, has produced a situation in which the public is more aware of what is being done in their name. Photographs, pictures, documents coming to light are feeding the public. Readers and viewers are given facts they would never have learned of from official sources, and this forces them to think. In Britain and the United States

people daring to speak the truth, to get down to the truth and reveal it to others are being increasingly persecuted. Legal prosecutions face those editors who have dared to follow their conscience, realize their responsibility and act contrary to the line of their publishers and owners. Laws protecting journalists are being revised. But I am confident that the voice of truth cannot be smothered.'

In conclusion *Ivor Montagu* said:

'What idea lies at the root of the peace movement, which was founded under the guidance of the great French scientist and Communist Frederick Joliot-Curie? The idea that the peoples of the world, all of them, the vast majority of people in each country reject war as a means of resolving international issues, that they want peace and cooperation. It is also our idea that man is grown up enough to begin to think about how to get peace and not just leave it as an affair to captains and kings and governments but to assume the responsibility of getting it. Life has confirmed the correctness of both assumptions. But now the movement for peace has to find more effective forms and methods of work in keeping with present-day requirements, to find out the way of crystallizing the feelings of the people for peace.'

London-Prague

Recorded by *L. Sheidin*

After the war, peaceful rehabilitation

The international Vietnam conference is a step closer to a settlement in Indochina. The signatories, says the Final Act signed in Paris on March 2, solemnly pledge to recognize and respect 'the fundamental national rights of the people of Vietnam, namely, the independence, sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity of Vietnam, and the right of the South Vietnamese population to self-determination.'

Though at this writing the cease-fire is not yet complete or final, peaceful rehabilitation is beginning to gain precedence. 'A new chapter opened on January 28, 1973, in the history of the revolutionary struggle of our people,' said a *Nhan Dan* editorial, the aim being to intensify socialist construction in the North, while consummating the historic objectives of the national people's-democratic revolution in the South.'

The peoples of the socialist countries, Communists and progressives the world over, are displaying fraternal solidarity with the courageous people of Vietnam, who now face the formidable job of rehabilitating their war-ravaged economy. 'The Soviet people,' said L. I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CC CPSU, 'fully support the determination expressed in the appeal of the Working People's Party of Vietnam and the DRV Government to turn the Democratic

Republic of Vietnam into a flourishing socialist country and to raise still higher its international role.'

In South Vietnam, too, the people are eager to begin rebuilding the peace. But for them there are obstacles. A joint statement by the CC NLF and the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam warned that 'reactionary, militarist and fascist forces, supported by foreign governments, are nurturing sinister plans of disrupting the peace and blocking independence, democracy and national concord.'

Here are a few facts. In the one week from January 29 to February 4, the police mounted 500 operations in Hue, arresting thousands of peaceful civilians. Shortly before the signing of the Paris agreements, Saigon President Thieu issued ten fascist-type decrees. The Saigon authorities ordered 125,000 police to mount punitive operations in cities and 'shoot on the spot' anyone suspected of 'incitement' or of 'communist propaganda.' (Communique of the South Vietnam Committee for the Liberation of Patriots and Peace Champions).

Thieu is beside himself with fear. 'If we let things drift,' he admitted, 'there is a chance that the population will vote for the Communists.' He is doing his utmost under the U.S. protection to obstruct national reconciliation and the self-expression of the South Vietnamese population.

What strikes the eye is the perfidy of the United States. In effect, the U.S. imperialists are trying to evade responsibility for the observance of the political articles of the Paris agreements. The CP USA warned in a statement that 'U.S. imperialism is preparing to use massive intervention by the CIA, by so-called civilian advisers, by attempts to buy elections in South Vietnam, as well as by military means' (*Daily World*, Jan. 25, 1973).

The press reports a recruiting drive among retiring U.S. servicemen for deployment to South Vietnam, this time as 'civilian personnel.' The Pentagon plans to have 10,000 such 'civilians' there, and as many as 5,000 have already arrived since December 1972. While troops are being withdrawn from South Vietnam, the U.S. armed forces in Thailand are being reinforced.

The Vietnam conference recognized that the future of Indochina is the business of its own peoples, and that the four parties that signed the Paris agreement on January 27 are committed to observe the terms of the cease-fire. This principle is also set down in the agreement on the restoration of peace and the achievement of national concord in Laos: 'Internal Laotian affairs shall be settled by Laotians . . .'

But this does not mean that the support of world progressives, who have done so much for the cease-fire to become a reality, is no longer needed in the rehabilitation period. Speaking in the name of the French Communist Party, its General Secretary, Georges Marchais, said, 'determined struggle is still necessary to impose stringent observance of all the points of the accord.' He called on

the working class, democrats, patriots, all champions of peace and independence, to display 'vigilance and to act.'

The Hungarian *Nepszabadsag* wrote: 'Naturally, we have no illusions about any change in the nature and ambitions of imperialism. The only thing that has decreased is its capacity. Even though the guns are silent and Americans are at last departing, the peace in Vietnam is still very tenuous and a struggle lies ahead before the peoples of Indochina win their freedom, in which their creative powers will be fully developed. Yet after the conclusion of the Vietnam cease-fire agreement we can look ahead with greater optimism and confidence.'

Strict observance of the Agreements and the Final Act of the international Vietnam conference is the only possible basis for a real passage from war to peace in Indochina, and will help improve the situation in Asia. V.R.



The possibilities of cooperating with Social-Democrats

as told by Urban Karlsson,
Sec., Left Party—Communists
of Sweden

During a visit to Prague, Comrade Urban Karlsson, Secretary of the Left Party – Communists of Sweden, spoke at a meeting of the **WMR** commission on class struggle in the developed capitalist countries, about the work of his Party's 23rd Congress, and answered questions. In an interview with our correspondent he discussed some of the problems facing Communist parties in their fight for Left unity raised in the February, 1973, issue of **WMR**.

I would like to start with a comment on the theses entitled 'Marching Together' that appeared in the February issue of *World Marxist Review*. The question of a democratic alliance is incontestably topical. For Communists it will be most useful to discuss the matter. On the other hand, I found that *WMR* poses the problem in a much too general form.

Generalizations are, of course, useful, but they tend to obscure the specifics. For example, I think the question of united action of Communists and Social-Democrats is highly specific and deserves a separate analysis, especially in the light of a wealth of new experiences, for example, the Finnish experience of cooperation between Communists and Social-Democrats at government level, with all of its positive and negative aspects, and the French experience of drawing up a joint government program and forming an alliance.

I shall be divulging no secrets when I say that cooperation between Communists and Social-Democrats is difficult. Nor is it only a question of the record of relations between them. People often underestimate the heterogeneity of the Social-Democratic movement. It is important to see the diversity existing within and among the parties. Hence the need for a different approach to different parties. Our common task is unity of anti-imperialist, anti-monopoly forces, and it may sometimes be necessary to begin by asking whether or not a given Social-Democratic Party represents such a force.

Even in neighboring countries Social-Democratic parties differ markedly, as for example, in Sweden and Finland. There are parties that have long since degenerated into tiny bourgeois cliques, and

parties which enjoy considerable influence among the working class. We in Sweden have been pondering these questions for some time, and now the debate concerning the possibility of co-operating with the Social-Democrats will probably expand.

Obviously, at this stage there is no question of a common political platform, at least not in Sweden. On the other hand, specific fields can be found where there is ground for joint action, and not only at grass-roots level but at the middle, and on some questions, even top echelons. Running ahead, I would like to remark that there are certain pitfalls. Sometimes the Social-Democrat leaders accept our proposals, even present them as their own, only to pigeon-hole them later. This must be prevented.

The Program of Principles adopted by the 23rd LPC Congress devotes three paragraphs (18, 19, 20) to describing Swedish capitalism and the role of the Social-Democratic Party. This party is, in fact, one of the bulwarks of capital, which lends some specific traits to the whole system of state-monopoly capitalism in Sweden. As an ideological characteristic, the assessment is wholly correct, but it leaves aside the question of the great differentiation existing among the Social-Democratic rank-and-file and even some of the leadership. Not for nothing does its official name include the word 'worker', even though it is frequently omitted in print. We Communists must approach the Social-Democratic mass in all its diversity, remembering that it includes, along with diehard reformists and advocates of class collaboration and conciliation with capital, members sincerely devoted to socialist ideals and workers ready to fight the monopolies from proletarian positions. The very composition of the party provides the soil for constant contradictions; it is on their acuteness and possible forms of resolution that the Party's future and its prospects of cooperation with the Communists depend. In my view aggravation of internal contradictions may lead to shifts in the Social-Democratic movement and even a split into well-defined Right and Left groups.

There is, to be sure, nothing fundamentally new in such a possibility, and such groups have existed before, and exist now, within the Social-Democratic Party. It has never been politically homogeneous and Right and Left forces have always coexisted within it. This explains the contradictory character of its positions on a number of questions and some of the zigzags of its policies. Inconsistency was apparent at the Party's last congress and reflected in its decisions. On the one hand, the Congress adopted a program of Swedish economic development which could be described as a confession of love to state-monopoly capitalism. At the same time it endorsed a Report on Equality which directly contradicts the economic program. As I see it, all these contradictions, which constitute one of the Social-Democratic Party's specific features, if correctly understood and ably exploited, offer hope of change and a prospect of some kind of joint action.

Incidentally, many Swedes take it for granted that there must be natural links between Communists and Social-Democrats. It is

not for nothing, therefore, that our Program speaks out for joint action. But what is the basis for this idea of natural links between Communists and Social-Democrats? Has it any roots in the realities of life? Yes, of course.

Firstly, both of them are worker parties which regard the working class as their base. Secondly, Swedes are aware that for many years now the Social-Democrats have been dependent on the Communist vote in parliament, where they lack a majority. Thirdly, both parties have for many years been allies in municipalities, and Sweden is a country with an advanced 'municipal democracy.' Although there are no written agreements, as a rule Social-Democrat and Communist councillors support the same proposals against the opposition of representatives of the bourgeois parties. Finally, and most important, at the factories the workers share common interests in the struggle for their rights and against the attacks of the employers. This requires of them solidarity and mutual support, regardless of whether they are Social-Democrats or Communists. And here it must be said quite frankly that we have not yet learned to utilize all possibilities and forms of joint action.

A few words about the LPC activities in parliament, where our unity policy is subjected to constant tests.

The latest elections following the 1970 Constitutional reform produced the following alignment of forces: the Social-Democrats won 163 seats against 170 seats of the bourgeois opposition parties. They were able to form a government only thanks to the election of 17 Communist members.* The worker parties thus have a 10-vote margin over the bourgeois opposition and in case of differences between the government and the bourgeois parties, the Communist vote is decisive.

This must be clearly understood. There is complete concord between the Social-Democrats and the bourgeois parties on all the main political problems. The prime concern of both is to promote the development of Swedish capitalism. Concord between the Right Social-Democrats and the big bourgeoisie on most issues is the most characteristic feature of our political life.

But Parliament also has to deal with various specific questions, and this is where the fact that the Social-Democrats are, after all, connected with the working class, and not indifferent to its pressure, makes itself felt. The bourgeois parties come out more frankly as defenders of big business interests. In such a confrontation the Communist vote becomes decisive. Thus, the LPC managed to prevent a new rise of the consumer tax. This had significant repercussions in the country.

There have been similar cases in the past. In the 50s the joining of the forces of the two worker parties in the Riksdag helped overcome the bourgeois coalition's resistance to bills favoring the working people's interests. The drama of the struggle is indicated by the example of the pension law passed in May 1959 by 115 votes

*In the previous Riksdag the LPC had four seats. In the 1970 elections the Party, with a membership of 14,500, won 240,000 votes, five per cent of the ballot.—Ed.

to 114. The Communist vote has been crucial in beating back attempts to topple the Social Democrats and instal a bourgeois government. This stand of ours stems from a realistic assessment of the political situation. The report of the 22nd Party Congress had stated on this score: 'To the extent that our Party is able to influence the formation of the government, we unequivocally opt for a Social-Democratic government. It is more sensitive to working-class pressure and can be expected to pursue a more progressive policy than a bourgeois government.'

This policy of the LPC was undoubtedly conducive to the enactment of reforms favoring the working people, the activity of the labor movement and the tendency to greater united action. The leadership of the Parliamentary Social-Democratic Party discusses with our MPs questions on which bourgeois party resistance is expected, and they agree on a common policy to overcome the opposition.

All this is very well and good, but we should not be misled into imagining that there are no drawbacks in this arrangement. For one, there is nothing good in the fact that some people have come to look upon the Communist Party as an ancillary Social-Democratic force, a position that we most emphatically reject. To dispel such misconceptions we must constantly be ready with an alternative policy differing from both the Social-Democratic and the bourgeois parties' line. This is the only way for us to maintain our identity and uphold our policy and point of view on all questions of economic, social and political life. The Communist Party cannot allow its good will for cooperation to result in its own policy being dissolved in a policy alien to it.

We are making the most of parliamentary procedure for legislative initiative and putting forth the Communist view on pressing issues concerning the national economy, culture, environmental protection, women's rights, expanding worker rights at factories, etc. We have done much the last two years by way of drawing up concrete programs on urgent problems. Unfortunately, this work is often hidden from the workers behind the walls of parliament, because the bourgeois press deliberately says nothing about Communist proposals. This, usually, is also the tactics of the Social-Democratic press. In addition, the Riksdag, like every bourgeois parliament, is extremely proliferous in projected legislation. Last year, for example, there was a total of 1,600 legislative proposals, and many of our ideas were simply swamped in the stream.

Let us try and draw some conclusions. There certainly are possibilities for cooperation between Sweden's Communists and Social-Democrats. This is facilitated by the long period of dependence of Social-Democratic governments on Communist support in Parliament. In the course of the dramatic struggle over the Pension Law a kind of united front between the two parties emerged. For all this, of course, the Right-wing Social-Democrats have always been and remain anti-Communist. This should be clearly realized. Any illusions on this score are dangerous. Ideologically, the Social-

Democratic Party adheres to the same position as other parties of this type, that is, rejects Marxism-Leninism and follows a conciliatory, reformist policy towards big capital.

Politically, however, Sweden's Social-Democrats differ in some respects from their fellow-Socialists in other countries. Their continuing links with the working class and their more independent foreign policy have a logic of their own. Their tactical attitude has changed, above all in late years, both at grass roots and in the middle and higher echelons. Paradoxically, they even have a stake in the existence of a stronger Communist party in the form of the LPC, for the alternative may be their own defeat. Needless to say, this has an effect on the general outlook of cooperation.

