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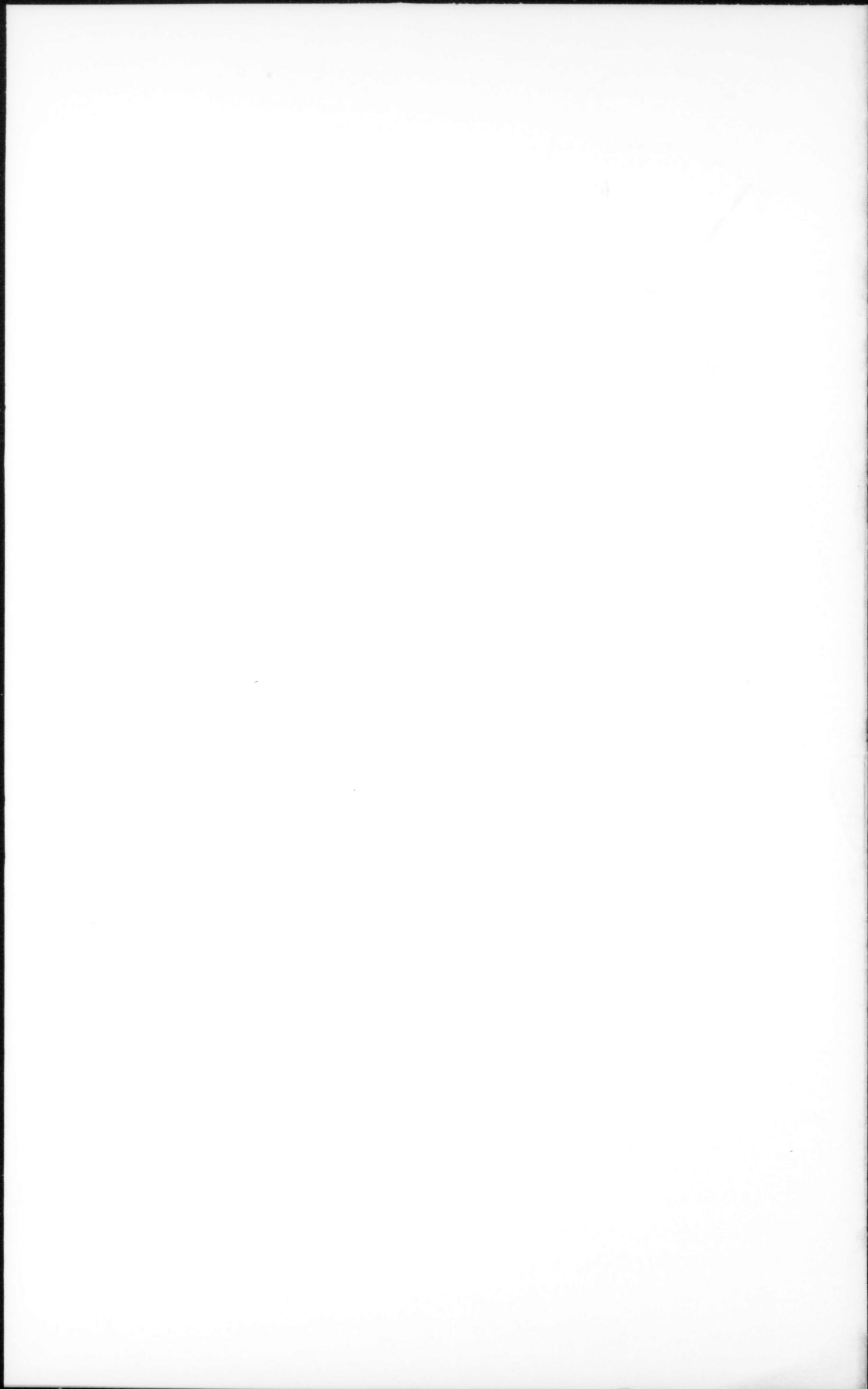
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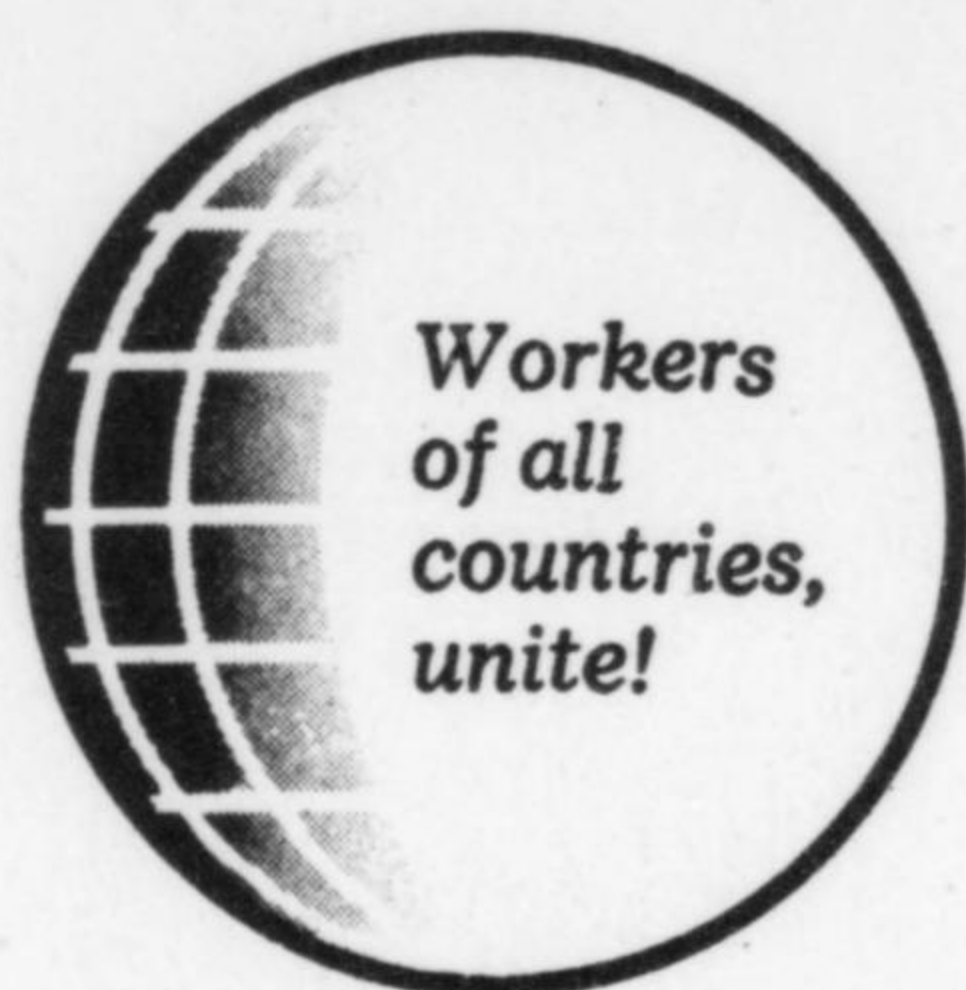
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The economy and democracy

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The socio-historical practice of existing socialism shows that the provision of the social and economic conditions for the fuller and freer development of man, for the application of his creative energies, abilities and gifts, and for the growing participation of the masses in the management of public affairs is a law of socialism. It thus proves the great vitality and scientific validity of the communist ideal, which has absorbed the finest traditions of humanist and democratic thought, and the superiority of socialism over capitalism in spheres that are, in a sense, the most important of all because of their direct 'human content.'

Of course, it would be wrong to claim that under socialism today the individual's all-round development is already provided for and all the problems involved in creating the socio-economic conditions for this development have been solved. Nor is socialist democracy born in absolute perfection. Warning that it would be unwise to count on socialist democracy's immediate and complete realization, Lenin wrote 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.' (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 25, p. 472). This process goes particularly deep and assumes a mass scale at the stage of building developed socialism.

The purpose of this article is to deal with certain aspects of the connection between the economy and democracy in the light of the Czechoslovak experience in building socialism.

Why is socialist democracy essential?

Up to the time of Munich, Czechoslovakia practised one of the most developed forms of bourgeois democracy. This was a result of persistent struggle by the working class along with the working peasantry, artisans, small businessmen and progressive intellectuals. It was a reflection of the balance of class forces in the country. The crucial factor, however, was that the country was dominated by a big

bourgeoisie, subordinate to the political, and financial circles of French, British and German capital. The rivalry between the 'Prague Castle wing,' oriented on Anglo-French capital, and the financial bourgeois circles represented by the Agrarian Party and oriented on partnership with German capital in no way changed the fact that these were big monopolies which used bourgeois democracy to exploit the working people and protect their own property. The policies they pursued led ultimately to Munich, to enslavement by the fascist occupation forces and the loss of national independence, and brought the Czechs and Slovaks face to face with the threat of physical violence.

After the bitter experience of rule by the bourgeoisie, which had betrayed the interests of the nation and the state, our people, in the conditions created by the Soviet Army's historic victories over nazism, rallied around the CPCz and engaged in an active struggle for the renaissance of the republic, for a Czechoslovakia where social and national problems would be solved on a fair basis, in an active struggle for a new democracy.

Bourgeois ideologists often present socialism's political system, particularly the democracy it creates, as something having no roots in human history and alien to all previous experience, all the skills and traditions of 'Western democracy' (by which they mean bourgeois democracy). They portray the development of socialist democracy as the complete and intentional denial and deliberate destruction of all previous democratic institutions.

It is well known, however — and our political history is a case in point — that the communists have never refused to use the institutions of bourgeois democracy merely because they were devised by the bourgeoisie to maintain its class supremacy. Marxist-Leninists have always held that bourgeois democracy, the parliamentary system, is a big step forward in historical development from the standpoint of ensuring man's political and other vital rights, creating conditions for progressive, socialist change. The strategy of our party in the period of decisive struggle for working-class power, which culminated in the Victorious February of 1948, was based on combining powerful popular actions with the use of democratic institutions, including parliament. And after the working class had won power in alliance with the working peasantry and the people's intelligentsia, such attributes of democracy as universal suffrage, representative bodies, the accountability of the executive to the elective bodies of government, the institution of the presidency, and so on, were developed in setting up the political system of socialism in Czechoslovakia.

Nevertheless, the fact that socialist democracy absorbs the

progressive gains won under bourgeois democracy does not, in our view, imply that it is or should be merely an improved version of the latter. The history of the struggle for a forward-looking organization of society leads one to the conclusion that building true people's power is impossible without radically transforming the mode of social production, property relations and the distribution of the national income. An unequal relation to the means of production, property inequality, tends to concentrate power in the hands of those who own large amounts of private property. It is this real power that bourgeois democracy ultimately expresses and protects.

In pre-Munich Czechoslovakia the class of financial, industrial, commercial and other property-owners jealously safeguarded, against all attacks by democratic institutions, or, to be exact, by the progressive forces represented in them, its undivided sway in the production sphere, i.e., in the economy, in the system of distribution and control of the social product. Throughout its history, parliament dared to encroach on this sphere on very few occasions, and then only to pursue reforms that did not threaten the system of extra-parliamentary class power of the bourgeoisie in the field of capitalist production relations. The Czechoslovak working people learned by experience that 'as long as there are exploiters who rule the majority, the exploited, the democratic state must inevitably be a democracy for the exploiters' (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 28, p. 250).

After the defeat of nazism the balance of class forces in our country enabled the working people to make considerable inroads into the positions of the bourgeoisie. A situation was created in which, as Klement Gottwald aptly put it, the working class could not as yet rule alone, without the bourgeoisie, and the bourgeoisie could not rule without the working class.* The masses of the working people, led by the CPCz, had reached a point beyond which further advance could mean only abolition of the real power of the bourgeoisie, above all its economic supremacy.

To recover its lost positions, the bourgeoisie tried to organize a counter-revolutionary coup. This met with firm resistance from the mass of working people led by the working class. In accordance with the people's will, the Constituent National Assembly (in which the communists did not have an arithmetical majority) approved the government program proposed by Gottwald. The country thus embarked on socialist development, and this transition proceeded by peaceful means, with scrupulous observance of the Constitution of the time. It was not the communists but the reactionary section of the bourgeoisie who showed disrespect for democracy.

*See Klement Gottwald, *Spsiy*, Vol. XII. Prague, 1955, p. 21

Having taken power in February 1948, the working class used it to expropriate big capital and the banks, and to hand over to the working people the factories and the big estates. The people's power was placed on a firm material foundation, a foundation which democracy lacks in bourgeois society, and without which it remains ultimately incomplete, limited and often nominal. This foundation is social ownership of the means of production, which is an indispensable condition for concentrating both political and economic power in the hands of the working people.

Under socialism the individual makes much greater use of his political and civil rights and is able to contribute to the development of society primarily because in real terms, in practice, he is guaranteed all the various economic, social and cultural rights — the right to work, education, recreation, social security — just as the masses are guaranteed the right of direct participation in the management of production. Bourgeois democracy is unable to provide many of these vitally important rights for a considerable section of the population, and equally unable to halt processes undermining its very foundations. Witness the crisis development of the economy, the unemployment (17 million unemployed at the beginning of 1978 in the developed capitalist countries), the growing social inequality (in the United States, 20 per cent of the wealthiest families dispose over 41 per cent of the national income whereas the share of 20 per cent of the poorest families in the national income does not exceed 5.4 per cent), the amorality in political life, absenteeism, and so on.

We believe it is still important to define the borderlines beyond which continued struggle for socialism demands revolutionary and not evolutionary changes. In fact, this problem has become, in a sense, even more relevant.

In the first place, our own history, and also the events of recent years in a number of countries show that in crisis situations the bourgeoisie, unable to channel developments to its advantage, resorts to serious restrictions or outright violations of democracy, and sets up pro-fascist or frankly fascist regimes. As soon as the working class and its allies begin to threaten, through democratic institutions, the vital interests of the monopolies and the ruling circles of capitalist society, these set in motion all available economic, political and ideological means to prevent the victory of the progressive forces.

Second, in a number of capitalist countries, the consolidation of the positions of the progressive forces fighting for democracy and socialism, and the extension of their political gains are accompanied by intensification of the anti-democratic manifestations of monopoly capital. A specific instance is the tendency toward exclusiveness, the

increasing independence of the executive power from the elective organs of power, which means that it interacts more and more closely and directly with the monopoly bourgeoisie and the technocratic bureaucracy.

Third, we are witnessing new elements in the tactics of the monopoly bourgeoisie of the leading capitalist countries, namely, attempts to devise a new mechanism of administration, with its representatives at their international meetings drawing up coordinated recommendations and then seeking through certain channels of influence to make them the basis for the activity of the national organs of power in their respective countries.

We Czechoslovak communists are convinced that even today it is impossible, while restricting oneself to a policy of reforms in the framework of bourgeois democracy, to establish people's power, because bourgeois democracy sets strict limits to the participation of the working people in the management of public affairs in general and economic affairs in particular. Our experience and the experience of other fraternal peoples travelling the socialist road suggest that the task is to develop a democracy of a new type, based on social ownership of the means of production and ensuring participation of the masses in conscious historical creativity, which opens up vast opportunities for the progress of society and the individual.

The socialist state and democracy

Ever since the socialist revolution took place, the socialist state has been the main instrument for building the new society in our country. It is created by the masses as an instrument for the planned management of socialist production, for the accounting and control of the measure of work and the measure of consumption. It performs cultural and educational functions, defends our country's national interests and the common interests of the socialist community on the international scene, and provides reliable protection for the working people's sovereignty and independence and for their socialist gains. These functions are fulfilled by our socialist state in the name and on behalf of the collective owner of the means of production, the working class and other working people, because socialism makes for unity of the fundamental interests of all classes and social strata and gradually removes all causes of alienation between the masses and the state.

Using the strength of our state, we have solved a whole range of historic problems involved in building the foundations of socialism in the economic, social, political, cultural and other spheres, and are going ahead with building developed socialism. The indices of the socio-economic development of our state provide the prime evidence

of this. In the 30 years since the victory of our people in February 1948, the social product has multiplied seven times and the national income, 5.5 times. Dynamic economic development has ended unemployment. The working people's personal consumption has increased fourfold. Social consumption funds, which cover all or nearly all expenditures on health, education, social security, culture, and so on, play an increasing role in raising the living standard of the working people.

The history of the peoples of our country has shown that one of the criteria of true democracy is its ability to solve the nationalities question. There could be no talk about full rights, real freedom, the real rights and freedoms of the individual in bourgeois Czechoslovakia, where the ruling circles denied the national identity of the Slovak people, tried to perpetuate the economic backwardness of the Slovak lands, and sowed discord among working people of different nationalities. Only socialism supplied the solution of the nationalities question in our country. The policy of the CPCz and the Czechoslovak state in this field proceeded and still proceeds from the experience of the CPSU and the Soviet Union, from the Leninist proposition that true democracy in the sphere of national relations lies in tying in the nations' political and economic equality.

The viability of this policy is evident in present-day Slovakia, in its rapidly developing industry and agriculture, high level of culture, and education, and growing standard of living. Compared with the prewar period, Slovakia's industrial output has multiplied 40 times and its agricultural production had doubled. The average life expectancy of the Slovak people has increased by more than a third since 1945. About two-thirds of the republic's population live in comfortable flats built in the last 30 years. As many as 45,000 scientists and specialists work in research and development institutions, which were all but non-existent in pre-revolutionary Slovakia.

The unity of Czechoslovakia is strengthened by the federal structure of our state, which was adopted 10 years ago. It ensures the harmonious blending of the national interests of the Czechs, Slovaks and members of other nationalities of our country with the general interests of the CSSR.

Today we have every reason to say that relations between the Czechs, Slovaks and other ethnic groups of our country are based on genuine, fraternal friendship and the closest cooperation. These ties are firmer than ever before. In accordance with Marxist-Leninist theory the CPCz pursues a policy designed to bring about both progress of the peoples of Czechoslovakia and their gradual drawing together, their closer friendship and cooperation with the peoples of

the other fraternal countries on the principles of socialist internationalism.

The Czechoslovak state, Gustav Husak, General Secretary of the CC CPCz, said at the 14th Party Congress in 1971, 'performs the function of instrument of the class power of the workers, peasants and other working people and is gradually perfecting its methods of work in the organizational, economic, educational, cultural, defense and all other spheres. We shall strengthen our Czechoslovak socialist state and perfect its various components and functions, so that it may fulfill its mission in the cause of the all-round development of society.'

At the same time, our experience invites the conclusion that to strengthen and perfect the socialist state does not at all mean restricting mass participation in the management of public affairs. The ever wider participation of the masses in decision-making on every aspect of public life at all levels is ensured both by deepening the democratic principles of state power and perfecting what may be described as people's state self-administration, and also by gradually shaping the organs of direct people's self-administration. In this we see a process of gradual convergence of society and the state, of what Marx defined as the 're-absorption of state power by society.'

Undoubtedly, this is a complex and lengthy process. A good many intermediate and transitional forms will emerge and wither away before socialist statehood and the whole political organization of society are transformed into communist social self-administration. This is an objective process. It cannot be artificially forced; nor can it be impeded. But even today, in our view, the crucial trend in this process has crystallized. We see it in perfecting the role and functions of the socialist state, on the one hand, and in steadily deepening and broadening socialist democracy, including the sphere of government, on the other.

In this process a major role is played by the National Front, which Gustav Husak defined at the 15th Party Congress in 1977 as 'the political expression of the class alliance of workers, peasants and intellectuals, of all the working people, the international community of our peoples and ethnic groups.' A ramified network of member organizations enables the National Front to provide all the conditions for realizing the citizens' most diverse interests, activities and initiatives, and for their participation in the management of public affairs. Through the trade unions with their six million members, the Socialist Youth League, other mass organizations, and the four non-communist parties (which in February 1948 came out firmly in favor of the socialist road to development), practically every citizen of the CSSR has the opportunity of making real use of his rights and

freedoms. Through these organizations more than half the population takes part in the management of public affairs as activists and functionaries. The National Front is a broad platform of socialist democracy, which the CPCz goes on developing and perfecting.

We regard the National Committees, through which people's power is exercised in every village, district and region, as an important element in socialist democracy. They are responsible for everything connected with the life of the people, are vested with appropriate powers and command the necessary funds and administrative rights.

They are allotted roughly 38 per cent of the appropriations under the Federal and republican budgets. They draw on these funds for 80 per cent of their capital construction investments in education, over 90 per cent of health care, and nearly 80 per cent in culture. At present there are over 200,000 deputies working on the National Committees and another 500,000 citizens taking part in various commissions attached to them.

Our party attaches special importance to the need to extend and perfect the mechanism of consultation between leading party and government bodies, on the one hand, and the working people, on the other. We see this as a key feature of socialist democracy. It is safe to say that in recent years not a single matter of any importance in our public life has been decided without being first discussed at meetings of enterprise staffs and trade union organizations and in the mass media, without consultation with other organizations and non-communist parties. Moreover, these discussions are held in a spirit of open, creative exchange of opinion, criticism and self-criticism; the working people speak out in specific and businesslike terms, and make a good many valuable suggestions. The results of these discussions have been recorded in the documents of party congresses and the congresses of public organizations, and have been taken into consideration by legislative bodies and the government.

As is known, in building socialism and shaping its political system, we have not always been able to find correct solutions at once. We have made mistakes. And this has sometimes led to serious difficulties and conflicts. Even today we have not solved all the problems involved in building socialist democracy. So we feel that it is extremely important to be even more persistent in educating the masses and stimulating their political activity, in explaining the relation between freedom and responsibility, between rights and duties. It is our view that as well as searching for new forms of representative and direct democracy, it is essential to achieve effective functioning of the institutions of people's power that have already taken shape and proved their worth, and to make full use of the opportunities

they offer. It is essential to continue curbing bureaucratic practices and attempts to smother criticism, and to end passive attitudes to the initiative of the masses. But the general line of development of our political system is toward deepening and extending democracy. We believe this to be the only correct line.

Democracy and centralism in economic management

Our party makes a special effort to bring the masses into economic management at all levels — from the shop floor to the national economy as a whole. The importance of this aspect of democracy today may be judged from the political struggle and ideological and theoretical discussion going on in the capitalist countries over participation in management and 'economic democracy,' the efforts of the progressive forces to achieve democratic management by the masses, workers' control, and so on. This struggle is due to the discrepancy (of which the working people are becoming increasingly aware) between proclaimed democratic principles and norms in the political sphere and the almost unlimited freedom of decision-making enjoyed by the big capitalists and technocratic bureaucracy in the economic sphere; it is due to the fact that the bourgeois state's economic policy reflects the interests of monopoly capital.

We consider that under socialism the problem of participation in management, of 'economic democracy,' in the form it takes in the capitalist countries, does not exist. It is solved by socialism, which establishes social ownership of the means of production, organizes economic management by the state in the interests of the masses and with their participation, and gradually furthers democracy in economic life. This is why we believe that arguments in favor of supplementing political democracy in the countries of existing socialism with economic democracy, and the opposing of centralized state planning to 'democratic forms of control over economic power' not only do not help toward an understanding of the nature of our problems in this sphere, but actually misrepresent them.

How to perfect the means of mass participation in administration, including economic management, is a different question. Our party maintains that as socialist society develops, these means undergo certain changes and acquire an even more significant content. The main problem today stems from the new content of management brought about by the scientific and technological revolution. Does this mean that the opportunities for mass participation in management are shrinking? Perhaps those who limit democracy to the political sphere and refuse to accept it in the sphere of management, education and health care, saying that it would hamper the ability of the appropriate institutions to act quickly and efficiently, are right?

The experience of our party prompts us to give a negative reply to both questions. Life has confirmed that the exercise of the right of every citizen to take part in decision-making on social and state affairs is one of the powerful sources of socialism's development. However, specialized knowledge, experience and competence are really necessary to ensure that the right of participation becomes real and effective participation. Maturity of outlook, political training and a high level of culture are also essential. At the stage of building developed socialism, when objective conditions are particularly favorable to drawing the masses into management, two tasks take priority: educating and training the masses in the work of management, and devising the most effective forms for their participation in management. This demands planned organizational and educational work by the party, the state, and society as a whole. And it is the only way of accomplishing the historic task, set by Lenin, of 'systematically drawing an ever greater number of citizens, and subsequently *each* and *every* citizen, into direct and *daily* performance of their share of the burdens of administering the state' (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 27, p. 156).

Our practice of drawing the masses into management indicates that it would be wrong to conceive it as a policy of gradually eliminating managerial personnel and abolishing the principles of centralism in administration in general. Highly organized large-scale production requires qualified specialists, professionals whose job is to maintain the dynamic functioning of the economy, the social organism as a whole. Drawing the masses into management, in our view, means getting them to carry out the functions of accounting, supervision, and so on, that is to say, the functions of democratic control. We believe that prompt and regular supply of information to the working people on all matters, both state and local, about all that happens at the factories, offices, etc., and systematic consultations with them while working out decisions, are an absolutely essential condition for the effective performance of this function.

The dialectics of combining the specialization of managerial work with greater worker participation in management consists, as we see it, in gradually solving a twofold problem: searching for ever more diverse forms of democratic control by the masses corresponding to the various managerial functions, and perfecting democratic centralism as the key principle of organization and administration in socialist society.

The essence of the principle of democratic centralism lies in the combination, the inseparable unity of democracy, that is to say, the full power of the working people, their initiative in all fields, the electiveness of the administrative bodies and leaders and the accoun-

tability of these bodies to the masses, with centralization, with guidance from a single centre, individual responsibility and strict discipline. This is inherent in the nature of socialist society. Lenin believed this principle to be of key importance in economic management. At the same time, he warned that democratic centralism has nothing whatever to do with routinism, with absolute centralism (see *Coll. Works*, Vol. 27, p. 208).

Democracy in production, particularly at the enterprise level, is an important line of development of democracy in the sphere of economic management, one ensuring ever greater participation of the masses in decision-making on economic and social matters. The production team is the primary unit in which economic tasks are accomplished and directly combine with social and ideological education tasks, and in which the worker acquires a keen sense of personal responsibility for fulfillment of the plan, adherence to scientific standards and principles of production, and conscious discipline.

In our country today, at the level of the enterprise, of the production team, the creative labor and political activity of the masses take such forms as the working people's participation in controlling the economic activity of the enterprise (through production conferences, discussion, the fulfillment of production plans, etc.); socialist competition, participation in accelerating technological progress, in the scientific organization of labor, rationalization and invention, and lastly, social planning. The following facts testify that this participation is not nominal, as hostile propaganda claims, but a cause in which the working people have a vital stake. In 1977, tens of millions of people took part in production conferences at enterprises (i.e., virtually every worker participated several times). Thousands upon thousands of proposals, 70 per cent of which were actually used, were put forward at the conferences. Nearly 78,000 teams totalling one million people are taking part in the competition for the title of socialist work team. Tens of thousands of citizens participate in the work of people's control bodies.

The creation of a socialist society in our country has shown the Czechoslovak communists that the main but also the most difficult thing in applying the principle of democratic centralism is to achieve an optimal blend of centralism and democracy. In the final analysis, this blend is determined by the level of socialization of production achieved at the given stage, the degree of maturity of the social relations, the moral and political unity of society, and historical conditions. We know from our own experience that over-centralization has a disastrous effect on economic development. It leads to passivity and lack of initiative, and proliferates bureaucratic methods. But we have also seen with our own eyes what happens when the principle of

centralized planning in the economy and in social administration as a whole is undermined. In 1968-69 the attempt to abolish democratic centralism and centralized planning in our economy did great harm to it.

In tackling the problems involved in perfecting economic management at the stage of building developed socialism, the CPCz proceeds from the fact that the principle of democratic centralism remains the foundation of socialist economic development. Centralized planned guidance of the economy, which is possible only on the basis of social ownership of the means of production, is one of the greatest achievements of socialism inasmuch as it is the instrument that bridles market spontaneity and makes it possible to pursue economic and social development on a scientific basis, taking into account the interests of all classes and strata, all regions and nations, and society as a whole.

At the same time the socialist economy is based on the use of commodity-money relations, which acquire a new content in the context of social ownership of the means of production; management of the socialist economy does not exclude but presupposes knowledge and optimal use of the objective economic laws of socialism, including the law of value. Thus, some of our production combines, trading enterprises, fundamental research and research-and-development organizations are now testing a system of measures designed to improve the mechanism of planned guidance of economic activity and raise the quality and efficiency of production. The point is to discover a more effective system of economic levers, norms and incentives for estimating more completely and objectively the results of the work of enterprises, accelerating scientific and technical progress, and concentrating the effort of managers and employees on such crucial economic tasks as making investment more productive, thrifty utilization of raw and other materials and energy, increasing the returns from fixed assets, and steadily improving the quality of output. This system calls for a further enhancement of the role and encouragement of the initiative of the enterprises and their staffs in fulfilling plan targets.

The socialist political system can only develop in the direction of a further deepening and extension of democracy. As we see it, the Communist Party plays the key role in this process. This applies both to the specific party methods of guidance of government bodies and to the party's work in encouraging the creative activity of the masses and drawing them into the management of society and the state.

The experience of socialist development in our country convinces us that the CPCz has always been the main guarantee and vehicle of socialist democracy. Its growing role in leading the country and

society is determined not only by the increasingly exacting tasks ahead, but also by the vigorous activity of all its members and organizations. Of exceptional importance, therefore, is the CPCz Central Committee's insistence on perfecting inner-party life, promoting democracy within the party, and consistently using Leninist working methods. Progress in this direction is to be seen in the successful fulfillment of the decisions of the 15th CPCz Congress and in the all-round development of our socialist society.

Détente and the working class

Dietmar Ahrens
Deputy Chairman,
Socialist Unity Party, West Berlin

A characteristic feature of our day is that the working-class influence on world development and the destinies of civilization has never been greater. Events of the past several years, we feel, serve to reaffirm the thesis put forward by the 1969 International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties about the working class being the chief motive and mobilizing force of the revolutionary struggle, of the whole democratic and anti-imperialist movement. The communists also approached the solution of the new problems faced by the working class in keeping with their experience and of the Marxist-Leninist doctrine concerning the proletariat's historical mission, the main lines of its struggle against capital and the advance to its socialist goals. One such problem is its participation in the unprecedented struggle for peace, détente and disarmament, a struggle which has encompassed the whole globe and which has involved millions of people of every race, nationality and, to some extent, property status, origins and class membership.

Without claiming to deal with the problem fully or comprehensively, I intend to consider some aspects of this participation.

The détente is not an accidental phenomenon in the development of contemporary international relations. It is the only rational alternative to nuclear war and has been made imperative by the course of world history itself. It is solidly and objectively rooted in the balance of class and political forces in the world, which has changed in favor

of socialism. But this does not yet mean that the détente can automatically run as a spontaneous process without consistent and vigorous political and ideological struggle by the world's progressive and peace-loving forces. There is good reason why Leonid Brezhnev, considering the ways of effecting the historic transition from the cold war to détente, specifically emphasized in one of his speeches that this can be achieved 'only in struggle.'

The working class and its political vanguard, the communist parties, their ideology and political struggle, are among the key factors which make for the success of the détente. This is directly connected with the historical role of the working class. The founders of Marxism saw a direct connection between the struggle for peace and the working-class struggle for social progress and against the power of capital. They predicted that this struggle would, with the passage of time, help to replace the old world with its economic poverty and political madness with a new world, a new society 'whose international principle would be *peace*, because each nation will have one and the same master — labor,' Marx and Engels said in the First Address on the Franco-Prussian War, which they wrote for the International Working Men's Association. At the dawn of the working-class movement, the Inaugural Address of the Association proclaimed peace to be a 'part of the general struggle for the emancipation of the working class.'¹

In contrast to all the exploitative socio-historical formations, for which war was (and is) a natural form of existence, 'a continuation of politics by the force of arms,' the working-class movement declared as it emerged in the historical arena that the simple rules of majority and justice practised by individuals in their relations with each other should become the natural rules of relations among states. It is not surprising, therefore, that the first foreign-policy act issued by the world's first state of the victorious working class was its Decree on Peace, a document which blends the lofty communist ideals and the urge of millions of working men and women to live in peace. For more than 60 years the policy of peace and peaceful coexistence has now been the state policy of existing socialism. This policy, elaborated in detail in the Peace Program of the 24th Congress of the CPSU and further developed at the Soviet communists' 25th Congress and the congresses and plenary meetings of the communists and workers' parties in power in the socialist countries, now has the support of the broadest sections of progressive world opinion and is objectively an expression of the interests of all the contingents of the working class throughout the world.

Now and again, some ask the communists this question: after the First World War, the chain of capitalist domination was broken, and

the USSR, the first state of the victorious working class, was set up. As a result of the Second World War, a number of other countries fell away from the imperialist system. Does this not suggest that the working class should have a stake in wars and that détente and peaceful coexistence tend to slow down the revolutionary process?

The answer is a definite no. War and revolution are phenomena of a different order. Capitalist chains tend to break, whether in time of war or peace, where they have been weakened, where the revolutionary situation develops and where the subjective factor — a Marxist-Leninist working-class party — has deep roots and a leading role to play. Conversely, the struggle against imperialist wars of aggrandisement and against the death, poverty, starvation and destruction, which they hold in store for mankind, meets the vital interests of the working class, which is the leading and most consistent force in the struggle for peace and détente.

Indeed, can the working class have a stake in war and destruction of other nations if under capitalism, as Karl Liebknecht said, 'each nation's chief enemy is at home, the German people's chief enemy. . . is German imperialism. . . That is the enemy the German people must fight . . . in cooperation with the proletariat of other countries, whose struggle is aimed against its own imperialists.'²

Can the working class advocate war when wars started by the imperialists are always designed to shore up the class power of capital and are aimed not against 'aliens' but also against their own people, against the working-class and communist movement, against all the progressive forces and the democratic gains of the working people?

Finally, can the working class wish for war, let alone thermonuclear war, with its destruction of material and spiritual values and the threat to mankind's very existence, if the working class is now itself the chief producer of these values and the standard-bearer in the struggle for a better future for humanity, for socialism and communism?

Conscious workers regard peace as a necessary condition for the struggle for a just social order, social progress and the construction of socialism and communism. The struggle for détente is a struggle to keep in check the most dangerous and aggressive forces of imperialism and to provide each nation with reliable guarantees for independent development; for an end to the arms race and for disarmament.

The struggle for détente and disarmament is not only a struggle *against the threat of annihilation tomorrow*. It is a most important part of the struggle of the working class and the communists *for a better life today*. In a world in which there are 17 million unemployed only in the developed capitalist countries, and where almost 500 million men and women live from hand to mouth, where nearly a billion

people are illiterate, where there is a shortage of housing, schools, doctors and hospitals, it is not simply immoral but downright criminal to spend 1,000 million dollars a day on the manufacture of weapons and the maintenance of armies. The troubadours of the military industrial complex argue that the working people's welfare now depends on the manufacture of weapons. That is an old story. This idea was disproved by Lenin on the eve of the First World War, when he commented on the reasoning of a certain professor, Robert Hoeniger, who claimed that military expenditures did not amount to a loss of money because the money stayed in the country and yielded tremendous profits. Lenin qualified this as so much twaddle coming from a 'philistine votary of militarism.'

