

WORLD

Problems of

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Peace and Socialism

REVIEW

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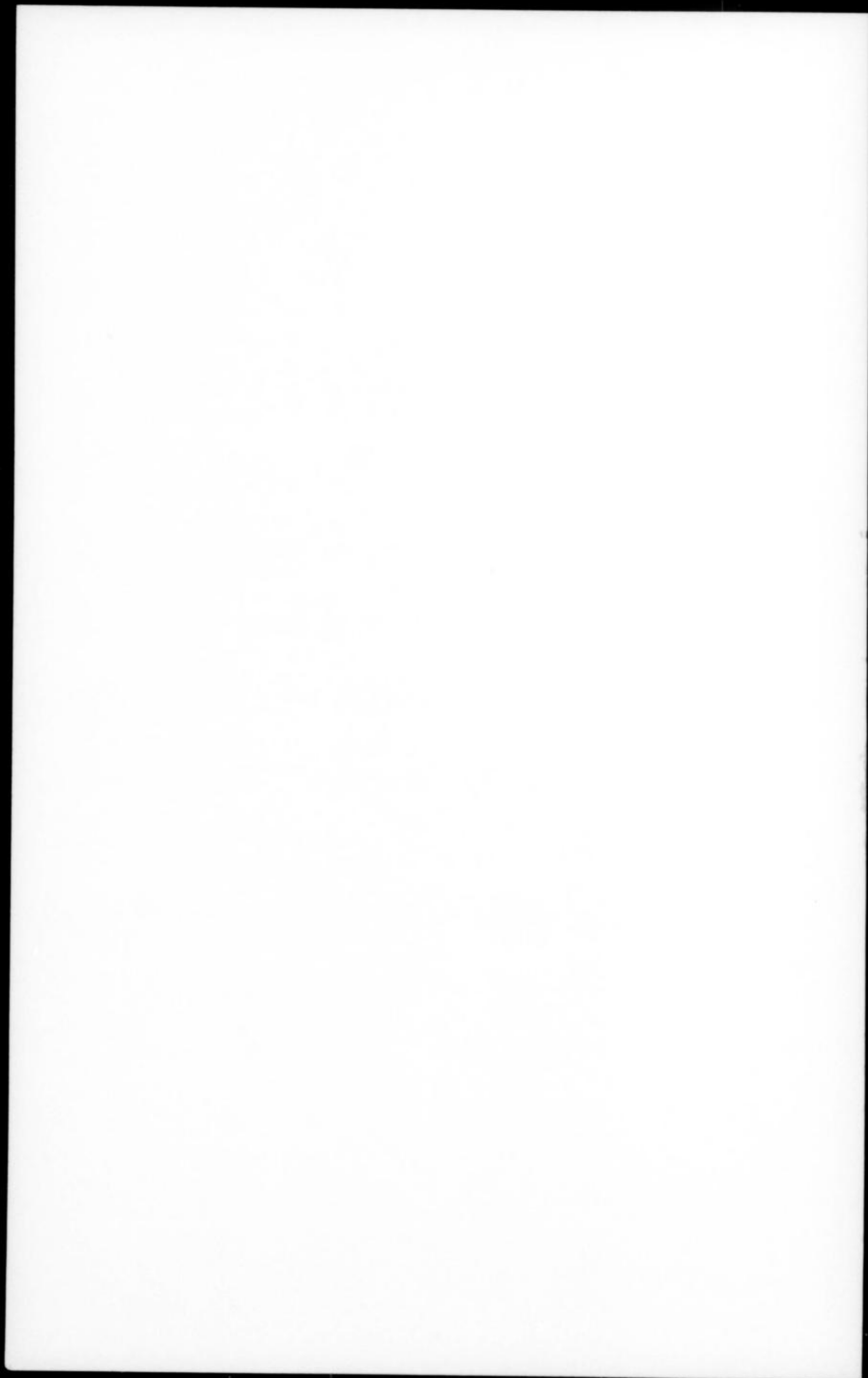
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The main direction

Konstantin Katushev
CC Secretary, CPSU

TENDENCY AND OBJECTIVE NECESSITY FOR CLOSER UNITY OF SOCIALIST COUNTRIES

It is a Marxist axiom that socialist revolution and the reconstruction of society are not exportable. They are principally the mission of the working class and laboring masses in their own country under the leadership of their own Marxist-Leninist vanguard. But as Marx and Engels rightly stressed and subsequent practice fully confirmed, *international cooperation* of the national detachments of the working class and of its parties, is of the utmost significance for the success of the revolutionary process. In a certain sense, the history of the labor movement is the history of the development and consolidation of proletarian internationalism.

Like the other Marxist-Leninist principles governing the activity of Communist and Workers' parties, proletarian internationalism has played an exceedingly important role in the emergence and formation of the socialist world system. The history of the socialist community over almost three decades confirms the unlimited benefits of internationalist mutual assistance, the closeness of the socialist countries, their joint action in socialist and communist construction and in the struggle for lasting peace and security.

Referring to the present period, CC CPSU General Secretary Leonid Brezhnev pointed out that 'in present conditions, far from having diminished, the need for unity and the closest cooperation among socialist countries has, on the contrary, become greater. Today we require unity, cooperation and joint action chiefly in order to accomplish more quickly and effectively the tasks of developing socialist society and building communism. Moreover, we require unity, cohesion and cooperation in order to safeguard and consolidate the peace, so vital for all the peoples, as successfully as possible, to carry forward international détente, and to effectively repulse all aggressive sallies of the imperialists, all attempts to impinge on the interests of socialism' (*The Fiftieth Anniversary of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics*, Moscow, 1972, p. 43).

Further consolidation of unity is the main direction in the

development of the socialist world system, based on the objective need for international cooperation responding to the vital requirements of the individual socialist countries and of the socialist world system.

I. Of late, the international situation has changed visibly in favor of détente and the peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems. A more favorable climate is being forged for the self-determination of the peoples.

The impulses for these important changes do not come from any change in the nature of imperialism, or from its aggressive groups' abandoning of their reactionary aims. They originate in the new alignment of forces resulting from the formidable growth of the economic, political and military strength of the socialist countries, the uplift of the liberation struggle of the peoples, and the better organization and growing political influence of the international working-class and Communist movement. And, beyond all doubt, the *coordinated foreign policy* of the socialist countries, the Peace Program steadfastly implemented by the CPSU—in short the socialist peace offensive—rank high among the factors that have wrought the substantial changes in international affairs.

The fraternal countries moulded their single line in several stages. With the socialist revolution winning in a number of countries following the Second World War, it became patently clear that close cooperation was required in foreign affairs. Given all the important economic and political factors, it naturally assumed the shape of a defensive alliance to safeguard the socialist gains and to frustrate imperialist attempts at exporting counter-revolution. Gradually, the alliance was consolidated by a system of bilateral agreements. Then, the Warsaw Treaty was concluded in reply to the direct threats of the imperialist NATO bloc, resulting in a multilateral defensive political and military organization of socialist states.

From agreeing our separate international moves the socialist countries went on to elaborate joint foreign policy programs, such as the documents framed in common by the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty states. And now, in effect, we have a single foreign policy strategy of the socialist community encompassing long-term, as well as current, objectives in the struggle for peace, national independence and socialism.

The imperialist states, too, despite their inter-imperialist contradictions, have a system of agreements that enables them to act jointly on basic issues in the struggle of the two systems. Referring to certain outer resemblances, bourgeois ideologists and revisionists of the Right and 'Left' draw a parallel between the alliance of the socialist countries and the imperialist blocs. But their pseudo-theoretical exercises are totally groundless. Even a casual comparison of the inter-state groups within the disparate social systems reveals their basic difference.

First of all, they have different aims. The coordinated foreign

policy of the socialist community is based on the vital interests of the working people of the socialist countries and on the class interests of the international working-class movement. It combines assistance to the revolutionary liberation process with the struggle against the nuclear threat and for the principles of the peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems. Both these directions in the socialist countries' foreign policy are consonant with the vital needs of social progress, and expressly for this reason it has the support of the peoples of the whole world. This largely explains its many successes.

Secondly, like their highly varied cooperation, the agreed foreign policy of the fraternal countries is based on the principles of proletarian, socialist internationalism, equality and sovereignty. It harmonizes the interests of the socialist world system with the interests of each of its constituent countries. Unlike the capitalist system, where alliances are based on varying degrees of inequality and diktat (the history of the imperialist blocs offers countless examples of how the stronger capitalist countries neglect, even scorn, the interests of the weaker), the socialist countries continuously help each other in attaining their national foreign policy aims, which are made a part of their joint foreign program.

It stands to reason that in this context a special responsibility devolves on the Soviet Union as the biggest of the socialist countries, with the greatest economic, political and defensive potential. Conscious of its internationalist duty, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union has always acted in unison with, and rendered every possible support to, the fraternal socialist states.

Acting on this fundamental principle, the USSR and the fraternal countries rendered tremendous aid to the people of Vietnam and displayed their solidarity with its heroic struggle. The tenacity and courage of the patriots of Vietnam, coupled with the internationalist solidarity of the socialist countries, of all progressives, put an end to the imperialist aggression and paved the way for the restoration of peace in Indochina.

The organic harmony of the interests of the socialist community and those of each fraternal country, of all the peoples, is vividly displayed in the agreed European policy of the Warsaw Treaty states. The trail to normalizing the European situation was blazed by the Soviet, Polish and GDR treaties with the FRG, the four-power West Berlin agreement, and the dynamism and enterprise of the socialist states in working for an all-European security and cooperation conference. Many concrete national objectives of the individual socialist countries were achieved in the framework of this general process.

Over the years, in all their joint documents, the socialist states called for eliminating the survivals of the cold war and ending the diplomatic blockade of the GDR. Now this objective has been essentially achieved. The first German worker-peasant state has gained broad international recognition, which will culminate in the admission of the GDR to the United Nations simultaneously with the

FRG. In the framework of the agreed drive for European détente, the socialist states also consistently supported Czechoslovakia's lawful demand for the formal recognition that the Munich agreement is invalid. This objective, too, has been practically achieved.

The present international situation shows that the unity of the socialist countries and their coordinated policy are a powerful factor in consolidating peace – the vital aim of all mankind. We are witnessing new important developments on different continents. As the peace offensive of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries progresses, the new climate is spreading to regions that only recently seemed worlds removed from the positive modifications in international affairs.

This is borne out, among other things, by the changes in Latin America, and in particular the consolidation of Socialist Cuba's external positions. The breaching of Cuba's diplomatic blockade is traceable first and foremost to its successes in building the new society and to the firm and principled policy of her Communist Party and Revolutionary Government, and also to the emergence of the broad popular masses of Latin America on the active political stage, giving expression to the natural desire of restoring relations with America's first socialist country. But there is also an incontestable link with the policy of détente, which has reduced the possibility of imperialist interference in the internal affairs of peoples and offers greater scope for the forces of social progress.

Lenin's idea of peaceful coexistence actively implemented by the socialist states has gained many followers in the capitalist countries in recent years. Mutually advantageous ties and cooperation between states with different social systems have been forged on a fairly large scale. And Leonid Brezhnev's recent visits to the Federal Republic of Germany, the United States and France have been new major steps in this direction.

For many years, the Soviet Union and the fraternal countries have worked dilligently for a lasting peace whose benefits would extend to future, as well as the present, generations. Viewing the results of Leonid Brezhnev's negotiations in Bonn, Washington and Paris from this angle, we may legitimately say that measures of the utmost importance have been achieved to consolidate international security in the interests of all mankind, paving the way for a further readjustment of inter-state relations in favor of genuinely peaceful coexistence.

It goes without saying that the successes of the peace offensive and the consolidation of the principles of peaceful coexistence do not eliminate the antithesis between socialism and capitalism. The class nature of their contradictions is not altered by the new and positive elements in the relations between states of different socio-political systems. Many of the after-effects of the cold war started by imperialist reaction still persist. And it will take much effort to advance step by step along the charted course, seeking gradual solutions for the various acute international problems.

The class struggle on the international arena continues. Encom-

passing all present-day politics, it is clearly visible in the economic sphere, and is waged openly in the ideological domain. But now the protagonists of socialism and progress are fighting for their just aims in a much more favorable environment. The community of fraternal states, the Communist and working-class movement, and the revolutionary movement as a whole, have realistic opportunities for improving the relation of world forces and making new headway in the struggle for peace and social reconstruction.

II. The trend towards closer unity operates forcefully in matters related to the socialist countries' *internal development*. Ties are proliferating in literally all spheres, and the exchange of experience in socialist construction is becoming ever deeper and more fruitful. Evidently, this is an objective requirement implicit in the very nature of socialism and rooted in the identity of the tasks of the fraternal countries.

Certainly, there can be no question of stereotype. Past experience shows that socialist reconstruction may adopt different forms and methods. Traditions, national peculiarities, the economic level, and the relative strength and experience of the working class, have imposed specific features on the various countries' advance along the socialist way. Respect for concrete historical peculiarities has not prevented the emergence of the new society; on the contrary, it is—and always has been—a compulsive factor of successful socialist development.

However, to consider national peculiarities in the choice of methods of socialist construction is one thing, and the essence of the objective laws governing the building of socialism is another. Back in 1957 a conference of Communist and Workers' Parties of the socialist countries drew the following fundamental conclusion: 'The experience of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries has fully borne out the correctness of the Marxist-Leninist proposition that the processes of the socialist revolution and the building of socialism are governed by a number of basic laws applicable in all countries embarking on a socialist course. These laws manifest themselves everywhere, alongside a great variety of historical national peculiarities and traditions, which must by all means be taken into account.'

This conclusion reposes on the experience of the socialist states, and summarizes the consolidation of society's political guidance by the working class and its Marxist-Leninist vanguard, the conversion of the basic means of production into public property, industrialization and the socialist reconstruction of agriculture, and the building of the new, socialist culture—all that comprises the vital process of struggle for the achievement of socialism.

Now socialism has been built in a large group of countries. Many of them, as the recent congresses of their Communist and Workers' parties pointed out, have begun building developed socialist society. In this phase, the tendency towards closer unity acquires still greater impetus. The more mature the new social

system is, the more distinct and fuller are its universal features, the broader is the sphere of the common interests of the socialist countries, and the clearer the universality of the basic stages and methods of socialist construction.

In the *political sphere* efforts are concentrated on fortifying the leading role of the Communist Party, perfecting socialist democracy, and securing the fuller and more active participation of the people in running the state. In the *economic sphere* the activity of all the fraternal parties is focussed on continuously improving the standard of living by raising the effectiveness of social production and the productivity of labor. And in the *ideological sphere* the tasks are similar: consequent consolidation of the Marxist-Leninist outlook, education of the masses in the spirit of socialist patriotism and internationalism, development of socialist culture, and elimination of the influence of bourgeois ideology.

Hence, the legitimate desire to study each other's experience, borrowing the valuable elements created in other fraternal countries. This covers a wide range of subjects. Party building, the further development of socialist democracy, improvement of planning and management, rational forms of fusing the achievements of the scientific-technical revolution with the advantages of the socialist economic system, questions of Communist education – all this is constantly followed by the parties, and also compared and studied.

The CPSU participates actively in this work, is always ready to share its experience with its friends, and avails itself creatively of their achievements. In recent years, this cooperation has been conducted according to a plan, and the good results are multiplying.

The progressive drawing together of the socialist countries refutes the idea of 'different models of socialism' – an attempt to justify revisionist departures from scientific socialism to the Right or 'Left.' Experience proves that the objective laws of socialist development apply equally to all countries. There may be different stages of maturity, different forms and methods of building the new society, depending on national features, traditions, the international situation, and other factors. There may be a different approach to concrete tasks, and they may be tackled in a different order. Also, there may be different degrees of intensity in making the revolutionary changes. But, as we see it, there cannot be different 'models,' that is, different *conceptions*, of socialism. There is only one scientific conception, based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism. True, this applies only to those really fighting for socialism.

III. The objective laws impelling the closer unity of the socialist countries operate vigorously in the *sphere of material production*. Lenin referred frequently to the internationalization of economic, political and spiritual life in the capitalist environment, and stressed that the process is bound to be still stronger after the victory of socialism.

The significance of the international division of labor is particularly great in the setting of the present-day scientific-technical revolution. Objectively, it enables each country to concentrate on the most effective trends of social production, select the most rational ways of economic development, and attain a high productivity of labor by specialization and cooperation. It is not surprising, therefore, that world trade has been expanding so rapidly in recent years, that the international bodies for economic scientific-technical cooperation have grown in number, and that the processes of integration are becoming ever stronger.

International socialist division of labor develops in the framework of this general tendency. It possesses basic features and advantages, bred by the new social-economic and political system, which distinguish it from capitalist division of labor. Cooperation is between countries of internationalist working-class ideology, where the means of production and the political power are in the hands of the working people. Hence the absence of the contradictions that rack the capitalist world; economic ties based on the principle of fraternal mutual assistance; the motivation to work not only for the national interest, but also to help their partners and to promote the common interests of the socialist community.

This is the objective base that makes for stability in the evolution of the methods and forms of *economic cooperation* in the socialist world and its transition from lower to higher stages. Thus, the simple commodity exchange that prevailed during the formative stage of the socialist world system was supplemented by higher forms of mutual assistance in finances, science and technology; then, the mid-50s saw the beginning of coordination of economic plans, production specialization and cooperation, joint projects, etc.

Coordination of economic plans, it should be stressed, is a genuinely socialist method of cooperation which balances national economic interests and concentrates effort in social production, the decisive sphere. Equality, mutual concern, consideration of the interests of each other and all parties concerned are qualities inherent in the fraternal countries' joint activities in the economic domain. Although under state-monopoly capitalism, too, agreements are reached between states based on programming in certain spheres of the economy (mainly finances, armaments and research and development), the possibilities of coordinated economic growth and planning as such are restricted by its very nature.

The Socialist Community's Comprehensive Program of Economic Integration, now being put into effect, has ushered in a new stage of international socialist division of labor. The program, a collective effort incorporating all previous achievements, promotes advanced methods of cooperation and creates great opportunities for interaction between the fraternal countries most conducive to their accelerated development.

Another step forward was last June's 27th Session of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance in Prague. Noting that coopera-

tion between the member-states is now aimed primarily at putting the Program into effect, the session laid down specific guidelines for accelerating and expanding integration and, in particular, improving joint planning of integration measures.

The dimensions of the problems tackled collectively are greater now, and cooperation agreements are for a longer term. Plans are underway for large joint enterprises and scientific-technical amalgamations meeting the very highest technological and technical standards, notably, in the manufacture of plant for nuclear electric stations and a number of other important fields. Cooperation in the production sphere is developing apace. A major achievement has been the launching of computer production under a unified program.

Planned regulation of such a complex process as economic integration is, of course, no simple matter. Much effort and creative search is needed to develop joint planning and to tie it up with national planning, to harmonize the production, economic and legal issues arising from specialization and cooperation, to determine the general effect of specialization and the proportional distribution of its fruits, to regulate the operation of joint enterprises, etc. Together with other fraternal parties, the CPSU gives constant attention to these and other problems. Party and government bodies are greatly assisted by scientists, working together on expanding economic cooperation, that material foundation of the socialist community.

Marxist-Leninist parties see socialist economic integration as the principal vehicle for expanding economic cooperation, advancing into the lead in science and technology, and meeting Lenin's tenet of achieving the highest labor productivity. Realization of the Comprehensive Program also means purposeful efforts aimed at resolving one of the prime objectives of economic cooperation between the fraternal countries: equalizing their levels of economic development. Marked successes have already been achieved. In the socialist world system's formative period the European socialist states had ranged from industrial-agrarian to agrarian-industrial and agrarian (with the latter two groups predominating); today the bulk of the national income in all European CMEA members is produced by industry. Living standards are also coming closer together. Steps are now being taken to incorporate the economies of the Mongolian People's Republic and Cuba (which joined the CMEA last year) more deeply in the international socialist division of labor.

It should be stressed that integration in no way implies any isolation of the socialist countries from the worldwide expansion of economic, scientific and technological cooperation. On the contrary, it enables them to take a more active part and, more important, on more deserving terms. The internationalization of economic life is undoubtedly a progressive development, though in present-day conditions, when imperialism's influence on world economic ties is still substantial, participation of many countries, notably the

developing ones, in the division of labor is accompanied, to varying degrees, by political pressure and economic inequality. This could also have been the fate of the socialist countries, especially the less developed, had they entered the world arena separately. But the achievements of socialism and the combined economic and political might of the socialist community make it possible for the smaller socialist states to promote economic ties with capitalist countries on fair, mutually beneficial conditions.

IV. The socialist countries are drawing closer together as much in the *cultural and ideological sphere* as in the economic. For all the richness and uniqueness of their spiritual life and the flowering of their national cultures, the general socialist orientation of culture, of spiritual life, is taking deeper root with the development of the new system. The process is rooted in the Marxist-Leninist ideology they all share and the new social relations based on comradesly cooperation of producers free from exploitation and on the equality of people and nations. Socialism has given every person the right to work and education, it has performed a genuine cultural revolution, throwing open the road to a secure and deserving life to the masses. This is the firm foundation for the spiritual rapprochement of peoples, which derives strength from the common main processes of social development.

Lenin stressed that 'only socialism will be the beginning of a rapid, genuine, truly mass forward movement, embracing first the *majority* and then the whole of the population, in all spheres of public and private life' (*Collected Works*, Vol. 25, p. 472).

The goal of communism is a society without classes. In the socialist stage we already witness an intensive convergence of the working class, collective farmers and the intelligentsia, giving shape to the social-political and ideological unity of society. In multinational states socialist development ensures the equality and friendship of peoples, and it was on this basis that the Soviet people emerged as a new historical community. As the leaders of Marxist-Leninist parties noted during the celebrations of the 50th anniversary of the USSR, the Soviet experience is of international significance.

Today we see classes and groups drawing closer and socio-political and ideological unity welded in the fraternal countries on the basis of new relations of production, growing political self-consciousness and general culture, evolution of the socialist way of life, and the bridging of the substantial differences between town and country, between mental and physical labor. The rate of progress is not the same in different countries, local features vary widely, but the general trend is the same.

Socialist culture, with its common features that span national specifics, contributes enormously to the socialist world's spiritual unity. By virtue of their Marxist-Leninist outlook, writers and artists address themselves to the fundamental problems involved in

building the new society and moulding the new man. The very nature of socialist art focuses their attention on the hero of our time – the man of labor; they assert the values of communist ethics and revolutionary humanism, portray the real processes of life in all their complexity, with all their contradictions and optimistic essence. Socialist literature and art are always faithful to the Party, to the people, to the truth. The method of socialist realism is the main road of the worldwide socialist culture, legitimate successor and standard-bearer of the progressive humanistic ideals, and it absorbs all the genuine values created by the fraternal socialist peoples and mankind as a whole.

The formation of a common socialist culture is also promoted by extensive cultural ties, as exemplified by the 185 Soviet theatrical and other artistic troupes that toured socialist countries in 1971-1972 and the 154 companies that came from them to perform in the Soviet Union. Exhibitions, festivals, joint productions, direct contacts between theatres, museums, libraries, provide the background for live contacts between tens of thousands of cultural workers.

Obviously, direct cultural contacts are not the only vehicle for the spiritual coming together of peoples and the breaking down of the barriers and prejudices inherited from the past. The fact that every year some 100,000 people travel with various delegations between the USSR and other socialist countries, promoting cooperation in fields ranging from Party, state and economic affairs to culture, science and sports, is vivid testimony to the intensity of the natural process of mutual enrichment of the spiritual life of their peoples.

An important factor of cohesion is *ideological cooperation* between the socialist countries, bred by such common Party objectives as fostering in people a communist attitude towards work, conscious social discipline and socialist patriotism and internationalism, and by the common struggle against the influence of bourgeois ideology. Its forms are diverse: meetings of scientists to debate topical problems of Marxist-Leninist theory, conferences to discuss questions of socialist construction, constant contacts between organs of the press, agreed publishing ventures, and so on, and so forth.

It was noted before that with socialism's transition to higher stages the need to exchange experience increases enormously. Only natural in this light is the importance of collective assessments of experience, joint efforts of scientists and closer coordination of ideological work.

The dynamics of socialist development, the scientific-technological revolution and acceleration of social processes in the modern world make it incumbent on workers of the ideological front to continuously perfect the whole system of propaganda and general, ideological and political education of the masses. These tasks, too, can be tackled more effectively through cooperation.

The easing of international tensions places added emphasis on the need to coordinate the fraternal parties' ideological work. In their struggle against socialism imperialist circles now stake heavily on anti-communism and nationalism, which they see as a counterbalance to the objective process of welding the cohesion of the socialist countries. Present-day nationalism combined with anti-communism provides a common ideological platform for a wide range of ideological trends. It brings together under one roof bourgeois conservatives and extreme reactionaries, rabid anti-communists and Right- and 'Left'-wing revisionists.

Lenin pointed out that nationalism blends closely with opportunism in all its manifestations. This connection is most vividly seen in the anti-Marxist, anti-Leninist course pursued by the Chinese leadership. One of the important tasks of collective Marxist-Leninist thought is to expose this course and show its hostility to the principles of scientific socialism. The scientists of the fraternal countries have irrefutably shown the reactionary great-power, petty-bourgeois essence of Maoism and its political postures. The CPSU sees its internationalist duty in resolutely rebuffing Maoist activities, which run contrary to the fundamental interests of world socialism, the peoples' liberation struggle, the cause of peace and international security.

A natural aspect of the development of socialism within individual countries and as a world system is the growing role of the conscious activity of the working class, the toiling masses led by the *Communist Party*. It has been amply demonstrated that however strong the objective tendency towards cohesion and cooperation between socialist countries, subjective elements may work to retard and sidetrack the process. It is therefore the duty of Communist and Workers' Parties as bearers of the internationalist Marxist-Leninist ideology to guide relations between socialist countries into a common channel and work to overcome whatever may hinder them.

This requires a clear understanding of the laws of development of socialist society, an ability to correctly combine the international and national tasks of socialism, to keep sight of the common goals and perspectives over the humdrum of daily concerns. This is the CPSU's consistent approach to the development of the socialist world system, and it is also true of the positions of the other fraternal parties of the socialist countries. International cooperation between Communists is based on the deep, principled community of their revolutionary interests, Marxist-Leninist outlook, and great goal of building socialism and communism.

Active, all-round cooperation between the Communist Parties of the socialist countries is a prime factor in the development of international socialist relations. It is such cooperation, as was noted in the report of the CC CPSU to the 24th Congress, that enables them 'to share each other's experience, jointly elaborate problems

of principle with regard to the building of socialism and communism, find the most rational forms of economic ties, collectively define their common line in foreign policy, exchange views on work in the ideological and cultural fields.'

Today there exists a vast arsenal of specific forms and methods of inter-Party ties capable of ensuring the growing unity of the socialist countries. Contacts at all levels are maintained on a regular basis, and bilateral and multilateral meetings between Communist parties, visits of Party delegations to study the experience of socialist construction, joint elaboration of scientific and theoretical problems, exchanges of students of Party schools have become a firm tradition.

Obviously, of special significance are meetings between the leaders of fraternal parties to discuss key problems of economic cooperation and coordination of foreign policy and draw up a common political line. In the last few years, sessions of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty have been supplemented by meetings between the General (First) Secretaries of the Central Committees of Communist and Workers' parties of countries of the socialist community.

As emphasized at its 23rd and 24th congresses and all Central Committee plenums that discussed foreign affairs, including the plenum of last April, the CPSU sees the strengthening of the unity and cohesion of the socialist world system as fundamental to its external political activity. True to its Leninist traditions, our Party directs the work of all Soviet state and public organizations in this spirit and educates the working people in a spirit of internationalism and friendship with the peoples of the other countries of the socialist system.

The socialist world system has been in existence for little more than a quarter of a century. This is a period of time much too short for relations between countries, their allied links, their economic, political and ideological cooperation to mature and acquire final form. There is still much to be found, much to be done to improve the system of relations in the socialist world. The CPSU gives its undivided attention to these problems. They are also the subject of continued joint consideration by the fraternal parties of the socialist countries.

Reviewing our accomplishments in the historical perspective, we can say with full justification that the process towards greater cohesion and unity of the socialist countries is gaining momentum, thereby multiplying the might of world socialism and its impact on the whole international situation.

Cardinal issue of the revolution

INTERNATIONAL RESEARCH GROUP ON THE PRESENT-DAY RELEVANCE OF LENIN'S 'THE STATE AND REVOLUTION'

Lenin's theory of the state systematized, creatively developed and enriched the basic propositions of scientific communism on the bourgeois and socialist state. It has an important bearing on our time, with the state playing a bigger role in social development and in the class struggle.

The present-day relevance of Lenin's classical work was discussed by a research group composed of **G. Banchero**, alternate CC member, CP Chile; **T. Wrebiak**, member, Central Auditing Commission, Polish United Workers' Party; **D. Kerimov**, corresponding member, USSR Academy of Sciences and professor of constitutional law, CC CPSU Academy of Social Sciences; **I. Cox**, CP Great Britain representative on the journal; **L. Nagy**, Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party representative on the journal; **M. Harmel**, CC member, South African Communist Party. With this summary of the research group's discussion we continue our series on Lenin's main works.*

The State and Revolution, it will be recalled, was written on the eve of the Great October Socialist Revolution, more than half a century ago. The world has changed radically since then. The founding of the Soviet Union was followed by the rise of other socialist countries. Young national states arose on the ruins of imperialism's colonial system. In the capitalist world, the workers' fight for social change, for an advanced democracy, is gaining momentum.

Lenin's theory and methodology make for a correct understanding of the essence and role of the state in the new conditions, and arm the working class with a revolutionary strategy and tactics in the fight for genuine government by the people.

THE BOURGEOIS STATE AND THE WORKING CLASS

'Capitalism in general, and imperialism in particular, turn democracy into an illusion—though at the same time capitalism engenders democratic aspirations in the masses, creates democratic institutions, aggravates the antagonism between imperialism's denial of democracy and the mass striving for democracy.'

LENIN

History has fully confirmed Lenin's conclusions regarding the evolution of the bourgeois state. Its social base is being narrowed, its

*See WMR, May and September 1972 and January, March and May 1973.

political institutions are degenerating, bourgeois law and order are being undermined. State-monopoly structures have taken shape in developed capitalist countries.

The research group pointed out that the achievements of the socialist countries, the workers' revolutionary struggle in capitalist countries, the national liberation movement, and the fight for peace are compelling the monopoly bourgeoisie to adapt its state to the new conditions. This proceeds along two distinct lines: the stepping up, where possible, of repressive and other reactionary trends at home and aggressive expansionist trends in foreign policy, maneuvering within the country, using a wide range of economic, social, political and other concessions to the working people, maneuvering on the international scene, even accepting peaceful coexistence.

Kerimov. There is mounting evidence to back up Lenin's conclusion that the democratic façade is not the reality of the bourgeois state, that its administration is concentrated in the bureaucratic apparatus. The deteriorating authority and role of representative institutions, the growing influence in government of political stage-managers and technocrats, the onslaught on democratic freedoms – these are all symptoms of the crisis of bourgeois democracy.

The imperialist state is bending every effort to keep the historically obsolete mode of production alive, play down the built-in defects of capitalism, make the technological revolution serve the interests of the monopolies, suppress the workers' struggle against the rule of the financial oligarchy, weaken the socialist world system, prevent ex-colonial countries from following the non-capitalist path, contain the advance of the world revolutionary movement. And the means widely used to achieve these ends are state-monopoly economic regulation, expansion and modernization of the machinery of government and of the powerful machine of ideological conditioning.

Cox. Today more than ever before the bourgeois state has become an instrument of the giant monopolies, an instrument directed not only against the working class, but also against the petty, and partly middle, bourgeoisie. Having become a tool of the monopolies, the British state extended its domination to many parts of the world and held a quarter of its population in subjection. The breakup of the colonial system greatly weakened the position of British imperialism. The present-day British state speaks for the monopolies, many of which transcend national boundaries and have become integrated with other international monopoly firms. Actual power is concentrated in a tight group of politicians closely linked with the top monopolies. The huge state apparatus is used to carry through the rationalization of private industry, stimulate mergers and takeovers and finance capitalist production. All this has meant huge profits for the monopolies. The state is now a major factor in the economy.

The British state is more openly employing authoritarian methods. The aim is to destroy the democratic rights the workers have won through generations of struggle. The most drastic step in this

respect is the new Industrial Relations Act, which forbids strikes and aims to cripple the British trade unions. But it has stimulated a bigger strike movement than ever before that is developing into a political mass struggle against the Tory government and the capitalist state.

Harmel. Some capitalist states retain the attributes of bourgeois democracy, while others have fascist regimes. I propose to deal with so odious a product of imperialism as the Republic of South Africa.

Here we have a state which is an instrument of the financial oligarchy, an imperialist state. But it is also a racist state embodying colonialism of a special type. The dominant white minority, comprising a fifth of the population, enjoy citizenship and voting rights. All that the indigenous population gets from this racist state is suppression and regimentation. About a million people are arrested every year. With a population of about 21 million, South Africa accounts for nearly half of the legal executions in the whole world. The Republic of South Africa pursues an imperialist expansionist policy. It has occupied Namibia and supports the Portuguese colonialists and the racist regime in Zimbabwe.

And this state could arise only as a product of imperialism's colonial policy. In the conquered territories the colonialists have built their own mechanism of domination, destroyed existing institutions (of the slave-owning or feudal societies) and public authority (formed in conditions of primitive communal society), or made these institutions appendages of the colonial machinery of oppression.

National states began to take shape in African countries following the winning of political independence. It has been a complex process. Some chose the socialist orientation in the teeth of fierce resistance by home and foreign reaction. But many succumbed to imperialist pressure and took the capitalist path. One example is Kenya, where the forces working for social progress have been ousted and the new national state is being exploited for the enrichment of the bureaucratic bourgeoisie.

In order to keep independent African states within their orbit, the imperialists attempted to implant traditional 'Western' forms of bourgeois democracy, to be administered by the colonialist-trained bureaucracy. The newly-formed African states, such as Nigeria under the 1960 Constitution, were saddled with 'Westminster' or French-type legislatures and political 'parties' which often only thinly concealed tribalistic and separatist groupings. The constitutions thus imposed usually degenerated rapidly into the nepotism, abuse of power and corruption which characterize all bourgeois parliamentarism. But whereas the rich imperialist countries could tolerate corruption, the developing countries cannot.

Expansion of the imperialist military-bureaucratic machine, the research group noted, complicates the liberation struggle, particularly in countries with reactionary authoritarian regimes. On the other hand, the changes at work in a number of capitalist countries

can make some elements of the state an area of class struggle, even before the advent of working class power. The technological revolution and the mounting pressure of the democratic forces have made it necessary for the monopoly state to take a more active part in social and economic life and resort to 'social pacification' measures. The administrative apparatus is being steadily inflated, with the result that new recruits have to be sought beyond the 'elite' strata. In France, Italy, Japan and several other countries, the Left forces are strengthening their position in municipal and other elective bodies, and exert considerable influence on municipal policy.

The fight for democracy in capitalist countries is led by the working class, and to increase its influence on government policy, it advances such slogans as democratization of socio-political life, structural reforms, etc. In our time, the fight for democracy represents a platform for uniting all sections of the people suffering from monopoly oppression. The Communists see in the struggle for democracy not only a means of preparing the ground for socialism, but, in certain conditions, also a means of the working class winning power peacefully, the proclaimed goal of Communist parties in a number of developed capitalist countries.

Cox. The long-term strategy of the British Communist Party is based on Lenin's proposition that 'to develop democracy *to the utmost*, to find the *forms* for this development, to test them by *practice* and so forth—all this is one of the component tasks of the struggle for the social revolution' (Coll. Works, Vol. 25, pp. 452-453). And that strategy is to build a united movement of the Left in Britain, with the labor movement as its main center, a movement which will operate both within and outside parliament to put an end to the Tory government and to work for a new Labor government with a consistently socialist policy. We are striving for the election of a group of Communists to Parliament who will work in cooperation with the most progressive Labor members.

Due to the historic traditions and different structure of the labor movement in Britain, the form of united action differs from that which is developing in France and Italy. In Britain, it was the trade unions that gave birth to the Labor Party, and they can exercise a decisive influence on official Labor policy and leadership. Communist influence is growing stronger in the trade unions, and this, in turn, can make an impact within the Labor Party. We are striving to raise the level of political consciousness and stimulate positive changes within the labor and trade-union movement.

In Britain, the question is often put, mainly by ultra-Left elements, whether we can achieve our aim without the use of armed force or civil war. No one can give a guarantee that this will not happen, but it is our view that, with the change in the balance of world forces and the weakened position of the British ruling class, it is unlikely that it would use armed force to defy the results of a democratic election. If it does, we feel confident that the organ-

ized labor movement would use its power to challenge any attempt of this kind.

Banchero. A distinctive feature of the revolutionary process in Chile is that it began and continues within the framework of the bourgeois institutions inherited from the past. We were able to build the Popular Unity bloc, composed of the Socialist, Communist and Radical parties, the United People's Action Movement and other Left forces. The influence and authority of the working class, unity of the democratic forces, the failure of bourgeois-reformist governments, and the sharp contradictions within Chilean society created the prerequisites for the people's capture of power in the September 1970 presidential election. The Popular Unity bloc controls the government, but it does not have full political power (the reactionaries still have a majority in the legislative and judicial bodies). The situation is best described by the words of Engels: 'The inferior class fights for, first a share, then the whole of that power, in order to become enabled to change existing laws in conformity with their own interests and requirements' (Engels, 'Trade Unions'. Article in *The Labor Standard*, June 18, 1881.)

