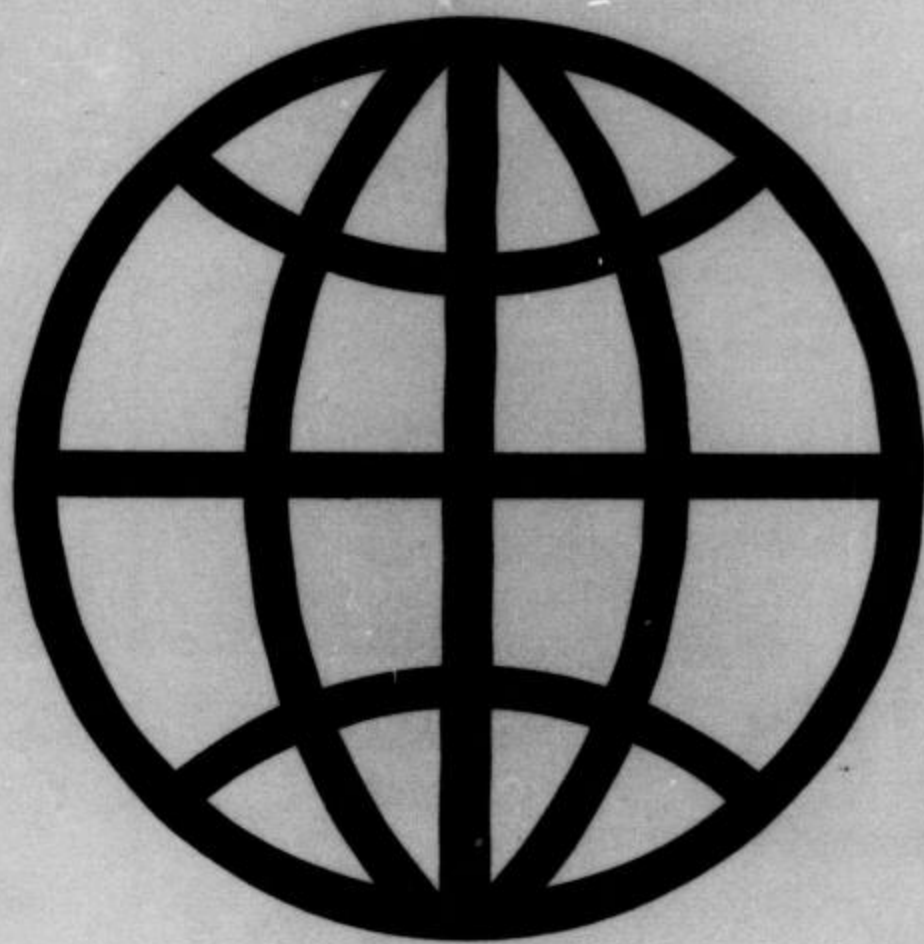


WORLD MARXIST REVIEW

**LENINISM AND
OUR AGE**
M. SUSLOV



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MAY 1969

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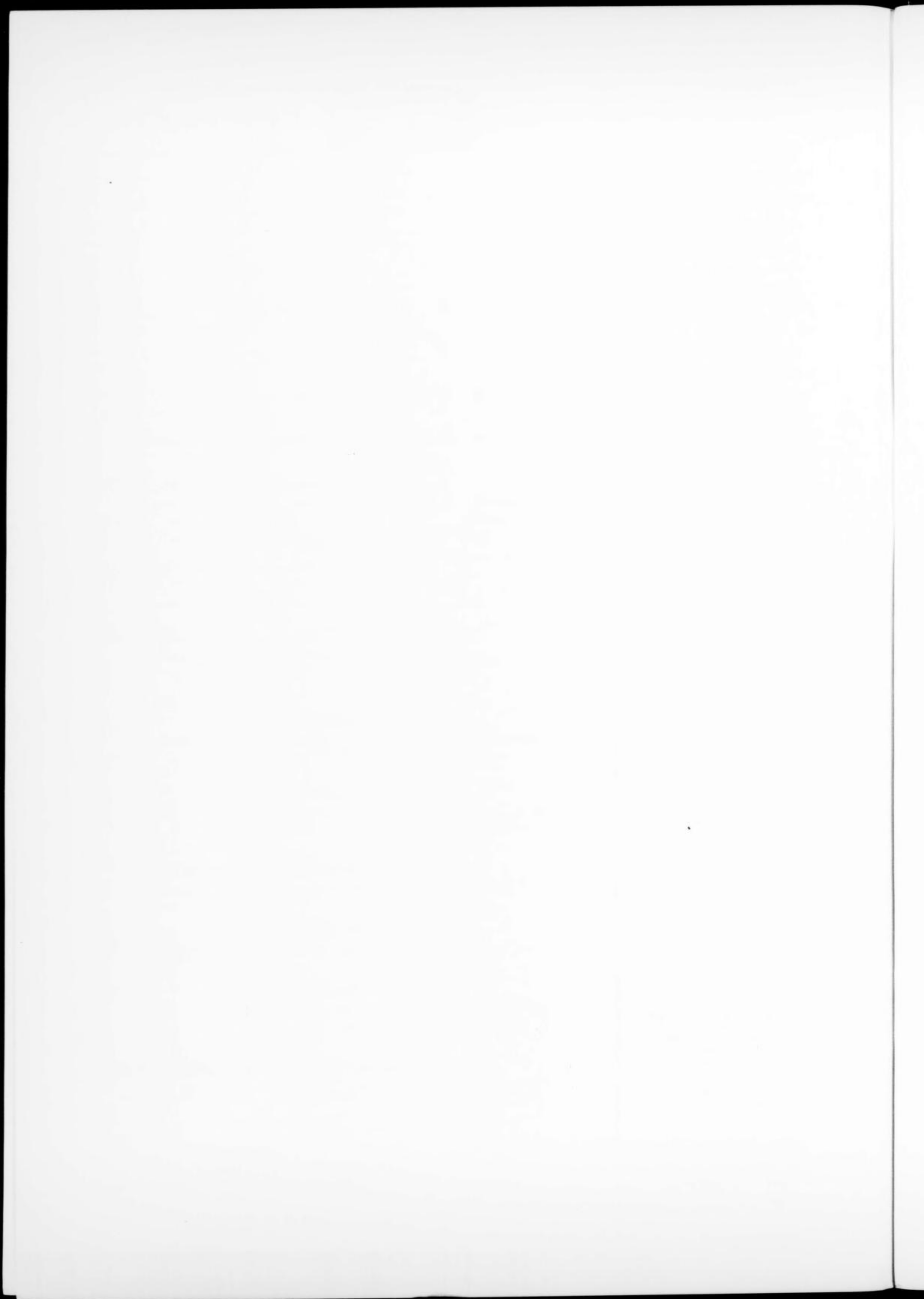
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Leninism and our age

MIKHAIL SUSLOV

Some dates in history have a special meaning for all countries and peoples. One of these doubtlessly will be April 22, 1970, the 100th anniversary of the birth of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, thinker, theoretician of scientific communism, revolutionary and outstanding leader of the Soviet people and of the international working class and working people everywhere.

The centenary will be celebrated against the background of the triumphant march of Lenin's ideas throughout the world. His name, ideas and work are inseparable from the history of our times, from the main revolutionary events of the 20th century, and from the greatest event of all, the October Revolution of 1917 which opened a new era of the transition from capitalism to socialism and communism. And Lenin, the man, towers over this crucial turning point in world history, for it was Lenin who indicated the path to a new life, to genuine freedom, social justice, peace and universal well-being.

Lenin's life of only 54 years was a short one. But it was a life dedicated to selfless struggle for the well-being of the people. Lenin's thinking and his action always centered on the working people. He devoted his talent and all his energy to the fight for their happiness, for the progress of humanity. His name, his ideas and his work will live through the centuries.

I. LENINISM—CONTINUATION AND DEVELOPMENT OF MARXISM IN THE NEW CONDITIONS

Lenin's name is closely associated with those of the great leaders of the world proletariat, Karl Marx and Frederick Engels. In Lenin, the most educated, firm and con-

sistent Marxist, Marxism found its outstanding exponent and continuer. In Marxism Lenin saw the only true revolutionary theory, the acme of research in history, economics and philosophy. And he tirelessly disseminated the ideas of scientific socialism formulated by Marx and Engels. More than anyone else he appreciated the value of Marxism in giving the working class the knowledge it needed for the victory of its just cause. Without knowledge the workers are defenseless, with knowledge they are a force, Lenin wrote, repeatedly emphasizing that Marxism, with its interpretative generalization of the vast experience of the international revolutionary movement, gave the working class a clear understanding of how to organize its struggle and the aims it should pursue.

With the passing of Marx and Engels, it fell to Lenin to take up the banner of Marxism at a time when many who professed to be Marxists, notably the leaders of the Second International, did everything to distort the great proletarian doctrine, seeking to deprive it of its very core, its revolutionary content, i.e., its scientifically substantiated aim of overthrowing the capitalist system and building a new, socialist society. All kinds of opportunists used pseudo-Marxist phraseology to conceal their retreat from revolutionary struggle, their surrender to the bourgeoisie and their betrayal of the fundamental interests of the working people. Lenin resolutely took up the defense of Marxism, rid it of distortions, rebuffed the attacks of the opportunists and held high the banner of revolutionary Marxism.

Much had changed in the world since the death of Marx and Engels. The revolutionary movement had been enriched by

new experience; the natural sciences had made significant progress. All this called for careful scientific analysis, for strictly objective study and theoretical generalization. And Lenin performed this most difficult but rewarding task of creatively developing Marxism, adapting it to the new conditions.

He disclosed the full import of Marxism as the only true revolutionary theory, one that stems from the sum-total of human knowledge, one whose conclusions harmonize with the development of objective material reality, and whose validity is tested by social and historical practice. In Lenin's writings and practical work we have the continuation, development and concretization of all the composite parts of Marxism—philosophy, political economy, scientific communism, the strategy and tactics of the working-class revolutionary struggle.

Lenin was no ivory-tower scientist. He developed Marxism in the course of the proletarian class struggle. For him Marxism was a guide to revolutionary action and he upheld its purity against numerous distortions and falsifications. Lenin and the Communist Party he founded had to wage irreconcilable struggle against countless enemies in the revolutionary movement to set it on the Marxist path and give it a Marxist character. The Narodniks, "legal Marxists," "Economists," Mensheviks, Socialist-Revolutionaries, anarchists, Trotskyists, Right-wing opportunists, national-deviationists and revisionists—such is a far from complete list of the ideological and political opponents of revolutionary Marxism on the world scene against whom Lenin and his Party were destined to conduct a ceaseless and tense struggle in defense of Marxism. International revisionism was especially persistent and dangerous. Pretending to "modernize" Marxism which, it alleged, had become "obsolescent," its real purpose was to adapt Marxism to the capitalist way of life, dilute it by injecting an alien ideology and deprive it of its militant revolutionary spirit. In exposing revisionism, Lenin wrote: "An ever subtler falsification of Marxism, an ever subtler presentation of anti-materialist doctrines under the guise of Marxism—this is the characteristic feature of modern revisionism in political economy, in questions of tactics and in philosophy generally, equally in epistemology and in sociology" (*Collected Works*, Vol. 14, p. 330).

In upholding Marxist philosophy against revisionist attempts to replace it by neo-

Kantianism, positivism, pragmatism, Machism and sundry other reactionary theories, Lenin deepened and developed our understanding of all the fundamental questions of dialectical and historical materialism. He developed the Marx-Engels materialist theory of cognition and demonstrated that, in substance, it is a theory of reflection, that our sensations and concepts are but the reflection in our mind of images of the external material world. The Leninist theory of reflection provides scientific substantiation for cognition and bars the road to diverse reactionary theories and philosophies, superstition, ignorance and mysticism. Lenin revealed the immense power of the human mind, its ability to know the objective truth. He showed that the authenticity of our knowledge is verified by the only reliable criterion, namely, practice. The power of the human mind, its achievements and the prospects open to it he described in words full of optimism: "Human reason has discovered many amazing things in nature and will discover still more, and will thereby increase its power over nature" (Vol. 14, pp. 281-82).

In his classical *Materialism and Empirio-Criticism* Lenin gave us a profound philosophical substantiation of the latest discoveries in the natural sciences and showed how they confirmed dialectical materialism. The new discoveries demolished many traditional principles and concepts and led to a crisis in physics, prompting a number of scientists to renounce materialism in favor of idealism. The way out of the crises, Lenin stressed, was for physics to pass from the old spontaneous, unconscious physical materialism to dialectical materialism, which offered the only correct explanation of the world and the only correct interpretation of the processes taking place in it. Many progressive scientists made that transition to dialectical materialism, with its principle that the forms of movement of matter and their cognition were inexhaustible.

Lenin attached immense importance to the dialectical method, describing materialist dialectics as the very soul of Marxism. He disclosed the implications of dialectics, showing that its very essence was the law of unity and struggle of opposites. It is the key to an understanding of the self-development of matter, a process in which the new replaces the old. And precisely in this, Lenin always emphasized, lies the critical and revolutionary nature of Marx's dialectical materialism. It calls us to look ahead,

work for the future, for the replacement of the old by the new. Marxist philosophical materialism and the dialectical method lead us to the irrefutable conclusion that capitalist society is but of a transitory character, does not accord with the requirements of mankind and is ripe for replacement by a new, more perfect social system.

The objective course of social development coincides with the aspirations of the working people and their revolutionary vanguard, the proletariat, to replace capitalism by the new, communist system. And it is the working people who are destined to carry out the necessary change. The principle of partisanship in ideology and politics, formulated and elaborated by Lenin, shows the need to side with the most progressive social force, the working class, because its revolutionary views and aspirations are the most objective, correct and just.

Guided by the scientific theory of Marx and Engels, Lenin comprehensively explained the distinguishing features of imperialism. He showed that in its imperialist stage, capitalism had entered a period in which the economic and political contradictions are carried to extremes, with resultant imperialist wars, rabid reaction, a sharp increase in the exploitation of labor and intensified national oppression.

His analysis led him to the cardinal conclusion that the gaping contradictions and ulcers of imperialism were incurable, that in the imperialist era capitalism is in a state of decline, and that this moribund capitalism impels society directly to pass to socialism. Indeed, the need to destroy imperialism and to replace it by socialism follows from the very course of social development. "The epoch of capitalist imperialism," Lenin wrote, "is one of ripe and rotten-ripe capitalism, which is about to collapse, and which is mature enough to make way for socialism" (Vol. 22, p. 109).

Having discovered the new laws of development in the imperialist era, in which capitalist development is "much more violent, spasmodic, catastrophic and conflicting," Lenin came to the conclusion that socialism could triumph first in one or several countries. "... socialism cannot achieve victory simultaneously in all countries. It will achieve victory first in one or several countries, while the others will for some time remain bourgeois or pre-bourgeois" (Vol. 23, p. 79). The Great October Socialist Revolution in Russia provided full and irrefutable confirmation of this con-

clusion, which differs fundamentally from the concept then dominant among Marxists that socialism could triumph only simultaneously in the majority of developed countries.

Lenin's theory of socialist victory in one country gave Marxism a new dimension. It showed the working class that socialist revolution was not a thing of the distant future, but a direct possibility. It mobilized the working class to be prepared to take over state power in any capitalist country the moment the necessary objective and subjective conditions for this arose. And such a possibility, as we know, arose first of all, and was successfully utilized, in Russia, the weakest link in the world capitalist system, a country whose working class was best of all prepared to carry out the socialist revolution.

A man of science, Lenin belonged to those thinkers who saw their main task not merely in explaining the world, but more important, in remaking it. As a real proletarian leader, he made a profound study of the life and struggle of classes, maintained close contact with the working people, carefully elaborated the strategy and tactics of the proletarian revolutionary struggle and led the workers in their revolutionary battles against capitalism. All his writing is imbued with the spirit of Marxism as an eternally vital, creative science that calls for fidelity to principle, but rejects dogma and set formulas, always demanding concrete appreciation of situation realities.

In preparing the victory of the working class, Lenin scientifically substantiated the conditions, ways and means of the fight for socialism.

He creatively developed the ideas of Marx and Engels, took into account the experience of the Communist League and the International Workingmen's Association, of which they were the founders. Lenin evolved an integral theory of the revolutionary party of a new type as the vanguard of the working class, the leading organization of the proletariat, its main weapon without which it could not overthrow capitalist rule and win political power and build socialism. But Lenin did not confine himself to formulating the principles of this party: he organized and trained such a party—the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

"In its struggle for power, the proletariat has no other weapon but organization," Lenin emphasized, (Vol. 7, p. 415). Only a high degree of organization will enable the working class to conquer its class enemies.

It must have its own political party to unite and organize the workers and direct their struggle. And in founding such a party Lenin comprehensively elaborated its organizational, ideological, tactical and theoretical principles.

With tireless energy, over many years of struggle against the "legal Marxists," Economists, Mensheviks and other advocates of spontaneity and "tailism," who sought to subject the labor movement to bourgeois interests, Lenin worked to found this party of a new type, the Bolshevik Party, in which were embodied all the fundamental Marxist principles on the role of the party as the vanguard and conscious detachment of the working class, equipped with advanced theory, knowledge of the laws of social development and of the class struggle.

The working class party, Lenin teaches us, can successfully perform its mobilizing and directing role if it is guided in all its activity by revolutionary Marxist theory, which gives the Communists a scientific program of struggle for the economic, political and social transformation of society by revolutionary methods.

The Party can fulfil its role only if it is closely tied with the workers' movement, expresses and consistently upholds the proletariat's fundamental interests. On the other hand, the workers' struggle can be successful only "if it is led by a strong organization of revolutionaries" (Vol. 5, p. 475). Lenin regarded the merger of scientific socialism with the workers' movement as the main asset of this new-type party, one that radically distinguished it from all earlier working-class political organizations. The close link of theory and practice, of the most advanced ideas and revolutionary action, is an indispensable feature of the Marxist-Leninist party.