Our party's journal recently gave some telling figures showing that the money going into the construction of an aircraft carrier could be used to build 90,000 flats; one strategic B-1 bomber deprived us of 16 hospitals, and one Trident submarine, of 416 schools.³ These figures had a strong effect on the population of our city, which had keenly felt the effects of capitalist 'rationalization.'⁴

Meanwhile, despite the successes of the political détente, the arms race has continued. The NATO countries' military expenditures continue to grow. Next year's U.S. military appropriations are to go up to the unprecedented figure of almost \$130,000 million. Plans are afoot for the manufacture and deployment in Europe of the neutron bomb and other types of mass destruction weapons. In these conditions, the demand for an end to the arms race and for disarmament becomes a necessary part of the communists' social programs and militant slogan of the working class. There is growing recognition of, and support for, the consistent and principled stand taken by the USSR and other socialist countries on this issue, notably their proposal for a general and complete ban on nuclear weapons tests, mutual repudiation of the manufacture of neutron weapons, and so on. The effort to reduce the threat of another world war is the central line of the whole struggle for peace in the present-day conditions.

The détente, stemming from the changing balance of forces between capitalism and socialism on an international scale, for its part exerts a beneficial effect on the international working-class movement and the working-class struggle in the individual capitalist countries against monopoly power, and for a better life, for socialism. The participants in the Berlin Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties of Europe, held two years ago, emphasized in this context that the détente and the spread of the principles of peaceful coexistence create 'more favorable conditions of struggle for movements

for democratic and socialist transformation in the capitalist countries.'

This is well illustrated by West Berlin, which was involved in the détente in 1971, with the signing of the four-power agreement, concluded on the USSR's initiative. It has had an effect on the city's whole life, on its working population, and is also reflected in the activity of the communists.

Prior to the signing of the four-power agreement, West Berlin was a sensitive spot in world politics. The imperialist ruling circles made no secret of their intention to keep the city in a state of uncertainty, which enabled them to use it as 'the cheapest atomic bomb' and 'a thorn in the side of socialism' to prevent the GDR's consolidation as a state, to keep the German problem 'on the boil,' etc. This kind of policy may have been backed up by large financial outlays from the imperialist circles, but it did not lead to prosperity, and, on the contrary, helped to turn West Berlin into a 'front-line city' of the 'cold war,' and spread among its population a sense of social uncertainty and fear for the future.

The four-power agreement helped to end the city's political isolation and improved its prospects. This is not only because the West Berliners now have opportunities to travel to the GDR and across it, or because matters of communications, transport, freight carriage, etc., have been placed on a contractual basis. The détente has also opened up fresh opportunities for developing economic relations and for entry into the truly immense market of the socialist countries. For our city, hard hit by the crisis, this is very important. By 1975, the GDR was already supplying us with two-thirds of the meat we require, and the GDR or Poland, with one-half of the diesel and fuel oils, nearly the whole of our brown coal, and one-third of our petrol. The goods turned out by enterprises in the city are being gradually marketed in the socialist countries. But we feel that this process has not been developing as fast as it could have developed.

Our city now has 43,000 unemployed, apart from young people who have never had a job and cannot get one. If the West Berlin Senate abandoned its one-sided orientation of the city's economy upon ties with the capitalist countries (as the communists insist) and developed active business cooperation with the socialist world, the number of unemployed could be markedly reduced.

Others say that the détente tends to disarm the working class, damp down the intensity of the class struggle and reduce the opportunities open to the communists for action against the power of capital. Our experience tells a different story. First of all, in the old, 'front-line' atmosphere in the city, the ruling quarters were able to blame our socialist neighbors for any difficulties in the life of the

population, but since 1971 they have found it much harder to do so. The workers and all the other working people now see more clearly that it is not 'neighboring socialism,' but our 'own' capitalism that is to blame for their troubles.

In the recent period, the working people have taken some important action including a strike by printers, who not only fought for higher wages but also protested against the effects of capitalist rationalization, the reduction in the number of jobs and cutbacks in their social gains; they demanded social guarantees to cover the installation of new hardware and technology. There is ever more vigorous action against the Senate's attempts to limit the citizens' democratic rights and freedoms. The movement for peace and disarmament, and against the neutron bomb has been growing. All this action has involved workers, intellectuals, and employees. As a result, despite resistance by the right-wing social-democratic leaders, the working people's unity is being consolidated from 'below,' and the authority of the Socialist Unity Party of West Berlin enhanced.

Consequently, our experience shows that the policy of détente, of peaceful coexistence and the development of peaceable and equitable good-neighbor relations and ties, a policy objectively reckoning with the needs of the whole of humanity, goes to benefit the working people in the first place. That is something the extreme imperialist and militaristic forces cannot, of course, stomach, because they are unable and unwilling to realize that the world has changed and that they no longer have the leading role to play in it. They yearn for a return to the 'good old days,' to the 'cold war,' and have visions of revenge. From their standpoint, the policy of détente is, of course, unsuitable as a basic platform, because it does not allow the building of a 'new objective foundation' for a 'return to the classical policy of interests.'⁵ Completely in accord with this 'classical policy of interests' (imperialist interests, of course) Axel Springer has advised West Berliners 'fearlessly' to prepare themselves for the 'forthcoming crisis.'⁶

There are many more such statements, and they are not casual statements in any sense. As Leonid Brezhnev said at the Berlin Conference, the success of the cause of international détente has inspired and strengthened the forces of peace and progress and enhances their authority and influence among the masses. It has shown that the stand taken by realistically-minded leaders in the capitalist countries is well grounded. But it has also alerted and activated the forces of reaction and militarism, the military-industrial complex, and all those who would like Europe and the rest of the world to balance on the brink of nuclear disaster. There is also alarm among those who make fortunes on the manufacture of the weapons

of death and destruction, and who cannot conceive of a political career other than one of stoking up the crusade against the socialist countries and the communists.

These are the forces which are now trying in West Berlin and elsewhere to ignore or to distort the four-power agreement, to impose on the city a policy of becoming the 'FRG's anteroom,' a 'thorn in the GDR's side,' etc., to create an atmosphere of tension, misunderstanding, to discredit the policy of peaceful coexistence and detente, and we find that their influence in the NATO countries and on individual political leaders in some of them has been growing.

One claim is that the switch from the cold war to a relaxation of tensions is not a natural consequence of the actual arrangement of class and political forces in the world but merely results from a temporary conjunction of circumstances which are unfavorable for the capitalist world, which is why the way out is to try to re-escalate the fight against socialism.

Anti-communism no longer confines itself to attacking the communists alone. The logic of self-preservation and the interests of political reaction also result in attacks on realistically-minded members of the ruling circles. Thus, their readiness to promote the détente has been qualified by the reactionaries as 'fanaticism in drawing closer together,' which contains 'something unworthy.'⁷ There is ever more vociferous advice to stop being 'delighted' over the relaxation of tensions. Pressure from the militaristic circles is also seen in the Western governments' attitude to their commitments on West Berlin, when their fulfillment is not just being slowed down but diverse obstacles are being erected in the way. The U.S. General Alexander Haig, NATO's SACEUR, clearly reveals the NATO line for an 'armed peace' through a build-up of armaments, the use of new weapons systems, and a fight against communism.

We communists have never made any secret of the fact that we have been working for a relaxation of tensions and cooperation among states in the light of the class and revolutionary positions of socialism. For us the future means not only peace, but also socialism, without which mankind's peaceful future is inconceivable.

The imperialist ideologists' strategy is expressed in their urge to 'erode' the socialist and communist ideals of the working class. That section of the ruling quarters in the capitalist countries which shies away from crude anti-communism has in fact started a fresh round in the ideological struggle with a 'peaceful' strategy of anti-communism and anti-Sovietism. It wants to make the détente influence the ideological and political positions and principles of the socialist countries' social system, bringing them closer to the capitalist 'standard' and so modify the very substance and content of the process. In this

way, the détente would not strengthen peace but primarily weaken the socialist system.

All manner of ideological acts are being mounted to realize this urge, among them the following:

attempts to impose on world opinion a view of détente which implies both peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems, and peaceful coexistence of various classes, and their ideologies, because the one cannot allegedly exist without the other;

attempts to eliminate the social-class aspects of the détente and to present it as an entrenchment of some 'inter-class peace,' on the plea that both socialism and capitalism have 'limited' potentialities, which is why one must try to secure peace without 'winners or losers,' a peace with a 'higher order' equally acceptable to all.

Some forces insist that the détente can succeed only if the socialist countries effect social and political changes at home on lines 'desirable' for the imperialists. They say that the imperialists' long-term plans can be achieved through a fanning of nationalism, a spread of mistrust and strife among the socialist countries, denigration of the achievements of existing socialism, and direct interference in the internal affairs of the USSR and other socialist countries.

That being so, I think special importance attaches to the effort to teach the working class vigilance, skill in sorting out complicated political situations, and ability to distinguish its own interests and to tell friends from foes.

The communists of West Berlin believe that the working class of the capitalist countries and the peoples of the socialist countries have the same objectives in the sphere of international politics. Our common task is to safeguard peace from the existing military threat posed by imperialism, and to create the most favorable conditions for the struggle against the power of capital and for socialist and communist construction.

But community of purpose does not imply a similarity of forms and methods of struggle. The socialist countries safeguard peace by strengthening the socialist system, establishing the principles of peaceful coexistence and mutually advantageous cooperation among states with different social systems, and by rendering all-round assistance to the peoples fighting for their national liberation and independence. The working class in the capitalist countries, including the workers of West Berlin, carry on their struggle in different forms.

In a speech at a conference of party workers last April, Chairman of the SUP West Berlin, the late Gerhard Danelius, stressed that the Fifth Congress of the party had elaborated West Berlin's basic problem, which is 'to find its place in a changing world that would meet the demands of peace and the present and future interests of its

citizens. This basic problem does not lie outside the context of the issues we have to resolve in our domestic policy. Not at all. It is connected with the struggle to meet the social needs of the workers and all the other working people, and for the citizen's democratic rights, because it is a matter of deepening the international détente.'

Our party, he went on to say, can credit itself with advocating negotiations, when responsible politicians at the Schöneberg Town Hall, all without exception, refused to hear about them. Our party insisted on negotiations which were subsequently in fact held, and which resulted in the four-power agreement by means of which a sound status was first established for West Berlin on the basis of international law.

We expect and demand scrupulous observance and full application of the four-power agreement and its basic provision according to which West Berlin is not a Land of the Federal Republic of Germany and cannot be administered by it. We want equitable relations for West Berlin with West and East, economic ties with the whole world, and trade in every direction on the basis of equality and mutual advantage. We demand the use of our natural advantage which springs from our location close to the socialist world market, which is free from the ups-and-downs of the capitalist market outlook and capitalist crises, and what we demand especially is workman-like and normal relations with the GDR.

A statement issued by our party's Board to mark the 60th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution says: 'In contrast to some leading politicians of the parties represented in the Senate and the municipal council, the Socialist Unity Party of West Berlin advocates that nothing should be done to return West Berlin and its population to the worst period of the cold war, and that everything should be done to enable West Berlin to make a positive contribution to the cause of peace and détente.'

1. Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Selected Works in Three Volumes*, Volume Two, p. 18

2. Karl Liebknecht, *Ausgewählte Reden, Briefe und Aufsätze*, Berlin, 1952, S. 301.

3. *Konsequent*, 1/78, S. 23.

4. According to such 'rationalization' plans, for instance, the number of jobs in West Berlin is to be cut from 960,000 in 1970 to 770,000 in 1980. This year alone, 800 teachers are to lose their jobs. By 1985, the Senate intends to 'rationalize' 9,000 jobs in public health and other fields. — *Ed.*

5. *Deutsche Zeitung/Christ und Welt*, January 20, 1978.

6. *Berliner Morgenpost*, September 1, 1977.

7. *Frankfurter Allgemeine*, January 17, 1978.

South Africa: revolution on an upgrade

Yusuf Dadoo
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The month of June marked two significant events in the history of the struggle of the oppressed peoples of South Africa against racism and apartheid tyranny and for national and social emancipation. June 16 was the second anniversary of the heroic revolt of Soweto which lifted the revolutionary struggle in racist South Africa to new and higher levels. June 26 is observed throughout the country as South Africa's Freedom Day¹ every year since 1950, when it was observed by the African National Congress in alliance with the Communist Party and other national organizations. On this day our people, in spite of the reign of terror of the racist regime, find ways and means of paying homage to the fallen heroes and those languishing in Vorster's dungeons and they reaffirm their unyielding commitment to pursue the struggle relentlessly until final victory has been won.

Since the first shootings in Soweto thousands of our people have been murdered, maimed, arrested, and tortured. Every day offers evidence of the racist rulers' seemingly inexhaustible capacity to commit the most barbarous crimes of oppression and enslavement. But the blood that has flowed in the streets of Soweto and other ghetto areas has increased the determination of our people to intensify the resistance on all fronts. In the heat of the battle the people demonstrated great inventiveness and ingenuity. They ambushed police vehicles, erected different types of barricades, produced home-made bombs and carried out well planned actions against the institutional symbols of apartheid. It is clear that the enemy has failed to cow the people into submission. The initiative has inexorably passed into the hands of the people and their liberation organizations.

National-liberation revolutions are dialectically interconnected and determined, on the one hand, by the nature and content of the historic epoch in which they occur, the epoch of the worldwide transition from capitalism to socialism. In contrast to the deep socio-economic crisis afflicting the capitalist world we witness the ever-growing economic, political and moral strength and influence on these

revolutions by the socialist world and in particular by that great bastion of freedom and democracy, the Soviet Union.

The process of détente and peaceful coexistence is becoming increasingly far-reaching in its impact. In these conditions, the peoples of our continent have been scoring fresh successes in bringing pressure to bear on the positions of imperialism. The advances in Angola and Mozambique have altered the geo-political situation in Southern Africa and given an incalculable boost to the fighting morale and militant spirit of the oppressed toiling masses in Namibia, Zimbabwe and South Africa. The revolutionary forces of Angola and Mozambique have brought into sharp focus the difference between people's power and that exercised by a privileged minority, the pawns of imperialism and neo-colonialism. Their example will undoubtedly be an inspiration to the peoples of Namibia and Zimbabwe, who have been rebuffing the attempts to impose on them the notorious 'internal settlement,' which is actually a neo-colonialist deal with the racist authorities that would leave the white minority retaining control of these countries.²

It is imperative that the worldwide revolutionary, progressive and democratic forces rally around SWAPO and the Patriotic Front who are the true spokesmen of the peoples of Namibia and Zimbabwe. We must do all we can to defeat the intrigues of world imperialism which seeks above all to prevent genuine people's power in Namibia, Zimbabwe and, of course, South Africa, that bulwark of racism, neo-colonialism and imperialism on the African continent.

In an attempt to prevent such a revolutionary transformation from occurring in our country the imperialists are feverishly active in proposing all kinds of reformist prescriptions. Both U.S. imperialism and the racist regime in South Africa share a fundamental aim — to safeguard capitalism in South Africa — but they differ on how best to achieve it. Vorster has an unwarranted belief — based more on wishful thinking than concrete reality — that he can contain the revolutionary upsurge in South Africa by making limited cosmetic changes at a very slow pace. The imperialist powers, on the other hand, want the racist regime to move more rapidly in dismantling some of the racist structures, preserving, of course, South Africa's socio-economic system, but to give some sections of the Black middle strata a stake in this system.

They recognize that open support for the racist regime imperils imperialist and monopoly interests in Africa. Thus during his mini 'African Safari' Carter demagogically claimed in Nigeria that he was determined to eliminate South Africa's 'evil and oppressive system of apartheid.' It is of course impossible for U.S. imperialism to work for a shift of meaningful political and economic power from the white

minority to the oppressed Black majority as this would contradict the very basis of neo-colonialism. Nor will the demogogy, political maneuvering and tactical adjustments deceive the oppressed masses of South Africa.

To disguise their real intentions, the imperialist powers are stepping up their anti-communist, anti-Soviet campaigns, and will do their utmost to divide the national-liberation movement as also the worldwide progressive and democratic forces which support the struggle. The imperialists will intensify their efforts to isolate the revolutionary movements in South Africa and other African countries from their natural and genuine allies, the socialist world. We can expect their wrath to be directed at the socialist community, especially at the Soviet Union and Cuba, since with the help of these comrades-in-arms Angola was able to defeat the racist-imperialist aggression, and Ethiopia, to expel the Somali aggressors. The imperialists and their hired scribes may froth at the mouth but more and more people of Africa are realizing that their real friends and allies are the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. That without their support, national and social liberation in the conditions of unceasing imperialist aggression is merely an illusion. We South African communists reject outright any attempt at spreading anti-Sovietism, whatever its source, for it can only add grist to the mill of our avowed and secret class enemies.

Historical practice has confirmed the Marxist-Leninist appraisal of revolution as 'the locomotive of history' in which the socio-political basis of oppression has to be fundamentally altered. It is not only racial and national oppression but also the class character of the given society which determines the very content and depth of the revolution. Any and every revolution is conditioned by the laws and regularities of the class struggle and consequently the real driving forces of revolution are progressive social classes. Lenin put it most succinctly when he said: 'The passing of state power from one *class* to another is the first, the principal, the basic sign of a *revolution*, both in the strictly scientific and practical meaning of the term' (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 24, p. 41).

Applying the Marxist-Leninist method in studying the character of the revolution in South Africa we concentrate on the exceptionally complex interplay of national and class factors. A clear scientific understanding and a consistently correct political position on this question are necessary preconditions for the overthrow of the inhuman system of apartheid. Thus the key methodological and socio-political principle of a Marxist-Leninist approach lies in the indivisible connection between the national question and the solution of the

antagonistic class contradictions between the exploiters and exploited.

Nowhere else in the world is the ideology of racism so blatantly proclaimed by those in power and so systematically coded in the most obscurantist, anti-human and anti-democratic laws. Such laws deny the oppressed Blacks (Africans, Indians and Coloreds), that is, the African majority, even the very basic human rights of bourgeois democracy. From the cradle the African people are daily humiliated, their skin color ridiculed and their cultures and traditions destroyed. Daily, thousands of African people are imprisoned or banished to remote areas under one or other of the vast battery of obnoxious racist laws which litter the South African statute books. Racist legislation is a key element of the system of national oppression in our country.

In the conditions operating in South Africa, national oppression constitutes an exceptionally significant factor in the super-exploitation of the African people. The national income gap between whites and Africans is 14:1, African workers are denied even the elementary rights of collective bargaining, prevented by law — except when it suits the racist regime and monopolists — from doing skilled jobs, and have no social security and unemployment benefits. They are regarded as mere 'labor units' to be dispensed with once they have served the 'needs' of the white minority. Africans in the rural areas are compelled to work on white farms for starvation wages — some are 'paid' in kind and not cash — and are not allowed to own even a small plot of land in 87 per cent of the territory of the country. In the other 13 per cent — the so-called Bantustans — the poverty of the land and the destitution of their lives compel the Africans to become migrant laborers. The African middle strata, such as they are, have very limited scope for development since they are as much the victim of racist laws and racial discrimination as all other sections of the Black population.

Thus we see that in racist South Africa, since the national aspect is not 'secondary' or mere form, the chief mobilizing factor for the African people is their response to national and racist oppression. Proceeding from this, the ANC and SACP are deeply involved in stimulating and injecting a greater depth and content to the national confidence, assertiveness and pride of the African people.

As Lenin taught us, we should never underestimate the psychological factor in the national question. From its founding in 1921 the SACP has grappled with this problem. In the formative years there had been a tendency to overestimate the role of the white workers in the class struggle due to the fact that the white workers at the time constituted the bulk of the industrial working force, that it

was well organized and engaged in militant strike actions. Whereas the African working class was an emerging social force and the ANC was still in the process of becoming the leading and dynamic spokesman of the African people as a whole.

Following the Sixth Congress of the Comintern, which was attended also by a delegation of our party, the correct general line was first formulated in detail. The 1928 resolution of the Comintern's Executive Committee unequivocally called for the national liberation of the African people, which was clearly reflected in the native republic slogan. Some time later this line became clearer as the Communist Party of South Africa adapted it to meet the specific situation which confronted it at different historical periods, overcame the dangers of sectarianism and reached its fullest expression in the party program adopted in 1962. In our search we were greatly assisted by the Communist International and the accumulated experience of the world revolutionary forces, in particular of the Great October Revolution.

On the basis of national and international experience the program of the SACP characterizes South Africa as 'colonialism of a special type.' That is, that within one single geographical entity we have 'two South Africas.' One is 'white South Africa' which has all the main features of state-monopoly capitalism, and the other 'non-white South Africa' in which we have some of the main features of a colonial type of life, administration and rule. Proceeding from this the SACP came to the following conclusion: 'As its immediate and foremost task, the South African Communist Party works for a united front of national liberation, It strives to unite all sections and classes of oppressed and democratic people for a national-democratic revolution to destroy white domination. The main content of this revolution will be the national liberation of the African people. . . . The destruction of colonialism and the winning of national freedom is the essential condition and the key for future advance to the supreme aim of the Communist Party: the establishment of a socialist South Africa, laying the foundation of a classless, communist society.'³

In South Africa the victory of the national-liberation revolution is inextricably linked with the destruction of that socio-economic system which nourishes and sustains racism and apartheid. To skip the objective, historically determined stage of the national-democratic revolution is a recipe for disaster. On the other hand, due to the objective level of economic development and the long militant record of struggle of the SACP and ANC, South Africa also has the well-organized, disciplined, 'grave diggers' of capitalism. This is above all the Black working class, concentrated mostly in the mines, industries, factories and docks, which has consistently shown in practice

that it is the most powerful adversary of racism and the main social force for change. Its revolutionary potentialities tend objectively to grow in a period in which racist South Africa is increasingly bogged down in the deepest socio-economic crisis in its history. It is marked by a drop in industrial production,⁴ raging inflation, and widespread unemployment among the Black population (2 million). Even if the condition of some sectors of the economy does improve, there is every indication that in 1978 the economy will not be able to cope with the upheavals. As the crisis intensifies, the international isolation of the racists increases, and the political and armed struggle against the regime mounts, there is a gradual maturing of the revolutionary situation.

The South African Communist Party and the African National Congress have always been clearly aware that the revolutionary struggle to smash the evil and barbarous regime in South Africa is a complex, exceptionally difficult and contradictory process. Having exhausted the potential of non-violent struggle, during which the enemy never scrupled to use brute force, the SACP and ANC decided in 1961 to launch armed revolutionary struggle. The correctness of this decision was confirmed by the events in Soweto and more recently, in October 1977, by the banning of 18 organizations all of which had advocated a peaceful road. The latter action demonstrated even to the most blinkered that the racist regime is not prepared to tolerate even moderate criticisms and actions. Armed struggle has become the most significant factor in the revolutionary struggle, but we have to become even more professional in acquiring the necessary skills to combine different forms of struggle, armed and unarmed, legal and illegal, and mass militant actions.

Even though the South African ruling class was badly shaken by the Soweto and other events connected with it, the enemy and its repressive state apparatus have not reached the point of disruption and dislocation. The enemy still retains great reserves of power and resources, and is able, albeit with ferocious brutality, to act in a cohesive manner and so limit the spread of militant actions. It is also important to recognize that the ferment of revolt was not nationwide, as the rural areas were not as deeply affected. Furthermore, it is a fact that the Soweto events could not *by themselves* be transformed into an all-embracing armed uprising. These events were not an end in themselves but form a crucial part of the process to heighten the political consciousness of the masses and the preparedness of well-organized, mobile underground structures and units for offensive and defensive political and armed actions.

It is not, as some people argue, a question which can be reduced only to logistics and organization, crucial as these factors are. As one

of the latest Central Committee statements points out: 'peoples' armed conflict is a protracted process. Even though conditions now exist for the struggle to be extended enormously, we must not be tempted by the passion and excitement of the moment to spread a dangerous and damaging illusion that it will be short and swift. . . . There is no doubt, however, that the new situation has brought closer than ever before the possibility of an effective beginning to the armed struggle. And there is already public evidence that units of Umkhonto we Sizwe (military wing of the ANC) have begun to act against the enemy.'⁵

It is up to the revolutionary forces to grasp the nettle so as to respond in the most effective way. Failure to do this could lead to a demoralization within the ranks of the oppressed and thereby give Vorster and his imperialist allies the possibility of relieving the revolutionary pressures which have grown with such intensity.

To ensure that armed activities have a firm basis in every part of the country and to give direction and leadership to the mass discontent and militant actions of the people we need to strengthen our underground structures. It is only the presence of an experienced and dedicated leadership of the ANC and SACP, with deep roots among the people that can ensure the correct tactical and political responses to a rapidly-developing, fluid situation. This has added significance when we take into account the fact that large numbers of youth and students have learned from their own experience that to defeat the enemy they have to acquire the necessary political and military skills which can only be imparted by the well-organized underground structures of the ANC and SACP.

Our party is now working with redoubled energy within the various classes and sections of the population, including democratic and progressive elements among the white population. The SACP has undertaken with renewed vigor the necessary steps to organize the working class, especially at the factory level, and to disseminate even more widely the science of Marxism-Leninism. We fully support the South African Congress of Trade Unions — which is an integral part of the national-liberation movement — in its fight to improve the working conditions and wages of the Black workers, to extend the meager rights of the African trade unions, to organize the Black workers into militant trade unions, to mobilize them for nationwide unity of purpose and action and to develop viable illegal structures in the production area.

The fighting youth and students have demonstrated their willingness to make the supreme sacrifice for national and social liberation. The mass organizations through which so many of the youth and students articulated their grievances and aspirations need to be injected

with a clearer revolutionary and political content. One of the most heartening features of the recent period is the ever-growing search by these young militants for a deeper understanding of Marxism-Leninism. It is of vital importance for the future of the revolution to give a greater social content to the elementary rejection of capitalism so forcefully expressed by the fighting youth and students.

There is no doubt that for guerilla warfare to expand, our movement's capacity to mobilize and organize the rural working people is of great significance. A nationwide revolutionary upsurge is intimately connected with the galvanizing of the rural masses into even more effective political actions. This has become even more urgent following Vorster's feverish haste to implement his racist Bantustan policies.

Increasingly, the ruling circles, egged on by world imperialism, are seeking ways other than brute force and naked terror to keep intact the basic structures of racism and monopoly capitalism. This requires the support of Black collaborationists. Through the policy of Bantustans the racists also seek to create an administrative elite and small capitalists who will identify their interests with those of their white masters. We shall spare no effort to destroy the monstrous scheme of Bantustans. The very possibility of international recognition of the 'independence' of the Transkei and Boputhatswana must not be allowed.

In the cities, too, there is an effort to wean the Black middle strata away from the national-liberation movement and to get them to oppose the social goals of our struggle. The aims of the national-liberation movement represent also the aspirations of the Black middle strata which suffer the same form of national oppression as others and whose creativity and initiative have been stifled by apartheid. It should be recalled that during the Soweto events numerous trades and professional groups stood side by side with the youth and workers.

A crucial aspect of our work is to forge greater unity between the oppressed Blacks — Africans, Colored and Indians. The racist regime utilizing the divide-and-rule policy has offered a few concessions mainly to the Indian and Colored petty-bourgeoisie.⁶ Opposition to this policy and to the government-created South African Indian Council and the Colored People's Representative Council is growing and has to be further intensified. The interests of the Indians and Coloreds are inextricably bound up with those of the African people. A united front in action of all the oppressed peoples is of great significance as we enter the decisive stage to eliminate the bulwark of racism and colonialism.

To accomplish these tasks, the bonds of comradely relations

forged between the ANC and SACP in the heat of battle will be strengthened. The party has no immediate interests different from those of the ANC. Both organizations are committed to the overthrow of the racist regime and the installing of a revolutionary government which would take effective measures against monopoly capital and revolutionize the economic, political, social, and military structures and institutions.

The present wide-ranging international campaign to isolate racist South Africa in every sphere evokes a sense of deep gratitude among all the revolutionaries and patriots of our country. Even the friends of the apartheid regime find it difficult to defend it in public. We welcome the UN decision to designate 1978 as International Anti-Apartheid Year and call upon all peace-loving anti-racist forces to make it a success. In addition to the effort to boycott racist South Africa, the campaigns during this year should be used, among other objectives, to ensure the maximum support for the ANC and SACP, to expose the growing racist Tel Aviv-Pretoria axis, the Bonn-Paris-Pretoria nuclear conspiracy and the attempts to settle whites from Rhodesia and South Africa in Bolivia, and to demand the release of all political prisoners languishing in Vorster's dungeons and torture chambers.

We South African communists express our warm appreciation to our comrades-in-arms in the international communist movement, in the socialist community, the non-aligned countries, large democratic circles and the various anti-apartheid groups in capitalist countries which have done sterling work to publicize and support our struggle.

It is becoming more and more evident that the blood shed by our people, the inhuman tortures undergone by our patriots, the imprisonment suffered by our heroes have not been in vain. The victory of the national-liberation revolution will follow as inevitably as spring follows winter.

1. June 26, 1950, became a day of protest against the action of the racist regime, which had shot at a large-scale peaceful May Day demonstration the same year.

2. For details see the interviews by Sam Nujoma and Joshua Nkomo in *WMR*, February, 1978. A new criminal act of South Africa's racist rulers was the aggression against Angola in May 1978, during which hundreds of Namibian refugees, mostly women and children, were killed.

3. *The Road to South African Freedom. The Programme of the South African Communist Party*, London, p. 7.

4. Industrial production fell to the lowest level over the past 30 years; in 1977 alone, it dropped by another 5 per cent. Meanwhile, military expenditures have been steadily rising: an almost fourfold increase from 1973/74 to 1977/78 (from 480 million rands to 1,711 million). This is the largest item in the state budget, taking 19 per cent of all appropriations.

5. *African Communist*, No. 70, 1977, p. 34.

6. In 1977 Vorster proposed constitutional changes which would give South Africa three 'Parliaments,' one for the whites and one each for the Coloureds and Indians.



An important landmark

C. Rajeswara Rao
General Secretary,
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11th CONGRESS OF THE CP OF INDIA

The 11th Congress of our party (Bahtinda, March 31-April 4, 1978) met in the midst of a tremendous change in the entire national political scene and was preceded last year by a serious electoral setback of the party which engendered sharp inner-party discussions at all levels. Our class enemies, who never understood the purpose of our debate, made wild predictions of an imminent split in the CPI.

The Congress put to rest all speculations of our adversaries by achieving unanimity on most of the issues under discussion. Its deliberation further consolidated the unity of the party.

The Congress was also the biggest held so far. It was attended by 1,554 comrades, of whom 1,166 were delegates and 198 alternate delegates representing 546,732 party members. The great significance of the Congress was also realized by the supporters and sympathizers of our party, who came in tens of thousands to join in the mass rally held on the concluding day.

The participation of 33 delegates from fraternal parties of socialist and non-socialist countries and numerous messages from those who could not send their representatives roused in our comrades the sense of belonging to the great international movement of the communists, the leading force in remaking the world on revolutionary lines. It also emphasized the internationalism which our party members cherish as one of their proud possessions.

The Congress analyzed the present political situation and the inspiring perspective for the advance of the revolutionary movement in our country. It also revealed the mistakes which had led to our party's setback in the recent past.

The capitalist path of development pursued by the Indian National Congress (INC) government since independence in 1947, despite the growth of an independent economy and a public sector with the help of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, had entered a deep crisis by 1974, which culminated in the acceptance of the IBRD¹ dictate and the declaration of emergency in June 1975.

The replacement of the Indira Gandhi government by the Janata Party government in Delhi and in a number of states has not mitigated this crisis. On the contrary, the crisis has intensified because the Janata Party government systematically reverses the nationally accepted policies of planning economic development, expanding the public sector, developing modern industries and promoting Indian technology. It gives preference to small-scale industry, the handicrafts and agriculture. Both peasants and consumers are allowed to be looted by wholesalers and monopolists in the name of a 'free market economy.' The implementation of land ceiling laws has not been kept in cold storage; moreover, attacks on the Harijans and other rural poor by the rural rich have become the order of the day. Brutal firings of workers have reached new heights to enforce the retrenchment, lock-outs and wage-freezes practiced by the employers.

The Janata Party's policies taken as a whole represent the needs and ambitions of the Indian big-bourgeoisie which now feels confident of further piling up of profits in collaboration even as junior partners with foreign monopolists and of harnessing the state sector to the needs of its own expansion and advance. In the rural sector, the Janata Party government's policies promote the interests of big landlords and rich peasants. In the field of trade the Janata Party government seeks to serve faithfully the big commercial bourgeoisie, the wholesaler, the big hoarder, etc. The Janata Party policies reflect the new tactical maneuvers of the Indian big bourgeoisie and landlords, who try to resolve the crisis of the capitalist path by throwing its burden on the masses and suppressing popular resistance through increasing recourses to force and authoritarianism.

In this situation of acute crisis of the capitalist system, it has taken only one year for the Janata Party government to come to the same pass which the Congress government came to after 30 years. The same authoritarian danger which engulfed the country in the last days of the Indira Gandhi regime looms large on the Indian political horizon today. Therefore, the Bhatinda Party Congress Political Resolution says categorically: 'The crisis of the capitalist path of development and of bourgeois politics have deepened to such an extent that no bourgeois party can take the country out of the crisis or save our people from authoritarianism and destruction of democratic rights.'

The gravity of the economic and political crisis in our country can be understood properly only when it is seen on the background of the continuing crisis of the world capitalist economy and the new tactics of imperialism intended to impose its neo-colonialist domination on the developing countries.

While not giving up their old tactics completely, the imperialists adopt new tactics to shift the burden of the crisis on to the shoulders of the developing countries. Having failed to halt industrial growth in these countries, they are trying to promote 'dependent' capitalism, so-called 'export-oriented' and 'rural-oriented' economies for them. The imperialists are also using certain suitable states like Iran and Saudi Arabia in various regions as reliable agents for implementing their new tactics. They are thereby trying to undermine cooperation between the countries of the socialist community and 'third world' countries. The present Maoist leaders of China are fully cooperating with the imperialists in this matter.

Despite the various obstacles placed in the way of our country by the imperialists, our country has made considerable progress toward economic self-reliance with the help of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. India is now in a position to help other developing countries in the matter of industrial development. Our scientists, engineers and technicians are the pride of our nation. As a result of all this, our country's prestige has gone up among the developing countries.

The imperialists are therefore trying another ruse to rope our country into their global plan. They are luring our monopolists into joint ventures with the multinationals as their junior partner to exploit 'third world' countries. India's monopolists, having fattened themselves over the last 30 years by plundering the people of our country, now seem to be enthusiastic about the prospect of looting the people of 'third world' countries in collaboration with multinationals. Herein lies a serious danger for our country's future.

The dominant section of the Janata Party government is not averse to this. The government may be forced into this trap if the left and democratic forces do not wake up. Already there are signs which show that the government is engaged in correcting the so-called 'tilt' of our foreign policy while keeping the framework of non-alignment. This means that the anti-imperialist content of our foreign policy is being diluted and attempts are being made to weaken our links with the socialist world.²

The crisis of bourgeois power is bringing about political instability in our country. The ruling Janata Party is riven with group conflicts and is in a shambles. Talk of a split of the Janata Party is in the air. What is keeping them together for the present is the re-emergence of Indira Gandhi on the political scene after the spectacular victories of her party, the INC(I),³ in the February 1978 Assembly elections in the southern states.

The Janata Party conglomerate is composed of forces incompatible with each other. There are, on one side, forces of secularism and anti-

imperialism and, on the other side, forces of communalism and pro-imperialism.⁴ A further complicating feature is the planned and determined drive of the RSS-Jana Sangh and Charan Singh⁵ combine to extend their power at the expense of other constituents of the Janata Party inside that party, central and state governments and the administrative apparatus. The Janata Party is fast losing its credibility, and even some of its followers are questioning its capacity to deliver the goods.