The problem of Swedish Social-Democracy also has an international aspect. The position of the SDP is influenced, among others, by clashes with the United States, in particular over the party's emphatic condemnation of the U.S. aggression in Vietnam. Indeed, the evolution of our Social-Democrats' stand on the U.S. is most striking. I remember Tage Erlander, the Social-Democratic Premier, saying about two decades ago in so many words that he regarded the United States as the world's most developed democracy and, in fact, the leading democratic force. His present successor, Olaf Palme, did not hesitate when speaking of the bomb raids on Vietnam to compare U.S. operations in Vietnam to Hitler's war crimes. What a change! The Swedish big bourgeoisie is unlikely to subscribe to this Social-Democratic criticism of the United States. After all, the monopolies continue to see the U.S. as both a big business partner and the guardian angel of the capitalist system.

Nor is the SDP exempt from the influence of such factors as the growing might of the socialist countries or the gains of their peace policy, especially in Europe. There are indications that it takes steps, if warily, to promote relations with the Communist parties of European socialist countries. All this is bound to influence that party's attitude to cooperation between the two trends in the labor movement at home.

Sweden's Communists consider it their main task at this stage to extend their influence among the working class. However, this is difficult for a number of reasons. The Social-Democrat leaders have during the last period adopted drastic measures to concentrate their power in the trade unions and to centralize them. The number of union branches was cut from 10,000 to between 1,500 and 2,000. The Right wing of the Social-Democratic leadership may be said to have entrenched itself in the unions. The bureaucratic rules that have been established make it virtually invulnerable. The procedure is so intricate that it may take eight or nine years to so much as, say, raise the question of replacing the leadership of the trade union center. That is the kind of union democracy they have. There are also other causes complicating our work in the enterprises. The number of young people going into industry has fallen off sharply in recent years. More and more industrial jobs are taken over by immigrants.

The attitude to the peasants has specific undertones in Sweden. As in some other highly developed capitalist countries, only three to four per cent of the Swedish population is engaged in farming. This percentage may drop to 2.5 in a few years. The small peasant, a traditional ally of the working class, will in some 10 years become non-existent, which means that in our case the political issue of alliance with the peasantry will be a problem of relations with the middle and big farmers. If there are any small peasants at all, they are mostly over 60 years of age. This section of farmers may be described as becoming extinct, for young people see no point in toiling on a patch of land. This is a result of the inexorable capitalist development of agriculture in Sweden, where, incidentally, the prices of farm produce are the world's highest.

Indicatively, Sweden's students show a growing interest in Marxism-Leninism. There are 150,000 students in Sweden and even bourgeois analysts estimate that at least 20 per cent of our students sympathize with the Communists. We welcome this fact, of course.

The LPC has scored some gains in democratic mass movements, in which it invariably operates on the left, championing unity against monopoly.

Take, for example, the campaign against the high cost of living, which hits the working people. Even the Social-Democrats have come to realize that inflation, if allowed to grow unchecked, will jeopardize the whole range of their social reforms, however limited their objectives. To be sure, actions against the high cost of living are nothing new. But they were isolated in the past and often involved housewives only. The fight against the high cost of living today is a mass campaign which has already borne some tangible fruit. Due to concentrated pressure on the government, the prices of staple food products were frozen. Thanks to our participation, the tenants' movement against higher rent and building company profiteering has become more organized and active. This confirms the Communist thesis that as state-monopoly capitalism develops and contradictions between monopoly and the majority of the people grow sharper, the decks are cleared for broad anti-monopoly unity.

However, it is undoubtedly in organizing mass movements of international solidarity, primarily with heroic Vietnam, that we have achieved the greatest successes. Angry protests against the U.S. aggressors' barbarous acts rallied together the most diverse forces — Social-Democrats, Communists and people representing other currents and alignments. Motives varied, of course. Some people, such as the Communists, took an explicitly anti-imperialist stand, while others were prompted by purely humanist considerations. Some Social-Democratic leaders were also out to raise the declining prestige of their party among the youth, who made up the principal mass force in the movement of solidarity with Vietnam. All in all, however, the movement assumed a truly nationwide character. It influenced government policy. A notable achievement of the

idea of solidarity was the fact that last year, for the first time, the Social-Democratic leadership was prevailed upon to celebrate May Day with the Communists and other forces.

In conclusion I would like to touch on yet another question. One is sometimes told that effective struggle for united action is a privilege of big and influential Communist parties and that small, relatively weak parties have no chance of succeeding in this field. I do not think this is right. It would certainly be fine to have a big and strong Communist party. But it is just as certain that even a Communist party which is neither big nor strong and is only just striving to become so, can count on success provided it follows the right policy. The experience of the campaign of solidarity with Vietnam in Sweden has convinced us of this once more. Credit for the movement cannot be claimed by any one party, however big. It was the fruit of the initiative, effort and energy of several parties, organizations and groups among which the Left Party - Communists of Sweden held a conspicuous place. The numerical strength of a party is not always decisive. The important thing is for it to be able to win the confidence of potential allies, win respect, and dispel suspicion that it pursues narrow party aims. This can be achieved, first of all, through unfailing loyalty to one's principles and ideology and to the ideals and interests of the working class and other working people.

Towards the party congress

Gerardo Unzueta
Presidium member,
CC CP Mexico

In preparation for the 16th Party Congress, Mexican Communists are discussing problems facing the revolutionary movement. What are the main trends in this debate?

The years since our Party's last congress were years of fierce class struggles which marked the beginning of a new stage in Mexico's political development. The 16th Congress will have the task of summing up our achievements and experience and setting guidelines for tackling the problems facing us. It will help the Party to head mass actions, chart a course aimed at releasing the potentialities of the revolutionary movement, and turn it into a real political force.

The Central Committee has published its 'Theses on the Present Situation and the Party's Policy' and drafts of the new Rules and

Program, around which the debate has centered. The materials appeared in two large printings, an indication of the interest towards the Congress and our line in the revolutionary and democratic movement. There is nothing surprising in this. Our influence is on the rise. We are actively participating in economic and political actions of the working class, peasants, students and other sections of the people. We have established closer alliance with other Left groups and movements. New organizational forms of mass revolutionary-democratic opposition with Communist participation have evolved.

Overcoming the difficulties caused by the repressions of 1968-1971,* we have begun reorganizing our ranks. Membership has increased and leading bodies at all levels have been reconstructed. Party educational and organizational work among the masses has become more effective and steps are being taken to set up independent class organizations of the working people.

Our political work centers on exposing the reactionary policies of the Luis Echeverria administration, with emphasis on the bourgeois state's inability to offer democratic solutions for the problems of present-day development. We oppose government control of mass organizations and stress the demagogic character of government reforms.

The character of the revolution

Why have we decided to revise our Program? Is it a matter of changes in national life or of perfecting our theoretical propositions and providing a more clearcut definition of objectives? The answer is, both.

No political force can sidestep an answer to the questions posed by the biggest mass movement in the last 30 years, the popular and student actions of 1968. Even the ruling party was forced to hastily draw up an 'immediate action program' in an attempt to conceal that it had no fundamental objectives and to show that it, too, had attained theoretical heights. All political movements had to put forward comprehensive ideas concerning the future of Mexican society. Those which failed to do so collapsed and lost whatever influence they had had.

At our 15th Congress (1967) we drew attention to the shortcomings of the program adopted by the 14th Congress in 1963, pointed out the need to clarify its basic formulas, and changed some of them. This theoretical work, however, had remained unfinished.

Now, in the wake of the storms of class struggle that have swept the country, it is apparent that the whole economic and political system is in the throes of a crisis stemming from its utter inability to ensure the progress of the productive forces and society as a whole. The domination of a financial oligarchy linked with foreign monopoly capital, the big landed bourgeoisie and political bureaucracy, the authoritarian and paternalistic state embodying their poli-

*Many CP and YCL leaders were arrested during these years and the police raided Party organizations and printshops.

tical power, and despotic methods of government that make it impossible for the masses to have a say in public life, is a 'model' of Mexican society that must be rejected.

The anti-imperialist struggle has ceased to be just resistance to an abstract foreign intervention. It has evolved into a battle against the existing economic structure and political system, a battle against the domination of Mexican big business which enables North American monopolies to exploit the country and guarantees the profits of international finance capital. A study of the character of the revolution, its motive forces, tasks and objectives on the basis of the struggle of the last few years has led us to a number of new conclusions.

In 1970, we published our 'Theses on Problems of Party Development' one of the premises of which was that a democratic revolution that would take the masses to the threshold of socialism is on the order of the day. However, a plethora of appellations used to describe it (national-liberation, popular, anti-imperialist) served to accentuate the democratic character of the first stage while divorcing it from the second, socialist, stage.

Today the stages of revolution in countries of medium and low capitalist development are less wide apart. Taking into account the specifics of contradictions in Mexico, one can speak of a merger of stages (or phases) within one and the same revolutionary process*.

The predominantly democratic phase: Implementation of consistently democratic reforms compatible with steps towards socialism, as well as some measures of a directly socialist character.

The predominantly socialist phase: Completion of democratic reforms in conjunction with socialist reforms. Continued and expanded mass democratic participation in them. Democracy becomes fully socialist in character.

Hence, we now define our revolution as *democratic and socialist*, directed against Mexican and foreign monopoly capital and the socio-economic structure on which its rule is based.

This revolution will free the classes exploited and oppressed by state-monopoly capitalism and launch the irreversible process of liquidation of all forms of exploitation of man by man. None of the previous bourgeois revolutions had been carried to completion. The new revolution will see broad anti-imperialist, revolutionary-democratic popular action. And not only will it provide a way out of the present socio-economic crisis, but will also resolve other historical tasks, notably, do away with the anti-democratic state structure which, in the framework of the bourgeois political and economic system, is inherently incapable of allowing mass initiative. Finally, the revolution is unfolding in a seething continent where one country is already building socialism, one is advancing in that direction, one is carrying out radical reforms, and others are showing important signs of change.

Our definition of the revolution is, undoubtedly, far from perfect.

*We consider the term 'phase' to be more appropriate to our conditions.

It fails to adequately reflect the contradiction between the people and imperialism and, perhaps, does not define the phases of the revolutionary process clearly enough. However, discussion of the question by Mexican Communists should help to improve the definition of the character of our revolution prior to its inclusion in the Program by the 16th Congress.

New forms of unity

Important as it is to define the revolutionary movement's strategy, it is equally important to work out a tactical line capable of promoting its development, strengthening cohesion and enhancing political consciousness, and to correctly select the means in the struggle to make the working class its leading force.

The ruling circles have reduced the results of action by political forces, groups and movements to naught. With the exception of the Communist Party, which has paid the price of independence with years of work in illegal or semi-legal conditions, there is not a political party deserving the name. Bourgeois and petty-bourgeois associations are incapable of fighting for autonomy, they have bowed to the dictatorship of political bureaucracy, become its appendage and do little more than go through the motions of free party activity.

As the crisis of state structures has deepened and the effectiveness of bourgeois government deteriorated (especially in the last few years) new forces have been emerging on the political scene. They are gaining in strength and expanding their influence. They are not parties but movements conceived in the recent mass struggles of workers, peasants and students against the regime, arbitrary rule and the policy of monopoly enrichment and enslavement of the working people.

These movements come out against repressions, for political amnesty, trade union freedoms, democratization of the education system and immediate transfer of land to poor peasants. They cooperate and support one another. In some areas united front organizations have been set up to head mass action. In the face of persecution by the authorities they have embarked on a course of political resistance.

A new force that has emerged in the last few years is the democratic Christian movement sponsored by progressive Catholic circles. Communists have joined forces with its representatives in fruitful cooperation, especially in the growing new trade union movement.

One of the tasks of the 16th Party Congress will be to formulate long-range tactics which would open up the way for the new forces to take part in political life, organize them so as to be independent of the state, show them that the main obstacle to the solution of Mexico's vital problems is the present economic and political structure and the ruling bloc, and foster broader, universal political action against the regime.

All this requires flexible forms of labor unity and action for eco-

conomic demands and against the persecution of trade unions. The best results to date have been achieved by council-type organizations set up at factories which have shown themselves capable of expressing the workers' will and defending their interests.

One of our imperatives is to find forms of uniting isolated student actions and groups on a national scale. The events of 1968-1971 and the way in which the students resisted repressive action are indicative of their movement's militancy. Today it is continuing the fight against the autocratic relations existing between the state and the universities, for democratization of the education system.

Unity is also essential for the movement of peasants occupying latifundist lands and confronting the armed gangs of big landowners. Greater impetus must be given to the fight against repressions, for amnesty for political prisoners and the victims of political persecution, to mass action against soaring prices, arbitrary rule, etc.

We attach great importance to the new forms of unity appearing in the mass movements and are doing our utmost to help united front organizations understand the importance of remaining independent of the bourgeois state and its politicians and expanding solidarity action on a local and national scale. We keep driving home the need to respond to the demands of all sections of the population and step up political action.

Central to the Party's approach to new forms of mass unity is the coordination of all movements on a national scale and the creation of a broad front. Thus can be forged an autonomous revolutionary force, a weapon of political struggle providing an alternative to bourgeois power and capable of challenging the political leadership of the country. This is an unprecedented development in Mexico, a result of the aggravation of the contradictions of Mexican society.

Strengthening the Party

Lately the Party has concluded that it is essential to analyze the causes that have kept it from developing into a major political organization. A self-critical study of the past makes possible a correct approach to the ways and means of overcoming shortcomings. Communists took an active part in the debate on these problems. Its conclusions will be reflected not only in Congress resolutions but in the Party Rules as well.

Our main objective is to provide every Communist with the greatest opportunity to share in elaborating the Party line. This will enhance Communist initiative, ensure Party democracy without detriment to the principle of centralism, and guarantee united Communist action.

Another reason for changing the Rules is the need for the organizational strengthening at all Party levels. On this hinges success in the struggle against repressions and responsiveness to the need to change forms of work depending on the situation. In particular,

it is proposed to unite Party cells on a regional basis, which should facilitate the organization of Party work and make it more purposeful.

The draft Rules not only set forth the principles of Party organization but explain them as well. They represent an ideological and political tool for the Party's development as a politically conscious spokesman for the interests of the working class.

The agenda of the 16th Congress suggested by the Central Committee covers all the main questions of Party strategy, tactics and organization. There can be no doubt that its decisions will help Communists step up their work among the masses and be in the front ranks of mass action. Our Party's creative forces have unfurled its banner on which is inscribed: Our goal – socialism, our road – democracy!

In brief

PUBLICATION OF LENIN'S WORKS

Sixty thousand copies of the complete works of V.I. Lenin were circulated in Argentina during 1972. In addition, 107 different titles from the writings of Lenin have had an overall print of 560,000 copies. The Party's National Publishing Commission intends to issue 900,000 copies of Lenin's works in 1973.