Lenin, founder and leader of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, instilled in the Party hatred of the bourgeois system, trained in it devotion to the cause of the working class, forged in it an iron will to achieve victory, taught it not to fear difficulties, boldly to advance towards its goal, leading, uniting, inspiring and organizing the broadest masses of the working people.

Lenin taught us to cherish and safeguard Party unity, strictly to abide by Party discipline, equally binding on leaders and rank-and-file, mercilessly to combat panic-mongers, capitulators and opportunists who infringe on the Party's policy and try to sow disintegration in its ranks. He warned

against success leading to conceit or complacency, insisting on vigorous criticism of errors and on their elimination. He attached prime importance to the Party as a whole and to each of its members maintaining close contact with the masses, always cherishing their confidence, always in touch with their vital needs. Communists, Lenin said, are but a drop in an ocean of people—they can lead the masses only if they correctly express their aspirations.

Democratic centralism, in which democracy and centralism are inseparable parts of an integral whole, is the cardinal organizational principle Lenin formulated for this party of a new type.

Democratic centralism is the expression of the Party's ideological, tactical and organizational unity embodied in its Program and Rules, observance of which is obligatory for every member and for every Party organization. Centralism is expressed in the fact that the Party has a single supreme body, the Party Congress, and in intervals between congresses the Central Committee. It finds expression also in uniform party discipline based on unconditional subordination of minority to majority, of lower to higher organizations. Lenin wrote: "After the competent bodies have decided, all of us, as members of the Party, must act as one man" (Vol. 11, p. 323).

The Party's overall policy is made by congresses and the Central Committee. But at the same time it encourages and facilitates self-activity and initiative by all members and organizations in operating the policy in keeping with local conditions. Lenin pointed out in this context that centralism, understood in a genuinely democratic sense, provides "... the possibility ... of a full and unhampered development not only of special local features, but also of local inventiveness, local initiative, of diverse ways, methods and means of progress to the common goal" (Vol. 27, p. 208). Democracy implies also election and accountability of all leading Party committees from top to bottom, collective leadership, active membership participation and broad development of criticism and self-criticism.

Democratic centralism enables the Party to enhance the activity of all its members, unite their energies into a single will directed towards the revolutionary reconstruction of society. And it is no accident that our enemies always level their attacks on democratic centralism, that all-important principle of Lenin's doctrine of the new-type party.

All Lenin's principles are firmly rooted in the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. They are the basis of its monolithic unity and strength. The Communist Party of the Soviet Union could become what it is today—a strong, united party, intimately connected with the masses, the leading and directing force of Soviet society, the inspirer and organizer of the Soviet people in their effort for the victory of communism—because it was created and trained by Lenin, is unswervingly guided by his teachings, sacredly observes the Lenin principles on organization and the Lenin norms of party life.

The Communist Party enjoys the unbounded confidence of the Soviet people because they see in its action and in its policy the expression of their vital interests and therefore actively support all its undertakings. As political leader of the Soviet people, their militant vanguard, the CPSU, now as always, is first and foremost a party of the working class, the most advanced class of our society. Today the CPSU has over 13 million members, of whom nearly 40 per cent are workers and 15.6 per cent collective farmers. The Party also includes foremost representatives of the technical intelligentsia, and men and women in science, culture and the arts.

Lenin's development of the Marxist theory of proletarian dictatorship is of immense importance for the international revolutionary movement. The class struggle, Marx pointed out, necessarily leads to the dictatorship of the proletariat, and the state of the transition period from capitalism to socialism "can be nothing but *the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat*" (Marx, *Critique of the Gotha Program*). Lenin regarded proletarian dictatorship as the basic question of Marxism and devoted much attention to elaborating its essential aspects, its social nature, the conditions required for its establishment, its principal functions and forms, its role and aims. He resolutely combated all opportunist attacks on proletarian dictatorship and proved that it was indispensable for building socialism, the new society free of exploitation. Mankind, he said, will come to socialism *only through proletarian dictatorship*. To bourgeois democracy, that vehicle of the exploiter minority, Lenin opposed dictatorship of the proletariat as a new, higher type of democracy in a class society, a democracy speaking for the overwhelming majority of the people and involving them in management of social and state affairs.

Lenin's discovery of the Soviets as a new type of state was an example of creative development of the Marxian theory of proletarian dictatorship. Lenin pointed to the historical importance of the Soviet Republic as the state form of proletarian dictatorship, immeasurably more democratic than any parliamentary bourgeois republic.

Lenin was led to that conclusion by a study of the initiative of the masses in organizing Soviets of Workers' Deputies during the 1905-07 bourgeois-democratic revolution in Russia. In the process of revolutionary struggle, the people categorically rejected the bourgeois parliamentary system which they rightly regarded as a screen for bourgeois dictatorship and an instrument for deceiving and oppressing the toiling masses. The Soviets, therefore, are the creation of the people themselves, and in them Lenin found the prototype of the socialist state of the working people.

Describing the Soviets as a new, superior type of democracy, he wrote: "They are an authority open to all, they carry out all their functions before the eyes of the masses, are accessible to the masses, spring directly from the masses, and are a direct and immediate instrument of the popular masses, of their will" (Vol. 31, p. 352).

The Great October Revolution in Russia and the emergence on one-sixth of the earth's surface of the Soviet socialist state marked the triumph of Leninism. Lenin was the inspirer, organizer and leader of the October Revolution, the founder and leader of the world's first workers and peasants state.

Pointing to the epochal significance of the October Revolution and the Soviet state it had brought into being, he said the Revolution had opened a new chapter in world history, for it "charted the road to socialism for the whole world and showed the bourgeoisie that their triumph was coming to an end." (Vol. 28, p. 44). The establishment of Soviet power in Russia was of importance for the workers of all countries. "Our socialist Republic of Soviets will stand secure, as a torch of international socialism and as an example to all working people" (Vol. 26, p. 472). And referring to the Revolution's international implications, he wrote: "Experience has proved that, on certain very important questions of the proletarian revolution, *all* countries will inevitably have to do what Russia has done" (Vol. 31, p. 31). But he also indicated that other countries would contribute much that was new, specific and constructive to the forms and character of socialist revolution

and proletarian dictatorship, without, however, departing from cardinal principles. Subsequent proletarian revolutions and socialist construction in a number of countries fully corroborate the essential elements of Lenin's theory.

Guided by Marx's ideas, and generalizing the practical experience of the Soviet state, Lenin developed the theory of scientific communism, elaborated and concretized the proposition of two stages of communist society, the building of socialism and its growing-over into communism. His proposition that socialism could be built in one country despite capitalist encirclement was of decisive importance for its triumph in the Soviet Union. A concrete plan of socialist construction was drawn up under Lenin's leadership. He indicated not only the ways and methods of building socialism, but also the social forces capable of accomplishing this momentous task. Socialism, he declared, is the living, constructive endeavor of the people, the workers and peasants. The working people will themselves build the new life, drawing on their own experience to resolve even the most complex problems of the socialist organization of society. For Lenin always attached great importance to the creative initiative of the masses, saying that everything great and progressive in history is bound to be the result of their heroic struggle and creative effort.

Formulated by Marx and Engels, developed by Lenin, enriched by the practical experience of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries and of the Communist parties in capitalist countries, the theory of scientific communism has found its embodiment in the socialist world system. It is the scientific basis for the gigantic socialist transformations being carried out in these countries. It serves as an inspiration to the international working class and the emancipation movement, to all peoples who see in socialism their own tomorrow.

Lenin's analysis of the imperialist stage of capitalism, of the experience of the international workers and colonial liberation movements has so enriched, developed and advanced Marxist theory that today one cannot be a real Marxist without being a Leninist and without assimilating all that Lenin contributed to the treasure-store of Marxism. That is why Marxism today is rightly described as Marxism-Leninism, an integral world outlook.

Every question that agitates people's minds today—the trend of imperialist de-

velopment, the class struggle in capitalist countries, socialist revolution and working-class power, war and peace, the national-liberation movement, peaceful coexistence of the two opposed systems, relations between socialist and capitalist countries, the development of socialism and communism—all these questions were deeply and searchingly analyzed by Lenin. His theory helps us find the correct answers to all social and political problems now confronting mankind. It is a reliable ideological compass for all the revolutionary forces destined to reconstruct the world along communist lines.

The truth and relevance of Lenin's ideas appeal to the heart and mind. Leninism expresses the working people's vital interests; it is an effective theoretical and political weapon in the just struggle to eliminate exploitation, oppression and subjection, a weapon in building the new world. The present generation is witness to the immense impact of Leninism on the course of world history and the destinies of all peoples and countries. The present generation can see with what unparalleled force, and on what a tremendous scale, Leninism is rallying more millions of active and devoted fighters for communism.

II. THE LENINIST POLICY OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE SOVIET UNION

The Great October Socialist Revolution confronted the Soviet people with a task of unprecedented complexity—the building of a socialist society, up till then only the subject of theoretical study. Lenin and the Communist Party led the Soviet people to socialism along uncharted paths. Lenin wrote: "The new task before us has never been tackled anywhere else before". (Vol. 32, p. 379). But despite all its complexity, Lenin declared, the problem can be solved, for we have everything needed to build a full socialist society: the Soviet Republic, he said, has "natural wealth, manpower and the splendid impetus which the great revolution has given to the creative powers of the people . . ." (Vol. 27, p. 161).

Led by the Communist Party with Lenin at its head, the proletarian revolution discarded the evil legacy of bourgeois and landlord rule and cleared the road to socialism. All the attempts of the Russian and world bourgeoisie to re-establish their rule and restore the old order were repulsed by a heroic people liberated by the Revolution. They faced and surmounted formidable dif-

ficulties, went through the crucible of the civil war and emerged victorious, having crushed the intervention forces of 14 capitalist states.

The October Socialist Revolution strikingly demonstrated that a genuine revolutionary Marxist party capable of inspiring in the oppressed masses faith in their strength, and of organizing and uniting them, can muster the revolutionary energy and tremendous strength latent in the people to demolish all obstacles on the road to freedom, democracy and socialism.

Active participation of the popular masses in socialist construction, Lenin said, was the most essential, indeed the chief, condition of socialist victory. The profound democratic substance of socialism is manifested in the fact that the working people are themselves building their new life. And Lenin urged the Party to rally the multi-million Soviet people for a grand constructive effort. The lowest ranks, he said, must be brought into the making of history: "Victory will belong only to those who have faith in the people, those who are immersed in the life-giving spring of popular creativity." (Vol. 26, p. 292).

Limitless scope for creative activity of the masses—the real makers of history—is an intrinsic feature of the Soviet social system. Men and women of labor, unnoticed, forgotten under capitalism, often considered redundant, are now building the new life edifice of communism, advancing from their midst thousands upon thousands of new heroes, front-rankers in industry and agriculture, new personalities in science, technology, culture and the arts.

Lenin continued his comprehensive development of the theory of proletarian dictatorship after the October Revolution, for socialism cannot be built without proletarian dictatorship, since classes, and consequently class struggle, continue to exist in the transition period. The bourgeoisie is dead set on regaining its lost positions and only the workers' and peasants' state can paralyze its attempts, break the resistance of the exploiters and organize the building of the new, socialist life. The supreme principle of proletarian dictatorship, Lenin teaches, is working-class alliance with the toiling peasantry, and he urged the Party, the workers and the peasants to strengthen this alliance under working-class leadership: "The new society, which will be based on the alliance of the workers and peasants, is inevitable . . . We are helping to work out for this society the forms of alliance be-

tween the workers and peasants. We shall get this done and we shall create an alliance of the workers and peasants that is so sound that no power on earth will break it." (Vol. 33, p. 177).

Lenin repeatedly stressed the vast importance for the proletarian dictatorship and for socialist construction of a monolithic Communist Party, strong in its unity and unbreakable ties with the people. Far from diminishing, its role increases after the winning of working-class power.

And it is no accident that the bourgeoisie and its agents fear the revolutionary working-class party. Our enemies always centered their attacks on the Communist Party, knowing that if they could weaken it, this would inevitably weaken the dictatorship of the proletariat. In fact, the counter-revolution operated under the slogan "Soviets without Communists." The Trotskyites, Zinovievites, Bukharinites, bourgeois-nationalists and others bent on re-establishing capitalism, did everything they could to destroy the Communist Party by organizing factions for subversive and splitting activities, and tried to detach from the Party the trade unions, the Young Communist League and other mass organizations.

But all these attacks were repelled. The Communist Party conducted its work in the way Lenin taught it, strengthening its monolithic unity, strictly and conscientiously abiding by Party discipline, purging its ranks of opportunists and all manner of degenerate elements, encouraging membership activity, and always making the interests of the people its prime concern.

Lenin charted for the Soviet people the road to socialism. Socialism would triumph, he taught them, only by building a powerful industry based on modern, advanced technology. Industrialization as the economic foundation of the new society was thus the key task. "A large-scale machine industry capable of reorganizing agriculture is the only material basis that is possible for socialism" (Vol. 32, p. 459), Lenin said. The capitalist encirclement, the absence of direct external aid necessitated a fast pace of industrialization and extreme exertion of all the means at the command of the young republic. "We are economizing in all things, even in schools" (Vol. 33, p. 426), Lenin said. The concerted labor effort of the Soviet people led by their Communist Party in fulfilling Lenin's Electrification Plan and the early five-year programs transformed the Soviet Union into a powerful industrial state.

With the same energy the Party set out to carry out another Lenin plan, cooperative farming as the way to set the peasantry on the socialist path. Lenin considered this a crucial task, one that furthered the vital interests of the working class and the toiling peasantry, for "small-scale farming will not bring deliverance from want" (Vol. 30, p. 148). Only by re-organizing agriculture, with its multitude of small farms, along socialist lines could the peasants break out of dependence on the kulaks and extirpate the economic roots of capitalism in agriculture. That would solve one of the key problems of the socialist revolution.

The anti-socialists maintain that Marx and Engels were not concerned with the peasant question, which, allegedly, is a purely Russian problem. That is not true, for Engels wrote: "Our task relative to the small peasants consists, in the first place, in effecting a transition of his private enterprise and private possession to co-operative ones, not forcibly but by dint of example and the proffer of social assistance for this purpose" (Engels, *The Peasant Question in France and Germany*). Lenin and the Communist Party based their study of the peasant question on the ideas enunciated by Marx and Engels and showed that its solution lay through socialist cooperation in conditions of the working-class dictatorship. Only alliance with the working class could rescue the peasants from the hardship they suffered under capitalism. Only the socialist cooperation of small producers, Lenin emphasized, offers a firm economic basis for socialism in the countryside.

Lenin also gave the Party a program for raising the cultural level of the population. The Party, he said, must work for a situation in which "learning shall really become part of our very being, shall actually and fully become a constituent element of our social life." (Vol. 33, p. 489).

Experience has fully confirmed every aspect of Lenin's policy. The Soviet Union's transformation into a powerful industrial state provided a firm material basis for economic independence and technical re-equipment of the entire economy. It consolidated the victory of socialist relations in industry and greatly heightened the country's defense potential. Realization of Lenin's cooperative plan brought into being large-scale socialist farming and strengthened the alliance of working class and peasantry. Collectivization eliminated the last exploiter class—the kulaks. The country went through a cultural revolution:

it built a new system of education, brought all the wealth of culture within the reach of the people, trained skilled workers, and advanced in every branch of science and culture. The socialist ideology became a part of the people's life.

Lenin's policy led to the full and final victory of socialism in the USSR. This was a triumph of Marxism-Leninism and a clear demonstration of the historic mission of the working class. It revealed the superiority of socialism over capitalism in every field. It brought the means of production under public ownership, liberated the workers and peasants from exploitation, created the conditions for systematic heightening of well-being and cultural standards, consolidated social and national equality, ensured genuine freedom and democracy, opened up limitless opportunities for every man and woman to apply their talents and abilities. "From each according to his ability, to each according to his work"—that fundamental rule of socialism, which for many generations was but the dream of a distant and better future, was now a living reality.

Unity of the multinational Soviet people, fraternal friendship and cooperation of workers, collective farmers and intellectuals of all nationalities, is one of the greatest gains of socialism and a source of its strength. This and the economic and cultural progress in all the constituent republics is convincing proof that on the nationality question, too, the Communist Party has followed a sound policy, based on Lenin's teachings, that assured the triumph of proletarian internationalism.

The strength and viability of socialism were subjected to a crucial test when Nazi Germany attacked the Soviet Union. And in this life and death struggle our people not only upheld the independence and honor of their country, but crushed the Hitler hordes and saved world civilization from the fascist plague.

The building of socialism, in accordance with Marxism-Leninism, opened to the Soviet people the prospect of gradual transition to communism. Lenin always considered the building of socialism and communism as inseparable aspects of a single task: "In striving for socialism," he said, "we are convinced that it will develop into communism." (Vol. 25, p. 456). And in framing the concrete program of building communism the Party was guided by Lenin's precepts. "The future society we are striving for," Lenin wrote, "the society in which all must work, the society in

which there will be no class distinctions, will take a long time to build." (Vol. 29, p. 324).

With socialism having triumphed, economic development becomes the focal point in the advance to full communism. Accordingly, the CPSU Program and the decisions of the 23rd Party Congress defined the main economic task of the Party and the people as the creation of the material and technical base of communism. This makes for higher material and cultural levels, higher standards in socialist relations and their gradual development into communist relations, extension of socialist democracy, and helps to form the ideological and the moral traits of the men and women of communist society.