The Popular government immediately began to carry out its democratic program. It nationalized the U.S. monopoly copper interests, banking, the main industries, and continues its agrarian reform. All this is undermining foreign and domestic capital and paving the way to other structural changes. The government is following a sovereign and independent foreign policy and has established or re-established wide-ranging relations with Cuba and other socialist countries.

The research group noted that the ways and forms of the capture of state power by the working class depend on concrete conditions in each country and the correlation of forces in the revolutionary process. The revolutionary struggle for power can be either peaceful or armed, but both presuppose unity of the working class and of all the democratic forces. This is in keeping with Lenin's proposition that all forms of revolutionary struggle should be used in the advance to socialism.

FROM THE BOURGEOIS TO THE SOCIALIST STATE

'... democracy introduced as fully and consistently as is at all conceivable, is transformed from the bourgeois into proletarian democracy.'

LENIN

The change-over from the old to the new social system is a law-governed, but not automatic, process. Marxist-Leninists reject the opportunist theory of capitalism's gradual transformation into socialism. To begin the passage from capitalism to socialism will require hard-fought class struggle which, at a definite stage, will grow over into socialist revolution. And regardless of the form of the revolution, it must resolve the crucial issue—the passage to

political power from the bourgeoisie to the working class. In the course of the revolution the old state apparatus is replaced by a new one adapted to the complex tasks of the revolutionary restructuring of society.

Kerimov. Regarding the breakup of the bourgeois state mechanism as 'the chief and fundamental point in the Marxist theory of the state' (Vol. 25, p. 406), Lenin emphasized that this was a precondition for the rise of socialist states in all countries without exception. And he comprehensively and convincingly showed how this could be achieved. While emphasizing the absolute need to abolish the apparatus of oppression, dissolve the reactionary parties, eliminate the negative features of bourgeois parliamentarianism (separation of legislative and executive authority, deputies independent of the electorate, etc.), Lenin noted that, besides its predominantly 'oppressive' apparatus, the modern bourgeois state has an 'accounting apparatus' (banks, post and telegraph services, etc.) which should be retained, but 'our task here is to *lop off* what *capitalistically mutilates* this excellent apparatus, to make it *even bigger*, even more democratic, even more comprehensive' (Vol. 26, p. 106).

Experience has shown, the group noted, that destruction of the old and construction of the new state apparatus proceeds in different forms and at a different tempo, depending, first, on the peaceful or non-peaceful path of the revolution, and second, on the specific charter of the old machinery of government.

In Russia, where the revolution did not follow a peaceful course, this was a relatively rapid process, in which a large part of the old mechanism was demolished. In Cuba, where there was armed revolution, the process was completed in a short space of time. In Central and Southeast Europe the entire apparatus of the fascist (occupation and puppet) administration was destroyed at the very beginning of the revolution. In countries where the national-bourgeois state apparatus was retained, the changeover was a gradual process in which wide use was made of reorganization and restructuring, to give the old institutions a new class content. This was so because the national and democratic revolution only gradually grew into socialist revolution, a process involving parliamentary and extra-parliamentary forms of struggle.

The sharper the forms of revolutionary struggle, the more reactionary the old government machine, the greater is the tempo and scope of the replacement process. Conversely, the relatively peaceful path of revolution, in a setting of mature bourgeois democracy, allows for a more gradual, 'smooth' transition from bourgeois to socialist statehood, with more or less wide employment of existing state forms and institutions. But even in these conditions, no time should be lost in demolishing the apparatus used to suppress the working people.

Wrebiak. In Poland, the breaking up of the bourgeois power apparatus or, speaking more broadly, the revolutionary process of transition from the bourgeois to the proletarian system of poli-

tical power was essentially a continuation of the experience of the October Revolution. But it also had some specific features and new elements.

During the anti-fascist struggle the main aim was to drive out the Nazi invaders and destroy the administrative mechanism of the occupation. But there were two main currents in the resistance movement: one proletarian and the other bourgeois. Each had a variety of instruments for conquering political power. In the circumstances, the Polish Workers' Party directed the fight for national liberation and social emancipation along one channel.

It took time to build the machinery of popular power, and involved class battles with the legal and underground opposition. Thousands of democrat activists fell in clashes with reactionary bands.

The apparatus of popular power was recruited from the working class and other laboring groups. But we had no serious conflicts with the specialists—people of a non-working-class background—and were able to use their knowledge and experience. Some of the old forms in the state structure were retained, and filled with a new class content. A few were later replaced. Others, like the Sejm, developed into institutions of socialist democracy.

Banchemo. In Chile, where an anti-imperialist, anti-monopoly, and anti-feudal democratic people's revolution is now under way, we have essentially retained the old state machine. Government offices are staffed mainly with the old officials, though the popular government has also appointed some new ones. The Popular Unity government is the biggest gain ever made by the working class, the Chilean people. The administration exercises its functions under the guidance and control of the popular government. But an ever larger number of workers are being drawn into running the state and society. The traditional forms of public action (strikes, and the like) are gradually giving way to new ones, such as the drive for higher productivity, the labor emulation movement, participation in management, actions against sabotage, bureaucracy, profiteering and corruption, price and food distribution controls, health campaigns, and so on.

The armed forces, observing their status of a professional institution, take no part in political debate, and submit to the lawfully constituted civilian power. Bonds of cooperation and mutual respect have evolved between the army and working class in the name of the patriotic goal of shaping Chile into a free, advanced and democratic land.

Ultra-Left elements clamor for the immediate 'introduction' of socialism. We hold, however, that the working class will gain full power gradually; it will be in step with our gaining control of the state machine that we shall begin to transform it in the interests of the further development of the revolution.

Cox. The program of the Communist Party of Great Britain, 'The British Road to Socialism,' says it will be necessary to change Par-

liament during the struggle for political power and turn it into an instrument of popular will. Of course, among the first steps will need to be measures to replace the reactionary forces in key positions in the police and armed forces, and to strengthen links with the trade unions and other democratic movements. Our Party Program envisages abolition of the House of Lords and the monarchy, democratization of local government, autonomy for Scotland and Wales, and free self-determination for Northern Ireland.

In relation to the state apparatus I should like to note that its growth in Britain is due mainly to new institutions of economic regulation. Some of their employees are engaged in protest actions against the government over salaries and working conditions. Out of the strikers at the end of February 1973, some 300,000 were civil servants, who had never before participated in strikes. This is a new and very interesting development in the class struggle. I should not like to exaggerate its importance, but it would be proper to note that the discontent among the civil servants is also due to the authoritarian methods applied to them. The nature of the state apparatus is naturally determined by the higher officials, who are closely connected with the ruling class. All the same, the social differentiation occurring in it should not be ignored.

Harmel. Considering the conditions in the African countries, the victory of the national liberation revolution will not be final until the old colonial machine of oppression is completely torn down, together with the puppet neo-colonialist bodies masquerading as 'national' states.

The program of the South African Communist Party directed at a national-democratic revolution, reads: 'The Party declares that the revolutionary people of South Africa cannot merely take over existing state and government institutions designed to maintain colonialism, but must destroy them and create new people's institutions in their place.' This is a statement of principle based on a study of the actual facts, on the tasks of liberating the African population of the RSA from the racist regime.

If the progressive regimes evolving in some of the African countries are to make any headway, the apparatus of colonial rule must be replaced with a national-democratic state. In Tanzania, for example, where anti-capitalist policy is prevalent, the national state is used as an instrument of the liberation movement. It goes without saying that its effectiveness depends on closer bonds with the people. The overthrow of the Kwame Nkrumah government in Ghana (1966) shows that these bonds are decisive and crucial for progressive development. It also shows the need for a thorough grasp of Lenin's ideas on the state.

The research group noted that irrespective of the ways and means of eliminating the old bourgeois state machine, its replacement with a socialist state apparatus is an essential condition of genuinely democratic government. Different types of statehood may arise along the way to the socialist type, depending on the specific conditions of the liberation struggle. Substitution of a new

state machine for the old involves revolutionary creativity by the masses and the use of all positive elements evolved in the preceding stages and projecting the democratic gains.

DEMOCRACY OF A NEW TYPE

'Under socialism . . . for the first time in the history of civilized society, the **mass** of the population will rise to taking an **independent** part not only in voting and elections, **but also in the every day administration.**'

LENIN

The victory of the socialist revolution yields a new, higher type of political organization. Its basis is the socialist state, the main instrument of socialist, and later Communist, construction. The state expresses the common interests of the laboring population, headed by the working class, and is an all-embracing organization of working people. It acts as the subject of the ownership of the basic means of production and is, until full communism is achieved, a developed and effective apparatus of government and regulation of social relations and processes. Embodying sovereign power, the state possesses means of compulsion and institutions of defense. Its organs exercise legislative and law-enforcement functions.

Kerimov. During the passage from capitalism to socialism, the socialist state is necessarily a dictatorship of the proletariat. This is a fundamental Marxist-Leninist principle which present-day opportunists and revisionists try to pervert by inventing 'new' ways of attaining socialism. J. Martinet, the self-styled 'revolutionary reformist,' opposes the Marxist-Leninist thesis of winning workers' political power with a thesis of 'winning authority.' Setting out his ideas, he releases a smokescreen of 'Left' rhetoric. By their slogan of 'democratic socialism,' opportunists and revisionists falsify the Marxist-Leninist teaching and malign the existing socialism.

Enemies of socialism maintain that proletarian dictatorship and democracy are opposites. But the substance of proletarian dictatorship is not only violence, but rather working-class organization and discipline, education of the masses, their participation in building the new society. The Soviet state has always been a powerful constructive and organizing force in the building of socialism and communism.

Lenin emphasized that without the workers' alliance with the peasants and all other sections of the people, the victorious proletariat could not achieve its aims, which are intrinsically deeply democratic. Though resorting to coercion against the bourgeoisie and its agents when necessary, the working class cannot use the same methods in the case of the working peasants and its other allies. The working class exercises state leadership over the working people in building socialism, and enlists them for active participation in the administration of the affairs of society. It is thanks to the democratic essence of the Soviet state that the tasks of the prole-

tarian dictatorship were accomplished successfully, facilitated by the unity of all the nations and nationalities of our country under the banner of proletarian internationalism and by the creation of a new type of state-political unity of free and equal peoples – the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

The research group agreed that the power of the working class acting in alliance with other sections of the people is a potent instrument of socialist reconstruction. Continuous and determining participation of working people in administration is inconceivable without the democratic structure of the state of the new type. Of the greatest relevance here are the conclusions drawn by Marx, Engels and Lenin from their study of the revolutionary creativity of the masses. Only with the broad participation of the masses led by the Marxist-Leninist party can the state apparatus utilize the objective laws and advantages of the new system in the interests of social progress.

Nagy. The place and role of the state in the socialist political system is the central target of attack by anti-Communists and Right and 'Left' opportunists. Here is what they do: they criticize the existing socialism, the first phase of the communist formation, by applying criteria of the second, higher phase. This is done, among others, by the Manifesto Group, Roger Garaudy, and Ernst Fischer.

In his latest book, 'Alternative,' Garaudy, for example, extols the 'cultural revolution' which, he would have us believe, preserved the Party and state apparatus of the People's Republic of China from bureaucratic degeneration. He goes on to malign the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, contending that they have fashioned a technico-bureaucratic model based on the dualism of the leaders and the led. Distorting the ideas of Marx, Engels and Lenin about the two phases of communism, Garaudy advocates a 'self-governing' socialism needing no state apparatus.

One cannot help recalling the passage in Lenin's 'State and Revolution' to the effect that 'politically, the distinction between the first, or lower, and the higher phase of communism will in time, probably, be tremendous' (Vol. 25, p. 470). Lenin described the state organization of the working people as a necessary political 'foundation for the socialist reorganization of society' (Vol. 25, p. 490) until the passage to the higher phase of the communist formation is completed. The experience of the socialist countries bears this out. Though the conditions in capitalist states with a developed technico-material basis are more favorable for the economic construction of the new society, the social, ideological and many other preconditions for a direct passage to communism are lacking; they must still be created by the power of the working people headed by the working class.

Kerimov. The evolution of the socialist state keeps pace with the development of the new society. This may be seen from the example of the Soviet state, which grew continuously stronger, and improved, and modified its tasks and functions. The complete and

final victory of socialism in the USSR signified that all the main tasks of the proletarian dictatorship had been accomplished, and that the state, whose essence is socialist as before, has acquired a new quality, new features, and new specific traits. When the building of developed socialism was completed, it grew into a state of the whole people, with the working class retaining its leading role. The process is rooted in the revolutionary repatterning of production, the radical changes in society's class structure, the substantial changes in the life style and psychology of the vast mass of the people.

The socialist state of the whole people, a natural successor to the dictatorship of the proletariat, continues the latter's function and is the people's main instrument of building communism. And, together with the other socialist states, it combats imperialism on the world scene.

The popular essence of the Soviet state is expressed by its socio-economic policy, centered on the 24th Party Congress program for substantially improving the people's standard of living. This provides a dependable material basis for the further development of socialist democracy.

Representative democracy develops in close association with direct democracy. In the Soviet Union, for example, and in other socialist countries as well, working people participate on a grand scale in countrywide discussions of the more important bills, the state plans and projects, giving expression to the collective will of the people.

Wrebiak. The role of the socialist state as the main instrument of building the new society should not be interpreted as a state monopoly on all areas of social life. This is what bourgeois ideologists would have us believe when they accuse socialist countries of being 'totalitarian.' In fact, however, every institution of the socialist political system, whether state or public, performs specific tasks and uses specific methods to achieve the common aims of the working people.

The leading role in the political system of the new society and coordination of all its institutions is performed by the Marxist-Leninist party, assuring the achievement of the historic mission of the working class: the building of socialism and communism. The Communists, Marx and Engels said, 'are the most resolute section of the working class parties of every country, that section which pushes forward all others; on the other hand, theoretically, they have over the great mass of the proletariat the advantage of clearly understanding the line of march, the conditions, and the ultimate general results of the proletarian movement.' (Marx, Engels, *The Communist Manifesto*)

Kerimov. Our adversaries attack the leading role of the Communist Party in the socialist states. Their contentions about 'pluralist democracy,' 'free play of political forces' and 'democratic socialism' seek to emasculate the essence of the new society and to undermine its political system, and, first and foremost, the leading role of

the Communist Party. The advocates of imperialism contend that to 'improve' socialism the competence of the party should be 'limited,' and call for 'liberation' of the practical activity of the socialist state from ideological principles.

However, history has shown that the leading and organizing activity of the Marxist-Leninist party is necessary to assure the decisive influence of the working class on the development of the new society. Experience shows that attempts to weaken the Party's leading role set loose anti-socialist elements and imperil the people's revolutionary gains.

Wrebiak. In Poland and some other socialist countries, allied parties representing non-proletarian strata are active alongside the Marxist-Leninist party of the working class. Thus, one-party and multi-party structures are possible in socialist society, serving the cause of socialist construction equally well.

In Poland, the United Peasant and the Democratic Party cooperate with the United Workers' Party, the country's leading party. Their cooperation is based on the following principles: recognition of the program of socialist construction and joint work in implementing it; recognition of the hegemony of the proletariat and the leading role of the PUWP; respect by our party for the independence of the other parties; the PUWP is the sole representative of the working class; jointly with the other parties, the PUWP represents the other classes and social strata.

Socialist plurality expresses a class content different from that of bourgeois plurality. There is now no objective basis in our country for rivalry between parties, since they operate not in a setting of class antagonisms (the main grounds for which have been eliminated), but against the background of the workers' alliance with the rest of the nation. Of course, this did not come about overnight. In the early years of popular power we also had opposition parties, which were against the building of socialism. However, defeated in the 1947 parliamentary elections, they have vanished from the political scene.

Hence the importance of taking into account the historical stages of the formation and development of the new society's political organization. Progressive parties fighting for political power must necessarily break the resistance of the organized forces of bourgeois reaction. In the socialist period, and more particularly after the abolition of the exploiter classes, the political organization of society becomes a unitary system of socialist rule by the people. It permits of the existence of more than one party but not of a political opposition.

Nagy. The development of world socialism has confirmed Lenin's thesis about the diversity of forms of the political organization of the new society. In Russia the state power of the working class took the form of the Soviet Republic. In those countries which set out to build socialism after World War II, people's democracy was the form assumed by the state of the working people, with the working class at their head. Needless to say, each people's democ-

racy had its own characteristics. While the general term *people's democracy* no longer covers all the various forms of the socialist state which have sprung up since World War II, I would like to note that at a certain stage of history it was essential to underline that people's democracy was by nature a form of proletarian dictatorship. At one time some described people's democracy as a road to socialism without the dictatorship of the proletariat. Others said it was a less perfect form of proletarian dictatorship than the Soviets. Brother parties came to the conclusion that in the new conditions – those of transition to socialism – people's democracy was, along with the Soviets, the most adequate form of proletarian dictatorship and was fully justified.

The research group agreed that the specific forms of the political organization of socialism that embody the power of the working people headed by the working class in a given historical situation arise out of the revolutionary creativity of the masses led by Communist and Workers' parties. These forms are not immutable. As the process of building socialism went on both the Soviet form and the people's democratic form were modified and gradually perfected to suit the new social conditions and requirements. Numerous social and political institutions were reorganized and new ones started, and socialist democracy was further developed. Obviously, this did not mean standardizing the political system. In fact, with the progress of socialist construction there was more diversity of forms and methods of exercising power. For example, a distinctive form of proletarian rule evolved in Cuba.

Thus the classification of socialist society's political forms as Soviet and people's democratic is no longer valid, though it retains its historical connotation. Evidently, it would be more correct to speak of the multiformity of political power under socialism, the various forms developing in accordance with common laws and principles. I mean state forms (government, organization of the national state), as well as non-state political structures (multi- or one-party system, popular front).

In today's conditions new forms of political rule of the working class can arise, because of the expansion of the social and political basis of anti-monopoly alliances, the prospect of a relatively peaceful revolution in a number of capitalist countries, and the diversity of conditions in which the revolution develops.

TOWARDS COMMUNIST SELF-GOVERNMENT

'Communism alone is capable of providing really complete democracy, and the more complete it is, the sooner it will become unnecessary and wither away of its own accord.'

LENIN

Kerimov. Analyzing the class nature of the state of proletarian dictatorship, Lenin deduced that it is no longer a state 'in the proper sense of the word,' but a 'semi-state,' a 'state which is withering away.' This must not be taken to mean (as the Right

revisionists contend) that the proletarian state is weak and is steadily losing its functions. The issue is presented here in its class political aspect: the proletarian state withers away to the extent that it expresses the interests of the overwhelming majority of the population, is inseparably linked with the masses and extends democracy to all working people. However, Lenin stressed that Marxists did not question 'the fact that the state will exist until victorious socialism develops into full communism' (Vol. 22, p. 323). He carefully examined the economic and other preconditions of the withering away of the state and stressed that it would be a long process. In accordance with Lenin's concept, the CPSU defined the internal conditions – construction of communist society – and the external – the triumph and consolidation of socialism in the international arena.

Wrebiak. The state will grow stronger and firmer to become a more perfect organism of administration before the conditions for its withering away take final shape. This is only natural, for the state must stimulate dynamic development of the productive forces, science and culture, and must help to build the material and technical basis of communism. Before withering away, the state must accomplish the function of an efficient organization for socialist economic management, social and cultural advancement, serve as a vehicle for the participation of the masses in government, and, of course, safeguard the people's revolutionary gains.

The withering away of the state should not be seen as a gradual organizational dissolution or disintegration of the state machinery – although many institutions of socialist society will, of course, no longer exist under communism – but as a transformation of its social character and functions, and a gradual merger of the forms of the political organization existing under socialism and of public initiative and activity. Generally speaking, there is no reason to set these forms apart, let alone to treat them as opposites, for they complement each other and constitute an integral system of socialist democracy.

In Poland, the Leninist principles of participation in government by the masses is implemented through representative organs of state power, workers' and peasants' self-management organs, the cooperatives and other public organizations. This provides ample opportunities for the working people to be active in the public sphere, raising their civic awareness to an understanding of the problems and affairs of the state.

The research group noted that the brother countries' collective experience suggests that when developed socialism is being, or has been, built the influence of the state and the political system as a whole on the dynamics of the new society increases rather than declines. With social processes becoming ever more complex, it is particularly important that state activity should be continuously improved, made more effective, assuring higher administration standards.

It is in step with the maturing of economic and other conditions

that communist social self-government will gradually develop on the basis of the government agencies and non-governmental organizations that now make up the system of socialist democracy. In effect, the withering away of the state means the development of the state into communist self-government.

It would be wrong, therefore, to contrast the processes of the development and perfection of the socialist state to the prospect of its withering away, or to regard the two processes as being at cross purposes.

Nagy. There are two aspects to the evolution of the socialist state as a result of class changes: first, increasing participation of the working people in its activity and a higher degree of popular control over the administrative machinery and, secondly, a more effective functioning of this machinery due to smooth interaction of its components, the use of advanced working methods, personnel training, and so on. We know of the importance which Lenin attached to perfecting the administration in his post-October writings, particularly in his articles 'Better Fewer, But Better' and 'How We Should Reorganize the Workers' and Peasants' Inspection.' I believe Lenin's attention to these problems was prompted by both the requirements of the day and the long-range need to consolidate and develop the working people's state.

The research group pointed out that perfecting and deepening of democracy is the main development trend of socialist statehood and, at the same time, a precondition for ultimate communist self-government. Steady extension of working people's participation in the government should go hand in hand with more democracy in the structure and functioning of the administrative apparatus. In the course of building communism the principles of electivity, accountability and periodical replacement of officials will be applied more widely, with more and more people learning the art of government. In fact, participation in government, like work, will gradually become an intrinsic urge.

Kerimov. At this stage, the CPSU is concentrating on optimal use of the socialist political and juridical institutions, which will be indispensable for a long time to come. The 24th Party Congress decided on the main lines along which socialist democracy will be broadened and the Soviet state strengthened, stressing that the two are inseparable and interdependent. One of the tasks which the congress set and which is being carried out is to make local government bodies more effective, and raise the operational standards of administrative bodies. Increasing use is made of modern techniques, computers, automated systems and scientific management and planning methods.

Lenin said that the state would wither away gradually. Attempts artificially to prod this process could disrupt public life and slow down communist building, for every step towards this goal must be backed by appropriate economic and social preconditions.

The state of the whole people is a milestone on the road to communist self-government. It no longer performs the function of

putting down the resistance of any class but expresses the interests of all classes and social groups in Soviet society, with the working class at their head. However, there is still no direct process of the state growing into a communist self-government organization, for this requires a higher stage of development. The state will wither away as society becomes socially homogeneous, as more and more working people join in government and socialist democracy is extended.

Lenin's theory of the state has stood the test of time and exerts a tremendous revolutionizing influence on the world of today. This was the unanimous opinion of the research group, which comprised representatives of Communist parties working in the most diverse conditions and at diverse stages of the struggle for social progress. The party essence and principles of this theory organically combine with a creative approach to the new, to the problems posed by reality. A deep and exhaustive analysis and a concrete and objective assessment of realities make Lenin's theory of the state especially effective. Now as in the past, its main tenets are a guide to action in coping with the problems facing the working people both in the struggle for power and in the process of building the new society.

'Democratic socialism' in SDP theory and politics

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CONTINUING OUR SERIES ON NON-MARXIST SOCIALISM TODAY

Developments bear out the statement of the 1969 Meeting about the growing differentiation among Social-Democrats, which is also reflected in the leadership. 'Some of the leaders,' the Meeting noted, 'come out in defense of monopoly capital and imperialism. Others are more inclined to reckon with the demands of the working masses in the economic and social fields, and in the questions of the struggle for peace and progress.'

In the FRG, the coalition government formed by Willy Brandt in 1969 made a more realistic assessment of the changed balance between socialism and imperialism and took a series of steps towards peace, European security and understanding with socialist countries, in particular the GDR.

On the other hand, the Right-wing leadership of the Social-Democratic Party (SDP), resisting the impact of real socialism and the party rank and file's increasing realization of the necessity for joint action with Communists, stepped up anti-communism in the ideological and other spheres, threatening to expel Social-Democrats taking part in joint action.

In fighting against Marxism-Leninism, the ideologues of Right-wing Social-Democracy in West Germany and elsewhere rely heavily on the concept of 'democratic socialism.'

The latest statements of Bruno Kreisky, the Austrian Chancellor whom the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* describes as leader of the international Social-Democratic movement, are revealing in this respect. It quotes him as saying that today it is 'Social-Democracy that must become the political pole directly opposed to communism.'¹ Détente between East and West, he said, increasing contacts between people and continuing industrial progress in socialist countries will lead to a sharp confrontation between Social-Democrats and Communists. Kreisky is no advocate of convergence. Indeed, he thinks the Social-Democrats should adopt new criteria and prepare for grim political and ideological battles with the Communists, for a 'new phase of the struggle for self-assertion.'

According to Kreisky outspoken adherents of capitalism today cannot influence social relations in socialist countries. 'Due to Marxist education over many years,' he said, 'the younger generation in Communist countries is deeply convinced that the factories have been built by the people and belong to them. It cannot even imagine who could or should own them nowadays as private property.' That is where, Kreisky thinks, the 'ideological message of democratic socialism'² can prove effective.

Referring to exchanges of views with Social-Democratic leaders, such as Willy Brandt or Olaf Palme, Kreisky insists that he is not alone in drawing these conclusions. We agree with him in this. On the eve of the 15th SDP Congress H. Kuehn, subsequently elected Vice-Chairman of the Party, said: 'As a party of democratic socialism, the SDP is an anti-Communist party.'³

And so, we have 'democratic socialism' versus scientific communism. Let us look into the views of the leadership of the SDP of Germany, one of the most influential Social-Democratic parties, to see what 'democratic socialism' stands for in theory and politics.⁴

From de-ideologization to re-ideologization

The concept of 'democratic socialism' as propounded by the SDP leadership is set forth in the Party's Godesberg Program, on which the most diverse ideological and political trends in the SDP base

their views. The very concept of 'democratic socialism' was highly controversial before and during the debate on the program (1959). SDP leaders hardly ever mentioned it in the mid-60s. Today, however, 'democratic socialism' underlies Social-Democratic ideology and politics.

Willi Eichler, co-author of the Godesberg Program, described its adoption as a 'turning point in SDP history.' The Program, he said, 'is inseparably bound up with what is described as "de-ideologization". This is generally taken to mean that the party has cut itself loose from a "closed doctrine" dogmatically geared to definite political objectives. This understanding of de-ideologization is reflected in the SDP Program.'⁵

Right-wing Social-Democratic leaders needed the 'de-ideologization of politics' to eliminate the last remnants of Marxist thinking in the SDP, substitute petty-bourgeois for scientific socialism and link the idea of socialism with the concept of ideological neutrality.

The SDP replaced historical materialism by philosophical eclecticism. Here is what we read in *Die Neue Gesellschaft*, theoretical journal of the SDP: 'The Christian doctrine of man's image and its ethical dimensions, the human rights proclaimed by the French Revolution, Kantian enlightenment and ethics, the Hegelian dialectical theory of history, the Marxian critique of capitalism, Bernstein's critical Marxism, Rosa Luxemburg's theory of spontaneity and critique of Bolshevism, Schumacher's free-thinking socialism and the latest contributions of Ernst Bloch, Horkheimer and Adorno, Habermas, Leszek Kolakowski, Milovan Djilas, and others, may be described as consecutive and interlocking acts of cognition of a democratic socialism which are traceable to one ethical motive.'⁶

Ever since the late 60s, the SDP leadership has been trying to switch from 'de'ideologization' to 're-ideologization,' so as to regain, as it were, its ideological identity.⁷

What are the reasons for the 're-ideologization' initiated by the Right-wing SDP leadership? First of all, fear of the impact on the FRG of the alignment of international forces, which has changed in favor of socialism, and the impressive achievements of socialist countries, primarily the Soviet Union and the GDR. Secondly, growing interest among the youth, including Social-Democrats, in the writings of Marx, Engels and Lenin and in Marxist studies and critiques of social relations in the FRG. Thirdly, fear that disillusionment in the economic policy of the SDP/FDP, which serves monopoly interests, and cooperation between the FRG and socialist countries should operate a change for the better (as they already do) in relations between the Social-Democratic rank and file and the Communists, inducing them to take joint action.

The mounting influence of scientific socialism compels bourgeois ideologues to resort to various methods of falsifying Marxism-Leninism, of 'interpreting' and 'criticizing' Marx. The 'critics' distort and simplify the teachings of Marx, Engels and Lenin, and then proceed to tear apart their own version of Marxism-Leninism.

The authors of the Godesberg Program, for their part, would like

to write off Marx. Eichler, for one, says that before it was evolved, the program tenets of the SDP were vastly contradictory, and seemed to be tuned to different wave-lengths. He attributes this to the fact that the 'specific "world outlook" of socialism' set out more or less clearly in the Erfurt and Heidelberg programs⁸ 'led to what seemed to be a scientifically based conviction of the historically and "inherently necessary" advent of socialism' (118-119).

The *Neue Gesellschaft* writers choose to call historical materialism 'economic materialism' and an 'economic conception of history.'⁹ Eichler (as well as these writers) makes no effort to present scientific socialism as expounded by Marx and Engels. Instead, he resorts to Kautsky's mechanistic and opportunist distortion of the theory of Marx and Engels in order first to identify historical materialism with 'historical fatalism' and then to describe this as one of the 'two cardinal deficiencies of the theoretical foundations of socialism' (119).

One might have expected Eichler to be familiar with the letter which Frederick Engels wrote to Josef Bloch on September 21, 1890, taking exception to the vulgar identification of Marxism with 'economic materialism' and 'historical fatalism.' Engels might have been speaking to the present-day 'critics' of Marx, when he said: 'I would furthermore ask you to study this theory from its original sources and not at second-hand; it is really much easier.'

The proposition on the 'revolutionary ultimate goal' is described by Eichler as another 'cardinal deficiency' of the theoretical foundations of socialism. He ignores the fact that the Communist goal, as well as being scientifically sound, has been translated into reality under the leadership of Lenin's Party ever since October 1917 and that the rise and progress of the world socialist community confirm the law of social development discovered by Marx and Engels.

'Ethical values'

In no country has 'democratic socialism' become a reality. There have been, and still are, Social-Democratic governments. But not one of them has replaced capitalism by 'democratic socialism.' Nor was this intended, according to Social-Democratic theorists. 'Democratic socialism' is not a goal but merely a 'long-range task,' to quote the Godesberg Program.

In view of all these reservations, one could ask the SDP leaders what their party is all about. Willy Brandt says it is an association welded by 'a community of will and ideas oriented on basic ethical values, on notions of how people can live with dignity together in their private lives, in the state and in the world.'¹⁰

The 'basic ethical values of socialism' hold a special place in the Program theses of the SDP. 'Freedom, justice and solidarity, and mutual obligations flowing from common links,' says the Godesberg Program, 'are the basic values of the socialist aspiration.' The 'ethical values' are not socially conditioned, and are neutral in class terms. They are given a priori. They are a 'thing in itself,' existing irrespective of the material conditions of production. Eichler calls

them 'criteria of practical politics' and a 'guide to the fulfilment of concrete tasks.' It is indicative that his conception of solidarity does not imply the working people's class solidarity in the struggle for their interests but only 'solidarity with all the innocently weak' (120) or, in other words, charity. He interprets justice as 'equal opportunities' in society. Yet behind this 'equality' there is the growing concentration of production in the hands of the few and 'freedom' of an increasing part of society from the means of production, that is, an increasing 'inequality of opportunities.'

We have said that philosophical eclecticism is a salient feature of 'democratic socialism.' However, emphasis on the 'basic ethical values' shows that the roots of the ideas of 'democratic socialism' lie in neo-Kantianism. In line with its requirements, ethics are 'relieved' of ideological convictions, of classes and class struggle, and presented as something which the big capitalists and the workers should strive for in common. 'This "ethical revolution",' Eichler writes, 'is the main key to understanding our program' (123). And true to the spirit of the subjective idealist philosophy of neo-Kantianism, he adds that it is entirely up to the individual's conscience to vindicate these values.

Long before 'democratic socialism' and its 'ethical values,' there were numerous moral systems advocating justice and love of man. All these systems were defeated, not because people are against justice, freedom or love of man generally, but due primarily to the objective division of society into exploiters and exploited.

Genuine humanism can only be achieved by establishing the political rule of the working class and by socializing the means of production. As for the advocacy of 'basic ethical values' unconnected with the class struggle for the revolutionary defeat of capitalism, it is misleading because it breeds petty-bourgeois notions of socialism. It cannot lead to the attainment of really progressive moral ideals or values.

Attitude towards capitalist ownership

An important aspect of 'democratic socialism' is its defense of monopoly capital ownership of the means of production. In a speech at the SDP Congress, Party Vice-Chairman Helmut Schmidt declared: 'The claim that the economy is in the hands of a few egoistic businessmen who run it to the detriment of the interests of the society and are driven by the desire for maximum profit is not borne out by either qualitative or quantitative research.¹¹ And this at a time when even bourgeois economic institutes testify to the new growth of monopoly profit and the falling of real wages.

The Right-wing SDP leaders are trying to build a bridge to 'free socialism' on claims of capitalism's 'social transformation.' An SDP leadership decision, 'On Relations Between Social-Democracy and Communism,' states: 'Free democracy, like modern industry, was installed first in countries with a private-ownership system. It developed in a mixed economy with predominantly private owner-

ship and a planned state policy of growth and stability characteristic of the advanced countries of the West today. It was on this basis that the FRG was able to achieve political stability, economic success and social advance.¹² What is this if not a camouflaging of the true character of state-monopoly capitalism?

The same ideas were expressed even more clearly in the documents of the SDP extraordinary congress in October 1972. They declare that 'the market economic order has been and remains' the basis of economic development in the FRG. 'We want to strengthen and develop this order. . . . Doubtlessly, technological progress often leads to the formation of large business associations. Nothing should be done to obstruct this process.'¹³

At the last SDP Congress some delegates, especially young people, called for expanding workers' rights to participate in managing enterprises, curtailing the power of big business and arms manufacturers, and reducing military expenditures. These demands were rejected under pressure from the party leadership. And this is only natural. The reforms preached by the SDP leaders are not designed to infringe upon monopoly power but merely to 'restrict excessive pursuit of individual profits at the expense of society.' 'Free competition and free enterprise,' says H. Apel, 'are important elements of Social-Democratic economic policy.'¹⁴

In their attempts to mute the importance of the question of ownership of the means of production, SDP ideologues claim that today the big capitalists play a mainly passive role and influence the utilization of the means of production only through paid employees. Further, they seek to separate the question of monopoly domination from that of political power, rejecting the natural connection between economics and politics demonstrated by Marx. This is used, among other things, to replace union demands for turning enterprises dominating the market from private to public ownership with the demand for control over economic power by the state in which, of course, the monopolies hold sway.

Economic power and the state

To create the impression that economic power in the FRG can be restricted by the state, our 'theoreticians' speak of its class neutrality. The state, they claim, stands above 'group interests.' 'The task of this state,' Willy Brandt declared at the Congress, 'is to defend the weak, restrain the strong and enact legislation to overcome the resistance of the privileged.'¹⁵

But the state, of course, does not stand above society; it is a political organ of the economically dominant classes. The only difference is that, with the development of state-monopoly capitalism the state ceases to be an 'ideal aggregate capitalist' and becomes an arm of the most powerful monopoly groups. Regardless of whether the government is of the CDU/CSU or the SDP, political relations in the FRG are characterized primarily by the intertwining of monopoly power with the state, which, too, speaks for monopoly interests.

The big monopolies exert a dominating influence over legislation and overall state policy by their economic might in the first place, through bourgeois parties, lobbies and direct ties between employers' associations and the ministerial bureaucracy.

Another argument used in favor of 'democratic socialism' is the alleged disappearance of classes, while capitalist ownership remains, and development of harmonious relations between workers and capitalists.

Contrary to the facts, *Die Gesellschaft* claims that the idea of the proletarianization of the middle strata with the development of capitalism is obsolete, that the Marxist concept of classes 'corresponds to the 19th-century conditions' and has been superseded by the 'theory of differentiated strata of empirical sociology.' The working class, it goes on, 'is no longer a "truly revolutionary class", because it has largely overcome its proletarian economic position.'¹⁶

The purpose of all this reasoning is to reject the idea of revolutionary transformation and consistent anti-monopoly class struggle, as advocated by the German Communist Party.

The Right-wing SDP leaders seek to bolster monopoly capitalism in its confrontation with the socialist world. The workers, in their view, should tone down their demands and thereby release the means needed to remove the larger faults in the infrastructure, environmental protection and other spheres and make state-monopoly rule more effective.