The first Government publishing house in Chile, 'Quimantu' has published more than five million books in the past fifteen months. Lenin's *What Is To Be Done?*, *The State and Revolution*, *'Left Wing' Communism – an Infantile Disorder*, and others of his works have had a mass circulation.

BOLIVIA

The Plenum of the CC of the Communist Party of Bolivia has approved a report analyzing the development of events in that country following the coup by Colonel Banzer. The Plenum called on Communists to strengthen their political opposition to the fascist regime, and their ideological fight against the national bourgeoisie and its foreign imperialist protectors. The main tasks set by the Plenum: to unite the masses in an anti-imperialist front, strengthen the party of the working class, work for a people's government of national liberation, and combat fascism.

DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF VIETNAM

The Shu That Publishers have issued a number of books on industrial management, including books by Pham Van Dong and Le Thanh Nghi, and books on planning, material and technical supplies, technical guidance, wages and finance, administration, statis-

tics, and trade union work in factories, compiled by the Committee for Improving the Management of State Industrial Enterprises.

FINLAND

In a letter of November 1972 to the Social-Democratic Party, the CP of Finland outlined concrete proposals for cooperation between the country's workers parties. The SDP replied that it was ready to begin preliminary negotiations 'to examine the political premises' for cooperation.

At its sitting on February 21, the CPF Political Bureau instructed the Central Committee Secretariat to draw up a proposal on opening negotiations.

Referring to the SDP letter, Aarne Saarinen, the CPF Chairman, told the Political Bureau that this was the first time Social-Democrats replied in a fairly positive way to a CPF proposal.

ITALY

The General Secretary of the Italian Communist Party, Enrico Berlinguer, in a speech to the National Conference of young Italian women Communists held in Florence recently, stated that questions affecting the position and role of women in society, are at the center of the Party's attention. There are at present more than four million girls and women in Italy between the ages of 14 and 24. The solution of their social problems cannot be separated from the struggle for democracy and socialism. He criticized the present government for its inability to implement urgent social reforms, improve the condition of the working people, and do away with serious defects in the health services and education, and abolish unemployment.

JAPAN

The Communist Party has organized workers' spring schools to fortify CPJ influence and disseminate the objectives of the working people's struggle in 1973. Over a thousand workers came to the opening of the school in Tokyo. H. Arabori, member of the CC CPJ and chief of the Party's trade-union department, delivered a lecture on the situation in the trade-union movement and the tasks of the spring struggle. To make the workers' struggle more effective, he said, it is high time to overcome divisions in Japan's trade-union movement and to enlist the still relatively large number of unorganized workers.

PERU

The exchange of Party cards which, in accordance with a decision of the Communist Party of Peru, takes place every two years, has been completed. The number of workers has increased as compared with July 1970. In the capital 63 per cent of Party members are workers, and in some large mining centers, 90 per cent. The influence of the Party amongst teachers and employees has in-

creased. Bank and commercial employees account for 23 per cent of the Party membership, and 15 per cent are peasants and artisans.

SAN MARINO

The Eighth Congress of the San Marino Communist Party discussed the report of its General Secretary, E. Gasperoni, on 'The Unity of all the Working Population and Middle Strata for a Government of Democratic Renovation and Advance to Socialism.' Congress approved the work of the CC, and reaffirmed the Party's desire to strive for unity of the international Communist movement.

SOVIET UNION

The exchange of Party cards commenced on March 1, 1973. During preparations for the exchange, the CC noted in its decision, inner-Party life had become enriched, activity and discipline of the members has improved, and the influence of Party organizations in economic and political work has become stronger. All this will assist in the further strengthening of the Party, the growth of its role as the guiding force of Soviet society. In adopting its resolution on the exchange of Party cards, the CC of the CPSU recognized the advisability of carrying this out gradually, without haste.

Following an established tradition, the new Party card No. 1 was issued by the Central Committee in the name of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, founder and leader of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Lenin's Party card was signed by L. I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CC CPSU. It was then turned over for safekeeping to the CC CPSU Institute of Marxism-Leninism.

U S A

A regional Party conference of eastern and southern states was attended by nearly 200 delegates. They discussed the tasks facing Communists in Party building, and also questions affecting the Daily World and the Young Worker's Liberation League. The General Secretary of the Party, Gus Hall, gave the main report, and delegates spoke about their work to strengthen their ties with the masses, and of the growth of the Party's ranks.

MEETING OF YOUTH UNIONS

On February 21, 1973, representatives of Communist and Democratic youth organizations who had attended a discussion on problems of work amongst young people between representatives of European Communist and Workers' Parties, met in Moscow. They exchanged views on the development of cooperation between youth organizations in Europe, work in the World Federation of Democratic Youth and the International Union of Students, and preparations for the World Festival of Youth and Students scheduled this summer in Berlin. The participants compared notes on the work of their organizations.



The historic mission of the working class

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A REVIEW OF SCIENTIFIC LITERATURE

One of the fundamental tenets of Marxism-Leninism is that the proletariat has a world-historic mission as the grave-digger of capitalism and builder of the new, communist world.

Bourgeois society, the 'Manifesto of the Communist Party' pointed out, is like the sorcerer who is no longer able to control the powers of the nether world which he has called up by his spells. Capitalist property relations become an impediment to the development of production. But not only has the bourgeoisie forged the weapons that bring death to itself; it has also called into existence the men who are to wield those weapons – the modern working class – the proletarians.

Of all the classes standing opposed to the bourgeoisie, wrote Marx and Engels, only the proletariat is a consistently revolutionary class. The aim and historical action of the working class 'is irrevocably and obviously demonstrated in its own life situation as well as in the whole organization of bourgeois society today' (*The Holy Family*. Moscow, 1956, p. 53).

Generalizing the experience of the past and the practices of the contemporary epoch, Lenin showed that imperialism, as the last stage of capitalism, moves inexorably towards the transformation of capitalist into socialist society, and that 'the intellectual and moral motive force and the physical executor of this transformation is the proletariat, which has been trained by capitalism itself' (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 21, p. 71).

The Marxist-Leninist teaching of the world-historic mission of the working class remains a true tool in the struggle for the revolutionary transformation of the world, for socialism and communism.

Role of the working class and struggle of ideologies

The role of the working class as the force effecting the revolutionary transformation of society is a pivotal issue in the ideological

and political struggle.¹ Bourgeois science, revisionists on the Right and the 'Left' have been displaying heightened interest in 'working-class problems.'

One of the most popular theoretical constructions in anti-Marxist literature is known, depending on the tastes of the writer concerned, as 'deproletarianization,' 'embourgeoisement' or 'integration' of the working class in the capitalist system.

This construction is usually based on the following reasoning: The significance of property as a factor of class differentiation is steadily decreasing, hence, inequality in the property sphere is no longer a source of acute social or political conflicts; capitalist society is no longer characterized by growing social polarization but, on the contrary, by the 'progressive convergence' and 'mutual gravitation' of social poles; the bourgeois state increasingly reflects the interests of all members of society, which means a political rapprochement of classes and social groups.

Such assertions have long been represented in one form or another in the works of T. Geiger, T. H. Marshall, R. Bendix and other 'critics' of Marxism. And today there are quite a few authors striving to bolster them with new arguments allegedly reflecting the present-day specifics of the capitalist world.²

In their attempts to refute the Marxist-Leninist teaching of the working class and its mission of revolutionary transformation, bourgeois and reformist sociologists such as R. Aron, E. Nordlinger, J. Moch, A. Crosland and others, strain to prove that in the conditions bred by the scientific and technological revolution the proletariat has no future in history and is destined to disappear as a class.

In present-day capitalism, they assert, social relations have modified so greatly that the future society will be largely a 'middle class' one. Its growth takes place not only through the numerical increase of traditional social groups but also through their 'integration' with the part of the working population always identified as the nucleus of the working class. The convergence and merger of blue-collar and white-collar workers takes the form, they claim, of the former (i.e., the industrial workers) being absorbed by the latter (identified with the 'middle class'), and as a consequence, the 'new middle class' has, numerically and in cultural importance, taken the place, not only of the old middle class, but of all the other traditional classes as well.

Bourgeois economists seek to explain all this in terms of the 'levelling out' of incomes and living standards, as well as of the structure of consumption (notably as regards durables); sociologists speak of the growing share of mental labor in material production processes, the higher general education level of the main sections of the working class, etc.

Special emphasis is made on integration in the socio-psychological sphere. Thus, it is claimed that with the hierarchy of people being increasingly superseded by a hierarchy of technological processes, it becomes more possible for the worker to identify himself with his factory and to work 'in a more cohesive integrated climate.'

A similar approach is taken towards intra-urban migration and the disappearance of the so-called 'urban village,' i.e., of socially homogeneous working-class communities. This, it is said, destroys the cementing milieu of the traditional working-class way of life. Workers are subjected to much greater influences from other social groups and strata and increasingly share the way of life of the social environment, which is seen as a kind of amorphous stratum without any clearly defined economic, social or cultural differences.³

Especially zealous in their attacks against the Marxist-Leninist conception of the working class and its role in social development are the Right and 'Left' revisionists. Some, like Garaudy and Fischer, dilute the concept of the proletariat in that of the 'work force,' replacing the working class with a 'new historic bloc.' Others (the Manifesto group, etc.) take the opposite stand and restrict the proletariat to the manual trades alone and counterpose the working class to the intelligentsia as a whole, regarding them as hostile forces.

The historic role of the proletariat is also vociferously denied by the ideologists of petty-bourgeois revolutionism, whose thesis is that not the worker but the peasant is the main figure in the present-day revolutionary process. To the 'world city' (i.e., the industrial centers where the most powerful, politically organized detachments of the working class are located) is counterposed the surrounding 'world village.' The hegemony of the proletariat in the revolutionary movement and the world-historic mission of the working class are declared obsolete concepts, since the leading role is passing to the peasantry and the 'world village' as the base of the 'contemporary world revolution.'

Despite their differences, in the final analysis, all these views and ideas pursue the same objective of belittling the working class as the main revolutionary force of society.

Marxist working class studies

Problems of the working class and its role in the world today have been elaborated in theoretical depth in the documents of the international Communist and workers' movement and congresses of Marxist-Leninist parties, and the works of Party leaders and Marxist scientists.

The insolvency of the arguments forming, so to say, the economic foundation of the ideas of 'deproletarianization,' 'embourgeoisement' and 'integration' of the working class is exposed convincingly in a number of monographs devoted to contemporary capitalism, as, for example, *The Political Economy of Contemporary Monopoly Capitalism* (Moscow, 1970), a two-volume work by a group of authors from the Institute of World Economy and International Relations of the USSR Academy of Science, and *Socio-Political Changes in Developed Capitalist Countries* (Moscow, 1971). Considerable attention is given to changes in the socio-economic structure of capitalist society by Soviet academician N. N. Inozemtsev and Bulgarian scholar T. Trendafilov.⁴ These problems are also

investigated in relation to individual countries in a monograph, published in the GDR, on state-monopoly capitalism in West Germany⁵ and in Marxist works that have appeared in France, the United States and other countries.⁶

In 1972 an international commission of scientists from the socialist countries was set up for fundamental research on the subject, 'The Working Class in the World Revolutionary Process.' It includes representatives from scientific institutes in Bulgaria, Hungary, the GDR, Poland, Rumania, the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia and has already held three conferences, in Moscow, Sofia and Berlin, on topical theoretical problems of the revolutionary labor movement and criticism of anti-Marxist notions of the role of the working class.⁷

The mentioned works reveal the growing class polarization in the economic, social and political sphere of capitalist society.

Numerical growth of wage labor

A statistical analysis indicates the continued growth of wage workers (230 million in 1972, as against 190 million in 1960⁸). The proportion of wage and salary earners in the gainfully employed population is also increasing. Thus, in the last 15 years their share increased from 81.9 to 91.6 per cent in the United States, from 75 to 82.6 per cent in the FRG, from 68.2 to 76 per cent in France, and from 89.1 to 93.5 per cent in Great Britain.

Marxist science does not identify all job holders with the working class. The former include a variety of social groups, some of which have nothing at all in common with the working class. Formally speaking, high-ranking executives, industrial managers and civil servants, i.e., people constituting an integral part of the ruling capitalist class, are job holders. Other social groups within the work force are converging, but not yet merging, with the working class.

Within the work-force structure, the working class is historically the most active, advanced and organized social force, and however much sundry 'theoreticians' may endeavor to dilute the proletariat's class essence, its main social characteristic in capitalist society remains unchanged: it is still a class of hired workers antagonistically opposed to the bourgeoisie, deprived of the means of production, occupying a subordinate place in the system of production relations, subjected to exploitation, and earning a living by selling its labor power.

Needless to say, the composition of the working class changes with the development of the productive forces and production relations.⁹ And as social division of labor goes deeper – due especially to the technological revolution – some varieties of physical labor are going out of existence or losing in importance. Work in the technologically advanced industries is increasingly acquiring an intellectual content. The working class is growing through the influx of people engaged in technical and operative mental labor.

However, these structural changes do not warrant the contention

that the working class is 'disappearing' in capitalist society. On the contrary, its relative and absolute strength alike are growing. At the turn of the century the proletariat was roughly 30 million strong. In 1972, its number in the industrially developed capitalist countries alone exceeded 200 million.

Today the working class is the main productive, and hence social, force in the van of historical progress.¹⁰ The industrial proletariat is, now as in the past, its largest and most influential contingent. By virtue of its objective position and organizational standard, it is the core, or cementing link, of the class.

Exploited and oppressed class

Improvements in the workers' living standard in industrial capitalist countries, wrested through class struggle, bring them neither 'affluence' nor 'prosperity.' It is indicative that as the technological revolution goes on the gap between the workers' needs and average earnings is widening. The mounting cost of living in developed capitalist countries often nullifies the results of the workers' struggles for higher pay.

Complete or partial unemployment continues to threaten the working class. There were 10 million jobless officially registered in the main imperialist countries in 1971, against 6.5 million in 1969. Estimates made by non-governmental bodies, in particular trade unions, show that unemployment is actually greater. Most of those who lose their jobs are members of the less skilled trades and professions, but then the proportion of professional workers, engineers and scientists is also on the rise.

International monopoly is stepping up its attacks on the workers' social gains. By transferring production from one country to another, monopolies intensify exploitation of the proletariat, bring pressure to bear on it and curtail production where the working-class movement is particularly strong.