The massacres of workers at Bailadilla and Pantnagar, and of Harijans at Bismampur in Bihar, caste riots in Bihar, the calculated attack on the Muslim minority at Sambhal in Uttar Pradesh, the clash between the Nirankari and Nihang sects at Amristar, recent police atrocities in Andhra Pradesh, the brutal suppression of the farmers' struggle in Tamilnadu, student unrest and the closure of a number of universities in the northern states, all taking place within the space of one month (March-April 1978), shook the country. This prompted the President of the Republic to express apprehensions at a public function. 'I wonder where we are going,' he said. 'I myself do not know and I happen to be the President. . . . I would express my distress at the state of health of the country.'

The Congress Party is split. The Congress Party headed by Swaran Singh is in convulsions after the setback it suffered in the February Assembly elections in some states. Left sections in this party are thinking of a left and democratic national alternative. With her party's successes in the State Assembly elections, Indira Gandhi has staged a comeback on the country's political scene. If the excess of the emergency brought the Janata Party to power, its misrule within one year has facilitated her coming up again in the absence of a left and democratic alternative.

Though the Indira Congress has a considerable base among the rural poor and sections of the urban poor, one has to realize that it is also a bourgeois party. It is incapable of implementing any radical socio-economic program because of the class composition of its leadership, which includes landlords, especially at the state level. Certainly it is not going to work wonders. The biggest weakness of this party is that it rests on the popularity and cult of one individual. The old discredited caucus which she built has come up again. Already there are some rumblings in this party. It will also not be free from group squabbles like other bourgeois parties in the present crisis-ridden situation in the country. The vulnerability of this party can be seen from the way the Indira Congress government in Andhra Pradesh has handled the issue of police atrocities.

The political situation in our country is in a state of flux. It is yet premature to say which way things will move and what type of

realignments will take place. But it is safe to say that none of the bourgeois parties can take the country out of the deep crisis in which it is stuck today.

Big business and the imperialists are utilizing the situation to further their nefarious game. They are backing both the Janata Party and the Indira Congress and are working to bring into existence a two-party system in the country as a means of saving the monopoly of bourgeois power.

In this situation increasing sections of the people are searching for a political alternative which will meet their needs and aspirations after the experience of 30 years of Congress rule and one year of Janata Party rule. It is only a left and democratic national alternative that can take our country out of the present crisis and safeguard its independence and sovereignty from the new conspiracies of the imperialists. Realization of this perspective would put an end to Janata Party rule and prevent the restoration of Congress rule. The CPI regards this as its central political task in the coming period.

This perspective envisages the widest possible unity of all the left and democratic parties and forces. This will include all the left parties, democratic parties and progressive forces within the Congress, Indira Congress and Janata Party. The Political Resolution elaborates this perspective as follows: The party has to win the mass support necessary for the realization of this perspective by building up the widest unity of the left and democratic forces and raising it to a political level that will make it possible to change the balance of class forces in the country in favor of the working class and the worker-peasant alliance. It is only such a change in the balance of class forces plus a growing offensive of the national democratic forces against the forces of reaction that can enable the working class to end the monopoly of bourgeois power and replace it by a national government of left and democratic unity. In such a government, power will be shared by parties and forces representing the working class, peasantry, radical middle-class and patriotic and non-monopolistic sections of the national bourgeoisie which may be against imperialism, feudalism and monopoly. Such a government will be a potent instrument for carrying forward the struggle against imperialism, monopoly capital and feudalism to a new decisive stage, and for radical socio-economic transformations.

Such an alternative can emerge in the process of bitter political and mass struggles against the reactionary policies of the Janata Party government as also of the Congress and other bourgeois governments and the conspiracies of the imperialists.

In a vast country like ours, with all its diversities in politics, economy, language, religion and culture and in the complex and fluid

situation existing today, the task of building left and democratic unity is a difficult and protracted process of mass and political struggles. It may develop differently in different states. Different aspects of this process should not be pitted against each other — neither left unity against democratic unity, nor vice versa. The aim in each case of mass and political action is to build the widest possible unity of the masses in action in furtherance of the unity of left and democratic forces. It will enjoin us to adopt a flexible and realistic approach in each state and on each issue, taking into consideration all relevant concrete factors. Our party and mass organizations have to display the maximum initiative in launching and leading these mass and political struggles.

In this task of conducting mass political struggles and of building the unity of the left and democratic forces, closer relations between the CPI and the CPI(M) assume special importance. This is ardently desired not only by the communist masses and sympathizers, but also by other left and democratic forces and the radicalized masses. Letters to this effect come pouring into our party offices. Wherever we go we are told so by friends of the communist movement. As long as the masses and progressive forces do not see the two main left parties coming together, they will not develop adequate faith in the possibilities of a left and democratic national alternative. Unity in action and fraternal political dialogue can pave the way for the ultimate reunification of the communist movement in our country. Our party stands for such unification on a principled basis.

This fraternal approach should also be extended to the thousands of Naxalite⁶ young men and women who constitute an important component of the left forces. All possible efforts must be made to forge unity with all other left and democratic parties which exist in various parts of our country.

It is a good augury that the party congresses of the CPI and the CPI(M) were held in Punjab almost at the same time and influenced each other to some extent. The meeting of the all-India leaders of the CPI and the CPI(M) which took place on April 13, 1978, in Delhi and the joint communique that was issued after it have broken the ice, in regard to cooperation between the two parties. They have paved the way for joint mass and political actions on agreed issues and for further talks as the need arises. This is only the beginning. We have yet to make serious, sustained, patient and principled efforts in order to achieve political unity.

After all this, we are constrained to say that a major obstacle today in the way of bringing about left unity is the wrong line of the CPI(M) leadership, which regards the Janata Party as its ally while painting the two congresses as the main enemy and going all out to bring down the United Front government in Kerala, which has a

proud record of achievements to its credit. They are doing this at a time when the Janata Party government is adopting openly reactionary and anti-people policies, shooting down workers, encouraging atrocities on the Harijans and other weaker sections, adopting diversionary tactics of caste conflicts, communal conflicts and regional tensions and becoming isolated from the people day by day. We hope the CPI(M) leadership will learn in time how its friendship with the Janata Party is wrong.

So far as the CPI is concerned, we will do our utmost to bring about left and democratic unity and communist unity.

In this connection we must point out that the CPI(M)'s international position of so-called equidistance between the CPSU and Maoist China is harmful at a time when the Soviet Union is performing its internationalist duty by giving all help to those fighting against imperialism and reaction the world over and when the Maoist leadership is unashamedly collaborating with the imperialists, racists and reactionaries and calling for all-out unity against the Soviet Union.

The political resolution of the 11th CPI Congress says that basic socio-economic changes are essential if the present crisis is to be solved. Attempts at patchwork reform will be of no avail. The toiling masses and all the left and democratic forces must be rallied into united action on the basis of a radical platform leading to a national democratic revolution. The Political Resolution has put forward such a concrete platform before the people of our country by launching the following resounding call.

'The toiling masses, all left and democratic forces, must be rallied and unitedly brought on to the field of action, to demand and win the nationalization of the monopoly houses, takeover of imperialist capital, delinking of our country from the world capitalist division of labor, and development of still closer relations with the Soviet Union and other friendly socialist countries and non-aligned countries, abolition of landlordism and distribution of land to the tiller, provision of a national living wage and all trade union rights for the working class, strengthening and democratization of the public sector with effective workers' participation in management, and radical democratic changes in the state structure. The people in our country are moving in the direction of an alternative path of development. It is the duty of the CPI not only to systematically popularize among them the fundamental tasks of the national democratic revolution with the perspective of transition to socialism but also to organize and lead the masses to determined action to win such pressing and immediate demands.'

The Political Review Report endorsed with some amendments by the party congress deals with the policy and activities of our party

since the 10th Congress and the political questions that have arisen in the wake of the setback suffered by the party in the March 1977 Lok Sabha elections in a number of states.

The single event that engulfed the political life of our country in the period since the 10th Party Congress was the imposition of emergency rule by Indira Gandhi, the then Prime Minister. At the beginning it looked as though that emergency was imposed only to meet the threat from the extreme rightists. But soon her other aims, namely, solving the capitalist crisis at the expense of the people in order to safeguard bourgeois power and establishing her personal rule through the replacement of parliament or parliamentary democracy by the presidential system, came to light.

In the then prevailing complicated and turbulent situation, the central leadership of the party failed to grasp the full implications of the emergency. Not that there were no indications of this. If the central leadership had been vigilant and had taken stock of the situation properly, it would have seen the full picture clearly.

As a matter of fact, from 1974 onwards Indira Gandhi's government began more and more to accept the World Bank economic package in the shape of an 'export-oriented' economy, vast concessions to the Indian monopolies and multinationals, increased recourse to imperialist 'aid' and attacks on the rights of the toiling people, especially the working class, and on their living standards. Increasing concentration of authority in Indira Gandhi's hands, the placing of 'reliable persons' in positions of authority in the capital and in the states on the basis of personal loyalty to her, the attacks on the progressives inside the Congress, the disbanding of the Congress Socialist Forum, the tremendous growth of corruption in quarters close to her were there for all to see.

The danger these developments posed to the left and democratic forces and parliamentary democracy in the country were grossly underestimated by the central leadership of our party. All these aspects were separately noted, but they were not seen as an integral whole with all their implications as showing how Indira was trying to salvage bourgeois rule, Congress power and her own position.

The imposition of internal emergency on June 25, 1975, was a logical culmination of the above-stated developments. Under emergency, fundamental rights were suspended, press censorship was tightened, severe restrictions were imposed on the holding of public meetings and judicial review of injustices was denied. One could write and say only things which the government wanted.

Fresh burdens were imposed on the workers, peasants, middle classes in the name of fighting inflation, while concessions were showered on the vested interests. Even the 20-point program, meant

to give relief to the rural poor, was finally sabotaged through Sanjay Gandhi's⁷ five-point program. Demolition of huts of the poor in the name of beautification of cities and compulsory sterilization for controlling population growth also were resorted to, and assumed grotesque proportions in Delhi and in many states in North India.

Arbitrary arrests were made and even left parties, including ours, were not spared. Thereby the left and democratic forces were prevented from fighting the menace of right reaction by mobilizing the toiling masses.

Apart from not being able to see clearly the three aims of Mrs. Indira Gandhi in the imposition of internal emergency, the central leadership of the party had also come to the mistaken understanding that a split had taken place between the reactionary and progressive sections of the bourgeoisie and that the emergency could be used to bring about progressive shifts in the correlation of forces and state power in a national democratic direction. Thereby the potentialities of the national bourgeoisie and Indira Gandhi's government and the capacity of our party to bring about these positive shifts in the situation were grossly overestimated. The potentialities of the favorable international situation and the progressive foreign policy in relation to its impact on the internal situation were understood in a mechanical manner. It was not properly realized that a progressive foreign policy cannot eventually be safeguarded without progressive internal policies.

This was our main mistake and as a result of this wrong understanding we supported the emergency. What came about as a result of the emergency was not the progressive shifts in the national democratic direction but exactly the opposite.

Emergency rule actually helped the forces of right reaction to exploit people's discontent and come to power through a popular mandate as the upholders of democratic liberties. Our support for emergency rule helped neither the defense of the people's interests, nor the building of popular resistance to right reaction. Right reaction could have been fought with the existing laws combined with mass mobilization, as in Bihar and some other states. This is why the Bhattinda Congress came to the conclusion that our party's support for emergency rule had been wrong from the beginning.

Our party never hides its mistakes from the masses. It boldly admits and corrects them. Taking advantage of this, our party's detractors try to denigrate it. Some of those who did nothing during the period of emergency or even compromised with Indira Gandhi now pose as heroes before the people and want our party to parade in sack-cloth and ashes. We have good reason to say that despite our support for emergency rule, the record of our party's activities

against the excesses of that rule is second to none. The CPI boldly fought against the horrible excesses and attacks of the Indira Gandhi regime during the emergency against the working class and the common people. It sharply brought out the danger posed by the caucus created by Indira Gandhi to the democratic set-up of our country. In the State Assemblies and Parliament, our party came out against the caucus. Because of all this, our party incurred the wrath of Indira Gandhi and her caucus.

This is not to say that everything that was needed or possible was done by our party in that period. We know that if we had not adopted a wrong attitude to emergency rule, our achievement would have been much greater. We were inhibited by our approach to the emergency.

Taking advantage of the setback suffered by our party in the 1977 Lok Sabha elections, the CPI(M) leadership started a virulent campaign, saying that our party's program and policies had proved to be wrong and theirs right.

No doubt we committed a mistake in relation to emergency rule and subsequent events. But that does not invalidate the basic analysis and the main conclusions of the party program. Its definition of the class character of the Indian state, of the contradictions of the capitalist path of development and the dual nature of the non-monopoly bourgeoisie fully retain their validity. This is also the case with the tactical slogan of building the national democratic front, the role of the working class and the worker-peasant alliance, and the perspective of the national democratic revolution. As a matter of fact, the mistakes made during the period of emergency were due to a departure from the party program, in particular in relation to the Indian bourgeoisie.

Coming to the question of party policy in the pre-emergency period, it has to be stated that it was a glorious period for the party. Our party played a significant role in the life of the country. It fought the anti-popular and reactionary aspects of the Indira government's policies while supporting the progressive aspects by correctly applying the tactic of unity and struggle in relation to the national bourgeoisie.

The mass and political struggles conducted by our party in this period were unprecedented in their nationwide character. Our party not only stood by the toiling people but stoutly defended secular democracy and the unity of our country against attacks from all reactionary communal and other disruptive forces.

The land occupation struggle of 1970 apart, mention should be made of the 'Implement the Mandate' campaign of May 1 to 8, 1972, against the slideback in the policies of the Congress government with

massive marches in Chandigarh, Calcutta and Hyderabad and the unprecedented 500,000 rally in Patna. In the first week of October 1972, 350,000 persons courted arrest in the nationwide *satyagraha*⁸ against price rises and for radical reforms. This was followed by the historic Great March to Parliament in March 1973. Then came the national dehoarding campaign from August 1 to 7 1973. Our party played a prominent role in the great strikes of textile and jute workers in Bombay, West Bengal and Tamilnadu in early 1974 and the numerous *bandh*⁹ actions of the time.

It is a matter of pride for the party that it fought against the right reactionary offensive not by words alone, but by bold, militant mass mobilization and action. From about the end of 1972 to April 1973, the Andhra unit of our party fought against the separatist movement. From the middle of 1974, the Bihar unit of the party took on and rebuffed the JP-led¹⁰ 'total revolution.' The party throughout the country took up cudgels against the right reactionary menace. In defeating this menace, it came forward as the champion of parliamentary democracy. If more could not be done, it was due to the long-standing basic weaknesses of our party which have been repeatedly referred to in our documents.

It is also a matter of pride for the party that during this entire period in Kerala the party played a key and outstanding role in bringing about significant democratic reforms and giving relief to the masses and thereby providing political stability to the state. The CPI(M) met with an electoral defeat there in March 1977 because of its blind hostility to this government.

Basing itself on the above assessment of the pre-emergency period, the Party Congress came to the conclusion that it would be wrong to think that these achievements came about on the basis of a wrong political line. They came about because up to the third quarter of 1974 our party had followed a basically correct policy line. This does not mean that there was no underestimation or overestimation of particular aspects of the situation or that no mistakes were made. It only means that despite some mistakes here and there, our party was pursuing an essentially correct line.

As a result, our party considerably expanded in membership and extended to new areas. In Kerala, Andhra, Tamilnadu and some other places, sections of the CPI(M) joined our party, whereas very few of our members went over to the CPI(M).

Our party also defended the line of the world communist movement and the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism as a loyal contingent of the international communist movement, against attacks from both Maoism and left opportunism.

In conclusion, as stated earlier, our party has emerged from the

11th Congress much more united and confident, with a clear perspective of the future. Our adversaries, being disappointed, are now singing a different tune. They say that though our party has not split it is still divided into right, left and center. They do this only to bring down our party's image and confuse the people.

Everybody knows that the Political Resolution, the Report on the International Developments and the Organization Report were adopted unanimously. Even the controversial Political Review Report was finally adopted with none voting against and only a few abstentions. The delegates voted on the amendments not on the basis of clear-cut trends, but on the merit of each amendment. Hence the voting was varied, which does not fit into definite trends. The National Council, the highest leading body of the party, was elected unanimously. Later the National Council elected the Chairman, the General Secretary, the Central Secretariat and the Central Executive Committee of the party, also unanimously.

The 11th Congress of our party at Bhatinda was a big success on all counts. Our party settled accounts with the past and is now ready to discharge its duty to the people of our country with a clear perspective for the future.

1. In the summer of 1974, the Indira Gandhi government submitted to the demand of the IBRD (International Bank for Reconstruction and Development) that India put its economy on a 'healthy' basis. — *Ed.*

2. With this end in view, recently a virtual pilgrimage of leaders of the Western capitalist countries to our country took place, starting with President Jimmy Carter and Prime Minister James Callaghan and including Orville Freeman of the IBRD and other lesser lights. Strong pressures on our country in this direction are growing day by day.

3. The initial 'I' stands for 'Indira, a symbol adopted by that part of the Indian National Congress following Indira Gandhi. — *Ed.*

4. Secularism established the secular nature of the state. Communalism in Indian conditions is aimed at fomenting enmity between religious communities, primarily between Hindus and Moslems. — *Ed.*

5. The RSS, or Rashtria Swayameswak Sangh, is an extreme reactionary paramilitary organization of the right-wing Jana Sangh party. The Bharatiya Lok Dal (BLD) is another rightist party which has joined the Janata Party.

6. A group which has broken away from the mainstream of the Indian communist movement, being carried away by 'leftist' ideas. — *Ed.*

7. Indira Gandhi's younger son, who held no government post but headed the 'extra-constitutional power center.' — *Ed.*

8. A symbolic violation of law and order. — *Ed.*

9. Stoppage in a community of all production and trade, discontinuance of the operation of transport, offices, schools, etc. — *Ed.*

10. Jayaprakash Narayan. — *Ed.*

The nationalized sector and the communist position

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To understand what prompted the Portuguese Communist Party to hold a conference on problems of protecting and advancing the nationalized sector, one should have an idea of the far-reaching economic, social and political changes effected in the country since April 25, 1974.

Political freedom was not the only benefit of the revolution. Popular pressure brought about an agrarian reform finalizing the transfer to agricultural workers and small peasants of the land occupied by them — about one-fifth of the cultivated land area. Monopoly-owned banks and other enterprises were nationalized and have already become a decisive sector of the economy. A vast sector of cooperatives and self-managing enterprises was set up and many hundreds of enterprises were put under workers' control. In spite of attacks on these gains, the workers successfully defended them and they were all written into the Constitution.

The PCP decided to hold the conference in view of the markedly revolutionary character of nationalization, the enormous leverage of the nationalized sector, the stepped-up attacks of reaction and the fact that efficiency of the nationalized sector is one of the basic requisites for its protection (as the experience of protecting the agrarian reform indicates). The party understood the extremely serious economic and financial situation the country was in and the role which the nationalized sector could and should play in ending the crisis. It also proceeded from the fundamental principles of its consistent and constructive policy and from an awareness of its great responsibility in every sphere of national life.

The conference, announced by the Central Committee last October, took place on March 11 and 12. It was attended by 783 delegates and 7,000 guests.

In drafting documents for discussion, use was made of methods suggested by the experience of last year's conference on economic development. These methods have become standard in the collective

effort by the masses which the party uses in studying national problems. Party branches directly involved in production, including those active in nationalized enterprises, held meetings which also attracted non-communists. On the basis of reports prepared by the party's technological and economic experts, the meetings discussed the problem of protecting and advancing the nationalized enterprises and industries, as well as general problems of the nationalized sector.

After several months' preparatory work four major subjects were selected for discussion: how to protect the nationalized enterprises, how to develop them, how to exercise workers' control, and how to defend the employees' interests. In the course of discussions and meetings, and in addition to the collection of documentary evidence and the registration of proposals, papers were prepared on general subjects, the various industries and each particular enterprise. By the time the conference met, the PCP had a vast amount of varied and systematized data at its disposal. This enabled it to organize a two-day discussion and acquaint delegates with the main proposals for the drafting of final documents.

During preparations for the conference there were 869 meetings, and 338 of these also involved non-communists. The total number of participants exceeded 12,000, including nearly 3,000 non-communists. Conference subjects were discussed by the employees of 298 enterprises, or practically all nationalized enterprises and many of the mixed ones (in which the state holds a substantial part of the assets as a result of the nationalization of banks and other enterprises).

These facts show that the party both conducted its campaign openly and strove for a comprehensive analysis. The conference heard 90 speakers, 39 of whom dealt with the general problems and the state of various industries while the rest concerned themselves with individual enterprises.

An aspect of the domestic situation today is the failure of the policy of re-establishing the positions of capitalism, a policy which has proved unable to undermine the foundations of nationalization. On the other hand, there are signs of a still broader offensive against nationalization, an offensive that is being conducted in the legislative, economic, financial, political and ideological spheres under imperialist pressure. At the same time we are witnessing a considerable upswing in the working people's movement for unity, in the strength of the trade unions and the class consciousness of the working people, of all patriotic and progressive forces, and more vigorous action on their part in defense of nationalization.

The policy of restoring the positions of capitalism has done nothing to bring about economic recovery. The economic situation

confirms day after day that the socialists' policy of re-establishing the positions of capitalism, the latifundium system and imperialism, with the Social-Democratic Party and Social-Democratic Center backing all major government decisions, has aggravated the economic, financial, social and political crisis and not regenerated the economy, as the government claimed it would.

The roots of this crisis lie in the economic structure and policies of the pre-April state, which was at once a colonial power and a country dependent on imperialism. The present crisis is characterized by a combination of ills that are causing a notable discrepancy between national production and consumption. These ills are most pronounced in the economy and finance and express themselves primarily in trade and balance-of-payments deficits.

The PCP conference on economic development in June 1977 proposed a series of measures for the immediate purpose of reducing the trade and balance of payments deficits, expanding national production, ending the crisis and helping the economy toward early recovery. But the socialists' one-party government, operating virtually in alliance with the right, turned a deaf ear to these proposals. It continued its economic and financial policy in compliance with a demand of the right and the International Monetary Fund. This policy is based on making unlimited use of foreign loans, restricting credits, raising interest rates (the highest in Europe now), devaluating the escudo (devaluation in 1977 alone exceeded 30 per cent), freezing wages, sharply increasing prices (about 30 per cent last year), taking arbitrary and unlawful action against the agrarian reform, systematically assailing nationalized enterprises and handing back enterprises rehabilitated and restarted by the state to their former owners who had sabotaged them.

The fruits of this policy prove the PCP estimation of it to be correct. The trade deficit, which in 1976 rose from 50,000m. to 75,000m. escudos came to 112,000 escudos, or \$2,500m. in 1977.* The balance of payments deficit increased from 26,000m. to 29,000m. escudos in 1975 and 1976, and topped 50,000m. escudos, or \$1,200m., last year. Whereas the foreign debt in December 1976 was officially estimated at about 105,000m. escudos (our conference on economic development set it at between 160,000m. and 170,000m. escudos), today it stands between 210,000m. and 220,000m. escudos (\$5,250m. and \$5,500m.). The debt will increase after credits have been secured from the IMF. These credits are conditional on government acceptance of the 'stabilization program' pro-

*These are official figures. The first corrections that have become known speak of nearly 120,000m. escudos, or \$3,000m.

posed by the IMF. It should also be noted that the gold reserve has dwindled over the past six months.

This, then, was the political, financial and economic background of the conference.

The nationalization effected after April 25 was not intended to improve the capitalist system and increase monopoly power, as nationalization in capitalist countries usually is. It did not merely weaken, it destroyed the power of domestic monopolies and monopoly groups. The measure was prompted by the objective need to save Portuguese democracy from the danger threatening it as a result of economic subversion by monopoly capital, and to destroy the material mainstay of reaction and fascism. It became all the more imperative after attempts at a coup on September 28, 1974, and March 11, 1975, and in the light of the advancing revolutionary process and the intensifying class struggle.

The nationalization process was hastened by the defeat of reaction on March 11, the exposure of big capital's complicity in preliminary destabilization and a conspiracy, and by the increased strength of the revolutionary forces, and the working people's struggle in close alliance with the Armed Forces Movement. On March 14 and 15, 1975, the Revolutionary Council adopted an historic decision to nationalize all banks and insurance companies (except foreign ones). Thereupon nationalization spread to key economic fields.

A total of 254 enterprises were nationalized. They included 24 banks and other monetary and financial institutions, 32 insurance companies, eight fishing firms, four oil refineries, five chemical plants, a steel plant, two shipyards, five cellulose and seven cement plants, 15 power stations, 93 motor transport and two railway companies, an air line and 10 water transport companies. After mergers (e.g., 93 transport companies were merged into one) the number of nationalized enterprises dropped to 113.

The public sector today comprises 91.9 per cent of the banks, virtually all the plants producing cement, cellulose, electricity and metals, 25.2 per cent of the chemical plants and 76.1 per cent of transport and communications.

Nationalization, laid down in the Constitution as an irreversible process, has given rise to a powerful public production sector which forms the basis of the economy along with the collective farms and cooperatives set up in the wake of the agrarian reform. It has paved the way for democratizing society economically and socially and for advancing the economy on the basis of real national independence.

However, any accurate appraisal of the possibilities of government participation in economic activity, should include the enterprises which were not nationalized but in which the state owns part of the

assets, chiefly through the nationalization of other enterprises. These enterprises add up to 376. In 192 of them the state owns over 50 per cent of the assets and they can therefore be regarded as nationalized. The main points that distinguish Portugal's public sector from those of other capitalist countries are the nationalization or state control of enterprises according to industries, their decisive importance to key economic fields, their strategic role, the economic and political objectives pursued by nationalization, and the working people's activity and control over management.

The nature of output — mostly intermediate materials and means of production — and the strategic position held in economic relations make the nationalized and state-controlled enterprises factors of the first importance in the growth of all branches. They are the motor of economic development.

Precisely because the nationalized sector in Portugal is so important, big capital and its agents have launched one campaign after another and maneuvered against the nationalized enterprises. Their attacks, some overt and others covert, never stop.

The reactionaries are aware that to restore the economic power of monopoly capital, many of the nationalized enterprises would have to be liquidated by legislative means. After all, monopoly capitalism is only possible where big capital dominates the core of the economy directly or indirectly, making it serve monopoly interests. The imperialists know this better than anyone else and they have ample experience in this respect. They geared their effort at the early stage of the revolution to supporting and preserving monopoly capital. And now they are using every device — pressure, blackmail, bribery — to help restore big capital and its power in our country.

Some leaders of the Socialist International and Frank Carlucci, former U.S. Ambassador to Portugal and now second man in the CIA, played an important part from this point of view. The same purpose is served by the imperialist demand that import curbs be lifted so as to force the country into seeking foreign loans still more frequently. By granting credits, imperialism imposes — either directly, or through the IMF — the policy that suits it best and is aimed at restoring monopoly power. What imperialism wants is, in effect, a more 'liberal' approach to foreign investment, for this would facilitate political maneuvering in anticipation of Portugal's likely entry into the EEC. To this end the Portuguese economy is expected to adapt to the monopoly capitalist system prevailing in the Common Market countries.

On the domestic front, the offensive against nationalized enterprises assumes diverse forms. It takes advantage of legislation

and managerial elections, and resorts to economic subversion. Tremendous efforts are made to bias public opinion.

As far as legislation is concerned, the nationalized sector has been affected chiefly by the law delimiting the public and the private sectors. The main purpose of the law is to authorize the establishment of private enterprises in the nationalized sector and entrust former monopolists with managing nationalized enterprises. This law, on which those behind the legislative offensive counted above all, has been supplemented by a foreign-investment code (admitting of the association with nationalized enterprises of the capital of 'non-residents,' including fugitive monopolists), a law-decree declaring enterprises to be in economic straits, and a law on compensation. The latter law was framed so as to make possible the transfer to former monopolists (who had engaged in subversion) of thousands of millions of escudos and/or shares held by the state in mixed enterprises.

During managerial elections persons trusted by one-time monopolists have with government support become members of the managing boards at numerous nationalized enterprises.

Reactionary forces campaign continually through the state-owned media to bias public opinion and create a negative impression of the operation and performance of nationalized enterprises.

As for economic subversion in the nationalized sector, it has featured in the policy of strangulating enterprises financially, refusing credits and maintaining organizational and production structures inherited from monopoly capital. It finds expression in the lack of coordination between numerous interconnected nationalized enterprises and in the transfer of the surplus-value of nationalized enterprises to capitalist ones. It also takes the form of raising the prices of items produced by capitalist enterprises, whereas prices in the case of nationalized enterprises remain unchanged or are raised by an insignificant margin.

The conference gave a full description of the situation at the nationalized enterprises. It came to the conclusion that protection and advancement of the nationalized sector are essential for economic recovery. The conference decided on a series of measures covering financial, management and wage policy, relations with government agencies, development on the basis of whole industries, and of coordination and planning. It recommended measures relating to the main nationalized sectors and many enterprises. The more important objectives of these measures are improvement of the economic and financial state of the nationalized enterprises and their reorganization; a policy of preferential credits and aid to nationalized enterprises; a fair price policy; coordination in and between nationalized sectors; economic planning; new investments; the

manufacture of new products; a reorientation of foreign trade with the specific aim of sharply reducing the balance-of-payments deficit; a clear definition of the objectives of management; efficient democratic management; the promotion of workers' control.

The conference was further proof of the working people's ability to find solutions for the most challenging national problems. For this it is essential for them to engage in social and political activity through their organizations.

By fully controlling management, the working people can combat subversion, neglect and irresponsibility on the part of executives and managers. They can offer solutions for key problems, hasten the adoption of appropriate measures, combat mismanagement and help in cutting production costs, making better use of capacities and reducing consumption. Workers' control would strengthen democratic management according to criteria that take into account the importance of the socio-economic activity of nationalized enterprises for the country's future, and not merely considerations of private profit.

The conference stressed that protection and advancement of the nationalized sector help to end the crisis and lead to economic and financial rehabilitation. They are compatible with measures to maintain and even improve the living standard of the working classes and strata. The development of the nationalized sector would make for increased production and extend the home market, which are requisites of speedy economic recovery.

The conference pointed out once again that a guarantee of success in any economic policy in the present situation is to preserve the boundaries between economic structures and develop each of them according to its own dynamics.

The conference showed that the PCP, being the strongest and most organized political party, also has the best knowledge of the main national problems, in particular economic ones, and that its approach to all these problems is the most constructive.

The conference showed again that the social and political influence of the PCP, the deep roots it has among the working class, its real leverage in national life, action in support of the interests of the people and nation, and sustained effort to muster its entire energy and direct it toward overcoming difficulties and building a better life for the Portuguese all make the party an indispensable force, the main factor in solving national problems, ending the crisis, safeguarding Portuguese democracy and advancing it in a socialist direction.



Dialectical materialism and modern science

An international symposium 'Dialectical Materialism and Modern Science (For the 70th Anniversary of V.I. Lenin's book *Materialism and Empirio-Criticism*),' was held at Liblice (Czechoslovakia) on March 14 and 15, 1978, by *WMR* together with the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences. Lenin's book provided the theoretical foundation for the establishment of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union three quarters of a century ago, and remains meaningful in our own day in any discussion of contemporary problems in scientific cognition and the revolutionary transformation of the world. These are the problems — in the light of Lenin's work — that were central to the discussion at the symposium, which was attended by philosophers and natural scientists from 10 European countries, and also by representatives of *WMR*:

Hans Adamo, sociologist, researcher, of the German CP Board; *Stefan Angelov*, D.Sc. (Philos.), professor, Director, United Center of Philosophy and Sociology, Bulgarian Academy of Sciences; *Dmitry Belyaev*, Academician, Director, Institute of Cytology and Genetics, Siberian Branch, USSR Academy of Sciences; *Helmut Böhme*, Academician, Director, Central Institute of the Genetics of Cultivated Plants, GDR Academy of Sciences; *Herbert Hörz*, Academician, member of the Presidium, GDR Academy of Sciences; *Girgin Girginov*, D.Sc. (Philos.), professor, Bulgarian CP representative on *WMR*; *Josef Zachar*, Academician, member of the Presidium, Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences, *Bohumil Kvasil*, Academician, Vice-President, Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences; *Jozsef Lukacs*, Corresponding-Member, Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Director, Institute of Philosophy, Hungarian Academy of Sciences; *Teodor Oizerman*, Corresponding Member, USSR Academy of Sciences, Sector Head, Institute of Philosophy, USSR Academy of Sciences; *Stanislav Rajnko*, D.Sc. (Philos.), research associate, Institute of Fundamental Problems of Marxism-Leninism, PUWP CC; *Radovan Rychta*, Academician, Director, Institute of Philosophy and Sociology, Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences; *Zdenek Snitil*,

Academician, Vice-President, Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences; *Ivan Stefanov*, Cand.Sc. (Philos.) staff worker of the Bulgarian CP Central Committee; *Jon Tudosescu*, D.Sc. (Philos.), professor, Director, Institute of Philosophy, Rumanian Academy of Social and Political Sciences; *Pyotr Fedoseyev*, Academician, Vice-President, USSR Academy of Sciences; *Ivan Frolov*, Corresponding-Member, USSR Academy of Sciences, Chairman, WMR Commission on Science, Culture and Sociological Studies; *John Hoffman*, Lecturer in Philosophy at University of Leicester (Britain); *Helena Sheehan*, Lecturer in Philosophy, Dublin University (Ireland). In addition, texts of reports were sent in by *Valdislav Lektorsky*, Sector Head, Institute of Philosophy, USSR Academy of Sciences, and *Walter Hollitscher*, Austrian Marxist and scientist, who were unable to attend. Among those who also took part in the symposium were members of the WMR Editorial Board: *Pavel Auersperg* (CP of Czechoslovakia); *Rudolf Wettengel* (SUPG); *Barbu Zacharescu* (Rumanian CP); *Wieslaw Klimczak* (PUWP); *Idris Cox* (CP Great Britain); *Badamyn Lkhamsuren* (MPRP); *Julio Laborde* (CP Argentina), and *John Pittman* (CP USA).

The symposium was opened by *Ivan Frolov*. A speech of greetings on behalf of the Presidium of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences was delivered by *Zdenek Snitil*.

Below is an abridged report of the proceedings at the symposium. The full version of the reports is to be published in a separate volume in Czech, English, German and Russian.

I. LENIN'S PRINCIPLES OF THE INTERACTION OF PHILOSOPHY AND THE CONCRETE SCIENCES

Pyotr Fedoseyev, delivering the first report on the subject, said that the place and role of philosophy within the system of scientific cognition of objective reality is now becoming the subject of ever more intense discussion and controversy. This is due above all to the sharpening struggle between the Marxist and the bourgeois lines of philosophical interpretation of the present epoch.

Different schools of philosophy take a different view of social change and the social forces contending with each other in the process of historical transformations. There are conservative schools denying the law-governed nature of social transformations, and rejecting the very concept of progress. They are opposed by philosophical schools which hold that progress and the revolutionary renewal of the world are the main content of humanity's history. This brings out the tremendous ideological importance of philosophy in the ideological life of society.

Many bourgeois philosophers deny the scientific nature of philosophy and seek to contrast philosophical thinking with scientific thinking, the philosophical comprehension of the world with its scientific cognition. This urge to sever philosophy from science is due above all to the attempts to de-ideologize science, to 'purge' it of ideological elements and so to exclude science from the context of the present-day social struggle. Indeed, if philosophy is recognized as a science, the conclusion is inevitable, on the one hand, that the unity of the methodological principles of different types of man's cognitive relation to the world is possible, and on the other, that there can be only one picture of the world that is alone authentic from the philosophical standpoint. This shows up the untenability of cognitive and practical relativism, the principle of pluralism in the vision of the world, which is one of the basic dogmas of present-day philosophical subjectivism and idealism.