In whose interests is all this? That was revealed by Helmut Schmidt, who headed the group responsible for drafting the SDP economic and political guidelines for 1973-1985. 'Total planning is certainly not our intention,' he declared. 'We must give, expand or restore the freedom of action of enterprises. Businessmen will gain greater confidence when our political convictions are formulated for a longer period and made public.'¹⁷

The SDP leadership's decision on 'Relations Between Social-Democracy and Communism' presents the view of 'socialism' according to the Godesberg program. It states, in part: 'Socialism – in the sense of society's control over the means of economic power with the help of the state – is possible only where state power itself is democratically controlled by the society. This requires, besides parliamentary control over the government, the development of new forms of active citizen influence on political decision-making through cooperation in parties, unions and action groups, democratic control of decentralized administration, and participation in management of all the people engaged in the economy.'¹⁸

The practices of the SDP/FDP government, however, run directly contrary to this: there is no 'control of society over the means of economic power.' The touchstone in this respect were the demands for reforms put forward by the trade unions prior to the 1972 Bundestag elections. These demands, some points of which coincide with GCP proposals, included greater participation of workers in management from enterprise to industry level, and nationalization

of major banks and enterprises dominating the market. They were reflected neither in the government program nor in the congress resolutions.

Contrary to promises to develop democracy, everything is being done to centralize the state machinery, strengthen its repressive organs, and ban Communists and other consistent democrats from the state apparatus. The ban on the CPG has not been repealed and is used as a constant threat to the legal activities of the GCP.

Instead of proceeding from the common class interests of Social-Democrats and Communists, the Right-wing SDP leaders emphasize the differences between them. 'The fundamental contradiction between Social-Democratic and Communist policy,' they declare, 'lies not in a different attitude towards private ownership, however important that may be, but in the contradiction between state law and order and arbitrary rule, between free democracy and party dictatorship, between free expression and imposed views.'¹⁹

An attempt is thus made to distract attention from the cardinal questions: Who owns the means of production, who appropriates the values produced by the society, what is the nature of the FRG and whom does it serve? At the same time they resort to anti-communism to falsify the nature of socialist democracy, a state in which the working class rules in alliance with the farmers and people's intelligentsia.

Continuation of revisionism

There is a direct connection between 'democratic socialism' and revisionism. 'Democratic socialism' is a continuation of the revisionism that began at the turn of the century. This is conceded by its theoreticians. 'The revisionist movement in Social-Democracy,' writes Friedrich Brand, 'can be equated to the democratic socialist movement.'²⁰

Actually, the advocates of 'democratic socialism' follow in the footsteps of Bernstein. Many articles in the quoted issue of *Die Neue Gesellschaft* extol Bernstein and unequivocally pronounce his 'revision of the Marxist teaching' correct.

We would add that the 'basic ethical values' of the Godesberg program represent, in their philosophical essence, nothing but an updated rehash of the ideas of 'ethical' socialism, one of the proponents of which was Bernstein. One easily discerns in the latter-day Social-Democratic theoreticians' rejection of the goal of socialism Bernstein's well-known formula, 'The movement is everything, the ultimate goal is nothing.' Today the very possibility of a scientific substantiation of socialism and proving its necessity and inevitability is rejected. Denial of the historical mission of the working class, the idea of the supra-class character of the state, refusal to hand over power to the proletariat and its allies is also a direct continuation of the revisionists' rejection of the dictatorship of the proletariat. The belief that the nature of capitalist society will, as a result of the scientific and technological revolution, change by

'social transformation' is a development of the thesis of Bernstein and other revisionists whereby the Social-Democrats are destined to evolve from a party of social revolution into a democratic party of social reform .

All this, of course, is not just a repetition of old revisionist views. They have evolved through de facto rejection of Marxism (even while Marx's services continued to be officially recognized) to official rejection and then direct hostility towards scientific socialism and its practical implementation.

The SDP leadership realizes that at a time when the achievements of real socialism are having an ever greater impact, the crude anti-communism propagated for many years by the CDU/CSU, as well as by such Social-Democratic leaders as Schumacher, finds an increasingly negative response. Hence the new SDP leaders' conclusion that more refined methods of propaganda are required.

In the same way, 'democratic socialism' finds points in common with the latter-day revisionism of Garaudy, Fischer, Marek and others. Attempts to find common ground between bourgeois ideology and scientific socialism lead directly to rejection of the latter and acceptance of the former. There can be no points of contact between scientific socialism and any brand of bourgeois ideology. Attempts to find them are, in the final analysis, tantamount to the bankrupt attempts to find a 'third road' lying 'between capitalism and socialism,' and lead to open hostility towards the socialist world.

...

Thus, 'so-called democratic socialism is not a variant of socialist ideology, and its place does not lie between capitalism and socialism. It is, rather, a component of imperialist ideology and politics. It fights against socialism and its ideology from positions of state-monopoly capitalism.'²¹

The GCP Theses note that in their ideological struggle against such ideas as 'democratic socialism,' while stressing the diametrical difference between the ideology and policies of the Right-wing SDP leaders, on the one hand, and the GCP's socialist ideology and policy, on the other, West German Communists nevertheless hold that this should not stand in the way of the common struggle of Communists and Social-Democrats for the working people's interests. Despite major ideological differences, joint action by Communists and Social-Democrats is essential to more effective defense of the fundamental interests of the toiling people.

1. *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, February 20, 1973.

2. *Ibid.*

3. *Frankfurter Rundschau*, April 11, 1973.

4. The SDP leadership's conception of socialism differs substantially from that of other parties of the Socialist International. Moreover, there are serious differences within the SDP over the nature of the social system in the FRG, the attitude to socialist countries and the way of transition to socialism. The evolution of the West German Social-Democrats' concept of socialism will therefore be examined in the context of the growing working-class movement and the class struggle in our country today.

5. Willi Eichler, *Zur Einfuehrung in den demokratischen Sozialismus*, Bonn-Bad Godesberg, 1972, p. 122. (Subsequent references to this book will be given in the text, the figures in parentheses indicating the pages.)

6. *Die Neue Gesellschaft*, No. 11, 1972, p. 859.

7. See Brandt-Bauer dialogue in *Die Neue Gesellschaft*, No. 1, 1970; the SDP leadership's decision 'On Relations Between Social-Democracy and Communism,' Feb. 26, 1971; Brandt's speech to members of the Friedrich Ebert Foundation on the 20th anniversary of K. Schumacher's death, Aug., 1972.

8. The Erfurt Program of the SDP (1891), while not fully meeting the needs of the struggle of the working class, was expressive of the fact that Marxism had become established among the German proletariat. The Heidelberg Program (1925) already included the reformist ideas of Bernstein, Hilferding and Kautsky, but still regarded socialism as the goal of the SDP in deference to the Social Democrats' class consciousness.

9. See *Die Neue Gesellschaft*, No. 11, 1973, p. 865.

10. Kurt Schumacher, Erich Ollenhauer, Willy Brandt, *Der Auftrag des demokratischen Sozialismus*. Bonn-Bad Godesberg, 1972, p. 73.

11. Quoted from: *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, April 11, 1973.

12. *Vorwaerts*, March 4, 1971.

13. Wahlprogramm der SPD. *Berliner Stimme*. October 21, 1972, pp. 6-7.

14. *Die Neue Gesellschaft*, No. 6, June, 1972, pp. 462-463.

15. See: *Wahlprogramm* . . . p. 15.

16. No. 11, 1972, pp. 861, 862.

17. SDP - Pressemitteilungen und Informationen, Bonn, June 5, 1972, p. 4.

18. *Vorwaerts*, March 4, 1971.

19. *Vorwaerts*, March 4, 1971.

20. *Die Neue Gesellschaft*, No. 11, 1972, p. 866.

21. *Theses of the Duesseldorf Congress of the German CP*, 1971, p. 57.

Dialectics of equalizing development levels and socialist integration

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CONTINUING OUR DISCUSSION OF ECONOMIC INTEGRATION IN THE WORLD OF TODAY*

Egoism, whether of a social group, class, or nation state, is alien to socialist society. It is contrary to socialist ethics, to the very essence of the system and its correctly understood interests. The advantages of socialism are seen best when it develops in a relatively homogeneous social milieu.

The Comprehensive Program of Socialist Economic Integration states: 'The gradual convergence and equalization of levels of economic development in the socialist community of nations is an objective historical process in the development of the socialist world system. It is conditioned by socialist production relations and the development of political, economic, scientific and technological co-operation and mutual assistance among socialist countries.'

*See WMR, July, 1973.

This is one of socialism's fundamental differences from preceding social systems. A characteristic feature of socialism is that it consciously strives to overcome the polarization of society. By contrast, the very logic of the capitalist system tolerates no restriction of competition in favor of the weaker party. The economic development of the socialist countries and all the experience of cooperation among them shows that great initial differences can be reduced, and ultimately eliminated, when competition based on formal equality gives way to competition based on mutual help.

From this aspect, the measures outlined in the Comprehensive Program are most significant. Parity in economic development is promoted not only by scientific, technological and financial aid, but also by the opportunities for less advanced countries to take part in specialization and cooperation, notably in selecting new sectors of production in a framework of international specialization. This implies a large, reliable market for their new industries providing highly favorable export opportunities, something the developed capitalist countries never try to give their trading partners.

Although the member-states of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA) have over the years aligned their respective economies to a considerable degree, they continue to attach importance to the problem in the light of new, updated requirements. The Comprehensive Program states: 'The urgency of equalizing the economic levels of CMEA member-countries is enhanced by the requirements of the scientific and technological revolution, further expanding and improving cooperation and promoting socialist integration.' The 27th CMEA session last June called for greater consideration of problems bearing on the convergence and equalization of economic levels. Today the task differs markedly from the time when CMEA members, with the exception of the USSR, were still laying the foundations of socialism, and some, furthermore, were still in the industrialization stage.

The difficulties of the early stages of building socialism in the countries of Eastern Europe were compounded, on the one hand, by the inherited backwardness of the productive forces of the area as a whole as compared with the developed capitalist countries and, on the other, by the differences in development among the countries within the area. That is why socialist economic cooperation is pivoted on the dual aim of reducing the lag behind the developed capitalist countries while at the same time matching economic levels within the CMEA framework.

Considerable success has been achieved in resolving both tasks. In the early 60s the gap between the CMEA and developed capitalist countries in per-capita national income was more than 50 per cent. By 1970, the former had narrowed the gap to one-third. This overall achievement was the result of a complex, multi-faceted process. Bulgaria and Rumania, which at the starting point had been in the least favorable position, have on the whole risen to the level of the countries regarded in the 60s as 'medium developed' (Poland and Hungary). The Soviet Union, which in the early 50s had been

in the 'medium developed' category in per-capita income, has risen to the highly developed level. As a result, by the beginning of the 70s, the 'staggered' formation had contracted to two distinct levels. The difference between them (1.5:1) basically corresponds to the one that existed in 1950 between the 'middle' level and Czechoslovakia, but is much less than the difference that had existed between the 'bottom' level and Czechoslovakia (2.9:1).

The result is thus one of narrowing inherited differences, though the process has been neither uniform nor homologous. The dialectics of economic equalization can best be examined with reference to two historical stages: the period of active industrialization of most countries (mainly the 50s), and the 60s, when industrialization had largely been achieved and new tasks began to demand attention.

From the outset, imperialist discrimination barred the CMEA community from any expectations of cooperation in either investment or technology. In these circumstances, the more developed CMEA countries, while working to meet their requirements of imported raw materials and food, find markets for their manufactured goods and, ultimately, ensure rapid growth and economic equilibrium, at the same time facilitated the less developed countries' industrialization. The latter, for their part, could succeed in their efforts only by importing know-how and equipment from the former and subsequently exporting a large portion of the produce of their newly established industries to them.

The flow of commodities within the CMEA was similar to that commonly found between more and less industrialized nations: some exported manufactured goods, including large amounts of capital equipment, others initially exported primary processed industrial and agricultural goods and food. Thus, the division of labor apparently seemed to follow the classical Ricardian pattern.* Actually, of course, the nature of imports into the less developed countries was contrary to Ricardo's scheme of the division of labor. For according to the classical principle of relative costs the less developed countries ought to import primarily those means of production that make it possible to reap the benefits from their built-in relative advantages: farm machines and plant for the mining and food industries and, at best, metallurgy. In reality, however, a substantial portion of machinery imports favored not the development of industries in which they enjoyed built-in relative advantages, but the creation of new industries from which they could not hope to gain relative advantages in a world market based on competition or even expect to attain the minimum levels of competitiveness, at least in the short or medium run. The less developed CMEA countries launched engineering, instrument-building and chemical industries, the manufacture of electrical equipment and transport means was begun, this at a time when a score of countries around the world had built up these industries decades ago.

*One of the propositions of David Ricardo's theory of relative costs of production is that a country gains relative advantages by selling commodities requiring relatively smaller labor investment. However, if the socialist countries based their economic development plans and cooperation on this principle the differences in their economic structures inherited from capitalism, far from disappearing, would become even greater. - Ed.

This was a manifestation of the new relations of comradely mutual assistance in economic cooperation inherent in socialism. Naturally, the preservation and development of the less developed countries' emerging industries required reliable support, not only on their domestic markets, but on the community's market as a whole. This could not be ensured by any traditional protectionist methods, such as tariffs and state subsidies, nor by capitalist devices of regulating imports. More effective means were needed, such as reciprocal import-export commitments. The less developed countries undertook to meet the requirements of the more developed in primary products and food, while the latter, in turn, undertook to buy the produce of the former's burgeoning manufacturing industries at favorable prices.

For this it was necessary to prevent, as far as possible, demand-and-supply relations between individual enterprises and trade organizations from affecting economic cooperation between the respective countries. For obviously, this 'microsphere' of the economy can hardly be expected to reckon with national – and even less so, international – considerations of economic strategy in their local decisions. If things were left to market mechanisms the produce of new industries in less developed countries would be confined, even with maximum protectionist policies, to the small domestic market. This would make it impossible to set up large-scale production of use to the community as a whole.

Thus, the main cooperation mechanism in the CMEA framework has evolved into a kind of system of collective protectionism capable of supporting the industries of individual countries and the community's market as a whole. This market is dominated, not by competition, but by a system of reciprocal deliveries whose volume, prices and assortment are coordinated in national economic plans.

This mechanism, and the model of regional development based on it, met the needs of the countries in all three groups, ensuring mutual benefits while strategic changes in the community's economic structure matured. The less developed countries received the plant, know-how and markets they needed for industrialization, increasingly drawing on their raw materials resources. The manufacturing industries of the more developed countries were able to exchange their produce for primary materials and food.

One of the manifestations of the closing gap between development levels was closer economic structural and, in part, technological alignment. Industrialization brought about more jobs in the manufacturing industries with a corresponding rapid drop in the number of people engaged in agriculture. In 1960, no more than 20 per cent of Bulgaria's gainfully employed population was engaged in the engineering and chemical industries (as against 43.8% in the GDR and 36% in Czechoslovakia). By 1970 the proportion had risen to more than 27 per cent. Electric power consumption per industrial worker in 1960 was two-fifths of the GDR's rate in Bulgaria, and one-half in Rumania; by 1970 the respective figures were two-thirds and four-fifths.

It can be assumed that the structural factor played a much greater part in bringing levels closer than the technological factor. In many industries the increase in fixed assets was far ahead of the growth of labor productivity. Half the industries in CMEA countries showed a reduction in returns on fixed assets, with 36 per cent of the reviewed industries registering increased recoupment.

The impact of better technology and plant on productivity was undercut by lack of experience, the difficulties of launching economic planning and ensuring labor organization, haphazard investment, plant duplication, inadequate incentive schemes and other adverse side effects. The socialist countries realize the inevitability of shortcomings at one stage or another and do their best to eliminate them, as can be seen, notably, from the documents of Party congresses devoted to five-year plans. Because of such failings differences in per-capita national income between some socialist countries of Eastern Europe are greater than would seem warranted by differences in their material and technical base.

Industrialization, we see, provided both the higher and the less developed countries with major sources of growth. It should not be assumed, of course, that their economic cooperation has never been marred by contradictions: social development doesn't take place like that. They centered mainly around export problems that faced the new manufacturing industries in the formerly less developed countries. The greater the need to export machinery and equipment to the higher developed countries the more acute became the problem of inadequate performance, quality and auxiliary services. Their produce was not competitive and could not contribute effectively to the more advanced countries' economies for even individual enterprises. As often as not the more advanced countries had to continue or even expand the production of items 'assigned' to the less advanced ones by the system of division of labor, with even small-scale production, which is generally unprofitable, proving more expedient than large-scale imports of the produce of new industries.

By the mid-60s industrial structures had become more aligned, but labor productivity and technological standards in the manufacturing industries of different countries had not yet converged sufficiently for the close factory-level relationships characteristic of integration or the evolution of new common interests on this basis. However, as indicated by data on following page, some industries tended to come closer in terms of efficiency.

It will be noted that in almost half the tabulated industries specific social expenditure has moved closer to the GDR level. The engineering and light industries of Poland, Bulgaria and Rumania have markedly reduced the gap with the GDR. Poland still retains a relative lag in agriculture. The accelerated advance of the Soviet economy has been especially spectacular in the heavy industries. The relative deceleration in Czechoslovakia and Hungary must be attributed to sluggish growth of efficiency in the extracting

Specific Social Expenditure in Some Industries of CMEA Countries¹

(GDR = 100)

Industry	Soviet Union		Czechoslovakia		Poland		Hungary		Bulgaria		Rumania	
	1960	1969	1960	1969	1960	1969	1960	1969	1960	1969	1960	1969
Machine building	80	79	103	116	186	167	176	193	245	205	191	149
Iron and Steel	60	55	98	107	162	147	195	192	416	417	174	240
Nonferrous metals	91	90	135	167	239	237	213	240	500	550	338	369
Fuel	95	88	108	374	143	143	246	253	305	271	228	197
Chemicals	122	128	118	100	266	222	270	238	279	243	251	162
Food	127	137	107	110	212	244	166	168	196	162	267	244
Textiles	144	173	89	117	144	145	128	156	176	205	157	169
Other light industries	111	115	95	141	193	182	186	204	187	160	147	117
Building materials	121	119	120	118	239	231	188	226	213	182	231	202
Agriculture	212	192	124	92	211	244	164	143	220	184	360	295

1. Author's estimates. Specific social expenditure shows the manpower needed throughout a production process to yield the same quantities of the end product in each country.

and engineering industries, which in the averaged-out figures is only partly compensated for by the relatively steep increase in the efficiency of agriculture. If the tendency continues, the fact that the slowing down has been taking place in the manufacture of the means of production may result in a lag due to technological obsolescence which will be very hard to overcome.

The development of individual industries in different countries shows a tendency of convergence. It has been accompanied, however, by a widening of differences in efficiency, even within the same country. The higher the level of the industries that have registered the greatest progress the greater the gap between them and the other industries. This is another difficult problem.

A national economy's internal problems are the more complex the greater the differences in the efficiency of different industries, for example, the less developed the agriculture surrounding a newly established industry. In this case a high development rate can be ensured by greater expansion of employment in non-agricultural production: in industry or construction a worker can rapidly increase the productivity of his labor while at the same time expanding the market as both producer and consumer. Structural change thus favorably affects growth in terms of both productivity and the market. But if it overtaxes investment sources it, on the one hand, inevitably develops strains in the market by building up demand for food and manufactured consumer goods and, on the other, creates the danger that rapid advance in dynamic industries may not be accompanied by a corresponding improvement in the quality and performance of their produce, thereby reducing their export potential. Towards the end of the initial period of rapid industrialization problems of farm mechanization, developing the light industries, ensuring adequate supplies of material for industrial expansion, and modernization of the heavy industries acquire special importance. They cannot, however, be resolved all at once, and this can raise new problems of growth and equilibrium that are the more acute the faster the preceding industrialization had occurred.

Similar conclusions derive from any analysis of differences in the levels of various regions within one and the same country. In most CMEA countries the population can be classified over a very wide range between the relatively more and less developed zones, which differ in both labor and living conditions.

Most CMEA countries have reached the level where economic problems can be resolved less by an influx of rural dwellers into industry than by the technological development of the economy as a whole. The engineering industries of the countries that developed later are still unable to meet the new requirements while the older developed countries' efforts to build machines and equipment for the industrializing nations create difficulties for them in satisfying both their own qualitatively new technological requirements and the needs of their CMEA partners.

It will thus be seen that the inherently socialist strategy of nar-

rowing differences fundamentally changes economic processes and phenomena of this stage of development, bringing to the fore tasks unknown to capitalism, which are tackled in unexplored ways. Arising contradictions are non-antagonistic and resolved consciously, in a planned way, on a basis of cooperation and mutual assistance.

One may ask whether such an economic strategy is really necessary. Does the socialist world really have to seek a road of its own? Would it not be better to follow the beaten path? After all, in per-capita national income differences between the European CMEA countries are much less than in other regions of the world economy, for instance, between the United States and the developed countries of Western Europe, between the latter and the medium-developed countries of the Mediterranean, or between the U.S. and Japan, to say nothing of the differences between the developed and developing nations. The CMEA is one of the most homogeneous spheres in the world economy. And if the CMEA countries are nevertheless so concerned with overcoming the differences between them, it is due to the very nature of socialism, which builds all economic relations on an entirely new foundation. The differences in the efficiency of industries and the levels of development of areas within countries is another reason why the problem of bridging them will continue to be fundamental to the strategy of cooperation in the CMEA framework.

The ways and means of tackling this problem are now changing. Formerly, the cooperation mechanism centred on collectively creating conditions for the development of new industries, thereby as it were emphasizing their common usefulness – on the CMEA scale – even in spite of initial low efficiency. But the policy, necessary as it was at a certain stage, tended to perpetuate inefficient production units. The time must inevitably come when it becomes a brake on further modernization. To be sure, the retarding effect was there from the outset, but in the first stage of industrialization it was more important for the community to support new enterprises that created the basis for equalizing different development levels.

By the 60s the new industries had so matured that their initial function lost its relevance. Moreover, their failings, formerly not so significant, could tend to increase. As I see it, the period when the community's strategy concentrated on creating a more or less uniform industrial structure is now over. Differences in economic structures have substantially narrowed and those consequent on domestic industrial or territorial variations have come to the fore. Hence, it can be claimed that the policy of CMEA cooperation now increasingly hinges on doing away with the remaining differences in levels of development, rather than on equalizing them in the classical sense.

This brings to the fore a number of formerly secondary problems: improving the manufacturing industries' microstructure, accelerating technological advance in the dynamic industries, increasing competitiveness on the world market, greater automation and com-

puterization, etc. They are shared by all CMEA countries, not only because they confront both the more and the relatively less developed countries, but also because no country can tackle them alone. This breeds a mutual urge to cooperate on a new and higher level in keeping with the tasks posed by the scientific and technological revolution, which can best be coped with through socialist economic integration.

The more developed countries will not have to set up capacities (or maintain existing ones) designed to provide industrial hardware for unskilled labor in industrializing countries. They will have to gear their manufacturing industries to the production of plant designed to replace the 'technology of the period of accelerated industrialization.' Workers in all countries of the community will be capable of operating the new technologies, and the industries of the more developed countries will increasingly be able to rely on the manpower and industrial capacities of the countries that had passed through the industrialization period at a relatively later date.

In the new stage the division of labor will shift increasingly to the manufacturing industries and, within them, to the prime movers of technological progress. This means a replacement of inter-industrial by intra-industrial division of labor, which is less dependent on traditional Ricardian advantages. Mutual interest in this case is determined not by the efficiency of traditional industries and the macro-economic interdependence based on it, but on micro-economic interdependence within the manufacturing industries. The benefits derived from the division of labor by the 'old' and 'newly' industrial countries no longer differ, either qualitatively or quantitatively. The advantages of cooperation in research, investment and line production no longer depend on the old relative advantages.

This state of affairs finds growing practical utilization. Thus, the 27th CMEA session instructed the Standing Commission on Engineering to give greater attention to production concentration and part and unit specialization. This means that the division of labor in which some produce raw materials and others machines has been superseded by one in which different countries take part jointly in machine building. In consumer goods, too, the session drew attention to the need for better utilization of reciprocal deliveries and exchanges of light industry products.

If the basic division of labor and its advantages are shifted to the manufacturing industries, the technological and economic development of all CMEA countries will acquire new dimensions which will reduce almost to naught the significance – especially the socio-political significance – of the fact that the per-capita national income in some countries varies either way from the average by 20-25 per cent. Such differences will persist in the foreseeable future and levels of development may 'change places.' Even given a high level of development, productivity may be affected by such circumstances as availability of raw materials or farm produce, geographical location, etc., which cannot be easily overcome by eco-

conomic means. With time, however, the significance of these differences will diminish, while economic integration will help balance their effects.

Obviously, implementation of the Comprehensive Program will not do away with objective cooperation problems overnight. Today we are still too close to the starting point of integration for the tangible results of long-term development to come sufficiently into play. For this it is necessary to adapt the strategy of economic integration and its mechanisms to changing circumstances and requirements. This in the first place calls for better coordination of policies and development plans, including the dovetailing of microspheres. For the center of gravity of the division of labor to shift to the manufacturing industries they and individual enterprises in CMEA countries must establish direct business and commercial contacts, for which the Comprehensive Program envisages a variety of organizational forms, including the setting up of international bodies. Furthermore, we have still to develop international socialist enterprises and resolve relevant accounting problems.

Socialist economic integration complies wholly with the principle formulated at the beginning of this article: conscious struggle against social polarization. Its purpose is to provide every country with the opportunities for building up a modern economy. Socialist cooperation and Communist Party policy provide the basis for evolving the best ways and means of tackling this task.



Left and democratic unity against the Right threat

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For the last three and a half years, India has been engulfed in political turmoil as never before since its independence. Eager to reverse the wheel of history and take the country into the neo-colonialist lap of American imperialism, undermining its independent economic and political development, the Right is closing ranks and enlivening its activity. In this situation, the problem of uniting the Left and democratic forces has forged into the central place.

The struggle for Left and democratic unity is unfolding on the basis of big economic struggles of the masses for improving their living conditions and in the course of their bitter political struggle to defeat the dark forces of reaction and to foil their nefarious game.* This general view is confirmed by the present economic and political situation.

The Indian National Congress Government headed by Prime Minister Indira Gandhi is pursuing independent economic development, strengthening national independence. It has helped industrial and economic development to a significant extent. During 25 years of Congress rule, public-sector industries have been established with the help of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. But the main social content of Congress national-bourgeois policy is development along the capitalist path. Hence the big concessions to the monopolists, landlords, former princes and the imperialists, who are continuing to plunder the country.

Monopolies have grown to giant proportions. Seventy-five monopoly houses now hold half the assets of the private sector. Among them, two of the biggest monopoly houses – the Tatas and the Birlas – each own assets worth more than 8,000 million rupees. The half-hearted attempts of the Congress Government at curbing these monopolists through the nationalization of banks, life and general insurance companies, coal mines and some other companies owned by them, have not been very effective.

*Continuing our series on Communist Party activity in building up a broad alliance of democratic forces. See theses in WMR, February 1973 and articles: A. Delgado (WMR, March 1973), U. Karlsson (April 1973), C. Poperen (June 1973) and S. Wickremasinghe (July 1973). Also see N. K. Krishnan, 'The Initiative Is in the Hands of the Left and Democratic Forces,' WMR, April 1973. – Ed.

Concerns and factories owned by foreign capital have not been nationalized. They continue to loot the country to the tune of 1,000 million rupees a year.

Though steps were taken by the Government to abolish feudalism by paying 6,000 million rupees as compensation, a major portion of the land is still in the hands of the landlords. The landless agricultural workers and poor peasants have got very little land from them.

The inconsistency of INC policy has in the final analysis affected the economic situation. The rate of growth of industry has been declining from 7.5 per cent in 1969 to 3.1 per cent in 1970, and 2.9 in 1971. As Indian agriculture mostly depends on the vagaries of nature, the foodgrains production has also been declining from 108.4 million tons in 1970-71 to 104.7 million tons in 1971-72 and 100 million tons in 1972-73. Hence, there are acute food shortages.

The growth rate of the national income is also falling. In 1970-71 national income went up 4.6 per cent, while in 1971-72 its growth was 2 per cent, and is going to be much less in 1972-73.

While the rate of industrial production was declining, the profits of the monopolists have been going up. A study of the savings and investments of 1,010 companies covering more than 75 per cent of capital investments made by the Reserve Bank of India, showed that their net savings shot up from Rs. 1,740 million in 1969-70 to Rs. 2,370 million in 1970-71. This is primarily due to the fact that the monopolists are not interested in increasing production. They are interested in super-profits, which they can get by creating artificial shortages and pushing up prices.

The accumulation of wealth at one pole is accompanied by a deterioration of the economic condition of the masses.

Prices have been skyrocketing year by year. The increase of the wholesale price index was 4 per cent in 1971 and stood at 13.7 per cent in December 1972. But the price index for food went up much more steeply than the general price index, thus hitting hard at the common man. The price increases for different foods range from 20 per cent for cereals to 40 per cent for eggs and 100 per cent for sugar.

Unemployment has made the staggering climb from 5 million in 1961 to 28 million in 1971. It is estimated that it will reach 65 million by 1981. The figure of educated unemployed has risen from 1.6 million in 1970 to 2.6 million in 1972. As for under-employment, it is widespread and no proper estimate can be made. The Central Government in its report on the condition of agricultural workers has itself admitted that, totalling about 140 million people, they have assured employment for only an average 200 days in a year.

The per capita income declined in 1971-72 and in 1972-73 from the miserable level of Rs. 348.9 in 1970-71. The Central Government has itself admitted in its first Approach Paper to the Fifth Five-Year Plan that 40 per cent of the country's population, i.e., 220 million persons, are living below the poverty line, leading a miser-

able life with a per capita monthly income of Rs. 27, i.e, having only one meal a day.

The mounting discontent of the people caused by this grave economic situation naturally burst forth in various types of mass actions. The workers, middle-class employees, the so-called white-collar workers, the peasants, agricultural workers and students hit back with innumerable demonstrations, strikes and struggles. In 1971 alone, the workers involved in strikes numbered 1.83 million, with 16.54 million man-days lost. Workers and other sections of the people achieved significant gains through bitter struggles. But their misery continues, because no basic changes have been made in the present socio-economic order.

Reaction is trying to capitalize on the popular discontent arising from the economic difficulties. In the period from 1969 to 1972, the reactionary parties and vested interests have suffered one defeat after another in elections.* Now they are resorting to sabotage and provocation. They hope they will be able to capture power by creating economic and political chaos in the country. The monopolies are deliberately sabotaging production and pushing up the prices of essential commodities by creating artificial scarcity. They are demanding a stoppage to the nationalization of key and important industries and the handing over of the entire economy into their hands. If that is done, they promise to solve the problem of ever rising prices, shortages and increasing unemployment, for which their own greed and plundering are to a great extent responsible.

The reactionary parties are now encouraging the food thieves to oppose the take-over of wholesale trade in foodgrains. The monopolists' organization, FICCI,** has opposed the take-over of wholesale trade in foodgrains while at the same time shouting themselves hoarse against rising prices. Wholesale traders are mobilizing lakhs of retail traders by alleging that they will be thrown out into the streets. They have declared bandhs*** and strikes.

The acute discontent among the people is being utilized by the dark forces of reaction to divert attention from the country's burning problems to disruptive and fratricidal channels of linguistic, regional and communal fanaticism. It will be remembered that India is a vast country with 560 million population. People of many languages, professing all the major religions of the world, and hundreds of tribes in very backward conditions reside in our country. Hence it is very easy for the reactionary forces to divert people's discontent arising out of economic factors to disruptive parochial channels.

Right reaction has tried this game in Assam, creating linguistic trouble between the Assamese and Bengalis. Then it tried the same approach on a much bigger scale in Andhra Pradesh. It organized

*See articles by S. Sardesai in WMR, June 1969, July 1970, August 1971, and by N. K. Krishnan, December 1969 and August 1972. — Ed.

**Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry.

***A special type of strike: closure of all retail outlets, even the smallest.

a virtual counter-revolution in which right reactionary parties like the Jana Sangh and Swatantra, big sections of the Congress, landlords, rice-millers, wholesale traders and private bus owners, big sections of bureaucracy including top officials, and judiciary, ganged up and created chaos and anarchy. They aroused turmoil between the people of the two regions of Andhra and Telengana speaking the same language and having a common culture and traditions. They organized armed gangs in the name of 'senas' and adopted fascist methods to beat down the CPI, integrationist Congressmen and other progressive sections. The students, NGOs and some other sections of the middle class were carried away by the frenzy. But the poor people in general understood the game of the reactionaries and stood by the CPI and integrationist Congressmen. Reaction's scheme has been halted, but the danger still remains.

The CPI has been fighting for the last two decades for the democratic right of people belonging to all language groups to form their autonomous states within the framework of the Indian Union and for extension of this right also to the tribal people. The separatists in Andhra struck at the very democratic basis of the formation of states and tried to replace it by the notorious principle of economic level. There is hardly any state in India which does not bear the mark of uneven development, and application of the Andhra separatist theory will only generate chain reactions and provoke serious strife between the people.

In their mad game, the reactionary leaders will go to any length; they will not stop even at dividing the country. The Jana Sangh issued the slogan of 40 states in its recent session held at Kanpur, demanding the balkanization of the existing 21 states. The Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam (DMK) has started its old game once again of dividing the country in the name of full autonomy for the states and joint government at the Center. And the reactionary and opportunist forces inside the Congress are joining hands with those outside, making the Congress and its government in some states ineffective.

It is an all-out counter-offensive of Right reaction – the Right reactionary parties, regional chauvinist parties, reactionary and opportunist sections of the Congressmen, and the reactionary vested interests. The vacillation, delay and compromises of the Central Congress leadership have helped these forces.

This conspiracy of the Right reactionary forces is actively assisted by the American imperialists* who have never reconciled themselves to the fact that India has taken to the path of independent economic development and has been taking up anti-imperialist positions and is standing for the preservation of world peace.

In our vast country no single progressive party, however big it may be, can face the combined Right reaction singly. To stop it, we must have a united front of Left and democratic forces.

*The CIA has stepped up its nefarious activities, which have been openly condemned by Pri Minister Indira Gandhi and the Congress President Shanker Dayal Sharma.

Before going into the problems of building up the unity of Left and democratic forces, it is necessary to give in brief the spectrum of the various political parties on the political map of our country.

The first category of political parties on the Right are the reactionary parties—the Jana Sangh, Syndicate Congress and the Swatantra Party—all having countrywide influence. Of these, the strongest is the Jana Sangh, a Hindu religious revivalist party—along with the well organized semi-military organization called the RSS.*

There are a number of reactionary Muslim communal parties, the most important of which is the Jamaat-e-Islami. It is a very well-knit organization, and the Muslim counterpart of Hindu RSS. In the past, the Hindu and Muslim reactionary communal organizations were at loggerheads. But since the liberation of Bangladesh, a new element has entered the Indian political scene and both Hindu and Muslim communalists are ganging up against the Left and democratic forces.

The next set of parties also on the Right are regional chauvinist parties confined to various states, like the Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam (DMK) of Tamilnadu, the Kerala Congress in Kerala, the Akali Party in Punjab, Utkal Congress in Orissa and the Bharatiya Kranti Dal (BKD) in Uttar Pradesh. These parties base themselves on regional and linguistic chauvinist demands, and enjoy considerable influence in the respective states. Generally they support the regional landlord, capitalist and trader interests and today have ganged up with the above-mentioned all-India reactionary parties. Some of them have links with the U.S. imperialists. In the past, some of these parties took up positions against the all-India Right reactionary parties mainly out of opportunist considerations.

Then comes the Indian National Congress led by Prime Minister Indira Gandhi, which is the biggest political party in the country, wielding political power at the Center as well as in most of the states. It contains within itself reactionary, as well as progressive and centrist sections. Reactionaries inside the Congress generally make common cause with Right reaction outside in a quiet, unobtrusive way.

Then come the traditional Left parties—the Communist Party of India (CPI), Communist Party (Marxist), and the Socialist Party (SP), all of which have countrywide influence. Beside these, there are a number of small Left parties whose activity and influence is confined to some states.

The CPI has been taking up principled and consistent positions against the Right reactionary combine. It is tirelessly exposing Right-reaction conspiracies to capture political power in the country. Because of this, it has earned the wrath of Right reaction and won the esteem of the healthy progressive and democratic forces in the country. It has always been in the forefront of all mass movements and struggles of the workers, peasants, agricultural

*National Voluntary Corps.

workers and middle-class employees for urgent demands and for alleviating misery. The Communist Party of India is part of the international Communist movement. It defends the positions of the international Communist movement steadfastly, as enunciated in the 1957, 1960 and 1969 Moscow documents, both against attacks from Right opportunism as well as from the Left opportunism of the Communist Party (Marxist) and other Left adventurist Maoist groups.

When the Left opportunist section of the Communist movement split away from the Communist Party of India to form the Communist Party (Marxist) in 1964, upholding the dogmatic ideological positions of the Chinese Communist Party leadership, it put forward a Left opportunist, disruptive political line of blind anti-Congress opposition in regard to internal matters in our country and started disrupting the unity of the Left and democratic forces. The logic of this disruptive line later on led it into open collusion with the parties of Right reaction and anti-Soviet slander mongering.

Today in every state and on almost all issues, the Communist Party (Marxist) is aligning with the parties of Right reaction in order to attack the CPI and the progressive section inside the Congress. Left opportunism has made the full circle. But all this has not helped save the Communist Party (Marxist) leadership from the wrath of the Maoist leadership of China because it refused to implement the line of armed guerrilla struggle advocated by the Chinese leadership in 1967.* The Maoist leadership split the Communist Party (Marxist) and helped in the formation of another party under the name of the Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist). Later on this pro-Chinese Party also split into several Maoist groups, which have become ineffective.