The Soviet economy has reached a level enabling us successfully to tackle the fundamental problems of communist construction. A distinguishing feature and advantage of our social system is the high industrial growth rate, higher than in the capitalist countries; the average annual gain in industrial output in 1951-67 was 10.5 per cent, compared with 4.5 in the USA, 2.8 in Britain and 5.5 in France. The USSR and other socialist countries not only have higher growth rates, but are also steadily increasing the volume of output—in 1968 it was 12 times that of prewar, compared with a fourfold increase in the capitalist countries. This should make it plain that the trend in the economic competition between the two systems is in favor of world socialism. "I am convinced," Lenin said, "that the Soviets will overtake and outstrip the capitalists and that our gain will not be a purely economic one." (Vol. 31, p. 458).

Industrial output in 1968 was 78 times greater than in 1913. Last year, the USSR produced 107 million tons of steel, 309 million tons of oil, 638,000 million kwh of electric power. The USSR has more electrified railway mileage than the USA, Britain, France, the FRG and Japan together. Lenin's watchword: Communism is Soviet power plus electrification of the whole country, is acquiring real and tangible content.

The Party has been unflagging in its efforts to build a highly-developed agricultural structure capable of fully satisfying the country's requirements in food and raw materials. Average annual gross farm output in 1966-68 was 19 per cent above the 1961-65 figures. Gross cereal output in 1968

amounted to 10,300 million poods, or 30 per cent above the 1961-65 average.

The scientific and technological revolution and far-reaching measures to place direction of the country's economic, sociopolitical and cultural life on a higher scientific level are features of the present phase of communist construction. More effective use of investments, coupled with more efficient use of production capacity, higher productivity, better quality standards, are now essential elements of rapid economic development in which science plays an increasing part.

The high economic level enables us, while maintaining priority growth rates in the key industries, substantially to accelerate expansion in the consumer industries. The reality of the task the Party has set itself is spelled out in such key indicators as national income, industrial output, retail trade, wages and salaries and collective-farmer incomes—all these have in the three years of the current five-year plan shown a higher increase than envisaged by the 23rd Party Congress directives.

The Party devotes much attention to improving the system of economic planning and incentives. Here, too, our policy is based on what Lenin wrote of the principles of socialist economic management. Socialism's fundamental advantage, he teaches us, is planned development of the economy, its centralized regulation. "All should work according to a single common plan, on common land, in common factories and in accordance with a common system" (Vol. 31, p. 292).

The present economic reform is designed to make the fullest use of the economic laws of socialism and of the experience accumulated by the Party. The prime aim is to extend the democratic pattern of management, at the same time improving centralized long-range planning and providing more scientific grounding for key indicators. Improvement of state planning is expressive of the higher levels attained in the socialization of production and public ownership of the means of production.

There is a greater need and greater opportunities for stimulating worker initiative, increasing workers' share in management and making fuller use of untapped reserves in every enterprise. Lenin's idea of central planning being attended by "extension of enterprise and initiative by each of our establishments in the disposal of financial and material resources," (Vol. 32,

p. 434), acquires a new meaning in present-day conditions.

Soviet social development confirms Lenin's idea of employing material and moral stimuli in building communism. The economic reform makes for fuller use of the advantages inherent in socialism and of the unity of the economic interests of workers, enterprises and society as a whole, with due regard to the specific interests of each. In this context, it is important to employ, actively and in a planned manner, commodity-money relations and categories such as profit, price, credit and economic accountability. They acquire a fundamentally different content under socialism from that under capitalism: instead of being economic levers of exploitation—which is non-existent in a socialist society—they become economic levers for increasing production in the interests of the entire people.

And the interests of the people are the supreme concern of the Communist Party. It is guided by Lenin's view that "only socialism can meet their interests" (Vol. 26, p. 333). Under socialism the chief and direct aim of production is full satisfaction of the constantly growing material and cultural requirements of the people and all-round development of the personality, and that aim is being achieved in the Soviet Union.

Real income per wage and salary worker in industry and construction increased more than sevenfold between 1913 and 1968, and the figure for farmers is more than tenfold. Average wages and salaries rose by 7.5 per cent in 1968 and collective-farmer incomes have increased markedly in the past few years. To this should be added what the population receives out of public consumption funds, which in 1968 totalled 55,000 million rubles. These funds go into free education and medical care, longer paid holidays, pensions, family and other grants, scholarships, health resort accommodation, etc. Housing is constantly being expanded, with an average of 10-11 million people moving into new homes every year.

Once a land of widespread illiteracy, the Soviet Union now stands in the forefront of world culture and science. In 1968, it had more than 800,000 scientific workers, or about one-quarter of the world total. The Soviet Union has performed some of the greatest technological feats of the 20th century: it built the world's first nuclear-power plant, the first jet passenger plane and inter-continental ballistic missiles, it was the first to launch an artificial earth

satellite, the first to carry out a manned space flight, the first to make a soft landing on the moon and launch an artificial moon satellite. All this is part of the process of gigantic renewal that extends to every aspect of Soviet life.

The Soviet people will observe the Lenin centenary in an atmosphere of constructive endeavor. They are convinced that the best way to mark the occasion is by still greater achievement on the production front, for Lenin considered free, conscientious and creative labor the principal condition for the victory of communism.

III. LENINISM—INTERNATIONAL WORKING-CLASS DOCTRINE

Marxism, which indicates to the working class and working people of all countries the way to liberation from capitalist oppression, found its further development in Leninism: Lenin raised aloft the banner of internationalism and worked to educate Communists and all working people in the spirit of international solidarity.

A dedicated proletarian revolutionary, Lenin was concerned for the revolutionary struggle of the workers in all countries and followed with close attention and sympathy the liberation movement of colonial and dependent nations. The fight to destroy capitalist slavery in every part of the world was uppermost in his thoughts. He made an invaluable contribution to the program, organization, strategy and tactics of the international Communist movement. He had a direct part in strengthening the fraternal Communist parties, sharing with them the rich experience of the Bolshevik Party. He enjoined Communists in all countries to promote international unity and constantly to extend their ties with the masses, so as to become the effective vanguard of all the revolutionary forces.

Adversaries of Leninism try to portray it as a purely "Russian" phenomenon with no international relevance. Some affirm that the path of the October Revolution is suitable only to economically backward countries and that Leninism is but a specific interpretation of Marxism adapted to backward conditions. Others maintain that the Soviet Union's socialist path has only "European" validity and is not, therefore, applicable to Afro-Asian and Latin American countries.

There is not a grain of validity in either of these concepts: Leninism is neither an exclusively "Russian" nor a specifically

"European" phenomenon. It arose as a continuation of Marxism in the period of capitalism's entry into its last, imperialist, stage, and consequently expresses the objective requirements of world social development.

Its international character is determined by the following features of its origin and development.

First, due to a number of historical factors, in the opening years of this century Russia became the focal point of all the underlying imperialist contradictions. The October Revolution became the starting point and axis of the world revolutionary process. The principal laws governing that process were operative in the increasingly powerful waves of the three Russian revolutions, the peak progressive events of the first part of the century. Their main characteristics—especially of the October Revolution, which shook the world—had far-reaching international implications and exerted a powerful influence on the revolutionary movement in every country.

Second, the international character of Leninism is determined by the multiform experience of the October Revolution and the subsequent building of socialism in the USSR. Bourgeois ideologists who deny the universality of Leninism ignore the fact that a wide range of diverse socio-economic formations were present in pre-revolutionary Russia. It had large centers of capitalist industry with a fully formed working class, semi-feudal landlordism, colonial and semi-colonial regimes in Central Asia, and all but primitive backwardness in the Far North—in short economic formations one or more of which exist in practically every country. This, and a multi-national population, made Russia the epitome of the characteristics of many countries on every continent. Consequently, the Bolshevik Party had to solve, at various stages, problems arising in economically developed and backward areas, industrial working-class centers and poverty-ridden villages, in centers of culture and in vast zones of illiteracy and cultural backwardness. This experience, analyzed and generalized, is part of Leninism.

Third, Russia's geographical position at the juncture of the developed capitalist West and the colonial, semi-colonial and dependent East, brought its labor movement into close association with that of Western Europe and with the national liberation movement of the East. Leninism thus absorbed and synthesized the experience

not only of the Russian, but also of the world labor and anti-colonial national-liberation movements. Lenin spent many years in Switzerland, France, Britain, Germany, Poland and other countries, was closely connected with West European socialist circles and had an active share in the international movement at the time of the Second International. But he was also in touch with the rising anti-colonial struggle of the Eastern peoples, begun under the influence of the 1905 and 1917 revolutions. His theory of the national and colonial question is an inseparable and important element of Marxism. Leninism analytically summarized the experience, forms and methods of the international revolutionary movement and national liberation struggle.

Fourth, Leninism arose on the firm foundation of Marxism, of which it is the further development. Every important question concerning the theory and tactics of the international revolutionary movement posed by Marx and Engels is treated in Leninism. Lenin developed an enriched Marxism, taking as his starting point the fundamental propositions enunciated by the founders of scientific socialism.

It was only natural, therefore, that Leninism—Marxism of the new period in history—should become the ideological and theoretical basis of the Communist movement.

Lenin's contribution to that movement is immense. He was the first to urge a higher level of international organization of the revolutionary forces, emphasizing that it was necessitated by the new situation—the growing-over of capitalism into imperialism which put proletarian revolution on the order of the day. When the collapse of the Second International became obvious, Lenin set about consolidating the revolutionary forces in the world movement, steadily and consistently building up an internationalist core which was later to become the Communist International. And Lenin exerted a decisive influence on its ideological and theoretical program and helped to work out its strategic, tactical and organizational principles.

The Communist Party, Lenin teaches us, is the proletariat's supreme form of class organization, its chief weapon in the fight for liberation. The Party must therefore have clearly formulated aims, a high degree of discipline, close centralization and internal democracy, strong ties with the masses, and must be irreconcilable towards reformism and opportunism. And Lenin urged persevering and purposeful effort to

transform the Communist parties into militant, revolutionary mass organizations capable of giving effective leadership to the class struggle of the proletariat and of the working people generally.

Lenin regarded the founding of the Communist International as a turning point in the world labor movement, the beginning of the ideological and organizational unity of the workers of all lands under the slogan of proletarian dictatorship, and of the merger of the revolutionary proletarian and national liberation movements. The Communist International strove to make Lenin's teachings part of the International workers' movement and to rally all the revolutionary forces to Leninism. It directed the formation of the new, proletarian parties with a view to enabling them, in a short time, to send down deep roots in the labor and democratic movement and to become a national political force in their respective countries. For the young parties the Communist International was a veritable school of Leninism. With its help they gradually overcame the legacy of Social-Democracy and mastered the art of leading the masses from revolutionary positions.

The Communist International performed an historic mission in every sense of the word. It helped to bring into being parties of the new type in dozens of countries in every continent, thereby giving the Communist movement worldwide scope. It trained a galaxy of leaders of fraternal parties fully committed to proletarian internationalism.

As the recognized leader of the Communist International, Lenin waged an unremitting struggle for principled unity of the world working class and the Communist movement. His policy of a united workers' front became the central line of the movement. Under Lenin's leadership, the Communist International formulated the concrete aims of this policy and indicated the methods of their achievement. The essential idea of Lenin's united front policy was united action of the workers in the course of their struggle for their vital interests—including unity with reformist-influenced workers—thereby raising the general level of the movement and gradually, through its own experience, leading it to revolutionary positions.

Lenin helped the young parties correctly to interpret the united front slogan, warning them against Left sectarian and Right opportunist errors, and teaching them to combine fidelity to principles with flexib-

ility in politics. When the danger of fascism loomed on the horizon, he drew attention to the need to combine the united front policy with struggle against fascism and the menace of war, for peace, democratic rights and freedoms. That policy was amplified by the 4th Communist International Congress, the last one attended by Lenin, in its call for workers' government and a united anti-imperialist front. The Congress resolutions were squarely based on Lenin's idea of a close alliance of the world's first socialist state, the revolutionary workers of capitalist countries and the national liberation movement.

Lenin's strategy of unity of all the elements of the world revolutionary process was designed for a whole period of history, the period of transition from capitalism to socialism. This was embodied in the Popular Front policy formulated at the 7th Comintern Congress and, later, in the broad national front policy of the anti-fascist Resistance and in the postwar years.

The march of history provides conclusive proof of the effectiveness and topicality of Lenin's idea of unity of all the anti-capitalist and anti-imperialist forces. The more than half century since the October Revolution has furnished incontestable corroboration of Lenin's far-seeing idea of the organic unity and interconnection of the basic elements of the world revolutionary process.

Inspired and guided by Lenin's ideas, the international Communist movement has in these 50 years made big strides to become the most influential political force of our time. And this in itself is irrefutable evidence of Leninism's viability and invincibility.

The Communist movement could become such an influential political force because it is the dominant trend in social development. The Marxist-Leninist philosophy enables it deeply to understand and appreciate the laws of social development and to use them to formulate its scientifically-grounded policy, strategy and tactics. The Communist movement relies on the most advanced social class of our age, the working class, whose continuous growth and increasing social and political role are determined by the growth of large-scale industrial production and technological progress. The scientific and technological revolution is extending the social basis of the Communist movement, enhancing the role of the working class and its vanguard, the Communist parties.

The Communist parties in power make up the biggest detachment of the movement. Their work in building socialism and communism, safeguarding the unity of the socialist system and strengthening its international positions, is of truly epochal significance. The struggle between world socialism and imperialism defines the main orientation of world development and influences every major event. Imperialism is employing every conceivable means in a desperate attempt to undermine socialism. This calls for supreme vigilance by the Communist and Workers' Parties, the people in the socialist countries and all the progressive forces. They must always be prepared to protect their socialist gains and administer a devastating rebuff to every imperialist encroachment. The socialist system is the main force of the Communist movement—its tangible achievements are helping to strengthen and extend Communist world positions.

Communist influence knows no geographical boundaries. There are Communist parties in every continent and in most countries. They exist and function in developed capitalist and economically backward countries, they stand on the front line against monopoly capital and in the vanguard of the national liberation movement. And though they do not enjoy the same influence in all countries, they are making themselves felt, to one degree or another, everywhere, in all parts of the world.

The Communists are the unifying factor of the world revolutionary process. They symbolize the objective identity of anti-imperialist aspirations of all the social and political forces involved in this process. That is why they are winning so many allies, and why their influence is considerably greater than their membership—it is being multiplied by the fusion of diverse revolutionary currents to form a single stream of the world anti-imperialist revolution.

Fidelity to Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism has always been a powerful source of Communist strength and influence. Marxism-Leninism is an integral doctrine, the scientific expression of the ideology of the world working class. This means that Marxism-Leninism develops by synthesizing the experience of the revolutionary movement in all countries and is enriched by the effort of all the fraternal parties. This means, also, that each Communist Party can successfully achieve its

aims only if it constantly draws on the accumulated revolutionary experience of all the detachments of the Communist movement and creatively applies the general principles of Marxism-Leninism.

Marxism-Leninism's integral substance follows directly from its class nature. For the working class is internationalist by the very fact of its objective position in society, by virtue of its ultimate interests and aims. Hence, proletarian ideology knows no national boundaries: "We are internationalists" Lenin wrote (Vol. 30, p. 293), and in these words we have a definition of one of the chief traits of the Communist.

Marxism-Leninism as an integral international theory stems from the unity of the Communists' scientific, dialectical and materialist approach to socialist phenomena and historical reality. Notwithstanding the concrete conditions in which the various Parties have to work, all of them rely on the general and tested principles of Marxism-Leninism.

Some, we know, seek to contrast Marxist-Leninist theory, its international character, to national peculiarities. This is purely artificial and at odds with the principles of Marxism. Lenin always advocated flexible application of Marxism to specific national conditions, but Marxism can be creatively enriched, he maintained, only through theoretical mastery of concrete historical experience. "We do not regard Marx's theory as something completed and inviolable," he wrote, "on the contrary, we are convinced that it has only laid the foundation stone of the science which socialists *must* develop in all directions if they wish to keep pace with life. We think that an *independent* elaboration of Marx's theory is especially essential for Russian socialists; for this theory provides only general *guiding* principles, which, *in particulars*, are applied in England differently than in France, in France differently than in Germany, and in Germany differently than in Russia" (Vol. 4, pp. 211-212). However, Lenin always stressed the need for strict observance of Marxism's general principles.

Creative development of Marxism-Leninism presupposes both an independent approach by each Party to the concrete conditions of its country, and defense of the underlying principles and guiding propositions of Marxism-Leninism.

Experience has shown that the general, international laws of development manifest themselves in many forms, depending on national features and traditions. And Lenin

repeatedly warned that the basic principles of communism should be applied in keeping with the specific characteristics of the given nation and the given national state. In other words, it is important to single out the general, international element in the national picture. Any departure from the general laws of socialist revolution and socialist construction can do great harm to the socialist cause. For a "national feature" then becomes a screen for substituting pseudo-socialist and bourgeois concepts for genuine socialist ones. It was against such distortions in theory and practice that Lenin warned the Communist parties.

Reliance on Marxism-Leninism as an integral international theory is an essential requisite for world Communist unity. Attempts to substitute for this international theory a multitude of its "national versions" are bound to lead to national isolation, separatism, provincialism. They are bound to undermine the Party's position in its own country and, in the end, weaken the world Communist movement. There is ample evidence to show that the ability of each Party successfully to operate in its own country, withstand reactionary attacks and rally the masses to its side, depends to a large extent on its contacts with the international Communist movement and its readiness and ability to draw on international experience.

The logic of ideological backsliding and political struggle is such that attempts to replace the integral Marxist-Leninist theory by a conglomerate of its "national versions" are frequently but the prelude to discarding Marxism-Leninism in favor of an allegedly "universal" concept. This is seen in the evolution of Maoism. Having begun by preaching a "Chinese Marxism" as a variant of Marxist-Leninist theory valid only for China, the Mao Tse-tung group, animated by its chauvinist ideology and political program, has now definitely discarded Marxism-Leninism for Maoism.