When characterizing the relations between philosophy and the special sciences, our assumption is that there is no legitimate ground for contrasting philosophy, science and ideology as qualitatively distinct forms in the mastery of reality. The ideological function of the dialectico-materialist philosophy does not rule out its scientific significance. This function is not something external or alien to the definition of materialist dialectics as a scientific philosophy and, in fact, springs from this definition and is determined by it. It is this scientific content of philosophy that ensures its organic connection with the sciences of nature and of society.

Lenin's work, *Materialism and Empirio-Criticism*, provides an outstanding specimen of the organic blend of the party spirit and the scientific approach in philosophical analysis.

The close connection of the analysis of philosophical problems in natural science and elaboration of materialist dialectics as a science is one of the most characteristic features of Lenin's approach to the philosophical comprehension of scientific advance.

Another feature of Lenin's analysis of philosophical problems in natural science is the striking combination of exceptional attention to the concrete achievements of science and the most careful attitude to the fundamental principles and ideas of dialectical materialism. Lenin always proceeded from recognition of the value of the latest natural-science concepts of his day, never tried to 'correct' natural science — to solve natural-science problems for it or instead of it. He strictly identified precisely philosophical questions for discussion, while vigorously opposing the obsolete nature-philosophical and also positivist interference in the concrete problems of cognition.

Finally, the third characteristic feature of Lenin's approach to the philosophical comprehension of the latest natural-science data is his

profound analysis of the social and gnoseological roots of idealism. Every idealism, and that which speculates on science in particular, relies on inflation and absolutization of various aspects of our cognition of the external world. That is why, effective criticism and transcendence of idealism cannot consist of its facile rejection, but must rest on a dialectico-materialist solution of the problems which idealism has posed in a distorted form. In other words, criticism of idealism must rest on a creative development of the scientific philosophy and the solution of problems posed by contemporary natural science with which the various idealistic trends are unable to cope.

Lenin wrote his *Materialism and Empirio-Criticism* 70 years ago, Pyotr Fedoseyev said, but it continues to be a source of ideas which determine the Marxist-Leninist view of philosophy's place and role within the structure of modern scientific knowledge. The Marxist-Leninist theory denies the nature-philosophical and positivist conceptions of the interaction of philosophical and concrete scientific knowledge, so overcoming the metaphysical antithesis between philosophy and the particular sciences, and bridges the gap between ontology and gnoseology. In more concrete terms, the Marxist-Leninist theory brings out two dialectically connected streams running in opposite directions within the interaction of philosophy and the particular sciences: (1) From the particular sciences — through a summing-up of their theoretical conclusions — to philosophy, to the scientific world outlook; and (2) From philosophy — through the elaboration of the methodology and logic of scientific analysis — to particular-science cognition.

Materialist dialectics analyzes objective reality as reproduced by science, that is, the content of scientific discoveries, and simultaneously also the forms in which the given content is theoretically expressed and the methodology and logical structure of analysis which they bring out. The general laws and categories of materialist dialectics, logically expressed in the form of philosophical theory, acquire the character of methodological premises and principles of scientific cognition with respect to scientific theory. Thus, in formulating the scientific world outlook, materialist dialectics simultaneously becomes an instrument for the attainment of new knowledge, and this is also the source of the functions of philosophical knowledge with respect to science.

First, there is the summing-up of the available knowledge and identification of the general principles on which it is based. Every science aims to discover laws, and that is why it engages in generalization, but in each concrete science generalization bears only on the field which it studies. The specific feature of philosophical generalizations is that they are universal. The theoretical principles and

generalizations of philosophy bear both on quantitative and qualitative, evolutionary and revolutionary changes, both on similarity, identity and difference of phenomena and processes.

Second, there is philosophy's scientific and heuristic role, its contribution to the increase of knowledge. Our philosophy lays no claim to solving the specific problems of the concrete sciences, but it develops in close contact with them, and in its conceptions and categories shows the logic of scientific cognition, so ensuring the cognition of ever deeper and more general connections and forms of the interrelation of phenomena, which can be formulated only as a result of philosophical analysis.

Third, philosophy serves as the instrument for synthesizing the whole of available knowledge, the methodological center of the connection and interconnection of the various scientific disciplines, producing an 'integral' and harmonious view of the world, of human life and knowledge. The Marxist-Leninist philosophy makes a study of nature and the potentialities of scientific cognition, the relation between scientific knowledge and reality, and orients itself upon the quest for the universal fundamentals of science, the conditions of the truth and authenticity of scientific knowledge, and the premises and mechanisms of its formation, thereby objectively operating as the universal methodology of scientific cognition.

The scientific and technical revolution, like the emergence of 'big science,' with its special mode of organization, specialization, interrelations within scientific collectives, the nature of society's use of its achievements, and so on, clearly shows that the problem of the relation between philosophy and the particular sciences is not at all confined to the traditional range of problems. The substantial changes in the organization of science and its relation with the existing social structures have confronted philosophy with a number of new and important problems, among them the influence of scientific and technical progress on man and society, the correlation between truth and value, freedom of research and the scientist's moral responsibility, the relation between the scientific and the humanities segments of culture, the causes for the emergence and the ways of overcoming the utilitarian, pragmatic attitude to scientific knowledge, etc.

Stefan Angelov and *Vladislav Lektorsky* also considered the processes in the development of modern scientific knowledge, and integration of philosophy and the concrete sciences.

Materialism and dialectics, *Stefan Angelov* said, reveal the close interconnection between all spheres of knowledge as the former penetrate ever deeper into every sphere of science. Today we see how in the course of the development of modern science the processes of

differentiation closely interweave with the processes of the integration of the sciences.

From the standpoint of neo-positivism science is characterized by only a formal structure of the systems of knowledge. Neo-positivism passes over the fact that science is a reflection of objective reality. However, the proposition that knowledge is integral and that sciences are integrable rests entirely on this objective basis, on the basis of the unity of the material world as the content of science.

The effective transference of the method and language of one science to another creates opportunities for solving new problems and promotes the development of these methods and language themselves. The extensive application of cybernetics and its methods to the problems of biology, medicine and economics is important not only for the development of these sciences, but also for cybernetics itself. This integration in science is one of the most important forms of unity of modern scientific knowledge. Unfortunately, one also comes across instances of the language of one science being used unnecessarily in another. For example, some authors try to use the system of mathematical logic and the language of cybernetics in various sciences merely as a new means of expressing or recording ideas that are already quite well known. The new method of notation, however, produces no new scientific results and does not even throw additional light on existing knowledge.

Quite clearly, the synthesis of the sciences is an open-ended process and not complete in any sense. Science is not a closed system. New facts and discoveries tend to disrupt the existing system of sciences, revealing new contradictions, but this does not mean that no effort should be made to move toward even closer unity within the complex diversity of scientific cognition.

The above-mentioned features of the development of scientific knowledge also apply to the social sciences, although in this sphere the processes of differentiation and integration naturally take place in their own scientific way.

Social processes and phenomena are complex dynamic systems, whose elements and properties exist in organic connection with the whole. And this systematic character of the social presupposes combination of the efforts of many sciences in order to reveal the essence of various phenomena in their organic unity.

The narrow specialist approach is no longer suitable for the cognition of society. A profound explanation of separate social phenomena can be given only if they are considered within a system of general connections and from the standpoint of their historical development. Naturally this is not to deny the need for further specialization of science, the development of methodology, and the methods and

techniques of specialized research. But we should not forget that the narrow specialist approach has its limits and takes the researcher no further than the particular and the specific, offering no conception of the system of general interconnections in the life of society.

The need for complex social research and the integration of the social sciences that this involves raise a number of new scientific and methodological problems. Evidently, the synthetic, complex approach presupposes as its main methodological premise the elaboration of a theory of relations and interaction between the various aspects of social life and concrete social phenomena.

An important feature of the development of modern scientific knowledge, Vladislav Lektorsky held, is that a full-scale discussion of fundamental ideological and methodological philosophical problems now becomes a necessary condition for the formulation of fundamentally new ideas in science itself. This has been visually demonstrated by philosophical discussions in such sciences as quantum mechanics, cosmology, the theory of biological evolution, and so on.

Science attains a stage of development at which any further evidence requires a sharp enhancement of the level of self-consciousness and increasingly implies the scientist's awareness of the means of research he is to use, ranging from instruments and measuring devices to abstractions and theoretical assumptions. In philosophical idiom one could say that 'self-reflection' is increasingly woven into the very fabric of modern scientific research. That is the basis for the tempestuous process of 're-integration' of philosophical and particular-science knowledge, one of the remarkable features of the scientific and technical revolution.

The development of new forms of interaction between philosophical and particular-science knowledge has an important effect on scientific philosophy itself, on materialist dialectics.

Materialist dialectics is a systematically organized theory characterized by the existence of definite inner logical connections and semantic dependencies. At the same time, it is not a 'closed,' immutable system, but a living and developing one which responds sensitively to the movement of social practice and scientific thought. As Marxist-Leninist dialectics develops, there can be a change in the relative importance of its individual problems, a restructuring of the interconnections between its various elements and the appearance of new modes of problems. Thus, the need for a philosophical comprehension of the changes in the logical structure of modern scientific knowledge makes it necessary to give special attention to an analysis of categories of dialectics (while bringing out new aspects of these categories) like necessity — system, form — content. These are

the categories which appear to be the most important for modern scientific thinking.

An important element of the symposium was the critical analysis of the state of present-day bourgeois philosophy, and of the evidence that it is incapable of providing a methodological basis for social and natural science. This was dealt with in great detail by *Jozsef Lukacs*.

Characterizing Lenin's analysis of the structure of the bourgeois philosophical consciousness, he said that a key aspect of this analysis was the discovery of the connection between the various forms of positivism (notably, empirio-criticism), on the one hand, and irrationalism and fideism, on the other. Auguste Comte, Herbert Spencer, Ernst Mach and Bertrand Russell equally started from the priority of immediate experience (or from its linguistic-logical analysis). However, while their purpose was to consolidate scientific knowledge, with that kind of approach they not only failed to substantiate philosophy, but in effect eliminated it. Reduced to sensual immediacy, individual experience, as obviousness, on the one hand, and the ignoring of the historical approach, on the other, provide the two pillars on which rises the edifice of positivism, an edifice whose famed open-endedness is relative and even imaginary: in terms of principle, the relativism of the theory of cognition can at any point be combined here with the absolute put forward by means of religious faith.

Antal Szerb, an outstanding Hungarian historian of literature, who died the death of a martyr, said this about bourgeois literature: the humdrum days, on the one hand, and miracles, on the other. And that is more than a mere metaphor. The empiricism of bourgeois thinking, which remains on the everyday level, has a structure which is just as reminiscent of the positivist theory of cognition as its naive anti-philosophical approach.

The commodity fetishism, particularism, and the massive gap between the ends of activity and its results, which Marx discovered and which are endemic to capitalist society, produce the atmosphere in which consciousness is prepared to reconcile itself with the boundary line, with its own finiteness. Conversely, only a radical, revolutionary change in property relations and in class relations, which provide the social basis for everyday practice, together with the spread of the scientifically-grounded revolutionary theory of social activity of the masses can yield 'visual and irrefutable evidence' that men are born 'of themselves,' that their origin is completely terrestrial.

Such a change in the historical experience of the masses can overcome not only religion but also the duality of positivism and irrationalism.

Lenin's creative legacy shows very well how this problem is solved

in theory and practice. Having discarded the attempts by positivism and fideism to solve the 'age-old' contradiction between practice and theory, between the world of emotion and the world of thought by bringing the structure of science and philosophy closer to everyday existence, Lenin proposed his own way, which was to revolutionize everyday thinking by means of a revolutionary change of practice, of social relations, which provide the basis for this thinking, thereby carrying it closer to the theoretical-science thinking and so creating fresh historical opportunities for contacts between everyday thinking and science. Realization of these potentialities means, on the one hand, that science itself becomes a force operating in everyday life (a productive force, a political force, spiritual power) and, on the other, that conditions arise in everyday life to enable people to comprehend and substantiate their individual and common goals, like the means of attaining them, ever more broadly and scientifically.

Social consciousness can be expected to develop only from impulses coming simultaneously 'from above' and 'from below.' The effort to theoretically implant materialist dialectics in consciousness and to overcome bourgeois-philistine structures in it is inseparable from Lenin's idea of revolutionizing reality, from the conscious stimulation of men's broad economic, political, scientific and cultural development, and from the development and satisfaction of their material and spiritual requirements.

Helena Sheehan spoke of the inability of bourgeois philosophers to meet the challenge of natural science in the 20th century. The bourgeois philosophy of science, she emphasized, continues to engage in a narrow, introverted methodologism, frequently displaying a supreme indifference to the actual results of scientific discovery, and paying even less attention to what these results imply for working out a philosophical view. Characteristically, it seeks to contrast methodology and natural science, philosophy and science. *Helena Sheehan* illustrated this idea by analyzing the stand of the numerous schools which repudiate dialectical materialism and the Marxist tradition in philosophy, while still claiming to be Marxist (so-called Western Marxism).

Among those who also took part in the discussion of the first topic at the symposium were *Herbert Horz*, who dealt with the heuristic function of the Marxist-Leninist philosophy, and *Jozsef Zachar*, who considered (in connection with *Helena Sheehan's* report) the integrality of philosophical theory.

In discussing the 'methodology of science and the scientist's world outlook,' *Horz* said, we usually stress that the Marxist-Leninist world outlook acts as a methodological factor stimulating the production of new creative ideas. But what is its mechanism? The spread of Marx-

ism-Leninism among scientific workers, as the experience of the German Democratic Republic shows, does not yet quite solve the problem: the ideological stand does not automatically produce any effect in the sphere of the scientist's scientific quest. One of the ways to solve this problem, he said, could be mere intensive participation by natural scientists and technicians in discussions with philosophers on gnoseological, methodological and ideological problems in some concrete science. In such discussions, fundamental knowledge of Marxism-Leninism could offer a real reservoir of new creative ideas in concrete-science knowledge.

Horz also dealt with some propositions in Angelov's report in connection with his remark that new facts always tended to disrupt the existing system of the sciences, and said: 'Would it not be more correct to say that such fundamental disruptions tend rather to occur very rarely (as in the transition from classical mechanics to relativist mechanics, or from descriptive to theoretical science), and that new facts are, as a rule, digested within (the framework of) the existing system?'

His second question was on the limits of the application of the methods of mathematical logic. He agreed, of course, that certain elements of the content may be lost in an exposition using the system of mathematical logic, but asked: Should one not also point out the positive aspects of this exposition, and particularly the fact that it can draw attention to the logical contradictions in a theory, help the further elaboration of the available data by means of computers, and so on?

In reply *Angelov* said:

When I referred to changes in the system of the sciences caused by new facts I had in mind, of course, not separate, individual facts, but a set of new facts and discoveries. I would remind you that Engels also observed that every major discovery in natural science changes the form of materialism.

As regards the second question, I merely wanted to emphasize that interpenetration of methods in the sciences, and particularly the mathematization of knowledge, should go hand in hand with consideration of the qualitative characteristics of the objects of research in any given discipline. After all, it would be a wrong, unscientific position if, say, we started explaining social phenomena in terms of the methods of physics or biology.

II. MARXIST-LENINIST DIALECTICS AND PROBLEMS OF METHODOLOGY IN SCIENCE

Radovan Rychta dealt with this subject, which was elaborated at the

symposium mainly as an analysis of the theoretico-methodological basis of modern science.

Lenin's program for developing materialist dialectics on the basis of 'elaboration of the history of human thought, science and technology, the generalization of all human practice' (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 38, pp. 147, 201), he said, is also a program for laying a proper theoretico-methodological foundation for modern science. The very character of the revolutionary processes of modern times promotes dialectics to this role, since transformation of objective reality, of the social and natural conditions for the cognition of reality demands fundamental changes in the theoretico-methodological system of science.

The new science employed a specific type of scientific thinking. Its methodological premise was the 'purification' of the research process of any influence on the part of the real subject (whether in the form of ideological or moral considerations or the peculiarities of individual experience and world-view of this or that researcher). Its method was 'depersonalized' contemplation, performed from the standpoint of an abstract and universal subject. As a result the knowledge it obtained presupposed no value other than truth, inasmuch as science itself was presumed not to have any other goal but the production of reliable and unprejudiced information. The system of science at this stage of its historical development was a system of contemplative, 'abstract' natural science, a system in which the historical element is wanting.

Obviously this system of science was bound to reveal its limitations at that point in time and space when the actual process of transformation of nature and development of society become revolutionary, in the period of the development of the closely interconnected processes of the socialist and scientifico-technological revolutions, thanks to which the objective dialectics of the transformation of nature and development of society acquires a new qualitative content.

The metaphysical approach ran into difficulties particularly in the fields connected with the self-development of matter which go beyond the boundaries of mechanicism (subatomic processes in quantum mechanics, modern chemistry, microbiology, and also in social life). In its methodological aspect this meant that the means available to contemplative science were bound to prove fruitless first of all in the fields of knowledge where the subjective aspects of man's cognitive and transformative activity had to be taken into consideration.

Theoretical analysis and experience show that only materialist dialectics offers the opportunity of rational understanding and practi-

cal consideration of the actual relations between subject and object in modern science and practice. Dialectics also allows us to go even further by investigating the process of cognition and practical transformation of the world, taking into account the actual changes in subject and object during the transition to a new field of the motion of matter; it enables us to understand the role of the means and approaches of modern science that are not by nature readily perceptible, etc.

Considering the question of the subject of modern science, Rychta said that many works by bourgeois authors (notably Thomas Kuhn*) assume this subject to be the 'scientific community,' i.e., scientists linked by various generally acknowledged principles and goals of research and scientific ideas.

This approach evidently shows the limited self-reflection of a science that is not aware of its actual place in the life of society and its connection with the basic economic, political and spiritual processes. By allotting the role of the subject of cognition to the 'scientific community; bourgeois theoreticians wittingly or unwittingly shift the responsibility for the deformation of science's development under capitalism from that socio-economic system onto science itself.

Actually, the subject of science, as 'universal social labor,' based on the experience of all preceding generations and all contemporaries, is not the 'scientific community,' but society as a whole, in its concrete form with its inherent social-class relations. This view of the problem of the subject of cognition, formulated in terms of the Marxist-Leninist theory, allows us to arrive at a definite judgment on the ways and means of development of modern science, and also the role and place of materialist dialectics in this process.

The level of transformation of nature and man's historical development that characterizes the epoch of transition from capitalism to socialism demands a new type of science. And materialist dialectics alone can become the theoretico-methodological foundation for its formation. Only the science built on this philosophical and ideological basis makes it possible to combine cognition of the world with its transformation, and both these processes, with the development of society and man.

In his report, *John Hoffman* considered the theoretico-methodological grounds of modern social science. He said that the fundamental proposition of historical materialism concerning the primacy of social being over social consciousness is inconceivable without a general materialist approach. That is why the Marxist-Leninist doctrine regards the connection between social ideas and social practice on the

*See Thomas Kuhn. *The Structure of Scientific Revolution*. Chicago, 1970.

basis of more general propositions concerning the connection between ideas and objective reality. Although the distinctions between the material world as a whole and that part of it which could be called the social world are not here of such importance for Marxists, our opponents try to use this discrepancy as an argument in favor of their dualistic view of the relation between consciousness and being: while ideas reflect social practice, they cannot be said to reflect the world itself.* However, from the standpoint of the dialectico-materialist doctrine, social practice is just as material as nature, although many of its fundamental phenomena do not contain a grain of substance. After all, the question of materiality entails consideration of all the social and natural phenomena as objective reality existing independently of men's will and reflected in man's consciousness.

Ion Tudosescu spoke of the structure of materialist dialectics and the potential lines on which it could develop.

The dialectics lesson taught by Lenin during the scientific revolution at the beginning of this century, he said, is of methodological importance that goes well beyond the framework of the immediate theoretical and ideological tasks of Marxist philosophy. In the new conditions of scientific progress and with the new advances in the methodology of science in this epoch of scientific and technical revolution, which has been working changes on every structural level of social life, our task is to continue what Lenin began, namely, to develop further the conceptions, principles and laws of materialist dialectics. This is all the more important considering that the problems of cognition methods are being actively discussed by the present-day positivists, represented by different varieties of neopositivism, various structuralist trends, the systems approach, etc.

There are various interpretations of the conception of dialectics. Most frequently it has been defined as a method. Regardless of the motives for which this was done, its association with the term 'method' has always invested it with operational significance.

A closer look will show that the term 'method' also implies an ontological basis, because the norms and rules by which a method operates are either logical or natural. Consequently, method cannot be entirely independent of ontological foundations linked with explicative functions. That is why the conception of dialectics has both a methodological and an explicative significance.

The Marxist materialist interpretation of dialectics emphasizes in every way this synthesis of theory and method. Starting from the conception of dialectics elaborated by Marx in contrast to German classi-

*See Alfred Schmidt. *The Concept of Nature in Marx*. New Left Books, 1971, p. 111.

cal idealism, we regard dialectics as a world outlook, that is, both as a theory, as an explanation (science) of the general laws of the structure and dynamics of the objective (natural, social) and also the subjective (consciousness, knowledge) universum, and simultaneously as a method of cognition and action (theoretico-ideological and practical revolutionary).

In the history of philosophy, a narrow view has most frequently been taken of dialectics, as being only a theory of development, with its subject-matter reduced to an analysis of the three basic laws of motion and development: the law of unity and struggle of opposites, the law of transition of quantitative changes into qualitative changes, and the law of negation of the negation. Such a limited view of dialectics could be faulted on the fact that it tends to lose sight of the laws of determinism, and the principles of structural and systems analysis, which weakens it and makes it vulnerable in the face of the diverse indeterministic, holistic and structuralist non-dialectical trends in modern philosophy.

Marxism regards dialectics above all as a science of connections. Consequently, the laws with which it operates are above all laws of structure. Development as an attribute of the existence and motion of structures is determined by the fact that these structures are qualitatively stable, coordinated and integrated. Development is, in effect, the self-development of structures or systems, a source of qualitative change because it is organic to any structure. Consequently, materialist dialectics, being a theory of development, is at the same time a theory of determinism, a general methodology of structural analysis and systemic study of phenomena.

From such a definition of dialectics it follows that dialectics operates with a broad range of conceptions and regularities, by means of which the objective mechanism of determination and development, the structure and integration of phenomena, and the tendencies toward the latter uniting into a whole are revealed.

Teodor Oizerman dealt with Lenin's analysis of the dialectics of the absolute and the relative, and also criticized bourgeois philosophical conceptions based on absolute relativism. He said: The revolution in physics ushered in at the end of the 19th century by the discovery of radio-activity and the electron signified the collapse of the metaphysical mode of thought. The basic concepts of physics, like mass, energy and impermeability, concepts which had appeared to be absolutely clear, not subject to change and established for good, were subjected to a fundamental critical review. The need for a dialectical rethinking of the categorical apparatus of natural science was becoming ever more urgent.

But for very definite social and ideological reasons materialist

dialectics in the bourgeois society is regarded with hostility and ignored. That is why the crisis of traditional metaphysics does not result in its early replacement with materialist dialectics (although this process also develops for a number of objective reasons). The predominant metaphysical mode of thought evolves in accordance with the changing circumstances. Whereas in the past, metaphysics absolutized constancy, stability and equilibrium, it now begins to absolutize change itself. The metaphysics of the absolute gives way to the metaphysics of the relative. Absolute relativism, which asserts that the absolute is, in effect, the relative, and the objective, the subjective, becomes the newest form of the metaphysical mode of thought.

Lenin established this transformation when analyzing the methodological crisis of natural science at the end of the 19th century, and in his *Materialism and Empirio-Criticism* attacked the new, relativistic metaphysics, which had not been in existence in the lifetime of Marx and Engels, and accentuated the dialectics-relativism relation, the dialectics of the absolute and the relative.

Let us recall that some outstanding turn-of-the-century physicists were unable to advance from mechanicism to dialectics and adopted absolute relativism, a subjectivist-agnostic epistemology contrasted to materialism (to metaphysical materialism, of course) as a theory of 'physical' idealism backed up with allegedly empirical scientific data. About the advocates of 'physical' idealism Lenin said, that, 'denying the immutability of the elements and of the properties of matter known hitherto, they ended by denying matter, i.e., the objective reality of the physical world... Insisting on the approximate and relative character of our knowledge, they ended by denying the object independence of the mind, reflected approximately-correctly and relatively-truly by the mind' (Vol. 14, p. 262).

Lenin countered this subjectivist version of the metaphysical mode of thought by explaining that the relative difference between absolute and relative truth was not a negation of absolute truth but merely an indication that its limits were always relative, that is, that they were located within the boundaries of a definite time-space continuum. Relative truth is also objective truth, and it differs from absolute truth in that it is a part of the latter, i.e., that it expresses its content in a limited, incomplete and one-sided way. From this standpoint, absolute truth is only a summing-up of relative truths, and this process of summing-up, considering the multiformity and development of the object of cognition, never ends. Lenin wrote: 'Dialectics — as Hegel in his time explained — contains an element of relativism, of negation, of scepticism, but *is not reducible* to relativism. The materialist dialectics of Marx and Engels certainly does contain

relativism, but is not reducible to relativism, that is, it recognizes the relativity of all our knowledge, not in the sense of denying objective truth, but in the sense that the limits of approximation of our knowledge to this truth are historically conditional' (Vol. 14, p. 137).

Lenin said all this seventy years ago, but all these ideas are just as important today as they were at the beginning of the century. Oizerman illustrated this by analyzing present-day idealistic philosophy of the positivist and 'post-positivist' brand which still takes the approach of subjectivist-agnostic absolute relativism, and in this context considered Karl Popper's widely known principle of 'falsifiability.'

The participants in the symposium devoted much attention to philosophical problems in modern natural sciences: physics, biology, genetics, physiology, etc.

Bohumil Kvasil, considered, specifically, the need for the dialectico-materialist approach to the problems of physics, and emphasized that the changes in physical science — especially in the past few decades — have been fundamental and bear on all its aspects. First of all, this is characteristic of the theoretical system of physics: the new physical theories are not an extension of the old conceptions, but a qualitatively new and higher reflection of various aspects of reality which became the object of cognition at the turn of the century. Nor are the new theories an absolute negation, let alone refutation, of the classical theories, for they contain these within themselves as an approximation.

The approximation of the theoretical system has also led to a change in the structure of physical science: today, it is an intricate network of general and special disciplines, which frequently differ from each other in the subject-matter of research, structure, methods, etc. The traditional disciplines of classical physics, which study the regularities of mechanical motion, have, naturally, continued to develop. But the center of gravity in research has shifted into the sphere of qualitatively new forms of the physical motion of matter with which humanity is not in direct interaction.

The emergence of new problems, which at once became key problems, has exerted a tremendous influence on the development of the means and methods of physical cognition, notably raising the level of its mathematization, which is undoubtedly a tremendous achievement for natural science. After all, in some fields of physics, mathematics is now no longer a technical instrument only for giving quantitative expression to the relations established in the process of experiment, but a means for the actual formulation of theories.

Simultaneously, there is here a latent danger of which Lenin warned: 'The great successes achieved by natural science, the approach to elements of matter so homogeneous and simple that

their laws of motion can be treated mathematically, caused the mathematicians to overlook matter' (Vol. 14, p. 308). Today, this warning of Lenin's is just as important. Even in our day, some scientists working in the field of theoretical physics are inclined to overdo the purely mathematical constructs, so that the task of probing nature is in the main reduced to the spinning out of numerous hypotheses and alternative solutions, thus creating the illusion that theory results from the free creative play of the intellect. In this case, dialectical materialism has the methodological role of helping to gain the right understanding of the limited role of mathematical abstractions in the cognition of objective reality and of the balance between the empirical and the theoretical levels of cognition.

The growing abstraction of theories is another characteristic feature of modern physical knowledge. The conceptual apparatus of theoretical physics tends to move away from visual concepts. However, the loss of visualization is compensated by the positive fact that the growing abstraction of physical concepts in fact reflects the deeper penetration into the substance of phenomena, into the deep-seated laws of motion and the organization of the numerous forms of matter.

Kvasil dealt with the attempts by idealism to interpret the complicated problems in physics bearing on time and space, the role of instruments in probing the microcosm, the content of the principle of indefiniteness, the correlation of statistical and dynamic regularities, etc., and said in conclusion that the truth of the ideas which Lenin expressed in this *Materialism and Empirio-Criticism* has been amply confirmed by the intervening period of 70 years. With respect to modern physics it is no exaggeration to say that its development has proceeded along the line substantiated by Lenin. In this sense, Lenin's methodological prognosis concerning the future of science is remarkable, just as is his unwavering optimism and his conviction that modern natural science has before it a way of unprecedented discoveries and tremendous successes in transforming the world.

Dmitry Belyaev spoke of the philosophico-methodological interpretation of the revolution in biology connected with the discovery of the molecular mechanisms of heredity and the mutability of organisms.

The central event here, he said, was proof of the fact that heredity information is coded in the molecular structure of nucleic acids, which serve, on the one hand, as matrices for their own self-replication, and on the other, as matrices for protein synthesis. The discovery of this role of nucleic acids allows one most definitely to say that it is no longer adequate to define life as the existence of protein bodies, because the latter exist only to the extent to which their matrices —

nucleic acids — exist. That is why it would be more precise to say that life is a form of existence of nucleo-protein complexes.

In the past the exchange of substances between organisms and their environment was held to be the necessary and most general attribute of life. There is no doubt that the exchange of substances is a key expression of life, but the data we now have show that such exchange is in itself an expression of a much more general and specifically biological phenomenon, the self-regulation of living systems as a whole and the maintenance within them of a constant inner environment.

The self-regulation of living systems is ultimately only the result of the law-governed movement of flows of various information, the chief of which is the flow of hereditary information. It is hereditary information which pervades every level of organization of life, from the nucleo-protein complex within the cell system to the structure of the population and the species as an element of the biosphere that determines the character of all the other information flows (physiologico-biochemical, ethological, signal, etc.)

The propositions in Marxist dialectics that there are no absolute boundaries in nature between various forms of organization of matter open up fresh potentialities for methodological and natural-science analysis of the problem of man. There is no doubt that man is the highest product of the evolution of life on the earth, and as such he is subject to all the laws of biology, notably, genetics. The complications and disputes arise in a discussion of the problems of man's behavior, his intellect, his specific capabilities, attitude to society and work, forms of his social and moral behavior, and so on. A man's personality make-up largely results from the diverse conditions of his upbringing, social conditions of life, the labor and moral tenets in society and his concrete environment in which the personality is shaped. However, the absence of any rigid genetic determinateness of the higher expressions of man's intellect as they develop in the individual is no more than outward. The capacity for adaptation to the norms of social life in society and for realizing these in individual behavior is a genetically programmed property, and this already shows the unity of the social and the biological in man.

In virtue of the laws of genetics, every man and woman, regardless of their racial or social origin, differ in their potentialities, capabilities and inclinations at birth. This is due both to the genetically determined specifics of man's thinking and to his physiological specifics, which have a substantial impact on the personality characteristics of man. The conditions of social life and upbringing do not make an impact on a homogeneous and amorphous material of an averaged-out individual, but on the matter

of the developing and shaping human brain, which is genetically differentiated in all its properties, and it is this interaction that produces the uniqueness of every individual as a bio-social being. The conception of man's bio-social nature alone provides the grounds for a dialectico-materialist elaboration of this most important problem, while exaggeration of either component of the human personality — be it the biological or the social — is fraught with grave natural-science and methodological errors.

Joseph Zachar spoke of the problems of contemporary neurophysiology in the light of dialectico-materialist theory of reflection.

The years that have passed since the completion of Lenin's work, he said, have been marked by an extraordinary development of neurophysiology. Thanks to its successes our knowledge of the activity of the brain as the substratum of cognitive activity has been considerably enriched and this has enabled us to understand certain important points in the development of the reflective ability of animate matter. Moreover, the theoretical advances of neurophysiology have not only confirmed the basic theses of Lenin's theory of reflection; they have also paved the way for the further development of Marxist-Leninist epistemology.

At the same time, the progress of contemporary neurophysiology poses a number of new methodological demands, particularly with regard to generalization of new knowledge and the building on this basis of a new general theory of neurophysiology. Zachar illustrated the trends of theoretical development in this field of science with examples of the elaboration of two neurophysiological theories — neuron (nerve cell) theory and reflex theory. He then dwelt on problems of human consciousness.

The emergence of human consciousness with its characteristic capabilities of self-consciousness and abstract thought depends on a wider range of factors than the purely biological. Materialist dialectics helped to discover the interconnections and conditionalities in the process of evolution from the biological form of motion to the social form, when collective labor emerged as a new form of activity, language as a means of human intercourse, and the brain developed as the substratum of a new quality of consciousness — abstract thought.

Comparative neurophysiology has provided new data confirming the theory of the emergence of human consciousness. On the basis of experiments in electrical stimulation of the primary sensory and motor zones in human beings it may be concluded that the greater part of these cortical areas is engaged in regulating the functions of

the hands and speech organs.* The growing versatility of the hands is obviously connected with the enlargement of the cerebellum (its size has increased 3-4 times in the past million years).

This shows that the function of the human brain cannot be understood without taking into account the function of the cortex and its correlation with the other formations of the brain, i.e., without examining the brain as a whole, as a unity of its separate components and their interrelations. That is the only approach that helps to avoid incorrect conclusions in interpreting experimental data or forming hypotheses.

Among those who took part in the discussion of the second topic of the symposium was also *Herbert Hertz*. Materialist dialectics, he said, is the methodology of the modern sciences. At the same time, some theoreticians of science believe that it is too universal, too general, and that, therefore, a less general methodology (e.g., systems theory) must be evolved for each of the sciences. How should one regard the discussion among the supporters of materialist dialectics on this subject?

In reply *Rychta* said that there were two aspects to the matter. The first and basic question — are specialized methodologies possible and necessary? — is very complex and has been too little researched to answer it right away. Of course, philosophy deals both with the problems of dialectical materialism and with the philosophical problems of natural science, but these questions are so closely interrelated that it is difficult to imagine them as different directions of philosophical study, as the elaboration of general and specialized methodologies.

The second question concerns the specific fields of dialectico-materialist theory, which at the same time constitute specialized methods employed by the sciences (for example, systems analysis). Materialist dialectics includes these methods but is not confined to them. As part of the general method — dialectics — they may be used in various fields of knowledge, and not just in one specialized science. At the same time they are always limited, hence it is always necessary to define exactly under what epistemological conditions they can be applied in this or that science.

The next problem debated was the definition of the subject of modern science.

Replying to *Rajnko's* remark concerning the assessment of the stand taken by Kuhn and his followers, *Rychta* said that the bourgeois sociologists' charge that the Marxists belittle the importance of the 'scientific community' as the subject of science is groundless. The recognition of society as a whole as the subject of knowledge does not

*W. Penfield, T. Rasmussen. *The Cerebral Cortex of Man*. New York, 1950.

belittle the 'scientific community' at all. It actually increases its importance because this emphasizes the growing influence of the 'scientific community' and of scientific institutions on general trends in the development of science, as they seek to comprehend the real role of science in social progress. In the present age, when the world is confronted with the complex question of the possibilities and ways of providing guidance to science, a heightened self-awareness on the part of the 'scientific community' seeking to exercise a certain control over its own activity (and even over the process of the use of its results) is an important condition for the success of any such guidance.