Because of its thoroughgoing opportunism, the Communist Party (Marxist) has lost prestige throughout the country. Some groups have broken away from it and joined the CPI, as in Kerala and Andhra Pradesh. It had lost its position in the elections in West Bengal and Kerala, where it had a big mass base. But it still retains considerable influence and is an important all-India party.

The Socialist Party is a thoroughgoing Left opportunist party, openly joining up with parties of Right reaction. It has split up into three groups, and what remains under the name of the Socialist Party does not wield much influence. It still pursues its old anti-CPI and anti-Soviet attitudes.

From what has been stated above, It emerges that the biggest obstacle to the advance of the Left and democratic forces is their disunity and disarray. This adds grist to the mill of the Right reactionary forces. But Left unity cannot be built on the basis of 'anti-Congressism,' whose logic has led the Communist Party (Marxist) and the Socialist Party to openly gang up with the parties of

*Despite its demagogic talk of militant struggles, its real aim was to cling to Ministerial office in Kerala and West Bengal by resorting to all sorts of opportunist tactics and alliances.

right reaction. The Congress contains many progressives who are natural allies of the Left and democratic forces outside the Congress, and without whose cooperation it is impossible to defeat Right reaction.

The Ninth Congress of our Party held in October 1971 clearly stated:

'The national democratic front is a front of all healthy, patriotic, democratic and leftist forces of the nation interested in the completion of the national democratic revolution, irrespective of the fact whether they are inside or outside the Congress. The national democratic front can be created only by overcoming the division among the democratic forces and primarily the division between the masses following the CPI and other Left parties and the masses following the Congress, for which vast new possibilities have arisen during the last two years. That is why the CPI is firmly opposed to the slogans of "non-Congress" or "anti-Congress" united fronts which dissipate these possibilities and further disrupt and divide the democratic masses.'

The CPI has striven on each concrete occasion to put into practice the ideas of unity. After the Communist Party (Marxist) wrecked the United Front Government in Kerala in which the CPI was a partner, the CPI mobilized some of the parties in the United Front and formed another United Front Government along with the Congress in Kerala headed by Comrade C. Achutha Menon, one of the topmost leaders of our Party. This United Front Government has not only heightened the prestige of the CPI, but is proving a source of inspiration for all the healthy Left and democratic forces in the country by effectuating some of the basic demands for which the toiling people are still struggling in other parts of the country. All this is being done in the teeth of combined and active opposition by the Right reactionary parties, the Communist Party (Marxist) and the Socialist Party.

The biggest favorable factor nowadays lies in the fact that the Indian people have moved to the Left. To end their misery, they demand an end to the monopolies, landlordism and imperialist plunder, and call for radical changes in the existing socio-economic set-up. This is the biggest asset for the Left and democratic forces.

The national democratic front cannot be built until the vast masses of the toilers, who have taken up radical positions, are mobilized for big economic and political mass struggles both against the compromising policies of the Congress Government, as well as for the rout of right reaction.

The biggest weakness of the mass movement lies in the fact that the masses are divided and each political party has its own mass organization for different sections of the masses. This multiplicity of mass organizations is acting as a great hindrance in the development of united mass struggles. It is, however, not immediately possible to forge complete *organizational unity* between these bodies. Therefore, serious efforts have to be made to bring about

unity in action on specific issues, for this can later develop into wider unity.

This unity of the Left and democratic forces cannot be built 'without steadily and progressively building up the role and weight of the working class and of the worker-peasant alliance in our national political life. This is how the working class and its party play their leading role in building up the front and dislodging the bourgeoisie from exclusive control of the state power.

'This is expressed in the dual aspect of our united front policy with respect to the bourgeois class whose interests the ruling Congress represents, the aspect of unity and struggle. It is only through correct application and implementation of such a policy based on its twofold aspects of unity and struggle that the working masses can be steadily won over from the influence of the bourgeoisie and the national democratic front built up with worker-peasant unity as its pivot' (Political Resolution of the Ninth Congress of the CPI).

In the conditions prevailing in our country, a great responsibility lies on our Party, which has the correct ideology, program and political perspective for uniting the Left and democratic forces and helping the revolutionary democratic movement to advance. But viewed from the point of view of the vastness of the country, our Party has not as yet requisite strength and organization needed for this. Hence, it is urgently necessary that our Party is built up into a powerful and militant instrument capable of discharging the tasks history has placed on its shoulders.

Lastly, if the unity of Left and democratic forces is to be achieved, it is absolutely necessary that a consistent and skillful ideological and political struggle be waged against all types of reactionary, Left opportunist and bourgeois ideas, politics and practices projected on the national scene to divert the masses from the correct political path. In the past, we have not paid sufficient attention to this aspect of the matter. This needs to be remedied urgently.

To sum up, taking all the national and international factors into consideration, we can say that all the healthy Left and democratic forces in India can unite and forge ahead, defeating the all-out offensive of the Right reactionary bloc, provided they set aside petty partisan considerations and concentrate on the main danger facing the country today, if the Leftward mass upsurge is mobilized into mass actions and struggles and if the friendly relations that have been established at present between India and the Soviet Union and other socialist and friendly countries are further strengthened and consolidated into all-sided cooperation and unbreakable friendship.

Czechoslovak economy: achievements, problems, prospects

That was discussed by representatives of Communist and Workers' Parties on the journal and Czechoslovak Party and government leaders, economists, researchers, engineers and workers at two conferences sponsored by **World Marxist Review** and the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia. The first was held in Prague on April 16-17 and the second in Bratislava on May 2. The conferences were addressed by **Josef Kempny**, Presidium Member and CC Secretary, CPC; **Josef Lenart**, Presidium Member, CC CPC and First Secretary, CC CP Slovakia; **Miloslav Hruskovic**, Alternate Presidium Member, CC CPC and Secretary, CC CP Slovakia; **Jindrich Zahradnik**, Vice-Chairman of the Czechoslovak Government; **Ludovit Pezlar**, Presidium Member and Secretary, CC CP Slovakia; **Stanislav Vlna**, Vice-Minister and Secretary, Czechoslovak Council on International Economic and Scientific-Technical Cooperation; **Kvetoslav Roubal**, Deputy Director, CC CPC Institute of Marxism-Leninism. The representatives of more than 30 fraternal Parties toured Czechia and Slovakia, had interviews at the East-Slovak and Central-Slovak Regional Committees of the CPS and visited a number of industrial enterprises. The concluding meeting, at the Central Committee of the CPC on May 16, was addressed by Josef Kempny.

The following is a summary of the discussions.

INTENSIFICATION

Our meeting (Comrade Kempny said) follows closely on the Central Committee Plenum which reviewed Czechoslovakia's 25 socialist years: industrial output increased 7.6-fold (with a more than 16-fold increase in engineering and nearly 19-fold in chemicals), building increased 8.6-fold and national income 4.3-fold.

With little more than one-third of the prewar labor force and a smaller cultivated area, our farms now produce 79 per cent more than in 1948. Socialist production relations rule supreme both in town and country.

Consolidating and extending the political and social rights of the people is an integral part of socialism. Ever since we launched out on building socialism, we have held a top place in welfare expenditure: the annual per capita average is 5,500 Koruny. Incomes have more than trebled in the 20 years following the 1953 monetary reform. More than 70 per cent of families have a per-capita monthly income of 800 Koruny. Beginning with 1945, we have built 1,700,000 flats, which is nearly 40 per cent of our total housing.

Slovakia, industrialized with the fraternal assistance of the Czech working class, is now advancing at an unparalleled rate, producing more industrial goods than the whole of prewar Czechoslovakia.

Our experience has fully confirmed the universality of the Marxist-Leninist theory of the regularities of socialist construction, including also industrially developed countries. It will be recalled that our class enemies, compelled to acknowledge the vast achievements of the Soviet Union, argued that socialism could possibly work in an agrarian country, but certainly not in an industrial one. The success of socialism in Czechoslovakia, they argued, was due to the economic potential inherited from capitalism. But the fact is that Czechoslovakia's fairly developed capitalist economy was too narrow a base for our socialist progress, and, besides, had been severely damaged by the Nazis.

We stress these positive features because they are determinative to our development over the past 25 years. But that should not be taken to mean that the Party has been oblivious to shortcomings. Objective difficulties were compounded by wrong assessments, with the result that the 1961-65 five-year plan was out of all keeping with our real potentialities, especially in capital construction. Disproportions were making themselves felt in industry and consumption. National income growth slowed down. There was more unfinished construction. The engineering industry was spreading out to too wide a range of products. We were slow in introducing new technology. And especially painfully felt was the absence of a carefully thought out long-term development conception.

These mistakes were exploited by our class enemies, the opportunists. Their main blow was aimed at the socialist economy; they began to revise its guiding principles as part of the campaign to eliminate the Party's leading role, abandon planned management and sever the Czechoslovak economy from the socialist community. And it has to be said that propaganda of these views and attempts to apply them did not encounter adequate resistance and at one stage were supported by the mass media and part of the Party, trade union and government leadership.

The consolidation program formulated by the May 1969 CC Plenum was carried out in a remarkably short time, considering the problems we had to cope with. One of them was eliminating inflation. The Rightists had proposed raising rents, prices and service charges by about 20,000 million Koruny. The present Party leadership decided that anti-inflation measures would not be at the expense of the people. We declared a price moratorium to check inflation, and solution of this economic problem had important political implications: it restored confidence in the Koruna, stopped the buying fever, and gradually the Party was able to end the 'get-what-you-can-today' mood, when people had lost faith in our long-range goals and the concepts underlying them. A proper ratio was established between productivity growth and average wages and the ground-work was thus laid for resolving pressing social problems. More goods were put on the market, and of a wider

variety. All this was accomplished in a relatively short time. The Koruna was stabilized, giving people greater incentive to work: the result is spelled out in the continuous growth of savings. The socialist emulation drive, with workers assuming obligations to help the economic consolidation process, was clear evidence of mass support for the Party's policy. More than 80 per cent of non-Party workers are involved in the socialist emulation movement.

The 14th Party Congress (1971) set our next priority: fuller satisfaction of the material and cultural requirements of the people and higher welfare benefits. Both are to be achieved through better economic performance. The 1971-1979 targets and economic proportions are based on intensive growth, for labor power shortages inhibit economic growth of the extensive type, that is, through continued injections of investment and manpower. Exhaustion of local raw-material and power resources acts as a brake on economic growth.

The 14th Party Congress made more intensive and effective operation of industry the central economic target. Henceforth economic growth will be exclusively through accelerated technological progress, higher productivity and fuller use of plant, raw materials and power. And Congress emphasized the importance of steadily improving economic management and developing complex (comprehensive) socialist rationalization, along with more worker participation in management and more incentive to shop-floor initiative. The Congress decisions were concretized by the February, April and December 1972 CC Plenums.

The first two years of the five-year plan have shown that the Congress decisions are being successfully carried out. Industry and construction are growing at a faster pace than envisaged by the plan. Here are the figures for the past two years: national income up more than 11 per cent, industrial output 14 per cent, building more than 20 per cent. Furthermore, economic advance has given us more investment capital than provided for by the plan. In 1972, no less than 91 per cent of the industrial output gain came from higher productivity, with hourly productivity showing a 7 per cent rise in 1972, as against 4.4 per cent in 1971. Working time is being used more efficiently. More technology is being brought in. Building programs are more closely adapted to changing requirements. In the past two years we built 222,000 flats, 22,000 over and above the plan. Good progress has been made on the transit gas pipeline and on new power capacities. The relatively high rate of accumulation means that we shall be able to maintain the present production growth rate.

We are using progressively less coal and more oil both for fuel and power, which makes for a more rational energy structure. And this indicator: machine-building and chemicals account for a progressively higher share of total industrial output.

Agriculture is a stabilizing factor, with output outpacing the plan. Last year's 3.9 per cent gain was the biggest in the past five years, and equally important, was achieved through higher productivity, which rose 4.1 per cent.

We have solved some difficult problems in foreign trade, which is of especial importance for Czechoslovakia. Last year's exports to socialist countries were up 11 per cent and imports 8.9 per cent. The figures suggest that trade between the socialist countries outpaces their production growths. The home market has been stabilized, so that we can now turn our attention to supplying more goods of better quality and wider variety.

Real wages have increased both as a result of higher nominal wages (which last year rose 3.5 per cent in industry) and lower retail prices. Pensions and family grants have been increased. In this respect an important step was taken by the December 1972 CC Plenum, which provided for higher grants on the birth of the second, third and fourth child, and for family loans that are partly written off at the birth of the next child. These measures have meant additional benefits amounting to 4,500 million Koruny.

These facts and figures testify to the reality of the current five-year plan. They show that the economy is gaining strength and momentum from year to year. The Party Committee is confident that the five-year target will be met.

These are good results, but they do not fully meet today's requirements. An analysis of last year's economic performance shows that there are still unsolved problems, particularly with regard to quality indicators and more economical use of raw materials. Productivity rise per one per cent increase in wages is lower than provided for by the plan.

We are concentrating on several branches upon which continued economic development largely depends. Capital construction has top priority. And here one must bear in mind the difference between our present and past investment policy. In the past practically all investment in industry was meant to create new jobs; today it is meant to get the work done with less jobs. In the early five-year plans the overall aim was full employment and industrialization of Slovakia. Today investments are used chiefly to modernize and automate production.

Of course, this does not dispense with some of our old problems. One of them is accelerating construction. For though construction targets have, on the whole, been surpassed, progress on key projects has not been fast enough. The problem is so crucial that the Central Committee Presidium decided on a number of measures to rectify the situation.

Another important branch requiring constant and close attention is foreign trade. And here the aim is better quality of export goods, and higher quality demands on imported goods. Czechoslovakia will thus fulfil its internationalist duty to the CMEA countries, contribute to the economic potential of the socialist community and help the socialist world market compete with the capitalist.

Specialization, mechanization and wider use of chemicals are largely responsible for continued progress in agriculture, which has a large untapped potential. What we need now is a bigger

and modernized food industry. Fulfilment of retail trade plans is still another important task, and one of the things that will help us accomplish it is a larger variety of goods and flexible reaction by industry to changes in consumer demand.

Machine-building holds a central, even decisive place in the economic scheme of things. For on it depend capital construction and technical modernization and equipment of the entire economy. It accounts for 57 per cent of exports, provides machines for our farms and considerably influences the level of consumption. The share of machine-building in total industrial output will increase from 28.4 per cent in 1970 to about 29.4 per cent in 1975.

The Party attaches much importance to complex socialist rationalization, which not only provides solutions for economic problems, but encourages creative initiative and activity and is a factor in training the new type of man. Rationalization is, of course, closely linked with the scientific and technological revolution, and with the development of science as a direct productive force. It is, besides, a means of self-expression of the individual, a vehicle for his professional and social activities, a way in which he can influence the material and cultural life of the community, a means, in short, of developing the personality. The Party influences economic management and the socialist emulation movement through rationalization programs formulated at all levels of economic leadership and constantly complemented and amended. We believe that encouraging and supporting the workers' initiative and enthusiasm is an important component of broader socialist democracy.

The Party strives to make rationalization comprehensive and distinctly socialist in character. The method used is cost analysis: production costs are related to the social value of the product. This involves close study of consumption trends. The Party sees effective operation of the economy as an optimal ratio of social expenditures and their results.

Continued perfection of the management system is still another important tool, and in the next, sixth five-year plan, we shall be experimenting with certain forms of material incentives to enterprises and whole industries, and to this end we intend to rationalize the wages and wholesale prices structures.

Cooperation with socialist countries is a most valuable factor in raising economic effectiveness. Czechoslovakia's technical policy rests largely on scientific and technological cooperation with the USSR. The Soviet Union has given us hundreds of sets of technical specifications, including more than 300 blueprints for building projects. We have reciprocated by supplying 190 blueprints for building projects and other technical specifications. Some 250 Czechoslovak and Soviet research organizations are now working on more than 900 research topics. And yet, we are not making sufficient use of the Soviet Union's vast industrial and scientific potential to reduce the excessively wide range of products of our own engineering industry.

Higher economic effectiveness has important social and political implications. The working class, in the past condemned to physical labor, is deeply interested in obliterating the difference between physical and mental work and giving full scope to the scientific and technological revolution. But the working class wants all this to be accomplished according to plan, not haphazardly, with all the adverse consequences, destruction of the natural environment, and so on. The working class wants to complete the building of a developed socialist society and lay the material and technical basis of communism.

Question: Are retail prices going up?

Kempny: Quite the contrary, living costs declined by 0.4 per cent in 1971 and by another 0.4 per cent in 1972, with at least a 0.3 per cent decline envisaged for this year. The prices of such essentials as bread, butter, milk and meat have remained practically unchanged for many years. A short while ago we reduced prices on fabrics, hosiery and a number of other goods. Measures are planned to readjust prices in public catering establishments.

Problems have been created by the market's saturation with some goods, especially durables. To every 100 families there are 154 radio sets, 96 washing machines, 66 refrigerators, 83 TV sets, 22 cars. Annual per capita consumption is around 45 metres of textiles, 5 pairs of footwear, 341 kilowatt-hours of electricity and 83.7 cubic metres of gas. This means that the manufacturing industries must constantly renew and update their produce.

Question: How do workers take part in management?

Kempny: They participate in all three stages of the production process: planning, implementation of the plan and control of its implementation. Usually the CC Presidium discusses the economic and political guidelines for next year's plan at the end of April. This is followed by conferences with extensive worker participation at which suggestions and proposals are invited.

At the implementation stage, the principal form of worker participation in management is the production conference, which discusses the enterprise's social and economic problems. Finally, at the end of each three-month period and the end of the year, the work done is reviewed and analyzed at production conferences in which all workers are invited to take part. Several months ago it was decided to reconstitute factory people's control commissions. Then, of course, there are the trade unions, which ensures the widest worker participation and without which no labor or social issue is decided, no labor legislation is enacted.

Question: What were the reasons behind failure to meet some previous five-year plan targets?

Kempny: There were five main reasons, which we took into account in drawing up the current fifth five-year plan. First: changes in foreign trade, notably China's rupture of long-term ties. Now we orientate ourselves on countries about which we are confident that no such fluctuations can happen: the socialist community, the Soviet Union. Second: poor efficiency in some sectors

of agriculture. Third: delays in commissioning some key projects, a problem which continues to bother us today. Fourth: one could call it the sharing out of unmade values, an incorrect balance between total earnings and social consumption. There were cases when investment allocations were planned without realistic provisions for the sources from which they were to come. And fifth: the question of reserves was virtually overlooked completely. At present the plan and the state budget stipulate provisions for creating reserves as one of the principal means of meeting any contingency.

Question: What were the main measures taken to consolidate the economy after 1968-69?

Kempny: The crucial measure was the declaration of a price moratorium and strict wage controls as a means of closing the main inroads of inflation. This, naturally, required a lot of work and an uncompromising approach. The next move was to settle our foreign trade affairs. Although we have not dissolved joint companies, and production enterprises continue to take part in foreign trade, now they do so only through foreign trade organizations. On occasion we operated by fiat, crossing out non-essential goods from our imports lists and demanding factories to produce more for export. We were helped tremendously by three good harvests. Finally, a major consolidation factor was the spread of the socialist emulation movement, with workers pledging high production targets and striving to meet them.

SLOVAKIA: ACCELERATED GROWTH RATES

An important objective of the Czechoslovak Party's economic policy is to balance up the economic levels of the Czech and the Slovak socialist republics, raising Slovakia's level to that of the Czech regions on the basis of countrywide economic progress. This was the main topic in the conversations between *World Marxist Review* representatives and the top functionaries of the Communist Party of Slovakia.

As elsewhere in the country, *J. Lenart* said, Slovakia's experience confirmed the general laws of socialist revolution and socialist construction, the international character of Leninism, and the universality of the Soviet experience, particularly the solution of the national question.

Until 1918, Slovakia was incorporated in the Hungarian part of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy. After the monarchy disintegrated, she became part of the Czechoslovak Republic. The Slovak regions were economically and socially far behind the Czech. Under the capitalist system, the gap grew wider still. The organic weaknesses of capitalism were very strongly in evidence in Slovakia. Including the Austro-Hungarian period, as much as a third of the population left Slovakia for North America, Australia and, partly, Western Europe, in search of a livelihood.

The egoistic policy of the Czech bourgeoisie, which advocated a 'single Slovak nation' and was oriented on Anglo-French imperial-

ism, coupled with the reactionary separatist posture of the Slovak bourgeoisie, oriented on German imperialism, precipitated a profound crisis in society, a dislocation of the Czechoslovak state, paving the way for the Nazi occupation.

Even before coming to power, the Communist Party advanced a program for the economic and socio-cultural development of the Slovak regions. In 1937, it held a conference on Slovakia's economic, social and cultural development in Banska Bystrica, at which it discussed a plan to remedy the critical situation in the bourgeois republic.

Following the country's liberation from fascism, steps were taken to eliminate Slovakia's backwardness in line with the Kosice government program. Splendid opportunities appeared after the bourgeoisie was completely removed from power in February 1948, when the socialization of the basic means of production was completed and we took up economic planning.

Our Ninth Party Congress (1949) defined Slovakia's industrialization as a crucial objective. This meant not only industrial development, but also modernization of agriculture, the building industry, and transport, and improvement of education and professional training. The aim was tied to the potential of the single Czechoslovak economy, Czech industry, and to the help of the Czech working class. And our measures, which impelled economic progress throughout Czechoslovakia, benefited the Slovaks as well as the Czech regions.

The results of the Ninth Congress program were splendid. Industrial production in Slovakia shot up nearly 14-fold over 1948. Under the capitalist system her industry accounted for a mere 7-8 per cent of total Czechoslovak production, and now accounts for 25 per cent. Output of chemicals has gone up 35-fold against 1948, and engineering 30-fold. Some 300 large factories have been built, including the iron-and-steel giant in Kosice, the Slovnaft oil plant near Bratislava, the shipyards in Komarno, etc. Employment in Slovak industry has grown from 120,000 before the war to over 600,000. Productivity of labor in industry is five times that of 1948.

Agriculture, too, has changed. The socialist sector now holds 86.2 per cent of the arable, and output has doubled against prewar. Slovakia's share in the country's farm output has climbed from the prewar 23 per cent to 32.1. The yields are much greater: 32-35 centners per hectare for grain, and 422 centners for sugar beet. Livestock productivity has risen. Productivity in farming has gone up 4.3-fold between 1948 and 1972.

During this period, 32 per cent of the country's investments went into Slovakia's economy. And since it is part of the single Czechoslovak economy, the benefits for the people were quite substantial, paving the way for the solution of a number of burning social problems.

Some 652,000 new homes were built during the socialist period, amounting to 60 per cent of Slovakia's present housing. Per capita consumption is fourfold that of 1948. Annual per capita meat con-

sumption, 22 kg. under capitalism, is now 63-64 kg., and sugar consumption 36 kg. (against the former 15). Sales of domestic appliances, cars, and the like, have increased considerably.

The medical services are much better. We had one doctor per 1,893 population under capitalism, and have one per 426 population now. Many new medical institutions have been built.

Secondary and higher education is also making rapid progress. Prewar Slovakia had one university with 2,000 students. Now we have thirteen higher schools with an enrollment of 52,000.

Scientific research is conducted on a large scale. In 1945 a mere 3,000 people were engaged in science in all Czechoslovakia. Now there are 33,000 researchers in Slovakia alone. We have many new research institutes, and the Slovak Academy of Sciences is doing splendid work.

Culture and the arts are flourishing. Many outstanding plays and musical works have been produced in the socialist years. The Bratislava studios put out about a dozen feature and several dozen documentary films yearly. Bratislava has its own television centre, with branches in Kosice and Banska Bystrica.

Summing up, Lenart observed, we may say that thanks to our Party's Leninist national policy Slovakia has achieved unparalleled progress. And the reconstitution of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic on a federative basis has extended the fraternal cooperation of our two peoples and is benefiting Slovakia's further development.

None but the Communists, history has shown, could work out and implement a program for Slovakia's economic and socio-cultural advancement. The parties of the Czech bourgeoisie with their 'Czechoslovakism' that ignored the Slovak national identity, and the parties of the Slovak bourgeoisie with their separatism, were unable to resolve the national question. Its solution was also thwarted by the ideology and policy of the Right revisionists, who denied the success of socialist construction out of hand and aimed at deintegrating the Czechoslovak economy. The country's critical development, which culminated in the danger of counter-revolution in 1968, jeopardized the program of Slovak economic and cultural progress. Hence, the defeat of the Right forces was of vast significance for the country's further socialist development, and for national relations.

Question: How do you go about balancing the economic levels of the two republics in the present five-year plan period?

Lenart: The 1971-75 five-year plan envisages a 25 per cent increase of the social product in the Czech Republic, and of about 40 per cent in the Slovak. Industrial production will go up 27-29 and 55-57 per cent respectively. The annual growth of the national income in Slovakia is approximately 1.5 per cent greater than in Czechia. To be sure, the final solution transcends the present five-year plan. Some differences stemming from dissimilar demographic and natural conditions will probably remain.

Question: Would you please describe the private sector in Slovak agriculture?

Lenart: It consists of small peasant farms in the country's mountainous part. They grow potatoes and produce beef and some other animal products. In the next few years, responding to the wishes of the peasants, we are planning to organize farming cooperatives in the mountain areas as well. However, the matter must not be pressed, because cooperation requires an appropriate material and technical base to assure effective production.

Question: What are the terms of reference of the Slovak Party and government leadership in the economic sphere since the federative arrangement was introduced?

Lenart: The Federal Government controls power, metallurgy, machine-building, transport and external trade, while chemical, building, light and food industries, agriculture, forestry and water resources, internal trade, as well as culture and education are all directed by the governments of the national republics. Obviously, the Federation fulfills an integratory function in relation to economic development throughout Czechoslovakia, and the Republics play an active part in working out and adopting nationwide decisions. Federalization assists the rational division of labor between the Federation and the Republics.

In the West the birth of the Federation in 1968 is associated with the revisionist movement; in fact, however, it stands for a rectification of the mistakes and inadequacies of the past according to Leninist principles and Soviet experience in the national question.

On the fulfilment of the Slovak five-year plan, *Miloslav Hruskovic* said that during the first two years the results had been good and the tasks set for the current year were also being satisfactorily achieved. The house building plan is being overfulfilled, but the situation is not so healthy in the development of industry. This is because resources are spread over a wide range of projects and new enterprises are not always put into operation as scheduled. Special attention is now being paid to raising the effectiveness of production.

The policy of the industrialization of Slovakia is yielding palpable results. The revisionists had maintained that there was no need to develop heavy industry in Slovakia and that the main concentration should be on the production of consumer goods. They took the view that instead of building, for example, the East Slovak Metallurgical Combine in Kosice the metallurgical factories in Czechia should have been expanded. But the Kosice Combine is no duplicate of these factories, for it specializes in the production of steel and rolled metal which had been in short supply. The cost of the combine was approximately 20 billion Koruny, but there will be a profit of 700 million Koruny in the current year and 1.4 billion in 1975. It should be remembered, too, that iron ore deliveries for the Czechoslovak Republic come mainly through Eastern Slovakia. Social, as well as economic consequences, also have to be considered. Eastern Slovakia had been the most backward part of the country, but now it has a large industrial center with qualified workers and engineers and technical personnel. A similar picture can be seen at other new construction projects in Slovakia.

Turning to the problem of meeting the consumer demand, *Hruskovic* remarked that the people spend their savings mainly on new housing, cars and tourism. Private house-building is encouraged (alongside state), and at the same time we strive to encourage people to buy cars. Czechoslovakia's annual car output is approximately 150,000, of which 110,000 are sold to the population, but in order to satisfy the growing demand it is essential to increase the annual production to 300,000, in the framework of cooperation with the GDR. A car assembly plant for 100,000 cars is to be built in Slovakia meanwhile, the Mlada Boleslav plant is also being expanded. In our conditions this will prove an economically effective solution of the problem.

Question: What are the differences in the living standards of the people in the Czech and Slovak Republics?

Hruskovic: The present differences should be viewed in the context of progress achieved in the levelling-out process and of the steps taken to solve outstanding problems. There are still some differences in the size of average family incomes because in some areas of Slovakia there is no full employment as yet. The average monthly wage differs; it is 2,101 Koruny in the Czech Republic and 36 Koruny less in Slovakia. In the Czech Republic the number of hospital beds for every 1,000 of the population is 10, while in Slovakia it is 8. There are differences in the structure and level of consumption: the Czechs spend more on durable goods, whereas the Slovaks spend far more on private house construction. But there are no differences which in the past had been sources of discontent.

Question: Are there any differences in the social policy of the two republics?

Hruskovic: The social policies of both Republics are based on identical principles and standards, which are applied in Slovakia with due consideration for her specific features. These are due in part to the demographic factors. For example, the greater proportion of the Slovak social welfare budget goes to the care of children, and in the Czech regions a greater proportion is devoted to old-age pensions. But there are no fundamental differences between the social policies of the two Republics.

Question: Can one speak of the specific Slovak revisionism in economic policy?

Hruskovic: The revisionists, both in Slovakia and in the Czech regions, advocated a market economy. During the preparations to form the Federation they were in favor of the economic isolation of Slovakia. Matters were reduced to absurdity: since the exchange of goods between the CSSR and the USSR passed through Slovak territory, they demanded that the Czech Republic should pay the Slovak Republic transit charges. However, revisionism in Slovakia did not strike deep roots. So-called workers' councils, whose activities were aimed at undermining the planned economy, were set up only in some enterprises. But the struggle against the Right in Slovakia, too, was no easy matter.

Question: Are the sources of extensive development exhausted in Slovakia?

Hruskovic: We are approaching the limit. Although there are regions, where some resources of labor power are still available, Slovakia's further development can only come about through intensification of the production process. This is all the more evident if the development of the Czechoslovak economy as a whole is viewed from the angle of further socialist economic integration.

Emphasizing the close links between economic policy and ideological work of the Party, Comrade *Pezlar* noted that the ideological-political education of the masses, and expansion of education and culture were a component part of the program for building a mature socialist society. Naturally, Slovakia's swift economic growth has a positive influence on our ideological work. But we have rejected the view that economic development automatically raises the consciousness of the people, and put an end to the underestimation of the importance of ideological education.

Our ideological work has been largely devoted to explaining the true nature of the crisis period and the basic values inherent in a socialist socio-political system. The leading role of the working class and its Party, and the principles of proletarian internationalism, are now part and parcel of the people's mentality.

We have introduced new methods of ideological guidance. The Right found themselves isolated. They had hoped that the system would not function without them, but it is functioning more efficiently than before. Cultural workers' unions are ever more active. Incidentally, not a single leading scientist, writer or representative of the arts, emigrated from Slovakia. We are now engaged in formulating a program for the various aspects of ideological work.

Questions: Are there any signs of nationalism in Slovakia?

Pezlar: Slovakia is a multinational republic which includes Hungarians, Ukrainians, Czechs and other nationalities. We are consistently putting into practice the principles of socialist internationalism. The national minorities have their own schools, press and cultural institutions, but even today we meet with attempts to exploit the past divisions of our nation, to idealize some periods of our history and to substitute the national for the class approach. We tackle the resulting problems patiently through communist education and at the same time resolutely combat the hostile activities of the emigres.

Question: How does the Party win over young people?

Pezlar: Firstly, this was facilitated by the positive program for the development of our society outlined by the new leadership of the Party after the April 1969 Plenum of the CC of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia. In the main, young people understood that the Right opportunists had substituted demagoguery for a positive program. The period of crisis and the subsequent period of consolidation were a school of political education for the young generation and they have learned to distinguish real values from false.

The youth make a positive assessment of the swift economic and cultural forward surge of Slovakia during the years of the building of socialism, particularly in relation to the wide possibilities for education. In 1916 there was not a single Slovak secondary school, whereas today every village has someone who has studied in a higher educational establishment. Our Party works with the young people and supports in every possible way their desire to help the growth of socialist society.

EFFECTS OF SOCIALIST INTEGRATION

All participants in the symposium spoke of the decisive importance of scientific and technological progress, and *Jindrich Zahradnik* dwelt on it specifically.

He noted that more than 7.2 million of Czechoslovakia's population of 14.5 million were engaged in social labor. This is one of the world's highest levels of employment, which makes scientific and technological advance and the international division of labor the main factors of economic growth. The latter has entered a stage when we can and should restrict our range of industrial output, especially in engineering, increasingly meeting our needs for some commodities through imports and boosting the output of others for export thereby promoting the economic integration of CMEA countries, specialization of production programs on a basis of unified machine parts and units, close cooperation in supplying raw materials, primary and semi-finished products, etc.

Czechoslovakia is in the world's top ten in per-capita consumption of primary energy (eighth place in 1970). Energy consumption per unit of finished product is high. We expect scientific and technological development to promote more effective energy conversion and expenditure. A comprehensive energy program calls for the further expansion of our already considerable international cooperation with the USSR and other countries.

The 14th CPC Congress laid emphasis on the need for faster practical implementation of the scientific achievements, new blueprints and experimental findings, and accordingly altering production programs and raising the technical standards and consumer value of manufactured goods. Carrying out the Congress' resolutions involves, firstly, structural changes in industry through rapid development of progressive branches; secondly, concentrating research on prime economic programs; thirdly, dovetailing all long-term tasks to the international division of labor and greater socialist integration.

With all this in mind, the Communist Party directs research and development towards renewal of the material and technical base and accelerated progress in industries depending directly on research. The fifth five-year plan provides that industrial growth will be more than 90 per cent promoted by higher labor productivity.

Our research and experimental base, it should be stressed, is the product of socialism. In capitalist Czechoslovakia, industry depended mainly on foreign licenses, and only in some branches on

the work of individual outstanding university specialists. Thanks to the consistent concern of the Communist Party and socialist state we were able within a short period of time to build up a comprehensive system of research organizations with a workforce of over 150,000. In 22 years, research and development capacities have increased tenfold. Half the funds invested in research comes from the state budget and half from industrial enterprises. Fundamental research is carried out mainly by the Academy of Sciences and institutes of higher learning.

The policy of building up our own research and experimental base was a correct one. It created conditions for expanding those industries (e.g., the manufacture of ball bearings) without which our economy would have simply been incapable of functioning during the cold war and the capitalist policy of trade embargo; in some industries quality and standards of production were raised to a level enabling them to compete on the world market; thanks to its research base, industry was able to launch a series of technically and technologically complex processes (in electronics and electrical equipment, farm chemicals, man-made materials, nuclear power, etc.).

Despite these unquestionable achievements, we are not satisfied with the scale of research or the speed with which scientific and technological innovations are put into effect. Industry does not take to the fruits of science and technological advance spontaneously. The socialist state must overcome conservatism by bringing pressure to bear through the devices of the plan and, at the same time, creating economic and social conditions which would induce enterprises to modernize their plant, technologies and output.

Extensive international scientific and technological cooperation is a must for economic progress. Also, the structure of the research base has to be gradually changed. A state five-year plan in science and technology has been drawn up as a tool for directing research work. It also covers scientific and technological cooperation with CMEA member-states, practical application of the results of joint studies, and the development of the research base throughout the country. The plan lays down the tasks of fundamental research in eight government programs concerned with potential economic requirements and targeted on obtaining new theoretical data, primarily in physics, chemistry and the technical sciences, as well as biological and medical knowledge concerning man and his environment. Applied research is aimed mainly at creating conditions for structural changes in the economy and its intensification. The state budget provides for an investment of around 17,000 million Koruny into 18 state technological development programs, with another 6,000 million Koruny to come from enterprises. The major beneficiaries from these funds will be nuclear technology, applied cybernetics, engineering technology, energy plant, chemical materials.

Czechoslovakia gears most of its research to its scientific and technological cooperation with the socialist countries, the Soviet

Union in the first place. Without such cooperation it would never have been able to manufacture computer hardware, develop nuclear power or take part in space research. Joint research with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries covers some 2,000 topics. Each year we send 9,000 specialists for consultations in socialist countries. But there are still many unused opportunities for scientific and technological cooperation. Hence we are continuing to restructure our research base so as to involve it more deeply in socialist economic integration.

Technical assistance to developing nations is an inalienable component of Czechoslovakia's economic policy.

Our relations with the industrially developed capitalist countries include, among other things, scientific and technological contacts, some of them based on agreements with France, Belgium, Italy, Great Britain, Denmark, Sweden, Finland and the FRG.

Individual initiative plays a tremendous part in a socialist economy, and this also includes research and development. Tens of thousands of rationalization proposals coming from the factory floor are put into effect every year and they pay off in hundreds of millions of Koruny. The rationalization and innovation movement has become an important political factor, bringing the working class and intelligentsia closer together. Hundreds of examples could be cited of socialist labor teams in which workers, engineers and technicians work side by side. Socialist rationalization is the concern of all sections of the society.

Scientific and technological progress is a component part of the program for building up a mature socialist society, a tool for the dynamic development of the productive forces and improving living standards.

Question: How is scientific personnel trained?

Zahradnik: As in other socialist countries, we have full-time and correspondence post-graduate courses. Every year some 8,000 persons work for their scientific degrees, one-third of them in engineering and technology. We also have a system of advanced training operated by institutes of higher learning. We hold that in the era of the scientific and technological revolution knowledge acquired at college has to be updated at least every 10 years. That is why we intend to expand and diversify the system of advanced training.

Question: How is science financed?