The Communists consider it their duty to re-establish and consolidate unity of the world movement. As to the Soviet Communist Party, it has from its very inception unswervingly abided by Lenin's injunction to strengthen the international unity of the working-class revolutionary forces. "We are proud," Lenin emphasized, "that we settle the great problems of the workers' struggle for their emancipation by submitting to the international discipline of the revolutionary proletariat, with due account of the experience of the workers in different coun-

tries, reckoning with their knowledge and their will, and thus giving effect in deed . . . to the unity of the workers' class struggle for communism throughout the world" (Vol. 31, p. 269).

Unity of the Communist movement on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism is a complex but necessary process. The spread of the revolutionary movement, its wider social base, diverse national economic and socio-political conditions and historical traditions and other differences can lead to a situation in which the positions of the Parties do not coincide, with resultant differences in views on one or another issue. But their solidarity and unity on fundamental and decisive issues does not preclude a multifariousness of political and tactical positions, or differences of views and judgment.

Comrade L. I. Brezhnev declared at the 5th Congress of the Polish United Workers' Party: "The main thing is that the Communist and Workers' Parties, notwithstanding differences on some issues, are searching for ways and means of extending international contacts and strengthening their unity on the basis of Marxism-Leninism . . . We are confident that closer contact and cooperation can resolve problems in a way that will promote international Communist unity. And this is only natural, for we share a common ideology—Marxism-Leninism, face a common foe—imperialism, and are working towards a common goal—the triumph of communism."

Today the Communist parties conduct their activities in such widely differing conditions that there can be no question of setting up a single leading center for the whole movement. There are now new practical forms of coordinating the work of Marxist-Leninist parties. These include international conferences, and the two that were held in Moscow in 1957 and 1960 successfully coped with the difficult task of formulating common views and devising new forms of international contacts.

At the present stage, the forthcoming Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties scheduled for June will be a key factor in uniting the world Communist movement. The fraternal parties have already done much in their collective preparation of the Conference and their work, we are firmly convinced, will make for the success of the Conference.

Communists cannot for a moment forget that imperialist strategy is designed to divide the socialist countries and the Commun-

ist parties. And to do that, the imperialists are relying heavily on nationalism and chauvinism, on Right-wing and adventurist revisionism. To this insidious strategy the Marxist-Leninist parties oppose proletarian internationalism, resolute struggle against imperialism, exposure of bourgeois ideology, and consistent opposition to Right and "Left" opportunism.

The march of events and revolutionary practice favor unity. The pressing problems of world development imperatively call for solidarity and joint action by the Communists in the common struggle for social and national liberation, for peace, democracy and socialism.

The CPSU deems it its duty, together with the other parties and in keeping with the tested Leninist principles, to do everything in its power to advance Communist unity in the fight for these noble aims. We are now approaching the hundredth anniversary of the birth of Lenin, the founder of the Soviet Communist Party and of the world's first socialist state. Our Party will come to the Conference under the banner of Leninism, under the banner of struggle for the purity of Lenin's ideas. We will come to the Conference under the banner of proletarian internationalism and unity of all the revolutionary and democratic forces in a single anti-imperialist front.

* * *

The hundredth anniversary of the birth of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin will be a grand celebration for the Soviet people and for working people the world over. Progressive men and women in all countries regard ours as the age of the revolutionary re-fashioning of the world. They cannot but see that mankind is following the course predicted by Lenin. Marxism-Leninism lives and triumphs in the majestic transformations carried out by the Soviet people under the leadership of their Communist Party. It lives and triumphs in the work and achievements of the peoples of the other socialist countries, in the advance of the increasingly influential world Communist movement, in the international proletariat's intensified struggle against world capitalism, in the powerful upsurge of the anti-imperialist movement for national liberation.

The ideas of Leninism appeal to the minds and hearts of more and more millions. And this multi-million army of fighters for peace, democracy and socialism is fully justified in saying, in the words of the poet Mayakovsky: Lenin, immortal and great, is with us; on the march throughout the world are his thoughts, his work and his deeds.

Leninism is a powerful creative force for the remaking of the world.

AS HIS CONTEMPORARIES KNEW HIM

Under this heading we open a new section in which Lenin's contemporaries, veterans of the international Communist movement who worked with Lenin, will share their reminiscences with our readers. We welcome contributions by veterans of the movement who knew Lenin.

We open with reminiscences by Professor F. N. Petrov, member of the Party since 1896, Hero of Socialist Labor.

Fyodr Petrov

Ever with us

FYDOR PETROV

With the approach of the Lenin centenary, I should like to share my reminiscences of Vladimir Ilyich, the greatest man of our century. I had the good fortune to belong to that generation which knew and worked with him, and the good fortune to live in our truly historic times when the ideals to which Lenin dedicated his life are becoming a reality.

I first became acquainted with Lenin's writings when I was conducting a Marxist study circle at the Arsenal Plant in Kiev. Like many other revolutionaries in Russia little did I dream then, 70 years ago, that I was reading one of the classics of the future leader of the Party and the proletarian revolution. Brought to the class by a worker named Martynov, we eagerly read the hectographed copy of *Who the "Friends of the People" Are and How They Fight the Social-Democrats*. In this book the author gave a clear and precise exposition of Marxist theory, of revolutionary strategy and tactics, and guided the working-class movement in the struggle to overthrow tsarism and capitalism. Shortly after studying this work and learning about the formation in St. Petersburg of the League for the Emancipation of the Working Class, we organized a similar union in Kiev.

That is how my ideological acquaintance with Lenin, with his organizing work, began.

My first personal meeting with Lenin

was in 1900, a year I shall remember all my life.

I happened to be in Moscow that year, to discuss Party matters with fellow-revolutionaries, among them Dmitry Ilyich Ulyanov, whom I knew from previous visits to the city. He invited me to the family house, saying that his brother Vladimir, who had just returned from exile in Siberia, would be there.

I gladly accepted the invitation, and the opportunity to meet the man of whom I had heard so much from members of our Social-Democratic organization, and whose works I was closely studying.

Soon after we arrived Vladimir Ilyich walked in, carrying a pile of books. If I recall aright, they were mostly on economics and history. He was making a study at the time of the history of the working-class movement abroad, of the strike struggle in various countries. We were introduced and Vladimir Ilyich, a young man of below average height with lively eyes, immediately began to bombard me with questions: "How are things out your way? How many study circles are there? What about the workers, are they becoming revolutionary minded?" I think he was pleased with my answers.

That evening Lenin told me about his idea for launching a party paper, the future *Iskra* (The Spark). He spoke with enthusiasm about the need for a paper that would

rally the masses, would help to unite the still scattered Marxist organizations and study circles into a disciplined party that would act as the vanguard of the working masses for the overthrow of the autocracy and capitalism.

Soon after, in January 1901 to be exact, the first issue of Lenin's *Iskra* was printed in Leipzig. Needless to say, the appearance of each issue was an event for the comrades working in conditions of illegality. It was in *Iskra* that I first read Lenin's article, "Political Agitation and the Class Point of View," which discussed the pressing issues of our Social-Democratic movement.

My next meeting with Lenin was through his book *Materialism and Empirio-Criticism* which I read within the walls of the Schluesselburg Fortress where I was serving a seven-year sentence for my participation in the military-revolutionary organization of the Bolsheviks and in the 1905 barricade fighting (to this day, 64 years after, the X-ray shows the bullet lodged near my heart, which nearly cost me my life). The book was eagerly read by the political prisoners. Its brilliant treatment of the theory of cognition, profound understanding of the laws of the interdependence of sciences, and its devastating debunking of the various idealistic theories then fashionable, made an indelible impression.

My further meetings with Lenin took place after the October Revolution. As a member of the Far Eastern Bureau of the Central Committee of the Party, I was, on many occasions, directly concerned with carrying out Lenin's instructions in the operations to liberate the Far East from the U.S.-Japanese intervention and White Guard troops.

When the Far East was reunited with the RSFSR, I was sent by the Party to the People's Commissariat of Education to head the Central Administration of Museums, Research and Art Institutions. It was a period of reappraisal in the thinking of the old intelligentsia and in academic circles generally, and Lenin impressed upon the People's Commissariat of Education how essential it was to place the scientific institutions and personnel in the service of

socialism. He personally drafted the plan for reorganizing the Academy of Science to combine research with practical measures to restore the economy and reorganize education on a socialist basis. Many of the problems we are tackling today were first posed in those years (such as those of semi-conductors, of promoting chemical research in the sphere of synthetics, of substitutes).

I recall, in this connection, how surprised Academician Pavlov was when I told him that Lenin had given instructions that he be given every facility for this research. When I asked Pavlov what apparatus he needed from abroad he said: "But surely you know that gold is needed to purchase them." I assured him that the Soviet government would not stint on science. He thereupon drew up a modest list, to the sum of one thousand rubles. And how moved he was when he learned that Lenin had instructed the Commissariat of Education to open an unlimited account in the great scientist's name.

Lenin was keenly interested in the country's libraries. While attaching the utmost importance to the network of lending libraries built up by Nadezhda Konstantinovna Krupskaya, he instructed the People's Commissariat of Education to enlarge the main libraries, in particular the library in the Rumyantsev Museum (now the Lenin State Library). Lenin considered it necessary that this library should have two copies of all publications, Russian and foreign, thus creating a public depository where you could get any book you needed.

My meetings with Lenin were many, and every time I would marvel anew at the attention he gave, even though weighed down by matters of state, to seemingly "trivial" matters. Like no other, Lenin was quick to support everything new and progressive in science and in practice.

It gives me, an old Bolshevik who has dedicated 73 years of his life to the socialist cause, great joy to see the triumph of this grand cause.

As we approach the centenary of Lenin's birth, we can say in all truth: he is ever with us in all his greatness.

Boyhood years

Today, when progressive mankind is preparing to commemorate the centenary of Lenin's birth, there is a particularly wide interest in everything associated with his life and work. In response to readers' requests, our journal will carry a series of articles retracing Lenin's revolutionary activities in Russia and in other countries. We open the series with a feature about Ulyanovsk, formerly Simbirsk, the Volga town in which Lenin was born.

Every town, whether big or small, is interesting in its own way, and none more so than Simbirsk—renamed Ulyanovsk on May 9, 1924—it being the birthplace of V. I. Ulyanov-Lenin.

Present-day Ulyanovsk bears little resemblance to the Simbirsk of a hundred years ago. From a town producing only nails, frying pans and candles it has grown into one of the major industrial cities on the Volga, whose unique lathes and low-powered engines, its UAZ trucks (Ulyanovsk Automobile Works) can be seen in many countries of the world. From a town of narrow, crooked lanes and wooden houses, it has grown into a city of spacious avenues and boulevards, a city of modern buildings. From a town that had only two schools it has become one with several higher educational institutions, not to mention various cultural amenities, including a television center.

The only things that have remained the way they were a hundred years ago are the houses where the Ulyanovs lived, where Lenin was born and spent his childhood and youth, the Gymnasium (grammar school) he attended, the Karamzin Gardens in which he loved to stroll, the majestic Volga in which he swam in summer.

On April 22, 1967—the 97th anniversary of the birth of Lenin—the foundation was laid near the boulevard that runs along the Volga embankment, of the Lenin Memorial being built to mark the centenary of his birth.

Although still in scaffolding, the contours of the Memorial zone are already visible. Its pivot will be the Memorial Center—135,000 cubic metres—which will consist of a branch of the Central Lenin Museum, a Lenin Hall, Political Education House and a cinema and concert hall with a seating capacity of 1,400. The sculptural groups,

mosaics and frescoes adorning the Lenin Hall will portray the heroic spirit of the October Revolution and the socialist construction. In the center of this complex, built on eight-metre high pillars in the form of a quadrangle, are arranged the houses where Lenin spent his childhood.

The Memorial Center will be fronted by a spacious square with a splendid view of the Volga and the Volga Sea (formed by the construction of the Lenin Hydro-Electric Station, one of the largest in the world). On the square a monument will be erected to Maria Alexandrovna Ulyanova, Lenin's mother.

Nearby, construction is under way on the new buildings of the Lenin Secondary School. Also nearing completion is the new building of the Pedagogical Institute named after Lenin's father, Ilya Nikolayevich Ulyanov.

The entire area of the Memorial Center and the alley leading to Lenin Square will be paved with colored concrete slabs. A park is being laid out along the upper embankment which will provide a profusion of greenery and flowers in the spring and summer, and from the side of the Volga the statue of Vladimir Ilyich will be seen rising high above the Square.

The Memorial zone, covering an area of more than a hundred hectares, will include everything associated with Lenin's name. The houses in which the Ulyanov family lived, the buildings of the former Gymnasium and former town council, and the Karamzin Gardens. Architects and building workers are doing everything to preserve these buildings and particularly House No. 58 on the former Moskovsky Street (now Lenin Street) where Vladimir Ilyich lived for nearly nine years, from August 1878 to June 1887. In this district the Simbirsk of the last century, with its



The Ulyanov family. On right (seated) is Vladimir Ilyich. Simbirsk 1879.

gardens, wooden houses and wooden fences, its wooden pavements and old street lamps, is being restored.

Also the central part of Ulyanovsk is being reconstructed in preparation for the centenary. Many new buildings are going up, including several apartment houses, a 23-storey hotel—in the vicinity of the Memorial Center—a palace of culture, Young Pioneer palace, artists' club and trade union house. New enterprises are being built and the old ones reconstructed and extended. The city is also getting a new railway station and airport.

THE HOUSE THAT ENCOMPASSES A WORLD

The decision to restore House No. 58 was taken already in 1922 by the Simbirsk

Gubernia Executive Committee. In December of the following year it was opened to the public as the Lenin Historical-Revolutionary Museum. On April 5, 1925 the 14th Ulyanovsk Gubernia Congress of Soviets decided to preserve the house and turn it into the Lenin Memorial Museum. This was opened, following extensive restoration work, on November 7, 1929, the 12th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution.

In the nearly 40 years since, the museum has been visited by over six million people. The many entries in the Visitors' Book eloquently express their emotions. To quote but a few:

"I was back in the past, in times bygone. Memories came flooding back of things long forgotten but still infinitely precious. Everything here speaks of mother, of fa-

ther, and of Volodya, first as a small, fair-haired boy, ever in high spirits, absolutely just and irreproachable in everything; later as a young man of unswerving determination. Images infinitely dear to me. Tears well up in my old eyes, but my heart is at peace and I am loath to leave." Dmitri Ulyanov. July 2, 1942.

"How many memories of the past and what a grand feeling in the present." Professor Rusanov, a friend of the Ulyanov family.

"I carried away with me the indelible impression of the man who illumined the road to happiness for all mankind." N. Chikiryev, turner.

"Everything about the house in which dear Lenin was born, breathes simplicity and humaneness." Soviet collective farmers.

"His life and his ideas will ever remain in our hearts." Vietnam student.

"We shall warmly recall this visit and tell about it back home." Czechoslovak tourists.

"We now understand why Lenin became Lenin." Congolese students.

"It was most interesting visiting the places where Lenin spent his early years." Group of English scientists and engineers.

"Here, in the House-Museum we understood how the life of his family and the upbringing his parents gave him helped Lenin to become the great leader of a movement that became the spring-tide of the entire contemporary world." French trade union delegation.

Different languages, different styles, but all expressing the same sincere and profound sentiment.

In their work to reproduce everything in the house down to the minutest detail, the museum staff were generously helped by Lenin's sisters, Anna Ilyinichna and Maria Ilyinichna, his brother Dmitry Ilyich and by Nadezhda Konstantinovna Krupskaya, Lenin's wife.

Passing through the various rooms—the living room, Ilya Nikolayevich's study, Maria Alexandrovna's room, the dining room, the nursery (shared by Olga, Dmitry and Maria, the three youngest children), the rooms of Anna, Alexander and Vladimir—the visitor is struck by the simplicity of the furnishings, the absence of anything ostentatious. Among the items on view is the fur coat of Lenin's father which Lenin wore when in Siberian exile and which later, when Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars, he always took along with him when he went driving in winter.

The visitor will also see many of the books by Russian and foreign authors that made up the Ulyanov family library.

Everything about the museum conveys the atmosphere of harmony, of interests shared, that was a notable feature of the close-knit Ulyanov family.

Lenin's father, Ilya Nikolayevich Ulyanov, came to Simbirsk from Nizhni Novgorod (now Gorky) in 1869 with the family. He worked first as school inspector and from 1874 onwards as director of schools in the Simbirsk Gubernia.

Here it is pertinent to note that it would be incorrect to think of Simbirsk as a sleepy, lethargic town, off the mainstream of the momentous events in Russian history. It was the scene of the peasant revolts that flared up in 1679 under Stepan Razin and nearly a hundred years later again, under Yemelyan Pugachev, of innumerable peasant actions in 1857-1861. Simbirsk gave Russia many outstanding writers, poets, and public figures. Suffice to mention the names of I. A. Goncharov and S. T. Aksakov, N. M. Yazykov and D. V. Grigorovich, I. I. Dmitriev and D. D. Minayev. The famous Decembrists V. P. Ivashkevich and N. I. Turgenev came from Simbirsk. It was the home of the critic P. V. Annenkov who was in correspondence with K. Marx. N. M. Karamzin, the writer and historian, M. N. Bogdanov, the explorer, and I. M. Sechenov, the "father of Russian physiology," lived and worked there.

Interesting documents relating to the Ulyanov family were recently found in the archives in Gorky and in Astrakhan where Ilya Nikolayevich was born. In the lists of the male population of Astrakhan due for recruitment in 1837 it is recorded that Nikolai Vasilyevich Ulyanov (grandfather of Lenin) has two sons, Vasili and Ilya, and that his entire family is of "Russian stock." Nikolai Vasilyevich Ulyanov hailed from Nizhni Novgorod Gubernia. He was known for his defiant spirit and fled to Astrakhan rather than submit to the landlord yoke.