Reality itself testifies against any exaggerated assessment of the importance of the 'scientific community.' The fact that a considerable part of it in the capitalist world is at present working on the design of means of mass annihilation, among other things, shows that it is not the 'scientific community' which determines the trends of the development of science. This situation did not arise at the will of the 'scientific community' (even though some people are trying to blame the scientists for it). The attempts of the 'scientific community' to correct the danger by its own internal means encounters resistance from capitalist society which in so doing proves its superior status over that particular subject of scientific cognition.

To this, *Belyaev* remarked in the course of this discussion that the definition of science as a product of social labor is meaningful because it helps to analyze science in the context of concrete historical social relations. But from the practical standpoint, this much too general formula tends to obscure the role of the individual in the development of science. However, the role of the researcher's personality and his talents is tremendous, and it must not be underestimated: although science is social labor, individuals make a differing contribution to this social labor according to their abilities.

Oizerman dealt with some aspects of the theory of reflection considered by John Hoffman. The much broader concept of reflection than that with which metaphysical materialism used to operate, he stressed, is the greatest gnoseological accomplishment of Marxism. Metaphysical materialism identified reflection with truth: to say that something reflected reality meant that something gave a correct notion of it. In this sense, a metaphysical materialist, say, one living in the period of the French Enlightenment, would deny that religion reflected reality, for as an atheist he would at best have said that religion reflected nothing except our own stupidity. Marxism made a substantive analysis of religion and showed that it reflects social reality. That is why although the concept of reflection and the concept of truth are part of some gnoseological series (in the sense that truth

is reflection), it does not at all follow from this that reflection is truth.

Oizerman's second remark concerned the relation of thought and sensual perception, sensation. Dialectical materialism regards thought as a negation of sensual perception on which it is based. This follows in particular, from Lenin's idea about the dialectical contradiction between the rational and the sensual. From the standpoint of modern science, the sensual source of cognition remains. But it would be wrong to seek any trace of it in thought.

Fedoseyev concretized the problem of relativism raised by Oizerman. One should draw a distinction, he said, between two aspects of the question of relativism: the cognitive, gnoseological aspect, which is connected with the advance of human cognition, and the philosophical, which is connected with a definite philosophical approach and philosophical interpretation. Relativism in knowledge is known to spring from two factors: first, the development of knowledge (when our concepts of the external world change as our knowledge is deepened), and second, from the changes and development of the objective world itself. In accordance with the dialectico-materialist view of relativity, relative truth always reflects some feature of objective reality and is, for that reason, objective. But the main distinctive feature of philosophical relativism is, on the contrary, denial that knowledge is objective, so that relativity is equated with a denial of objective truth. This is most pronounced for instance in Karl Popper's conception of critical rationalism and also in the conception of modern pragmatism.

In connection with Kvasil's criticism of the thesis that theory was a free creative play of ideas *Horz* recalled that Einstein was one of those who supported the idea. His argument consisted of two points: first, he emphasized that there was no logical connection between empiricism and theory (thereby criticizing empiricism), and second, he said that far from everything that we can gain a knowledge of lent itself directly to formulation in concepts (and this was already criticism of logical positivism). Having shown the limitations of the existing philosophico-epistemological principles Einstein went on to formulate the principle of the free creative play of ideas, in which mathematics had a key role. But while stressing the role of mathematics and of deduction where there was no rigid logical dependence between empirical data and theoretical constructs, he constantly insisted that these 'free creations' needed to be verified by practice, that is, he took into account its role as the criterion of truth.

Einstein made an in-depth analysis of the methodological role of the discrepancy between our theoretical concepts and practical experience. He defined the capability of feeling this discrepancy as the capability of being surprised, and characterized it as a distinctive

feature of genuine scientists, but only of course, if they are capable of rationally comprehending their surprise and formulating the scientific problem on that basis. Einstein's analysis of methodological problems in scientific creativity with the use of mathematical formalism and deductive logical methods suggests, Horz said, a number of interesting questions for consideration by materialist dialectics, as the general methodology of scientific cognition.

Many questions at the symposium bore on the reports given by Dmitry Belyaev and Josef Zachar.

One of them was: can it be definitely stated that in man there is a stable correlation between the mass of grey matter of the brain and his capacity for this or that form of abstract activity. In reply *Zachar* said:

No, it cannot be stated definitely that there is any such correlation. There are no such data. At the same time there are some indirect data that allow us to make a number of suppositions on this point. Thus, in the past one hundred thousand years, the human brain has not changed essentially either in its overall size or in its structure, including the ratio of grey matter to its general mass; from this one may tend to draw the conclusion that the capacity for abstract thinking is not related to the mass of the brain as a whole or the mass of the grey matter. Another argument in favor of this conclusion is that many people of outstanding ability are known to have had brains of quite ordinary dimensions.

The converse conclusion, however, could be drawn on the grounds that abstract thinking presupposes memorizing and processing of information and a bigger brain would therefore offer greater opportunities as a carrier of information with a larger number of cells. Perhaps, however, it is not only the mass but the peculiar features of the organization of the neuron connections that play the decisive role. This would mean that the capacity of the cortex could still multiply several times over.

A number of questions concerned problems in human biology and genetics: Are changes in man's hereditary properties possible? Does genetics have any data about the influence of social life on heredity? (*Angelov*). What are the biological reserves of man's intellectual activity? (*Rychta*). How are the evolutionary (or adaptational) changes in man to be evaluated? (*Bohme, Frolov*), etc. These questions were answered by *Dmitry Belyaev*:

— Of course, from the technical standpoint man's hereditary properties can be subjected to genetic influence, but from the social and humanistic standpoints that is not necessary. We reject the use of selection methods with respect to man.

— Geneticists do have evidence of the influence of social life on

heredity. For instance, there is the impact of environmental pollution which causes disruptions in the hereditary mechanism; there is the influence of drug addiction and alcoholism which have a negative effect on human heredity, etc.

— The biological reserves of man's intellectual activity are tremendous and have still largely to be tapped. At present, only an infinitesimal mass of the hereditary substance of the cell is functioning; if we could find a way to increase the volume of this mass, the potentialities of man's intellectual activity could be markedly increased.

— Changes within the species *Homo sapiens* are mostly adaptational; however, there are also apparently some evolutionary phenomena. Take acceleration, the increase in height and earlier sexual maturity, of which so much is now being said.

How are we to assess such changes? The acceleration-related enhancement of the functional activity of the system of hormonal regulation is directly projected on the genetic apparatus and this is frequently a negative projection. On the other hand, acceleration means that physically bigger people are born, and consequently, that there is a greater possibility, which was virtually ruled out in the past, of children being born with a larger brain mass. That is, undoubtedly, a positive perspective.

Which of these tendencies will gain the upper hand? It is hard to answer this question just yet: we are still at the stage in which the mechanism, which could be called the stabilizing function of selection, has just been set in motion.

Belyaev gave a detailed analysis of the question of the evolutionary-genetic basis of aggressiveness, of anti-humanism, which was posed in connection with Konrad Lorenz's conception (claiming that aggressiveness is a hereditary property of man which cannot be eliminated). My own view of the problem, Belyaev said, is this: both the sense of altruism, and its opposite, the sense of egoism, are inherent in man. It is quite right to say that altruism has been shaped in the process of natural selection and has become an active property of the species; but the point is that in the process of evolution it was not only altruism, but also anti-altruism that was adapted, for at some stages in the evolution of the species which found itself in an extremity it was useful to shed a part of the population which was of no importance in reproductive terms.

This moral ambivalence of man is deeply rooted in the evolution of the animals from which man originated. Consequently, both types of information are coded in our heredity, but which of these is triggered off depends on social practice and not on heredity. The ideas

by which a society is guided trigger off the functional activity either of aggressive or altruistic information.

III. SCIENCE IN THE CONTEXT OF IDEOLOGY AND POLITICS

Within the framework of this topic, *Stanislaw Rajinko* considered ideology as a form of cognition. Marxists regard ideology, he said, as a system of ideas which originate in connection with the life of social classes and which are involved in the practice of the class struggle, i.e., practice which is aimed to consolidate or change a given type of production relations. A distinction must be drawn between ideology and the systems of thought, the scientific theories which are applied in production and technological practice for the purpose of mastering nature.

In considering Lenin's *Materialism and Empirio-Criticism*, a highly important question would be an analysis of ideology from the standpoint of the process of cognition. In this context, two elements should be identified within each ideological system: first, that which an ideology ascribes to objective reality (class, society, etc.); and second, that which it says about itself, about its own functions, genesis, etc. Quite obviously, at each of these two levels on which the reality is reflected there may be falsification and distortion caused by class interests. After all, by definition ideologists are not neutral thinkers but active participants in the class struggle, so that the range of the cognitive potentialities latent in this or that ideological system depends on the type (character) of interests which it expresses.

Quite naturally there is a profound epistemological and gnoseological mistrust of the ideology of the ruling classes in societies based on class antagonisms. This applies to various forms of the existence of the bourgeois ideology. Lenin wrote: '*Not a single one of these professors, who are capable of making very valuable contributions in the special fields of chemistry, history or physics, can be trusted one iota when it comes to philosophy. Why? For the same reason that not a single professor of political economy, who may be capable of very valuable contributions in the field of factual and specialized investigations, can be trusted one iota when it comes to the general theory of political economy. For in modern society the latter is as much a partisan science as is epistemology*' (Vol. 14, p. 342).

The second aspect of the gnoseological assessment of ideologies is definition of the extent of 'mystification' with which an ideology regards itself. The ideologists of the Populists, for instance, insisted that they spoke on behalf of the actual producers and showed the right way for Russia's future development. Actually, as we are aware,

they represented, or expressed the interests of the peasantry and petty producers in general.

What is the objective meaning of all these and similar mystifications? They help to cover up and obscure the structure of the true interests of classes and social groups, so providing opportunities for the more effective satisfaction of these interests. That is why there is a need consistently and deeply to criticize the ideological constructs which reflect the stand of the reactionary classes, and which, in consequence, have the greatest distortion of the truth about themselves so as to strip them of the veil of mystification and to expose their basic positions.

Marxism is a qualitatively new type of ideology which is free from any mystification. It is identical with science and provides genuine knowledge about social reality, while openly admitting its functions in the struggle to satisfy the proletariat's class interests. One could say that Marxism is a scientific ideology in a twofold sense, because it is free both from falsification of reality and from any illusions about itself. This is due to the fact that the structure of the proletariat's interests is most open, and that its class emancipation is simultaneously the emancipation of humanity as a whole.

Girgin Girginov and *Walter Hollitscher* examined the problem of the science-ideology relation, of partisanship in science.

Lenin's *Materialism and Empirio-Criticism*, Girginov said, not only makes explicit the essence of the problem of partisanship in philosophy and social science, but also shows in detail how to bring out the class elements in the various forms of subjective reflection of objective reality. On the basis of his analysis, one can take several lines in examining the problem with which we are concerned.

The first of these lines is the need for a differentiated approach in applying the principle of partisanship with respect to the individual fields of science (above all, social science and natural science) and also to the various components within the system of scientific knowledge.

We all know that the natural sciences as a whole are in themselves more or less indifferent to class relations. But in our day, the growing interweaving and interpenetration of the natural and social sciences tend to give the former a markedly greater ideological and political priming. It also turns out that the various components of science — scientific problem, fact, method, scientific hypothesis, theory, etc. — occupy relatively different positions in terms of our present inquiry. Thus, natural-science facts are fairly indifferent to ideological and political relations, as compared with the facts in the social sciences, or as compared with the full-scale scientific theory.

Furthermore, an analysis of modern scientific creativity shows

very well that when scientific propositions are formulated they contain (all other things being equal) a relatively insignificant volume of ideological and political elements, but that when science is used in various forms of social practice, the volume and share of these elements tends markedly to grow.

The third essential line is the need to take a differentiated approach in applying the principle of partisanship with respect to the various types of scientific knowledge: the science of various objects of reality and the science of science itself.

Scientific creativity, an exceptionally complicated endeavor, is an object of philosophical, above all gnoseological, sociological and also psychological, linguistic, historical, economic and other types of analysis. Compared with science as a system of knowledge about reality, the theory of science itself, scientology, is a special field of scientific cognition, which is explicitly metatheoretical and so has a considerable number of specific features with respect to the volume and character of the ideological elements it contains. The tendency to ideologize and politicize scientific knowledge, which is characteristic of our day, is most pronounced precisely in this area, in the theory of science.

The fourth line is the need to take into account the historical development of science and a differentiated approach with respect to the science of the past, the present and the future. The point is that the principle of partisanship in science is not everlasting but is an historical category. The class determination of scientific creativity is a particular instance of its social determination. Only the higher phase of the classless communist society will create the conditions in which the principle of partisanship will become meaningless. Under communism, scientific creativity will be free of ideological and political content in virtue of the objective logic of the historical process itself and of the inner logic in the development of science.

Hollitscher said that partisanship in science is expressed above all in how consistent and honest it is in analyzing the objective world and discovered the truth. It is not every class, after all, that has a stake in profound cognition of the material world, and especially of social life, that the potentialities of modern science can provide.

The exploiting class of the bourgeois society, which seeks ideologically to subordinate broad masses of working people, has no stake in such cognition of the world, that is, in scientific truth. That is why its ideology is unscientific and is now an obstacle in the way of scientific progress. The working class alone wants a deep and true cognition of the world and of the laws of its development, because its ideology is based on truly scientific methods and knowledge. The

struggle between these ideologies is an expression of the struggle between the different approaches to science.

Partisanship in science is necessary in all cases when a choice has to be made between regress and progress, and now, the choice between the bourgeois world and its revolutionary overthrow, which the proletariat and its allies are seeking in struggle. We have to take a party stand because the communists intend to secure the victory of communism and to fight all its enemies. To assume that there can be neutral value-judgements in the ideological sphere is to deny the objective nature of truth and error, progress and regress.

Hans Adamo spoke of the ideological moves of bourgeois political philosophy connected with the resurgence of the debate in the FRG on 'basic values.'

This debate, he said, is a response to the crisis of the imperialist policy and ideology and also an attempt on the part of conservative ideologists to go over to an offensive. It is an expression of the new stage in the 'formation' of society in the FRG in the light of the doctrines of the state political order and is designed to cover up the spiritual and ideological emptiness of the bourgeois ideology, to resist the so-called discontent with the state and the parties, and insufficient readiness on the part of citizens to identify their ideals with those of the FRG's social order, and to provide a greater philosophico-axiological backup for reactionary political-party programs. One must also emphasize that the theoretical values now being proclaimed by bourgeois ideologists (philosophers and theologians) entailing the demagogic use of humanistic concepts like 'freedom,' 'solidarity,' 'justice,' etc., have a greater anti-communist function to perform than ever before. This is an expression of their anti-humanistic class essence, which is hostile to progress.

In the class-divided society there can never be any universal basic values, because all material and spiritual values are connected with the real conditions of human life. They are a social category intended to designate actual relations and used for realizing social progress and for the individual's development. This applies especially to such basic values as security and human rights, solidarity, etc.

The concept of solidarity, for instance, is closely connected with the working people's successful struggle for social emancipation and national liberation. The ultra-rightist ideologists now use the concept to spread the idea of cooperation between capital and labor, of a reconciliation of classes. The CDU/CSU has proclaimed 'solidarity' between rich and poor to be the central and governing idea of their basic values.

The bourgeois philosophy of values, Adamo said in conclusion, has long served (especially in Germany) for spreading unscientific

and reactionary ideology. At present its negative role in supporting and backing up imperialist policy is especially evident.

In the discussion of the third topic, *Teodor Oizerman* considered the need for more correct use of the concept of 'ideology.' I myself, he said, have no doubt at all that philosophy has an ideological function, that is, a definite social role. But when I am told that philosophy is ideology, I think that this is too broad an interpretation of ideology. After all, generally speaking, ideology is a system of definite regulative principles reflecting the social interests of this or that class, or as in the society of developed socialism, of society as a whole.

If we should regard the various concrete elements of philosophical or particular-science knowledge as purely ideological we would, in effect, lapse into vulgar sociology with its characteristic attempts to find a social equivalent for each theoretical truth.

The ideological functions of philosophy and the concrete sciences are another matter. These, we all know, can be fulfilled also by natural science and even by mathematics. The latter, as we are aware, had a tremendous ideological role to play in the struggle against medieval thinking, notably, scholastics, and actively promoted the emergence of the new philosophy. A more concrete use of the 'ideology' concept will make it superfluous to contrast ideology and knowledge and make quite clear what Lenin said about scientific ideology, namely, that it is not in any sense a minus of scientific theory, but on the contrary, a plus, because in that case science does not simply study its object but is simultaneously a social instrument of change, of struggle for the transformation of reality.

Besides, he said, we should have a clear notion of whether ideology exists only in a class society, or whether it is a universal social phenomenon that will also be found in a classless society.

Taking up this last point, *Rajko* said: Two points need to be taken into account when replying to this question. First, that ideology is a type of consciousness which differs from the so-called technological consciousness, that is, is not directly used in hardware and technology. Ideology ranks among social phenomena like the philosophical, ethical consciousness, political thought, and so on, and consequently allows of the possibility of a dialogue.

The second point is the function of ideology. Being designed to express and 'service' the interests of various social groups, ideology is connected above all with the life of classes. The consciousness of other types of social subject (say, the people) is described by means of other terms, like 'mythology' for primitive society, 'world outlook,' etc.

On the strength of this one could say that ideology, in the exact

sense of the term, is an intellectual structure which is proper only to a class society.

Another question which turned out to be central to the discussion was connected with Girginov's thesis concerning the growing ideologization and politicization of scientific knowledge. How is one to assess this from the standpoint of the interests of science itself? asked Frolov. And in what sense can one speak of partisanship in the natural sciences? added Hoffman. Is it in the broad sense which Engels had in mind when he characterized science as a dynamic revolutionary force, or in the narrower sense of the word, when we speak of the partisanship of social science?

Girginov said in reply: It was my intention to criticize the primitive and over-simplified approach to the question of partisanship in natural science. Of course, unlike bourgeois social science, there is no bourgeois natural science, no bourgeois biology, physics, etc. But there is a bourgeois interpretation of natural-science facts and a bourgeois interpretation of natural science as a whole. Marx used to say that if mathematical axioms began to hamper the bourgeoisie, it would try to refute them.

As to how one should assess the ideologization and politicization of science, there is here obviously no short answer: 'this is good' or 'this is bad.'

The ideologization and politicization of science in the socialist countries by the ruling communist parties have indisputable advantages for science because this policy meets the interests of science and of revolutionary practice.

The ideologization and politicization of science, including natural science, in the capitalist society are complicated and contradictory phenomena which have both positive and negative aspects. On the one hand, the bourgeoisie, while being unable to make full use of scientific achievements, or to rely entirely on science in its activity, still makes use of and develops natural-science, technical, mathematical and technical knowledge, thereby promoting scientific and technical progress. On the other hand, it is not a matter of indifference to science for what purpose it is being used and along what lines developed. The bourgeois use of natural science results in some evident deformations of natural science itself, in particular those connected with the difficulties of mastering genuine scientific methodology by science, obstacles in the way of developing scientific self-consciousness, etc.

IV. SCIENTIFIC COGNITION AND THE GOALS OF SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT

Ivan Frolov gave the first report on this topic, in which he dealt

with one of the key functions of the Marxist-Leninist philosophy with respect to the concrete sciences — the value-regulative, axiological function, which includes the evaluation of knowledge and cognition in the light of definite class-party and socio-ethical principles.

The rapid advance of the scientific and technical revolution in our day, he said, has confronted humanity with a number of problems which had either not been there in the past, in the period of classical science, or were not as acute as they are today. These problems bear on the most intimate elements of human existence and go to the root of scientific cognition and its connection with humanistic socio-ethical principles.

There is growing understanding of the indisputable fact that unless the scientists' social responsibility and the role of the moral-ethical element in science increase in geometric progression, humanity, and even science itself, will not be able to develop even in arithmetic progression. The ethics of science is established as a vital condition for the effective functioning of humanistically oriented scientific cognition.

This problem has become most acute in the past several years, notably in connection with the advances in genetic (gene) engineering, which, on the one hand, may have in store immense benefits for humanity (like ridding it of hereditary disease through a substitution of normal genes for pathological ones) and, on the other, great dangers, because the manipulations which are basic to genetic engineering methods affect the most intimate mechanisms of self-regulating genetic processes and ultimately of life itself.

This involves above all the socio-ethical regulation of research in this area, the ethical problems in genetic control. More and more scientists are coming to ponder these problems as problems of the ethics of scientific cognition, and this was reflected, in particular, in the discussions at various international genetic forums, in the numerous articles and books on the ethics of genetic control, and finally, in the unprecedented movement of scientists for a moratorium on some experiments in genetic (gene) engineering.

In this connection, however, a more general problem tends to arise. Can science be regulated only on the ethical level? Is it capable of ethical self-control? After all, even if the scientific principles of genetics are applied, principles which are actually determined by a concrete understanding of human well-being, there still remains a doubt about how 'feedback' and control over how the observance of these principles are to operate and be ensured. It is quite obvious that everything bears on the realization and, in effect, on the formulation of various ethical principles of science and its value (including ethi-

cal) orientation is determined by social factors which must serve history's 'end-in-itself', namely, man's free and full development.

The ethics of scientific cognition, the ethics of science, is consequently in itself incapable of providing scientists with a reliable guiding light that would help them to steer the right course in an uncharted ocean, and not to depart from the essential aspirations of science itself and its humanistic mission. So it cannot be an ethical code in the broad sense of the word, for it itself essentially depends on socio-economic, political, ideological and, finally, ethical and moral factors and values which always have a concrete historical character and which determine science as a social institution of modern society.

Here it is of crucial importance what kind of society exercises the socio-ethical regulation of scientific cognition. The alternatives, which are in many instances painful for scientists and dangerous for humanity, disappear under socialism, where social control of scientific research is actually ensured in various forms both by the state and the public, and where there is a growing harmony of scientific and social goals and means, which are geared to man's benefit and his free and full development.

Herbert Horz dealt with the truth and value of natural-science conclusions.

In our day, the significance of natural-science conclusions for man is a question that is far from being an academic one: ever since U. S. imperialism first made use of atomic weapons, the ideal of a 'pure' science which makes the pursuit of truth an end in itself and which does not bother how its knowledge is used has lost its prestige and attractiveness. Today, scientists have increasingly to repudiate the once-popular symbol of a science aloof from politics, and to find their place in the struggle to solve the problems which have a direct bearing on humanity's destiny. As a result, the correlation between the truth and value of natural-science conclusions has become a problem central to the self-consciousness of modern science.

Dialectico-materialist principles alone can help to find the true way for moral and ethical perfection of natural science. Considering the growing interest among natural scientists in the capitalist countries in the solution of scientific problems offered by the Marxist-Leninist philosophy, it is necessary to seek an active dialogue with them and to show them the basic ideological propositions of Marxism.

He emphasized that from the standpoint of materialist dialectics natural-science research is connected with value-judgments. If truth is a twofold relation between the cognized reality and its reflections

converted into knowledge, the value of natural-science conclusions is a threefold relation, which also includes, together with the above-mentioned factors, men with all the fullness of social relations between them. The orientation of research, like the use of its conclusions, depends above all not on the value-judgments of the scientists themselves but on the social management of science, which is determined by the basic socio-economic relations. Under imperialism, science becomes a destructive force not because of its internal intentions, but because it is oriented and used by the imperialist forces. That is why the value reorientation of science needs more than a fictitious revolution in value-judgments: it needs above all genuine revolutionary transformations in social relations.

Helmut Bohme also considered scientific and technical advances and the possibility of their use to man's detriment (from the experience of genetics).

The latest advances in the biological sciences, like most other scientific and technological discoveries and developments, he said, may be used not only for the good but also to the detriment of man. That is why the question of the responsibility of the scientist in modern times is so important for social practice. And it is not just a question of abstract responsibility regardless of its social implications, but of a responsibility motivated by the actual struggle between the forces of peace and social progress, on the one hand, and the forces of reaction and imperialism, on the other.

For several years now, thanks to the initiative of a group of leading specialists in the field of molecular genetics, discussions have been going on about the fact that the methods of genetic engineering are fraught with dangerous consequences that can be countered only by strict precautionary measures. One cannot close one's eyes to the possibility of deliberate use of the latest advances in genetics for military purposes, in particular, for the development of 'ethnic' and genetic weapons.

The standpoint of GDR scientists on the socio-ethical problems of genetics has been expressed in the position taken by the Department of Biological Sciences of the GDR Academy of Sciences: 'The technology of genetic manipulation... inevitably involves considerable risk both from the possibility of misuse of results and from the actual process of research... Precautionary measures must, therefore, be evolved that, on the one hand, will guarantee maximum safety for man and his environment and, on the other, will not retard progress in biological research... It is important to establish the aims and conditions of molecular-biological and molecular-genetic experiments and use of the results in the light of the ideological and moral principles and the practical requirements in the development of the

socialist society.* Marxist-Leninist philosophy, Bohme said in conclusion, helps us to establish the basic values for socio-ethical regulation and is an indispensable instrument for fulfilling this need.

Several questions brought out in the reports were considered in the discussion of the fourth topic. The first of these was the code for scientists mentioned by Frolov. Is it at all possible to produce a code that would establish the basic principles for an ethics of science, and what would the Marxist attitude to it be? asked *Angelov*. To this *Belyaev* added the question: Would it be right to say that such a code, despite its utopian and palliative character in seeking to regulate science, can do something for the humanistic movements in science?

Undoubtedly, *Frolov* replied, if one were to suggest not some kind of all-embracing but concrete codes regulating, among other things, experiments on man. As far as I am aware, Marxists have not in principle objected to such codes. But it would be illusory and utopian to assume that these codes ensure, as some scientists believe, a complete solution of the problem. For all their importance, they are not effective, unless they rest on the broader social and political basis and are backed up socio-politically.

Oizerman's question to Bohme: When people speak of the banning of atomic weapons it is understood that their development, production and proliferation can be controlled if such a ban is introduced. But is it possible to control the development and production of bacteriological weapons? How can this be done even if all countries agree to such a ban?

In reply, *Bohme* said: Indeed, in contrast to nuclear weapons, effective control of bacteriological weapons is a more complicated matter. After the adoption of the convention on the banning of bacteriological and toxin weapons national inspection groups were set up, but their effective range of action is limited. The Stockholm International Peace Research Institute — a non-governmental organization — expressed its readiness, in this connection, to set up an international inspection group consisting of experts (mainly microbiologists) who would visit the big microbiological research centers in a number of countries and exercise de facto inspection. But I would stress that this proposal came from a non-governmental organization and every state has the option of admitting or not admitting these inspection groups.

Of course, the development of detente and the resultant creation of a climate of mutual confidence would be the decisive factor. Effective international control is possible only in these conditions. If

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an atmosphere of trust is established in international relations there will be no reason for developing mass destruction weapons.

Another problem was the administration of science.

This is a very important question in its own right, said *Frolov*. It is connected with the socio-ethical regulation of science, but does not coincide with it. This has many aspects, among them economic and social ones. What the approach to this problem is under socialism was well shown by the 25th Congress of the CPSU, for instance, when it dealt with science. This approach organically combines freedom of scientific research and the scientists' responsibility to society, and also science and the practice of communist construction.

Considering the management-of-science problem, *Fedoseyev* said: It is impossible to manage scientific thought, scientific creativity. In our day, it is necessary to manage scientific institutions, the organization of science.

There was a time when science was being advanced by individuals, and this naturally did not require any organization, regulation or management of science. But now that science is becoming — as it has become in several countries — an actual productive force, it is no longer possible to ignore the problems in organizing the management of research. But this does not, or at any rate, should not imply any regimentation or fettering of scientific creativity, of scientific thought. When this happens it is no longer management of science, but a distortion of the idea of management, which cannot but harm the advance of scientific thought. Everyone knows how science is distorted when it is organized under capitalism.

Considering the problem of management of science from this angle, *Belyaev* said, one could bring out two theoretically probable lines: first, management of the process of scientific creativity, and second, management of the conditions for such activity.

With respect to the former, I fully agree with *Fedoseyev* that the management of scientific creativity is simply impossible. That is why the only way for managing science is to create the conditions for the most productive creative process in it.

The selection of talented men and women engaged in science is perhaps the main element in the system of science management. The second aspect of science management — the programming of research — applies mainly to the technological applications of science, and implies the use of the principles of coordination, scenarios, mutual allocation of duties, mutual responsibility, etc.

Finally, there was a lively exchange of views on the truth-value relation.

I think that truth, real scientific truth cannot in itself harm man or mankind, said *Fedoseyev*. It is the abuse of knowledge, the abuse of

truth that harms man and mankind. This is a social, class question. Of course, in our day the bourgeoisie has opportunities for abusing various great discoveries in microbiology and genetics for its own self-seeking, egoistic class ends. But progressive humanity has accumulated experience of a different kind, experience in formulating definite norms that can prevent the dangerous and malicious use of science, and scientific data.

The creation of the necessary intellectual and truly humanistic climate in tackling this problem is one of the most important tasks of philosophy, of its ideological (ethical) function, and one should welcome the fact that Marxist philosophers have been actively, persistently and vigorously raising these problems to attract the attention of broad scientific opinion.

In the course of the general discussion, *Horz* returned to the problem of the truth-value relation. It has two aspects, he said. First, there is the problem of the truth of the values which regulate individual behavior and which influences the relations among men in society and the processes of their vital activity. There are no 'eternal' abstract values, for each is concrete and bears the imprint of the social conditions which shaped it. Its influence on social life depends on the extent to which it corresponds to the objective trends and laws of historical development.

The second aspect is the value of truth itself. Like knowledge used in the transformation of reality, truth is, undoubtedly, a value. But it has to be related with other values: after all, if it is considered as the sole value, it is possible also to vindicate inhuman experiments on man because they also produce truth. The task is to gain a knowledge of the laws of nature and to take into account the real significance of this knowledge for man.

Angelov dealt with the same problem: Marx said that the spiritual assimilation of the world takes place in definite specific forms, among which we find the scientific and value attitude to reality. These two forms, while being similar, also have an essential difference, which relates to the mode of the spiritual assimilation of the world, and to the functional mission of these forms. Scientific cognition reflects objects in their own connections and interconnections, in the regularities of their own being, with the results of such reflection being fixed in a definite system of concepts: laws, theories, etc. By contrast, the value-judgment about the world, as expressed in, say, morality and law, brings out the importance of real things and phenomena in the life of men from the standpoint of the interests and requirements of various classes and groups, with this kind of knowledge being fixed in definite norms, rules and principles. While the function of the scientific assimilation of reality is to give us a

knowledge of the world, the function of the value assimilation of the world is to help regulate human behavior by means of the relevant norms and rules.

At the same time, the value-judgment and the scientific approach to reality are closely interconnected. Specifically, there can be a three-fold application of the truth category to values: first, in determining the correspondence between value-judgments and the social content of human acts (this is best seen in morality); second, in determining the correspondence between normative judgments, principles and ideals, and the social requirements and interests of social classes; third, in analyzing the absolute (universally human) element and the relative (class) element in the various values. Marxism shows the unity and the distinction between the relative and the absolute, between the class and universally human elements in values, thereby determining the objectively true meaning of the various values.

By way of conclusion, *Ivan Frolov* said: I have no intention to make any formal summing-up of our symposium, because this is not a tradition in the exchanges of views held at *WMR*, but I should like to say that we have had a fruitful discussion of our topic, 'Dialectical Materialism and Modern Science,' in the course of which we have shown fairly well and organically the vital *necessity* of dialectics, of dialectical materialism for modern science, and the *scientific* character of our world outlook and method, the scientific character of our Marxist-Leninist philosophy.

This symposium has possibly to a lesser extent brought out the objective and subjective premises and conditions for *blending* dialectics, dialectical materialism with the concrete sciences. At the same time, this is an exceptionally important task. It is, of course, not enough merely to state and demonstrate what dialectical materialism can give modern concrete science. We also have to answer the question why many scientists today are not convinced of this and do not consciously adopt the philosophy of dialectical materialism. This is obviously based on an intricate complexity of objective and subjective causes. In analyzing these causes, one should also take a critical view of the available experience in blending dialectical materialism with natural science and the concrete sciences in general, because only by analyzing the achievements and shortcomings of the past can we draw the correct conclusions about how we should organize our activity in the future.

Apart from purely scientific aspects, this question also has very important social and ideological aspects. In a sense, the latter bear directly on the communists' strategy and tactics in their work with the scientific intelligentsia. Only when the communists, the Marxists can give clear and definite answers to the philosophico-ideological ques-

tions which agitate the minds of scientists, only when these answers are more attractive than those of spokesmen for other political forces, only then can the communists count on real success in their work with the scientific and technical intelligentsia.

In this context, of course, much importance attaches to the ideas elaborated by Lenin in his *Materialism and Empirio-Criticism*, where he shows that every scientist who seeks and finds the objective truth, spontaneously and in a definite form takes the stand of materialist dialectics. This is the key idea formulated by Lenin, an idea which we should further elaborate today, because it gives us the right basis for the truly Marxist, communist attitude to scientists, for involving large contingents of scientists in the tasks of the revolutionary transformation of the world.

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Interview with *Jeremiah Mosotho*,
Communist Party of Lesotho

Q. What external and internal factors affect the struggle of your people?

A. The victory of the Soviet Union in the Second World War and the defeat of fascism generated a new upsurge of the national-liberation movement. The mighty socialist camp became the bulwark of the African liberation struggle. Thanks to the liberating process begun by the Great October Socialist Revolution 60 years ago, there are now nearly 50 independent countries in Africa.

In the past few years the national-liberation movement has made impressive headway in the south of the continent, in Mozambique, Namibia, even in South Africa, the bastion of racism. Characteristically, nearly all Southern-Africa countries that have broken out of colonialism are committed to progressive reform. This is an important factor and it is bound to determine how the region will develop.

Africa's fight for national liberation, begun before the Second World War, made rapid progress in the postwar years. British colonialist rule in Lesotho came to an end in 1966: we won political independence.

The first general election, in 1965, brought to power the extreme reactionary pro-imperialist Basotho National Party, which had the support of the South African regime.¹ Our people continued to fight both British control and South African imperialism, which has not abandoned its attempts to undermine Lesotho's independence.

At first the government followed a pro-imperialist policy. Now, however, after the collapse of the Portuguese colonial empire, there has been a measure of change for the better in its foreign policy. It supports the national-liberation movements in Southern Africa, is

opposed to the South African racist regime, and is part of the non-aligned movement. Of course, the Communist Party supports these positive changes but continues to oppose the government's reactionary policy.

Q. What are the main features of Lesotho's social and economic structure?

A. Lesotho is an agricultural country and there are practically no other industries except for a few small diamond-mining enterprises.

Over 80 per cent of the population is engaged in primitive subsistence farming. We have a rather peculiar land-tenure system which could be described as communal: all the land belongs to the people and is supposed to be apportioned by the king, with every citizen entitled to a plot of land. But with a rapidly growing population, most of the younger generation is landless.

Rudiments of capitalism are emerging in agriculture. Retired civil servants and police officers, pensioners and small tradesmen are starting capitalist-type farms. They add to their plot by renting land from poor peasants, who make up most of the rural population, and hire them to work the land. Besides, many of the peasants are so poor that they cannot cultivate their own plot. The richer farmers take advantage of this to bring them into a share-cropping arrangement and, as a rule, appropriate the larger part of the harvest. These hired farm laborers are still a small group, but their number is increasing. I would describe them as peasant-workers.