Zahradnik: Much the same way as in other countries. The state budget finances works whose significance goes beyond the scope of one or several economic bodies, research in the interests of the society as a whole. We spend 3.6 per cent of our national income on science, which is in the same range as other developed countries or even higher. One should always bear in mind, however, that there is a fundamental difference between a large and a small economy. The question is not only of the share of the national income but of the physical amount of the investment, especially for such major endeavors as space exploration, nuclear power and computers.

Czechoslovakia's economy is simply incapable of undertaking fundamental research in these areas, and only socialist integration provides the wherewithal for us to take part in this ambitious work.

PRIME MOVER OF ECONOMIC PROGRESS

The CMEA's Comprehensive Program of Economic Integration is a revolutionary, long-term factor of progress in economic relations between the fraternal member-states, as well as in the development of their national economies. Our experience, *Kempny* stressed, reaffirms that economic progress is the more successful the more active the cooperation between socialist states. Conversely, if its development slows down, this breeds unhealthy tendencies in our economy. Socialist integration provides a new framework of international socialist cooperation that facilitates faster development of national productive forces, promotes the efficiency of integrated industries and helps towards optimal use of research and development potentialities. It does away with parochialism and national exclusiveness and is, in fact, an embodiment of the trend towards the economic, political and ideological cohesion of the socialist countries and, at the same time, an expression of the unity of these three aspects. To divorce the class-political and ideological aspects of integration from the economic, to say nothing of opposing them, would leave the way open for interpreting socialist integration in terms of 'convergence' and obfuscating the differences of principle between the two types of integration.

The gradual drawing together and equalization of economic development levels plays an important part in the socialist countries' integration processes, which should always be viewed from class positions, taking into account the interests of the socialist world system. Socialist economic integration is, by its very essence, a manifestation of proletarian internationalism in the economic domain.

Socialist integration rests on the objective trend towards the internationalization of the productive forces, noted *Vlma*. It is in keeping with the logic of economic growth pointed out by the founders of Marxism: from the particular to the general, from the national to the international. When we speak of integration we imply an objectively conditioned but *consciously controlled* process in which the state plays an important part. But under socialism the role of the state is different than under capitalism. There is no disregard or impingement of the national interests of any one country. Collective direction of the integration process is the rule.

As shown by 20 years of fraternal cooperation, the assertion and development of the new type of international economic relations is a many-sided, complex process. It can be divided into three main stages: the postwar reorientation of external economic relations towards socially aligned states accelerated by the cold war (late 40s - early 50s); intensive industrialization and the creation of integrated economic complexes incorporating growing economic

ties as an essential element (late 50s-60s); socialist integration as a new phase in economic relations promoting their intensification and progressive forms of cooperation. It is not only a question of the benefits each country gains (optimization of economic complexes, faster utilization of scientific and technological achievements, rational use of raw material resources, etc.). Integration is also prompted by the need to strengthen the socialist community's positions in world economic relations and achieve new gains in the historic competition with capitalism.

By the end of the last five-year period (196-1970), the net foreign trade turnover of the CMEA member-countries, with about one-third of world industrial output, was only 9.7 per cent of the world figure. This is indication of the existence of reserves for enhancing the socialist economy's efficiency through greater participation in international economic exchange.

The Communist Party's strategy is aimed at expanding international socialist division of labor and linking Czechoslovakia's economic development with that of other CMEA member-countries. The results of this policy are apparent. Our trade with other CMEA member-countries is growing faster than the national income, having increased 6.2 times over the last 20 years as compared with a 3.2-fold increase in the national income.

Our economic relations with the Soviet Union are extremely dynamic, with a growth in trade from 1,700 million Koruny in 1948 to 19,300 million in 1971. The Soviet Union's key role in the community of CMEA countries stems first and foremost from its vast economic, scientific and technological potential. Its growing international prestige and impact on world affairs contribute to the prestige of the socialist community as a whole and promote the gradual abandoning of imperialist economic and political discrimination.

Our economic growth cannot be effective without important structural changes based on faster and closer integration with the economies of other socialist countries. That is why we attach such importance to mutual consultations, joint work on five-year plans and long-term economic forecasts, and successful implementation of the Comprehensive Program of Socialist Integration.

An example of useful collective work in machine designing and planning is the CMEA cooperation agreement on planning the manufacture of metal-cutting machine tools. Czechoslovakia has an important part to play in carrying out the agreement, with deliveries of specialized machine tools to the sum of 6,000 million foreign-exchange Koruny to the socialist countries over the period 1971-1975.

For Czechoslovakia the level of cooperation in machine building is one of the main criteria of her incorporation in socialist integration processes. The USSR has been and remains the main partner in this field and the structure of external economic relations with it will shape Czechoslovakia's engineering industry in the coming years.

Our plans up to the year 1990 envisage exports of one-quarter of our machinery and plant output, with imports meeting around 21 per cent of our machinery requirements. Czechoslovakia's total exports to the socialist countries is expected to increase fourfold over the period, with plant and equipment rising fivefold. On the imports side, deliveries of industrial plant are expected to grow sevenfold. Czechoslovakia's participation in socialist economic integration will be most pronounced in such areas as machinery and equipment for nuclear power plants, large-scale projects for manufacturing technological flow-lines, the light, food and chemical industries, and the manufacture of large capacity trucks.

Question: What can you say of bourgeois ideologists' claims that economic relations between the USSR and Czechoslovakia are unequal and structurally to Czechoslovakia's disadvantage?

Vlna: They are utterly groundless. Czechoslovakia's economic co-operation with the Soviet Union is an important factor of stable economic (and not only economic) development. It is based on principles of complete equality and is commercially beneficial to us. The Soviet Union is the largest importer of Czechoslovak machinery, absorbing about 40 per cent of our total engineering industry exports. In the current five-year plan period the share of industrial plant and equipment in deliveries to the Soviet Union is to rise from 59.9 to 64.8 per cent. There is no need to explain the importance of this for an industrially developed country like Czechoslovakia.

Soviet deliveries, in turn, are of key importance to the Czechoslovak economy, helping us as they do to meet 100 per cent of our import requirements in natural gas, 97 per cent in pig iron and nitrogen fertilizers, 94 per cent in oil, 93 per cent in aluminum, 88 per cent in iron ore, 84 per cent in grains. The Soviet Union is also our major supplier of machinery, notably equipment for nuclear power plants, prefabricated housing plants, and the Prague Metro. It also supplies automobiles, tractors, road building and farm machinery, some types of equipment for consumer goods manufacture. And we get all this on a barter basis, i.e., we pay through equivalent reciprocal deliveries of goods instead of in cash as the capitalist world market usually requires.

Question: Won't the principle of state sovereignty clash with the requirements of deeper integration at the stage when cooperation in production takes the form of international enterprises with collective management bodies, etc.?

Vlna: The forms in which state sovereignty is exercised and its very content are historically determined. Integration offers the socialist countries opportunities for exercising their sovereign rights not only through existing national institutions, but in new, collective ways, through participation in international bodies for implementing the common will of the integration partners. Thus, there is no contradiction of principle, though divergent views and differing positions are certainly possible.

Question: In what ways does Czechoslovakia help the development of new national states?

Vltna: We offer, among other things, credits and technical assistance on easy terms, long-term contracts for the purchase of traditional export commodities at fixed prices independent of the fluctuations of the world market, etc. As of January 1, 1972, we introduced a preferential system favorable to the developing countries in respect of imports of farm produce, industrial goods and raw materials. It provides, with a few minor exceptions, for a 50-per cent customs duty discount. The ultimate objective of our customs-tariffs policy with regard to the developing countries is to introduce 'zero duties' on imports of their wares.

Question: Should socialist states deal with the EEC together through the CMEA, or each one separately?

Kempny: The Common Market countries prefer to speak as a bloc – but with each socialist country separately. Obviously, if it is to their advantage to deal as a bloc (even bilateral agreements are endorsed in Brussels), it should be just as much to our advantage to do so, too. Only the Soviet Union can counter-balance the integrated economy of the EEC, and it is the great good fortune of Czechoslovakia, a small, albeit industrially advanced, country, that we can face such a powerful capitalist grouping together with a partner like the USSR and the socialist community.

Economic policy and ideological struggle

The unity of economics, politics and ideology is one of the basic principles of the Marxist-Leninist strategy of development which guides the CPC, like other fraternal parties, in its activity. *Kempny* stressed that the Party approaches its ideological work not abstractly but in close connection with the problems facing the economy, and it tackles them from firm ideological and political positions. In its plans for economic development and efforts to perfect the system of management the Party bases itself on the document, 'Lessons of the Crisis Development in the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and the Society After the 13th CPC Congress,' and the experience of the struggle against opportunism.

Economic revisionism in Czechoslovakia was not a direct product of 1968-1969. It began to appear in the 60s and its ideological sources lie in petty-bourgeois thinking and such latter-day bourgeois ideas as the convergence theory.

Two main things favored the emergence and spread of economic revisionism and opportunism: the unsettled state of important problems of economic policy resulting from subjectivism, and the former CPC leadership's lack of theoretical knowledge and consistency coupled with a powerful, well orchestrated campaign of ideological subversion.

Right-wing opportunist theory and practice were aimed at discrediting and doing away with central economic management bodies, negating the role of planning, divorcing economic leadership from political decision-making, gradual abolition of national ownership and restoration of private enterprise. This unleashed spontaneous

market forces with all the negative consequences for the social and material situation of the working people, and led to the erosion of socialist production relations.

After August 1968, when the fraternal countries' help prevented the total collapse of the socialist economy and political system, the Party's renewal on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and the strengthening of its leading role in society were accompanied by work to restore the principles of socialist economic management. The Party's ideological work in the struggle against revisionism and opportunism was, along with its political and economic activity, the main prerequisite for the society's consolidation after April of 1969. The Central Committee emphasizes the need for leading Party and industrial executives to study and it attaches great importance to the content and effectiveness of economic propaganda.

Roubal dwelt on the CPC's struggle against opportunism and revisionism in economic theory and practice. At different stages—in the fight for power as well as in the course of building socialism—the Communist Party creatively applied the general laws governing the building of the new society to the conditions of an industrially developed nation in formulating its economic strategy.

Socialist construction in Czechoslovakia got off to a good start. The first five-year plan provided for proportional development of the economy and a basically sound qualitative growth. However, aggravation of the international situation and the threat of imperialist aggression forced us to adopt extreme measures. The need to strengthen and defend socialism demanded a considerable acceleration of industrial development, which could not but affect the standards of extended reproduction.

A result of this forced development was a deterioration in the qualitative aspects of economic growth. Huge capital investments prevented the growth of living standards. Disproportions developed, the effects of which can still be felt to this day. Little attention was given to problems of industrial reconstruction and modernization. The situation was further aggravated by failure to take into account the requirements of the beginning scientific and technological revolution. A consequence was a slowing down in the growth rates of social labor productivity.

Right-wing revisionists were quick to exploit negative developments in the Czechoslovak economy. The Communist Party fights them not because they began to speak openly of our reverses. What it resolutely opposes is the tendency to interpret them from anti-Soviet, anti-Communist positions, in the interests of world reaction and imperialism. The Rights tried to present adverse phenomena in the economy as something inherent in socialism or its 'Soviet brand,' allegedly copied by Czechoslovakia. We are against revisionist exaggeration and absolutization of negative phenomena, against ignoring the positive results whose impact on the destinies of Czechoslovak society was decisive. For example, during 1953-1960, the very period the revisionists paint in the blackest colors, retail prices were reduced seven times with a net saving

of around 19,000 million Koruny for the population; the years of the second five-year plan (1956-1960) saw the greatest ever rise of our economy. We reject as theoretically insolvent and politically reactionary revisionist ideas of 'improving' the economy which, if implemented, would undermine the socialist foundations of Czechoslovakia and throw the country back.

The Party's 13th Congress correctly defined the main lines to be followed to overcome difficulties and resolve outstanding problems. But when it got to putting its decisions into effect, the former CPC leadership showed a lack of principle and consistency, an inability to rally Marxist-Leninist forces. This led to the mounting of crisis phenomena in the Party and the society. We criticize that leadership for failing to take advantage of the better conditions and opportunities for quickly resolving them and elaborating and implementing a long-term concept of planned economic development, for gradually relinquishing positions in the Party to Right-wing revisionists.

In the 60s economic development was not guided by five-year plans. The third five-year plan (1961-1965), drawn up in an atmosphere of euphoria over past achievement, was unrealistic from the beginning. No fourth five-year plan was drawn up, and in the 60s the economy was guided only by annual plans though, to be sure, they did achieve some positive results, such as improving the structure of industry and expanding the research base. The advantages of socialism secured a general growth of the productive forces.

But with the passage of time the key issues – *promotion of the scientific-technical revolution and perfection of economic planning* – became more and more pressing. Those were new problems, and the solutions had to be consistent with the socialist system. They were first raised during the second five-year plan, and they became the central point of dispute in the conflict between the Party and the opposition front of opportunists and Right revisionists.

In 1957-1958, the Party set out to substitute an economic-administrative system for the predominantly administrative style of management of the early stage of socialist construction. We set our sights on accelerating technical progress. Then, in the early 60s we elaborated a system of technico-economic management, which combined planning with scientific methods of control, promoting intensification and speeding up technical progress. More extensive use was envisaged of various economic levers.

The economic reform 'model' of Ota Sik and his group, which Right-wing propaganda extolled as a panacea for Czechoslovakia's economic ills, actually ignored the scientific-technical revolution as a crucial factor of economic growth, shifting the emphasis on value and price. Sik overestimated economic levers as a means for regulating extended reproduction. They may have sufficed for the productive forces of the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th century, but the far-reaching changes generated by the scientific-technical revolution steadily reduced the scope of the

market regulation machinery, and required new means, methods and forms of economic control.

The Right revisionists took advantage of the open discussion of economic problems and did their utmost to mislead the public and attack the Party. They lauded Sik's concept of 'incentives,' which spurred individualism and atomization of the society. They denied that group and public interests could be harmonized in the national economic plan and claimed that commodity-money relations would automatically balance the structure of social reproduction. They conceived factories and other enterprises as competing independent units, and thereby negated planned centralized socialist management.

Ultimately, Sik and his crowd began peddling the concept of 'market socialism,' countervailing the Party's conception of economic reform. The price revision made under their influence in 1967 and the accompanying modifications in the price-setting principles tended to disrupt the socialist economy. In 1968 and early 1969 the growth rate in industry and building, and in labor productivity, was less than half of the expected. This precipitated an uncontrolled and unjustifiable growth of wages and cash incomes greatly surpassing growth rates in the economy. Output of some key consumer goods remained stagnant, or even declined, sparking a buying fever that pushed up retail prices. This led to inflation and incipient economic chaos. Total dislocation of the socialist economy was prevented by the vigorous measures of the new Party leadership elected by the April 1969 Plenum of our Central Committee, which fortified the planning principle.

The consolidation of the Party and society rang in a new stage in the country's development and paved the way for the successful solutions of burning problems. The Party's 14th Congress produced a Marxist analysis of the present-day factors of economic growth. 'In the new conditions traditional sources of growth are limited,' Comrade Gustav Husak told the Congress, 'while the new growth factors – mainly the scientific-technical revolution, up-to-date methods of management, and broad socialist international integration – are growing in importance.'

The Party has rejected the revisionist concepts, reaffirming the socialist principles of economic management. But the opportunistic residue in economic theory and practice has not been entirely dissipated. The new methods of control and forecasting geared to the scientific-technical revolution, are sometimes taken too lightly. So is the essence of the scientific-technical revolution and its ways and forms. And some of the concrete economic solutions still bear evidence of traditionalism and technical conservatism. For some, automation, for example, is a thing of the remote future.

The scientific-technical revolution calls for a new approach to management. Purely administrative methods will not do; neither will systems based solely on economic levers. What is needed is a system combining modern methods of management with economic levers – a mechanism of planned guidance based on economic-

mathematical methods, comprehensive programming, computer techniques, and incentives for enterprises and their staffs.

Viewing the elaboration of scientific principles of further economic progress as a matter of prime importance, our Party encourages the creative development of Marxist-Leninist economic theory.

Question: The 13th CPC Congress based its economic reform plan on the recommendations of a commission which included Ota Sik. To what extent did his views influence the reform concept?

Roubal. The commission was formed in 1962, when Sik had not yet adopted revisionist postures on all points of economic theory. His views influenced the recommendations to the extent to which they did not conflict with the Marxist outlook (with allowances for the general level of our economic views of that time). His revisionism surfaced later, somewhere in 1967.

When we launched the economic reform, controversies erupted inside and outside the Party. Due to its weak grasp of theory, the Party leadership yielded to Rightist pressure, and Sik and his crowd gained operational freedom for 'economic experiments.'

Question: Were the enterprise councils of 1968 a form of workers' participation in production management?

Roubal. The councils were set up by Rightist forces brandishing slogans for a new mission of the trade unions, which they conceived as an opposition to the Party and the socialist state. We have since examined their rosters and activity. In effect, they did not involve workers in running the economy. They helped Sik and his crowd to disrupt planned management and to fight for political power. So, they were dissolved; we went back to the earlier, tested, forms of workers' participation: production conferences, trade-union and technical conferences, and rallies of socialist work teams. But we are also searching for new forms of workers' participation.

Question: Did Sik's revisionist views take root among the people?

Roubal. They were widespread among economists, but also among a certain portion of the working class. By intensive ideological work we have essentially overcome the influence of these views, but the survivals of a 'consumer' approach to socialism encouraged by the Right, have not yet been totally eliminated. It is not enough to just negate this individualist approach. We must offset it with a positive program of moulding the socialist life style. That is what we are working for now. The first thing is to vitalize the people's public activity.

Question: What about the economic levers? How are they used now?

Roubal. Economic levers cannot be the mainspring in running a modern economy. The chief instrument is the state plan. Its role has been reinstated. But economic stimulation (cost-accounting, price, profit, credit, and the like) is also invoked, though within the framework of planned economy.

Question: The bourgeois press claims that the Czechoslovak Party has put a stop to the economic reform. Is this true?

Kempny. We have not abandoned the economic reform, but have

cleared it of revisionist and opportunist sediment. The system of management should harmonize dialectically with the plan. It will follow the right direction only when it serves the purposes of the plan. The five-year plan is our main plan, and the system of management is adjusted to it. So, working on our sixth five-year plan, we are also adapting the management system to suit its objectives.

There are three directions here. The first concerns the sphere of organization. We intend to use the Soviet experience, set out in the recent decision of the CC CPSU and the USSR Council of Ministers, making production amalgamations the main link of economic control. We are planning experiments with amalgamations of a research-production type, as distinct from the production-economic variety. And amalgamations will be provided a set of control instruments. At present, targets for production, labor productivity, employment, etc., are set by the State Planning Board, while the financial side of the plan is drawn up by a different administration, and the plan for technical development by still another. Yet, as we see it, all the plans must come from one center, and the production-economic amalgamation should be fully functioning on a cost-accounting basis. Secondly, we want to put planning on a scientific basis – computer techniques, structural analysis, and optimalization – producing several economic solutions for the set problems. Third is the question of stimulation, which covers more than just economic incentives. New elements are appearing. In quite a number of cases, wages and salaries are no longer the basic incentive. The nature of the work, and the satisfaction derived from it by the operator, are becoming cogent factors, offering good opportunities for moulding the new socialist individuals.

The account of the general aspects of Czechoslovakia's economic development was illustrated during visit to industrial enterprises and local Party organizations. The impressions of the tour by the WMR group of representatives of Communist and Workers' parties will appear in the next issue of our journal.

At the walls of the citadel

CONTINUING OUR SERIES 'POLITICAL PORTRAIT OF LATIN AMERICA'

The countries of the Caribbean at the back door of the United States are whetting U.S. imperialist appetites. Powerful U.S. monopolies exploit the resources of these countries, whose geographical situation makes them particularly suitable for military bases and bridge-heads of aggression. For a decade the Caribbean has been one of the world's flashpoints. The liberation fight of its peoples, while varying from country to country as to form, has a common anti-imperialist, anti-oligarchic and democratic content.

Articles on the revolutionary process in Panama, Guatemala, Honduras and El Salvador* have already appeared in the Political Portrait of Latin America series. This instalment deals with Costa Rica, Nicaragua and Puerto Rico.

'NO' TO A PUPPET

Eduardo Mora Valverde
of Costa Rica

To gain a clear idea of the danger posed to the nations of the Caribbean by U.S. imperialism, we must look back on the recent past.

In 1958 the U.S. State Department sent the governments of the Caribbean states, including Costa Rica,** a secret memorandum giving a 'geopolitical' and economic description of Southeast Asia, the Middle East and the Caribbean, regions of strategic value to the United States. For reasons that are still unclear, the President of the republic had the memorandum published in *Diario de Costa Rica* the same year. The gist of the memorandum was as follows: While the three regions listed above are all indispensable to the defense of the 'free world,' the Caribbean may acquire – if it has not yet acquired – the greatest importance for the United States. Orientation on the U.S. and economic cooperation with it 'safeguard' the countries in the area against the 'threat of Communist expansion' in the Western hemisphere.

Shortly after the memorandum was published the revolution triumphed in Cuba. This unprecedented defeat of U.S. imperialism in Latin America necessitated a reappraisal of the ways and means by which the U.S. had tried to maintain its influence on the continent. While they have not renounced their former strategy, in particular direct armed intervention, the imperialists now take greater account in their subversive activities of national traditions, the degree of organization and political consciousness of our peoples, and the program, role and influence of Communist parties. Also, they carefully examine the possibilities of using ultra-Leftists and reformists as their tools. In each Caribbean country they adapt their policy to the local situation.

Washington is alarmed by the policy of the Costa Rican government, which has established relations with several socialist countries, including the Soviet Union, and refuses to join in setting up a Central American armed force. This is due to both the liberation struggle and our people's deep-rooted democratic and anti-militarist

*World Marxist Review, March to June 1973.

**Republic of Costa Rica (area 50,900 sq. km., population 1,790,000, capital San José), an economically underdeveloped agrarian country. Chief export item, coffee. There are gold and silver deposits.

traditions. The North Americans respond with far-flung subversion, pressure through official channels and threats to cut off credits.

Last year the official press of Guatemala and a few other countries began howling about a 'Communist threat' in Costa Rica and the need to 'wrest the country out of Soviet hands,' and 'save' Central America from 'communism.' Furthermore, there was an unusual influx of tourists from Guatemala. Afterwards it transpired that these 'tourists' were agents of Mano Blanca, the organization of fascist terrorists serving the Guatemalan dictatorship and subsidized by the CIA. They were to have assassinated President Figueres and certain ministers and politicians, including Communist leaders. Plans for a coup, to be carried out simultaneously with acts of terrorism, were made under the supervision of the First Secretary of the U.S. Embassy, who was in charge of the Costa Rican branch of the CIA. The foreign conspirators were actively helped by the Free Costa Movement, a reactionary organization financed by big merchants and landowners and the U.S. Embassy.

The opposition had no share in preparations for the coup, not even the Right-wing parties. However, its silence and inaction played into the hands of the reactionaries, whose criminal designs fortunately miscarried. The government exposed the conspirators and expelled the U.S. 'diplomat' concerned and the Mano Blanca agents. The setback compelled the CIA and its agents to change tactics. While persisting in attempts at a coup, they pin their hopes primarily on a change of government as a result of the presidential elections set for February 1974.

The imperialists realize that implementation of plans of this nature with the aid of the traditional parties would come up against serious obstacles. Despite the anti-communism of the leadership of these parties, many influential people in them favor contacts with us and join in common democratic actions. This makes the imperialists look above all to a new political force, the Independent National Party (INP), and its presidential candidate, Jorge Gonzalez Marten, a big shareholder in oil and other monopolies operating on the Pacific Coast.

INP propaganda, conducted on an exceedingly large scale, is directed by foreign and domestic experts in political publicity. Judging by the fuss in the press over the new presidential candidate, U.S. monopolies are giving him appreciable financial backing. He is made out to be a man who can save Costa Rican society from every manner of evil. The INP has already held district, cantonal and provincial meetings according to the electoral law, something which only well-organized and amply subsidized bourgeois parties can afford.

With the backing of big firms advertising American goods in Costa Rica, the INP is out to gain control of the mass media. Public appearances by INP speakers, which are as theatrical as they are demagogic, are reminiscent of fascist speeches of the 30s. Lavish with promises, they arouse a certain interest among the politically

backward. The INP also tries to win over anti-Communist elements in the traditional Right-wing parties.

In collaboration with domestic reaction, U.S. imperialism is carrying on a vast, unprecedented campaign of lies and calumnies to mislead Costa Ricans and confuse public opinion. The point at issue is whether Costa Rica will embark on further democratization after February 1974 or whether it will become a country trailing in the wake of U.S. imperialist policies.

Costa Rica's democratic organizations must therefore make an earnest appraisal of the situation. Unless we launch a powerful and effective campaign against the new political force, the potential danger of fascism may soon become reality. In these conditions the Communists – the People's Vanguard Party of Costa Rica – call for the unity of all forces opposed to the nominee of monopoly and reaction.

Considerable headway has been made towards unity of action of the trade unions and the masses. Workers, peasants, students, intellectuals and various local organizations in urban neighborhoods and rural communities support actions for pressing demands. Communist unity efforts resulted in the nomination of Manuel Mora Valverde, our Party's General Secretary, as presidential candidate of Socialist Action, an alignment of Left-wing forces.

Our appeal for unity in the election campaign does not imply any relaxation of the effort to establish a genuinely democratic front. It is a step towards this. By rallying forces against the imperialists' candidate, we are bringing nearer the time when a broad coalition capable of leading the country to democracy and progress for the good of the working people will be set up.

A SUCCESSION OF CRIMES

Roberto DUCH
Nicaraguan Journalist

On December 23, 1972 Managua, the Nicaraguan capital, was destroyed by an earthquake. The calamity resulted in 10,000 killed, 20,000 wounded and hundreds of thousands of homeless. The material damage is estimated at almost \$800 million. The entire economy was affected and it will take another \$1,000 million to rehabilitate it. Anastasio Somoza Jr., the present dictator, decided to capitalize on the disaster.

The founder of the ruling clique, Anastasio Somoza Sr., took power with the aid of U.S. bayonets almost 40 years ago. This tyrant was killed in 1956 and the 'crown of the dynasty' passed on to his sons, Luis and Anastasio Jr. In 1967 the latter was 'elected' President for a five-year term.

The years of rule by Somoza family have been an uninterrupted succession of crimes. Suppression of the recalcitrant and the

assassination of political opponents have become a standard of domestic life. Somoza uses terror to prevent every manifestation of organized protest by poverty-stricken people. One-fourth of the able-bodied population, or 150,000 out of 600,000, is jobless. After the earthquake the proportion of unemployed in Managua alone soared to 100,000.

Nicaragua* is dependent, both economically and politically, on U.S. imperialism, which controls the nation's transport and home and foreign trade. Somoza, who is selling away our national wealth and sovereignty, is a depraved and cynical flunkey of the Americans and an enemy of our people and other peoples of the continent. During his visit to the Dominican Republic in March 1972, he said he was ready to send troops to any Latin American country 'if necessary.'

Somoza and his kin need power to amass wealth and satisfy their ambitions. They are among the biggest landowners and their property comprises coffee and cane plantations, a monopoly on cement production and a large batch of shares in the timber, textile, metallurgical and building industries. There is a port on the Pacific bearing Somoza's name. It was built with government funds but belongs to the ruling clique, which looks on Nicaragua as a family estate.

Somoza's term of office expired in May 1972. The Constitution does not permit re-election for a second term and so a new President and parliament were to have been elected in February of that year. But Somoza was rescued by the leadership of the Traditionalist Conservative and Liberal Nationalist parties, which in the years of dictatorship had repeatedly covered it up with the fig-leaf of 'constitutionalism.' The two parties resolved to stop bickering for a while. They made a deal to put off the presidential elections to September 1974 and hold elections to a 'constituent' assembly instead of to parliament. They agreed that the assembly would elect a triumvirate, a junta of three, to rule the country until elections. They assigned 60 of the 100 seats in the assembly and two of the three seats on the junta to the Liberal Party, which for 40 years has been fully controlled by Somoza. The assembly was also to have amended the Constitution, which prohibits re-election of the head of state. In short, the producers of the electoral show, master-minded by Somoza, wanted through this move to accomplish the ruling classes' chief strategic task, that is, keep the hated dictatorship in power. The domestic oligarchs and the imperialist monopolies need Somoza to safeguard their privileges. It is not the dictator that they dread but the people.

Nicaraguans demonstrated their attitude to the regime in February 1972. In response to the Communists' call, one-third of the voters refused to take part in the election to the 'constituent' assembly. However, this was not enough to end the comedy. In May

*The Republic of Nicaragua (area 148,000 sq. km., population 1,980,000) is an economically underdeveloped agrarian country. It grows cotton, coffee, sugar cane, rice, maize, beans and vegetables. It mines gold, silver and copper and has begun extracting oil.

1972, Somoza Jr., invoking the 'will of the electorate,' transferred power to the triumvirate, saying cynically that the vote was a more powerful means than the rifle or the stake at which people are shot, and a more convincing argument than exile.

The history of our continent has hardly ever seen a dictatorship so inhuman towards a people in distress. Somoza made a fortune out of the people's misfortune by appropriating the greater part of the relief sent by various countries. With speculative intent he had about 90,000 lbs. of olive oil sent to Costa Rica for storing, and several thousand dollars' worth of dairy products went to Honduras and El Salvador.

At the same time Somoza took steps to safeguard his rule. He decided to take advantage of the situation and pick up the reins of power without awaiting constitutional amendments or a presidential election. He declared a state of emergency, imposed a curfew, set up special courts to deal with the discontented and ordered several dozens of political prisoners shot 'while trying to escape.' After that he made short shrift of patriotic army officers who had conspired to overthrow him. Over 50 of them were put to death. Fearing further unrest, he asked the United States for help. The Pentagon, 'true to its duty of ally,' sent in 5,000 Marines and Green Berets from the Panama Canal Zone, and the tyrant used them to disarm several hundred National Guardsmen whom he did not trust.

However, all this was merely the prelude to the chief act, Somoza's resumption of power. After the earthquake all power was exercised by an emergency national council under Somoza. A while later the 'constituent' assembly was made to pass a law forming a Ministry of National Rehabilitation with powers exceeding the authority of the triumvirate. Somoza became the head of this 'super-ministry.'

And so Somoza is still in power and the people's tragedy continues. However, discontent is gaining ground in Nicaraguan society, spreading to workers and peasants. Other social strata and groups are in ferment. To fight the brutal dictatorship is the duty of every patriot of our country irrespective of party allegiance or ideological convictions. The situation is no longer what it was 10 to 15 years ago. There is dissatisfaction with the regime even among members of the Liberal and Conservative parties. It is beginning to involve the National Guard as well.

The increased militancy of the urban and rural proletariat, the peasants and students, has made for more manifestations of opposition. Much of the credit for this is due to the Communists. While we cannot as yet tell about their heroic struggle deep underground, in the face of savage persecution and repression, we believe the day is not far off when the whole country will learn their names.

The people's political activity is also fostered by serious changes in the world and a marked upswing in the national liberation movement on our continent, where more and more countries are setting out to fight for sovereignty and social and economic progress. All this makes us confident of ultimate victory.

But the Somoza tyranny will not fall of itself – it must be overthrown. Hence the main task today is to rally all patriots in a united front, on a common platform of demands and action. This is the only way in which the corrupt regime can be removed.

STOLEN FREEDOM

Juan Miguel TAMAYO
Puerto Rican Communist

The history of our people is one of struggle against colonialists. A widespread movement for independence and the international campaign of solidarity with the Puerto Rican people are forcing the colonialists to maneuver. Thus, in 1952, our island was proclaimed a self-governing political unit 'voluntarily associated' with the United States. U.S. propaganda announced a 'new era' in relations between the United States and Puerto Rico.*

The new facade changed nothing, for the colonial order was left intact. Now as in the past, the United States controls executive, legislative and judicial power in our country, makes decisions on economy, foreign policy and trade, military service and citizenship. To check the spread of the ideas of the Cuban revolution, the colonialists tried in the 60s to make Puerto Rico a show-case of the 'free world.' A much advertised development program was drawn up. U.S. propaganda did its utmost to assure the world that Puerto Rico had been transformed into an earthly paradise. Well, it is a paradise – for the monopolies.

U.S. monopolies own industrial enterprises and sugar plantations, textile mills and insurance companies, hotels and shops. They control 80 per cent of the national economy and have already drained out over \$1,500 million in profits. They enjoy tax exemptions as well. Our country has been turned into a raw-materials appendage of the United States, a profitable market for manufactured goods and agricultural surplus products. 'We do not consume what we produce, nor do we produce what we consume,' say Puerto Ricans.

A substantial proportion of the able-bodied population is fully or partly unemployed. Puerto Ricans are paid one-third of what '100 per cent' Americans get. At the same time the cost of living in our country is 25 per cent higher than in the United States. To pay an enormous foreign debt, the population is made to shoulder one of the world's heaviest tax burdens.

The island has been turned into an armory of U.S. imperialism. The U.S. military, who have seized over 13 per cent of the country's fertile lands and the small islands of Vieques and Culebra, have built 14 large military bases, including bases for atomic bombers, long-range missiles and naval units. It was from here that Cuba was attacked in 1961 and the Dominican Republic in 1965. War

*Puerto Rico (area, including the Vieques, Culebra and Mona islands, 8,896 sq. km., population 2,840,000, capital San Juan) is a backward agrarian country specializing in sugar production.

games held at regular intervals cause much destruction and expose the population to mortal hazards. Puerto Ricans are against their territory being used by the Pentagon as a bridgehead for aggression. This was confirmed by a recent poll in which 93.3 per cent of the participants declared for the withdrawal of U.S. troops and the abolition of the military bases.

There is a growing movement against the further subjugation of Puerto Rico and against attempts to make it a '51st' member of the American Union. Patriots stage meetings, demonstrations, strikes and protest marches, distribute progressive literature, form national liberation committees, leagues and groups, send the UN information exposing U.S. colonialist policy and maintain contact with foreign organizations backing our struggle. What we must do first and foremost is to save ourselves as a nation, said Emilio Diaz Valcarcel, the Puerto Rican author.

The struggle for the country's liberation links up closely with class action. Over 100 strikes took place last year. Our working class is growing stronger organizationally and politically. It owes this, in particular, to the United Working-Class Movement, a progressive trade union organization of recent origin which upholds the working people's interests. Peasants are beginning to join in class battles. The recent period has seen more and more landless peasants seize lands owned by the U.S. United Fruit Co., or big domestic proprietors. Troops have been used against the peasants, but to no avail.

The Communist Party, which operates in an atmosphere of terror and persecution, is in the forefront of the fight for freedom and independence. Communists do much to bring about a broad anti-imperialist front. They are very active in the ideological field. *El Pueblo* and other Communist publications expose the U.S. policy of plunder and oppression in Puerto Rico and mobilize patriots to fight for national freedom.

Communist activity and influence frighten the colonialists. A vast repressive machinery is used against progressives. It includes army and marine units, FBI and CIA agents and the police. There are round-ups ending in mass arrests. Young Puerto Ricans who refuse to serve in the U.S. Army are hounded. Gangs of hired murderers, including many Cuban counter-revolutionaries, set fire to the offices of patriotic organizations, attempt to murder leaders, and blow up progressive bookshops.

But no amount of repression or terror can make us stop fighting. We love our country and want it to regain its freedom with the people exercising their inalienable right to self-determination and independence.

Colonialist policy of Israeli aggressors

Naim Ashhab

Member CC, Jordanian CP

It has for long been an urgent problem to establish a fair and lasting peace in the Middle East in accordance with the Security Council and UN General Assembly resolutions, requiring the withdrawal of Israeli troops from occupied Arab territories, the restoration of the rights of the Palestinian Arab people and the elimination of the other consequences of Israel's aggression. A solution is blocked by Tel-Aviv, which persists in its expansionist aim of imposing a 'peace from positions of strength.'

Addressing students in Haifa in February, Israeli Prime Minister Golda Meir said the Middle-East crisis should be resolved by 'unconditional direct negotiations.' But among the 'preliminary conditions' which the Israeli rulers thus rejected out of hand they also list the Security Council resolution of November 22, 1967. More, the Israeli leaders declare that in all circumstances and by any means they intend to retain control of at least part of the overrun territory. In a *Time* interview, Golda Meir said: 'The Arabs have no way to regain Jerusalem but to fight for it and triumph in this war.' And of the Golan Heights in Syria: 'I do not imagine that anyone in Israel is so insane as to agree to give them up.' As for Egypt's Sharm El Sheikh area, she described it as 'a vital passage for us to Africa and Asia.'

Some Israeli leaders suggest 'concessions' to Jordan, which they not unreasonably regard as the weakest link in the 'Arab front.' Their proposal is to give back the west bank. That is the substance of the Allon Plan, named for the Israeli Premier's deputy. The plan envisages Israeli settlements and military posts all along the river (in this regard, it is already being implemented). Then, should the territory be eventually 'returned,' it will be cut off from Jordan and its annexation will be a fait accompli.

But even the mere mention of a 'concession,' however spurious it may be, is vigorously opposed by Defense Minister Moshe Dayan, leader of the Israeli militarists. Addressing a meeting of the 'settlers organization' of the ruling Israeli Labor Party, he said he did not agree with the Allon Plan and saw the ideal solution in keeping the situation as it is, i.e., in occupation. And speaking before the World Council of the Jewish Agency in Jerusalem, he amplified: 'The western bank, which I prefer to call Yahouda and Shamroun, is our homeland.'