Ilya Nikolayevich experienced privation at an early age. He succeeded by dint of hard work in getting enrolled in the Kazan University whose doors were closed to the children of the common people. After taking his degree he became a teacher of mathematics and physics. Ilya Nikolayevich shared the progressive views of the Russian revolutionary democrats N. G. Chernyshevsky, N. A. Dobrolyubov, and D. I. Pisarev, propagated the pedagogic views of K. D. Ushinsky, the eminent scholar who

gave Russia a progressive educational system.

During the 16 years of Ilya Ulyanov's pedagogical work in the Gubernia the number of schools there increased from 89 to 450, and the number of pupils from 10,500 to nearly 21,000. He also trained during this period some fifty school-teachers who were known as "Ulyanovites," many of whom subsequently made names for themselves.

Lenin's mother, Maria Alexandrovna, was born in 1835 in the family of a St. Petersburg physician. Studying on her own (she had been educated at home), Maria Alexandrovna passed her examinations in 1863 for elementary school-teacher. She knew several languages which she afterwards taught her children; she was also a fine musician, playing the piano very well. Vladimir often played duets with his mother. Many of her favorite music scores can be seen by the visitor in the living room.

Maria Alexandrovna who had a rare gift for bringing up children, devoted all her time and energy to her family. After the death of her husband in 1886, it was an uphill struggle trying to make ends meet. But as always in times of stress she displayed fortitude. She was proud of her children and up to her last days (she died in 1916 at the age of 81) identified herself with their views.

The Ulyanovs, whose culture and learning singled them out in provincial Simbirsk, did their best to give their children an all-round education. They brought them up in a spirit of high civic ideals, taught them to be responsive to the needs of the people, took a lively interest in whatever they did. Thus, when the children decided to start a home journal (unfortunately, none of the issues which appeared under the title *Subbota*, are extant) the parents willingly fell in with the idea. The home environment was one of harmony, conviviality and good humor. The personal example set by their parents exerted an influence on the children. It is not surprising, therefore, that they grew up to be considerate of one another, acquired work habits at an early age, took their studies seriously, that they all afterwards dedicated themselves to the revolutionary struggle.*

The more than 30 documents in view relating to Vladimir Ilyich's school years give a vivid idea of how he studied and the books he read. He first began to read at the age of five. The Ulyanovs bought all chil-

dren's books that were of interest, in addition to subscribing to many children's magazines. Vladimir Ilyich was a voracious reader. During his years at the Gymnasium he absorbed the classics of world and Russian literature, the works of the Russian revolutionary democrats, which particularly helped to mould his revolutionary convictions. Govannoli's *Spartacus* and Chernyshevsky's *What Is To Be Done?* were among his favorite books. In later years Lenin recalled how this book by the great Russian democrat had fascinated him, had "deeply ploughed him up," and prepared him for passing on to Marx.

Vladimir probably first began to think seriously about the revolutionary reconstruction of society, says Anna Ilyinichna, with Alexander's arrival in Simbirsk from St. Petersburg. Alexander was the first revolutionary in the Ulyanov family. Vladimir followed his example in everything—in studies, games, in his attitude to people. It was from Alexander that he first learned about Marxist literature, about Marx's *Capital*, about some of the works of G. V. Plekhanov and other writers.

The news about the execution of Alexander and his comrades came as a terrible shock to Vladimir, but at the same time it confirmed him in his views that the Populists were following the wrong path. "No, we won't take that path," he said at the time. "That is not the path to take." He rejected the path of terror and took the only correct road—that of revolutionary struggle to which he dedicated his whole life. "Had it been otherwise," wrote N. K. Krupskaya, "the fate of his brother would probably have caused him only deep sorrow or, at best, would have decided him to follow in his footsteps. In the circumstances, the fate of his brother sharpened his mind, cultivated in him a remarkable sobriety, an ability to see the truth, and not allow himself to be carried away by a turn of phrase, by illusions . . ."

In the spring of 1887 Vladimir Ulyanov passed his school-leaving examinations brilliantly. The former Gymnasium today houses the V. I. Lenin Secondary School.

*All the Ulyanov children, with the exception of Olga who died at the age of 20, became revolutionaries. Anna (A. I. Ulyanova-Yelizarova 1864-1935) joined the revolutionary movement in 1886, worked in the Bolshevik press and afterwards in the Marx-Engels-Lenin Institute; Alexander (1866-1887), a Populist, executed for his part in the attempt to assassinate Tsar Alexander III; Dmitry (1847-1943) joined the revolutionary movement in 1894, worked in the People's Commissariat of Health; Maria (1878-1937) joined the revolutionary movement in 1895, was a member of the Soviet Control Commission and of the Central Executive Committee of the USSR.

One of the rooms has been turned into a museum where visitors can see the school testimonials and school-leaving certificate of Volodya Ulyanov, and also the character given by the headmaster upon graduation: "Highly capable, hardworking and painstaking, Ulyanov was top scholar in all forms, and upon finishing school has been awarded a gold medal as the most deserving pupil in regard to progress, development and conduct." On view is also a replica of the medal with the laconic legend: "For Excellence."

Following the example of his father who devoted much of his energy to the task of bringing learning within the reach of the non-Russian peoples inhabiting the Volga region, Vladimir when 16 coached, free of charge, the teacher of a Chuvash school by the name of Nikifor Okhotnikov who longed to enter the university. Okhotnikov subsequently became a prominent educator of the Chuvash people.

After graduating from the Gymnasium, Vladimir Ulyanov left Simbirsk for ever.

THE ROAD TO REVOLUTION

The next years were years of revolutionary schooling in the Volga cities of Kazan, Samara and Nizhni Novgorod.

When the family moved to Kazan, Vladimir Ulyanov entered the university there, in the law faculty. It was one of the oldest universities in the country, graduating a galaxy of eminent scholars and educators, among them his father, Ilya Ulyanov. In December 1887, seven months after his brother's execution, he had his revolutionary baptism when he participated in a student meeting against the tsarist autocracy.

He was arrested and imprisoned together with fellow students. On the way to prison the police officer who escorted him said to him:

"What's the use of rebelling, young man? Don't you see you're up against a stone wall?"

"Yes, but its a crumbling wall. Give it a good push and it will topple over," replied Vladimir Ulyanov.

Asked by a fellow student in the prison cell what he would do when released, Lenin said that only one road lay before him, that of revolutionary struggle.

He was subsequently expelled from the university and banished from Kazan. While in exile (in the village of Kokushkino), he recalled in later years, he had never ever afterwards read so much in his life. He was

permitted to return to Kazan only a year later. His mother's request that he be readmitted to the university was refused, also his application for permission to go abroad to continue his education. Shortly afterwards, Vladimir Ulyanov joined one of the Marxist study circles organized by Nikolai Fedoseyev, a prominent revolutionary. He began to make a serious study of Marx's *Capital*, and, as Anna Ilyinichna writes in her reminiscences, he would explain with fervor and enthusiasm the fundamentals of Marx's theory and talk of the new horizons it opened. He seemed to radiate an optimistic confidence which was very catching. After the Fedoseyev study circle was smashed by the police Lenin, who by a lucky chance escaped a second arrest, moved to Samara (now Kuibyshev) where he lived for four and a half years.

In Samara, Lenin embarked on extensive revolutionary work. He translated the *Communist Manifesto* into Russian, delivered lectures on the writings of Marx and Engels, displaying his considerable debating talent and ability skilfully to repel the attacks of his ideological opponents. He made a profound study of Russia's economy, and wrote his first article, "New Economic Developments in Peasant Life." Not only friends and those who shared his way of thinking, but also his ideological opponents recognized his profound knowledge, ruthless logical consistency and clear judgment.

In 1893 Lenin left Samara for St. Petersburg, the center of the revolutionary and working-class movement at the time. With his arrival in St. Petersburg the ideas of scientific socialism were launched on their way in workers' circles. He got in touch with the city's advanced workers and conducted Marxist study circles in the factories. His pupils included such staunch Marxist workers as V. Shelgunov, I. Babushkin and N. Merkulov.

Because of police persecution Lenin had to write his works under various pseudonyms: "Nikolai Petrovich," "Starik," "Tulin" and others. In his works such as *What the "Friends of the People" Are and How They Fight the Social-Democrats* Lenin substantiated the tasks of the revolutionary Marxists and the proletarian movement in Russia. Already the very first works revealed his scientific approach, revolutionary spirit and personal courage — qualities which were vividly displayed in later years. In the unanimous opinion of his associates, none could compare with him in his profound analysis from a class standpoint. In

St. Petersburg, Lenin was soon recognized as the most knowledgeable theoretician and consistent revolutionary Marxist, the most

able mass organizer.
Ulyanovsk-Prague

V. SUKHODEYEV

For united action against imperialism

MOHAMED HARMEL

The March 18-22 meeting of the Preparatory Committee of the International Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties held in Moscow and attended by delegates from 67 parties, yielded positive and fruitful results. It discussed the draft of the main document and decided to reconvene shortly before the Conference meets in the Soviet capital on June 5. Preparations have thus entered the penultimate stage. Anti-Communists, who predicted failure of the efforts to convene the Conference, have been bitterly disappointed: no one is likely to deny that the Conference will have far-reaching political implications.

The results of the Preparatory Committee session, and of the Working Group meeting which preceded it, are a concrete expression of the parties' joint efforts, and reaffirm, the Communique says, their growing desire for unity in the fight against imperialism, for common aims on the principled foundations of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

In the year since the Consultative meeting much has been accomplished in Budapest and Moscow. Careful collective preparation conducted in an atmosphere of equality and friendly democratic cooperation has created optimal conditions for the forthcoming Conference. True, problems arose at each stage of the preparations and they were discussed in a broad exchange of

views. But the work of the Preparatory Committee has made it clear that all impediments can be surmounted by mutual understanding, work towards a common goal, sense of responsibility and persistent search for what unites the fraternal parties. And both the Working Group and the Preparatory Committee collectively sought decisions acceptable to all.

The chief purpose of the February-March 1968 Consultative Meeting in Budapest was to determine the nature of the Conference and draw up its agenda. The Budapest consultations were followed by intensive preparatory work which lasted up to the March meeting in Moscow. The latter examined the draft of the main document to be submitted to the Conference, which will discuss "The Tasks of the Struggle Against Imperialism at the Present Stage, and the Unity of Action of the Communist and Workers' Parties and of All Anti-Imperialist Forces." In the course of a comprehensive discussion all delegations set out their views on this collectively-framed draft and decided to submit it to the Central Committees of their parties and fully inform them of the Committee's proceedings. The Committee also agreed on procedure for drafting other Conference materials.

The Communist and Workers' parties operate in differing conditions and their strategy and tactics cannot therefore be iden-

tical—in fact, there is wide variety. However, the experience accumulated by each party in the concrete conditions of its country becomes an integral part of the experience of the world movement, so that the main document will doubtlessly reflect the rich experience of all the fraternal parties represented at the Conference.

Its agenda has a very topical relevance. The fight against imperialism is a matter of vital importance for all peoples and all questions related to it acquire immense importance. Notwithstanding setbacks on some sectors of the anti-imperialist front, the forces of socialism, of the working class in the capitalist countries and of the national liberation movement are steadily growing in strength and scope. They retain the initiative and determine the central direction of world development. Millions more in every part of the world are joining the fight for freedom and peace.

In an attempt to find a way out of its contradictions, imperialism is resorting to counter-offensives against the socialist countries, the national liberation movement and the democratic forces generally. Armed intervention, counter-revolutionary plots, fascist coups—have all been brought into motion to reverse the alignment of forces in favor of imperialism. The criminal war against the valiant people of Vietnam, the Israeli aggression, West German revanchist provocations, the overthrow of progressive regimes in some African countries, the fascist coup in Greece—all are part of activities that hold out a clear danger to mankind. The nature of U.S. imperialism, the inveterate enemy of the peoples, and its aim of exploiting and policing the world, have been fully revealed.

The collapse of the old colonial system was followed by the rise of independent African states, some of which have chosen the non-capitalist way. Imperialism is doing its best to hold back the movement towards liberation. It supports reactionary regimes, employs more refined neo-colonialist techniques to paralyze the liberation movement and to prevent social and economic progress in the emergent nations.

But there is a fund of experience to show that whenever the working class and other revolutionary detachments energetically stand up for their interests, imperialism and reaction can be forced to retreat. But it also has to be said that in some areas the imperialists have been able to hit hard at the revolutionary forces. And if the peoples do not unite for a stern rebuff to counter-

revolutionary and reactionary plans, the imperialists will again be able to cause more suffering.

That being so, the task is to intensify the struggle against imperialism, strengthen united action by Communists throughout the world, by all foes of imperialism for our common aims, for more effective solidarity with Vietnam and bring nearer its hour of victory. The Vietnamese are receiving invaluable aid from the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries and are supported by an international solidarity movement. They have defeated the strongest imperialist power and its criminal war machine, revealing the wide gap between imperialism's plans and its ability to implement them. Vietnam's victory will be a victory for all freedom-loving peoples.

United action will also enhance solidarity with the Arab peoples in their fight against the Israeli rulers' aggressive policy; with the Afro-Asian peoples in their difficult fight against colonialism and neo-colonialism and for democratic and free development; with the Latin American peoples fighting to throw off U.S. imperialist tutelage; with those who are so courageously fighting fascism in Spain, Portugal and Greece.

United action should center on the fight against the war danger, for peace and peaceful coexistence. Non-proliferation of nuclear weapons, a nuclear weapons ban, disarmament, abolition of military blocs—all remain pressing tasks for Communists and for all the democratic anti-imperialist forces.

The urgent need for, and importance of, united action towards these goals was emphasized by all the participants in the Preparatory Committee meeting.

It should be perfectly clear that if the Communist and Workers' parties direct their activities to solving these vital issues, this will go a long way towards increasing the cohesion of the world Communist movement and raising its unity to a higher level, will stimulate an exchange of experience and creative development of Marxism-Leninism, exert a positive influence on the unity of all the anti-imperialist, progressive and peace forces, and consolidate the alliance of the three currents of the international revolutionary movement: the socialist system, the working class in the developed capitalist countries, and the forces fighting for national liberation.

Imperialism is doing everything it can to disunite these three currents, to isolate

them from each other. We Communists working in developing countries have to contend with imperialist propaganda aimed at weakening their cooperation and bonds of friendship with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries.

Imperialism exploited the dismay in the Arab world following the Israeli aggression to sow doubts about the value and effectiveness of alliance with the USSR and other socialist countries. But the progressive and more politically alert people in the Arab states were able to counter that maneuver and vigorously support this alliance the continued strengthening of which will help the Arabs more successfully to combat the Israeli invader.

It stands to reason that close international Communist unity and solidarity of the three revolutionary currents will have far-reaching positive repercussions for the popular struggle in every part of the world.

In the present situation, united action is the decisive factor in tightening the cohesion of our movement and in guaranteeing its continued success. But we should not, I think, overlook the fact that Communist unity cannot be confined to an action program as the basis for a united front with the broad democratic and anti-imperialist forces. For despite all the difficulties and differences, the Communist and Workers' parties remain loyal to their common principles, are guided by one and the same theory, Marxism-Leninism, and share one and the same ideal, socialism and communism.

Relations between the Communist parties rest on proletarian internationalism, solidarity, respect for independence and equality and non-interference in internal affairs. This makes for closer cooperation for our overall goals. Communists do not separate their national goals from international obligations. Each Communist Party is responsible to the working class and the people of its own country and, at the same time, to the international working class. And the Communists are making a bigger effort to

develop and strengthen their unity in order to justify the hopes reposed in them by the people.

Our parties do not indulge in wishful thinking. They know that the differences cannot be resolved all at once. Some will be ironed out in the process of joint struggle or through exchange of views, while others will take a longer time. But our parties will persevere in solving the outstanding problems and in overcoming the differences on this or that issue, thus paving the way to eliminating, gradually but steadily, all differences in the international movement.

All Communist and Workers' parties have been invited to the Moscow Conference, including parties that did not share in the preparatory work. The capitalist press has for a long time been predicting that the Conference would "excommunicate" certain parties. There is not a grain of truth in this, for the Preparatory Committee has called on all Communist and Workers' parties to be represented at the Conference.

It will gather in Moscow on June 5, and will not try to solve all the problems at one go, but it will be a landmark on the way to unity, to more vigorous effort by the Communist and Workers' parties and by all the anti-imperialist forces.

The Conference will meet as we approach the 100th anniversary of the birth of Lenin, the great continuer of Marx and Engels, founder of the first socialist state and of the modern Communist movement. The Lenin centenary will be observed by all the Communist Parties, thereby reaffirming their unswerving fidelity to Leninism.

All participants in the Preparatory Committee meeting paid tribute to the CPSU, the Party of Lenin, which assured the best conditions for the Committee's work and is preparing to extend cordial hospitality to Conference delegates.

Communist and Workers' parties in all continents are preparing for the Conference, determined to work for its complete success and thereby discharge their duty to the peoples of the world.

CORRECTION

April issue of WMR: on CONTENTS page fourth heading should read "99th Anniversary of birth of Lenin."

GDR on threshold of 20th anniversary

WERNER LAMBERZ

On October 7 the German Democratic Republic will celebrate the 20th anniversary of the first German worker-peasant state.

Two decades may mean much or little in the history of a nation more than a thousand years old. But if these twenty years are marked by the most significant turn in its history, if a renovation of all social structures occurs through two victorious revolutions and Germans in the area build a state oriented on social progress, then it is easy to see why people in the GDR are looking forward to the jubilee.

Last year, a committee was formed to prepare for the anniversary, consisting of representatives of all parties and public organizations, leading workers and farmers, scientists and educationalists. This committee took note of the aspirations and initiatives of the people, their organizations and government bodies, working out Theses about the growth of the GDR, endorsing them in January and issuing a call to the general public.