Lesotho's agriculture does not produce enough to feed the population. Even bread has to be imported from South Africa, along with vegetables, tea, milk, etc.

The sorry state of our economy and the increasing land shortage have forced many to emigrate to South Africa. In fact, more than half of our young men work in South African mines, on the railways and in industry. You will often find villages inhabited only by old people.

In Lesotho itself, the working class is very small and concentrated chiefly in Maseru, Ngua, Leribe and several other towns.

Small tradesmen make up a substantial segment of the population. There are also big merchants, but no industrialists. Lately, however, contracting has become a thriving business. Contractors build our public buildings, housing, etc. And so we have a group, albeit small, of prospering businessmen that includes also owners of urban housing.

The national bourgeoisie is still very weak, although the capitalist-oriented government has proclaimed an open-door policy and is trying to attract foreign monopoly investments, but so far the economy remains stagnant.

Q. How is the political situation developing?

A. In many African countries tribalism is a pyramiding problem and political parties are based on the tribal rather than social or class principle. Not so in Lesotho where there are no tribes and the population is nationally homogeneous. Hence, social factors play a determinative role in politics.

Officially there is only the ruling, petty-bourgeois National Party, though no other parties, except the communists, are banned. But the opposition parties, though they have not been dissolved, are not allowed to operate legally, hold public meetings, etc.

The main opposition party, the Basotho Congress Party, is likewise petty-bourgeois in its composition. Its political strength has been largely undermined over the past few years by internal strife and breakaways.

There is another political organization, the Marema Tlou Freedom Party, composed of feudal supporters of the king. It is campaigning for extension of the king's prerogatives, notably a larger share of executive power. It is a moribund party with no influence whatever among the people.

And so, counting the Communist Party, there are now four main political parties in Lesotho.² As I have already pointed out, the National Party and the Basotho Congress Party are petty-bourgeois both in leadership (shopkeepers, ex-civil servants, former school teachers, etc.) and policy. The petty bourgeoisie is the second biggest (after the peasantry) population group. The existence of two competing petty-bourgeois parties is attributable, I think, not to political factors, but to personal rivalries, for both follow more or less identical policies and, of course, have identical class aims.

The upper middle class, linked mostly with foreign capitalists operating in Lesotho, has no marked influence on political life. But there is a growing bureaucratic bourgeoisie, which I would class with the petty bourgeoisie, because its political sympathies lie chiefly with the small businessmen.

Most intellectuals support one of the two petty-bourgeois parties, but of late there has been a visible shift, notably in the University, toward the communists.

The Communist Party, founded in 1962, concentrates on the workers, peasants and students. The party's supreme organ is the Congress which elects the Central Committee, with district and village committees making up the lower echelons. The party is active in the trade unions, some of which are under its leadership, and other mass organizations.

The outlook for the party, I think, is good. Of course, there are many difficulties. One of them is that most workers, the party's main social base, are employed in South Africa. However, we have been

more successful in organizing these workers in trade unions. We are also active among the small group of workers at home and among the poor peasants and peasant-workers in the villages. We are bringing them into the party, starting a movement for cooperatives and are beginning to organize unions to fight for the peasants' rights. All this has to be done in defiance of government bans.

Besides, the Lesotho workers returning from South Africa become peasants again. In short, they are both workers and peasants, and this further complicates matters.

Q. What is the outlook for the revolutionary movement in Lesotho?

A. Promising, I would say. New anti-imperialist and patriotic forces urging progressive changes are coming to the fore in all the parties, government and opposition. This development is behind the split in the ruling and main opposition parties.

Still another factor is the influence of Angola and Mozambique. Their choice of the non-capitalist path shows that Lesotho can bypass the capitalist stage of development. The workers, peasants and petty bourgeoisie will make up the social basis, the very foundation of the future democratic Lesotho. And our party is making every effort to bring about the conditions necessary for the shift to a socialist orientation.

Naturally, we have to reckon with the problem of economic dependence on South Africa, which encircles Lesotho and exerts a very strong influence on it. But the situation in Lesotho — and South Africa for that matter — is changing in favor of the progressive forces, so that South Africa's negative influence is bound to weaken.

Let me cite this example: when South Africa granted the Transkei 'independence,' the Vorster government tried to pressure our country into recognizing this puppet 'state.' But a powerful public movement forced the government to reject Vorster's demands. This, I think, strengthened our revolutionary forces and indicated that if the government has wide popular support, plus the support of world public opinion, it can successfully counter South African pressure.

For a certain time, leadership of the national-democratic stage of the revolution can, I think, come from the intermediate strata, as represented by the revolutionary democrats. But the petty bourgeoisie is not capable of going beyond that stage, and development of the revolution will therefore require a new type of leadership, exercised by the workers and peasants, with the working class playing the dominant role. For, in the final analysis, that role is determined not by the number of workers (still small), but by their class consciousness. And this is at a fairly high level compared with other countries of Tropical Africa, because the growth of our working class

is closely connected with such a developed industrial country as South Africa. The continued increase and higher consciousness of our working class will to an ever larger degree determine the political image of Lesotho. We must rally all the progressive elements round the working class.

Q. How do you visualize the foreign policy of a democratic Lesotho?

A. We will cooperate with the progressive forces throughout the world, and above all with the socialist countries. That is the only way to overcome all our difficulties and fortify our independence. And let me add that this does not contradict the non-alignment policy proclaimed by the present regime. We support that policy and believe it should be continued. Friendship with the socialist countries fully accords with the spirit of non-alignment.

We do not agree with those who maintain that non-alignment means an 'equidistant' position from the two camps. Indeed, we are convinced that non-alignment can only be anti-imperialist. For the two camps, the two social systems, cannot be equated: one exploits the developing countries, while the other supports and helps them. The world is divided not into 'rich and poor,' but into exploiting and exploited countries, and countries that have put an end to exploitation.

The most important thing in our development is to make optimal use of our own potentialities. But that does not mean that Lesotho should hold aloof from the progressive forces of the world, the socialist countries and especially the Soviet Union.

Accordingly, we reject the concept that the peoples of the young independent countries and those that are fighting for independence or that have reached the stage of national-democratic revolution, need only broad democratic solidarity (which, of course, is very important) and that proletarian internationalism has no meaning for them, is not suited to their conditions. We believe that the national-liberation movement is an inalienable part of the world revolutionary process, of which the socialist countries, the international working class, are the leading force, and that solidarity with the national-liberation movement is an inalienable part of proletarian internationalism.

Q. Does our journal help the communists of Lesotho and its people's struggle for democracy and social progress?

A. *World Marxist Review* plays a very important part in Lesotho. Our party does not have its own journal or newspaper, so that *World Marxist Review* is the only communist publication we can turn to. It helps party members to raise their ideological level. We would like to see more articles on the problems of the national-liberation move-

ment, national democracy and the positive aspects of the revolutionary-democratic states. These are very important, and very practical, questions for us.

THE PEOPLE OF REUNION WANT FREEDOM

Jean Batiste Ponama

Member of the PB and Secretariat, Reunion Communist Party

Striking testimony to world socialism's growing influence on the international climate and to the magnetic force of Marxism-Leninism has been provided in recent years by the African national-liberation movement. The former Portuguese colonies chose a socialist orientation after winning their political independence. The close cooperation of the young progressive states with the socialist community has greatly increased their ability to repel the onslaught of imperialism and its local henchmen. There is a good deal to be learned from Angola and Ethiopia. Their experience strengthens the determination of nations not yet free of colonialism to fight energetically for emancipation and fills them with revolutionary optimism. This also applies to the people of Reunion, although the specific nature of its historical development and certain economic, geographical and other factors have to be taken into account in charting the concrete goals of our liberation movement.

Reunion is one of France's oldest colonies.³ Our country was uninhabited when colonization began. The population was formed of Europeans, some from France, and also slaves from the African coast and Madagascar, emigrants from India, Chinese, settlers from adjacent islands, etc. Today it consists mainly of gradually intermingling colored races.

As a settler-type colony constantly under rigid administrative and other control of the metropolis, Reunion was involved in all of France's aggressive, imperialist ventures in Africa and Southeast Asia, including the war against the peoples of Algeria and Indochina, to mention but a few. This naturally did not favor the development in our country of a liberation movement similar to the one on the African continent.

French imperialism has continued to have a free hand in Reunion since 1946 when we were made a French overseas department. Because our island occupies a strategic position in the south-west Indian Ocean it is used as an air and naval base by the French forces in the region with headquarters in Saint Denis, the capital. The 'Omega' tracking station on the island is one of eight such stations in the capitalist world using highly sophisticated equipment capable of

pin-pointing the location of planes, submarines and surface vessels to within a 100-200 metre radius.

Keeping law and order in and outside our country is one function of the large contingent of French troops and punitive gendarme units based in Reunion. French military instructors were dispatched from Reunion to the aid of Mobutu's army during the 1977 events in Zaire. Most of the imperialist schemes against the Malagasy, Mauritius and other peoples of our region, all carried out with the help of local reactionary parties and groups, can also be traced to Reunion.

Nevertheless, the world situation, which contrasts sharply with the situation 20-30 years ago, is facilitating the struggle for genuine liberation which will allow our people to occupy a worthy place among the other peoples of the region and to live in harmony with them. And we are convinced that despite all obstacles we shall win real freedom.

The Reunion liberation movement is inseparably bound up with our party's activities. Founded initially as a departmental federation of the French Communist Party, it became the independent Reunion Communist Party on May 18, 1959. The RCP, say the party rules, is the 'leader and organizer of the revolutionary movement of the Reunion proletariat and the Reunion people's anti-colonial struggle.' In its practical work, particularly in opposing our people's forcible involvement in French imperialism's colonial wars, the party was able, and this is no small achievement, not only to relieve the masses of the peculiar complex of being involved in such wars, but also to organize the people in a progressive and internationalist struggle for their own liberation.

The RCP is supported by the masses. Out of a population of about half a million, 4,000-5,000 are party members. Our eight-page newspaper, *Temioagnages*, recently became a daily. Its 100,000 copies bring the masses information and guide their political education. National autonomy for Reunion is the main political demand in the party's program.

What does autonomy mean for us? Why autonomy and not a complete form of liberation? We are often asked these questions by comrades from fraternal parties. We tell them that Reunion's historical development has no parallel in any single country in Africa, Asia or any other region. Its history, its ties with France and, lately, its relations with other Common Market countries, the small territory it occupies, the limited possibilities for industrial development, etc., force us to be moderate in our national demands. In principle we are for complete sovereignty, but we have so far restricted these demands to autonomy. We are not blind to realities and have no

intention of 'skipping' any stages of development. We tell our people and our comrades that we are in no rush. Colonialism is in its twilight while socialism is our future, it is an historical inevitability. Sooner or later the developing countries and the developed capitalist countries will have socialism. That, however, is the future. The present fight for Reunion's autonomy does not yet mean building socialism, it means liquidating imperialist domination.

In the years of struggle we have defined the class content of autonomy as we understand it, i.e., a people's, democratic autonomy. And, on the basis of this slogan, we are working for the people's broadest unity against our main enemy — French colonialism.

The national front is to be the class-political basis of autonomy. It will include the working class, peasants and other social strata. The creation of such a front will require great effort by the party. The need for such a front will have to be brought home to those social strata (relatively small though they are) which are influenced by the social democrats and are still hostile to the idea of acting together with the Communist Party.

The domestic bourgeoisie in Reunion, though it does not wield a great deal of capital, is intent on the country's development on the basis of private enterprise. The part of the intelligentsia that is on our side agrees with our immediate goals but does not share communist views. All this complicates organization of a united front, but not to the extent of making it impossible.

We believe that the broader the national front, the better. This is our party's strategy and tactics. At the same time, however, we firmly adhere to Marxist-Leninist principles and oppose all attempts to weaken the liberation movement or lead it astray.

The liberation that the Communist Party is fighting for differs sharply from all preceding partial 'liberations.' Our autonomy will be a form of national liberation won by the people. It will differ from the events of 1848, when slavery was abolished, or those of 1946, when the country became a French overseas department. It will be an organized and independent struggle involving tens of thousands of people, a struggle that our people are eager to wage, and one that will therefore be victorious.

Though we are optimistic about the future of the liberation movement, we are fully aware that at first the situation in an autonomous Reunion will be difficult, mostly because of the appalling legacy left us by colonialism. Besides, in the past ten years approximately ten per cent of our population has emigrated to France — 50,000 able-bodied and skilled persons have left the country.⁴

Autonomous Reunion's difficulties will also lie in its economic structure, the very modest share of the production sectors in the

gross domestic product, and the pressing social problems requiring our constant attention. The high cost of living and the fact that all consumer goods are imported is the result of close ties with France and other Common Market countries. Even in the most essential food products we cannot achieve self-sufficiency quickly.

This point requires further explanation. Reunion's close ties with France and other developed capitalist countries mean importing crises, unemployment, high prices and inflation. And the crisis in Reunion, just as in other developing countries, is worse than in its epicenter. If in France the cost of living shows a 9 per cent increase, for example, it will mean a 12-15 per cent rise in our country, possibly even more. The same can be said about layoffs.

And how do the imperialists profit on our country? Rice, our staple food, is a good example. We do not grow it though conditions for this are suitable. We purchase rice (approximately 50,000 tons a year) in Pakistan, Indochina, Brazil and some in Europe. But the selling price in Reunion does not depend on the price in the supplier country. The price depends on EEC prices, which are based on the price of rice in Italy. As a result we overpay huge sums. This system gives the French and other European merchants profits at our expense and it places a heavy burden on our working people. This is really a tax on poverty and it affects most of the population. By comparison, the much-publicized aid Reunion gets from the Common Market is paltry.

On the other hand, what we produce for export (geranium, vanilla, tropical fruits, rum and other alcoholic beverages) is purchased by European companies at monopoly-set low prices, causing our country a heavy economic loss. The same can be said for the freight monopoly.

Consequently, Reunion's status and its integration in the Common Market open the doors to colonial plunder through the unequal foreign trade mechanism. To end this plunder, we must win our autonomy.

We are certain that in an autonomous Reunion, with the new status giving the internal administration control of the country's investments and foreign trade, it would be possible to start doing away with these and other negative aspects. At the party's Extraordinary Conference in 1975 we adopted what we call the 'Provisional Survival Plan' to prepare the population to deal with urgent problems. The plan outlines transitional measures in agriculture and in education. This would provide better conditions, including psychological conditions, for going ahead with the development program.

Naturally, it is premature to speak of this in greater detail. Most

important for us today are the tasks of real political emancipation and of winning autonomy. When this has been accomplished our people will enter a new development stage, they will become master of their destiny and will do their utmost to carry out socio-economic transformations.

The success of Reunion's liberation movement will be important for the consolidation of peace and security in our region and stopping imperialist intrigues in the zone of the Indian Ocean. It is no secret that imperialism, particularly U. S. imperialism, is greatly interested in this zone and that it is intent on sinking deep economic and military-strategic roots here. It is difficult to overestimate the importance of the zone of the Indian Ocean with its key routes along which millions of tons of crude oil are shipped to the West (round the Cape of Good Hope) and to the East. Countries rich in natural resources, strategic raw materials and manpower reserves border on the Indian Ocean. These are politically independent states, some of which have chosen the non-capitalist road of development.

The imperialists are well aware of these factors and are attempting to turn the zone of the Indian Ocean into their backyard, and to build military bases there. The Americans already have a base on Diego Garcia, endangering the independent countries of this region. The military circles in the capitalist world would like to do the same with Reunion in order to keep their sights, so to say, on East Africa, the Middle East and Southeast Asia.

From all this it is clear that the importance of our liberation struggle, particularly the winning of real autonomy for Reunion, extends beyond local boundaries. We are fully aware of this. That is why we are determined to do everything we can now and in the future to see that the people of Reunion win their freedom.

1. Lesotho is a kingdom, but the king has no real power.
 2. There are also two smaller parties.
 3. France started Reunion's colonization in 1665. — *Ed.*
 4. The main cause of emigration is lack of employment. There are 5,000-6,000 unemployed in Reunion today.
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Our interviews

SCIENTISTS SPEAK OUT AGAINST NEUTRON DEATH

For almost a year now a campaign of protest has been going on in Western Europe, Canada and the United States against the plan, made public by the U.S. government in the summer of 1977, to start the production of a new nuclear weapon of mass destruction, the neutron bomb, and deploy it in the NATO member-countries.

The *WMR* Commission on Problems of Peace and Democratic Movements interviewed some of the participants in the Vienna conference of European scientists. The conference, sponsored by the World Peace Institute, was devoted to the tasks of campaigning against the bomb.

Interviews were granted by Dr. Raimo Väyrynen, Secretary-General of the International Peace Research Association and Director of the Tampere Peace Research Institute, Finland; Professor Egbert Jahn of the Hessen Fund for the Study of Peace and Conflicts, Frankfurt, FRG; Professor Michail Simai of the Institute of World Economics, Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Budapest; Professor Rudolf Weiler, Vienna University; Dr. Sergio Rossi, business representative from Turin, Italy; Professor Georg Fuchs, President of the World Peace Institute, Vienna, Austria; Professor Oleg Bykov, Vice-President of the World Peace Institute (Institute of World Economics and International Relations, USSR Academy of Sciences, Moscow); Professor Adler-Karlsson of Roskilde University Center, Denmark, and Dr. Eisenbart of the Evangelist Study Center in Heidelberg, FRG.

Below is an abridged text of their replies.

What are the dangers of the neutron bomb for the world?

Fuchs. It is an extremely dangerous and insidious weapon which will kill people in great numbers, while still more people who happen to be in the blast area will be dying for months or even years from leukemia, cancer and other incurable diseases caused by neutron radiation. What is more, the catastrophe will produce genetic changes affecting many generations with horrible consequences.

Such will be the results of the use of the neutron bomb from the medical standpoint.

Eisenbart. My technical knowledge is not sufficient to state definitely that the neutron bomb surpasses other means of mass destruction. But, in political terms, my opinion is as follows: regarded

as a tactical nuclear weapon, the neutron bomb is primarily dangerous because it lowers the nuclear threshold and makes for easier transition from conventional to nuclear war. In other words, it may trigger off a chain reaction amounting to a global nuclear war.

Vayrynen. The development of the neutron bomb in the United States is related to the ongoing arms race. The development of the neutron bomb means that nuclear weapons have been miniaturized to the point where they can be used for tactical purposes in relatively small areas, particularly in Central Europe. It is self-evident that the deployment of this destructive weapon can only threaten the development of peaceful relations between countries, especially countries with different social systems.

Adler-Karlsson. Like all nuclear weapons, like all weapons of mass destruction, this is another step in a mad arms race. The production of the neutron bomb and its deployment in Europe will narrow the chances for deepening East-West detente, making it still more difficult to reach the stage of peaceful coexistence that the human race must have if it is to survive.

Jahn. As I see it, the chief danger of the new weapon comes from the encouragement of wishful thinking that with the neutron bomb it will be possible to wage limited and controllable nuclear wars, allegedly without jeopardizing the lives of European nations.

Characteristic of the recent international developments is the widening gap between political detente and economic cooperation, on the one hand, and the continuing arms race, on the other. The neutron weapon may widen this gap even further.

Weiler. It should be borne in mind that at present there is a certain military balance in Europe, and also between the USSR and the USA. I think that by introducing the neutron bomb, the NATO circles would like to gain an advantage to the detriment of the security of the other side.

Rossi. I personally regard some of the controversial statements about the dangers of the neutron bomb as somewhat emotional, though I admit that the neutron weapon is as immoral as any other nuclear weapon. But today the main danger of the neutron bomb does not arise on the battlefield. It lies in the fact that the development and deployment of this weapon in Western Europe will inevitably evoke a response from the Warsaw Treaty countries.

Bykov. The neutron bomb has not yet been adopted by the armies, but the idea of its deployment has already chilled the climate of Europe and the world, because the very possibility of upsetting the present balance in Europe, and between the USSR and the USA, can undermine the principle of equality and equal security, which forms the basis for productive talks on arms limitation and reduction.

The development of the neutron weapon would not only impede the progress of the current talks, but also raise more barriers in the way of future talks.

How can the danger be averted?

Bykov. I believe the position of the USSR and other members of the socialist community on the neutron bomb issue, their proposals on banning the bomb, the massive campaign against this weapon now under way in a number of capitalist countries, the protests of international democratic organizations, and the lack of agreement on the issue in the imperialist camp itself have for many months compelled President Carter to postpone the final decision on starting the production of the neutron bomb.

But the delay in taking the decision is a far cry from renouncing the manufacture of the new weapon. The danger of the U.S. and NATO armies being equipped with the neutron bomb has yet to be removed.

In these circumstances the main thing is to show the masses the full scope of the danger and mobilize them to campaign against it.

Vayrynen. In my view, these actions should form part of the general campaign against all weapons of mass destruction which have been or are being developed. We should explore ways and means of how to control the development of these weapons' technology with the ultimate goal of stopping that development altogether. I believe that what the West needs is more effective political control over military technology. Of course, a complete ban on the development of new types of weapons can be achieved only through inter-governmental talks conducted on principles of equality and equal security for all parties concerned. But one should not ignore the possibility of unilateral measures for stopping the arms race. I think the U.S. government should unilaterally renounce the development and deployment of the neutron bomb as it is the only one that has the weapon today. This decision should be a part of a more extensive strategy of curtailing the arms race, particularly in the field of nuclear weapons.

Eisenbart. There is already a great variety of mass destruction weapons. Apart from atomic weapons, these include chemical, germ and other means of warfare. All of them are inhuman and I am greatly worried to see that in this neutron bomb campaign we sometimes forget about the other means of mass destruction. But what worries me still more is that when speaking about weapons we overlook other sources of danger to mankind, in particular the absence of proper control over the development of nuclear power engineering. It is a fact that the plutonium formed in a nuclear reactor may be used at any time for nuclear-weapons manufacture.

Weiler. I think that the main thing today is to promote detente. Only on that basis can military blocks take steps leading to an end to the arms race and to a mutual reduction of military potentials. Greater trust will also make it possible to create a control system. With this in mind we should do everything in our power to prevent the development of new types of weapons, which speed up the arms race, and to come to an agreement on arms limitation.

Simai. Under the present circumstances the road to peace lies through conclusion of appropriate international agreements. However, at the Vienna talks on a mutual reduction of the armed forces and armaments in Central Europe the Western countries sabotage all proposals made by the Warsaw Treaty countries aimed at reducing and limiting the military, including nuclear, potentials of both sides. One should also remember that the neutron bomb, which is not regarded as a strategic weapon, has not been mentioned so far in the Geneva SALT talks. So the only wise solution to the neutron bomb issue would be a mutual renunciation of its production, as proposed by Leonid Brezhnev.

Fuchs. Acceptance of the proposal by the Warsaw Treaty countries in their Bucharest Declaration urging the countries participating in the European Conference to undertake not to be the first to deliver a nuclear strike could be of great significance for the non-proliferation of the neutron bomb and reduction of the risks of military confrontation. Still more significant in this context are the proposals by Leonid Brezhnev on the cessation of nuclear arms manufacture. Regrettably, the West has failed so far to respond to these important proposals.

So I think it is necessary to put more pressure upon the governments and to try and isolate the political forces which pin their hopes on military plans. I think that every opportunity must be used to expand the anti-neutron bomb campaign. At present, for instance, the world is spending a great deal on combating cancer and leukemia. I think it would be more effective if we were to combine this effort with the struggle against the U.S. intention to manufacture a weapon that will increase to catastrophic proportions the number of people affected by these diseases. This pertains also to the geography of the anti-neutron bomb campaign. So far, it has attracted mainly the populations of industrialized capitalist countries. But proliferation of nuclear arms and lowering of the nuclear threshold lead to a situation in which these weapons can be acquired by some irresponsible militaristic and racist dictatorships in Africa, Asia and Latin America. For this reason, I think, it is imperative to widen the geographical frontiers of our movement and to draw the peoples of developing countries into it.

What can scientists do?

Adler-Karlsson. Recently, as far as I know, some 12,000 American scientists issued a declaration* saying that as the United States was ahead in the armaments race, it was highly desirable that it should take positive steps to stop that race, including the production of the neutron bomb. That, I think, is an excellent attitude on the part of the scientists, which I firmly support myself. But the number here involved was, I believe, 12,000, and the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute has found that there are approximately 800,000 trained technical specialists and other people on a comparable educational level in the world. Of these, 400,000 — every other specialist — work directly for the military establishment. This is the reality, the unfortunate reality that most scientists simply sell themselves to the powers that be, or to those who pay them more. And that is not what I like, that is not as it should be, but that is unfortunately, how it is.

Jahn. Scientists are unable to solve the problems of detente and the arms race single-handed. They can merely draw public attention to the facts and make preliminary conclusions with which the public and politicians very often disagree. They can also take important steps to limit research and development on new types of armaments. I am afraid that in historical terms the neutron weapon belongs to a type whose existence is unavoidable. This does not mean, of course, that the campaign against this weapon should end. It is necessary to seek all possible means to limit and ban the proliferation of the existing types of weaponry, including renunciation of the development of a new generation of weapons that will follow the neutron bomb.

Vayrynen. It seems to me that the neutron-bomb issue has awakened the conscience of many scientists. Many publications have appeared of late in which well-known scientists point out the dangers involved in the deployment and eventual use of the neutron bomb. The neutron bomb question highlights in a very good manner the positive role the scientists can play here by informing the general public and the decision-makers about the real properties of the neutron bomb and other weapons of mass destruction. And I feel that the dissemination of accurate information by the scientists can make the general public and at least some of the decision-makers see the real dangers of the neutron bomb and other nuclear arms.

*After this interview has been taken, much public comment was evoked by a letter addressed by a group of prominent Soviet scientists to President Carter calling for a renunciation of neutron bomb production. The plans to manufacture neutron weapons were also opposed by scientists of other socialist countries, the World Federation of Scientific Workers, the Pugwash Movement of Scientists and many renowned researchers in various countries. — *Ed.*

I would like to point out that it is not enough to provide information telling the public about the dangers associated with the nuclear arms race. We must remember that these weapons were developed by scientists. So, those who are involved in the research and development of new weapons of mass destruction must realize what they are doing. If we could create a widespread movement among those who are involved in military research and development, I think this would be a huge step forward, because without the scientists the arms race would not have assumed such dimensions, and we would not have such terrible weapons as we have today.

Simai. The role of scientists in the struggle for disarmament, against weapons of mass destruction, cannot and should not be limited to this or that type of weapon systems. Scientists are responsible for all types of weapons which they help to develop, and they should realize their responsibility in general for the destiny of mankind. Scientists also have a clearer vision of how the capacities which are now used for military purposes could be used for civilian purposes. I believe, they should initiate this drive. Though scientists, I think, are not independent of the economic and social system in which they are working, they share the responsibility for the acts of the given economic and social system. They should also be aware of the fact that to a certain extent it depends on them whether new steps are taken in disarmament.

Eisenbart. It would be very desirable if the scientists of the world possessing knowledge related to the manufacture of mass destruction weapons, or taking part in their manufacture, would take an oath never to facilitate the production of neutron weapons.

In presenting the answers given by scientists opposed to the neutron bomb, the *WMR* Commission on Problems of Peace and Democratic Movements notes with satisfaction that although these scientists adhere to different political views and ideologies, they all agree on the main thing:

- the neutron bomb must be banned;
- détente should be furthered by every means available;
- it is the duty of scientists to help the peace forces in their struggle against the arms race and the threat of war.

The opinions of the scientists interviewed on these issues coincide with the call issued by 28 Communist and Workers' Parties of the capitalist and socialist countries of Europe, the United States and Canada, which urged people of various views and convictions, all peoples, to launch vigorous action against the neutron bomb, against the arms race, and for disarmament. This call is winning increasing support across the world.



The phenomenon of the political film

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A few years ago I took part in a discussion with some Italian colleagues on the possible themes for one of the regular symposiums of cinematographers from the USSR and Italy. During the discussion film director Carlo Lizzani recalled our 1963 symposium. 'At the time we criticized you on the grounds that politics takes too big a place in Soviet films. And now we ourselves are making politically committed films.' Lizzani said this rather ironically, as though he were surprised at the changes that had occurred and the naivete of his recent views on the role of politics in art. And he was not the only one. Nearly all the speakers touched in some way or another on the phenomenon of the political cinema.

In the late 60s and early 70s the whole cinema world started talking about the political film. The term had become not merely popular, but fashionable. And it stayed popular, despite the growing tendency to question its validity in cinema circles. The expression 'political film,' said the doubters, could not be justified because any film was political and if we singled out the political cinema as a category (like the western, the crime picture, the musical, and so on), it would be only logical to admit the existence of another type of cinema — the non-political film, completely divorced from the actual class struggle.

The force of this argument had to be acknowledged. It is a fact, of course, that any film contributes in some way to the class struggle and serves political ends. Even the most apolitical. When the bourgeoisie is in power, such a film diverts the masses from social problems and contradictions. It mythologizes life. It transports the audience into a world of illusions, thus weakening the urge to discover and fight for the truth. In this sense the concept of the 'political film' does not stand up to any rigorous scientific test and fully deserves to be classified as film-makers jargon. But when discussing the validity and limitations of a concept one cannot afford to ignore the real-life elements that have made it popular.

We know from screen history that many of the films produced by the Hollywood of yesterday, and a good many other studios that

followed the Hollywood model, were built on the formula of the eternal triangle, 'one man and two women' or 'two women and one man.' If politics or social themes were woven into the story line, they were used only as background, as coloring for the action, and no more. In films that we now classify as political the mixture is different. What was once the background is brought to the fore and functions as the main propellant. Politics, political conflicts and processes are regarded as plot-forming dramatic material, and as this material is 'processed' the film becomes decisively committed to the actual problems of the present day.

The life of the revolutionary cut down by reaction (Bo Widerberg's *Joe Hill*, Giuliano Montaldo's *Sacco and Vanzetti*); the strike story (*Odalen — 31*, also by Widerberg); the evolution of a working man's class consciousness (Elio Petri's *The Working Class Goes to Heaven*); the clash of political forces during the investigation of a crime (Costa-Gavras' *Z* and *State of Siege*, Francesco Rosi's *The Mattei Case* and *Eminent Corpses*, Marco Bellocchio's *Put the Monster on the Front Page*, Yves Boisset's *L'Attentat*, Damiano Damiani's *Confession of the Police Commissioner to the Republic's Prosecutor*); the making and exposure of a reactionary conspiracy (John Frankenheimer's *Seven Days in May*, Mario Monicelli's *Who Wants the Colonels*); the transformation of a spineless petty-bourgeois intellectual into a fascist assassin (Bernardo Bertolucci's *The Conformist*); the changing fortunes of war unleashed by militarists (*War and Men* by Sazuo Yamaoto) — these are the themes and plot-forming conflicts of the best known political films of the last 60s and early 70s. Some of them also contain 'triangles,' family feuds, conflicts based on unfaithfulness and jealousy. But these are only background incidents linking up the new thematic structures with the traditional 'well-tried' patterns that audiences are accustomed to.

The political breakthrough came at a time when the work of the directors whose films had been regarded by the critics of the 60s as the peak expression of contemporary cinema ('Antonioni is the very soul of the modern cinema,' wrote Marcel Martin in 1962) was beginning to show clear signs of crisis. On a very high artistic level their films dissected loneliness, alienation and people's failure to understand each other. The language of the film-maker was refined and perfected to a point where it matched literature in its ability to penetrate character and the world of human thought and emotion. The astonishing naturalness and authenticity thus achieved often rivalled that of the documentary. With richer means of expression at his command the film-maker was able to free himself of the rigid story line and other canons of earlier cinema. The actual flow of life seemed to be fully portrayed. Interesting results were achieved in the

experiments made in 'filming thought,' in objectifying thought on the screen (Alain Resnais' *Last Summer in Marienbad* and Fellini's 8-1/2).

However, no matter how close these outstanding artists came to portraying the intricacies of human existence, no matter how subtle they were in conveying emotional states, the truth embodied in their films remained incomplete and partial. The human drama was usually personified in the drama of the bourgeois individualist, in his defeats (usually total), whether in love or in attempts to find understanding among his fellow creatures. The improvement of skill in film-making was not accompanied by an equivalent surge of social energy in investigating what had not been investigated before, in opening up new frontiers. There was scarcely any reflection of the processes of the class struggle, the collapse of the colonial system, the facts and phenomena of the contemporary battle of ideas, of socialism's peace offensive and the roadblocks erected by the forces of reaction. Human conflicts were not analyzed in the context of the ideological and social confrontations that characterize the world of today. The key trends in social development, including the influence of the communist and workers' parties, still remained 'off screen.'

With the film-maker thus restricting himself and concentrating, in film after film, year after year, on the same conflicts of loneliness and failure of communication, on the atrophy of social feelings and feelings in general, the art was bound to reach a point beyond which there could be nothing but monotony, uniformity, a sense of marking time and self-imitation.

The political film abruptly widened the film-maker's range of subject and gave fresh impulses to the search for greater simplicity in discussing the complex, to an enrichment of cinema language that would allow it to combine the poetic and the documentary, lyricism and journalism. While still making use of the discoveries and traditions of cinematic art in the 60s, film-makers went back to even earlier periods — the Italian neo-realism of the 40s and 50s, and the experience of the Soviet revolutionary cinema of the 20s and 30s.

It was highly significant that both chronologically and in terms of cause and effect, the upswing of the political film was connected with struggle against the United States' 'dirty war' in Vietnam, with the events in Africa and Latin America and, particularly actively and directly, with the outburst of youth protest, with the resurgence of political activity among young people in present-day capitalist society.

The turn toward the political cinema occurred not only in the work of film-makers who had previously shown a leaning toward social themes. It has also had a definite influence on directors whose thinking was mainly concerned with the problems of alienation and loneli-

ness. Whereas in *Blow-Up* Michelangelo Antonioni did no more than renovate his usual thematic structures (by introducing elements of the detective story into the theme of loss of communication), in *Zabriskie Point* he widens his field of observation to take in the problems of rebellious youth in the U.S. and starts talking about the realities of the consumer society with an unusual intensity and directness. The hero of his film *The Reporter* in his attempts to escape the blank walls of loneliness finds himself involved in an operation for supplying arms to an African guerilla movement. Alain Resnais made *La Guerre est finie* about a Spanish communist working in the underground. In *The Damned* Lucino Visconti exposes the moral depravity of the people who set up the fascist 'new order.' Federico Fellini, having managed to accustom some audiences to the difficulties of his style, surprised everyone by producing the unusually clear and simple *Amarcord*, in which sensitive sketches of the provincial life of the 30s are combined with the publicistic, sharply satirical scenes of the reception given to a fascist boss.

The pioneers of the political cinema were the socially committed film-makers of the left. Their political films were a response to the new demands and moods of audiences and at the same time they were 'expressing themselves' — their attitude to what was happening in a changing world, their protest against reaction, their opposition to the reign of private property and individualism.

From the by no means long history of the nascent political cinema we know that several left-oriented films (and this is particularly characteristic of Italy) have enjoyed the material support and participation of party and trade union organizations of the working class. Sometimes they have been financed by cooperatives organized by progressive film-makers. Sometimes the film-makers themselves (after earning enough money on 'commercials') have done the financing. But it must be obvious to anyone that the political cinema could not have made such broad progress without the participation of capital supplied by the cinema industry itself.