The idea, therefore, is to maintain the state of 'no peace, no war,' which, in effect, signifies the continued occupation of Arab lands.

In line with this strategy, Tel-Aviv is determined to frustrate any initiative that may pave the way to an accommodation of the Middle East crisis. And there is no more conclusive proof of this than the posture of the Israeli spokesman at the special UN Security Council discussion at Egypt's request in summer 1973.

The Israeli rulers do not shrink from the foulest of crimes to stoke up the tension. This, indeed, is the motive behind such acts of international brigandage as the shooting down of a Libyan airliner, raiding Palestine refugee camps in Al-Badawi and on the Al-Barid river, and the cold-blooded murder of prominent Palestinian resistance leaders in Beirut.

As the Israeli rulers see it, the Arab world is incapable of any effective action at present, and unable to settle the issue either by military or diplomatic means.

The brazenness of the aggressors feeds on the military, political, economic and financial aid of imperialist countries, notably the United States. Suffice it to recall the \$1,100 million which Israel received from the USA in the past two years. The flow of U.S. arms, too, continues. Golda Meir's visit to Washington last February culminated in a U.S. promise of another 48 Phantoms and Skyhawks. The idea is to assure Israel's military superiority, which Tel-Aviv and its imperialist backers euphemistically style 'balance of strength in the Middle East.'

Tel-Aviv hopes that its policy of 'ready-made realities' will with the passage of time sanctify Israel's final possession of the vast territories occupied in 1967.* The central point of this policy is to build Zionist settlements in the occupied land on the plea of religious and historical rights, the compulsion of having safe borders, and other specious reasons. Dayan, who is sometimes called king of the occupied territories, said in so many words: 'Nowadays, I do not think there is a special importance to the security aspect of settlement. But I consider settlement . . . of extreme importance . . . in creating the political realities.' And he added: 'We . . . would not give up any place where we may establish a settlement or a security settlement post.'

Israel is digging deeper into the Arab lands it overran in 1967.

The expropriation follows a definite pattern: first, a piece of land is declared a military zone, then it is fenced off, and then begins the building and settlement.

Answering a question by the Communist member of Knesset, Tawfiq Toubi, on February 26, 1973, Moshe Dayan said the confiscation of 40,000 dounums** of land belonging to the village of Toubas in the region of Nablus was motivated by 'security reasons.' The peasants defied the order and planted their crops,

*In the 1967 war Israel occupied the west bank of the Jordan, the Golan Heights in Syria and Egypt's Sinai Peninsula - an area totalling 66,642 sq. km., that is, triple Israel's own area before the war.

**Dounum = 0.1 hectare.

which were promptly destroyed by poison. Subsequently, a new Zionist settlement, Nahal Geetit, was established there.

Another example. One morning last December, the people of the village of Eskaria in the Bethlehem governorship woke up to find that the Israeli colonialists of the neighboring settlement of Kfar Asyoun had bulldozed 1,500 dunums planted to grapes and other fruit, and eventually annexed the land.

Things like the Eskaria seizure, though said to be committed by the settlers off their own bat, are really inspired by the occupation authorities. Speaking before colonists in the Arab town of Hebron, Moshe Dayan declared: 'I am your bulldozer. Go to Hebron and everything will be all right.'

The Israelization of the Arab part of Jerusalem is in high gear. The houses of the local people are torn down, whole blocks are demolished. The scene is being set for the Zionist plan of settling the city's Arab part with 100,000 Jewish immigrants by 1975. This is in flagrant violation of the UN resolution that measures aimed at 'changing the character' – read annexation – of the Arab part of Jerusalem, are to be reversed.

In the region of Khan Ahmer, east of Jerusalem, the occupation authorities seized 70,000 dunums of land and are preparing to establish a town, Ma'ale Adoum. In December 1972 they decided to set up a 'territorial center' on the outskirts of Rafah in execution of Dayan's project of a big port south of Gaza as a staging point for colonialist expansion in the north of Sinai.

Many of the Israeli settlements established on captured and confiscated land are often administered by members of Nahal* and similar organizations.

Construction sites are selected for their strategic location.** The eight settlements on the outskirts of Rafah, for example, are like a belt that cuts off the Gaza Strip from Egypt.

All this is part of the traditional Zionist policy of decimating the Arab population of Palestine, and now also of the newly-occupied areas, and settling the territory with Jewish immigrants. To 'encourage' the Arabs to move out, the Israelis employ economic pressure, political intimidation, and terrorism. Nearly half the 2,000,000 Arab population of Palestine was ousted in this manner in 1948, and another 400,000 together with thousands of Egyptians and Syrians in the captured lands in 1967.

The Israeli rulers deny the lawful rights of the Palestinian Arab people recorded in the resolutions of many international bodies, and notably their right to political self-determination. Golda Meir, for example, said she did not recognize Palestinians as 'legal subjects,' and added: 'Up to 1967 we had not heard of them at all.' Asked by a British TV correspondent if the Palestinians would some

*Noar Haloutsi Lohem, a paramilitary youth organization of so-called soldier-farmers in border settlements.

**The Israeli aggressors draw on past experience: the fortified settlements they had established along the border of West Jordan, in the Gaza area and Sinai were used as jump-off points in the 1967 war.

day have their own state, she said: 'There is no place for this, and it is not necessary.' And asked if she was ready to sit down at one table with the Palestinians and talk terms, she replied: 'No, because we have no negotiations with the Palestinians, nor have we any proposals for them.' On March 16, 1972, the Knesset passed a decision that 'the historical right of the Jewish people in Palestine is indisputable.'

In pursuance of this 'historical right,' Israel intends to liquidate the Arab Palestinian people as a people, whether by demolishing their national economy and culture or by physical annihilation. By way of an illustration of these intentions here is Menahim Beegen, leader of Hairut, a Rightist Israeli party. Addressing a punitive unit of the Israeli army, he said: 'You, Israelis, should never have mercy in your hearts when you kill your enemies. You should never be kind to them, so that we may undermine the so-called Arab culture.'

But the spirit of the Arab people is unbroken. If their struggle is in a somewhat lower key of late, this is due first of all to the difficulties and complications that surfaced in the Arab world chiefly following the liquidation of the resistance movement's bases in Jordan.*

The only political organization really active in the two zones of Jordan – the occupied and unoccupied – is the Jordanian Communist Party. Working underground, it is putting out regular clandestine editions of its newspaper, *Al-Watan*, and the politico-theoretical journal, *Al-Hakika*, and also special publications when necessary. In our publications we summon the people to resist the Israeli invaders, and expose the crimes of the occupation forces. Party activists distribute leaflets printed underground, write patriotic slogans on house walls, and organize demonstrations and strikes. This is reported in the bourgeois press. 'Whereas the authorities have succeeded in destroying the infrastructure of all the fedayin organizations,' writes Eric Roleau of *Le Monde*, 'the Jordanian Communist Party, though forced underground, appears to be growing, judging from the journals, the theoretical magazine and the leaflets which it distributes in profusion.'

Our Party's political course, confirmed by the real development of events, coupled with its loyalty to the people and its tenacity in struggle, has won it the confidence of the masses, has added to its prestige, and has turned it into a force that the enemy is compelled to reckon with.

The Party has always advocated unity of the fighters against the Israeli invaders. In the wake of the June aggression in 1967, it played a decisive part in organizing committees of national guidance, and later the popular resistance front. Both these organizations are nuclei for the more representative and stable national front that we are now trying to form.**

*See Naim Ashhab in *WMR*, May 1972.

**See Salem Khalil, *WMR*, June 1973.

Our Party seeks close cooperation with the patriotic forces in other occupied territories, particularly the Marxist organization in Gaza, and the united national front led by that Marxist organization in the Gaza Strip. Of late, the Palestine resistance groups have begun to understand that the struggle must be fought in the framework of a broad patriotic alliance, combining armed resistance with political work. New ground for unity is appearing in the battle against the Israeli invaders.

Political gains of detente

Commentary

The latest international changes have evoked deep and sincere satisfaction throughout the world. Small wonder, for every step lessening tension makes the threats and fears of the cold war recede farther into the past, inspiring confidence in the future. That alone is enough for the world to welcome the normalization of relations between states of the opposite systems. But this mainly *emotional* appreciation of the latest developments should not obscure our view of the more fundamental *political* implications.

People who know politics also know that détente is a complicated process involving a heterogeneous set of partners and an intricate interlacement of disparate interests. Historically, today and in the longer term, international détente should be seen as a form of struggle between conflicting class-political forces.

Official U.S. propaganda suggests that the new situation was wrought largely by Washington's proclaimed policy of converting the 'era of confrontation' into an 'era of negotiation.' In Europe's case the same interpretation is attached to Bonn's *Ostpolitik*. And, admittedly, the retailoring of U.S. and FRG (and other capitalist states) foreign policy has left its mark. It paved the way to a more level-headed and realistic approach to the most fundamental of all the international problems of our age – the relations between states with different social systems. In other words, to adjust to the realities of the present-day world, imperialist foreign policy has had to assimilate peaceful coexistence in ever larger doses.

But the historical initiative in advancing the coexistence idea and promoting it in international affairs belongs to socialism. Elaborated by Lenin, it became the cornerstone of the foreign policy

of the world's first socialist state. In recent years the countries of the socialist community acted on an unprecedented scale and with great vigor to convert the spirit and letter of peaceful coexistence into a universally recognized norm of international relations. And, by and large, events are following the course that the socialist countries had endeavored to set for them. This is easily seen, by, say, comparing the Peace Program of the 24th CPSU Congress point by point with what we are now witnessing on the international scene.

The effectiveness of socialism's foreign policy stems from the fact that, on the one hand, the world balance has tilted in its favor, and that, on the other, it reflects a truly scientific understanding of the objective factors affecting the attitudes of all states, and bringing home to their leaders that global nuclear disaster is the only alternative to peaceful coexistence.

None will deny that every new twist in the spiral of détente is yielding definite political gains to the socialist states. This is admitted even by commentators generally inclined to scorn the achievements of socialism.

Take the all-European security and cooperation conference. The *London Observer's* diplomatic correspondent describes its convocation as a materialization of what 'has been a target of Soviet policy for several years.'* *Le Monde* describes it as 'an incontestable victory for Kremlin diplomacy, which has in these past years promoted its old project of a Pan-European conference with rare tenacity.'** And taking a more sweeping view of Soviet foreign policy in a general international context, U.S. political observer C. L. Sulzberger writes: 'If one looks back on international developments over the last decade, it is impossible to avoid the conclusion that Soviet policy has registered impressive gains.'***

The impact of these assessments is underscored by their author's preference of the logic of the facts to their own political partialities. All the same, it is probably proper here to remember the wisdom of caution if you find yourself the object of your enemy's praise. In the present case, caution is certainly called for in face of the contention that the whole multifaceted process of détente is an unbroken series of gains for socialist foreign policy. It is one thing to say that détente responds to the interests of socialism, but quite another to maintain that it is in its *sole* interests.

The spurious claim that the socialist states are the only ones to gain from the current easing has been central of late in the rear-guard actions fought by the protagonists of the cold war. It is the 'trump-card' assiduously exploited by Senator Henry Jackson, who for as much as a year has been drumming it into the ears of his compatriots, his Capitol Hill colleagues and NATO parliamentarians that the Soviet-American agreements restraining the arms race

**The Observer*, June 10, 1973.

***Le Monde*, June 9, 1973.

****The International Herald Tribune*, December 4, 1972.

violate the parity principle and put advantages into the hands of the Soviet Union. No less persistent are his claims of 'American losses' and 'Russian gains' in the reviving commercial intercourse. He is seconded by several other Congressmen who, to cite the *Washington Post*, contend that though economic cooperation may yield certain advantages to the United States, the net gain is all on the side of the Soviet Union.*

The theme is echoed in many of the commentaries on the Vienna understanding concerning the countries that are to participate in the coming talks on force reductions in Central Europe. Hungary's exclusion is portrayed as a unilateral gain for the socialist states, putting the NATO allies at a disadvantage. What is passed over in silence is that the West gets an identical gain from the exclusion of Italy. To be sure, it is probably pointless arguing the case against intractable and preconceived judgments, such as the one by the *London Times*: 'However carefully balanced any force cuts may be, they seem certain to favor Russia.'**

West-German reaction, too, harps on the one-sided advantages allegedly accruing to the German Democratic Republic and the other socialist countries from their treaties with Bonn. Joseph Strauss' ridiculous appeal to the Constitutional Court concerning the treaty on the principles of relations between the two German states is an illustration of how desperately the Right opposition is trying to prevail on FRG public opinion that in joining the process of European détente the Brandt government has made 'uncompensated concessions.' In much the same vein, Axel Springer's *Die Welt* had not the slightest intention of applauding Soviet foreign policy when it described the gain carried home by Leonid Brezhnev from his Bonn visit as greater than anyone could have imagined. The purpose is to present the improvement of Soviet-FRG cooperation as favoring the USSR to the detriment of West Germany's 'national interests'***

And though the outlines of a sound new start in Soviet-Japanese relations are only just beginning to be visible, warnings have already been sounded in Tokyo against the 'special advantages' this would yield to the Soviet Union. The *Hokkaido Shimbun*, for example, reported 'apprehension' in Japan's military quarters that the development of the Tyumen oilfields as part of the projected Soviet-Japanese cooperation would fortify the resources and mobility of the Soviet navy in the Far East.****

The world press is also crowded with reports that Chinese political propaganda is doing its inadequate best to back up these constructions. The large Chinese delegation that toured Japan in April-May went out of its way to frighten the Japanese with a 'strength-

**Washington Post*, June 10, 1973.

***The Times*, June 18, 1973.

****Die Welt*, May 23, 1973.

*****Hokkaido Shimbun*, May 6, 1973.

ened Soviet Union' if Tokyo were to expand economic cooperation with the USSR. And high-ranking Western visitors to Peking are told greater security in Europe is giving the Soviet Union a 'unilateral gain' in the Far East.

The underlying purpose is to suit the old tale of a 'Soviet military threat' to the new situation: now the talk is of 'Russian diktat in a peace setting.'

In fact, however, détente now and in future is inconceivable unless the parity principle is observed. It is puerile to think, for example, that the far-reaching decisions arrived at during the CC CPSU General Secretary's visits to the FRG, USA and France could have been possible if they had been solely in the interest of the Soviet Union. And just as childish is it to assume that all other international agreements that paved the way to détente could have been concluded if they had departed from the principles of mutual interest and mutual advantage.

In the case of interstate relations, détente obviously knows neither victor nor loser. The easing in international affairs serves the interest of all countries.

But how does this square with the concept of détente as a form of class-political struggle?

Firstly, every new step in consolidating world peace will, as before, necessarily involve struggle. Imperialist reaction goes to all lengths to hamstring the relaxation of tension. It is senseless, therefore, to rely on the inertia of détente. Détente will not make headway, unless the sound forces of the world work together with undiminishing energy to make the present turn in international relations irreversible. This is a central point in the program of the general democratic movement. And every fresh success in fortifying the peace is therefore legitimately a new gain for progress.

Secondly, the détente is shaping in the context of the central class contradiction of our time. Economic cooperation between states of different social systems presupposes deeper economic competition between socialism and capitalism. The socialist economy gains added opportunities to augment its efficiency through the advantages of the international division of labor, which broaden its access to the latest achievements of world science and technology. Coupled with the social advantages of socialism's economic organization this augurs a considerable expansion of its material and technical basis.

The détente also adds to the complexity and intensity of the ideological struggle. For one thing, it brings home to the peoples the organic unity of socialism and peace. This substantially increases the power of attraction of socialist ideas, and cuts the ground from under the anti-communists. As a result, the spiritual crisis of capitalism becomes much more acute. *The Times* as much as admits this. 'The proper way for the West to cope with the détente,' it says, 'is to use it as an opportunity for re-examining

Western societies, looking at some of the failures that provide a breeding ground for rival ideologies, and making new efforts at political education, which has been disastrously neglected.'*

Thirdly, it was initiatives of the Communist and Workers' parties that gave impulse to some of the most significant current changes. Take the 1967 proposals of their Karlovy Vary Conference for European collective security, and the program of anti-imperialist and anti-war action of their International Meeting in 1969, including, among other things, the inspiring ideas of the 'Appeal in Defense of Peace.' The Communists have always been the vanguard in the world struggle for peace. Consequently, the détente yields palpable gains to the Communist parties, if only by raising their prestige and influence for having worked for it, in contrast to those who were merely swept up by the march of events.

Fourthly, in societies rent by class antagonisms an international thaw is oppressive to the Right wing, while opening up the way for new advances to the revolutionary, progressive forces. Of course, this should not lead to any simplistic deduction that changes in the world automatically revolutionize the situation in every capitalist country. But that they tilt the political pendulum leftward is beyond question.

The removal of the ideologico-political road blocks of the cold war has had its beneficial effect on the battle for Left unity in France. In the FRG, the Right opposition failed to recapture power chiefly because of the détente-oriented *Ostpolitik*. In Italy, it was not only inability to cope with the nation's domestic problems, but also inability to play the due international role in détente, that led to the downfall of the Center-Right cabinet. And the latest election gains of the Communists and Socialists in Japan, of the Labor Party in Australia and New Zealand, and the radicalization of the Labor Party's program in Britain, all fall into a common pattern with the developing détente.

While handcuffing reaction and emasculating its everlasting appeals to 'security reasons,' the international thaw gives the proletariat, the people, all diplomatic forces, added scope in their struggle for economic and social gains, and imparts a new dimension to their political activity.

Those are the unquestionable gains that accrue from the détente for socialism, for the democratic and Left forces, for the masses of the entire world. In this sense we might indeed speak of unilateral gains. But they do not derive from the terms of the interstate agreements. Nor do they involve any violation of the principles of equality and mutual advantage in international cooperation. They follow from the logic of the present class confrontation, when the very course of events accentuates the superiority of socialism as the most advanced social system and of Marxism-Leninism as the theory and ideology that shows the way to practical solutions for the most acute social and international problems.

Jan Prazsky

*The Times, March 12, 1973.



Consolidating cooperation

Carlos Alba
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Unity and cooperation within the Communist movement is a key principle of Marxist-Leninist theory and vital to revolutionary practice. Marx and Engels worked tirelessly to coordinate the activities of the early Communist leagues, and Lenin continued the job, giving it powerful impulse and aligning it with the new epoch ushered in by the October Socialist Revolution.

The experience of the past decades has shown that the more profound the international solidarity of Communists, Marxist-Leninists, the greater is the success of the individual contingents of the revolutionary movement. Our closer unity makes a powerful impact on all other progressive forces and helps to build unity around common programs.

The revolutionary movement of our time and the rapid development of world events call for a further extension of international Communist cooperation. K. Tellalov and F. Fuernberg dealt with these manifold and complicated problems in recent issues of this journal.* We wish to contribute to this discussion, dwelling on the experience and some lessons of cooperation between Latin American Communist parties, the experience and effects of concerted international action by Communists on the activities of the Parties of our continent and on some factors which call for a higher level of joint work by Marxist-Leninists.

Latin American parties have a rich history of international cooperation. Undoubtedly, 1929 marked the beginning of a new era when, on Comintern initiative, the first conference of Latin American parties took place in Buenos Aires. Fifteen parties were represented and a delegation was present from the Communist Party of the USA.

This Conference unequivocally declared that the main enemy of the working class and peoples of Latin America was foreign monopoly capital, primarily Yankee imperialism, and the landed oligarchy. The Communists were the first to make clear that these were the class forces obstructing the national and social liberation

*WMR, Nos. 5 and 6, 1973.

of the Latin American peoples, and the first to center all revolutionary action against them.

This was no easy task, especially as two tendencies influenced the struggle at that time: sectarianism tinged with anarchism made no distinction between foreign monopoly and national capital, between the various strata of the national bourgeoisie; it rejected alliance between workers and poor peasants, and other sections of the people. On the other hand, there was the bourgeois nationalist trend, favoring cooperation with North American imperialism and causing the emergence of a multi-class party led by petty-bourgeois intellectuals. At the 1929 Conference the APRA Party, which represented this opportunist trend, was subjected to sharp criticism.

It is noteworthy that the revolution in Latin America was described by the Conference as anti-imperialist, agrarian and bourgeois-democratic, its aim being a deep-going agrarian reform and nationalization of imperialist enterprises; its moving forces were the working class and the peasantry, with the working class playing the leading role. The Conference noted in particular that neither the petty bourgeoisie nor other sections of the national bourgeoisie that had a vital stake in this revolution, could, due to their dual nature, lead the revolution. One of the resolutions expressed solidarity with Sandino, who was leading a war of liberation in Nicaragua against invading U.S. troops.

The Parties undoubtedly benefited from the collective theoretical analysis of the existing socio-political factors and trends made by the Conference, and its assessment of the character and motive forces of the revolutionary actions, as well as its rejection of opportunism and exposure of sectarian tendencies. The 1929 Conference '... laid the foundations, developed and enriched in the ensuing years, for the ideological and organizational consolidation of the Communist Parties of Latin America and the formulation of their programs.'*

Later, other conferences were held and joint work extended. The international Communist meetings held in 1957 and 1960 provided fresh impetus to cooperation and unity between the Parties.

The Conference of Latin American Communist Parties held in Havana in 1964 was a significant milestone. Among its more important decisions was the resolution on solidarity with Cuba and joint struggle against the economic blockade and aggression by North American imperialism. Delegates were also concerned about the unity of the international Communist movement and adopted a resolution, saying that '... such unity is the fundamental guarantee of the success of our struggle against imperialism, for national and social liberation of the peoples, for world peace and for the building of socialism and communism.' Further, it stated: '... Firm steps must be taken to achieve unity and ... to hold the necessary meeting or meetings of all Marxist-Leninist parties.'

*V. Codovilla, *Trabajos Escogidos*, Buenos Aires, 1972, Vol. I, p. 48.

In the 60s a series of regional conferences took place. Communists of the Central American countries, Panama and Mexico held five meetings. One of the resolutions expressed solidarity with Cuba and another one exposed the economic integration promoted by North American imperialist capital. In the southern countries of the continent several bilateral and multilateral meetings followed on each other. They all stressed the importance of international Communist unity and condemned disruptive activity. Thus, the meeting of the Brazilian and Argentinian Communist parties on July 15, 1967 denounced the Maoist clique for its 'divisive and great-power chauvinist policy.' The meeting of the Colombian and Argentinian Communist parties on August 12, 1968 likewise stated that Maoist activities 'make the struggle against imperialism more difficult,' and that 'the bourgeois-nationalist and Right-opportunist views generating these positions are contrary to the principles of proletarian internationalism.' There was unqualified support for the heroic people of Vietnam. The Peruvian and Argentinian parties at their meeting on August 10, 1968, pointed out that '. . . it is the duty of all Communist parties and the international working class to defend the gains of socialism.'

The more than 40 years' experience of cooperation and coordinated actions by Latin American Communist parties has demonstrated conclusively the value of constant regional contacts and collective elaboration of theory, strategy and tactics, united concerted action and mutual assistance. Naturally, as can be seen from the resolutions cited, this consolidated and intensified the links between all fraternal parties. In our view, regional collaboration in different forms, depending on the prevailing circumstances, assists the strengthening of the unity of the entire Communist movement, while collective actions of the Communist and Workers' parties have a positive effect on separate regions and individual parties. This is illustrated by the results of the 1969 International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties.

This meeting of 75 parties was indeed a historic achievement in the struggle to strengthen the coordinated actions of the parties. The collective formulation of the most burning problems of the epoch imbued Latin American Communists with new strength.

The four years that have elapsed since then have confirmed the correctness of the scientific analysis given in the documents of the Meeting, and, as a consequence, its practical import for the activities of the revolutionary forces. For example, the Meeting emphasized that 'the Cuban revolution has broken the chain of imperialist oppression in Latin America and has led to the establishment of the first socialist state on the American continent, marking a historic turning point and opening in this region a new phase of the revolutionary movement.'

Here are some facts which demonstrate the rising tide of the struggle in Latin America: the revolutionary changes under the Popular Unity government in Chile, the deepening of the anti-

imperialist and anti-oligarchic process in Peru, the progressive steps initiated by the governments of Panama and Ecuador, the defeat of the reactionary military dictatorship in Argentina, the crisis of the OAS and the breaking of the Cuban blockade, plus the many huge mass actions and united fronts built in many Latin American states.

The process is by no means uniform. Unequal economic and political development, and different alignments of class forces in different countries, all make impossible a simultaneous development of the revolutionary process. The fact also remains that North American imperialism is still in a strong position and can rely on the support of the most reactionary elements. But its sphere of action and maneuvering is becoming narrower. Latin America has ceased to be a reliable rear for U.S. monopoly.

Another important conclusion of the 1969 Meeting confirmed in practice is well forth recalling: 'It is of paramount importance for the prospects of the anti-imperialist struggle to strengthen the alliance between the socialist system, the forces of the working-class movement and national liberation.' The wide-ranging forms of solidarity rendered by the socialist world system and, in the first place, by the Soviet Union to Cuba, Chile, Peru and other countries on our continent, are the application in practice of Lenin's behests and the internationalist policy of the Communist parties.

The 1969 Meeting also drew attention to the gathering momentum of the battle over the economic and political demands of the workers and emphasized that with every passing day united anti-imperialist actions against reactionary regimes would become stronger. And this forecast, which oriented the parties in formulating policy, has been fully borne out in Latin America. Broad political coalitions have been formed, which advanced programs for radical change, particularly in Uruguay, Venezuela, Colombia, Argentina, Bolivia and Costa Rica.

The documents of the 1969 Meeting contributed to the ideological struggle of Latin American Communists against both Right and 'Left' opportunist trends, against Maoism and all varieties of Trotskyism, and helped to counter bourgeois nationalism. At the subsequent regional meetings these documents were an important pointer for reaching agreement on the common tasks of the parties.

During the past few years Latin American Communists have expanded the range of theoretical study and research on the concrete realities in our countries and some parties now have permanent centers of Marxist-Leninist research. This work is facilitated by studying the actual situation in other countries, collective generalization of experience and exchanges of research results. In our opinion, the WMR plays an important part in this field. It sponsored conferences and symposiums of Latin American Communists on outstanding issues of our continent. Theoretical meetings on wider subjects with the participation of Communist and Workers' Parties from different continents provided opportunities for a deeper acquaintance with recent developments and

the achievements of Marxist theoretical thought and revolutionary practice, which was a great help in our political and ideological struggle.

The unquestionable achievements in many-sided cooperation between the world's Communist parties and its positive impact on individual parties, which we attempted to show on the example of our region, should not blind us to the things requiring close scrutiny and improvement in line with changing conditions. We would like to dwell on some of the new phenomena and associated new requirements of the Communist movement in fortifying unity.

The events of the last third of the century are unfolding rapidly, heralding the beginning of what is perhaps a not yet fully realized but fundamental turn in history. What are its characteristic features? Firstly, there is the marked change in the correlation of forces in favor of peace, progress and socialism. Constructive moves by the socialist countries have yielded and are continuing to yield tangible results. The main detachments of the revolutionary movement have strengthened their positions. In short, the confrontation between the two social systems, the international proletariat's struggle against monopoly domination, and the national-liberation movement are taking place in new conditions.

Of primary significance among the leading events of our time is the heroic Vietnamese people's victory over U.S. imperialism. Made possible by the fraternal assistance of the socialist countries and progressive forces around the world, it has had a tremendous impact on the peoples' fight for national independence and socialism. In Latin America, Vietnam's heroism, along with the example of the Cuban revolution, inspires the working people and shows them vividly that success in revolution is rooted in unity of the anti-imperialist forces, the strength of the socialist community and its close ties with the international workers' movement.

Détente is not the result of the 'good will' of governments shaping the policies of the most powerful capitalist countries. It is first and foremost an upshot of the new balance of forces between socialism and capitalism. It is also a consequence of the correct policy of peaceful coexistence unswervingly followed by the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. And if the results of the policy of peace are currently more apparent in the Old World, they will most surely affect other places where imperialism and reactionary forces continue to maintain situations 'based on force,' as in the Middle East, or 'regional systems' constantly threatened with military intervention, as in Latin America.

The turn towards lasting peace is occurring in conditions of mounting capitalist contradictions and imperialist rivalry. The ruling circles are doing their best to reduce these contradictions and 'adapt' to the new conditions of peaceful coexistence. In Western Europe these efforts are aimed at fortifying the expanded Common Market, with noises from across the ocean about refurbishing the 'Atlantic' alliance and including Japan in it. Given the reactionary, anti-socialist sentiments underlying ideas of regroup-

ing the capitalist camp's forces, one can easily imagine the harm of Peking's statements in support of West European integration and a 'new Atlantic Charter.' Perhaps it would not be worth focussing attention on positions so patently contradictory to the ideas and tasks of the international Communist movement and democratic forces if the problem did not involve such important questions as the need to harness the arms race, do away with military blocs, and guarantee peace and security in Europe and around the world, if the advocates of these policies did not stand so high in one of the world's largest countries. The situation being what it is, we must note that the Peking leadership's support of political, economic and military projects of imperialism is contrary to the peoples' interests and, as pointed out at the latest CC plenum of the French Communist Party, 'seriously harms the necessary strengthening of the community of socialist countries, as well as the unity of the world Communist movement.'

It is an open secret that imperialist circles reckon with the Peking leaders' stance, encourage it and exploit all splitting activities, all brands of anti-communism and anti-Sovietism. In Latin America the Maoists are inclined to support the 'third position' inspired by bourgeois-nationalist movements with the purpose of isolating the national-liberation movement from the socialist community and the international workers' movement.

Détente, obviously, is a far from smooth process. Removing the military threat of imperialism by negotiations is, in fact, conditioned on the continued mobilization of the peoples in support of the socialist community's peaceful policy. This today is one of the most important tasks of Communists and other genuine revolutionaries, for thus can the most favorable conditions be created for revolutionary struggle and for expanding the offensive against capital and imperialism along a wide front.

The complexity of the new tasks facing the revolutionary forces prompts the question whether the unity of the Communist movement and the level of collective Communist action are completely up to the requirements of the new stage in the confrontation with imperialism. Much has been achieved, but life faces Marxist-Leninists with many new questions.

In our view, it is high time for a thorough theoretical investigation and summation of the impact the changes in the world situation, the achievements of socialist policy and the substantial shifts in all currents of the revolutionary movement have had on the class struggle and its prospects. And, we think, it could best be done by collective Marxist thought.

Over the last few years Communist parties have accumulated a considerable body of experience in revolutionary struggle in conditions of détente: witness the many new developments in Communist activities in Italy, France and Japan, our comrades' work in the peculiar conditions of Chile and Peru, the situation emerging in Argentina, the advance of revolutionary forces in other countries. A summing up of the experience of parties pursuing their struggle

in new conditions and the new aspects of their interaction is necessary and can and should be undertaken by our movement.

Peace will be more stable and the conditions for revolutionary struggle more favorable if the Communist parties of various regions promote collective peaceful initiatives, such as the highly successful conference of European Communist and Workers' Parties in Karlovy Vary in 1967. We should consider whether we have been doing all we can, what possibilities we have and what are the most promising directions in which to channel our work.

We feel that it is important to step up the ideological struggle. What is needed is not just more work but far-reaching qualitative changes in keeping with the fundamental changes and circumstances. Never before have the two worlds – socialism and capitalism – come into such close and direct contact on such a wide front and at all levels, from the national to the personal, as they are beginning to do now. This breeds new problems in the ideological struggle and creates new opportunities for Marxist-Leninists in socialist as well as capitalist countries. Collective discussions of these new problems and opportunities can yield fruitful results.

Imperialist strategy is based on splitting the component elements of the world revolutionary movement. The imperialists keep saying that, taken separately, the points of view of the socialist states and their parties and of other detachments of the world Communist movement differ in assessing present-day developments. Bourgeois ideologists keep speaking of insoluble contradictions, irreconcilable positions, etc. Communists do not try to hide the fact that there exist some differences and varying views. But we want to determine and resolve them while rebuffing attempts to fan them. Peace can be promoted only by waging a sustained struggle against the provocations and slanders of bourgeois propaganda.

Bourgeois ideologists offer 'ideological disarmament' as an integral part of peaceful coexistence. Concerning this subterfuge it must be said that there is an inherent falsehood in the very concept of 'ideological disarmament,' for the ideological confrontation is not a subjective development, not a 'Communist invention': it is a consequence of the objective differences between the two systems, a natural consequence of the contradictions of socio-political life. At the same time, bourgeois ideologists have no intention of calling off their own attacks against socialism and the Communist movement or of ceasing to do all they can to keep the masses from developing a revolutionary consciousness. This challenge cannot and does not remain unanswered.

On the other side, Right and 'Left' revisionists are stepping up their attacks. When neo-Trotskyites in Latin America and other parts of the world declare that peaceful coexistence means 'capitulation before imperialism' and 'betrayal of the national-liberation movement' they, in effect, parrot from the 'Left' ultra-Rightist claims that capitalist statesmen accepting peaceful coexistence thereby 'betray' the struggle against socialism. It is not hard to see the similarities between the Maoist thesis of 'superpowers' and the

'multi-polarization' concept of some bourgeois ideologues claiming that continuation of the international trend in the same direction would result in the emergence of 'several world centers' with their 'spheres of influence.' The only difference, if any, between the two notions is that ideologists rank China as a superpower whereas the heralds of Maoism see themselves as the standard-bearers of the 'small countries' opposed to the 'superpowers,' including, of course, the USSR.

In these circumstances, it is especially important for us Communists to agree on our stand and collectively expose the hostile essence of bourgeois and pseudo-revolutionary ideas.

We have examined only some of the aspects of Communist Party cooperation. Obviously, it is incumbent on us Marxist-Leninists to analyze the whole system of new developments, processes and problems from the point of view of the strategy and tactics of class struggle. Only then can we expect the unity of the world Communist movement to grow stronger and cooperation between Marxist-Leninist parties to advance to a level more in keeping with present-day conditions which, we think, are complex and demanding as never before.

Socialist ideals and the youth

Edward Babiuch

Member PB and Secretary,
CC PUWP

The Polish United Workers' Party has always regarded work among the youth as a most important task, and not only for ideological reasons. The fact is that young people born in the new, socialist Poland make up over half of the population. In 1975 roughly 70 per cent of those employed in the public sector of the economy will be below 30. During the current five-year plan period, 3.5 million young people will enter the work force. The Party never loses sight of these demographic data.

The Central Committee devoted its November 1972 session to a discussion of youth problems, and its decisions are now being carried out. In collaboration with youth organizations we have evolved a new concept and the principles of integrating the youth movement.

People's Poland has for a long time had five organizations: the Socialist Youth League, Rural Youth League, Union of Polish

Students, League of Polish Harcerzy (Young Pioneers), and Army Youth Groups.. All of them work under the Party's leadership and conduct a common socialist education program. The time has come for their efforts to be joined together to carry out the long-range socialist development program approved by the Sixth Party Congress. To implement the Party's decisions, it is essential fully to enlist the participation of youth and to improve educational work.

The decisions of the recent congresses of youth organizations, which declared for the formation of a Federation of the Socialist Leagues of Polish Youth, are in keeping with new requirements. In another move, the Rural Youth League and Army Youth Groups announced at their congresses that from then on they would be called the League of Socialist Rural Youth and the Socialist League of Army Youth, respectively. At the same time the Union of Polish Students and the sections of the Socialist Youth Leagues and Rural Youth League which had operated independently in higher schools merged to form a united Socialist Union of Students.

The Federation founded in April 1973 will unify ideological education. Its affiliates will continue to represent the respective youth groups.

The Seventh Plenum of the Party CC defined the role of youth in building a highly developed socialist Poland. The new Federation will serve this national objective and help make better use of the youth potential, encourage young people's creativity and improve their patriotic and internationalist education.

Young people today are a socially conscious and active part of our nation. More and more young men and women are joining the Party. And membership of youth organizations has gone up from 2.5 million to almost five million over the past decade. Young people employed in the economy or culture are knowledgeable, highly skilled and politically mature. Reality disproves the bourgeois claim that youth has become de-ideologized.

To be sure, our educational effort is not all smooth sailing. Some young people view progress one-sidedly, as merely a source of material benefits for the individual. While this consumer attitude and other phenomena of the same nature are not widespread, they must be combated.

The main aspirations of youth are determined by the socialist ideology, the impact of the new society, patriotism linked with internationalism and the resolve to work for the country's prosperity.

Party guidance of the education of the youth is a requisite for cementing socialist society. The experience gained in this field was generalized by the Seventh CC Plenum. The Party sees the substance of the problem in strengthening and expanding a unified system of public education, with all social forces operating meaningfully within its framework. The principal aspects of this system are the content of educational work as defined by the Marxist-Leninist ideology and set out in the Party program; the comprehensive character of education, which covers the production

sphere, material conditions and social consciousness and encourages the activity of young men and women; coordination of the efforts of all the elements of education—the family, school, residential environment, work team, army, mass media.

All the objective factors exist for this system to function properly. The vast majority of the people actively support the social and economic policy formulated by the Sixth Party Congress and accept the moral ideals of socialism. Their political consciousness is growing, the socialist way of life and socialist relations are taking root.