Exploitation of the working class has increased in late years, above all through labor intensification. In the United States, performance per worker without any substantial modernization of plant increased between 1947 and 1970 as follows: steel industry 48 per cent, railways 197 per cent and coal industry 213 per cent. The same period saw employment fall off by 30, 40 and 60 per cent, respectively.¹¹ The system of capitalist exploitation ruins the working people's health on an enormous scale.¹²

The real condition of the working class under state-monopoly capitalism is a far cry from what it is alleged to be by those who argue that the material causes of antagonism between the workers and the bourgeoisie have disappeared.

The illusion of 'integration'

Deductions about the workers' so-called integration into the 'middle class' are based on the false premise that white-collar workers constitute one social category, while actually they belong

to diverse groups. Socially, the distance between a manager or department chief and a clerk has always been very great. And it is all the greater today, with typically clerical jobs becoming a mass profession.

Analysis of the facts reveals a distinct class difference among salary-earners. Their vertical structure is made up of three categories: (a) persons who are inseparable from the ruling class, (b) a special group belonging to the urban middle strata, and (c) working people who are close to the working class or have merged with it (commercial and clerical proletariat). Only with due regard to this differentiation can one assess the narrowing gap in living standard and way of life between white and blue-collar workers. This gap is narrowing, not for all white-collar workers, but for their lowest and most numerous echelons. Nor does this occur through the blue-collar workers' rising to the level of the 'middle class,' but through the approximation of a substantial proportion of white-collar workers with the bulk of the working class by their place in the system of production and their social condition.

The increasing skills and rising educational level of the industrial proletariat, supposed to promote its integration into the middle class, aggravate the contradiction between the role of the working class as the principal productive force and its subordinate, oppressed state in capitalist production and in the totality of social relations.¹³

As for the allegation that the working class is becoming bourgeoisified ideologically and psychologically, or that it is being 'eroded,' Marxist investigations reveal a different state of affairs.¹⁴ Social barriers and social inequality, which are no less typical of contemporary than of earlier capitalism, constantly reproduce and accentuate the workers' negative attitude to the capitalist system of production and its superstructure, which is one of the permanent factors in the social and political militancy of the working class.

The working class is fighting

Reality gives the lie to the bourgeoisie and opportunists who say the working class is no longer revolutionary.

Widespread economic struggle develops quite often into active political action against state-monopoly domination. The demands of the working class encompass issues bearing not only on labor-capital relations, but also on relations between the masses and the bourgeois state.¹⁵ Communist party programs provide an alternative to state-monopoly capitalism.

Action against international monopoly and the adverse effects of capitalist integration are prominent in the struggle of the proletariat of developed capitalist countries.¹⁶ Collective bargaining on the scale of international monopolies, simultaneous strikes in enterprises situated in various countries and other international forms of working-class struggle have assumed a vast scale. The working people's actions against monopoly interlock with the fight for democratic rights and freedoms, against the fascist menace, for peace, against the imperialist countries' policy of aggression.

The economic and political demands of the working class increasingly reflect the interests of other working people, which affords new opportunities to form alliances between the proletariat and the peasantry, between workers by hand and workers by brain, and establish closer links with the anti-war, student, women's and other general democratic movements.

Contrary to bourgeois propaganda, the strike movement, far from being 'outdated,' is becoming a more formidable weapon of the proletariat. The social basis of the movement has expanded now that it has been joined by diverse contingents of wage labor, including the unorganized 'middle strata' of town and countryside.¹⁷

Even some bourgeois analysts admit, to one extent or another, the growing scope of the class struggle. Had the working class really become bourgeoisified, says a book on social movements recently published in Britain, the result would be a less deep and intense spirit in the working class, while reality attests to the contrary.¹⁸ Concrete social research carried out by a group of West German scholars led them to the conclusion that on the whole, the behavior of at least a notable number of workers suggests that there are visible signs of increased working-class activity.¹⁹ There are more examples of this kind.

Marxist investigations of the working-class movement provide a sweeping panorama of the working people's economic and political struggles.²⁰ The social forces opposing the capitalist system have grown in number and strength. This offers new opportunities for a radical, revolutionary transformation of the capitalist system in the course of the mass struggle against monopoly now unfolding under the leadership of the working class and its Marxist-Leninist parties.

The working class today, the 1969 Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties pointed out, is 'the principal driving force of the revolutionary struggle, of the entire anti-imperialist, democratic movement.' The ideologists of anti-communism try in vain to minimize the role of the working class or to refute the Marxist-Leninist theory of the historic mission of the working class, in whose hands is 'the rebirth of mankind,' as Marx wrote. This forecast is coming true.

1. See: *Nauchniy kommunizm i falsifikatsiya yego Renegatami* (Scientific Communism and Its Falsification by Renegades). P. N. Fedoseyev, editor. Moscow, 1972; P. Gindev, *Diktatyra na Proletariata i Neimite 'Krititsi'* (Dictatorship of the Proletariat and Its 'Critics'). Sofia, 1970.

2. See, for example, such recent 'studies' as: Y. Bensman & A. J. Vidich, *The New American Society. The Revolution of the Middle Class*. Chicago, 1971; B. Hindess, *The Decline of Working-Class Politics*. London, 1961; F. Bon & M. A. Burnier, *Classe ouvriere et révolution*. Paris, 1971.

3. See, for example: H. Wilensky, *Work, Careers and Social Integration*. International Social Science Journal, Vol. 12, No. 4, 1960.

4. N. N. Inozemtsev, *Sovremenniy kapitalizm: noviye yavleniya i protivorechiya* (Present-Day Capitalism: New Developments and Contradictions). Moscow, 1972; T. Trendafilov, *Krizi, tsikli, regulirana konyunktura. Teoria i Praktika*. Sofia, 1971.

5. *Der Imperialismus der BDR*. Berlin, 1971.

6. *Le capitalisme monopoliste d'etat*. Traite marxiste d'economie politique, V. I, II. Paris, 1971; Gus Hall, *Imperialism Today*. New York, 1972. (Reviewed in WMR, March 1973).

7. Materials of the first conference will appear soon in Moscow in a book, *Rabochii klass - glavnyaya revolyutsionnaya sila* (The Working Class - the Main Revolutionary Force).

8. See 'The Army of Wage Labor (Statistics).' WMR, January, 1973.

9. See *Mezhdunarodnoye rabocheye dvizheniye* (International Working-Class Movement). Moscow, 1972; *Nauchno-tekhnicheskaya revolyutsia i problemy kommunisticheskogo dvizheniya* (The Scientific and Technological Revolution and Problems of the Communist Movement). Moscow, 1972; *Rabochy klass kapitalisticheskikh stran i nauchno tekhnicheskaya revolyutsia* (The Working Class of Capitalist Countries and the Scientific and Technological Revolution). Prague, 1969.

10. I. A. Sokolov, *Mirovoye khozyaistvo i revolyutsionny protsess* (The World Economy and

the Revolutionary Process). Moscow, 1971; *Osnovniye problemy rabochego dvizheniya v kapitalisticheskikh stranakh* (Fundamental Problems of the Working-Class Movement in Capitalist Countries). Moscow, 1970.

11. See *World Magazine*, September 18, 1972, p. 2.

12. S. A. Yershov, *SShA: kapitalisticheskoye proizvodstvo i zdorovye trudyashohikhaya* (USA: Capitalist Production and the Working People's Health). Moscow, 1972.

13. See V. I. Usenin, V. G. Kalensky, V. I. Maslov, *Sovremennoye kapitalisticheskoye predpriyatie i khozyaiskaya vlast'* (The Modern Capitalist Enterprise and Owners' Power). Moscow, 1971; G. D. Danilin, *Avtomatizatsia i yego sotsial'no-ekonomicheskiye posledstvia pri kapitalizme* (Automation and Its Socio-Economic Effects Under Capitalism). Moscow, 1971; *Vazhnoye napravlenie klassovoi bor'by* (An Important Line of Class Struggle), Moscow, 1970.

14. E. D. Vil'khovchenko, *Kritika sovremennoy burzhuanznoi teorii 'chelovecheskikh otnosheni' v promyshlennosti* (A Critique of the Modern Bourgeois Theory of 'Human Relations,' in Industry), Moscow, 1971; *Urbanizatsia, nauchno tekhnicheskaya revolyutsia i rabochy klass* (Urbanization, the Technological Revolution and the Working Class). Moscow, 1972; G. C. Diligensky, *Rabochy na kapitalisticheskoye predpriyatii* (The Worker at the Capitalist Enterprise). Moscow, 1968.

15. *Sovremenny imperializm i revolyutsionnaya bor'ba* (Contemporary Imperialism and the Revolutionary Struggle). Moscow, 1971.

16. *Internationale Konzerne und Arbeiterklasse* (International Corporations and the Working Class). Institut fuer Marxistische Studien und Forschungen. Frankfurt-am-Main, 1971.

17. See, for instance, W. Thompson and F. Hart, *The UCS Work-in*. London, 1972; J. Arnison, *The Million Pound Strike*. London, 1970; or 'Strike Struggles in Developed Capitalist Countries' in this issue of WMR.

18. Paul Wilkinson, *Social Movement*. London, 1971.

19. See *Anfang der Rekonstruktionsperiode der Arbeiterklasse. Eine Empirische Untersuchung* (Beginning of the Reconstruction Period of the Working Class. An Empirical Study). Frankfurt-am-Main, 1971.

20. Here are some of the more recent book titles: *Mezhdunarodnoye kommunisticheskoye dvizhenie. Ocherk strategii i taktiki* (The International Communist Movement: An Outline of Its Strategy and Tactics). Moscow, 1972. *Problemy sovremennogo kommunisticheskogo dvizheniya* (Problems of the Contemporary Communist Movement). Moscow, 1972; *Leninskaya teoria sotsialisticheskoi revolyutsii i sovremennost* (Lenin's Theory of the Socialist Revolution and Modern Times). Moscow, 1972.

Chapters of revolutionary history

Memoirs and biographies hold a legitimate place in the treasury of international revolutionary experience. Nor is this only because they revive pages of history. By looking back on the revolutionary past, new generations of champions of the working-class cause see more clearly the tasks of today and the programs for the future. This literature goes to show that the heroic history of the liberation movement is made by those who fight 'not for some local or narrow national aim, but for the emancipation of all toiling humanity,' as Lenin wrote (*Collected Works*, Vol. 17, p. 143).

The following are reviews of just a few of the memoirs brought out by Communist publishers in recent years. However, they give an idea of the depth and diversity of this branch of revolutionary literature, which asserts the continuity of the finest traditions and international experience of the working-class movement.

TSOLA DRAGOICHEVA, *Povelya na dylga* (The Call of Duty). Sofia, Partizdat. 1972.

'Dear Tsola,

'I do not have to tell you how happy I am to know that you have weathered all dangers and remain at your post as befits a heroine of the people. Our Party and our people are rightly proud of you. . . . The best we all can wish you is the health and strength to serve

your people and country as valiantly and intelligently as you have done to this day in the struggle for the complete triumph of our great common cause.'

This is what Georgi Dimitrov wrote to Tsola Dragoicheva on October 12, 1944. These recollections (from the early 20s to the victory of the people's democratic revolution in Bulgaria) by an outstanding Bulgarian revolutionary are a welcome event in our cultural, ideological, political and social life.

The primary reason for the deep interest aroused by the book is the author herself. For half a century the name of Tsola Dragoicheva ('Sonya') has been inseparably linked with the heroic struggle of our people and their Communist Party against monarchist and fascist oppression and capitalist slavery, with the Party's 'famous battles and dramatic reverses.' Her life story is rich in remarkable events.

Tsola Dragoicheva's biography is a record of a whole epoch in which a party of the Leninist type, one capable of leading the working class and other working people in uncompromising struggle against a brutal monarchist and fascist tyranny, gained strength in severe trials. It was the most important period of the Bulgarian revolutionary movement, a heroic period rich in invaluable experience. Nor is Tsola Dragoicheva's political biography at an end. A member of the CC Political Bureau, she continues to work for the triumph of communist ideas, showing amazing vitality and optimism, political maturity and enviable organizing skill. *Todor Pavlov*

FRANCOIS BILLOUX, *Quand nous étions ministres* (When We Were Ministers). Paris, Editions sociales, 1972.

Francois Billoux, a Communist, was a member of five French cabinets. He shows how the FCP decided the issue of entering a bourgeois government in each particular case. Among other things, he tells why the Communists stayed out of the government in July 1936 and why later on, in view of the growing fascist menace, they declared for going into the Popular Unity government.

Much of the book is taken up with recollections of the 'phoney war' of 1939-1940 and the Nazi occupation. In those years the Party devoted all its energies to the struggle for the country's liberation, and after the war vigorously upheld its national independence and interests. The Communist members of the Fourth Republic cabinet (1944-1947) backed the people's demands, with the result that a universal system of social welfare was introduced, with provisions for civil servants and miners. They campaigned for the nationalization of coal, gas and power, some banks and insurance companies, enterprises owned by joint-stock companies, and the Renault plant. The author stresses that the Communists in the bourgeois cabinet upheld the political and social rights of all wage workers and always took into account the demands of the peasants, urban middle strata, women and youth.

Eschewing sectarianism, Communist ministers engaged specialists belonging to diverse social strata, implemented the principle of co-

ordinated action and leaned on the trade unions and the masses for support. It was due to the working people's backing that many of the planned reforms were put into practice.

The book shows that Communists can govern a state, and in this context will be read with interest by every supporter of the joint Left government program.

Constance Grill

VALTER ROMAN, *Sub cerul Spaniei* (Knights of Hope). 'Cavalerii sperantei.' Amintiri. Bucharest, Editura militara, 1971.

This retells a glorious chapter in the history of the Rumanian Communist Party, a book about the heroism of people to whom internationalism is neither a high-sounding phrase nor a passing slogan, but a conviction that has become second nature.

Internationalism and genuine, effective solidarity shown by working people at difficult and decisive stages of revolutionary struggle are the keynote of this book by the commander of the Anna Pauker motorized artillery regiment, a unit of the 35th International Division which operated in Spain.

Both behind prison bars at Doftana and on the war-ravaged soil of Spain, Rumania's Communists fought, along with fellow-Communists from every part of the globe, for the freedom of their country and the whole world. The author reminds the reader of the nature of fascism: brutal reaction, fierce obscurantism and racial fanaticism, fascism's cynical and gross interference in the affairs of other nations, its denial of the peoples' inalienable, sacred right to political, social and economic freedom, to progress and culture.

The book is a paean to the people of Spain, who for almost three years heroically fought against the fascist offensive, to a people whose hearts never stopped echoing the watchword of the Communist Party of Spain: '*Mas vale morir de pie que vivir de rodillas*' (Better die standing than live on one's knees).