The GDR is the result of 120 years of selfless revolutionary struggle by the German workers against exploitation, militarism and war, for peace, democracy and socialism. It considers itself the successor to all the progressive ideas that originated in Germany. It acts loyally on all the precepts born of working for peace and social security, for human dignity and brotherhood. It sees itself as a German state of peace and freedom, of humanism and social justice.

The present socialist state, its democratic institutions and social gains, its firm political, economic, cultural and military foundation, are the fruits of the diligence of our people and the consistent creative

use of the universal principles of Marxism-Leninism applied to the German environment by the working class, the leading class in our society, and its Party, the Socialist Unity Party.

The German Democratic Republic sees itself likewise as a part of the community of socialist states and the world Communist and workers' movement. The constitution of the Republic and its growth would be inconceivable without the international solidarity, aid and support of the other socialist countries, primarily the Soviet Union, and without our fruitful international cooperation. As a member of the socialist community the GDR secured her sovereignty, and sees her allegiance to that community as a guarantee for the future.

Close friendship with the Soviet Union, steady invigoration of the socialist community, solidarity with the new national states and peaceful coexistence with countries with differing social systems — these are the pillars of our new German policy.

* * *

The socialist world, Communists in all countries and the progressive movement have always closely followed developments in our Republic. The capitalist world, on the other hand, tried for years to cloak our progress in silence, but later decided that the truth could be better concealed by intensive anti-Communist propaganda, peddling tales of "terror" and falsehoods about our social processes. Not until recently did reports appear in the West paying outward tribute to our economic advance, our social gains and the high standard of our educational system. Yet, as before, the West

hushes up one of our most significant achievements — the remoulding of man through the revolutionary reconstruction of social relationships. And for a good reason. Whether Germans have changed in the part of the country where social relationships were radically altered in contrast to the other, imperialist German state, has a vital bearing on the so-called German question and on the role of and need for social reconstruction. That is the main criterion of any democratic and socialist revolution, of whether this revolution leads to the self-realization of the people.

It may be recalled that after the war the peoples, having paid dearly in blood for crushing Hitlerism, demanded in effect that fascism and militarism be extirpated and, as was then said, the Germans should be "democratically re-educated" in order to assure a peaceful future for the world. It was clearly seen then that fascist dictatorship and its policy of war were a product of the German imperialist monopolies and Junkerdom, that is, of undemocratic economic and political rule, and the demand for changing it was so universal, so compelling, that even the imperialist victor-powers had to put their signatures under it in Potsdam.

This aspect of the Potsdam agreements was completely in line with the demands of the German anti-fascists and democrats, who, too, had staked their lives in the fight against fascism and whose aims were lucidly expressed in the historic appeal of the German Communist Party of June 11, 1945, for a united, democratic, peaceful and progressive Germany. In what was then the Soviet occupation zone the workers took advantage of the opportunity afforded by the outcome of the war to repattern the old social relationships, making any return to imperialist policy impossible.

The differences and rifts in the working class were overcome and the two divided sections of the German labor movement merged in the Socialist Unity Party on the common ground of Marxism-Leninism. A novel type of cooperation evolved between the several anti-fascist democratic parties and groups under the leadership of the working-class party which proved its worth in forming the new state bodies. The land reform eliminated the social basis of the reactionary Junkerdom and militarism. War criminals were called to account, the war monopolies expropriated and the social basis for imperialism destroyed. Radical democratic educational and judiciary re-

forms were carried out for the first time in Germany.

What these early steps of the anti-fascist democratic revolution initiated soon made a deep imprint on public life and on the people. The revolutionary re-distribution of land was then much more than a timely economic and political measure: it delivered the farm laborers and working farmers from oppressive dependence, transforming them again after many hundreds of years from objects into articulate subjects of German history. Expropriation of the war-guilty industrial tycoons liberated the workers from exploitation. But the new political and economic set-up advanced tasks that required the fullest development of their specific class and individual features. Establishment of democratic state bodies and democratic educational and judiciary systems involved a tremendous effort to eliminate the old spirit of subservience and the old chauvinist ideology of the imperialist bourgeoisie that had nothing but contempt for the people, instilling instead the spirit of peace, friendship among nations, responsibility and humanism.

In those early years the vast majority, but yesterday a tool of the fascists, acquired new knowledge and revolutionary experience, gaining confidence in their own powers. By 1948-1949 they were so strong in our part of the country that the working people resisted the conspiracy of the imperialist powers and the big bourgeoisie of the Western zones aimed at restoring the imperialist state. They refused to be drawn into the vortex of the new nationalism and anti-Communism, and when a West German state was founded contrary to Potsdam, were able to establish a state of their own. Acting against division and imperialist restoration, prompted by a sense of national responsibility and revolutionary will, they founded the first German worker-peasant state.

The newly-won relation of socio-political forces, the new knowledge of society and the new democratic relationships enabled the GDR to press forward along the democratic path, going over to socialist revolution and building a socialist society.

Now, 20 years later, we can say in our Theses:

"The politico-moral unity of the working people is growing on the solid basis of socialist state power and socialist relations of production. People of differing social backgrounds, of differing experience and of differing views—workers and farmers, intel-

lectuals and members of the former middle classes, Marxists and Christians—all have found their political and spiritual homeland in our state. They are participants in moulding its social system. Their often conflicting road from 'I' to 'We', their 'transformation', often entailing a complete change in their social attitude, banishing old ideas and perceptions—those are the greatest achievements of the 20-year growth of the GDR."

The socialist character of our production and power relationships, the socialist character of our social relationships and the generally democratic make-up of our citizens are the guarantee that our state, far from endangering peace, is a substantial factor of European security.

It could not be clearer why the imperialists are opposed to our socialist Republic. Its existence, the achievements of the past 20 years, prove that the peoples were right in 1945 when they wanted a change in social relationships. There would be no "German question" today if imperialism and militarism had been extirpated in West Germany as had been done in the East. The state and society there would also have followed the same democratic and humanitarian lines. For two decades the German Democratic Republic was the proof that socialism, which the German bourgeoisie had fought tooth and nail for over a hundred years, which it had always wished to avert, is the only correct, humane and truly democratic alternative to capitalist rule based on exploitation of man by man.

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This March the National Front, a popular socialist movement embracing all classes and strata under working-class leadership, held a congress in Berlin. After the people elected the new leadership of the movement by secret ballot, congress chose the new National Council and defined the tasks for the future. Speakers showed how deep-rooted the changes of the past 20 years have become. They spoke of the economic and cultural progress which has highlighted socialist progress on German soil, evoking admiration among those who still remember the material and spiritual devastation inherited from fascism and capitalism. Everything said at that congress is memorable, but most memorable was who said it and how it was said: statesmen took counsel with workers, farmers, scientists and students, with young and old, Marxists and Christians. They spoke as citizens doing their share to improve our projects and plans, participating in decision making and

in carrying out the decisions. "The loyal subject" whom Heinrich Mann portrayed as the product of imperialist relationships on German soil, changed when these relationships went out of existence in the GDR.

The new character of the socialist community of people, of the builders of the new life, of their activity, stands out as we build the social system of developed socialism.

Speaking at a Central Committee meeting in October 1968, Walter Ulbricht said: "Geared closely to the rising standard of living, our Party has succeeded in imparting a socialist character to the social relations of people and erecting important pillars for the socialist way of life." The socialist way of life is the way of life of a people running its state under working-class leadership, consciously building a socialist society and hence close-knit, learning diligently and showing deep respect for everything done for the common good.

That way of life is still in the formative stage. But quite visibly democratic traditions have taken root in German soil with the coming of socialism, making an impact on the character of the people.

* * *

The National Front congress surveyed the coming ten years, to be marked by a further consolidation and consummation of the socialist system. The stage is set for our scientific and technological participation in setting top world standards in key areas, thereby accelerating our progress in the scientific-technological revolution. This entails considerable outlays in the principal economic sectors, as well as in science and education, opening up attractive vistas.

With socialist relations of production triumphant it is up to us to prove that the motive forces of our society are superior to those of the capitalist mechanism of profit and competition. Lenin formulated this task years ago as being closely related to the aims of developed socialism.

Socialism derives its motive force mainly from the community of interests of individual citizens, production groups and society as a whole. This identity of aims, if successfully maintained, acts as a powerful stimulus to initiative, unattainable in any other society. The profit-competition mechanism of monopoly dictatorship is incompatible with democratic participation in running the economy and society. The socialist planned economy, on the other

hand, being based on public ownership, is naturally democratic. Growth of its motive forces is dialectically related to growth of socialist democracy.

Socialism has what it takes to defeat imperialism in the scientifico-technological revolution and to attain a higher productivity of labor, because it can make the revolution the object of the people's initiative and concentrate this initiative on the key targets. It is bound to outstrip imperialism in that respect once it rallies its resources.

In the third decade we shall concentrate on making our socialist society more dynamic, implying greater effectiveness and maturity of socialist democracy based on democratic centralism.

Socialist democracy is no marginal benefit in what is already a viable body. It lies at the heart of this viability. And the fact that the dynamism is more intensive in recent years is, at once, clear proof that sound trends prevail in the growth of socialist democracy in our state.

The energy with which socialism is charged is no elemental natural force automatically assuring harmony between the interests of the citizen and society. To utilize this energy is the main purpose of our science-based policy, which, with the role of the socialist state expanding, makes good use of the economic laws of socialism. Social relations implicit in this policy must facilitate democratic initiative and, what is more, bring this initiative to life. But that is not all. Moulded by this policy, the social system must carry initiative to the ultimate point, with the maximum effect in planning, control and mastery of the complex, inter-related processes of scientific, industrial, educational and cultural growth. In "Capital," Marx wrote:

"Freedom in this field can only consist in socialized man, the associated producers, rationally regulating their interchange with nature, bringing it under their common control, instead of being ruled by it as by the blind forces of Nature; and achieving this with the least expenditure of energy and under conditions most favorable to, and worthy of, their human nature" (*Capital*, Vol. III, p. 800).

This realm of freedom is, indeed, a realm of the socialist democracy that socialist planning must and does help bring about.

Being the core of our developed socialist society, the society we are now in the act of building, the economic system paves the way increasingly for combining the initiative of people and a high rationale in resolving the problems of the technological

revolution. And the intrinsic pattern of this system, that is, the combination of centralized guidance with independence at factory level, accords with the rationale in modern socialist society. The most important demand placed on centralized planning is to look far ahead, define the long-term aims envisaging the highest possible scientific and technological level, assuring dynamism of the economy, of society as a whole, and concentrate science and production effectively on these aims. Forecasting and long-term planning must embrace the entire economy. The targets are attained by setting appropriate tasks to the respective production groups working on their own responsibility, whose economic interests are geared to the ultimate aims.

Thereby, the general harmony of interests in socialist society is made real and comprehensible to all production groups. Production relations based on objective economic laws stimulate initiative, focusing it on the decisive processes. New democratic needs are called to life and existing ones stimulated. The independence of enterprises, linked to the plan, increases the responsibility borne by each. However, the worker cannot be active outside his immediate work assignment, on the scale of the enterprise, unless his general knowledge conforms to the degree of his responsibility. That is why the Party calls on heads of enterprises to acquaint their personnel with all decisive facts bearing on the enterprise and, above all, the relation of quality and cost to the top world standard.

Democratic responsibility spurs on continued growth of democratic bodies which take the information and suggestions tendered by citizens into account when working out their decisions. Representative groups and commissions, their work continuously enhanced, are the hub of this system. Elected deputies to the representative bodies number 206,500, with 400,000 more working on 63,000 commissions. The importance of production committees at enterprise level is also increasing; they consist of representatives of the personnel, submit recommendations to the administration, and verify fulfilment. The committees comprise at least 150,000 factory and office workers. Likewise, new scientific societies are appearing, parents' councils in schools are working more effectively, etc. Every fourth citizen with voting rights is a member of at least one of these democratic bodies. The responsibilities of the trade unions have grown. For example, no recom-

mendation for the enterprise plan may be submitted to a superior body until the union endorses it. That socialist emulation has gained tremendously, especially in connection with the preparations for our 20th anniversary, may be credited to increasing participation of our people in planning, management and public affairs. This participation and its methods are in complete accord with the nature of socialist democracy. It would be wrong to assess socialist democracy in any other way, to assess it, for example, on the grounds of its outward resemblance to the institutions of bourgeois democracy that uphold the power of monopoly capital. Ours is effective participation in planning and management, in resolving the problems of society. Wide use is made of scientific methods of guidance based on Marxist science, and of technical appliances such as computers, aiming to give added impulse to the motive forces of our society. Growth of socialist democracy is constantly interactive with the growth of these motive forces.

Social practice bears out Marx's aforementioned idea that interchange between the associated producers and Nature is rational and occurs in conditions most consistent with human nature.

Consolidation of the democratic traditions of our people is tied in with the fight for optimum progress in the scientificotechnological revolution and for higher productivity.

* * *

Socialism, which abolishes exploitation (with the working class exercising state power in alliance with other working people), embodies a higher quality democracy than any ever secured under capitalism. Hence, socialism is the most humane system in history. Yet the working class and its Party must develop socialist democracy continually, in step with the growth of society.

When low productivity and low consumption paralyzed the vital processes in the early postwar years, the workers' vanguard broke the vicious circle in the GDR in October 1948 by initiating the first big emulation, connected with the name of Adolf Hennecke, with labor productivity going up. More auspicious still was the fact that a considerable section of workers acted as people responsible for the welfare of society. The movement thus marked the first decisive step forward in the growth of socialist democracy. Increasingly large numbers of working people have since been enlisted by our Party with marked success

in running society. We succeeded, because we developed the people, changing the conditions in concert with them and thus enabling them to acquire democratic experience.

It was natural, therefore, that 95 per cent voted for the socialist constitution in the country-wide 1968 referendum, declaring themselves for socialist democracy. They knew the democratic set-up in the enterprises, cooperatives and schools, in the government, and took part in defining legislative norms concerning achievements attained or still to be attained.

The credit for this goes to the farsighted scientific policy pursued to create the conditions and premises for effective socialist democracy, above all its foundations in education and consciousness.

The vast majority declared for socialism. But this does not make ideological work less necessary. For one thing, in his psychological war our enemy mounts open attacks on socialism. For another, the man who declares himself for socialism must make decisions *under* socialism. For him to act in his particular area with an appreciation of the whole (a fundamental democratic requirement for every Socialist), he must know the laws of socialist society and its trends. That is why social science in the secondary and higher schools, extension of Party education—from the higher Party school to evening schools at local and factory level—and moulding of socialist consciousness through modern communications media are essential to prepare the citizen for life in socialist society. Our experience shows that growth of socialist democracy is impossible in the absence of persevering dissemination of Marxist-Leninist ideas.

It would hardly be possible to build our socialist system if we had not opened the doors of all educational establishments to the people immediately after the war, if education did not progress, if less energy and less money were put into it and if we failed to produce a single system highlighted, among other things, by obligatory ten-year polytechnical schooling. With automation spreading, capitalist managers speculate about employing spiritual cripples knowing little more than what lever to pull and what button to push. Yet for man that is the height of humiliation, for it would reduce him to a robot. In our people's enterprises the employee is required as master of socialist property to participate in administering the new processes, to possess technical proficiency and be conversant with economics.

Socialism makes man the captain of his fate. The moulding of the individual reveals vividly the difference between socialism and present-day capitalism.

In the German Democratic Republic we have created socialist democracy based on the teaching of Marx-Engels-Lenin, and the process of building socialism has borne out the precepts of that teaching, the only dependable basis for the socialist formation. Applying this teaching in our industrially developed country situated in the heart of Europe, we have created the preconditions for the advance of socialism in all key spheres.

Without socialist democracy we would never have won the different classes and strata for socialism, united and attracted them to the side of the working class. Without socialist democracy we would never have secured the solid unity of the young generation and the socialist state, winning for socialism the massive and conscious support of the youth, stimulating their thirst for action and determination to work in the name of socialism. More than 14,000 young men and women are deputies of representative bodies and at least every fifth job of responsibility in the economy is held by people of 35 or under.

The political consciousness displayed by the people of the GDR along the frontier of the two world systems and in the complex situation of recent years, helping thereby to alter the balance of forces in Europe, would be incomprehensible were we to overlook their sense of public and political responsibility.

The internal firmness and viability of our state, which attracts the attention of world opinion, derives from the spiritual remoulding of man, from the growth of socialist democracy according to the criteria of Marx and Lenin. And it would be foolish to think that this is attainable in any other way.

The growth of the GDR demonstrates that socialism and democracy are indivis-

ible, and that expanding socialist democracy is part of building socialism.

* * *

Europe has been the arena of the most devastating wars in history, and this in our century. The war guilt lies with imperialism, especially German imperialism. The peace that has prevailed for nearly a quarter of a century, the longest period of peace in our century, mankind owes to socialism, to the consistently peaceful policy of the Soviet Union, the emergence of the new socialist states and, not least, to the existence of the socialist German state.

Yet in this quarter of a century European peace has been jeopardized more than once and has had to be fought for. Imperialism mounted its aggressive efforts against socialism chiefly from the imperialist German state resurrected in West Germany. The prime aim of this state was to banish socialism from Germany, from the GDR, the part where it has taken root. Yet, what forces ruled Germany — monopoly capitalism, militarism or the people — always had a crucial bearing on the destiny of Europe.

The GDR has been a battlefield all this time against the aggressive imperialist policy and for the policy of safeguarding peace based on the Potsdam Agreements. The young democratic socialist state has been opposed not only by the old German imperialist tycoons, but by all the imperialist powers, who, moreover, have a support base in West Berlin in the heart of our territory.