In line with the Seventh CC Plenum, the Sejm approved a government bill for a comprehensive educational system. Education of youth, it emphasized, is the responsibility of the entire people. We think an educational system of which the socialist state is the chief organizer, absorbing elements of the Party's political line, supervised by the Party and actively supported by its members, will adequately serve socialist objectives.

Bourgeois ideology is our main adversary in the socialist education of youth. We come up against manifestations of the bourgeois outlook, which persists in some groups, and strong pressure from ideological subversion centers abroad.

It is also very important to counter revisionist trends and views. Revisionists have always tried to sow confusion among young people, working on their immature and emotive minds. We take a firm stand against the slightest recurrence of revisionist concepts among teaching staffs, and promote the Marxist-Leninist world outlook.

To make education secular throughout, we instil convictions based on modern science, socialist moral standards and principles. The schools, youth organizations, all institutions associated with education, attach special importance to this task.

The Party is intent on asserting the supremacy of the socialist ideology in education, the social sciences, book publishing, the mass media and propaganda. To achieve this aim, the Seventh Plenum stressed, the socialist state must increase its ideological influence.

We know from experience that a clear perspective of the country's further socialist development is a crucial factor of education. Young people have thoughts of the future, of how they can contribute to the progress of their people and the whole of mankind. Socialism shows the way, and in this lies its great mobilizing force. If used to the full, this is a powerful spur for youth's finest aspirations.

The Communist movement solves this problem on a world scale, as we saw again at the recent meeting of European Communist and Workers' parties on work among the youth. The achievements of the CPSU and the further advance of the Soviet Union charted by the 24th Congress heighten the educational impact of socialism.

We Polish Communists, too, are working to shape the country's future with a 10 to 15 year program of building a developed

socialist society. Its fulfilment will see the triumph of socialist principles in production and every other sphere of public life. This program is of particular significance to young people, because it offers them a purpose worth living for and shows them the future of their country.

For the younger generation socialism has always been a reality. Of course, the new system has yet to make full use of its potentialities and we must continuously perfect our social institutions and relations. There is still a gap to fill between the socialist ideal and the progress made so far. Marx described communism as a movement sweeping away the existing conditions. A creative attitude to reality is not merely accepting it, settling for what has been won, or approving of what others have achieved. It implies participation, making one's own contribution, helping to achieve higher goals. We want young people both to appreciate the gains of the new system and to visualize the future, and we want them to feel the need to work for that future, to break all resistance and remove all obstacles to the complete attainment of socialist ideals.

Speaking at the Sixth Party Congress, and addressing his words to the youth, Edward Gierek, First Secretary of the CC PUPP, said: 'We want you to prepare to assume responsibility for the country and to share that responsibility with us now. We know the price of the progress made and the road travelled and will, therefore, do our best to hand down to you values which, we are deeply convinced, can help you solve the problems that you will have to cope with. Our generation, which fought for and built up People's Poland, served its country well and continues to fulfil its duty towards it. Continue our work, build on what we have achieved. Be worthy of our people's finest traditions.'

The pace of change set by the dynamics of social and technological progress will not let us mark time or waste energy. What we seek is not merely economic progress enabling man more fully to satisfy his material needs. The goals of socialism go beyond merely technological, economic and organizational objectives. The new system has brought mankind values that cannot be measured by ordinary standards of progress. These are social, political, cultural, intellectual and moral values. That is why the achievements of the technological revolution should be closely linked with the social, ideological values of socialism. What we want is a socialist form of technological civilization, under which man will both meet his material needs in conditions of security and social stability and find the meaning of his life in creative labor and social activity, helping shape the environment according to his ideals, identifying himself ideologically with his fellow-men, in friendship, brotherhood and beauty.

In tackling these problems, we bear in mind their educational value and relate them to reality. Our goal is to perfect democratic institutions, fully to realize the socialist ideals of justice, equality, brotherhood, freedom and solidarity, foster creative ability and provide greater scope for man's creativity.

The basic principle of socialist education is unity of the social ideal and the aspirations and activities of the individual. This implies that identical ideological demands are put to society and to its every member. Secondly, these values predetermine and condition each other. For instance, socialist democracy is a condition of creativity. However, democracy can be fully exercised only through activity motivated by social and patriotic considerations, and by a friendly and open attitude to other people. Thirdly, the unity of the social ideal and personal behavior means that the more every individual perfects himself, the sooner the social ideal becomes reality, and, conversely, the sooner the socialist ideal becomes reality, the more favorable the conditions for man's development. Treating attainment of the ideals of society and the individual in unity, we get a dynamic model in which improving social reality provides unlimited opportunities for the development of creative ability and talent and for meeting aspirations beneficial to the people, for man's self-expression.

A noteworthy characteristic of our society is the harmony between its objectives and the aspirations of the youth. This makes the defining of economic targets an important instrument of education. Young people know that the socialist state upholds their fundamental interests. They also know that the country's progress, and hence the living and working conditions of each, depend on their labor, skill and discipline.

The Party has initiated concrete measures benefiting education of the youth. After the changes of December 1970, a group of prominent experts and public figures was instructed to draft proposals that would bring school education into line with the present stage of socialist development and the technological revolution. The group's proposals were recently submitted to public discussion. In line with recommendations of the Sixth Party Congress, they call for the introduction of universal secondary education. To enhance the social prestige of teachers, the Sejm adopted the Charter of Teachers' Rights and Duties. Physical training, sports and tourism are getting higher priority. This will raise the physical fitness of young men and women and benefit their ideological vision.

The Party is concerned steadily to improve the living and cultural standards of young families, to cultivate respect for the family and to provide better facilities for bringing up children.

Internationalism is central to all education. And one way of promoting internationalism is through closer contacts with the youth of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries and the progressive youth of Europe and the world. Over 20,000 young citizens of our republic visited the Soviet Union last year. They returned with new knowledge and unforgettable impressions. Our youth organizations draw on the more than half a century's experience of the Soviet Komsomol. There is a long tradition of close ties with the youth of brother countries, including links between kindred groups and regions of our countries. The opportunities for such contacts are vast, and we should make the most of them.

Polish delegates are active in the World Federation of Democratic Youth and the International Union of Students and contribute to their fight against imperialism. Our youth plays host to many international meetings sponsored by the above organizations.

Poland will be represented at the Berlin World Festival of Youth and Students by a large delegation. This outstanding event holds the promise of extending contacts, establishing new ones and strengthening the anti-imperialist youth front. Its vast educational and international significance is beyond question.

We are expanding relations and cooperation with the Communist youth organizations of capitalist countries and encouraging relations with the youth of developing countries. We feel it is possible, indeed necessary, to extend cooperation with Social-Democratic organizations and young people involved in progressive movements, particularly in Europe.

Recent international developments made a strong impact on the Polish youth. Our youth organizations made a substantial contribution to the movement of Europe's younger generation for security and cooperation. In 1964 they sponsored the first youth seminar on the continent, which resolved to work for European security and cooperation.

Poland's youth has on numerous occasions protested, spontaneously and energetically, against capitalist exploitation, aggression and colonialism, and sided with the peoples fighting for social justice, independence and freedom. In the tragic years of Vietnam's fight against imperialist aggression, young Poles, like all our people, showed their solidarity with Vietnam and Indochina by word and deed. Rejoicing with the Vietnamese over their great victory, they are pledged to help Vietnam build socialism in peace.

The direct confrontation between socialist and bourgeois ideology will intensify as détente gains ground in Europe and cooperation between countries belonging to different social and political systems grows. Reactionary forces in imperialist countries try to use expanding cultural and scientific exchange and travel for ideological subversion which they camouflage with talk about 'free and unrestricted communication of people and ideas.'

The Seventh CC Plenum set the task of arming the youth against hostile influences, and teach it to counter bourgeois ideology with socialist views and ideals, moral principles and the socialist way of life. Our young people must have the knowledge, training and firm socialist outlook necessary to see the world as it really is and to evaluate reality from the standpoint of scientific socialism. Every young Pole must have a sense of belonging to the great socialist community, to know internationalist obligations flowing from this, cherish national dignity and uphold the honor of his country.

We are certain that the future of the world belongs to communism and we are fighting for a world without war, a world of social justice in which the ideals of humanism and peace will reign

supreme. It is the fight for this future of mankind and confidence in victory that makes the Communist movement so strong and wins young people for its goals. 'It is the youth,' Lenin said at the Third Congress of the Komsomol, 'that will be faced with the actual task of creating a communist society' (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 31, p. 283).

Despite everything...

Erich Glueckauf

In September of this year, our Comrade Erich Glueckauf, Head of a Department at the CC SUPG and its representative on **World Marxist Review**, will be celebrating his 70th birthday. We offer him our warmest congratulations. For more than half a century his life has been one of unceasing activity in the ranks of German Communists. He has worked on the Party press, fought in the anti-fascist underground and worked in the Comintern. He was a member of the Political Bureau of the German Communist Party and a Secretary of its Central Committee.

At our request Comrade Glueckauf shares some of his experiences in this issue of **WMR**.

Writing about oneself, and for the first time, is no easy matter and one feels a certain sense of embarrassment. However, this disappears when I remind myself that the life of a Communist cannot be isolated from that of his Party no matter how small his contribution may have been.

My life has been associated with the Communist Party of Germany for many decades, and over the years I have been entrusted with many aspects of Party work. I have lived through periods when the revolutionary struggle was on the upsurge, which filled me with the utmost optimism. I recall, too, times when we faced the most difficult situations. I have made mistakes and so has my Party, but I do not think that mistakes can be avoided by anyone or any party. What is important is to take guidance in Marxism-Leninism, which is the compass that helps find the way no matter what the circumstances, to correct mistakes quickly, and learn from them. Over the years many of my comrades fell in battle. I, too, had my share of life's misfortunes.

Often, during the most difficult periods the words of Karl Liebknecht 'despite everything' came to mind. This was how he ended his article for *Rote Fahne* actually the day before his death at the hands of the counter-revolutionists. For every succeeding generation

of German Communists these words have sounded as an oath of loyalty to the teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin, to the victorious October Revolution and the ultimate aims of the international working class.

This loyalty despite everything – in theory and in the practical activities of all Communists and their Parties – is a guarantee against opportunism, whether Left or Right of the mainstream of the revolutionary movement.

When I was still a young man, Lenin wrote: 'The history of the working-class movement now shows that, in all countries, it is about to go through (and is already going through) a struggle waged by communism – emergent, gaining strength and advancing to victory – against, primarily, Menshevism, i.e., opportunism and social-chauvinism (the home brand in each particular country), and then as a complement, so to say, Left-wing communism' (Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 31, p. 90). It is not from books alone but from their own experience that Communists have learned the wisdom of Lenin's prophecy.

The road to the Party. So far as the danger from the right is concerned it was lying in wait for me right on my own doorstep. My father was a member of the Social-Democratic Party and belonged to the so-called socialist majority which, from the very first day of the war, supported the defense of the fatherland. He was overjoyed when some members of the Social-Democratic group in the Reichstag volunteered for the front. He, too, volunteered and was very proud that within three days, as an infantry private in the attack in the Vosges, he was awarded the Iron Cross for bravery.

My father was a printer and we were quite poor. But now things at home became worse; my mother had to feed four small children herself, and she certainly did not wave the patriotic flag. She was against the war from the very start; in her eyes it was a crime. On hearing about Liebknecht's courageous stand in the Reichstag against war credits, my mother, who had no clear idea which party he belonged to told us: 'I love that man; he is against the war.' Then came the news of the Russian Revolution. My mother sympathized with the Bolsheviks for hadn't the first decree of the young Soviet power been Lenin's Decree on Peace? It was then that my feelings of friendship towards the Soviet land took root. I shall have that feeling of friendship and loyalty to the Soviet Union, to the CPSU and the great Lenin, all my life.

As the war went on, patriotic fervor swiftly disappeared and common sense returned to many, including my father. Nevertheless, he still retained his Social-Democratic illusions. For him, fighting for socialism meant taking part in elections to the Reichstag. I can remember a typical scene during the postwar years. Of an evening my father would sit with his friends around the table playing cards, drinking beer and schnapps. They would often call over to the table. 'Well, you dreamer,' they would say, 'what are you going to tell us this time?' My father knew that I read Marxist literature and articles by Lenin. But there was no dis-

cussion – they simply dismissed what I had to say as nonsense, amusing fantasies.

But somehow with every day that passed I realized more clearly that their 'beery socialism' held nothing for my generation, nor would it open up any future for the German people. For us the victorious October Revolution was our shining lodestar. Our aim – power for the Soviets of workers' and soldiers' deputies in Germany – made life worth living. For us youngsters the November 1918 Revolution, in which the Communist Party of Germany was established, was a direct continuation of the October Revolution.

I was already working in one of the coal mines not far from Dortmund where my parents lived. Because of arguments with my father I moved to a miners' hostel for single men. Seven to eight persons slept in a small room; there were not sufficient beds for all, there was dirt everywhere and the place was overrun with bugs. We were awakened at four in the morning, and after breakfasting on a piece of dry bread and a flask of warm liquid misnamed coffee, we went down the pit and worked there all day. In winter we never saw the sun and there was little difference between us and the pit ponies who had become blind after several years' work below the ground.

But we did not go blind. The pit opened our eyes to capitalist exploitation. We joined the trade union and became members of the German Young Communist League.

In March 1920 a putsch was organized by reactionary groups of monopolists and junkers with the aid of the counter-revolutionary 'volunteer corps' and Reichswehr units. They wanted to abolish the democratic gains of the November revolution and establish a military dictatorship throughout the country. The German workers rose against the counter-revolution.

In my native region of the Ruhr, the struggle assumed mass proportions: the Red Army of the Ruhr, numbering about 100,000, fought the counter-revolutionaries. As a lad of 17 I too joined the Red Army and was given a rifle and a helmet so large that it kept slipping over my ears. I fought in Dortmund against the detachments of the hated putschists who had taken part in the intervention against Soviet Russia and had now returned to Germany to unleash a merciless terror against the German workers.

We threw the armed putschists out of the Ruhr and in some towns the workers took power. But they were unable to hold on; the young Communist Party was still insufficiently experienced and not strong enough to consolidate the position, nor to counter the treacherous policy of the Social-Democratic Right-wing leadership which had split and disarmed the workers, thus enabling reaction to mount a counter-offensive.

I remember the meetings of the Dortmund Soviet of Soldiers' Deputies to which I had been elected. The majority of deputies were independent Left Social-Democrats, pacifists, and a few Communists, but even they had not sufficiently absorbed the experience of the Bolsheviks and the lessons of the October Revolution. So it was not

surprising that at the meetings of the Soviet lengthy and inconclusive discussions were held on what was to be done about the workers' wives who stole bread for their starving children, or whether the supporters of the putschists ought to be arrested, and so on.

The October Revolution influenced my generation enormously. I still have a small notebook which I shall always treasure, for it reminds me of those far-off days of my YCL youth. In 1921, when there was famine in Soviet Russia, several members of the Communist youth organization in Dortmund, including Albert Norden and myself, decided to publish a magazine. Various philanthropic organizations were sending aid to the famine-stricken Russian people, and we knew of the humanitarian work of Nansen, the famous explorer. But our idea was that we ought to support Russia, not simply for general humanitarian reasons, but from a class standpoint. In the appeal to the German workers published in our magazine we said that it was not only necessary to save the Russian workers and peasants from starvation, but it was also a question of saving the Russian revolution, for this was our revolution, too. The attitude towards Soviet Russia was the hallmark of a real revolutionary standpoint and class solidarity, which we now call proletarian internationalism.

The discussion on socialism. In 1922, when I was barely 19, I joined the Communist Party of Germany. My Party was quite young too. Our activities were determined by the need to strengthen our ranks and search for ways and means to win over the greatest possible number of people. The development of the Party press where I worked for many years, was essential for the realization of our objectives.

In 1924, the Central Committee assigned me to the district Party newspaper *Schlesische Arbeiterzeitung* in Breslau. Its whole editorial staff, I found, consisted of two persons: the Chief Editor and local news editor. Like many young Communists assigned by the Party to work in the press, I had had no previous journalistic experience and was given a three-month probationary period, though I bore the imposing title of Executive Editor. As such, it was my job to answer before the authorities for the paper's contents, not short of going to jail, in place of the real editor.

The paper was hauled to court more than 20 times while I was there. As a rule those responsible for the publication were sentenced to jail or a high fine, a method of combating the Communist press widely employed in many parts of Germany. Once even, the Imperial Court in Leipzig accused me of high treason, but thanks to the brilliant defense conducted by Professor Halle, a Communist lawyer, I was acquitted. Incidentally, Professor Halle was the author of a brochure, 'How a Proletarian Comports Himself in Court' – a most useful subject then – which became something of a handbook for many German Communists.

The district newspaper in Hannover to which I was transferred from Breslau was also engaged in an eternal legal confrontation

with the authorities. Working in the Communist press was more than just a school of journalism for us. The Party held that our work could not be restricted to purely professional pursuits. Hardly a day passed without assignments from the Party branch to meet with workers, address meetings to set forth our political and ideological views, and attend meetings held by our opponents, too.

At one workers' meeting chance brought me together with Paul Loebe, a veteran Social-Democratic member of the Reichstag who later became its president. I was the first to speak in the debate. The workers listened attentively, and when I finished my ten-minute speech (you weren't allowed the floor for longer) I even received a round of applause. Loebe came up to me, put his hand around my shoulders and, addressing the meeting, said, 'Foolish boy! You want socialism for Germany? I want it, too. But you are a very green revolutionary. Do you know that before us lies a broad river which we have to cross? On this bank is capitalism, on the other, socialism. You, naturally, would dive into the water and swim, but you would most surely drown before you reached your destination. We Social Democrats unhastily build a bridge and confidently cross it to the other bank, into socialism.'

We continued this debate on Germany's way to socialism, which usually began at workers' meetings, in the press and from the rostrum of the Reichstag.

For several years I was secretary of the Communist faction of the Reichstag with responsibility for the press and publication of our journal *Der Rote Waehler*. In the Reichstag the Party could launch Communist ideas from the prestigious parliamentary rostrum and put forward our constructive revolutionary proposals. In the thick of parliamentary struggle, we were able to study in detail the methods and forms of social and nationalistic demagoguery used by the bourgeoisie and Right-wing socialists to fool the masses. The Communist press brought to the knowledge of the people things which had formerly remained hidden behind the maze of parliamentary debate.

Through the press we could rally the masses to the fight against projected legislation detrimental to the working people. Finally, we could receive at first hand valuable material for propaganda work aimed at winning over the masses to the side of the Party. For example, in the budget we would discover a hidden item providing for keeping police dogs under which the 'salary' of these quadruped policemen was higher than unemployment relief. This was an excellent occasion for exposing the Weimar republic's class essence.

The CPG's struggle for democratic rights and freedoms and against the growing menace of fascist dictatorship gained steadily in scope. A landmark was the 'Program of National and Social Liberation of the German People,' adopted by the Central Committee in August 1930 on the initiative of Ernst Thaelmann. It presented an alternative to the Nazi program of nationalism and revanchism, and showed the working class and German people the road to peace, democracy and socialism.

Ernst Thaelmann constantly stressed the enormous threat of fascism. The efforts of the leader of the CPG were aimed at building up broad unity of anti-fascist action together with the Social-Democrats. At the same time, he made no bones about his attitude towards the treacherous part played by the Right-wing SDPG leaders in the German labor movement.

When I was Editor-in-Chief of the CPG district newspaper *Die Freiheit* in Duesseldorf, I witnessed an anti-fascist rally organized by Thaelmann in the summer of 1932 and attended by Communists, Social-Democrats and Catholics.

In July 1932, Goebbels was readying storm troopers to break down anti-fascist resistance and gain a foothold in the Ruhr and Lower Rhine areas. We informed Thaelmann of the Nazi intentions, and he promised to address the rally. He sent two Central Committee workers to study the situation on the spot and prepare a summary for his speech.

Thaelmann arrived at Wuppertal a couple of days before Goebbels was due there. Despite drenching rain, tens of thousands attended the rally in the City Stadium. They responded enthusiastically to the Communist Party leader's vivid, convincing speech and his call for joint anti-fascist action by the working people and all sections of the population. By contrast, when Goebbels turned up in the city of Hagen the workers ran him and his hangers-on out of town. For many days after that the brown-shirted thugs didn't dare appear in the streets of the Lower Rhine cities, especially those where Thaelmann had spoken.

It is sometimes said that German Communist activity was a virtually endless series of mistakes and errors. There is no denying that, for various objective and subjective reasons, the CPG did commit a number of Left-sectarian mistakes, notably in regard to relations with the Social-Democrats.

But the CPG was the only party which fought consistently, in the streets, at rallies, in parliament, against the approaching fascist menace. And its influence among the masses grew, as shown by the Reichstag elections in 1932, when it received six million votes.

What the facts reveal irrefutably is that the fascist dictatorship was made possible only by the split in the working class and democratic forces, the main blame for which rests squarely with the Right-wing SDP and trade union leaders.

The solid, secure and safe bridge to socialism extolled by the Social-Democratic Loebes led them farther and farther away from socialism and democracy. The work of the Right-opportunist 'bridge-builders' culminated with the coming to power of fascism and the resultant national catastrophe. This cruel lesson of history is relevant and instructive for the labor movement of our time.

The struggle against fascist dictatorship. On Thaelmann's instructions, the Party had begun to prepare for going underground well in advance. For example, on CC orders, in 1932 I stopped using my real name in articles I wrote for the legal Duesseldorf newspaper of which I was Editor-in-Chief. I also ceased to register with the police. This semi-legal status later helped us in going under-

ground. We drew up lists of secret addresses and decided who would leave the country and who would stay and change their place of residence.

And still the Hitlerites' monstrous provocation with the Reichstag fire came as a complete surprise. The events that followed that sinister night demanded a fundamental re-thinking of CPG activity. The prime task was to knit the Party together on a new organizational basis, restructuring it for security reasons into groups of three or four members. All Communists had to be helped to grasp the fundamental novelty and enormous complexity of the situation in which they would have to work.

First of all, there was the need to expand and strengthen co-operation with the Social-Democrats. It was necessary to dispel the illusion entertained by many of them that Hitler would not last for long and therefore there was no need for illegal activity.

In spite of wholesale arrests, few people in 1933 fully realized the extent the fascist terror would reach. I remember how workers greeted each other with a furtive clenched-fist salute.

The fascist reality surpassed our worst expectations in the scope and ferocity of the terror, the scale and sophistication of the hastily created machinery of repression and the regimentation of national life. The fascists were able, as a result, to poison large sections of the people with chauvinism, nationalism and racism. Communists had to counter this with bold, devoted, well organized and, moreover, clandestine activity.

In the summer of 1933 I was elected First Secretary of an underground district Party committee, but soon afterwards I fell gravely ill and was ordered by the CC to leave Germany at once. Through Czechoslovakia, I reached Moscow, where I underwent an operation. After convalescing I went to work on the Comintern staff.

One day in the spring of 1934 one Comintern leader walked into my office with the words, 'Would you like to go to the airdrome to meet Dimitrov?'

'I like a good joke, of course,' I responded, 'but . . .'

'I'm quite serious.'

I remember the crowds of Moscovites lining the road to the airport, the agony of suspense while the hours dragged by and we waited, still uncertain whether he would arrive or not. I remember how we sang revolutionary songs in different languages and how, at long last, the news arrived that the Lufthansa plane had crossed the Soviet frontier, and finally, that it was coming in to land. I remember how we all rushed out onto the airfield as the plane taxied to a halt. The first thing we saw was Dimitrov's hat, made famous by countless photographs. As the crowd engulfed Dimitrov it vanished, torn to shreds by souvenir hunters wanting a memento of their hero. I shall never forget Dimitrov's first news conference. And his answer to a question about his plans now that he was free. 'I am a soldier of the proletarian revolution, a soldier of the Comintern,' he said. 'I was a soldier at the trial. Here I shall continue to do my duty as soldier of the proletarian revolution to the last moment of my life.'

The Leipzig trial, Dimitrov's heroic behavior in front of the Nazi judges, his appeal to the German people for unity, helped bring broad sections of the Social-Democrats closer to the Communists on the common platform of anti-fascist struggle. I soon saw this for myself when I began editing our Party newspaper in the Saar district, then occupied by French troops. In an extremely complex situation the Communists held successful negotiations with Social-Democrats, the 'free' and Christian trade unions and liberal sections of the population on joint action against the incorporation of the Saar into the Hitler Reich.

The idea of a popular front became more and more widely accepted, a development facilitated in great measure by the decisions of the Third Comintern Congress, the Brussels Conference of the CPG, as well as the French and Spanish peoples' experience of anti-fascist struggle. When the fascist revolt broke out in Spain in July 1936, thousands of German volunteers - Communists, Social-Democrats, unaffiliated anti-fascists - responded to the CPG call to help the Republicans.

In December 1936 I, too, arrived in Spain with a convoy of 20 trucks with gifts for the children of Madrid and food for its people. But in Valencia another assignment awaited me: journalism again. I was to organize, with the help of the Spanish Communist Party, radio broadcasts for Germany. The underground transmitter *Deutscher Freiheitssender 29.8*, was in Madrid, while our editorial staff of two had its offices in Valencia. We transmitted our materials to Madrid by telephone.

Valencia was the target of frequent bombing raids by rebel aircraft, and we often had to dictate our articles into the telephone to the accompaniment of a steady barrage of bombs. This, however, worried us less than the initial absence of any information about the effectiveness of our work. In fact, we didn't even know whether we were heard by anyone in Germany. We got the first news that our voice did reach Germany loud and clear from captured Germans who had been fighting on Franco's side. Soon we received confirmation from German Communists arriving in Spain.

Although far from home, we were kept posted on the situation there and the mood of the people, the workers, peasants, soldiers, intellectuals. Our main source of regular information was the Party Central Committee. Besides, our recent experience of underground work suggested to my comrades and myself the topics that concerned people most. In preparing our broadcasts we made extensive use of the fascist press as primary material for polemical debates. We eagerly questioned every new arrival about the latest events in Germany and asked for suggestions about convincing arguments. Finally, German fascist POW's also supplied useful information during interrogations.

Not long ago I received a booklet put out by the GDR State Radio Committee in which I found a piece I had written after the Spanish events. It was a CC assignment aimed at summing up the experience of the CPG's first ever underground radio transmitter. Written under my then pseudonym Oskar, it says, in part: 'It is essential

to use a language of superiority, i.e., the language of an unchallenged victor . . . The tone against the fascist dictatorship should always be hostile, our speech should be filled with deep hatred. Our listeners should feel for themselves how uncompromisingly we oppose the evil perverters of our people. Hitler stands for falsehood, we are the voice of truth. . . . To write in such a language, a language which would reach into the mass consciousness, we must be thorough, i.e., we must constantly concretize our Party's policy in terms of analyses of all movements, all phenomena, all engagements, the concerns and wishes of our people.'

The Deutscher Freiheitssender 29.8 remained on the air for almost three years. Its knowledge of the situation in the Hitler Reich was so great that the Goebbels Propaganda Ministry thought the broadcasts must come from within Germany. The country was combed for the transmitter but, of course, it was never found.

The fall of Barcelona cut our communication line with Madrid and forced us to suspend our work. Nor could we shift our operations to Madrid as Valencia, too, soon fell. We went into the hills from where, with the help of Spanish contrabandists, we made our way to southern France. . . .

Shortly afterwards one of my next Party assignments brought me briefly to Holland. There I learned that my parents had managed to escape from Hitler Germany and were in Amsterdam. I found my father on his death bed. It was our last meeting. On the following day I was arrested by the Dutch police.

My father had never accepted the Communists, he had no idea of scientific socialism. But life had taught him something. As if summing up years of controversy about the road to socialism, he said before he died, 'Erich, you were right after all. . . .'

My compatriot of ill-begotten fame once said, 'The movement is everything, the ultimate aim is nothing.' Remarking that 'this catchphrase of Bernstein's expresses the substance of revisionism better than many long disquisitions,' Lenin wrote at the beginning of this century: 'To determine its conduct from case to case, to adapt itself to the events of the day and to the chopping and changing of petty politics, to forget the primary interests of the proletariat and the basic features of the whole capitalist system, of all capitalist evolution, to sacrifice these primary interests for the real or assumed advantages of the moment – such is the policy of revisionism' (*Collected Works*, Vol. 15, pp. 37-38).

Today, too, one occasionally finds subscribers to this policy within the ranks of the labor movement. They would have the gullible believe that the 'bridge to socialism,' over which no one has so far managed to cross from the capitalist bank, is well-built and sound. But the three revolutionary currents of our time are increasingly undermining the supports of this bridge, whose name is Right-Wing opportunism. The truth of history is on the side of the Leninist Communists. They are winning ever new victories in the revolutionary transformation of the world.



Meetings with Lenin

When Leonid Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CPSU, was in Hungary in 1972, he attended a meeting in the Budapest Hungarian-Soviet Friendship House and met a veteran of the working-class movement, Jeno Nagy, who spoke about his meetings with Lenin. It is fine to talk to someone who has met Lenin, replied the leader of the Soviet Communists, I hadn't the good fortune. Fate, however, had something else in store for me – the joy of working with all my might to put his teachings into practice.

The story of this conversation which was published in Hungary and the Soviet Union has aroused our readers' interest, and we asked Jeno Nagy to share his reminiscences with us.

Jeno Nagy is a 76-year-old pensioner, but continues to work in his Party organization, in the Budapest Workers' Militia, and in the Presidium of the Society of Hungarian-Soviet Friendship.

This is what he had to say about his meetings with Lenin.

During the first world war, in June 1916, I concluded my own 'separate peace' with the Russian soldiers and gave myself up. With other prisoners of various nationalities I found myself in the Okulovo Paper Works and soon was on good terms with my Russian workmates.

After the victory of the October Revolution they suggested that I become a member of the Red Guard. 'Our Bolshevik Party wants peace,' they said, 'so that you can all go home, but the bosses want to go on fighting so you ought to help us.' I thought the worker-Bolsheviks were right and joined the Red Guard. At the beginning of 1918 I was in the Fourth Lettish infantry regiment, and it may be recollected that the Latvian units were among the most reliable armed detachments of the Revolution. At that time the regiment was patrolling the Kremlin and we frequently helped suppress counter-revolutionary attacks.

During the second half of March I had to do a whole day's sentry duty. I hadn't expected this, and only the previous day I had made every possible effort to get permission from the parents of my girl friend to take her to the cinema. So that when it was my turn

to go on duty I, still very dissatisfied, took up my position next to the sentry box at the Troitsky Gates of the Kremlin. In the sentry-box a clerk was checking all passes. I stood, with my rifle and fixed bayonet on my shoulder; people passed by, but all I saw in front of me was Masha and heard her saying: 'Mind you're not late, I had such hard time getting permission' . . .

Suddenly a car stopped in front of us. Two men in civilian clothes got out. One remained standing by the car, the other walked up to the sentry box. It was Lenin. I don't remember what he said to the clerk, and perhaps I didn't understand, but all I saw was that, with a smile, he was walking up to me, and lifted his hand to my rifle. Before the usual military warning, 'You must not touch the rifle,' could escape my lips, he asked me whether I thought I would ever have to use it. My discomfiture had immediately vanished at his smile and I replied: 'Well, I've not had to use it so far.' The meaning of his next remarks was that it would be a good thing if rifles were never needed again anywhere, but should they be, then good use should be made of them.

In those days I knew little about Lenin, only that he was the leader of the revolution. As I understood things then, revolution was a savage armed struggle at the end of which the revolution would be completed. I considered the rifle to be part and parcel of the revolution. Those few words of Lenin's helped me to understand, but only later, that an armed uprising is not necessarily inevitable everywhere; that the working class would far prefer to take power by peaceful means, but that, should the working people meet with the armed resistance of the exploiters, then it would be their duty to meet force with force.

. . . During the Moscow uprising of the 'Left' Socialist Revolutionaries, true, I can't remember the date, I was again on sentry duty when I met Lenin for the second time. We were guarding one of the Kremlin buildings. Our orders were brief: keep our guns on the ready, allow no-one to enter the buildings before the next order was given; three of us to stand outside the gates, three inside, and the remainder to rest at the battle-ready; shoot without warning, at first into the air and then at whoever was trying to get in.

Very soon was heard the sound of distant shots. Then a truck entered the square and stopped about 40 metres in front of us. Some people, a motley crew, jumped out of the truck, carrying rifles and revolvers. Our first warning shots sounded. The strangers got back on the truck, which moved off swiftly and disappeared, but in their haste they left one of their number behind, and we shot him.

A terrific row ensued. We were taken off sentry-duty, put under guard, and an investigation was started. We considered that we had carried out orders, we hadn't let anyone in. But the commanders thought differently, and within two or three days the results of the disciplinary investigation were announced in a small hall. We were thoroughly told off and given a severe reprimand.

The three men dressed in civilian suits, on announcing the find-

ings, left. We also were about to go when the door opened behind us, and Lenin entered. He knew what had happened and from what he said we gathered that he considered we deserved to be punished, because the three of us had been unable to disarm one man. Lenin also spoke about the tasks facing us. When he asked us whether we understood what a serious breach of discipline it had been, we answered in the affirmative although we still thought that we deserved praise, not punishment. Lenin took a few steps towards the door, but then returned. Apparently, he understood our feelings and found words to soften our mortification. We now heard him say that we had been vigilant, we had fulfilled our task although we had made mistakes and that in future we should have to be firm, but humane. Lenin shook hands with each of us and went.

Soon, I was demobilized and sent to a training course for agitators organized by the Hungarian section of the Russian Communist Party (Bolshevik), so that on returning to Hungary I could carry out Party work there. Earlier on I had visited the Hungarian section from time to time, where I had met Bela Kun, who had given me a pamphlet in Hungarian 'What Do the Communists Want' which he had written. On finishing the course I left for Hungary and in the early days of January 1919 arrived in Budapest. Bela Kun met me and sent me as Party organizer to my own region Győr-Sopron. I was there during the period of the Soviet Republic, and worked as political commissar of the regional committee.

After the defeat of the Hungarian Soviet Republic I was imprisoned until 1923 and then emigrated to Vienna from where, after many adventures, and stowing away in the hold of a Danube steamer, I landed in Bulgaria. In the early 30s I returned to my homeland and again was active in the Hungarian working class movement. After the country was liberated, like many other Communists I worked in a whole number of spheres—as a worker, director, Secretary of a Party Committee, and fought in the Workers' Militia.

. . . In 1957, on the 40th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, I again visited Moscow, this time as one of a delegation of Hungarian internationalist veterans. We were shown Lenin's study. From the study the door led to a small hall. When we entered it I became so agitated that the comrades thought I had been taken ill. I thought I recognized the place where I had met Lenin the second time, but I wasn't absolutely certain; there was something different in the once familiar surroundings . . . I said this to the comrade accompanying us, and he explained that in the 30s some of the windows in the hall had been blocked up.

Then we went to the mausoleum. When I filed past Lenin, it seemed to me that he was alive, looking at me and asking, did you understand what I told you? Truly it was a strange thought for we are materialists and our homage to Lenin is not as to a god, but to the leader of the workers of the whole world. Lenin died in 1924; he is no longer amongst us. But all the same he is still with

us. For today, all our activities rest on his teachings. Leninism is the most important ideological weapon of the working class in its struggle for socialism and communism. We must use this weapon, perfecting it all the time. In this sense Lenin is alive and always will be.

Moncado - - symbol of the people's heroism

Dear Editor,

I find the articles in your journal of great interest. I should be grateful if some light could be thrown on the significance of the heroic storming of the Moncado barracks in the history of the Cuban revolutionary movement.

Mikhalis Panagi

Member Progressive Party of
the Working People of Cyprus

Nicosia.

Dear Editor,

There is very little published in my country about the Cuban Revolution. Could you, therefore, if only briefly, give an account of how the revolutionary democrats, headed by Fidel Castro, who stormed the Batista Barracks in Santiago de Cuba twenty years ago, adopted the Marxist-Leninist standpoint? What are the main reasons for the rapid development of the Cuban Revolution into a socialist revolution, and the significance of the Cuban experience for Latin America?

Wishing you every success,

Sincerely yours,

Goias State, Brazil

Jose Rodrigues da Silva

Teodesio Varela, alternate member of the Executive Committee of the CP of Colombia, replies to our readers.

The word Moncado stands not only for the set of old buildings where Batista's soldiers were quartered in Santiago de Cuba. For us, Moncado is a symbol of the heroism of the Cuban people, a glorious page in the revolutionary annals of our continent.

From revolutionary democracy to Marxism-Leninism

At dawn on July 26, 1953, a group of revolutionaries dressed in army uniforms attacked the Moncado Barracks, the military stronghold of the tyrant Batista. The group was headed by Fidel Castro, a student leader. He was then 26 years of age and unknown outside

Cuba. Impetuous, lofty-minded, eager to help the people, he chose the tactic of armed struggle. Later, he was to admit that he probably took this step without considering the objective laws of historical development, but because he felt compelled to fight against the dictatorship.

The storming of Moncado ended in defeat, but it gave impetus to the July 26 Movement. The news of the exploit of a handful of brave men spread like wildfire, roused public opinion and united the opposition forces.

Everyone knows the subsequent development of events: Fidel Castro's imprisonment, his speech at his trial, which ended with the words: 'History will justify me.' Then emigration to Mexico and reorganization of the movement until, on December 2, 1956, he landed in Cuba from the yacht 'Granma.' Of the 82 men who landed with him, only twelve survived. But a little over two years later, the liberation army, born in the mountains of Sierra Maestra, triumphantly entered Havana. January 1, 1959, saw the downfall of the Batista dictatorship.