Furthermore, the book is a philosophical meditation on history and it makes a clear Marxist-Leninist estimation of the complex (military, political, sociological and cultural) causes of the Republicans' defeat. Yet it reads like a novel, leaving the reader deeply impressed. Rather than depicting events, the author relives them as he portrays people and their destinies. Without giving in to didacticism, he shows that heroism comes naturally to those who know what they are fighting for.

The battles fought by the Spanish people and the International Brigades against fascism were the beginning of the gigantic struggle of this century against the brown plague. The Spanish national revolutionary war set the world an example of courage and solidarity. This is the main theme of the book, which gives the recollections a deeper meaning.

Titus Popovici

I compagni (Veterans Remember). Rome, Editori Riuniti, 1971.

This is a collection of reminiscences of revolutionaries prepared by the Antonio Gramsci Institute.

It presents history through the destinies of individuals. The contributors, Giorgio Amendola notes in the preface, are men of different mould, but all equally dedicated to the proletariat's cause and the Party's ideas. In every item the reader meets a strong and vivid personality. The recollections produce a collective portrait of the Communist Party and present the image of a true revolutionary fighter, the Communist – a man of many facets and of complete integrity.

The recollections cover the period from the first to the second world war: the rapid growth of the proletarian movement in the twenties; Communist activity under fascism, in the years of underground struggle; the fight against aggression in Abyssinia; the Spanish civil war; political emigration; the guerrilla movement in Italy under Nazi occupation.

Sincere and authentic records of the past, the recollections show why Italy's most authoritative party of the working people is so strong and what gives it such vitality, enabling it to win more and more supporters.

Cesare Colombo

Karl und Rosa (Karl and Rosa). Erinnerungen. Berlin, Dietz Verlag, 1971.

Hermann Duncker, Hugo Eberlein, Fritz Heckert, Franz Mehring, Wilhelm Pieck, Clara Zetkin and other German Communists tell about Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg, heroes of the German and international working class, who set an example of devotion to proletarian internationalism, of loyalty to principle, and supreme courage. They are portrayed in decisive class battles, in everyday political work and in private life (many of the recollections appear for the first time).

Speaking of their activity during World War I, the book stresses their firm resistance to every form of opportunism, revisionism or social-chauvinism, and their unrelenting fight against the German militarist government's policies.

The book deals with an important stage in the development of the German labor movement (the first two decades of this century), the time when the German Communist Party was in the making. It reveals the impact of the Russian revolutionary movement and the October Revolution on the German working class. *Elli Becker*

C. DESMOND GREAVES, *The Life and Times of James Connolly*. New York, International Publishers. 1971. pp. 488.

The struggle being waged in Northern Ireland today makes topical a new edition of Desmond Greaves' book on the life of James Connolly, and the earlier struggle for Irish freedom. The author, a well-known Communist in Britain of Irish extraction, spent many years of research for this book.

Born in Edinburgh in 1868, Connolly was the son of Irish parents who had migrated to Scotland. Leaving school at 11 years old he worked at various manual jobs for three years, then joined the

British armed forces at the early age of 14 years. His battalion was sent to Cork, then to Dublin, then back to England in 1889. After serving his seven years Connolly left the armed forces and embarked upon his active political life.

Connolly first joined the Socialist League in Edinburgh in 1890. After five years he moved back to Dublin, and was one of the founders of the Irish Socialist Republican Party (ISRP) which stressed both the national and socialist aspect of the working class struggle. In one of his articles Connolly had this striking passage:

'If you remove the English army tomorrow and hoist the green flag over Dublin Castle, unless you set about the organization of the socialist republic, your efforts will be in vain. England will still rule you.'

In later years Connolly stressed that the national and socialist revolution were two aspects of one continuous process, and so came closer to Lenin's standpoint.

From 1903 to 1910 he was in the United States, became a disciple of De Leon (though critical of him later) and active in the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW) and in touch with Bill Haywood and Elizabeth Gurley Flynn. Back in Ireland in 1910 he became active in strikes organized by the Transport Workers' Union, was foremost in the great Dublin lock-out of 1912, and several times in prison.

Connolly led an active opposition to the 1914-18 war, declaring later that: 'The signal of war ought also to have been the signal for rebellion.' These words were transformed into action with the formation of the Citizen Army, later to become the Irish Revolutionary Army (IRA) and the launching of the armed struggle on Easter Sunday 1916 to establish 'the Provisional Government of the Workers' Republic.'

The rebellion was crushed, and before he was shot and wounded Connolly realized it would not succeed, but went on directing the rebellion. After being captured he was taken to Dublin Castle, sentenced to execution, and shot dead while strapped to a chair. After its defeat came a reign of terror against the insurgents, and the famous playwright George Bernard Shaw was among the notable people who voiced strong protests.

With the benefit of hindsight one can always pronounce on past history, but there's no guarantee in advance that every revolutionary struggle will be victorious. Lenin himself laid great stress on the significance of the Easter Rebellion, and pointed out that:

'The misfortune of the Irish is that they rose prematurely, when the European revolt of the proletariat had not matured.'

As for James Connolly, despite some political weaknesses, for the time in which he lived he was a great revolutionary leader. His achievements will long be remembered in the international working class movement.

Idris Cox

On criticism of bourgeois ideology*

This is the title of a series of pamphlets on issues in the epicenter of the ideological struggle, put out in the German Democratic Republic since 1971 by Professor Manfred Buhr, Director of the Central Institute of Philosophy of the German Academy of Sciences.

Marxist philosophers of the GDR, Bulgaria, Hungary, the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia and FRG have contributed to the series, which is also being put out in the FRG (Marxistische Blaetter Publishers) and is soon to appear in Czech and Slovak in Czechoslovakia and in Russian and other languages of the USSR (Progress Publishers, Moscow).

The series is a critical Marxist-Leninist examination of the various trends in modern bourgeois ideology and revisionism, probing their gnosiological and class roots, and measuring them against the really scientific working-class ideology. The 25 pamphlets that have appeared in the series so far are critiques of the more widespread concepts 'refuting' the Marxist doctrine and refurbishing the shopworn bourgeois dogma. They also examine attempts at revising Marxism on the pretext of 'deepening' or 'improving' it. The achievements of the existing socialism are compelling anti-Communists to take notice of the Marxist teaching, and camouflage their views.

Some of the pamphlets show the ideological targets of the diverse currents of positivism and neo-positivism, existentialism and the like. Professing the ideals of 'pure' and 'non-partisan' science, these and other currents try to obstruct the spread of the dialectico-materialist method to specific spheres of science, blocking the way thereby to genuinely scientific knowledge of nature and society.

The Marxist-Leninist study of the main trends of modern bourgeois ideology shows how the general crisis of capitalism is peculiarly reflected in the theoretical thinking of its apologists. Their attempts to conceptualize the complexity and conflicting nature of social processes in the modern world, and to offer society a positive alternative, have proved futile. No matter how assiduously bourgeois thinkers may advertise their 'impartiality,' 'humanism,' and 'scientific expertise,' objectively their views serve a definite class aim – the apology of capitalism and its ideology.

George Becker

*Zur Kritik der buergerlichen Ideologie. Herausgegeben von Manfred Buhr, Berlin, Akademie-Verlag.

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A reminder of known facts

TIME Magazine
on 'New Stakhanovites'

The following is an item from a February issue of *Time*, entitled 'The New Stakhanovites':

'Nearly everyone in business talks about improving productivity, but notable breakthroughs are rare. Last year productivity in U.S. manufacturing rose 4 per cent v. 5.8 per cent in 1971. Lately the workers at Kaiser Steel Corp.'s continuous-weld pipe mill at Fontana, Calif., have shown that dramatic gains can be made with only minor changes in methods and machines. In the last three months of 1972 they raised their productivity by a herculean 32 per cent.

'The new Stakhanovites* had a powerful incentive. Last October Kaiser officials announced that the 4,000-ton-a-month plant was being shut down, a victim of rising costs and stiffening foreign competition; a ton of two-inch Fontana pipe that sold for \$300 was being offered by Japanese mills for \$240. Recalls Dino Papavero, president of United Steelworkers Local 2869: "We asked management to give us a chance to make the mill pay."

'Kaiser executives agreed to postpone the closing and adopt a few worker suggestions. A traveling saw that cut pipe into sections after it left the furnace was repaired and overhauled at a cost of only \$3,000. Workers had been asking for the adjustments for years; once they were made, spoilage dropped from 29 per cent of output to 9 per cent. In addition, a few storage racks and inspection tables were rearranged to permit a smoother flow of work. Two crucial but low-paid employees who operated a pipe straightening machine were given raises from \$3.70 to \$4.07 an hour. And the workers made a relatively minor change in their production schedule to prevent some machines lying idle while different sizes of pipe were being processed on others.

'*New Spirit*. The plant's maintenance staff began repairing in a day breakdowns that formerly took a week to fix. Operators of straightening and threading machines began catching mistakes that they had previously let pass. "There is a new spirit in the mill," says Assistant Works Manager Ray Robinson. Observes the union's Papavero: "Being recognized as people who can make creative suggestions has given the men a certain dignity."

'Still, the successful experiment may fail to keep the plant open. Because labor accounts for only one-ninth of the cost of making Fontana pipe, increased productivity has trimmed the price of the finished product by only some \$11 a ton. "That isn't the \$60 it would take to match Japan's price," says Robinson. Kaiser executives refuse to disclose when a final decision will be made on the mill's fate. For the moment, Fontana workers are hustling and hoping on a day-to-day basis.'

We telephoned from Prague to Thorez in the Ukraine and spoke to Alexei Stakhanov, who nearly 40 years ago initiated the emulation movement described in the *Time* footnote. We asked him what he thought of the *Time* item.

'I feel deeply for the Kaiser workers,' he said. 'They are faced with unemployment and are doing their best to escape it. It beats me why this is described as a "new spirit". We Donets Basin coal-miners worked for record productivity, and were impelled by a really new spirit: the country had just risen from ruins, socialist relations had triumphed, and younger generations streamed into factories with the dream of turning their land into a great industrial power. We were deeply conscious of our responsibility for everything around us. The emulation movement, which originated with the first Communist subbotniks in 1919, got underway in full gear during the first five-year plans, and became a tradition. The

*After Alexsei Stakhanov, a coal miner who became an early hero of Soviet labor by greatly overfulfilling his production quota.

countrywide socialist emulation movement is still active. The stimuli listed in the American magazine bear no comparison with it.'

The *Time* story, if you look closer, paints an appalling picture. It is about an episode related to one of the loftiest aspects of the human spirit – creative labor, collective initiative. Yet the main-spring of the story is fear. Such is the nature of capitalism, a world where everything is inside out and where success may mean disaster and disaster is paraded as success.

A minor fact can reflect major truths. The *Time* editors may or may not wish it, but this is the case with their story. It reflects:

- the sharpening of imperialist contradictions: a Japanese firm elbowing out an American one;

- the alientation of workers under capitalism: ordinarily they would not, and could not, display their initiative;

- the fallacy of the fashionable theories that capitalism can be improved by 'worker participation,' 'human relations,' and the like, which ostensibly iron out the contradictions between labor and capital, with the result that workers regard a capitalist enterprise as 'their own.'

An interesting detail: contrary to the custom of bourgeois propaganda, *Time* did not try to ridicule socialist emulation. Perhaps because its purpose this time was to show that 'Stakhanovite' methods are feasible under capitalism. If so, it was blind to the underlying meaning of its story. The Fontana episode shows conclusively that convergence is a reactionary utopia. Socialist relations will not thrive on alien soil. There is no such thing as 'people's capitalism,' a 'welfare' or 'consumer' society. There is capitalism, frantically searching for cures of incurable diseases.

Time glossed over a notable fact. Its report concerned a mill belonging to Kaiser Steel Corp., which about 10 years ago, frightened by a four-months-long steel strike, hired sociologists to devise a credible plan for 'reforming' capitalism. The labor union accepted the resulting 'sharing in progress' (whereby workers benefited from part of the saving from the intensification of their labor). There was no end to the jubilation. The Kaiser Steel president was received by the President of the United States. McDonald, leader of the Steelworkers' Union, described the move as the greatest step ever taken by a union and enlightened management towards industrial peace. There is no denying, the workers abandoned claims to higher wages and promised the company that they would not strike for several years.

Nowadays, the sensational agreement is consigned to oblivion. Any reminder is, indeed, embarrassing, because the sequel to 'enlightened management' is the stark prospect of the mill shutting down and workers being sacked.

Ten years ago one of the managers of the corporation said: 'The workers have become capitalists.' Today, the sad results are epitomized by Dino Papavero, a United Steelworkers functionary: 'Being recognized as people who can make creative suggestions has given the men a certain dignity' – and this on the eve of the mill's closure.

Most likely, the mill will be shut down. And the workers will

never know if the announcement that the American corporation could not compete with the Japanese, is really true. No one will show them the books. No one will ever reveal Kaiser Steel's profit from the Fontana continuous-weld pipes. Probably, the mill could continue to function at present costs, selling pipe at \$240 a ton. It is only that the mill owners consider the profit too low.

But give credit where credit is due. *Time* put it convincingly: even on such terms, given a degree of independence, workers are capable of raising productivity 32 per cent in three months instead of the usual 4-5 per cent in a year. Perhaps some day the magazine will estimate the benefits of turning over to the workers the entire Kaiser Steel Corporation or, better still, the entire U.S. economy? This will hardly happen, because then the magazine would have to change masters and become the organ not of monopolists, but of the proletariat.

None of this is news. That workers work better for themselves, rather than for capitalists, was clear back in the days of the Rochdale pioneers, the first workers' cooperative in England, which received favorable mention from Marx. And that once the country's riches pass to the workers, work done for oneself is better than work done for a capitalist, has been known since the October Revolution from the example of the Soviet Union and, later, of the other socialist countries. Hence, the Fontana episode is merely a fresh reminder of known truths. *Time* evidently missed this point, for it all but defined the 'new spirit' as a new source of gain for industrialists (the item was in the Business department under the head of 'Productivity'). Nor is this suprising, for just as the theories of bourgeois sociologists are designed to serve capitalism, so every line printed by *Time* is designed to serve those who call the tune.

O. Lacis

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One more round of the monetary crisis

Jan Prazsky
comment on a reader's letter

HAS THE MONETARY CRISIS BEEN RESOLVED?
DETHRONING OF THE DOLLAR.
WHO GAINS FROM DEVALUATION?

Dear Editor,

Now that the dust raised by the latest eruption of the monetary crisis has settled and order has been restored on Europe's currency markets, I should like to raise a few points that may be of interest to your readers.