They stop at nothing in prosecuting their plans. But the defensive bastion of socialism in the GDR withstood the pressures and has grown stronger. The time has come when the community of socialist countries, continuously reinforcing their might and unity, has turned to the peoples of Europe, calling on them to work jointly against the aggressive revenge-seeking ambitions of the imperialists and preserve peace on our continent on a basis of equality.

The 16th congress of the Communist Party of Israel

MEIR VILNER

The 16th Congress of the Communist Party of Israel, held in Tel Aviv-Jaffa over Jan. 30 - Feb. 1 was an important event in the political life of Israel. The Congress convened in unusual conditions, in conditions of the Israeli military occupation of territories in Jordan, the UAR and Syria, with victims falling daily on both sides of the cease-fire line.

Despite the political tension, the Congress had been thoroughly prepared. The Central Committee published theses which the membership had discussed for more than two months at district rallies and branch meetings, and in the Party press. Many suggestions were advanced and comments were voiced all of which were taken into consideration in the Central Committee's Report and in the Report of the Central Control Commission delivered at the Congress.

Delegates numbered 336, more than half of whom (57 per cent) were workers, and under the age of 40 (53 per cent). Seventeen per cent of the delegates were women.

In the situation in which Israel finds itself, highly important was the participation of the Communist Parties of the Soviet Union, the German Democratic Republic, Bulgaria, France and Italy. Delegations from the fraternal parties of Hungary and Mongolia, and the delegation from the journal "Problems of Peace and Socialism" (World Marxist Review) were unable to attend, being refused visas by the Israeli Government.

Numerous greetings were received from workers and democratic organizations in Israel and from fraternal parties and democratic organizations abroad. A big impression was made by the message read on be-

half of the Communist Party of Jordan and its leading committee in the occupied areas.

The Congress showed that our Party is consolidated ideologically, politically and organizationally. The policy evolved and developed by the Central Committee since the previous Congress won the complete support of the delegates. It showed also that under present conditions, too, in days of warlike tension and of the chauvinistic wave, it is possible to extend the ranks and influence of the Party and of the Communist Youth League. Membership since the last Congress increased by 15 per cent.

Our Party is no longer the only factor among the Israeli public opposed to the policy of conquest and annexation. In other sections of the population people are now turning against the policy of territorial annexation, urging a political solution to the crisis and a peace settlement.

Since the split in our ranks in August 1965, when the Mikunis-Sneh nationalist group abandoned the Party and turned into an anti-Communist group in the service of the pro-imperialist and aggressive government policy, an intensified campaign of incitement has been conducted against our Party. Beginning with the June war in 1967, this incitement was whipped up into a campaign of threats and persecutions. Arrests, torture, gangster attacks on members and their homes, confinement orders against leaders and activists of the Party and the Youth League are continued to this day, hindering freedom of movement. There are dismissals from work and maltreatment, threats to deprive the Party of its legal status.

The Congress noted that the mass of the membership courageously withstood the

test, did not shrink before the difficulties, manifesting devotion and a high ideological and moral level. The Party was able to withstand these trials because of its steadfast loyalty to Marxist-Leninist ideology and its revolutionary tempering.

Before our Party there is still much difficult work. But we are glad that in Israel there is a Communist Party and a Communist Youth League tempered in serious actions.

It is natural that the Congress devoted much time to analysis of the crisis in the Middle East caused by the June 1967 war, and of the effects of the crisis on the political, economic and social life of the country. Most important was the question: What is the solution, what are the perspectives? This question is asked by everyone in Israel. A clear and realistic answer was given by the Congress.

In its resolutions Congress confirmed the assessment of the Central Committee concerning the character of the June war which "constituted a continuation of the policy of the imperialist powers (first and foremost of the USA) and of the Israeli rulers towards the anti-imperialist Arab states . . . In the June war there was an interlacing of the imperialist objectives, directed at overthrowing the anti-imperialist regimes in the UAR and Syria and at hitting the anti-imperialist Arab national movement in general, with the objectives, allegedly 'national', of the Israeli bourgeoisie and the Israeli ruling circles, for territorial expansion and the imposition of a 'settlement' that would liquidate the rights of the Palestinian Arab people."

The Congress exposed the character of the June war and its aims. At the same time, the Party expressed itself against the positions and declarations of those Arab circles and leaders who denied the right to existence of the State of Israel.

Our Party holds that it is "incumbent on the forces of peace and national responsibility in Israel, irrespective of any differences of political views and party affiliation—to do everything to prevent the outbreak of a new war, to do everything to force the Government to withdraw from all occupied areas within the framework of implementation of the Security Council Resolution of November 22, 1967." The Congress called for rallying all the forces opposed to the continuation of occupation and territorial annexation, even if their opinions differ regarding the character of the June war.

Again and again the demand was expressed that an end be put to the occupa-

tion and grave acts of oppression in the occupied areas. It is the natural right of any people, a victim of aggression, Congress emphasized, to resist occupation and annexation. The people of Israel, too, would oppose occupation, if they were victims of such action. The struggle of the people in the occupied territories of Jordan, the UAR and Syria is mainly a political struggle, expressed by strikes and demonstrations. The brutal oppression in the occupied areas, the wholesale deportations and arrests, demolition of homes and torture in prisons, the shots fired at women and school girls, the intolerable economic conditions designed to cause an exodus of the inhabitants—all this has not broken the spirit of the people; on the contrary, it has intensified their just resistance to the occupation, a resistance which is gaining more and more sympathy among world public opinion.

Simultaneously with condemning the Government's policy of occupation, expansion and oppression, our Party also condemns all chauvinist manifestations of Arab extremists who profess the aim not only of liberating the occupied areas and ensuring the just national rights of the Arab people of Palestine, but also the slogan of liquidating the state of Israel.

Congress showed that the idea of Jewish-Arab brotherhood resting on a proletarian class basis, on Marxism-Leninism, on common struggle against imperialism and its agents, runs through the entire activity of our Party.

Congress convincingly proved that our Party is the bridge and the connecting link between the forces of progress and peace in our country and the Communists and other anti-imperialist forces in the Arab countries, proved that on the basis of a democratic program, which takes into consideration the interests of all the peoples, which is based on cooperation in the anti-imperialist struggle and which strives for peace and progress, there exists a definite feasibility of fraternal relations and mutual trust between Jews and Arabs, between the people of Israel and the Arab peoples.

Congress showed that our Party is the bridge and the connecting link with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, with the international Communist movement and with the anti-imperialist and peace-loving forces throughout the world.

Congress showed that, given a new policy, one which strives for peace and is

independent of the imperialist powers, Israel can gain the sympathy and friendship of all the forces of peace and progress in the world. The Congress outlined an alternative to the present policy, indicated a way out of the grave crisis and offered a perspective of development and prosperity in conditions of peace.

By standing up against the Government policy which links Israel with imperialism in our region, by standing up against the policy which endangers Israel's security and future, our Party upheld the best interests of the Israeli working people, the national interests of all the people of Israel, the security and the very existence and future of the State of Israel and the perspective of an Israeli-Arab peace, thus fulfilling its primary internationalist duty.

Congress analyzed the internal developments in Israeli society in recent years and stated that a grave turn to the Right had taken place. Two contradictory processes can now be observed in Israel. One, the process of overcoming the intoxication of war, of growing anxiety and fear of a renewed outbreak of the war, and the increase in the voices raised against the reckless policy of the Government. The second process is one of growing chauvinist extremism. Extremist circles often call for preparation for another war, from which, they allege, there is no escape. These circles sow distrust in the possibility of a political solution and cast aspersions on any political solution based on the Security Council Resolution, claiming it would contradict the security of Israel.

The danger exists that the increasing chauvinism might lead to the liquidation of the remnants of democratic freedoms in Israel, to a military dictatorship and concentration camps for all fighters for peace and democracy. Following the anti-democratic measures and designs, the rights gained by the workers in hard class struggles away back in the days of British rule are now being trampled underfoot by the Government.

As a result of the Israeli rulers' reckless policy, the negative trends in the economy are becoming more pronounced, dependence on foreign capital, particularly American monopoly capital, is deepening, militarization of the economy is growing; state intervention in the economy in favor of big capital—foreign and local—is mercenary. In sum: Israel is receding still further from achieving that economic independence which is the basis for genuine political independence.

The fact that 80 per cent of Israel's external debts (excluding the Independence and Development Loan) are owed to the Government of the USA and to American and semi-American institutions; that the unequal trade with the USA has caused in recent years 40 per cent of the deficit in Israeli foreign trade; that more than half the private foreign capital invested in Israel, comes from the USA—this fact is proof of the growing economic dependence on the USA.

West Germany, too, is strengthening its economic position in Israel. In Israeli foreign trade West Germany today holds second place, and is becoming the supplier of equipment and metal to Israel.

The policy of war and conquest has caused the overt military expenditure to be fixed in the 1969/70 budget at the record figure of I£ 3.1 billion, as compared to I£ 1.8 billion in the 1967/68 budget. Military expenditure increased from nine per cent of the national production in 1965 to approximately 20 per cent in 1969/70. For the repayment of debts and the payment of interest I£ 1.3 billion are foreseen in the forthcoming budget (1969/70). The deficit financing of the budget in 1968 reached the huge sum of I£ two billion. By the end of 1968 the debts of the State had risen to I£ 10 billion, roughly I£ 3,700 per person, compared with 2,000 in 1967.

This burden of military expenditure and state debt is paid for in the end by the working people in the form of taxes and compulsory payments, and causes inflation which hits hard at living standards.

The economic crisis of 1965-1967 brought a steep decline in investments, in the increment of production, with resultant large-scale unemployment which at the beginning of 1967 stood at 150 thousand wholly and part-time unemployed. The increase in military orders, the expansion of export to the occupied areas and the big capital import helped to overcome the economic crisis, but it is mainly foreign and local capital that profited from this. Since the June war there has been an extraordinary rise in the profits of banks and industrial companies, but the workers' wages have been frozen.

Israeli companies received many military orders, as there are increasing needs for military equipment as well as for supplies for the maintenance of the increased military apparatus. At the same time many Israeli companies have seized the markets on the Jordan West Bank and in the Ghaza strip, marketing there mainly products of the food and light industries. Industrial ex-

port to the occupied areas which amounted to 50 million dollars, constituted in 1968 a sixth of the entire industrial export of Israel (excluding diamonds). Agricultural export to the occupied areas which in 1968 amounted to 20 million dollars, constituted also about a sixth of the entire Israeli agricultural export.

The Congress pointed out that the economic tide, based on military production and commercial expansion in the occupied areas, constitutes a short-range economic expansion, which shakes still more the Israeli economic basis. The way to economic prosperity lies in encouraging local production by raising the living standards of the working people, developing the country's natural resources, and extensive economic contacts with the socialist countries and the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America. Lastly: the road to this aim lies in a new policy leading to Israeli-Arab peace and to the establishment of natural economic connections between Israel and its neighbors.

The Congress adopted the program submitted by the Central Committee. The objective of our Party, the program states, is "to establish a socialist regime in Israel which will abolish class exploitation, exploitation of man by man and oppression of one people by another."

The program, designed for the present stage of development in Israel, is general-democratic and anti-imperialist, intended to effect a fundamental change in Israeli policy: to extract Israel from dependence on imperialism, to turn it into a state independent of foreign monopolies and of imperialist powers, for setting it on the road to peace with the Arab states, to democracy and social progress, friendship with all socialist countries, on the road taken by the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America, who are struggling against imperialism.

The following are central points of the program:

1. Ending the dependence on the foreign monopolies and on the imperialist powers.

2. For a just peace between Israel and the Arab states. Under present circumstances, a precondition for this is the withdrawal from all occupied territories within the framework of implementation of the Security Council Resolution of November 22, 1967.

3. For economic independence and development of the national economy.

4. Defense of the rights and interests of the working class and the popular masses.

5. An end to oppression and national dis-

crimination, guaranteed equality of rights for the Arab population in Israel, a just solution of the Palestinian Arab refugee problem.

6. Defense of democratic freedoms and struggle for their expansion.

The program expresses the interests of the decisive majority of the people in Israel, Jews and Arabs alike, the interests of the workers in industry and agriculture, of the working peasants, of the technical and creative intelligentsia, artisans, small and medium-sized shopkeepers, the national bourgeoisie—of all sections of the people whose interests and whose future are endangered by domination of the Israeli economy by foreign monopoly capital and by political and military dependence on imperialism. Thus, the Party program expresses the national interests of the people and is intended to ensure Israel's existence, security and prosperity, to ensure peace and cooperation with the Arab peoples on the basis of mutual respect of rights.

For the implementation of these aims, the Party will work towards the establishment of a national anti-imperialist front, for a policy of independence, peace, democracy and social progress.

Congress devoted considerable time to the international situation and to the problems of the world Communist movement. Our Party holds the view that it is absolutely impossible correctly to assess the problems in any region of the world or in any country, detached from the comprehensive assessment of the struggle between capitalism and socialism on a world scale, from the anti-imperialist struggle, from the fight for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism on a world scale.

Assessing the international situation, the Congress stated: "The world balance of forces has changed in recent years in favor of the forces of peace and socialism and to the detriment of the forces of war and imperialism. Although there have been temporary retreats in a number of countries and although there exist many difficulties in the revolutionary movement, the sum total of the development in recent years is positive." It was emphasized that whereas the difficulties experienced in the world socialist system and in the Communist movement, in the international workers' movement and in the anti-imperialist national-liberation movement and in the mutual relations among today's three revolutionary forces are in large measure the outcome of their growing strength and of the sharpening of the struggle between the

revolutionary forces and imperialism, the difficulties encountered by imperialism are structural and are the outcome of its growing external and internal contradictions.

The new relationship of forces in the world is strikingly expressed by the Vietnam war. U.S. imperialism, the strongest capitalist power, has suffered in Vietnam a military, political and moral defeat of the greatest international importance.

The Congress sent greetings to the Vietnamese people and wished them final victory over American imperialism and over the clique ruling in Saigon—on the battlefield and at the Paris Conference table. All progressive mankind, Congress pointed out, sides with the Vietnam people. It stressed that “the immense, all-sided aid extended by the Soviet Union to the Vietnam people is immeasurable. Such lofty examples of proletarian internationalism are rare in history.”

The Congress stated that American imperialism is still the world gendarme of capitalism and reaction, even though in recent years its position has been weakened politically, socially, economically and militarily. American imperialism has not renounced its basic aim: the aim of global domination, but it tries to adjust its methods to the new balance of forces.

Our Party stressed that the changed balance of forces in favor of the forces of socialism, peace and independence of the peoples, the defeats suffered by imperialism and the intensification of its internal and external contradictions, enhance the prospect, the historical feasibility of averting a third world war. It would be the gravest error, however, to think that the danger of a third world war has passed. The danger to world peace has not passed. The facts prove that the imperialists are on the rampage more than ever, that they have become more dangerous.

A grave danger to peace in Europe comes from the side of German imperialism, from the policy of the Bonn rulers. The establishment of the grand coalition, with the Social-Democrats joining the government, has not brought about any essential change in the policy of the Bonn Government. As before, nazi generals occupy key positions in the army. The administration teems with Hitler officials; the neo-nazi party NPD is growing.

The grand coalition has not renounced a single revanchist and imperialist demand of previous Bonn Governments.

Congress stated that “without seeing the danger of a world war, without considering

the situation in its global aspect and in the aspect of long-range development it is impossible to conduct a correct national policy, there cannot be any historical responsibility for the destinies of any people and for the destinies of mankind as a whole.”

Our Party holds—and this was confirmed by Congress—that the struggle between the two world systems, the socialist and the capitalist, constitutes the main content of the worldwide class struggle of our times. From this stem many conclusions. When we recognize that the main arena of class struggle in our times is the arena of struggle between the two world systems, the socialist and the capitalist, the particular task fulfilled by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, which heads the powerful principal country of the world socialist system, becomes obvious. The CPSU bears an immense responsibility for the outcome of this struggle, for the destinies of the international workers' movement and its achievements, for the fate of world peace, for the fate of humanity.

The particular responsibility of the CPSU obliges the entire Communist movement to a particular solidarity with this Party. Our Party has been and is in solidarity with this great fraternal Party—the Party of great experience and responsibility — the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Congress pointed to the closer relations between the Communist Party of Israel and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and especially appreciated the solidarity of the CPSU and the other fraternal Parties with the struggle of our Party for a happy future for our people and our country. This is why the Congress received with immense enthusiasm the greeting sent by the Central Committee of the CPSU.

In its resolutions the Congress stated that proletarian internationalism is the highest principle of the working-class movement and the loftiest expression of the patriotism of the working class. There is no contradiction nor can there be between proletarian internationalism and the genuine national interests of any working class and any people. There is but one contradiction, an unbridgeable contradiction, and this is the contradiction between proletarian internationalism and bourgeois nationalism.

Our Party is an independent national party, the vanguard of the Israeli working class. Our Party determines its policies and means of action on the basis of Marxism-Leninism, taking into consideration the particular conditions of our country. The independence of our Party does not contradict

the demand of our solidarity with the entire international Communist movement and the necessity to maintain the unity of our movement.

Our Party, being a party possessing equal rights in the family of Communist Parties in the world, has contributed its share to strengthening the unity of the international Communist movement on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. The Congress resolutions note that firm adherence to the unity of the international Communist movement on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and solidarity with the community of socialist countries, headed by the Soviet Union, is the highest expression of proletarian internationalism in our age.

Special importance attaches to the partiotic and internationalist position of our Party in the Israeli-Arab conflict, which is exploited by imperialism for its aggressive designs against the movements for national and social emancipation in our region, to our position regarding the June 1967 war. Our stand helped strengthen unity in the struggle for extinguishing the dangerous focus of war, in maintaining world peace and in the achievements of the anti-imperialist movement in our region. And this stand of our Party corresponds to the national interests of the people of Israel, who are interested in peace and security.