And here we encounter one of the most remarkable paradoxes of cinema life in recent times. In many instances left-oriented political films have been financed by purely bourgeois producers and studio owners. There was a cynical element in this, summed up in the maxim: anything for profit, or money is money. There was the element of fashion. And there was also the element of calculation: by making some concessions to the most interesting and gifted script-writers and directors of the left the producer hoped, on the one hand, to win a young audience with its decisive effect on the box-office and, on the other, to gradually adapt the newly popular political films and their makers to the demands of the market, to the models of the con-

sumer cinema. It must be admitted that in many instances these calculations were justified. Soon the industry started 'selling' political cinema. The screen was deluged with cocktails of pornography and politics, orgies of cruelty and violence, horror films, disaster films, and so on. In such films the political ideas fall into a context that deforms their deeper meaning. The initial criticism of private property relations is neutralized by distractions, satire is melted down into harmless humor, social conflicts are converted into moral contests between 'good' and 'bad' people, between the 'virtuous' and the 'wicked.'

The influence of the producer on the progressively oriented political cinema gains added impetus from the fact that quite a number of such films are made by people whose social consciousness and political views do not extend beyond a vaguely liberal opposition to the rule of capital. In the history of the political cinema there have been moments (in the U.S. for example, at the peak of the campaign against the Vietnam war) when there were objective possibilities of moving on from liberal criticism of bourgeois society to revolutionary criticism. These opportunities were not taken not only because the move was not supported and could not have been supported by the cinema business, but also because many of the film-makers who in the days of the first flowering of the political cinema, had produced films bristling with social criticism were not inwardly, ideologically prepared to take the plunge.

The traps set by the policy-making and tactics of the bourgeois producers, the complexities of the transition from liberal criticism of capitalist society to a more trenchant and profound criticism are only some of the barriers to the progressively oriented political film. The symptoms of crisis in the political cinema are also due to the influence of 'left-wing infantile disorders.'

In his article 'Differences in the European Labor Movement' Lenin wrote that revisionism (opportunism, reformism) and anarchism (anarcho-syndicalism, anarcho-socialism) were to be observed in different forms and in different shades in all civilized countries throughout the more than half-century history of the mass labor movement. Moreover, one of the most profound causes of differences in the labor movement was the fact of that movement's growth. 'If *this* movement is not measured by the criterion of some fantastic ideal, but is regarded as the practical movement of ordinary people, it will be clear that the enlistment of larger and larger numbers of new "recruits," the attraction of new sections of the working people must inevitably be accompanied by waverings in the sphere of theory and tactics, by repetitions of old mistakes, by a temporary reversion to antiquated views and antiquated methods, and so forth.'

Enlarging on this thought, Lenin writes of the appearance in the labor movement of supporters who assimilate 'only certain aspects of Marxism, only certain parts of the new world outlook. . .' (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 16, p. 348).

The article I have just quoted from was written in 1910, but the complexities in the growth of the labor movement to which it draws attention are, in my view, equally characteristic of the present day. And they inevitably have an effect on art which reflects the realities of the liberation movement and criticism of private property relations. It is quite understandable that the complexities of today make a particularly dramatic appearance in the work of cinematographers whose commitment to the revolution is petty-bourgeois and 'partial,' and has no solid foundation in scientific understanding of the processes of social development and class struggle.

Costa-Gavras' film *Z* was one of the forerunners of the upswing of the political cinema. It was well received in democratic circles and there was high praise for its opposition to such ugly phenomena in recent political life as the repressive dictatorship of the 'black colonels' in Greece. However, only two years after the premiere of *Z* Costa-Gavras produced the film *Confession*, which was actively used by reaction as a weapon of anti-socialist propaganda from the moment it appeared on the screen.

Marco Bellocchio has had a more complex evolution. The first of his famous films, *Fists in Pockets*, clearly reflected the ideas of all-denying anarchistic revolt. After the film *China is Near* (despite its somewhat ironic portrayal of the 'leftists') Bellocchio declared himself in sympathy with the Maoist groups in Italy. He even maintained that the Chinese 'cultural revolution' ought to be transplanted to Italian soil — not automatically, of course, but with certain adaptations for Italian conditions.

In 1968, Bellocchio joined the leftist 'League of Italian Communists.' On the League's instructions and under its guidance he made the films *Paola* and *Long Live Red May!* During the making of these films he and his co-workers visited the poorest districts of Paola to obtain a closer view and better understanding of his subject — the working people. Some of the observations gathered there went into the film. However, the leaders of the organization demanded a different, programmed solution of the subject, a solution whose dogmatic principles could not be aligned with the clear evidence of practice. The understanding between the film group and the League broke down and the director drew the conclusion that 'there is no place for militant cinema in Italy.'

Several years passed before Bellocchio produced his dramatic and bitingly satirical film *Put the Monster on the Front Page*, in which the

political theme is treated without the decadent overtones and polemical digressions of his anarchistic revolt and subsequent affiliation with the Maoists. This may mark a fresh turn in the ideological and creative development of a gifted director.

At one time Jean-Luc Godard was a pioneer of the French *nouveau vague*, and he did in fact do a lot to renovate the subject range, language and style of French and world cinema. In those days his films *A bout de souffle* (Breathless), *Vivre sa vie* (Live Your Own Life) and *Le petit soldat* (The Little Soldier) formed the epicenter of debate in the film world. But even then one could see the contradictions of life but also the contradictions of an artist who, while rejecting capitalism, would still not accept socialism.

In *Le petit soldat* Godard put the OAS and the organization of the Algerian patriots on the same plane of brutality and bigotry — the hero's 'personal freedom' was crushed by both sides. In *Alphaville*, portraying a planet where a technocracy has been established and all human feelings were suppressed, the fighter for humankind is a correspondent of *Figaro-Pravda*, Ivan Johnson, who has arrived from earth. In both his subject and style Godard demonstrated the relativity of concepts, categories and principles. And the further he went, the more obvious it became that his relativism was pseudo-dialectical and anti-realist; the disarray of his ideological positions was combined with a peculiar mystification of form.

The second half of the 60s found Godard reviewing the legacy and aesthetics of the *nouveau vague*. He now proclaimed an entirely different approach to art. Until recently, he declared, such directors as Bertolucci, Pasolini and himself had only been experimenting, but this was not enough. Experiment in art had to be committed to the class struggle. Godard set out to bring modern art back to the rebellious eccentricity of the cinematographers of the early 20s who rejected, along with the academism of the old theatre and the fake scenery of the bourgeois cinema, all traditions and even art itself. Citing the arguments of those days between Dziga Vertov and Sergei Eisenstein, Godard canonized Vertov's contrasting of the cinema document to the theatre film. Eisenstein, according to Godard, had given in to artiness. He was guilty of opportunism and surrender of revolutionary positions.

Today Godard believes that his former protest was individualistic. He would like, he says, to join up with the 'great social movements,' but cannot see a revolutionary force with which he could become associated.

In the work of the film directors I have mentioned so far the deformations of revolutionary art under the influence of the left-extremist convolutions of cinematographic thought take every conceivable

form. The fact that some extremely influential artists with a following of sometimes unthinking young film-makers are involved in them makes such deformations even more dangerous.

The political film did not remain a left-wing monopoly. The left-wingers (in quotes and without) were followed by film-makers of the reactionary bourgeois trend, who produced their answers to the topical problems of the day with an eye on the current situation, the moods of the young generation and the greatly increased audience interest in politics.

The result was yet another paradox of cinema life. On the one hand, bourgeois critics, and reviewers continued, apparently by sheer inertia, to propagate the idea that politics and true art are inimical to each other. On the other, under cover of this verbal smokescreen the bourgeoisie gave an unprecedented boost to art directly concerned with the problems and processes of politics. The end result has been that there is no field of politics, no front of the ideological struggle where the bourgeois film industry has not produced films directly serving the political and propaganda institutions of imperialism.

Bourgeois film-makers, for instance, 'responded' to the Lenin centenary and the greatly increased interest of the working people and the young generation in Lenin and his works. Kirsten Stenbeck, of Denmark, produced a film heavily loaded with slander about the genius of the October Revolution (admittedly, this hash-up in the tabloid style of the yellow press had no success with the public). Much more serious, and therefore more dangerous, was the film produced by the American director Franklin Schaffner *Nicholas and Alexandra*. In showing the history of the three Russian revolutions (through the chronicle of the Romanovs' family life) the makers of the film followed very closely in history's footsteps. The majority of the scenes and episodes in the film are entirely authentic in both content and tone. But these are interspersed with scenes featuring Lenin that distort the image of the leader of the revolution and slander the Bolshevik Party. The film is so cunningly constructed that the uninitiated viewer finds it very difficult, indeed impossible to draw a line between truth and falsehood. The confusion among film-goers and the spreading of false notions about Lenin and the revolution are promoted by the fact that two or three years before *Nicholas and Alexandra* Schaffner had made his caustically political *The Best Man*, exposing the backstage intrigues in one of the two major bourgeois parties during the campaign for nomination of the U.S. President. It was Schaffner's reputation as a liberal or even left-wing film-maker, an exponent of critical realism, that enhanced the attraction of *Nicholas and Alexandra* and people's faith in its authenticity.

The manufacture of bourgeois political films goes hand in hand

with the 'selling' of the left-oriented political films, and sometimes with its direct suppression. This is done through the courts and political censorship, and still more frequently by means of 'economic censorship,' which closes the door to unwanted films and denies them access to the cinema circuits and television.

In 1972 Munich audiences saw the premiere of Peter Fleischmann's *Katastrophe*. Its theme is youth's protest against bourgeois life. To sum up the plot in a few words, the 'fathers' of the city where the action takes place attack Brandt's *Ostpolitik* and prepare for a revanchist rally of Silesian Germans, while their opponents organize a counter-demonstration. This combination of moral protest (now traditional for the 'young German cinema') with political action proved particularly unpalatable to reactionary critics. On March 24, 1972, the *Suddeutsche Zeitung* published an article by Wolfgang Limmer that was perhaps the most outspoken of several that appeared on the subject. Openly displaying his hatred of the film and its director, Limmer makes no bones about the reasons for his biting criticism: Fleischmann is popular. Thanks to his film *Hunting Scenes in Lower Bavaria* his name 'has become almost a synonym for the young German cinema.' His films have a marked left-wing tendency and his latest work is 'revoltingly full of all the symptoms of the sickness that currently afflicts the political cinema.'

To measure the development of the political cinema, one must bear in mind that, despite the success and popularity of the best political films, they have still not become the dominating force in the capitalist countries. The dominant position in film production and distribution still belongs to films that are made for the market, films in the traditional genre and style. But many of these, if not all, reflect the latest trends in cinematic thought. Adapting themselves to these trends, the makers of the box-office films often try to work in the themes, subjects and devices of the political cinema.

A certain diffusion of the two types of cinema is taking place. This process is intensified by the fact that the top directors, in their concern to reach the mass audience, have started making greater use of consumer film techniques in works that could claim more than mere entertainment value. This sometimes gives rise to films of the 'centaur' type, which make nonsense of the usual trade distinction between 'box-office' and 'art' films. Bernardo Bertolucci's *Last Tango in Paris* is a film of this type. Exposure of the decay of bourgeois society through the decay of one bourgeois individual goes hand in hand with obvious concessions to a market hungry for pornography. Another example is Francis Coppola's *The Godfather* with its blend of the gangster and the socially critical film.

Practice shows that despite the variety of films that propagate the

reactionary ideas of the bourgeoisie their orientation on the mass audience and 'well-tried' forms and methods is clearly discernible. If the film-makers of the socialist countries and the progressive directors of the developing and the capitalist countries underestimate this feature of the work of their ideological opponents, progressive cinema may lose a great deal in social impact and relevance.

This is not to say that the true artists making left-oriented films should compete with the bourgeois art pedlars in inventing audience 'traps.' But there is also the danger of going to the other extreme expressed in the formula: the protest against police brutality cannot be conveyed by the same artistic means that are used to make bourgeois films about the police. Proceeding from this (in a sense) logical assumption, some progressive film-makers speak of the need for total change, complete revision of the experience accumulated by the cinema. The idea of 'a revolution in cinema language' is sometimes treated in their work as a value in itself. Audiences are bombarded with extravagant tricks, illegible hieroglyphs and incomprehensible complications. The natural process of art's self-renewal in the course of its assimilation of new content is interrupted and militant cinema loses its spiritual and emotional contact with the very audience to which its political message is addressed.

In film-making circles in the capitalist West one often hears it said that world cinema is at a crossroads, that it is suffering from a dangerously long delay in its development. There are plenty of reasons for such views. Fellini, after his victory with *Amarcord*, encountered defeat with *Casanova*. Ingmar Bergman's latest pictures are not up to the standard of his best productions. In the film *The Missouri Breaks*, where even Jack Nicholson and Marlon Brando give weak performances, we hardly recognize the work of Arthur Penn, the director of such films as *Bonnie and Clyde*, and *Little Big Man*. Stanley Kubrick, who nearly always attracted us by the acuteness of his social and philosophical perception, has made an exceptionally elegant but stone-cold and deliberately contrived film *Barry Lyndon*, far removed from the passions and contradictions of the modern world. If to these we add John Schlesinger's *Marathon Man* and Alain Resnais' *Providence* we are forced to the conclusion that nearly all the major directors in the capitalist West have made new films that are not as good as their earlier work.

I say 'nearly all' because a number of exceptions immediately leap to mind. Above all, there is Bernardo Bertolucci's epic *20th Century*. There is Sidney Lumet's socially revealing *Network*, Martin Ritt's *The Front* gives a psychologically accurate and authentic account of the Hollywood 'black-listers.' In Juan Bardem's *Week End* lively comedy is delicately woven into a serious story about the evolution of a work-

ing man's social consciousness.

The appearance of such films indicates that for all the difficulties and obstacles arising in the part of the political cinema, its experience and tradition have not been forgotten. They belong to world cinema and have become an indispensable element in the whole process of film-making. The cinema will undoubtedly continue to develop along the roads charted by the post political films.

The problems of the political cinema affect not only the bourgeois cinema world. It is generally acknowledged that one of the main sources of the political film is to be found in the earlier work of Sergei Eisenstein, Vsevolod Pudovkin, Dziga Vertov, and Alexander Dovzhenko. The Soviet films of subsequent decades, such as *Chapayev*, the *Maxim Trilogy*, *We Are from Kronstadt*, *Baltic Deputy*, *Lenin in October* and *A Great Citizen*, also contributed much to the development of movie-making and its mastery of social and political subjects.

At the same time, for the Soviet and other socialist film industries the political cinema adds up to something more than films dedicated to the history of the revolution or describing the events and processes of the movement for the liberation of labor. The political film is, above all, a film about the class struggle. And the economic, scientific and technological contest between socialism and capitalism has long since become a crucial battlefield of the class struggle in the modern world. We must take this into account when considering the borderlines of the contemporary political film.

In solving their national problems, social and aesthetic, Soviet and other socialist film-makers not only expand the 'theme chart' of world cinema. They also contribute a great deal to the art of motion-picture making. It would require a special article to analyze this contribution. In concluding these thoughts about the phenomenon of the political film in the capitalist world I would like to emphasize the fact that this phenomenon cannot be considered without reference to the experience gained by socialist film-makers.

When we speak of the global significance of this experience, we cannot fail to see our own deficiencies; nor can we afford to play down the urgency of our unsolved problems. Nevertheless the socialist cinema has made an indisputable contribution to the creative endeavor of world cinema and should figure prominently in international cultural exchange. The present detente is helping to expand and deepen international relations between film-makers — through film festivals and joint productions, the interchange of films and creative discussions. The task now is to make fuller and more effective use of the new opportunities for consolidating the progressive forces of world cinema in the fight for humanity, for social progress.



Multinationals: What kind of 'new world?'

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A SURVEY OF STUDIES

In the past several years, bourgeois political economists and politologists have increasingly given attention to a socio-economic phenomenon of the present-day capitalist world known as the multinational corporation.¹

Capital interwoven in a cosmopolitan way and operating on an international scale has now become a tremendous force. In the early seventies, the multinationals controlled 90 per cent of the capitalist countries' investments, one-third of their aggregate Gross National Product, and one-half of their foreign trade. No wonder many bourgeois scientists, specialists and businessmen regard the multinationals as being able to help capitalism stabilize and 'renew' itself, and even transform the socio-economic structure of the modern world as a higher and more enlightened 'corporate organization.'

Among the leading lights of bourgeois science who have heralded the multinationals' claims to a global historical role are Toynbee, Eugene Rostow, Aron, Barber and Moynihan. Barber, for instance, has compared the multinationals to the enlighteners of the Middle Ages who helped human reason to escape from the oppression of the Church.² Rostow regards them as 'one of the most important institutions of international stability and progress for at least the next twenty-five years.'³ Back in the mid-60s, Aron presented an idyllic picture of a 'transnational society.'⁴ and Toynbee has visions of a New Pax Romana based on internationally interwoven capital.⁵

Other bourgeois scientists, journalists and businessmen⁶ have come out in favor of these 'bright,' 'imaginative' and 'resourceful' corporations free from national narrow-mindedness,⁷ corporations without citizenship and, on the whole, a new economic system in which geographical barriers would give way to the logic of efficiency.

At the same time, the close to one thousand monographs and articles published on the subject only in the 70s⁸ show that bourgeois scientists are far from unanimous in assessing the impact of the giant multinationals on the current development of the world and

humanity's future, and that the apologists have to contend with a highly influential set of critics.

It is all the more necessary, therefore, to analyze and compare the various views so as to answer these questions:

What kind of new world edifice are the multinationals building, and on which social principles? How is the 'nations-corporations' relationship developing? What is the multinationals' policy and against whom it is aimed?

Globalism: virtues and vices

'The development and growing frequency of international intercourse in every form, the breakdown of national barriers, the creation of the international unity of capital, of economic life in general, of politics, science, etc.' — that Lenin said, is the historical trend, a universal law characterizing 'a mature capitalism that is moving toward its transformation into socialist society; (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 20, p. 27). This is epitomized by internationally interwoven capital, the giant corporations that, while promoting the growth of the productive forces and deepening the international division of labor, tend to sharpen the old contradictions of the capitalist society and generate new ones.

There is no doubt that the socialization of the productive forces on an international level does, in principle, create additional potentialities for the efficient use of resources. The multinationals have at their disposal the latest achievements of the scientific and technical revolution, modern methods in organizing production, management, marketing, financing and transfer of technology. Every year, they create hundreds of thousands of jobs all over the world; labor productivity at their enterprises in the United States is much higher than it is among 'local firms', and their growth rates are also higher, something that also holds good for the other developed capitalist countries.⁹

But that is one side of the coin. The other shows that because such socialization runs on private-property lines it inevitably produces its inherent anti-social results. The super-concentration of economic power in the hands of small closed groups of the major shareholders and senior executives, which are not responsible to society, narrows down the socialization to the framework of contending economic empires, which superimpose themselves on the historically rooted international division of labor and the division of the world into states. As a result, and despite the apologetic utopias, the multinationals are at best unwitting vehicles of progress, while their real ideal, according to U.S. economists Abdul A. Said and Luiz R. Simmons, is rather an industrial feudalism.¹⁰

It is not surprising that there is an acute debate on the connection between super-concentration and efficiency. Some bourgeois scientists, holding a brief for the multinationals, assert that their economic power is not a social danger and even that it has been clearly exaggerated 'as compared with the sovereign power of nations,'¹¹ that the process of monopoly concentration has been suspended,¹² as U.S. government experts claim, that if concentration is a fact it does not result in any monopoly control of the market, and if control does ultimately exist, it is rewarded with economic efficiency.

But other specialists refute these assertions with equal vigor and, most importantly, with great conviction. The multinationals' tactics, J.W. Vaupel, J.P. Cruhan and experts of the UN Center on Transnational Corporations assert on the basis of statistical data, boils down to takeovers and mergers,¹³ with the most profitable enterprises falling victim first. A group of OECD experts says that there has been a series of three tides of concentration, just when the multinationals' advocates failed to notice any.¹⁴ As a result, the economic power of the leading multinationals has now so increased that it is comparable with that of the smaller capitalist countries, to say nothing of the less developed countries.¹⁵

It is argued that this level of concentration of production by the biggest corporations has long since passed the optimal mark which gives the greatest efficiency in the present conditions, while stable control of the market, OECD experts claim, leads to a 'failure to realize the optimum allocation of resources.'¹⁶ Besides, the multinationals frequently pursue a conservative technical policy, while the extremely complicated management procedures tend to produce sluggishness and discordant action. They increase employment in some countries, but 'export jobs' and reduce it in others. In other words, the giants which have outgrown economic optimum, according to Professor Robert A. Dahl of Yale University, do not increase efficiency but only their own 'power and influence.'¹⁷

The drive for profits

The technocratic conception, which holds that the multinationals help to equalize incomes because they are no longer motivated by superprofits but by multifactor growth with an eye to social responsibility, is even more vulnerable, and in fact will not stand up to circumstantial criticism.

How can there be any equalization of incomes when, even according to official statistics, the 'highest' 20 per cent of the U.S. population earn eight times more than the 'lowest' 20 per cent,¹⁸ if six multimillionaires in the FRG earn 400 times more an hour than the average worker,¹⁹ and if this vicious circle of ceaseless reproduction

of the uneven distribution of property and incomes has not been broken by the internationalization of capital.

What has been said also makes less credible the theory of the multinationals' social responsibility. It emerged in the 20s and is now being plugged by business leaders like David Rockefeller, Thomas Murphy of General Motors and Frank Lyon of Union Carbide. The latter declares, for instance, that 'our decisions and our actions must reflect concern for the general welfare, not what is good only for vested interest groups.'²⁰ Such ideas are variously supported by prominent bourgeois scientists, among them Berle, Littleham, Dahrendorff and Galbraith. But Galbraith, for instance, in a review of a book by Sampson, Blair and Engler exposing the egoistic machinations of the oil companies, writes about the 'conflict between the reality and the justifying myths,'²¹ while the Executive Director of the U.S. Urban League, Whitney Young, put it much more bluntly when he said that 'many companies limit their concern to press releases, empty speeches, or less.'²²

What then is the purpose of the multinationals' proclamation of their 'new goals?' Those who spun out the idea, among them Means, Berle, Boulding, and Baumol, held that these 'new goals' marked the end of the runaway drive for profits. Today, Anthony, Grossman, Horowitz, Lipsey, Steiner, Nieckels and Vernon seek to apply this idea to the multinationals' activity in the 70s. But the more conservative analysts and most businessmen say that if the corporate executives were forced to think of a different responsibility to society than the need to make as much money as they can for their shareholders, this could pose a grave threat to the very foundations of the 'free world,'²³ while a prominent executive P. Liothard-Vogt, considering the real purpose of the multinationals with a group of UN experts, told them: Why not admit that it is the drive for profits?²⁴

There is no doubt at all that the new edifice of the world being built by the multinationals has the same foundation as the rest of the capitalist system.

Corporations vs nations

The range of concrete charges against the multinationals is perhaps broadest when it comes to their relations with nations. Here is the view of ECOSOC experts: 'Home countries are concerned about the undesirable effects that foreign investment by multinational corporations may have as domestic employment and the balance of payments, and about the capacity of such corporations to alter the normal play of competition. Host countries are concerned about the ownership and control of key economic sectors by foreign enterprises, the excessive cost to the domestic economy which their

operations may entail, the extent to which they may encroach upon political sovereignty and their possible adverse influence on socio-cultural values. Labor interests are concerned about the impact of multinational corporations on employment and workers' welfare and on the bargaining strength of trade unions. Consumer interests are concerned about the appropriateness, quality and price of the goods produced by multinational corporations.'²⁵

Of course, the multinationals create new jobs (although this statement, as we have seen, cannot be accepted without reservations), and introduce new technology into the host countries. The subsidiaries of the U.S. multinationals alone account for 8 per cent of the FRG's exports, 10 per cent of France's, 16 per cent of Britain's, 44 per cent of Canada's, and so on.²⁶ But here again we see only one side of the coin. The reverse is disruption of the nation's economic and monetary policy, tax manipulations, suppression of local business, forced economic specialization by the host country, and control of entire sectors of the economy.

What is indicative here is that not only the social forces being exploited by the multinationals but virtually the bulk of the nation and even the local state-monopoly complex tend to run into sharp conflict with them. 'How can a national government,' wrote G. Hall, 'make an economic plan with any confidence if a board of directors meeting 5,000 miles away can by altering its pattern of purchasing and production affect in a major way the country's economic life?''²⁷

The sharpening of the 'nation-corporation' conflict, which is coming to a head, and the rift in relations between the multinationals and the bourgeois state, have lately caused an important regrouping among the bourgeois experts. The loud statements in praise of the multinationals' super-sovereignty and calls to ignore national boundaries have been markedly toned down. The U.S. economists Calleo and Rowland, for instance, say: 'A sound international order cannot be built on the wreckage of nation-states.'²⁸ Moreover, judging from the latest bourgeois writings, the talk about the state-centered world being obsolete is giving way to a fairly simple compromise: the bourgeois state is to support the multinationals, and they, for their part, undertake to consider the interests of the national state-monopoly complexes (which, for the big bourgeoisie, are now the embodiment of the 'nation'). That is the interpretation one can put on the Code of Conduct for the multinationals adopted within the OECD framework in the summer of 1976.²⁹

There is no doubt that this kind of 'family' deal has had to be made because the growing public outcry against the multinationals is becoming nationwide and has assumed various social forms. That being so, this 'might soon be directed against *all* corporations,

indigenous and foreign,' says Walter Goldstein. 'This prospect worries many national elites.'³⁰

Goal: threefold in form, class in content

The need to settle relations between the multinationals and the bourgeois state, far from limiting, in fact, implies more vigorous action on their part along three lines: the fight against world socialism, the effort to undermine the international working-class movement, and to split the national-liberation movement, including efforts to set the emergent countries on the capitalist road. These goals are not always advertised, and are now and again even denied by bourgeois experts. Still, they are discernible in the relevant writings.

Let me emphasize that, on the first line, the multinationals seek, in overall class terms, to tackle the tasks of fighting to change the balance of forces in the world arena which has shaped in favor of socialism. Experts of the National War College of the United States declared: 'The phenomenon of growing multinational enterprises. . . can play a major role in improving our overall political, military and economic strength.'³¹

In the context of the struggle against socialism, the multinationals have very concrete goals. Many of them actually practise and now and again initiate the existing restriction on trade with socialist countries. At one time, Exxon, for instance, suggested a blacklisting of ships carrying freight to Cuba.³² Other multinationals pursue a more flexible line and, while maintaining economic ties with socialist countries and even urging normalization of trade with them, do not lose hope of deriving one-sided ideological and political advantages for themselves. Such ideas have always been expressed by David Rockefeller, who declared that the 'Western' technology, credits and management expertise going to the USSR could become a means of 'weakening' the Soviet political regime.³³ Let me emphasize, however, that past historical experience makes many bourgeois ideologists doubt the reality of such hopes. Accordingly, the most reactionary forces regard the multinationals as possible participants in reckless anti-socialist acts, and this brings us to the sharp polemics about the multinationals' role in issues of war and peace.

Their advocates argue that broad international economic operations can be carried on only in time of peace and claim that the multinationals not only support but even guarantee peace. Professor C. Northcote Parkinson writes in *Profile* (a journal, incidentally, published by the famous multinational ITT): 'They are undoubtedly a major force on the side of peace and against conflict in any form.'³⁴

Of course, the world's bourgeoisie has always had a pacifist wing, and it would be strange to deny that some multinationals have

come out for detente, even if they have done so for business reasons: some of them, for instance, opposed the war in Vietnam. But it is just as true that there is a militaristic wing among the giant multinationals, on which the military-industrial complex relies. Galbraith says 'It is recognized that the Department of Defense persuades the modern weapons firms to produce what it needs. And it is recognized that these firms persuade Department of Defense to need what they produce.'³⁵ So it is a fact that the multinationals build up the material and technical basis of the NATO military block and, moreover, in the recent period the arms monopolies have markedly internationalized their operations, exporting weapons on an unprecedented scale. Under their licences, weapons are being made in 28 countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America.³⁶

All of this has undoubtedly hampered détente, prevented its extension to new zones and provoked conflicts. The U.S. economists Paul Baran and Paul Sweezy say: 'All the major struggles going on in the world today can be traced to this hunger of the multinational corporations for maximum Lebensraum.'³⁷

The multinationals' concerted fight against the working-class movement is another equally pronounced line. Of course, here again one will find that the processes generated by the multinationals' activity are twofold. They help to raise the skill standards of the working class and forcibly enlarge, concentrate and unite its international contingents. At the same time, the working-class movement, historically shaped within the national framework, still has obvious difficulties in the struggle against capital that has acquired international mobility. Special studies, including those published by trade unions, point to such anti-labor acts by the multinationals as refusal to recognize national trade unions, transfer of orders from one country to another to put down strikes, breaches of local traditions in labor relations and trade union freedoms, export of jobs to countries with cheap labor, refusal to give the trade unions information, reprisals against activists, etc.³⁸

One should also take into account that the trade union struggle against the multinationals is being hampered by the split in the working-class movement and the different strategies and tactics of its reformist and revolutionary sections. At the same time, an analysis of the documents issued by international trade-union centers taking a different orientation, and of current studies shows that premises are gradually maturing for broad joint action by the working people against the multinationals. Thus, 25 per cent of 134 corporations polled in the United States and 40 per cent of those of other countries reported that over the past several years their enterprises have been faced not simply with action by trade unions but by their interna-

tionally organized action.³⁹ It is indicative that many authors have noted — some with alarm, others with hope — trade union action for the satisfaction not only of economic but also of political demands. Evidence of this comes from the invigorated struggle for democracy. Let me add that despite the attempts by the apologists of the multinationals to present them as guarantors and missionaries of democratic freedoms, another view is prevalent in the various writings, including bourgeois writings. Joel Henning, for instance, says: The modern corporation is no more democratic than the black colonels' government in Greece.⁴⁰

Finally, analysis of the giant multinationals' role in the Third World is a special and independent line of discussion. The apologists regard the multinationals only as a source of capital and technology for the less developed countries and claim that their access to the economy of the young states is the only real means for overcoming their backwardness. Of course, it would be wrong to deny, while taking a realistic view, that the multinationals are in principle capable of making a contribution to development. But it is a characteristic fact that it is in this area that the bourgeois apologists have to contend with the greatest opposition from the liberal and left-radical critics in the developed capitalist countries, and from economists in the developing countries. All of them, as a rule, present the multinationals with a long list of abuses aimed to divide the Third World and to keep it in a state of dependence in the world economy.

When it comes to political independence, the high-handedness of the multinationals and the governments behind them is notorious. Thus, apart from ITT's well-known sinister role in Chile, United Brands and Standard Fruit of the United States tried to overthrow the governments of Panama, Costa Rica and Honduras, so as to revenge themselves for the introduction of a tax on bananas. In Madagascar, Compagnie Mareyouse made payments to those who assassinated President Ramanantsoa. Behind the 1974 putsch in Niger lurked the interests of Pechiney and the Rothschild group, and behind the Biafra rebellion, those of the French ERAP. The FNLA separatists in Angola were supplied with weapons and money through the U.S. Gulf Oil. The multinationals provide the chief external support for the racist regimes in Southern Africa.

At the same time, analysts — both Marxists and non-Marxists — point to the multinationals' leading role in eroding the traditional social structures in the developing countries and their coalescence with the emergent bourgeoisie and the tribal bureaucratic elite in these countries, all of which result in greater inequalities in incomes and a growth of social insecurity.

Anti-monopoly alternative: aspects and problems

Because this problem is so acute, many analysts have not stopped at establishing the state of affairs but have also sought solutions for it.

The developing countries demand for instance, the establishment of national and international control over the multinationals to protect their national sovereignty and development plans. While the countries taking a socialist orientation and states which already have experience dealing with multinationals take the most consistent stand on such control, including nationalization, others, like some African states with an acute need for capital and technology, have even vied with each other in seeking to attract multinationals. Equally, while the left-wing social-democrats in Britain, the FRG, France, Italy, Belgium, Austria and the Scandinavian countries, and also the socialist parties of Japan, Spain and Finland, advocate effective curbs on the multinationals' activity, including democratic control and nationalization, the centrists want only some measures aimed to enhance the regulating role of the bourgeois state, and the right-wingers merely want the corporations to observe legality and report to the public in greater detail.

There are other trends as well, but spokesmen for virtually all of them admit that their concrete stand is inconsistent and unelaborated. That is why there has been a sharp increase in public attention to Marxist analysis and the real alternative for the power of the multinationals which the communist parties and left-wing alliances have proposed. D. Apter says: 'Today more liberals are becoming convinced of the persuasiveness of the socialist line of argument.'⁴¹

The communists do not share the utopian hopes of reversing the process of socialization of production back to the 'semi-philistine paradise' of free competition (V.I. Lenin, *Coll. Works*, Vol. 22, p. 105). On the contrary, they remember what Marx and Lenin said about the need for the working class to take hold of large-scale production (*ibid.*, see Vol. 27, p. 345), and have proposed that socialization should be advanced to a new and higher stage in the form of democratic nationalization of the multinationals. The fraternal communist parties and Marxist analysts want a dialogue with the other democratic forces willing to combat monopoly capital. Active work is also being carried on by the World Federation of Trade Unions, which has prepared and submitted to a special UN Commission its proposals for controlling the multinationals, including guarantees for the rights of the working-class movement in the struggle against internationally interwoven capital. The communists urge the need to support the developing countries' legitimate anti-imperialist demands, and on the government level this stand was recorded in the

Joint Statement of the Socialist Countries put before the Fourth UNCTAD in Nairobi.⁴²

In his outline of *The Civil War in France* Marx wrote prophetically in May 1871 that it was not capital but the victorious working class that would establish a harmonious national and international coordination of the social forms of production.

The multinationals, while acting as a reserve of imperialism in its struggle for survival, simultaneously introduce new elements of exacerbation into the contradictions between labor and monopoly capital, between the imperialist center and its former colonial periphery. They tend to introduce discord into the state-monopoly complex, something even bourgeois science has had to admit. All of this, for its part, creates fresh potentialities for extending and invigorating the progressive forces' struggle within the framework of a general democratic, anti-monopoly coalition.

1. This is a corporation owned by the capital of one or more countries and engaged in operations across national boundaries.

2. *Associations internationales*, 1975, p. 604.

3. See, G. Ball (Ed.). *Global Companies. The Political Economy of World Business*. New Jersey, 1975, p. 114.

4. R. Aron. *Peace and War*. New York, 1966, p. 105.

5. *Forbes*, April 15, 1974, pp. 68-69.

6. See, Ball (Ed.). *op. cit.*, pp. 125-126, 132. *Der Spiegel*, April 29, 1974, pp. 36-54; May 6, 1974, pp. 60-77.

7. See, *Fortune*, May 1975, pp. 313-314.

8. D. Senghaas, U. Menzel (Hrsg). *Multinationale Konxerne und Dritte Welt*, Oplanden, 1976, pp. 273-300.

9. P. Buckley, M. Casson. *The Future of Multinational Enterprise*. London, 1976, pp. 24-27.

10. A. Said, L. Simmons (Ed.). *The New Sovereigns, Multinational Corporations as World Powers*, Englewood Cliffs, 1975, p. VI.

11. USA-BIAC. *A Review of the Report of the Group of Eminent Persons to Study the Role of Multinational Corporations on Development and on International Relations*, Washington, November, 1974, p. 16.

12. *Historical Statistics of the United States. Colonial Times to 1957*, Washington, 1960, p. 573.

13. See, for instance, UN, *Transnational Corporations in the Emerging New International Economic Order. (Draft)*. New York, 1978, pp. III, 45; P. Buckley, M. Casson, *op. cit.*, pp. 3, 21.