Those who follow developments on the currency market could not fail to see that the February 1973 crisis was not as acute and long as the other financial convulsions of recent years. The new devaluation of the dollar ended it in a matter of days. And if we are to believe the Western press, the devaluation pleased everyone concerned—the Americans, the Europeans, the Japanese. Willy Brandt's government went so far to say that the devaluation was made possible 'only through outstanding international cooperation.'

What is the explanation for all this? Why did Nixon devalue the dollar a second time so quickly, so unexpectedly and with such seeming ease, less than a year after the dollar's malaise was conceded officially?

It seems to me that bourgeois commentators are mistaken when they say that monetary upheavals are receding into the past and that concerted efforts have overcome the crisis. This looks like an exaggeration. Surely the 'international cooperation' extolled by Brandt is, first and foremost, cooperation by the governments of highly developed capitalist countries against their own people and the peoples of the Third World. Could it be that this latest crisis was extinguished so quickly because policy-makers of the United States, Western Europe and Japan managed to come to terms?

The key to the riddle, I feel, can be traced, among other things, to the U.S. domestic economic scene. Following the ceasefire in Vietnam, the United States had a real chance of coping swiftly with the difficulties created by inflation and soaring prices, the

huge deficits of the federal budget and of the trade and payments balances. The end of the war and the homecoming of U.S. troops will inevitably reduce military expenditures, especially abroad. The improved state of the budget and balance of payments will undermine one of the major sources of inflation.

This was not so in 1971 when, after many years, the international prestige of the dollar was badly undermined. Now that all prestige is lost, there is nothing more to lose. What can be gained is a favorable trade balance, with all that accrues therefrom to international payments.

E. Wagenr,

Student, Frankfurt-am-Main

February 16, 1973

JAN PRAZSKY COMMENTS

Though E. Wagner's letter deals with only the latest monetary upheavals in the capitalist world, it touches in substance on broader or, more precisely, more fundamental economic, social and political issues of present-day capitalism. This is easily seen if the events relating to the recent dollar devaluation are examined from an angle that is not blurred by both old and new bourgeois dogma. Our West German reader seems to invite this approach, which makes many of his ideas decidedly interesting.

For years, monetary problems have harassed financiers and politicians of the capitalist world. But to hear them speak, the difficulties are transient, more or less accidental, and therefore entirely manageable, provided governments, bankers and economists put their minds to it. This deliberate optimism is rooted in the class narrowness of bourgeois theorists and financiers, in their faith that the capitalist system is indestructible and economically effective, and that its social order is all but perfect.

None but Marxist-Leninist theory, the class political economy of the proletariat, can probe into the true causes of monetary crises, and establish their scale and probable consequences. Analyzing the state of affairs in the capitalist world some four years ago, the International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties noted that 'industrial and commercial competition is growing sharper, and the financial and currency war is spreading.' Bourgeois ideologists dismissed these assessments as 'propaganda couched in unjustifiably strong language.' And they had much more than blind faith to go by, for they found facts to back up their hope that the worst was over since the December 1971 monetary compromise, which, using President Nixon's expression, they described as 'the most important monetary agreement in world history.' Yet later events confirmed the Marxist view: monetary crises and currency wars are constant companions of modern capitalism, and the most solemn of agreements will mitigate them for but a short time.

The February devaluation of the dollar, the second in 18 months, drew conflicting comment in the bourgeois press, which, however, remained faithful to its habit of always finding a silver lining in even the worst setbacks of the capitalist economic mechanism.

Paul Samuelson, an authority among U.S. economists, declared blandly that 'the whole world is better off' following the devaluation, and London's *The Economist* said of the initial reaction of West-European monopolies and bankers that 'the Europeans congratulate themselves.' As E. Wagner says in his letter, this could, indeed, create the impression that the crisis had been overcome through international cooperation. For the more serious commentators, however, it took only a few days to begin shedding their illusions, though none has so far attempted to reply to the main questions concerning the steep decline of the dollar.

What are the causes of the chronic monetary and financial crises? What motors brought on at least seven disastrous eruptions in recent years?

Clearly, monetary upheavals stem from the general crisis of world capitalism, showing that it has grown deeper. But that is too general a factor. To explain the ups and downs of the capitalist monetary mechanism, we should look at the immediate causes.

The dethroning of the dollar, non-convertible into gold since August 1971, brought down the so-called gold-dollar standard, the hierarchic Bretton Woods pyramid pounded in 1944 on the supremacy of the dollar and reflecting the USA's dominance in the capitalist world economy. Since then, the relation of strength has changed completely. Western Europe and Japan together produced more industrial goods than the United States. What is left of America's gold reserve (\$23,000 million in 1950, and less than \$10,000 million today) is considerably less than that of Western Europe. The nine Common Market countries export twice as many goods, and all Western Europe three times as many as the USA.

This by itself need not have dethroned the dollar, but the over-ambitious U.S. imperialist global policeman policy proved too costly for even the capitalist world's wealthiest country. In the past 20 years, the U.S. spent abroad something like \$100,000 million more than it brought in. Why? Because outlays for aggressive military-political programs, the conduct of wars, the maintenance of more than 2,000 large military bases abroad and of troops in West Germany and other countries, and the aid to mercenary satellite regimes, grew to giant proportions. Because enormous sums were spent on such subversive propaganda agencies as Freedom Radio and Radio Free Europe, aimed specifically against the socialist countries. And because the monopolies' unquenchable thirst for super-profits derived from exploiting people in other countries through export of capital proved an all but insupportable burden for the country's balance of payments. Finally, in 1971, for the first time in 80 years, the trade balance showed a deficit, which rose to \$6,400 million in 1972. Inflation pared down the value of the dollar and reduced its purchasing capacity.

Having eaten substantially into its gold reserve, the United States covers its balance of payments deficit one-quarter by shipping out gold and three-quarters by augmenting short-term foreign debts. This is a new way of exploiting other countries: for material values shipped out of them the U.S. paid several tens of

billions of dollars' worth of devalued paper currency that cannot be used productively or exchanged for gold. The so-called Euro-dollars inundated the West European countries. Touched by the 'virus of inflation,' the latter became a major source of monetary turmoil.

Two of the most acute monetary disruptions – at the end of 1971 and in February 1973 – culminated in devaluations of the dollar. And the second crisis, though shorter, was no less acute than the first. The first devaluation (the official rate of the dollar was lowered 8.57 per cent) cost the West European countries \$2,000 million in just several months, and there is very little reason to believe that the second one (10 per cent) will cost them less. The loss to West Germany, its Federal Bank announced, exceeds DM7,200 million, and in Japan's case, too, an imposing portion of her monetary reserves, which reached to \$19,000 million, has 'vanished' into thin air. It is quite true – and Wagner spotted it – that Nixon agreed more easily to the second devaluation than to the first. But this 'ease' is deceptive. The United States had no choice, because all hope of improving the balance of trade and payments, of healing the contradictions harassing America's economy, would have faded completely unless the dollar was devalued.

Devaluation gives the U.S. monopolies important advantages over their competitors in the trade war, and doubly so because relatively the U.S. is less dependent on foreign trade. Add to this the new moves announced by Washington concurrently with the devaluation – more restrictions on imports and higher customs duties, on the one hand, and U.S. demands that Western Europe and Japan liberalize trade and investment, on the other. This bears little resemblance to 'international cooperation' in accommodating the capitalist world's commercial and monetary problems. And E. Wagner is right to doubt the claim that inter-imperialist rivalry is abating. He describes it as an 'exaggeration,' but it would probably be more accurate to call it an untruth. Large-scale currency battles have raged between the main imperialist centers – the USA, Western Europe and Japan – throughout the past five or six years. And beyond doubt the dollar devaluation this February has only added to the acuteness of the monetary and financial war.

True, in efforts to meet the challenge of socialism, to preserve and consolidate the system of exploitation and oppression the imperialists have joined hands and created various forms of economic integration. But the moment economic interests clash, the moment monopoly incomes and profits are in jeopardy, the inter-imperialist contradictions begin operating at full strength.

It is in Western Europe where capitalist integration is closest. But when the latest round of the monetary crisis erupted, the highly touted unity of the Common Market nine broke down. The Big Three (Britain, France, the FRG) came forward instantly and tried to impose their will on the six other EEC countries. Italy fell out of line by floating her lira in defiance of the Common Market rulings, not to speak of Japan, which, free from any integrational commitments, lost no time to step up her expansion in American

and West European markets. And for the United States the main purpose of the devaluation was to shift its own economic troubles to other capitalist countries.

The imperialists' 'international cooperation' in dealing with the monetary crisis operates only where the interests of the highly-developed capitalist states happen to coincide, and certainly not where they collide. This, as Wagner notes rightly, holds true in the case of the imperialist countries' relations with the developing states and in the case of their domestic social policy.

The crisis and dollar devaluation have added to the difficulties of the developing countries. The prices of the goods they import from the developed states are going up steeply, while the price of their exports is either going down, or at best, slowly rising. Their foreign trade balance has always shown a deficit, and now new difficulties are arising over exports to the United States, which account for as much as 25 per cent of Southeast Asian exports and over 30 per cent of Latin American. In the case of Mexico, Venezuela, Ethiopia and the Philippines its share is often as high as 40-70 per cent. While reducing inflow of foreign exchange, the financial crisis is also injuring the import opportunities of the developing countries. The sums they pay out to imperialist states in profits, interest and repayment of loans are rising from year to year. Their total debt is now well over \$70,000 million.

The Third World's shortage of foreign exchange is chronic. The proportion of gold in its reserves is very low (in the past 20 years it has gone down from 31 to 18 per cent), and that of dollars relatively high. UNCTAD estimated that the loss of the developing countries from the 1971 dollar devaluation added up to almost \$1,000 million, from the latest devaluation they sustained a still greater loss. And since their financial resources are greatly limited, they cannot make good the damage out of internal sources.

U.S. imperialism's latest financial moves have therefore stirred up vehement protests in the Third World. The developing nations are asking why they should be the ones to pay for the imperialists' attempts at saving the dollar, regulating their monetary relations and closing the breach in America's balance of payments? How much longer must they be the victims of events they had done nothing to provoke?

Bourgeois economists are trying to belittle the social consequences of the monetary crisis. Lord Robbins, head of the London School of Economics, pretended surprise at the public concern roused by the currency turmoil. 'Does monetary crisis mean as much to the world,' he asked, 'as to those of us concerned with these affairs?' By 'us,' of course, he meant the handful of export-import monopolists, bankers and learned experts.

Yet even far less illustrious economists than Lord Robbins know perfectly well for whom the monetary upheavals mean added hardship. He, too, should know the direct connection (through inflation and unemployment) between speculation in gold and paper currency, on the one hand, and the economic condition of the masses, on the other.

For the United States soaring prices are inevitable as an effect of the devaluation. The American consumer is sure to see electricity charges and petrol prices go up, since one-third of the petroleum comes from abroad and the devalued dollar has automatically made it dearer. Devaluation and the attendant protectionist measures mean that foreign competition on the U.S. market will decline, and that competition was the only deterrent for the U.S. concerns to raise prices. Once the process gets properly under way, the inflationary plunder of the masses will inevitably grow.

For other capitalist countries the devaluation of the dollar and aggravation of the trade and monetary war mean greater unemployment, as well as new price increases. Enterprises that worked for the American market will be compelled to cut back production. Ten of thousands of workers in the West German metals, automobile and engineering industries, in Italy's leather and shoe industry and Australia's mining face probable dismissal. The same is true of Japan, which has staked its economic destiny so definitely on the U.S. market.

A deterioration of the social and political situation is highly probable in the United States by autumn, when large sections of the U.S. working class will be negotiating new collective agreements and the internal consequences of the devaluation become more tangible. Britain has already made one complete cycle from monetary turmoil and runaway inflation to the wage freeze, a decline in the living standard and a sharp aggravation of the class struggle. The Conservative government, which has done its utmost to shift the effects of the British economy's monetary and financial troubles on the people, encountered the powerful protest of 750,000 miners, dockers, engineers, gas workers and other organized sections of labor. And the *Economist* gave voice to the anxiety felt by the ruling class, saying that in face of these developments Britain may no longer be governable by the existing democratic system.

Now to sum up. The monetary crisis and the imperialist methods of mitigating it are, firstly, adding to inter-imperialist contradictions; secondly, creating a still wider gap between the highly industrialized capitalist states and the developing countries; and, thirdly, exacerbating social and class antagonisms to a point where the bourgeoisie are beginning to fear for their social and political privileges.

E. Wagner wrote his letter in the wake of events. He hardly could be expected to anticipate that everything would begin all over again a mere fortnight later: the dollar rate dropping again, gold going up, and currency markets in Western Europe and Japan closing. The dust, as we see, has not settled and order has not been restored. But what is more important is that as long as the dollar, devalued and no longer pegged to gold, remains the standard currency, and as long as the U.S. balance of payment remains in the red, the ground is fertile for new convulsions.

Certainly, should the U.S. federal budget and balance of payment strike a balance, which is hardly likely, one of the main

reasons for the weakness of the dollar, and consequently one of the immediate factors behind the capitalist international monetary turmoil, would disappear. Much hope attached to the ending of the Vietnam war. But the Pentagon has not let go of a single penny freed by the ceasefire. The Vietnam war is over, but U.S. ground, naval and air forces are staying in Thailand, the Tonkin Gulf, and elsewhere in Southeast Asia. U.S. aid to the Israeli aggressors is to be stepped up and Washington continues to plot against the peoples of Chile and other Latin American countries. The new U.S. budget envisages not a cut, but an increase in military expenditure, and another huge deficit. This is why there is no 'real chance,' as our reader put it, to cope with the inflation and the growing deficits. U.S. Under Secretary of the Treasury, P. Volcker, has declared for all to hear that the 1973 U.S. trade balance will be in the red.

Inevitably, therefore, is not a reduction of U.S. military expenditure, but higher prices and a consequent aggravation of all other economic difficulties and contradictions. This was only to be expected, for the gigantic military industry, the high degree of militarization in production and consumption, have become structural factors of the U.S. economy. Imperialism cannot shed its aggressive militaristic features any more than it can shake off its intrinsic contradictions. And in the final analysis it is this that lies at the root of the chronic monetary crisis.

Bourgeois economists and financial experts look hopefully to reforms and are inventing systems with 'fair' parities, rates and quotas, casting the dollar in a new role and toying with the idea of replacing it with an artificial 'paper gold' in international settlements. Some such prescriptions may indeed be tried one day, and may even prove effective. But how long? For capitalism's present monetary problems, as we have endeavored to show, all technical solutions are no more than a palliative.