The July 26 Movement had its roots in Cuba's revolutionary past. It was based on the tenets of the great thinker and revolutionary, Jose Marti, the military-tactical experience of Maximo Gomez, Commander of the Liberation Army in the 1895 war against Spain, the anti-imperialist struggle of the Cuban people, and the mass actions against the tyrant Machado during the 30s of this century.

'It cannot be said that the July 26 Movement was a Communist movement,' Fidel Castro remarked in assessing his ideological position at the time of the battles in Sierra Maestra. 'But it can be said that we, the group of organizers of that movement, were strongly influenced by Marxist-Leninist ideas.'

Gradually, those involved in the July 26 Movement began to understand and accept the theory of the world's revolutionary transformation. Their transition from the ideas of revolutionary democracy to Marxism-Leninism developed in bitter class struggle. Fidel Castro said: 'It was impossible to conceive of the Cuban revolution, which seemed so difficult and indeed to some even hopeless, it was impossible to conceive of this revolution and to achieve it, without having as a starting point the basic ideas and principles of Marxism.'

The Cuban revolution demonstrated the power of Marxism-Leninism. The revolution triumphed because the people, the proletariat, was its main force. From the moment of its inception in the last century, the working-class movement had close ties with the struggle of the peasants against the landlords, and with the anti-colonial and anti-imperialist actions of the people. The solidarity actions of the workers and their party* with the partisan movement in Sierra Maestra, and the direct involvement of workers and Communists

*The Communist Party of Cuba was founded in August 1925 by Cuban revolutionaries Julio Antonio Mella and Carlos Balino. The Comintern, which took an active part in the founding of a number of Communist parties in Latin America, played an important role in its consolidation. The Communist Party of Cuba has traversed a difficult path of struggle and development. After the people's victory it joined the Integrated Revolutionary Organizations.

in the struggles against Batista's armed forces in town and village, played an important part in toppling the dictatorship. Today, the Cuban working class is the leading force in building the new society.

Unity is essential

The revolutionary forces united and developed in the course of the struggle to abolish capitalism and build socialism. After the people took power, the July 26 Movement, the Popular Socialist Party and the Revolutionary Directorate of March 13,* joined forces and became the Integrated Revolutionary Organizations, later to be known as the Integrated Party of the Socialist Revolution. The consolidation of the revolutionary forces ended in the IPSR becoming the Communist Party of Cuba, the political vanguard of the Cuban working class. The Party directs socialist economic development, educates the people in the spirit of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, and works for the creation of a new society.

An important aspect of the Cuban Revolution is its rapid development from a bourgeois-democratic to a socialist revolution. It confirmed that these are two stages of a single process, and that the distance between them is shrinking due to the strengthening of the anti-imperialist struggle and the change in the balance of world forces in favor of socialism.**

The Cuban revolution was the first in Latin America to put an end to imperialist bondage, the first to radically solve the agrarian problem and to end exploitation. Illiteracy and unemployment are things of the past. Educational facilities and health services have been made available to the people, who also enjoy the benefits of social security. The lot of millions has improved considerably.

After the initial stage of the revolution, which was a period of 'survival' in the face of ceaseless attempts at aggression and blockade by the imperialists, the country passed over to a period of swift development. The Cuba of today is not only a defensive military stronghold, but also a site of peaceful construction. Factories and homes, schools and hospitals are being built. In a country of eight million, the building of 30,000 new homes annually is eloquent evidence of this. Industrialization is taking place in close collaboration with CMEA, which Cuba joined last year.

*Organization of Cuban students who took part in the storming of Batista's Palace on March 13, 1957.

**The Ninth Congress of the Communist Party of Colombia, in analyzing the reasons for the rapid development of the Cuban revolution into a socialist one, pointed out that the main form of struggle employed had been widespread and prolonged armed action which completely destroyed the repressive apparatus of the ruling classes. Relentless outside interference, the economic blockade and imperialist counter-revolutionary plans likewise influenced the swift development of the revolution, which deepened in order to defend itself and repulse such a powerful enemy. Hoping for a triumphant return, the Cuban bourgeoisie abandoned their enterprises there and then, and this, to a considerable degree, lightened the task of the revolutionaries. Of utmost importance, too, is the fact that the revolution took place in the age of transition from capitalism to socialism and at a time when the socialist system was becoming more powerful. This guaranteed for the Cuban revolution the dependable support of the socialist world system, thereby preventing the imperialists from pitting all their strength against Cuba, and also fraternal economic, technical and scientific aid from the Soviet Union and other socialist countries.

While the life of the people is still affected by the imperialist blockade, we can now claim with absolute certainty that the Yankees have failed to isolate Cuba and to bring it to its knees.

'In passing from the democratic, anti-imperialist stage to the socialist,' says the December 1971 Program of the Communist Party of Colombia, 'the Cuban Revolution represents a qualitative change in Latin America. The revolution is strengthening, and vividly demonstrates that, even in close proximity to the USA, the people can win power and take the socialist road. The Cuban revolution has proved that imperialism is powerless to prevent the process that constitutes the distinctive feature of the modern world: the advance of national liberation and socialism in Latin America as anticipated by Marxist-Leninists, and that it is materializing with the aid of the socialist community, in the first place of the Soviet Union.'

The significance of the Cuban experience

After Cuba, the revolution in Latin America turned from a theoretical forecast of the inevitable defeat of the class enemy, into a practical matter. It reflects the maturity of the revolutionary process on the continent, and the emergence of real possibilities for the victory of the anti-feudal, anti-imperialist and democratic revolution, with the perspective of transition to a socialist revolution.

Recognizing the need for constant active solidarity with the Cuban revolution, we Latin American Communists must make its success more widely known, refute the lying attacks made on it, and expose the plans of aggression against it. By its victorious example we can show the people the superiority of socialist society, relating the solution of our own national problems to the Cuban experience. In doing this, we shall not only be fulfilling our internationalist duty, but also safeguarding the interests, freedom, dignity and future of our peoples.

We must study the Cuban experience. But this does not imply that we should copy it blindly, taking up a dogmatic stand like some people who look on the Cuban model as the only suitable one for Latin America. We will give our people an understanding of the spirit and content of the Cuban revolution if we single out those of its general characteristics that apply to the freedom struggle on the entire continent, and at the same time explain its specific features.

The years since the storming of Moncado are a shining tribute to the staunchness and determination of the Cuban revolutionaries. The shots which sounded on July 26, 1953, in Santiago de Cuba, heralded the commencement of the decisive stage of the Cuban people's struggle against the exploiters. This is the historical meaning of the events which started 20 years ago.

New attacks on democracy

A letter from Uruguay

Our country is a class battlefield. The social and economic crisis, coupled with the steadily deteriorating conditions of the workers, is aggravating the political situation. A differentiation is under way between those seeking to 'stabilize' matters at the people's expense, in the interests of the oligarchy and imperialism, and those aspiring to democratic progress and national sovereignty.

Analyzing the program of demands advanced by the armed forces in February, the Communists pointed out that the only possible solution of the country's problems was to end oligarchic and imperialist rule. The contest between the oligarchy and the people is still on the order of the day.

Developments confirmed the Communist forecast. Late in March strikes, meetings and demonstrations swept the country, demanding nationalization of banks and the meat-packing industry, state control over foreign trade, an agrarian reform, higher wages and pensions, solution of the housing problem, a better health system and social maintenance. In Montevideo alone, these actions involved about 150,000 people. Tens of thousands fought for the same demands in May, and there were more strikes in June.

President Bordaberry, a tool of the oligarchy and foreign imperialism, launched an attack on the Communist Party, the National Convention of Working People, and the Broad Front. He opposed restoration of the constitutional guarantees abolished in April 1972 and tried to restrict the rights of trade unions, forbidding them to advance political demands. Emergency security measures were adopted over the head of parliament, in particular an order to start court proceedings against Rodney Arismendi, First Secretary of the CC CPU. The country came to the brink of a dictatorship.

The oligarchy, the CPU stressed, dreads popular unity and positive changes in the alignment of political forces. It wants to foment trouble between the army and the mass organizations, and to create a split in the army milieu, which comprises both reactionaries and people sincerely searching for a way out of the crisis.

By the end of June the situation deteriorated still more. Parliament and the Constitution were plainly in the way of the 'stabilization' policy pursued by Bordaberry and the revolutionary army elements (some connected with the Brazilian 'gorillas'). They decided to seize full power, disbanded parliament and set up a 'State Council,' which has taken over the functions of parliament and is to revise the Constitution. Censorship was imposed, and a number of progressive publications, including *Popular*, the Communist

paper, were suspended. The authorities banned the National Convention of Working People.

At the time of writing the tide of workers' strikes is rising. The students are occupying universities. The Broad Front and several influential political parties are denouncing Bordaberry's course of action and demanding his resignation.

The country's future depends on the working class and the struggle of the people. The only realistic way out is in uniting all democratic forces, including the patriotic section of the armed forces.

The aims of the oligarchy are transparent. It wants to avert the changes sought by the people, and is banking on an outright suppression of democracy. But it will fail. The determination of the people and the workers of Uruguay is hardened by the militant solidarity and support of the workers in the rest of the continent and the world as a whole. We are resolved to repulse the fresh attacks on democracy

Jorge Gonzales

Montevideo, July 2, 1973



Brief information on Communist and Workers' Parties

THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF JAPAN

Founded on July 15, 1922, as an illegal party under the police system of the absolutist Tenno (Imperial) regime, the CPJ remained underground until the defeat of Japanese imperialism in the Second World War in 1945. By 1973 its membership passed the 300,000 mark.

Organizational structure:

Party organizations are on the district and production principle. Basic organizations (branches) are formed in factories, mines, ships, other enterprises, or towns, villages, schools, etc., where there are three or more Party members. The basic organization elects a committee. Superior to the basic organization are the District Organization (District Committee), Prefectural Organization (Prefectural Committee) and Central Organization (Central Committee).

The supreme organ of the National Party Organization is the Party Congress, and the leading organ between congresses is the Central Committee. The Party Congress is convened once in three years. The Congress elects the Central Committee and the Central Auditing Commission. The Central Committee elects a Chairman and Presidium, and the Chairman of the Presidium, and appoints a Central Control Committee. The Presidium sets up a Permanent Presidium and a Secretariat, and appoints members of the Secretariat. Responsible for the Secretariat is the Chief of the Secretariat elected from among the members of the Presidium.

The social composition of the Party: manual and office workers comprise 59 per cent of the membership; the rest are peasants, merchants, professionals, students, and others. The age structure: 54 per cent of the membership are between 18 and 30, 40 per cent between 31 and 50. Women comprise 31.7 per cent of the Party membership.

The Party Press:

Akahata (Red Banner) – central organ of the CPJ. Appears in two editions: daily (every day of the week, including Sundays)

and the Sunday edition. Daily circulation 550,000, and circulation of Sunday edition – 1,950,000. Delivered to subscribers by Party activists early each morning.

Zen-ei (Vanguard) – theoretical and political monthly review, CC CPJ.

Gikai to Jichitai (Parliament and Self-Government) – monthly journal, CC CPJ.

Gekkan Gakushu (Educational Monthly) – monthly journal of CC CPJ on Party education and propaganda.

Bunka Hyoron (Cultural Review) – monthly of the CC CPJ on cultural subjects.

Sekai Seiji Shiryo (International Politics) – fortnightly review of the international scene, CC CPJ.

Gakusei Shimbun (Students Gazette) – students' weekly published by CC CPJ.

Bulletin – information bulletin containing main CPJ resolutions, decisions and articles. Appears from time to time in English, French and Spanish.

The CPJ has a publishing house of the CC which publishes Party policy pamphlets on various current problems.

Akahata News Films is also periodically produced.

Educational and theoretical centers:

Social Science Institute, CC CPJ (founded in 1970). In July 1972 the Institute sponsored the International Theoretical Conference to commemorate the 50th anniversary of the Party's foundation with the participation of delegates from several Communist parties of capitalist countries.

Central Party School (founded in 1962). A total of 983 Party members have finished its annual courses by the end of March 1973.

Similar schools are also operated at different Party levels. Besides, the Party has a qualification test system for ideological workers: every member of the CPJ can qualify as a propagandist. There are three types of tests: primary, medium-level and higher.

In the general elections of December 1972 the CPJ polled 5,500,000 votes (over 10 per cent of the total), returning 38 members to the House of Representatives. Two more seats were won by CPJ-Progressive Independent and a candidate supported by the CPJ. Consequently, a CPJ-Progressive Independent Group has been formed in the Parliament, winning the right to propose bills. The CPJ also has 10 members in the House of Councillors.

As of April 1973, the CPJ had some 2,600 seats in local assemblies. The CPJ is one of the governing parties in more than 130 local self-government bodies in Tokyo, Kyoto, Osaka, Okinawa and Saitama Prefectures, with one-third of Japan's total population.

MONGOLIAN PEOPLE'S REVOLUTIONARY PARTY (MPRP)

Founded March 1, 1921.

Had 61,389 full and candidate members as of January 1, 1973.

Party organizations are set up on the territorial and industrial

principle. The MPRP has 3,739 branch organizations.

Highest leading bodies: general meeting (for the branch organizations; called not less than once a month); conference (for aimak [regional], city or district organizations; called not less than every two or three years); congress (for the whole Party; called at least every five years).

The latest (Sixteenth) Party Congress met in June 1971.

The congress elects a Central Committee and a Central Auditing Commission. In the intervals between CC plenary meetings, Party activities are guided by the Political Bureau and current work, by the Secretariat. The CC appoints a Party Control Committee.

Social composition of the Party: wage-earners 30 per cent, members of agricultural cooperatives 20.4 per cent, professional and office workers 49.6 per cent. Women make up 21.6 per cent of the membership. About 63 per cent of the members are engaged in material production, 21.7 per cent have received a higher education and 39.2 per cent, a secondary education.

Party Press:

Unen (The Truth), national daily of the CC MPRP. Founded 1920, circulation 113,000.

Namyn Amyidral (Party Life), political and theoretical monthly of the CC. Founded 1923, circulation 25,000.

Ediin Zasgiin Asuudal (Economic Problems), political and economic journal of the CC, published every two months. Founded 1955, circulation 12,000.

Ukhuulagch (Agitator), journal of the CC. Founded 1931, circulation 40,000.

Theoretical and study centers under the CC: Institute of Party History, and Sukhe Bator Higher Party School.

Full and candidate members of the MPRP make up 84.4 per cent of the deputies to the Great People's Khural of the Mongolian People's Republic and 59.7 per cent of the deputies to aimak, town, district, somon and khoron khurals.*

LEFT PARTY—COMMUNISTS (SWEDEN)

Founded May 1917.

Had 15,000 members by early 1973.

The members are organized in associations and clubs. The associations are residential units and the clubs comprise Party members from one and the same enterprise or industry. Associations and clubs are united into 250 local organizations. Geographically, all organizations are divided into 22 Party districts. Each Party district is led by a district executive committee and most of them have full-time functionaries.

The highest Party body is the congress, held every three years. It elects a Party Executive of 34 full and 10 alternate members and

*Somon, rural administrative unit; khoron, urban administrative unit; khural, council.

a Party chairman. It also elects three auditors. The last congress took place from October 26 to 29, 1972.

Two-thirds of the Party membership are wage-earners and one-fifth, small salary-earners. Women constitute about 25 per cent of the membership.

The Party has its youth organization, called Communist Youth.

Party Press:

Ny Dag (New Day), national newspaper of the LPC, published twice a week.

Norrskensflammen (Northern Lights), a daily published in Northern Sweden.

Socialistisk Debatt (Socialist Debate), theoretical quarterly.

The LPC is represented in the Riksdag and in communal government bodies, by 17 and 559 deputies respectively.

The capitalist mass communication media

*Compiled by Department of
Journalism, Moscow University**

Nearly half the mass communication media of the capitalist world are concentrated in the hands of some fifty press, radio and television monopolies. Their newspapers claim a daily circulation of 75 million – about 30 per cent of the total. They sell about 40 million copies of their weekly magazines, and control the bulk of radio and television broadcasting.

The structure of the mass communication media in the leading capitalist countries is shown in table on following page.

Newspapers, magazines, and radio and television stations are *highly profitable* enterprises. Though their incomes are not always known, investigators give the following profit rates: U.S. newspapers 14 per cent, Canada's 12-17 per cent, U.S. television 90-100 per cent, Canada's 40-98 per cent. Running a television station,

*Apart from UNESCO reference books, data were drawn from the following sources: *Statistical Abstract of the United States*, 1971; *Canada Year Book 1970-71*; B. Bagdikian, *The Information Machines*, New York, 1971; N. Johnson, *How to Talk Back to Your Television Set*, New York, 1970; Ch. Wintour, *Pressures on the Press*, London, 1972; B. Rucker, *The First Freedom*, 1971; S. Beglov, *Monopolii slova* (Information Monopolies), Moscow, 1972; journals *Communist Viewpoint*, *The Democratic Journalist*, *Columbia Journalism Review*, and others.

	Daily newspapers			Periodicals (excl. non-daily newspapers)		Television			Radio		
	Number	Circulation (mlns.)	Copies per 1,000 population	Number	Circulation (mlns.)	Number of transmitters (or stations)	Number of TV sets (mlns.)	TV sets per 1,000 population	Number of transmitters (or stations)	Number of radio-sets (mlns.)	Radio sets per 1,000 population
USA	1,773	62.1	302	9,400	—	2,703	84.6	412	6,337	290	1,412
Canada	118	4.5	218	895	—	360	6.1	294	415	15.8	742
Britain	110	25.6	463	4,687	—	291	16.3	293	404	18.2	327
France	106	11.9	238	14,634	168.8	2,156	11.0	217	265	16.1	318
FRG	1,093	19.7	319	6,482	151.7	842	16.7	272	309	19.6	318
Japan	168	53.0	511	5,278	—	3,582	22.6	215	786	25.7	255
Australia	58	4.0	321	1,231	—	181	2.8	227	212	2.6	211

Source: UNESCO Statistical Yearbook, 1971. UNESCO 1972.

Canadian multi-millionaire Roy Thomson once said, is like having 'a franchise to print money.'

The most lucrative item in the U.S. newspaper business is advertising. Advertising revenue has nearly tripled in twenty years, rising from \$2,000 million in 1950 to \$5,800 million in 1970. In the case of U.S. commercial television, the climb was still more spectacular—from \$170 million in 1950 to \$3,600 million in 1970. In the Federal Republic of Germany, owners of media pocketed DM15,500 million in advertising in 1968 alone.

The scramble for commercial revenue, chiefly advertising, is fiercely competitive, coupled with a drive for economic and political influence in favor of the monopoly groups behind the various information media.

Concentration is on the order of the day. The number of newspaper publishers is shrinking steadily. So is the number of daily newspapers. Information media are absorbed by competitors enjoying the greater support and confidence in monopoly quarters.

In Britain, the number of newspapers dropped nearly 35 per cent between 1920 and 1970. The bigger national papers are controlled by the Big Four—the International Publishing Corporation, Associated Newspapers, Beaverbrook Newspapers and the Thomson Organization. Their assets surpass those of all other newspaper publishers combined.

French newspapers are controlled by eleven Paris publishers and 61 in the provinces. The leading groups are Hachette, Prouvest, Amaury, Boussak and Del Duca. They put out 80 per cent of the Paris dailies 23 weeklies, and 21 other periodicals.

Until recently, Axel Springer was top man in the FRG publishing industry with an annual turnover approaching the billion mark. The total circulation of his periodicals is 15 million. He accounts for 30 per cent of the newspaper circulation in the FRG and West Berlin, but as much as 90 per cent in the case of national publications. His *Bild-Zeitung* (circulation 4,500,000), a reactionary scandal-sheet, is the country's biggest paper. A new concern, Bertelsmann, still more powerful than the Springer empire, was formed at the end of the last year following the merger of several major publishers. The two concerns claim that they are 'cooperating fruitfully.'

One out of every three newspapers that had appeared in Sweden in 1947, has ceased publication. Just 110 dailies remained by 1970, with a total circulation of 4.5 million. The Bonnier group, which controls the country's biggest book-publishing company, 20 per cent of the daily newspaper circulation, and half the country's illustrated weeklies, ranks first among the press monopolies.

In Italy, the number of newspapers has dropped from 140 in 1946 to 87 in 1972.

The trend is most distinct in the United States. Trusts, syndicates, corporations and smaller groups (of two dailies or a couple of TV stations) constitute the so-called chains, whose growing number speaks of the monopolization under way in U.S. information media.

USA	1922	1940	1957	1964	1967	1971
Newspaper chains	31	60	94	136	154	157
Newspapers controlled by chains	153	319	491	630	752	879

The ten biggest of the newspaper chains account for one-third of the country's total daily circulation, and have an aggregate income of \$2,200 million, or 25 per cent of the total registered by the American newspaper industry.

America's biggest newspaper concerns (1971)

	Circulation	Income ¹ (mlns. \$)
Tribune Company	3,631,451	479
Newhouse Newspapers	3,370,785	450
Scripps-Howard Newspapers	2,264,502	250
Knight Newspapers	2,204,000	271.4
Gannett Newspapers	2,197,997	238.4
Hearst Newspapers	1,709,288	160
Times Mirror Co.	1,685,556	523.8
Cox Newspapers	1,014,662	120
Cowles Publications	901,648	100
New York Times Co.	891,640	290.9

1. Includes revenue from radio and television.

The trend of acquiring more media is also typical of the U.S. television chains.

Concentration of TV stations in U.S.

Size of chains	Number of chains	
	1956	1967
7 stations	0	2
6 "	3	8
5 "	4	19
4 "	5	21
3 "	22	34
2 "	46	63
Total	80	147

There is a law against owning more than seven TV stations. But broadcasting corporations get round it by taking shares in other chains, vesting ownership in several branches of one family, forming subsidiaries, and the like. Besides, branch stations are set up, committed to relaying practically all programs of the parent network. In this manner three broadcasting networks, the CBS, NBC and ABC, have established control over nearly 600 TV stations. And

together with a fourth network, the MBS, they control 25 per cent of the most lucrative radio stations.

Conglomerates, too, are invading the field of mass information. These versatile monopolies do not confine themselves either to newspapers and magazines, or radio and television stations. They buy up whatever they can get, gaining additional profit from this diversification.

In the United States, conglomerates, mixed holding companies and firms with interlacing interests in the mass information field own 58 per cent of the daily newspapers, 77 per cent of the television stations, and 28 per cent of the radio stations.

Britain's International Publishing Corporation accounts for 25 per cent of the daily and 45 per cent of the Sunday newspaper circulation, owns 300 magazines and reviews, and holds 22 per cent of the assets of Associated Television.

In Canada, Free Press Publications owns eight dailies, a farmer's magazine and two TV stations; the Southam group eleven dailies, three weeklies and shares in five TV stations; Desmarais, Parisien and Francoeur four dailies, five weeklies, and shares in radio and television.

The capital of the private Japanese radio and television companies, TBS, NTB and FTC, interweaves with the capital of the Asahi Shimbun, Mainichi Shimbun and Yomiuri Shimbun newspapers.

In Australia, all 16 of the major city newspapers, nearly all commercial television stations (total 45) and most of the private radio stations belong to four concerns—the Herald and Weekly Times, John Fairfax Associated Newspapers Ltd., Australian Consolidated Press and Mirror Newspapers News Ltd.

A radically new development is the appearance of *transnational* press monopolies, which bear a close resemblance to the international superconcerns in industry. The U.S.-owned Time Incorporated and Britain's International Publishing Corporation are concerns of this type. But the Roy Thomson empire is probably a more striking example: it controls some 200 dailies, about as many other periodicals, dozens of radio and television stations, and book publishing houses and printing plants in more than 20 countries. In Britain alone it has *The Times*, *Sunday Times* and *Sunday Sun* in London, 15 dailies and more than 20 weeklies across the country, and Scottish commercial television. In addition, Thomson enterprises control mass information media in the United States, Canada, Australia, Nigeria, Liberia, Thailand and elsewhere. Annual turnover is \$210 million.

The U.S. press monopolies are especially active on the international market. *Reader's Digest*, for example, with a circulation of 29 million (out of which 17.8 million in the U.S.), appears in 13 languages and is sold in more than 100 countries. *Time* magazine's circulation is 4.2 million at home and over 5 million including its foreign editions (European, Canadian, Pacific, Latin American and Asian). *Newsweek*, too, has European and Pacific editions. Its home

circulation is 2.6 million, and total circulation over 3.5 million. In 1969, U.S. magazines sold 130.5 million copies in Canada, or four times as many as the home magazines. The U.S. National Broadcasting Company has direct investments in 13 television stations in eight countries, and sells its program to 80 countries, while ABC owns 51 per cent of the shares in the Central American television network. A similar network for six countries was formed in South America. Both are part of the ABC-controlled Worldvision. At the end of the 60s, Worldvision was active in 16 Latin American countries and eleven in other regions, encompassing 64 TV stations. FRG publishers sell DM20 million worth of newspapers and magazines in 68 countries annually.

A conspicuous part in worldwide operations is played by news agencies, as shown in the following table:

	Active in countries	Foreign subscribers
Associated Press (U.S.)	over 100	4,000
United Press Int'l (U.S.)	65	6,580
Reuters (U.K.)	124	
Agence France-Presse (France)	150	1,040

Concentration is also under way in the sphere of *foreign propaganda*. Though conducted by centralized government agencies and financed by the state, it is closely linked with the private concerns. The most prominent of the capitalist foreign propaganda agencies is the U.S. Information Agency (USIA), which conducts farflung ideological subversive operations against the socialist countries. Its arsenal includes a variety of propaganda media—radio, television, and press (36 periodicals in 29 languages). Its 1972 budget was \$200 million.

The agency's chief medium is the 'Voice of America' radio station, more than 60 per cent of whose transmitters are located outside the USA—in the FRG, Britain, Morocco, Greece, Liberia, South Vietnam, Thailand and the Philippines. Its programs are in more than 50 languages.

Another USIA propaganda center is radio station RIAS in West Berlin, beamed chiefly to the German Democratic Republic, and to Poland and Czechoslovakia.

The USIA screen service produces some 1,700 TV programs a year dubbed in 62 languages, transmitted by 5,000 stations and relayed by 2,082 centres in 97 countries.

The Free Europe Committee is officially a 'private' organization not connected with the U.S. government. Its purpose: psychological warfare against the socialist countries. It operates Radio Free Europe, comprising three stations (two in the FRG and one in Portugal) with 32 transmitters. Its headquarters are in Munich.

An organization similar to Free Europe, the U.S. Liberty Commit-

tee runs Radio Liberty, broadcasting in 20 languages of the USSR via 18 transmitters in the FRG, Spain and Taiwan.

The Deutsche Welle radio station (FRG) has relay points in Africa, the Caribbean, Iberian Peninsula and Southeast Asia. It specializes in broadcasts to Third World countries, and beams programs to the GDR. Another center, Westdeutscher Rundfunk, beams propaganda to all European lands, socialist and capitalist.

The following table gives a lucid picture of these and other radio stations (1971).

	Transmission output (kW)	Broadcasting volume	Languages	Staff
Voice of America	15,500 ¹	845 h weekly ¹	50	2,300
RIAS	460	41 h daily		900
Free Europe	2,245	80 h daily	6	2,000
Liberty	1,620	200 h daily	17	1,000
BBC (foreign service)		91 h 45 m daily	41	3,500
Deutsche Welle	1,500	385 h weekly	21	2,000
Westdeutscher Rundfunk			14	

1. 1967.

In the capitalist countries, the press, radio and television propagate bourgeois political, ideological and economic interests. The concentration and monopolization of the mass information media by a handful of companies is yet another state-monopoly lever for regulating the 'realm of ideas' and making the 'free' press serve the aims and ends of the ruling classes.

In brief

ALGERIA

The country has marked its Agrarian Revolution Day. A year ago in the village of Hamis al Heshna distribution of land was begun to the poorest peasants. This was the start of the agrarian revolution. During its completed first stage public and idle land were recorded and divided among more than 50,000 peasants. The launched second stage will see the liquidation of large private holdings, which will be divided among hundreds of thousands of landless peasants.

ARGENTINA

Following the inauguration of Dr. Hector Campora, the Central Committee of the CP of Argentina called on the people 'to fight tirelessly to extend and defend the gains of the people.' It emphasized the progress achieved in securing democratic freedoms, which enabled the Party and its youth organization to win legality. The CC warned against Rightist activity in and outside the government, designed to paralyze mass action.

BANGLADESH

Taking advantage of the temporary economic difficulties, pro-Chinese and pro-imperialist elements are conducting subversive activities against the present socialist-oriented government, Abdus Salam, General Secretary of the CP of Bangladesh, told a mass meeting recently. One of their aims, he said, is to disrupt friendly relations with the Soviet Union and India.

The Communist Party called on the people to repulse reactionaries seeking to subvert the country's independence and divert it from the socialist orientation.

CHILE

Party cards are being exchanged in view of the planned 15th Congress in November. A group of Party members in Santiago gathered to honor Party veterans.

CONGO

The People's Republic of Congo has completed the period of revolutionary search and is launching a period of revolutionary building. The Program of the Congolese Party of Labor describes it as a period of qualitative and quantitative transformations in Congolese society. It also outlines the immediate and future goals of the Party during the national-democratic stage of the Congolese revolution, notably full economic independence and laying of the foundations for building socialism. These goals, says the Program, require unity of all the truly national and democratic forces led by the Marxist-Leninist Congolese Party of Labor.

CYPRUS

About a thousand delegates attended a conference of the Progressive Party of the Working People of Cyprus (AKEL) to discuss organizational tasks. The goal was to make AKEL a 'more massive party, stronger and more active in the interests of Cyprus and the people.' The delegates heard a report by General Secretary Ezekias Papaioannou. The conference passed a resolution on organizational matters and a political resolution.

FRANCE

A colloquium on Democratic Government and Workers' Participation in Running Large Enterprises, held recently under the auspices of the French Communist Party, was attended by 150 Communists, including members and alternate members of the Political Bureau, members of the Central Committee, economists, secretaries of Party federations and activists of large enterprises.

MEXICO

Two hundred and fifty prominent public figures in Mexico—parliamentary deputies, scientists, art and cultural workers, including painter D. A. Siqueiros—issued a public appeal to the country's peace-loving forces to form a National Peace Committee. The committee's activities, it said, should be based on the principles of the peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems, recognition of the right of nations to struggle against imperialist oppression, and respect for human rights.

NORWAY

The Norwegian Communist Party, the Socialist People's Party, the Information Committee of the Workers' Movement against Norway's entry into the EEC and non-party trade union members have joined in a socialist election alliance and will run joint candidates in the autumn parliamentary elections. 'For the first time in the country's postwar history it has become possible to unite all of Norway's progressive forces . . .' says the alliance manifesto.

A Plenum of the Central Executive of the CP says the alliance 'lays the foundations for a totally new situation in the workers' movement in Norway.'

PARAGUAY

The Central Committee of the underground Paraguayan CP has held its Fourth Plenary Meeting to discuss the situation in the country and the Party's immediate tasks. Despite brutal repressions, the Plenum noted, resistance to the Stroessner dictatorship, the local oligarchy and imperialism, is growing.

This influence of the Communist Party, the Plenum resolution said, has increased visibly. The Party has been able to cement its unity. The present goal is to rally the masses, coordinate the struggle of all patriotic and progressive forces, and build up a broad national anti-dictatorial front. The opposition groups, though still weak and scattered, are gradually growing into a mighty organized force.

YUGOSLAVIA

The recently published Platform for Drafting the Positions and Decisions of the 10th LCY Congress defined the prime tasks in

Party building in its section on strengthening the class essence and social role of the LCY. 'The basis for the internal life of the LCY,' the document noted, 'is consistent realization of the principles of democratic centralism.' One of the uppermost tasks of the LCY, the document said, is to combat factional activities still going on in many organs and organizations.

The document also defined the main directions of LCY home and foreign policy.

DIARY

Yumzhagiin Tsedenbal, First Secretary of the CC MPRP and Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Mongolian People's Republic, who headed the Mongolian delegation to the 27th CMEA Session in Prague, June 5-8, 1973, held a friendly talk at the offices of this journal.

Representatives of some 30 fraternal parties and members of the staff attended. Comrade Tsedenbal dwelt on aspects of socialist construction in Mongolia and his country's participation in the Comprehensive CMEA Economic Integration Program. He also touched on topical issues relating to the development of the socialist world system, and answered questions.

Comrade Tsedenbal commended the positive contribution of this journal to the propagation of Marxist-Leninist ideas and the exchange of experience in Party work, and welcomed the international conferences and symposia held under the journal's auspices for promoting collective discussion of vital issues and the growth of the theory of scientific communism.

Speaking at a sitting of our Editorial Council, Comrade Shripad Amrit Dange, Chairman of the National Council of the CP of India, described his Party's struggle for the unity of Left and democratic forces against the reactionary Rightist bloc, and the specific conditions of the struggle in the various Indian states. Recalling chapters from the history of the CPI, Comrade Dange portrayed the changes in his country, tracing them to the favorable international climate. He emphasized the significance of the peace policy of the Soviet Union.

Comrade Dange also discussed closer cooperation between the CPI and this journal and the planned inauguration of an English-language and Bengali edition of the journal in India.

Visiting our editorial offices during his stay in Prague, Comrade Pedro Saad, General Secretary of the CP of Ecuador, told members of the WMR Commission on the Latin American National Liberation Movement about the situation in his country and the preparations for the Party's next Congress. He also discussed further cooperation between the CP of Ecuador and this journal.

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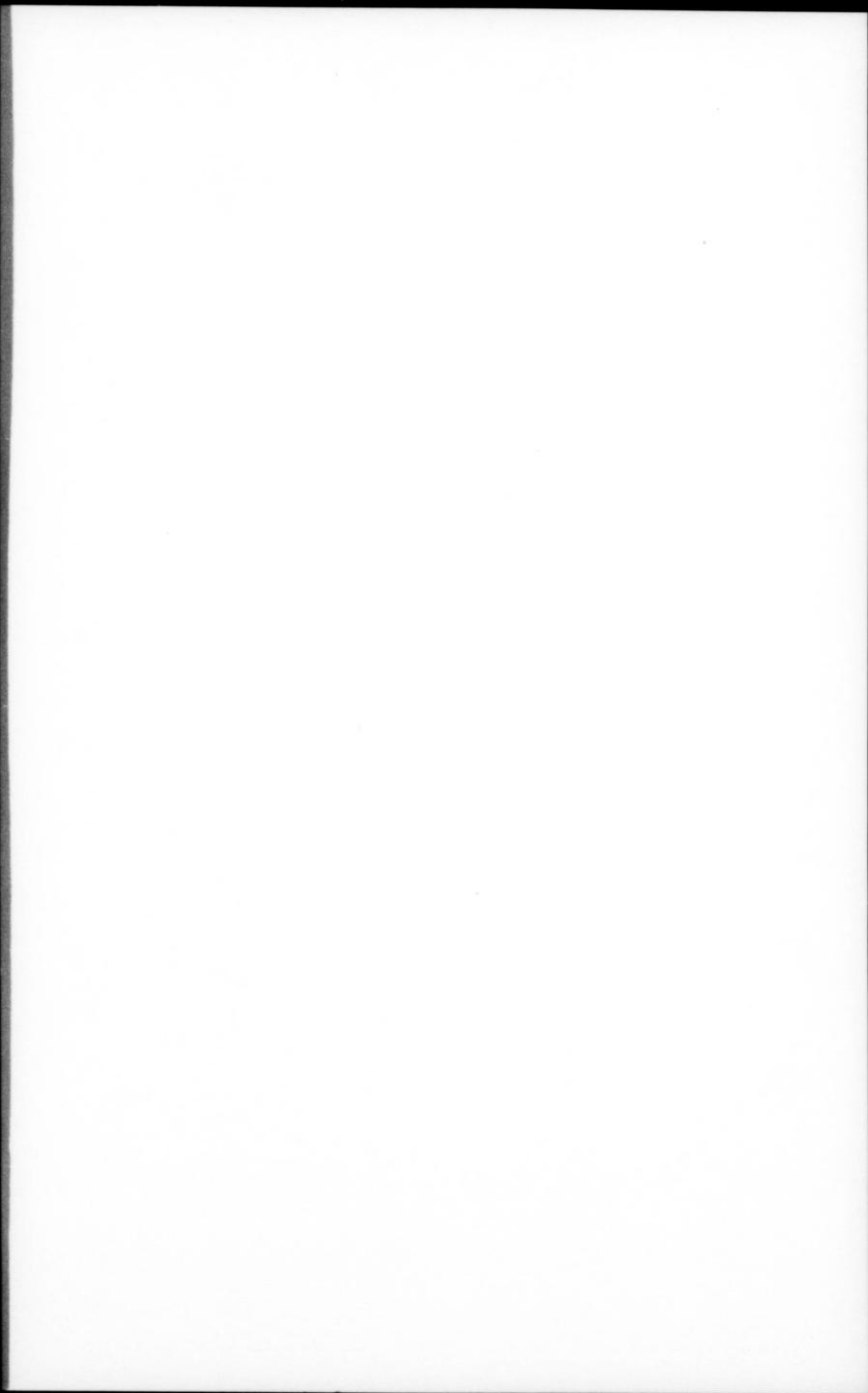
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