14. OECD. *Mergers and Competition Policy*, Paris, 1974, pp. 7-9.

15. *YK-tiedote*. No. 1, 1976, p. 5.

16. OECD, *op. cit.*, p. 9.

17. See, R. Nader, M. Green (Ed.) *Corporate Power in America*. New York, 1973, p. 23.

18. *Statistical Abstract of the United States*, 1974, Washington, 1974, p. 384.

19. H. Adam. *Macht und Vermogen in der Wirtschaft*. Cologne, 1974, pp. 25, 32.

20. See, Nader and Green (Ed.). *op. cit.*, p. 153; *Vital Speeches of the Day*, November 15, 1975, p. 85.

21. *The New York Times*, Book Review, June 5, 1977, p. 24.

22. R. Nader, M. Green (Ed.). *Corporate Power in America*, New York, 1973, p. 23

23. M. Friedman, *Capitalism and Freedom*. Chicago, 1962, p. 133.
24. UN. *Summary of the Hearings Before the Group of Eminent Persons to Study the Impact of Multinational Corporations on Development and on International Relations*, New York, 1974, p. 276.
25. Doc. UN E/5500/Rev. I, Part 1, p. 26.
26. P. Buckley, M. Casson. *op. cit.*, p. 26
27. *Dialogue*, No. 3, 1972, p. 35.
28. See, G. Ball (Ed.). *op. cit.*, p. 164.
29. *CTC Reporter*, No. 2, June 1977, p. 30.
30. See D. Apter, L. Goodman (Ed.). *The Multinational Corporation and Social Change*, New York, 1976, pp. 172-173.
31. Quoted in R. Barnet, R. Muller, *Global Reach*, New York, 1974, p. 101.
32. *ibid.*, p. 102.
33. *The Atlantic Community Quarterly*, Summer 1975, pp. 320-321.
34. *Profile*, No. 5, Autumn 1975, p. 3.
35. See, R. Nader, M. Green. *op. cit.*, p. 4.
36. D. Senghaas, U. Menzel. *op. cit.*, p. 130.
37. See, Said and Simmons, *op. cit.*, p. 14
38. See, ILO. *World Employment Conference*, Geneva, 1976; ILO. *Multinational Enterprises and Social Policy*, Geneva, 1973; A. Said, L. Simmons, *op. cit.*
39. *The Conference Board. The Multinational Unions Challenge the Multinational Company*. New York, 1975, p. 1.
40. See, R. Nader, M. Green, *op. cit.*, p. 160.
41. D. Apter, L. Goodman, *op. cit.*, p. 4.
42. Doc. UNCTAD TD/211, May 28, 1976.

Book reviews

THE SUFFERING AND STRUGGLE OF THE GUARANI PEOPLE

Hugo Campos, 'Paz y progreso' en el Paraguay ('Peace and Progress' in Paraguay). Ediciones Actualidad, Buenos Aires, 1977. 79 pp.

Paraguay is a beautiful country. Its very name is reminiscent of the sublime sounds of the harp and the gentle tones of the Guarani.* Paraguay is a sunny country where two or three crops can be harvested per year. Hidden under the green cover of its vegetation are huge riches, such as oil and uranium. And yet its people are poor. Over one million of them (the population today numbers 2,700,000) are compelled to emigrate to neighboring countries, primarily Argentina.

Why do Paraguayans flee their country although they love it? Because they cannot work, study, live in peace and think in freedom,

*The Guarani Indians make up the bulk of the population and theirs is the language spoken by most Paraguayans. The official language is Spanish. — Ed.

replies Hugo Campos on the strength of the documents and facts he gives in his book.

Campos shows what the dictatorship under General Alfredo Stroessner stands for and what it brings to the Guarani people. It is a landed oligarchy's government which has put the country under the control of foreign monopolies and imperialism, he writes, citing irrefutable evidence. Indeed, 25 Paraguayan families own 17 million hectares of land, or nearly half the country's area. General Stroessner himself is a big landowner and a shareholder of numerous industrial companies. U.S. companies have taken possession of vast tracts of land. The American Coffee Corporation has purchased 260,000 hectares and Prados Verdes, 170,000 hectares; Gagra Paraguaya SA has secured government authorization to purchase from one to two million hectares and the Adela firm, 500,000 hectares. Foreign capitalists are also laying hands on Paraguay's building industry. As a result, Campos writes on the basis of a wealth of factual data, the plunder being carried on by foreign octopuses has assumed monstrous proportions. Between 1960 and 1973 just over \$35m. was invested in Paraguay. In the same period the profits taken home exceeded \$48m., that is, topped investments by \$13m. 'Life confirms that the latifundium system and imperialism are the fundamental causes of a narrow home market, high food prices, age-old backwardness, the impoverishment of the near-hungry masses and the massive exodus of Paraguay's population.' (p. 14).

A substantial part of the book is concerned with exposing the Brazilian dictatorship's policy of economic penetration into Paraguay. It reveals that this policy greatly damages the national sovereignty of Paraguay. The author cites as an indication of this the Itaipu Treaty providing for the construction by the two countries of a hydro-electric complex on the Parana with a capacity of 12,6000,000 kw. The complex is to be built 17 kilometres from the Argentine frontier, at Itaipu, where Brazil and Argentina neighbor on Paraguay.

There is no doubt, Campos notes, that Paraguay's progressive forces favor the development of a power industry as the basis for the planned agrarian reform and for industrialization. But the Itaipu Treaty does not serve these purposes and moreover is detrimental to the Paraguayan people's vital interests.

To begin with, the treaty creates a potential conflict between the countries concerned. Besides, both economically and politically, it makes for the transformation of Paraguay into an 'associated state,' or a state dependent on Brazil, much as Puerto Rico is dependent on the United States. Lastly, the treaty paves the way for plunder by binding the Paraguayan government to supply Brazil for 50 years with so-called surplus electricity, which means that over 100

U.S. and Brazilian monopoly plants in Sao Paulo state and the plants to be built in Matto Grosso state will be able to obtain power from Itaipu at the lowest price, namely, one-thirteenth of the world price, if not even less.

All the opposition parties and movements and all the democrats and patriots of Paraguay consider, the author writes, that the Itaipu Treaty is the greatest fraud and the worst betrayal of national interests ever committed by the Stroessner government.

The book also points out that as Paraguay is situated in the center of South America, it is being assigned a special role in the Brazilian dictatorship's policy of expansion. The construction of strategic highways on Paraguayan soil and joint war games are among the measures closely linked with a bid for expansion.

To hold its power, the Stroessner government, which is rejected by the mass of the people, uses the most violent methods of repression against democrats and patriots, particularly communists. Waves of repression succeed one another with growing intensity. In November and December 1974 the authorities jailed and tortured 1,500 members of diverse political parties. Many of the prisoners were murdered. When, a year later, repression was escalated again, the regime seized Miguel Angel Solar, Secretary of the Communist Party's Central Committee, whom the police bureau of investigation subsequently brutally tortured. Also arrested were Derliz Villagra, member of the Communist Youth Secretariat, Mauricio Schwartzman, professor of sociology at the Catholic University, Sela Ramirez, a harpist, and another 1,500 men and women from diverse walks of life. In this way the pack of police hounds trained by the CIA is maintaining a reign of terror, using the most arbitrary methods. Numerous people (including Miguel Anger Soler) have disappeared in Paraguay, and the regime does not give any information on their fate.

In spite of the terror, the people of Paraguay, democratic parties, the church, intellectuals and youth are daily fighting with growing courage to defeat the fascist clique and embark the country of the Guarani on a course of progress and democracy. Calls for unity and joint struggle against the hated dictatorship come from the most diverse political quarters. 'The need to save the country,' said the Popular Colorado Movement* in a statement, expressing the sentiments of the masses, 'prompts us to call earnestly for the sacred unity of Paraguayans as in the crucial but glorious hours of our history. . . .' The heroic Communist Party, which recently marked its 50th

*A party founded in 1960 as the result of a split in the ruling Colorado party. it unites intellectuals, students, members of the bourgeoisie and landowners. Its leadership advocates overthrow of the dictatorship. The party is outlawed and persecuted by the regime. — *Ed.*

anniversary, has become the standard-bearer of unity of the workers and peasants, of the people. In showing this, the author not only exposes the anti-popular and anti-national policy of the dictatorship but indicates the prospect of victory which the people long for.

Hugo Campos speaks highly of international solidarity, which has made it possible to win freedom for political prisoners held behind bars for 18 years, or longer than anyone else in Latin America. The released include Antonio Maidana, Chairman of the Paraguayan Communist Party, Julio Rojas and Alfredo Alcorta, members of its Central Committee. This is a big victory. It will undoubtedly spur the campaign for the freedom of thousands of Paraguayans whom the Stroessner dictatorship is still holding in jail or camp merely because they are real patriots and democrats.

Julio Laborde

IN MEMORY OF GERHARD DANELIUS

Comrade Gerhard Danelius, Chairman of the Socialist Party of West Berlin, was a prominent figure in the German and international communist movement, a solid and consistent internationalist, and a dedicated fighter for the lofty ideals of Marxism-Leninism, for peace, democracy and socialism.

Gerhard Danelius was born in Berlin on April 2, 1913. He began his revolutionary activity at the age of 17, when he joined the Communist Party of Germany. In the hard years under Hitler in Germany, he took part in the underground anti-fascist struggle. After Germany's liberation from fascism, he vigorously gave all of his experience and knowledge to the effort to eradicate Hitlerism and democratically to transform his country on socialist lines.

From 1959, he headed the West Berlin organization of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, and with the founding of the Socialist Unity Party of West Berlin in 1962 he first led it as the First Secretary of its Board, and then from 1966 until his death as Chairman of the Socialist Unity Party of West Berlin.

With his brimming energy, his impassioned commitment to principle, he worked for the cause of the working class in one of the most sensitive sectors of the worldwide class struggle. He was always highly consistent and principled in exposing the moves of reaction and revanchism and worked to unite the working people of West Berlin in the struggle against attempts to use the city as a bridgehead for provocations against the socialist countries and, in particular, against the German Democratic Republic, the first workers' and peasants' state on German soil.

His articles, carried by *World Marxist Review*, contained in-depth analyses of the tasks before the communists of West Berlin in the struggle for social and economic progress,, for lasting peace and friendship among the nations. Readers of *WMR* well remember his articles on general theoretical problems in the class struggle.

The memory of Gerhard Danelius, communist and internationalist, will always remain with the communists of the world.

IN MEMORY OF MOSES KATANE

Moses Kotane, a prominent figure in the African and international communist, working-class and national-liberation movement, General Secretary of the South African Communist Party, member of the National Executive Committee and Treasurer General of the African National Congress of South Africa, passed away on May 19, 1978.

Moses Kotane was born in the Transvaal, South Africa, August 9, 1905. The racial oppression and cruel capitalist exploitation of the African population, deprived of all civil rights, aroused his deeply ingrained feelings of revolutionary protest. In 1928 he joined the African National Congress of South Africa (ANC) — a widely ranging liberation organization of the oppressed. In 1929 he became a member of the South African Communist Party where he gained distinction for his organizational talents and staunch ideological convictions. In 1929 he was made a member of the Central Committee of the SACP. He was General Secretary of the party in 1933-34 and from 1938 to his last days. In his more than 40 years as General Secretary, Moses Kotane successfully built up the party, helping to shape the strategy and tactics of the struggle of the communists of South Africa while deeply studying the theoretical problems of the national-democratic revolution in the specific conditions of a colonial-racist regime.

In 1945 Moses Kotane became a member of the ANC National Executive Committee. For his participation in the working people's revolutionary actions he was persecuted and arrested many times by the racist authorities.

Moses Kotane was well aware of the need of united action by all the progressive forces of South Africa fighting colonialism, racism and apartheid, and particularly of the unity of communist and revolutionary democrats. He played an outstanding role in strengthening the alliance of these forces and in building up the militant cooperation between the SACP and the ANC.

Communists and progressives the world over will always remember Moses Kotane as an impassioned fighter for the national and social emancipation of the people of South Africa, a dedicated internationalist and staunch Marxist-Leninist.



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USSR: The right to work

This is the first in a series of articles on human rights and duties in the Soviet Union.

In the new, 1977 Constitution of the USSR, the right to work has pride of place among the other basic rights and freedoms of citizens. In contrast to most bourgeois constitutions, which do not even mention this right, the Fundamental Law of the Soviet state guarantees every citizen a job; equal pay for equal work in accordance with its quantity and quality and not lower than the established state minimum; the right to choose a trade, occupation and job in accordance with one's vocation, capabilities, training and education and with an eye to society's requirements.

All the rights declared in the USSR Constitution are actually backed up with material, juridical and other facilities. Today, there is no unemployment in the USSR, but one should note that when the country was just starting out on the socialist road after the revolution, it could not avoid the grave social ill which, past and present, had plagued many capitalist countries. That was due to the heavy dislocation of the national economy in the Land of Soviets caused by the Civil War and the foreign intervention in 1918-20. But the socialist planned economic system, under which there are no recessions or stagnation in production, wiped out unemployment in a short historical period: in early 1928, the USSR still had over 1.5 million unemployment, but by the end of 1930 its labor exchanges closed down for good.

In the USSR, employment is provided by the development of the socialist economy, public health, education, science and culture, and this requires a steady increase in the number of industrial and office workers, engineers and other specialists. The growth of employment in the USSR will be seen from the following table.

Prepared by the Information and Research Department of *WMR* with the use of data provided by the Higher Trade Union School, of the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions.

	Population (min)	Labor Force (min)
1940	194.1	33.9
1960	216.1	62.0
1965	231.9	76.9
1970	243.9	90.2
1977	260.0	106.4

The USSR has the fullest employment of the population of any country in the world: 92 per cent of the able-bodied citizens are employed in the social economy.

The bourgeois press frequently claims that full employment in the Soviet Union results from low growth in labor productivity and that there is allegedly a 'latent unemployment,' or as one paper put it, 'people are taken on, regardless of whether there is any work for them to do or not.'* Such assertions are groundless. Indeed, how can one talk about low productivity-growth if, for instance, the results of the latest five-year period show that the growth of labor productivity yielded 84 per cent of the product-growth in industry, 78 per cent in construction and 100 per cent in agriculture.

Another bourgeois-propaganda idea is that automation and mechanization of production create unemployment in the Soviet Union, just as they do everywhere else, so that workers are made redundant and then find it hard to get jobs. This is a case of bourgeois propaganda applying the capitalist yardstick to the Soviet economy. In the capitalist countries, rationalization does indeed increase the pool of unemployment, but in the USSR the situation is totally different. Of course, when new hardware and technology are installed at enterprises and labor productivity goes up, some workers become redundant, but first, this whole process is planned and such workers are offered jobs at other enterprises without any loss in earnings. Second, such workers can fill no more than one-half of the jobs being created only at the newly commissioned enterprises.

Soviet planning and economic agencies constantly work to secure the citizen's right to work. A part of their activity involves the allocation of labor resources among the country's regions and within each of these, reservation of jobs at enterprises for higher-school and special secondary-school graduates, the planning of enterprise location with an eye to the availability of manpower resources, the demographic situation, the make-up of the population, and so on. Each Soviet republic has state committees for the use of manpower

**Financial Times*, November 8, 1977.

resources and corresponding departments in the regions, territories and cities to organize centralized record-keeping and balanced distribution of manpower. This planning and regulating activity by the state ensures jobs for all able-bodied members of society. Every year, more than two million new jobs are provided according to plan.

As compared with the earlier Soviet Constitutions, the new one guarantees Soviet citizens not only the right to work but also the right to choose a trade or profession, type of occupation and job in accordance with one's vocation, capabilities, training and education. The premises for this are created by the USSR's system of free occupational training, and by measures designed to help citizens raise their skill standards and learn new specialities. There are over 6,000 technical-trades schools offering one- or two-year courses, and in some instances, when young people go into more sophisticated lines, up to four years. The task in the current five-year period is to more than double the enrollment in these schools, and to train roughly 11 million skilled workers.

The system of technical-trades education is being constantly improved, chiefly through the development of secondary technical-trades schools, which award to their graduates a grade in their field and a complete secondary-education certificate.

Job orientation for young people is of exceptional importance because the technical-trades school system trains personnel in more than 15,000 specialities. With that end in view, government and trade union agencies have been putting through a package of measures aimed to bring out young people's inclinations and capabilities. This technical-trades education in the USSR is free: in 1976, the state spent 2.2 billion roubles for these purposes, and in the past 10 years alone these expenditures have more than doubled.

Various forms of shopfloor training at enterprises and in production associations are highly important in the training of personnel and the raising of their skill standards. Technical-production courses are arranged at the enterprises to enable workers to raise their skill standards and secure a higher skill grade. Special-purpose courses help workers to study new hardware, modern equipment and technology. At schools of high labor productivity and advanced experience front-rankers teach other workers to use progressive methods in their work. In addition, there are also schools and courses for learning a second or related trade. Labor legislation lays down that production training at enterprises and offices is held on the spot during working hours. Wages are paid for the duration of the training period. When it is completed, a job is offered in accordance with the skill grade acquired.

One will get an idea of the scale of this activity in helping workers

to raise their skill standards from the fact that in 1977 more than 34 million men and women learned new trades or raised their skill standards at the enterprises, offices, collective farms and other establishments.

The trade unions have been doing a great deal to raise the working people's cultural and technical standards. They have helped to establish people's universities of technical progress and economic knowledge and arranged seminars of advanced experience. In 1976, these involved over eight million persons. In addition, over 10 million were enrolled at communist-work schools.

The working people's broad involvement in managing production is a key guarantee of the right to work. Through the standing production conferences, workers' meetings and other democratic institutions in the labor collectives, the working people have a say in decision-making bearing on every sphere of production.

The standing production conferences operate at factories, construction sites, shops, institutions and offices. Their members are elected at general meetings of all those working at the given enterprise or office. The conferences discuss various problems in production activity, fulfillment of targets, use of internal reserves, creation of conditions for boosting labor productivity and improve management methods, and ways to overcome any shortcomings. In their activity, the executives at enterprises and offices take account of the recommendations and decisions of these production conferences and report to them at the next meeting on their fulfillment.

At present, there are nearly 130,000 factory and shop standing production conferences, involving 5.4 million men and women. In the course of the Ninth Five-Year period, almost seven million proposals for improving economic activity were submitted at these conferences.

Of tremendous importance in securing the right to work for every Soviet citizen are the juridical guarantees written into the Fundamentals of Labor Legislation of the USSR and the Union republics, and also in the labor codes of the Union republics and other all-Union and republican acts regulating labor relations in the sphere of social production.

The first thing to note is that Soviet legislation does not allow any restrictions on citizens' rights in job-placement procedures or any reduction in wages for reasons of sex, nationality, attitude to religion or social origin.

No one has the right to dismiss an industrial or office worker from his job without good grounds, which are strictly defined in Soviet legislation. But even when the management has grounds for dismissing a person, it cannot do so without the consent of the trade union com-

mittee. Whenever the management fails to secure such consent, the dismissed person has the right to go to court, and he is at once reinstated in his job. In such cases, the court does not even have to establish whether there were any grounds for dismissal or not: if the trade union committee did not give its consent, the management has *ipso facto* broken the law. The reinstated person is paid average wages for the duration of the period of enforced idleness. The court, as a rule, orders the person in office who is at fault to make good the losses inflicted on the enterprise.

As a result of the intensification of production, some persons employed at enterprises become redundant, which means that from time to time such enterprises and offices reduce the number of their staff members. However, labor legislation provides definite guarantees for those whose jobs may be wound up. If the management is unable to offer such persons other jobs at the enterprise, steps are taken to find jobs for them elsewhere.

Measures for the protection of women's labor are important elements of Soviet labor legislation. There are good grounds for this. Women now make up 51 per cent of the industrial and office workers, and 49 per cent of the collective farmers. While women have equal rights with men, they have more advantages and privileges. Thus, the use of female labor in especially arduous and noxious operations is prohibited by law. Nor is it allowed to make women work at night or do overtime. Pregnant women and nursing mothers and mothers with children under the age of one year may not be sent on business trips. Expectant mothers and women with small children may not be dismissed in any staff reductions. Legislation provides for the possibility of taking on women to work less than the full working day, but this does not reduce the length of their annual holidays, or invalidate their right to social security.

The Soviet trade unions have an exceptionally great role to play in assuring citizens of the real right to work in freedom and human dignity. Thus, the head of an enterprise may not, without the trade union's consent, alter the output rate, award grades or determine the number of workers who are to man this or that section. The trade union is empowered to stop the operation of new equipment, or operations in a shop, even in a new one, if it should establish that the working conditions are a hazard to the health of workers. Among the matters which bear on the working people's interests and which the management can decide only by agreement with the trade-union committee are: the work regime at the enterprise, the annual-holiday schedule, the use of funds for bonuses, socio-cultural measures and housing construction, and funds appropriated for improving labor protection and safety techniques, and the allocation of housing space.

USSR labor legislation also lays down this rule: at the trade union committee's demand, the management must cancel its labor contract with an executive or remove him from his post if he is in breach of labor legislation, fails to meet his commitments under the collective agreement, or allows himself to engage in red tape and bureaucratic practices. The trade unions, as represented by their all-Union and republican organs, have the right to legislative initiative, and submit for consideration by legislative bodies draft labor laws which meet the interests of the working people and of the Soviet society as a whole.

The trade unions also take an active part in framing national-economic plans. State agencies consider and approve such plans only after the trade union bodies have taken the relevant resolutions.

Such is the state of affairs in the Soviet Union in the provision of man's most vital rights. It never occurs to the young men and women of the USSR starting out on a career that they will find it hard to get a job, or that they will even have to bother looking for one. It is socialism that has paved the way for this kind of provision of the right to work, for it put an end to exploitation and held out to every citizen the opportunity, as Lenin said, '*to work for oneself*' and moreover to employ all the achievements of modern technology and culture in one's work' (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 26, p. 407).

The CPSU in figures

SEVENTY-FIFTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE SECOND RSDLP CONGRESS

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union is commemorating the 75th anniversary of the Second Congress of the Russian Social-Democratic Labor Party (July-August 1903). What made the congress so significant historically was that it completed the unification of revolutionary Marxist organizations and founded a party of Russia's working class on Lenin's ideological, theoretical and organizational principles.

The CPSU has a fine record. It led the Great October Socialist Revolution to victory. The Soviet people's whole history and achievements are bound up with its activity. The main overall result of these achievements is that a developed socialist society has been built in the Soviet Union, which has become the world's first state to be governed by and for the whole people. The advances

Survey prepared by the *WMR* Department of Exchange of Party Experience on the basis of official data published in the Soviet Union.

made by the Soviet people under the leadership of the CPSU are encapsulated in the new Soviet Constitution, adopted shortly before the 60th anniversary of the October Revolution.

The following data show how Lenin's party has grown and what kind of people its members are. They also give an idea of some of the party's important quantitative and qualitative characteristics.

Growth trend

A rather small illegal organization at first, Lenin's party became the most influential political force as the revolutionary struggle for the fundamental reorganization of society proceeded.

1905. The party had 8,400 members.

March 1917. The party, 24,000 strong, became legal.

October 1917. The party had 350,000 members, or nearly 15 times as many as when it began to operate legally. The masses saw it as their political leader and readily responded to its calls.

In the course of the effort to consolidate the Soviet power and build a new society, the CPSU became a mass party and now has over 16 million members. Between its 24th and 25th congresses its membership increased by nearly 2.6 million and in the two years that have passed since its 25th Congress, a further 1.2 million people have joined it.

Typically, advanced workers and other working people chose to link their destiny with the party's and to reinforce its ranks whenever the country entered a particularly difficult period. In 1919, when the armies of white guards were closing in on Moscow and approaching the gates of Petrograd, threatening the very existence of the young Soviet state, over 200,000 revolutionary workers and peasants joined the party. Upwards of 240,000 of the finest workers entered the party when it suffered a grave bereavement with the death of Lenin. The CPSU was a truly fighting party in the years of the nazi invasion. More than half of its members were on active service. By the end of the Great Patriotic War, one in every four Soviet soldiers was a full or candidate member of the CPSU. Three million communists fell fighting against fascism. But in the same period five million patriots joined the party. The party membership was close to 3.9 million before the war. Immediately after the war, it exceeded six million in spite of heavy casualties at the front.

The growing numerical strength of the party is an objective trend stemming from the development of society under socialism and the party's increasing role and prestige.

Party of the working class, of the whole people

The building of a mature socialism also marks a new stage in the

evolution of the party. The primary aspect of this stage is that the CPSU has become a party of the whole people without losing its class nature. The dialectical connection between the class character of the party and its character as a party of the whole people also finds expression in the composition of the CPSU, which admits to its ranks the finest members of every class and every social stratum.

The processes involved in the formation of the party are long-term processes. This among other things, can be seen from a breakdown of the trades and professions of candidate members (per cent):

	1952- 1955	1956- 1961	1962- 1965	1966- 1970	1971- 1975	1976
Workers	28.3	41.1	44.7	52.0	57.6	58.6
Peasants (collective farmers)	15.8	22.0	15.0	13.4	11.3	10.6
Engineers, technicians, agronomists, animal specialists, scientists, teachers, doctors, and other specialists	26.4	23.3	28.2	26.4	24.5	25.1
Administrative and managerial personnel	25.6	12.5	11.1	7.5	5.2	4.3
Students	3.9	1.1	1.0	0.7	1.4	1.4

The CPSU follows the principle of *assuring the working class of the position of leading social component* of the party. The proportion of workers already in the party and those newly admitted is growing in both absolute and relative terms. They now make up 42 per cent of the membership, which includes more than 6.7 million workers, or 4.3 million more than 20 years ago. Compared with the prewar figure, the proportion of worker communists has more than doubled.

'A party that is putting into effect the alliance between the working class and the peasantry' (V. I. Lenin, *Coll. Works*, Vol. 30, p. 184). Although the rural population is diminishing due to growing industrial production and capital construction, increased use of machinery in agriculture and higher labor productivity, the proportion of communists active in the countryside is on the rise. The CPSU now has 2.2 million collective farmers among its members or nearly 900,000 more than in 1957. As the proportion of people engaged in farming has increased and some of the collective farms have been transformed into state farms, the share of collective farmers among those admitted to the party dropped from 13.7 per cent in 1966 to 10.6 per cent in 1976. However, the proportion of communists among the peasants is increasing.

The party and the intellectuals. The intellectuals, who play an important role in the scientific and technological revolution and in the advancement of the country's economy and culture, hold a fitting place in the CPSU. About 20 per cent of party members are engineers and other specialists and over 24 per cent are people active in science, the arts and letters, the educational system, the health service, government or management.

The past decade has seen the number of specialists who are party members go up by 3,253,000, or 70 per cent. There are now more communists among specialists: one in every four engineers, technicians, agronomists, animal specialists or teachers and one in every five or six doctors is a party member.

The proportion of communists is also high in the scientific community. In 1977 there were 22,600 communists holding a doctor's degree and over 177,000 holders of a candidate's degree, or 65 and 51 per cent, respectively.

Women in the CPSU. As of January 1, 1977, women accounted for 24.7 per cent of the party membership. In the past decade 1.3 million women have been admitted to the party. Among the delegates to the 25th CPSU Congress 1,255, or 25.1 per cent, were women. Nearly one million women have been elected full or alternate members of party committees at all levels or secretaries of party committees or organizations.

Unity and continuity of generations. The CPSU unites Bolsheviks who joined it before the revolution, took part in the October Revolution and stormed the old world, people who set out to build and actually built a new, socialist world and then defended it during the Great Patriotic War, and members of the younger generation.

As of January 1, 1977, the CPSU membership consisted of the following groups (according to year of admission):

before 1917	—	425
in 1917	—	2,071
1918	—	3,671
1919	—	7,671
1920	—	8,021
1921	—	3,410
1922	—	1,407
1923	—	1,299
1924	—	8,611
1925-1927	—	67,083
1928-1932	—	258,111
1936-1940	—	392,896
1941-1945	—	1,829,035

1946-1956 — 2,450,984
1957-1966 — 5,268,140
1967-1976 — 5,062,765

Over one-third of the members have joined the party in the past decade.

By early 1977 the party's age structure was as follows: up to 25 years — 5.8 per cent; from 26 to 30 — 10.8 per cent; from 31 to 40 — 25.9 per cent; from 41 to 50 — 26.4 per cent; from 51 to 60 — 18.1 per cent; over 60 years — 13 per cent. In the past six years, the proportion of party members aged 30 years or less has gone up by 500,000 to reach 2.7 million.

Ideological integrity, a high educational standard, competence

These are highly important qualities of members of the party leading a developed socialist society.

Earlier, in particular in 1922, with the political strengthening of the Soviet power and its capture of the commanding heights in the economy, Lenin said that 'what is lacking is culture among the stratum of the communists who perform administrative functions' (Vol. 33, p. 288), adding that this was a serious shortcoming which must be removed. At that time there were only 2,317 party members with a higher education (0.6 per cent). The bulk of the membership, or 88 per cent, was composed of self-taught people or people with an elementary education, and 4.6 per cent were illiterate.

In 1977 the proportion of party members who had received a higher, incomplete higher or completely secondary education rose to 66.7 per cent. Today nearly 8 million, or 49.5 per cent of the membership, have had a higher or secondary specialized education.

Never in its history has the party had such well-educated and trained cadres as now. No less than 99.5 per cent of the secretaries of regional and territorial committees and the CCs of the communist parties of Union republics, and 99.3 per cent of the secretaries of district, city and area committees have received a higher education and most of them are industrial or agricultural specialists. Among the secretaries of party branches, 49.7 per cent have a higher education.

The CPSU has numerous schools and research centers and runs refresher courses for party workers and government officials on a permanent basis. It also has a developed system of political and economic education for its members. Between its 24th and 25th congresses, 40,000 people took instruction in higher party schools and upwards of 230,000 party workers and government officials attended extension classes.

Organizational structure

The CPSU has branches, or basic organizations, in practically every urban or rural work collective. In the past decade the number of branches has increased by 56,000 and their numerical strength has grown. There are over 396,000 branches now.

A further 16 regional and 89 city committees have been set up in the country over the past ten years, and 181 district committees have been formed in fast-growing cities. The CPSU today comprises the CCs of 14 Union republic communist parties, 155 territorial and regional, 10 area and 4,297 city and district committees.

More and more members join in the leadership of party organizations at various levels. After the 24th Congress the proportion of elected cadre members went up by more than 700,000 and is close to 4.4 million today. There is a marked trend toward electing more workers and collective farmers to party bodies. Workers and collective farmers are represented on practically all district and city committees and half of the regional and territorial committees. Party bodies include numerous economic executives, specialists, persons active in science, the educational sphere, the health service, culture and art. This makes the committees broadly representative, enables them to work out judicious solutions and measures and enhances the democratic nature of their activity.

Internationalist party.

The CPSU unites the finest members of more than 100 nations and other ethnic groups of the Soviet Union. All communists have equal rights and duties, irrespective of nationality. They accept consciously and voluntarily the discipline of party comradeship common to all and are equally responsible for the state of affairs in their respective organizations and in the party as a whole.

In the party organizations of Union and autonomous republics and autonomous regions and areas there are more and more communists of the main local nationality; at the same time, party organizations are becoming increasingly multinational. This is a direct result of the formation in the Soviet Union of a new historical entity, the Soviet people. It is a reflection of progress in the republics' economies, which have become components of one economic complex embracing the whole country, a reflection of progress in their culture and of increasingly close bonds between nations and other ethnic groups.

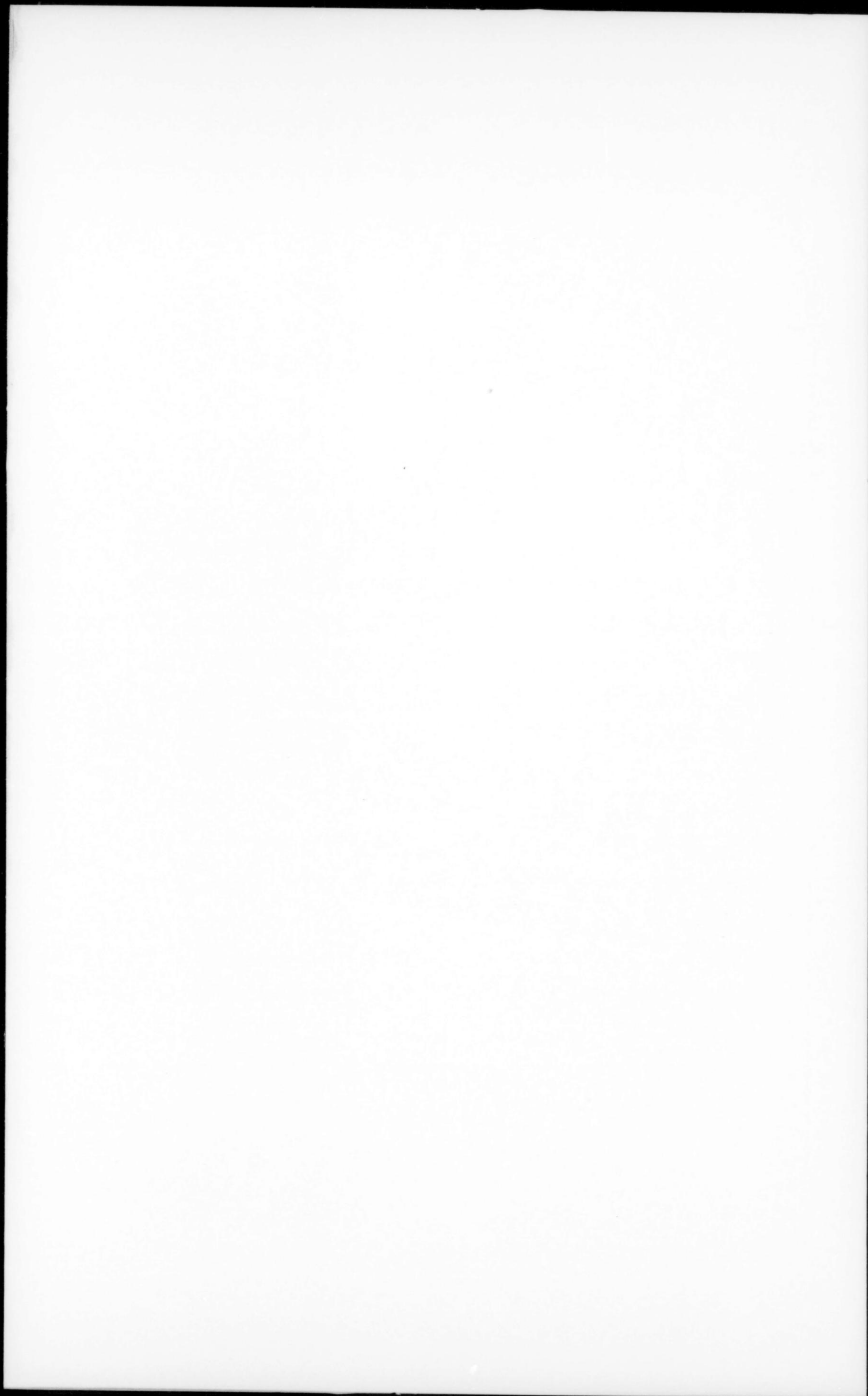
The CPSU maintains and carries forward the Leninist tradition of party building. This makes for further growth of its leading role in developed socialist society, for further advances toward communism.

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A CANADIAN INTRODUCTION

FRANK CUNNINGHAM

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