In the meantime, the monetary crisis is triggering socio-economic processes that objectively lead to a still greater polarization of class and political forces in bourgeois society. New population groups are learning from experience that the capitalist system is incapable of coping with its own acute problems. The history of the recent currency troubles shows that the invoked solutions benefited the monopolies and injured the people. Deliverance from monetary cataclysms, as we see it, will come not from a transformation of the monetary and financial system, but from a transformation of the social system.

FROM IDENTICAL AIMS TO COMMON VALUES

Dear Editor,

You will surely agree that now and then we are compelled to note with regret that the vivid features in the portrait of a revolutionary come into evidence only after he is dead. This is precisely what I felt when I read press comments on the dastardly killing of Amilcar Cabral. The now widely published excerpts from his

writings speak of his revolutionary devotion and enthusiasm, and of his skill in defining simply, comprehensibly and precisely the patriots' tasks in the battle against Portuguese colonialism.

In one of his political directives he warned against misleading the masses by exaggerating successes or minimizing setbacks and difficulties.

This may be a subjective appreciation, but to me this seemed exactly what Lenin would have said in the circumstances. Though I know that one should not draw far-reaching conclusions from a single personal impression, I felt that this confirms something I have been thinking all along: the unity of the Communist and national-liberation revolutionary movements is not confined to an identity of their anti-imperialist aims and interests. It grows over in a natural way into common ideological, and more broadly, into common spiritual and moral values. The lines from Cabral are a model of Lenin's political ethics.

Fraternally

London

John NGIAMA

TRUTHFUL PAGES OF HISTORY

CONCERNING THE UNDERGROUND PUBLICATION OF 'HUMANITE'

As the Second World War recedes farther into the past, more generations learn of its tragic events only from books, many of which regrettably distort the history of the struggle against fascism. But these are countered by irrefutable documentary material and factual research.

In my work on the history of the French Resistance I drew information from many sources, particularly *Humanité*, the newspaper of the French Communists. However, the files were incomplete, and among the genuine copies I also found some that seemed doubtful. The Vichy police is known to have printed false issues of *Humanité*.

A few years ago I visited the Maurice Thorez Institute in Paris and the *Humanité* offices where I was told that a complete edition of the *Humanité* file for the occupation period is soon to be put out. Could you inform me of the progress of this project?

Anatoli Kudritsky, Cand. Hist. Kiev, USSR.

Reply by GERMAINE WILLARD, Member of the Administrative Council of the Maurice Thorez Institute.

The Maurice Thorez Institute is about to publish a complete file of *Humanité*, dating from November 1939 to August 1944. Although a great deal has been written about this period in France, very little use was made of documents that would make such research truly scientific. Even some of the more serious works on the history of the French Communist Party referred only casually to the underground *Humanité*. This provided fertile soil for distortions of historical facts: excerpts were taken from the newspaper out of

context and the comments were arbitrary, and sometimes provoked anti-Communist attacks.

There can obviously be no scientific history of the French Communist Party in the period from 1939 to 1944 without a deep study of the underground *Humanité*, for as the central organ of the FCP it explained the Party's policy and helped organize the struggle against the Nazi occupation. Therefore, a collection of wartime issues of *Humanité* is essential as a valuable source of facts and information for scholars. It would also be of help to those wishing to know the truth about that eventful period.

Our Institute appointed a special commission to prepare this collection. Our first problem was to find the missing numbers. At present, our documents center is in possession of 300 out of the 317 wartime issues and approximately 50 extra issues. This almost complete file helps trace and historically analyze the course of events. The collection contains photostatic copies of every issue, and where the text is illegible it has been deciphered and also included.

However, scholars want much more than a simple reproduction of texts. Texts alone cannot create a full picture, unless the reader is acquainted with all the facts, conditions, and individuals, and the historical background. Consequently, we decided to supply commentaries that help to reconstruct the concrete situation and historical fabric of that period. They will help clarify the Party's objectives at that time, the ideas it implemented and the goals it set for the paper. This will show the reader the guidelines and intentions of the editorial staff, and the underlying meaning of the material.

The collection is divided into periods, showing how the most important events of the war affected the situation in France and, of course, the activity of the French Communist Party, which always proceeded from a sober appraisal of the realities. The following events were the basis for the periods: the phony war, the Hitler offensive of May 1940, a short and disastrous time for us in the first French campaign: the truce of June 25, 1940, which put France under the dual control of the Nazi occupation forces and the Vichy collaborationist government; Hitler's aggression against the Soviet Union June 22, 1941, which changed the war and France's position; the strategic change brought about by Hitler's defeat at Stalingrad, marked by a rise in the French Resistance, and, finally, the Allied landing of June 6, 1944, the second French campaign, highlighted by the national uprising. Each period is preceded by an introduction, setting out facts, ideas and a study of the contents of *Humanité* and showing the political line of the FCP. Each section is supplemented with a chronological and biographical index.

To complete the picture of conditions in which the underground newspaper was edited, printed and disseminated, we collected the recollections of Party members who were involved in the operation. *Humanité* owes its uninterrupted publication during those five heroic years to the dedication of thousands of Communists, many of whom were tortured to death or executed in fascist prisons. The collection is therefore also a tribute to their courage.

It should help illuminate a period that has evoked many different interpretations, prompted by anti-Communist propaganda rather than historical criticism, and will no doubt occupy a conspicuous place in the ideological battle of today.

LESSONS OF THE VIETNAM WAR

Dear Comrades,

A few ideas that I want to share with you came to me when reading an article in the January issue of the Paris monthly *Monde diplomatique*. The article was by Jean-Christophe Oberg, the Swedish Ambassador to Hanoi, entitled, 'The West in Face of the Vietnam Tragedy.' Like most Swedes, including the Prime Minister, Mr. Oberg is highly critical of the United States intervention in Vietnam. His sympathies lie with the people of Vietnam, But . . .

We encounter this 'but' so very often these days, as the world is trying to draw lessons from the Vietnam war. Despite its power, Mr. Oberg notes, America was unable to force the people of Vietnam to their knees. This, he contends, has introduced a new factor in international relations. More, the whole course of history would now change, because the Vietnam victory represents a victory of the 'small and medium countries' over the 'great powers.'

We Marxists regard the outcome of the Vietnam war as a defeat for imperialist aggression and a victory for socialism, progress, and the principles of national freedom. It was absurd to reduce the matter to just a small country's victory over a big one. It has overtones of cheap geopolitics, unacceptable for us, even though it may be used, as Mr. Oberg uses it, to criticize U.S. imperialism.

One more point. Not just the logic, but also the language of Mr. Oberg's article is unaccountably reminiscent of Peking's official statements. How come? The Swedish diplomat can hardly hold Maoist views. It is an extraordinary affinity of the outlook of a spokesman of a bourgeois state and of the Peking leaders professing to be spokesmen of revolution and socialism.

This is why I think it highly important to examine not only the international political, but also the class lessons of the Vietnam war.

Gunner Olafsson

Stockholm

AGAINST MISINFORMATION

Dear Comrades,

Commenting on the recent parliamentary elections in Italy, the Israeli press reported that the Italian Communist Party had suffered a defeat, though the Communists had in fact been successful. I write of this example of misinformation especially to remind you that the working class in the capitalist countries is fed untrue information by bourgeois news media, and that not all workers are sufficiently conscious of it. They can learn the truth only from the progressive press. Therefore, more information is required about the achievements of the world Communist movement. They are a source of joy and inspiration for every Communist.

Tel-Aviv

A. Flamenbaum



Brief information on Communist and Workers' Parties

THE HUNGARIAN SOCIALIST WORKERS' PARTY (HSWP)

Founded November 24, 1918.

Membership at the beginning of 1973 — 750,000.

The Party is organized on a territorial and industrial basis. Any exception to this principle can be made with the agreement of the CC, the Budapest City Committee and regional Party committees.

Basic Party organizations may be set up at any industrial enterprise, establishment or neighborhood where there are three or more Party members. The highest authority within the basic Party unit is the Party meeting, which must be held at least once every two months.

Wherever there are more than 200 Party members (in towns, rural areas, industrial and other enterprises or educational establishments) Party committees are elected to lead the work and their highest authority is the Party conference, which is convened at least once every four years.

The highest authority of the HSWP is the Party Congress, which takes place at least once every four years. Congress elects a Central Committee and Central Control Commission.

The Political Bureau, First Secretary of the CC, and members of the Secretariat are elected by the CC from its members. The Political Bureau directs Party activities in between plenums of the CC. The Secretariat ensures and supervises the implementation of decisions of leading Party committees and directs the work of the CC apparatus.

At the last, 10th Congress of the HSWP (November 1970) there were 23 regional, 107 district and 73 city Party committees, 22 Budapest area committees and 105 committees equal in status to district committees, 744 factory committees and committees in various enterprises, and 21,150 basic units.

Social composition: workers — 58.3 per cent, peasants — 14.2 per cent, office workers and professionals — 27.5 per cent.

Women comprise 25 per cent of the membership; 39 per cent of

the membership are below 40 years of age. Communists with higher education account for 12 per cent, and with secondary education – 23.1 per cent.

As on June 30, 1972, 64.3 per cent of membership were engaged in material production, the remaining 35.7 per cent in scientific work, education, health services, cultural, state and Party organs.

The Party press:

Népszabadság ('People's Freedom'), daily Party newspaper, organ of the CC. Founded in 1942; it has a circulation of 760,000; Sunday issue circulation 850,000.

Esti Hirlap ('Evening Paper'), organ of the Budapest City Committee, daily, founded 1956, circulation 207,000.

Nineteen newspapers are published by the regional Party committees, having a total circulation of 780,000 copies.

Tarsadalmi Szemle ('Social Review') a monthly theoretical and political journal, founded in 1931, circulation 36,500.

Partelet ('Party Life') monthly CC journal, founded in 1956, circulation 95,000.

Theoretical and educational centers: Higher Political School of the CC HSWP, Institute of Social Sciences CC HSWP, and Institute of Party History.

In 1971, 249 deputies (70.7 per cent) elected to the State Assembly, the highest government body, were Communists.

COMMUNIST PARTY OF COLOMBIA

Founded July 17, 1930.

Basic Party unit is the cell at the workplace or in a residential area where there are at least 3 members; meetings take place every 15 days. Where there are several cells in a given area and where conditions demand it, area Party organizations are formed. The area organizations and cells are united in district organizations operating under the direction of regional organizations, accountable to the CC.

A secretariat is elected at meetings of Party cells held annually. District and area organizations hold annual conferences, and regional organizations hold conferences once every two years, to elect committees.

The highest Party authority is the Congress, convened by the CC at four-year intervals. The XI Congress took place in December 1971.

Congress elects the CC, which is responsible for all Party activity between congresses. The CC meets at six-months intervals. The CC elects a Secretariat, a Central Executive Committee, and a Central Auditing Commission.

A national consultative conference may be convened by the CC should the situation demand a speedy review of political and organizational problems.

Social composition (as on December 1971): workers – 37 per cent,

peasants – 24 per cent, intellectuals – 16 per cent, handicraftsmen – 8 per cent, small traders – 6 per cent, employees – 5 per cent, housewives – 3 per cent; 54 per cent of the members are under 40 years of age.

The Party press:

Voz Proletaria ('Voice of the Proletariat'), weekly Party organ, founded in 1957, has a circulation of 25,000.

Theoretical bi-monthly journal *Documentos Politicos* ('Political Documents'), founded in 1956, circulation 5,000.

Theoretical and educational centers: National School for Party Cadres, Center of Social Research and Study, Regional Party Schools.

The country's Constitution forbids representation of the CP in the National Parliament until 1974. Eight Communist deputies have been elected to the Assemblies in seven departments and there are nearly 100 Communist municipal councillors.

COMMUNIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN (CPGB)

Founded July 31, 1920. Membership, June 1971 – 28,803.

The Party is composed of branches and districts.

A branch is formed either in a factory, university, or residential area on the authority of the District Committee.

Of the 1,050 branches of the Party, approximately 820 are based in residential areas, 185 are factory based, and 45 are organized in colleges and universities.

Where suitable, district committees establish city committees or area committees of the Party which give leadership to the branches in that city or area.

The highest authority of the Party is the National Congress held every two years. It elects the Executive Committee and Appeals Committee.

The first meeting of the Executive Committee following the National Congress elects the Political Committee and officers of the Executive Committee.

The Party membership is overwhelmingly working class, but has also many professional people (teachers, technicians, etc.) in its ranks. About one-third of the membership are women.

The Party press:

Comment – a fortnightly review; *Marxism Today* – monthly discussion and theoretical journal.

The Scottish and Welsh Committees of the Party produce quarterly journals, and a number of specialist journals are produced by Advisory Committees of the Executive Committee.

The *Morning Star* is the daily newspaper, which expresses editorially the policy of the Communist Party and reports Party activities in its news columns.

The Party is not represented in Parliament but has 40 councillors in various municipal councils throughout Britain.

Party Education. During 1972 there were 192 District and National Schools, with 4,500 attending, and 193 District public discussions on Marxism with a total attendance of 8,092, and 180 attended the annual Communist University.

Propaganda Material. During 1972 15 national leaflets and broadsheets were produced in 3,438,000 copies, together with innumerable district and local leaflets. There were 17 different pamphlets produced in 1972. The first leaflet in 1973 was produced in 250,000 copies.

Strike struggles in developed capitalist countries

Prepared by the Institute of the
International Working - Class
Movement, Soviet Academy of
Sciences

The early seventies have seen heightened political activity by workers throughout the capitalist world, with more and more people involved in mass actions and more frequent recourse to the strike weapon.

Number involved in strikes and other mass actions (mln)

	Capitalist World	Including industrially- developed countries
1965	36	20
1966	44	27
1967	46	30
1968	57	43
1969	60	44
1970	64	45
1971	70	48
1972	60	43
1972 (Jan.-Feb.)	—	25

The table is based on official statistics supplemented by data from the trade union press. This is necessary because the official statistics do not cover such new and widespread forms as token or warning stoppages, go-slow work, political and unofficial strikes. (For

instance, French Labor Ministry data do not record the 150 million man-hours lost in May-June 1968).

Recent years have seen more industry-wide, general and national strikes, joint action by blue-collar and white-collar workers, mass meetings, demonstrations and protest marches on 'joint action days,' 'national action days,' and similar actions, involving thousands, in some cases millions.

The technological revolution has made it necessary for the movement to devise new and more effective tactics and has sharply posed the need for united action at all levels. Hence, the emergence of such new forms as go-slow work and 'staggered strikes.' In Italy, for example, the unions set a strike schedule for a given industry — so many stoppage hours in a week, months, etc., — and the factory union branches choose the time for 'staggered action' in a way that leaves management minimum maneuverability. Started at one factory or shop, the strike can spread to other areas or industries.

Class battles have been especially severe in the main imperialist countries.

The number of strikes in the U.S., Japan, France, Italy and Britain rose from 63,837 in 1962-1966 to 83,382 in 1967-1971 and the number of strikers from 47 to 78.5 million. Also these figures: average participants rose from 736 to 943 over the same period and days lost per striker from 4.7 to 7.

Strike movement, three main imperialist centers¹

	Strikes			Participants (000)			Man-days (000)		
	1961-65	1966-70	1972 ²	1961-65	1966-70	1972 ²	1961-65	1966-70	1972 ²
USA	3,592	5,092	5,100	1,362	2,653	1,700	27,300	45,166	28,000
West Europe	8,794	9,400	—	7,105	10,050	—	21,441	58,200	—
Japan	1,311	1,611	5,000	1,422	1,232	3,000	4,432	2,992	5,500

1. Official data. 2. Preliminary data

The strike movement usually reaches its peak during collective bargaining negotiations. Last year, however, it was less intensive in a number of countries than in 1971, mainly because contracts were negotiated only at the end of the year or early in 1973. In Italy, for example, the relatively quiet summer was followed by a stormy autumn when employers refused to sign agreements affecting 5 million workers, and on January 12 there was the general strike of nearly 20 million workers. The U.S. capitalist press notes with alarm that new contracts involving 5.5 million union members are up for renegotiation later this year.

Better conditions is the main issue in most strikes. But of late, with mounting unemployment and soaring prices, social issues, notably unemployment and job security, are being brought to the fore.*

*For position of workers in developed capitalist countries, see survey, 'The Army of Wage Labor,' in WMR No. 1, 1973.

This can be seen from the following figures of the strike movement in Britain.

Main causes of strikes (percentage share)

	Wages	Hours	Job security	Conditions	TU issues	Solidarity actions	Other causes
1961	45.5	2.2	12.8	30.0	5.1	1.4	3.0
1966	45.6	1.3	17.6	28.7	5.9	0.8	0.1
1971	51.8	1.0	22.9	16.2	6.3	1.7	0.1

Sources: Ministry of Labour Gazette, 1962; Dept. of Employment Gazette, 1967-72.

Strike action in support of an integrated complex of demands is still another new development. Wage claims are complemented by demands for escalator clauses to cover price rises, a guaranteed national minimum wage, worker participation in management, union rights safeguards, democratic reforms in taxation, public health, housing, education.

By dint of hard-fought struggle the working class has in recent years won a number of concessions on working time and wages. And the statistics show that the biggest wage increases were won in periods of mass pressure on the monopolies and their state. The following are instances from a much longer list: the Japanese workers' 'spring offensives' of 1967, 1968 and 1970; the mass 1970-71 strikes in Canada; the British strike wave in the second part of 1970, the biggest since 1926; the September 1969 stoppages in the FRG which ushered in a new stage in that country's strike movement; the 1968 Red May in France; the 1969 'hot autumn' and the 1970 strikes in Italy.

In Britain, the year began with a series of strikes against the wage freeze: 80,000 engineers out in January, 47,000 gas workers and 29,000 train drivers in February, and 750,000 out on strike in the closing week of that month. In Japan, 250,000 railwaymen started 'working to rule' in protest against capitalist rationalization. In the FRG, 20,000 Dortmund steelworkers downed tools in support of pay claims. The French Communist weekly *France nouvelle* (January 8-14) commented: 'In the past, too, the capitalist system was shaken by strikes - in 1920-26, 1933-37, 1945-50. The strike movement was concentrated in a few countries, mainly France and Italy, but beginning with 1967-68 the strike has been more than the sharpest form of the labor-capital confrontation - it has become a symptom of capitalism's permanent social crisis.'

The monopolies' reply to this labor offensive has been more anti-labor legislation, repressive measures against the unions, wage freezes, and much more, all of which has found expression in Nixon's 'new economic policy' and the Tories' tough policy in Britain.

Many major strikes and demonstrations have a distinct political coloring: defense of democratic freedoms, repeal of reactionary laws, the fight against dictatorial regimes, for international peace

and security, have become common slogans. The struggle is especially hard in Spain and Portugal, where strikes are held against a background of incessant repression. But some strikes are directly aimed at the fascist dictatorship. In February, nine members of Workers' Commissions were arrested in Bilbao as part of a police operation to break the strike of 10,000 ship-builders. Similar repressive measures were taken against striking telephone workers in Barcelona.

In Italy, the demand for a new socio-economic policy has become an important element of the strike movement. The Communist *Unita* says that the February general strike of 14,000,000 went far beyond a purely economic struggle. The whole country was swept by a powerful, well organized strike wave; at every factory the workers downed tools for four hours, railwaymen stopped trains for 15 minutes and agricultural workers stayed away from work for a day.

There is a growing tendency towards internationalization of the strike movement. This applies to the fight against the huge multinationals, and there were several major conflicts in 1972. One of them was with the AKZO concern which employs over 100,000 workers at its plants in Federal Germany, Holland and Belgium.

Immigrant workers in France, Belgium, the FRG and Switzerland are coming to take a more active part in strike struggles and there is a growing feeling among them of proletarian internationalism and solidarity.

Still another characteristics of the present strike movement is its wider social base. White-collar workers, engineers and technicians have an increasingly active part. A West German trade union paper, *Streik Nachrichten* (Dec. 6, 1971) commented: 'Not so long ago, no one would have thought that a senior clerk, schoolteacher or scientist would come out in solidarity with striking or laid-off workers. And certainly no one could visualize men with university degrees marching in a picket line with ordinary workers, or volunteering for duty on strike committees. . . . What we have is a revolution in the minds of many who were led to believe that they were living in the best of all worlds. And such a 'revolution' is taking place in practically all capitalist countries. The following table is revealing in this respect.

USA - number of strikes

	Total	Manufacturing	Extractive	Farming	Building	Transport and communications	Trade	Banking and insurance	Service industries	Public employees
1960	3,333	1,598	154	81	773	266	290	6	138	36
1965	3,963	2,080	188	21	943	216	336	16	126	42
1968	5,045	2,664	301	17	912	303	417	17	175	254
1969	5,700	2,822	495	16	973	320	470	22	183	414
1970	5,717	2,481	544	27	1,137	400	487	22	211	413

Source: 'Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1971.' Washington, p. 237.

At the close of February 1973, 280,000 civil servants in Britain took strike action and were joined by London schoolteachers. No less than 210,000 were involved in the recent civil servants' dispute in Quebec, Canada. Bank and postal personnel were on strike in France in January, and in February a strike of air traffic controllers paralyzed all French airlines. The strike of 11,000 Philadelphia schoolteachers begun in September 1972 ended in victory in February 1973.

In all these class battles the workers and their organizations have shown a high degree of unity and a high sense of class solidarity, and they have also shown their ability to use flexible tactics and diverse forms of struggle. These battles are evidence of the immense strength of the working class and its ability successfully to fight state-monopoly capitalism.

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DIARY

Invited to our editorial offices, Comrade Duong Duc Ha, Ambassador of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam in Czechoslovakia, met representatives of Communist and Workers' parties working on this journal.

Introductory remarks were made by our Executive Secretary, Vilem Novy. The DRV Ambassador stressed the notable contribution by the socialist countries and the world Communist and working-class movement to the victory of the Vietnamese people over U.S. imperialist aggression. Comrade Duong Duc Ha thanked the international staff of our journal for its material solidarity—the transfer to the DRV economic rehabilitation fund of its one day's earnings.

'We know,' says a message of the DRV Embassy in Prague, 'that we have many friends in Czechoslovakia and the fraternal socialist countries, notably the Soviet Union, and also in other lands. For us this has been, and remains, a source of inspiration.'

The journal's Editor-in-Chief, K. I. Zarodov, stressed the international significance of the victory of the Vietnamese people, facilitated by the powerful solidarity movement of the world's progressive forces. He thanked the Working People's Party of Vietnam for its interest in the journal, a Vietnamese edition of which has appeared regularly, even in the most difficult stages of the war of liberation.

Our editorial offices were visited by Romesh Chandra, General Secretary of the World Peace Council. He replied to questions concerning the peace movement, sent in by our readers, and wished the journal further success.

In Duesseldorf, Comrade Kurt Bachmann, Chairman of the German Communist Party, received our Editor-in-Chief, K. I. Zarodov. Also present at the reception were members of the Presidium of the GCP Board Comrades Willi Gerns and Georg Polikeit, member of the GCP Board Comrade Bernd Hartmann, and GCP representative on our journal, Comrade Georg Kwiatowski. The discussion centered on the journal's work in the fields of theory and information, and on its future plans. Comrade Bachmann said it was desirable to increase the journal's circulation in the FRG, and wished success to our editorial staff.

Our readers' conferences and meetings with GCP activists were held in several cities of the FRG, at which Party representatives on the journal addressed the audience. In Duesseldorf, speaking before activists of the Rhineland-Westphalia GCP organization, the Editor-in-Chief outlined the journal's objectives and creative plans, and replied to questions. In Wuppertal, Comrade Mel Doig, member of the Central Executive Committee of the CP of Canada, and Comrade Michael Harmel, member of the Central Committee of

the South African CP, met members of the GCP Rhineland-Westphalia organization, and in Essen Comrade Philip Bart, member of the National Committee of the CP USA, spoke to trade unionists and young Communists. In Bottrop, Comrade Joaquim Rodriguez, member of the Central Committee of the Brazilian CP, addressed local Party activists.

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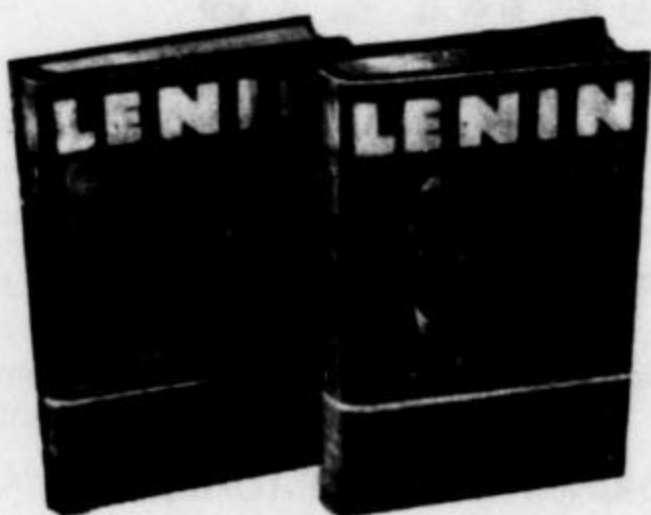
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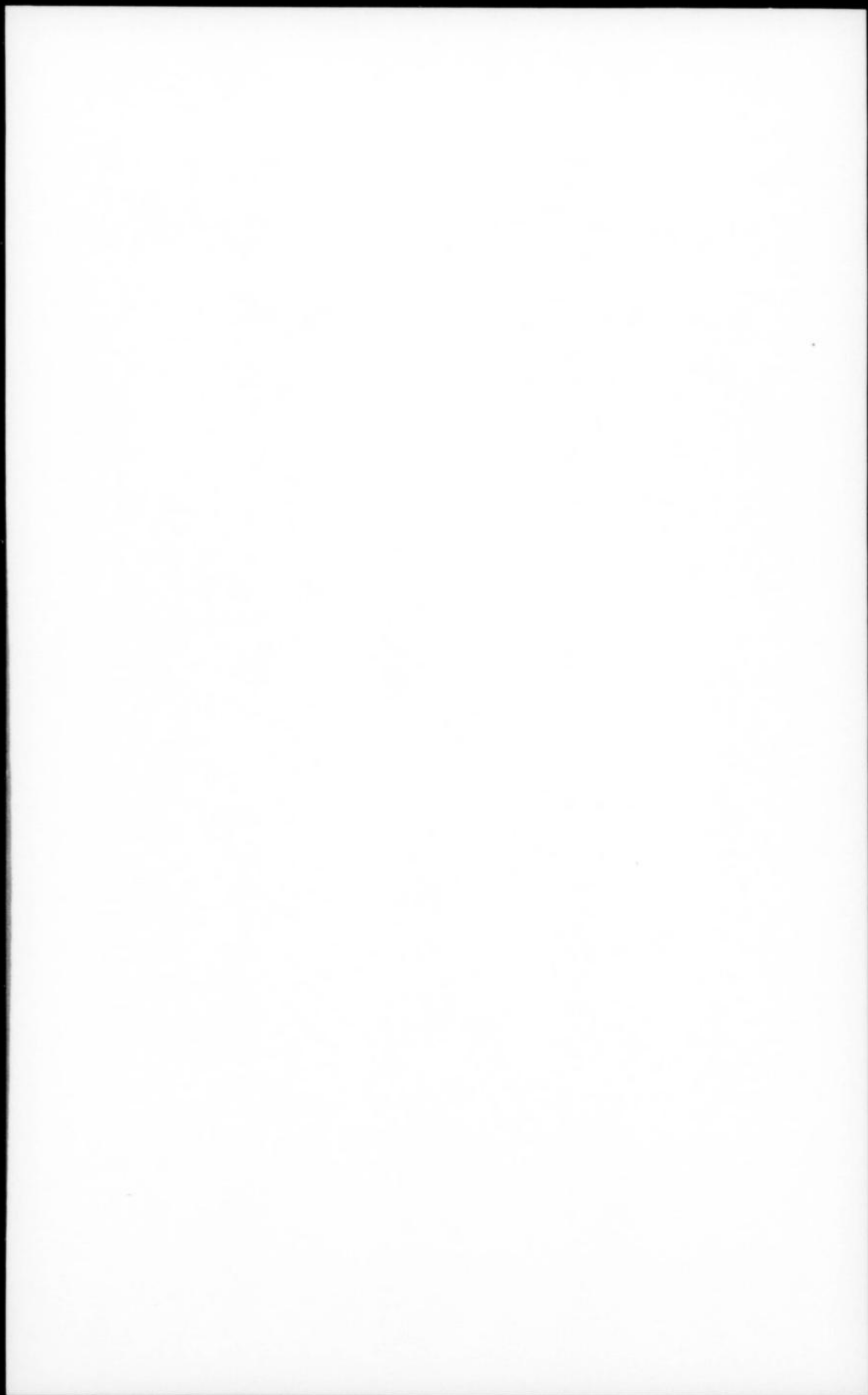
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