Our fight against Zionist ideology, nationalism and reaction, which are exploited by imperialism for the economic and political subjugation of Israel and for the removal of the Jewish workers and intellectuals from their natural place among the forces of progress, peace and socialism, has assisted in conducting—simultaneously with consistent struggle against anti-Semitism—a correct struggle against Zionist ideology, for the lofty ideals of proletarian internationalism.

The aims of this struggle correspond to the cause of the independence of the State of Israel, to the happy future of the Jewish workers everywhere.

The work of our Party in exposing the reactionary character of the official relations between Israel and West Germany, the essence of which is protection of German revanchism and the rendering of international "Jewish" aid to it—is a contribution to the fight of the international Communist movement against the revival of nazism and for isolating German imperialism. This corresponds to the fundamental national interests of the people of Israel.

Congress approved the Central Committee's political line with regard to China and reaffirmed its position in connection with the events in Czechoslovakia in August 1968.

Experience teaches that imperialism exploits nationalism, cultivates it, in order to divide the socialist countries, the international Communist movement, and the ranks of the Communist Parties. Our own experience is proof of this.

Congress pointed out the vital and urgent need to intensify ideological work and consistent and principled struggle in open discussion against nationalist, revisionist and dogmatic deviations and distortions of the revolutionary theory of the international working class—Marxism-Leninism.

Full support was expressed for the preparations towards the new Consultation of the Communist and Workers' Parties to be held in Moscow.

The new problems and experience call for elaboration by the joint efforts of our entire movement, of a common platform of unity of the fraternal parties.

Congress included in its resolutions proposals for regular consultations of the world Communist movement which will make it possible for fraternal parties jointly to elaborate a general line and the movement's position with regard to urgent international problems. Our Party holds that all parties, while pursuing independent policies, should take into account collectively formulated decisions as the basis for open ideological dialogues with those who hold opposed opinions. Congress pointed out that "the benefit of the movement's unity demands a principled, comradely and open discussion with opponents of the general line of the movement, which will have been decided in common. Experience shows that the absence of such an open discussion harms the unity of the movement."

The Congress confirmed the theses submitted by the Central Committee on the subject "The Jewish Question and Zionism in Our Days" and decided that "in its ideological-political work and in its ideological struggle, the Party will base itself on these theses."

The 16th Congress equipped our Party with important ideological and political weapons, outlined the strategy and tactics of the Party, strengthened the fighting capacity of our Party and hailed it as an instrument for strengthening the organization and extending its influence.

Under the banner of proletarian internationalism

(Scientific conference to commemorate the 50th anniversary of the Communist International)

"The only firm gain in a revolution is that which has been won by the mass of the proletariat. The only gain worth recording is that which has been firmly won.

"The founding of the Third, Communist International in Moscow on March 2, 1919, was a record of what has been gained not only by the Russian workers, but also by the German, Austrian, Hungarian, Finnish, Swiss—in a word, by the workers of the world," Lenin wrote at the time of the inaugural congress of the Communist International (*Collected Works*, Vol. 28, p. 478).

The 50th Anniversary of the Comintern was marked by a seminar in Moscow sponsored by the Institute of Marxism-Leninism, the Academy of Social Sciences, Higher Party School, Social Science Institute of the CPSU Central Committee, and various institutes of the USSR Academy of Sciences.

The 1,000 participants included many leaders of the world Communist movement, representatives of fraternal parties who had actively participated in the Communist International, former members of its staff and contributors to its various journals. Also present were delegates to the Preparatory Committee of the International Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties, leading workers in the CPSU Central Committee, veteran Communists, scientists and journalists.

The opening address was delivered by *Mikhail Suslov*, Political Bureau Member and Secretary of the CC, CPSU. The report on the Historical Significance of the Comintern was made by CC CPSU Secretary *Boris Ponomarev*, and the report on the Communist International in the Battle Against Imperialist War and Fascism by

Walter Ulbricht, First Secretary of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany and Chairman of the State Council of the GDR.

The reports were followed by papers by *Jacques Duclos*, Member of the French Communist Party Political Bureau, *S. G. Sardesai*, Member of the Central Executive Committee and Secretary of the National Council of the Communist Party of India, *D. Urbani*, Chairman of the Communist Party of Luxembourg, *D. Nemes*, Political Bureau Member of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, and *Dolores Ibaruri*, Chairman of the Communist Party of Spain. Other speakers were *R. Avramov*, Central Committee Member of the Bulgarian Communist Party, *A. de la Pena*, Secretary of the Communist Party of Argentina, *Peter Kerrigan*, veteran member of the British Communist Party, *J. L. Massera*, Member of the Executive Committee of the Communist Party of Uruguay, *Khaled Bagdash*, General Secretary of the Syrian Communist Party, *James Jackson*, Member of the National Executive Bureau and National Committee Secretariat of the U.S. Communist Party, *Raymond Guyot*, Political Bureau Member of the French Communist Party, *E. Sereni*, Member of the Italian Communist Party leadership, the prominent French Communist *Georges Cogniot* and two members of the CPSU Central Committee, Academicians *A. Rumyantsev* and *P. Fedoseyev*.

The speakers emphasized the service rendered by the Communist International founded by Lenin. The Comintern, which gave a new dimension to the international labor and revolutionary movements, unfurled the banner of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism and upheld

revolutionary theory against opportunist distortion. The mistakes made in Comintern activity, after Lenin's death, cannot obscure its immense contribution to the struggle against imperialism and fascism, and to the movement's development into the most influential political force of our time. For the Comintern effectively accomplished its task and became an international organization embodying the theory and practice of Leninism, which it brought into the world labor movement.

Speakers dealt with Lenin's personal contribution to the rise and growth of the Communist International, and his outstanding role in the ideological and organizational consolidation of the Communist parties.

All speakers related their analysis of Comintern activity to the pressing problems of the world Communist movement. It was emphasized that the study of the history of the Comintern helps the Communist movement promote proletarian internationalism and to initiate new efforts for closer Communist unity.

Another point made in the discussion was that present-day conditions call for different forms of international contacts than those of the Comintern years. In this context, it was emphasized that international conferences are one of the main forms of such contacts.

Many drew attention to the importance and timeliness of the forthcoming June Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties and pledged full support for it.

The heightened importance of international unity of all the anti-imperialist re-

volutionary forces figured prominently in all speeches. Unity, it was stressed, was an objective trend in the Communist movement and its realization depended on active and purposeful effort by all consistent internationalists, all true Marxist-Leninists.

One of the chief requisites for Communist unity is principled irreconcilable struggle for the purity of Marxism-Leninism.

Speakers stressed the need for close alliance and cooperation, on the basis of proletarian internationalism, of the three currents in the world revolutionary movement. Proletarian internationalism, they declared, is based on the rights and fraternal obligations of all the parties.

The Conference warmly greeted the people of Vietnam in their self-sacrificing struggle against American imperialism.

The Conference received a telegram from Ho Chi Minh, a leading figure in the Comintern and the international Communist movement and Chairman of the Party of Working People of Vietnam: "I am sincerely grateful for the invitation to take part in the seminar commemorating the 50th anniversary of the founding of the Communist International. I deeply regret that the continuing war in our country does not allow me to share in your work. I hope you will understand. I wish you every success. With Communist greetings, Ho Chi Minh."

In closing the Conference, P. Fedoseyev thanked the Comintern veterans and all the other foreign participants.

The Conference concluded with the singing of the *Internationale*.

In brief:

VENEZUELA: Communist Party regains its legality

At the end of March, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Venezuela held its first legal meeting in years. The meeting noted that the legalization of the Party, which had been banned by President Romulo Betancourt seven years ago, represented a victory for the Communists and the revolutionary movement in Venezuela and a defeat for the anti-Communist policy pursued in the country.

The legalization of the Party is the result partly of its decision to revise its tactical line, following a series of military and political reverses. It intends to make the most of the opportunities afforded by the recent elections and the switching of power from the Democratic Action Party to the Social-Christian Party (COPEI), to carry on its political work openly.

The legalization is the outcome not of

any capitulation or compromise on the part of the C.P. with the present ruling party. The Party's attitude has not changed. It proceeds from the fact that the COPEI is the "reverse side of the Right forces": it stands close to the reactionary Catholic hierarchy, and the ultra-conservative European Christian-Democratic parties, and is associated with the powerful financial groups at home which are allied with imperialism. These forces supported the candidacy of Caldera whose election was clinched by the support of the followers of the ex-dictator, Perez Jimenez, and the *Capriles* newspaper concern.

Bearing this in mind, and the fact that the Left candidates, including the Communist Party, polled a much smaller vote than expected the previous Central Committee meeting held at the beginning of March, qualified the elections as a "political defeat" for the working class. It cannot be said that we forced the government to legalize the Party because of emphatic mass support. The Venezuelan Left, it should be noted, presently in a state of disarray, are grappling with many difficulties, while their enemies, on the other hand, are polarizing their forces between Government and Opposition.

In the circumstances, the concession made by the ruling circles to restore to the Communist Party its legal status has another aspect to it, that of a skilful maneuver aimed at involving us in the existing system and making us accomplices in its "democratization" and thereby have the people believe that the new governments spells the beginning of real changes in the political life of the country. This maneuver is rein-

forced with such measures as the introduction of a broad social program, restoration of diplomatic relations with the socialist countries, the promise of a general amnesty. We are not taken in by such measures; they are typical of the Social-Christian leaders who are adepts at playing a double game. "We know that the Caldera government," notes the Central Committee statement, published shortly before the new government took office, "seeking to create the impression that it differs from the government of the Democratic Action Party will begin with a face-lifting policy and thus create illusions and hopes among some sections. Our task, therefore, is to dispel these illusions...."

The recent CC meeting confirmed the Party's characterization of the government of the Social Christian Party. It noted that it was merely a question of one group of the ruling classes replacing another. The government in office would, consequently, cater to the interests of those classes, the national economy would continue to be dependent on foreign capital, and Venezuela would continue to be subordinate to the U.S. imperialists.

The Communist Party of Venezuela, the resolution stressed will, therefore, continue its firm and militant opposition to the regime, while at the same time using all legal avenues to rally the working class and all other exploited sections of the population to fight for their liberation, for true revolutionary changes, the abolition of imperialist domination, for democracy and socialism in our country.

Juan RODRIGUEZ

KOREA: building a socialist economy

Newspapers in the Korean People's Democratic Republic report continued progress in building a socialist economy under the leadership of the Party of Labor.

A while ago, one of the Republic's shipyards launched its second refrigerator ship of 3,750 tons; last year it built three 1,000-HP dredges. This is, indeed, an achievement, for shipbuilding is something new to Korea, though in the past it did build small wooden craft. Now the new shipyards at Wonsan, Hamhin, Chongjin and other ports produce fishing vessels, trawlers, general-cargo and refrigerator ships. Rapid progress in this and other industries should be attributed to the Party's unremit-

ting efforts in building a modern socialist economy.

The basic orientation in postwar economic development has been priority growth of heavy industry, but with simultaneous expansion in the light industries and in agriculture. General Secretary Kim Il Sung has emphasized that this policy made it possible correctly to schedule economic reconstruction and expansion and concentrate on central objectives. Rapid development in heavy industry has made for a fast rate of growth also in agriculture.

Much was accomplished during the seven years (1961-67) plan. Its main purpose was to carry out a technical and cultural revolution that would transform the country into

a socialist industrial power with a modern producing apparatus and a developed agriculture, and on this basis raise material and cultural standards.

The *Nodon Shinmun* cites these figures as indicative of the concerted effort of Party, government and people: industrial output in 1967 was 22 times the 1948 figure, with an especially rapid advance in engineering: its 1967 output was 100 times greater than in 1948, and its share in the gross industrial product rose over these years from 7.4 to 31.4 per cent; per capita national income in 1967 was 340 per cent above 1949.

In fact, the Republic now produces in two weeks the equivalent of what all of Korea used to produce in a year under the Japanese, when heavy industry, such as it was, was confined to pig iron and raw copper for Japan. Now the Republic manufactures machine-tools, automobiles, turbines, building machinery, precision instruments, tractors, complex agricultural machines, etc.

The Party and government have adopted a series of measures to reform administrative and economic management to meet the requirements of a changing situation. The new management system lays more stress on the effective functioning of administrative and economic bodies at all levels, makes for closer ties with the masses, which now have a bigger share in the administration of state affairs.

The Party continues to devote unflagging attention to economic development. This was the subject of the two last Central Committee meetings, in April and November 1968. The first examined the 1968

development plan and measures for a steep rise in livestock farming; the second examined measures to improve the functioning of the country's railways.

In February, the *Minchu Choson* reported a nation-wide conference of agricultural workers in which the main address was delivered by Kim Il, Secretary of the Party of Labor Central Committee and First Deputy Prime-Minister. Despite unfavorable weather conditions, he said, agriculture has made headway: gross cereal production was up 11 per cent on 1967, with rice showing a 13 per cent and maize a 16 per cent increase. Also these figures: a 26 per cent increase in meat, nearly 100 per cent in fruit and 34 per cent in silk cocoons. Referring to the tasks ahead, Kim Il emphasized the need to accelerate mechanization and make wider use of chemicals to increase yields and lighten the work of the farmer. He called on all cadres connected with farming to concentrate on better and fuller use of tractors and other machinery.

In building the new people's state, the Party pointed out that the main goal was industrialization, plus a technical and cultural revolution to teach the people the skills necessary to handle modern machines and create the material and technical basis of socialism.

The Party's economic policy, Kim Il Sung has declared, correctly takes into account "the objective requirements of economic development and our realistic potentialities. It is a creative policy which applies the Marxist-Leninist theory of extended reproduction to the concrete situation in the Korean People's Democratic Republic".

M. D.

CUBA: educational progress

Summing up the results of Cuba's ten years of socialist reconstruction, Fidel Castro listed education among the most important gains of the revolution.

As a result of the rule of reactionary governments, something like one million of Cuba's 6.5 million people could not read or write. The anti-illiteracy campaign given top priority after the overthrow of the dictatorship in January 1959, was largely consummated in a year. A special number of the journal *Cuba*, on the tenth anniversary of the revolution, contained a photo-copy of the following letter:

"Havana, June 7, 1961

"To Dr. Fidel Castro, Prime Minister

"Comrade,

"I wish to thank you for the law obliging

all those who cannot read to begin learning. There was a time when I could not read. Now I can. The papers write of all the good things done by the revolution.

"Signed: Rafael Blaine."

Republic education has been a prime concern of the Cuban Communist Party. The main achievement of the educational reform is that now every child of school age has the opportunity to learn. The number of educational establishments has doubled since the revolution, enrolment in primary schools more than doubled, and nearly tripled in secondary schools. And the number of teachers has increased more spectacularly still. Far-reaching changes are observed in the universities. The student body has grown from 25,500 to more than

40,000, and the accent has shifted markedly in their choice of subjects. The teaching profession attracts the greatest number (20.3 per cent of the students), technology 18.5 per cent and medicine 16.2 per cent.

What is novel for Cuba is the system of technical and vocational training — the smithy of skills for industry and agriculture. In a country which imported most staples before the revolution, the Party is now building up a mechanized agriculture that will soon meet home needs and have a surplus for export. In addition to sugar, Cuba will export meat and dairy products, vegetables and fruit. The fishing fleet, too, has been built up since the revolution. Workers and technicians are being trained in Cuban schools and universities, and in those of other socialist countries, for all fields.

On completing the anti-illiteracy campaign, the Party launched measures to afford adults educational opportunities in

evening schools. A system of worker-peasant education was built up, of which more than 350,000 people, or more than one-third of those who had learned to read and write soon after the revolution, have availed themselves, completing the sixth class (seeing that mass entry of these schools began six years ago). Nearly 58,000 adults have completed the full secondary school course.

The far-flung network of boarding schools, especially in the remote regions, and the inclusion of physical culture and sports in the school curriculum, extra-school science and technology clubs, better training of teachers, school libraries, new textbooks, measures to secure closer links between the school and production, and improvements in higher and technical secondary education, may be listed among the main advances in Cuba's educational system.

V. G.

New sights for socialist economy

Interviews with heads of planning agencies of CMEA countries

Continuing the series started in our last issue, we now publish replies from Bulgaria, Hungary, the German Democratic Republic and Mongolia. Our questions were:

1. What were the overall economic results of 1968?
2. What new features can be expected in 1969?

PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF BULGARIA

TANO TSOLOV,

**Deputy Chairman of Council of Ministers and
Chairman of the State Planning Committee**

1. In the past year our people, led by the Communist Party with Todor Zhivkov at the head, registered further success in economic development and in material and cultural well-being.

The national income was five times the figure for 1939. Industrial progress continued at a rapid pace, expressed most significantly in priority development of the engineering, power, iron and steel and chemical industries which, serving as the basis for structural changes in our economy, accounted for 54.1 per cent of the increase in industrial production. Today our socialist industry supplies more than half of the national income. Productivity of labor in industry grew last year by nine per cent.

Our socialist agriculture demonstrated its advantages even in the exceptionally unfavorable weather conditions of last year. According to preliminary estimates, per hectare crop yields averaged 2.39 tons for wheat, 3.08 tons for maize, 1.62 tons for sunflower seed, 27.69 tons for tomatoes and 6.7 tons for grapes. Bulgaria holds a leading place in the world for per capita output of a number of agricultural products.

A better life for the working people is

our aim in promoting the growth of the productive forces. Everything for man — such is the motto of our Party. Our people are now living a more prosperous life.

Our achievements in the past year are also the result of our cooperation with the other socialist countries, the Soviet Union in the first place. Our Party is loyal to Georgi Dimitrov's bequest of internationalism, friendship and cooperation with the Soviet Union.

2. In 1969 our people will celebrate the 25th anniversary of the socialist revolution. That is why the year began in an atmosphere of an upsurge of labor activity, of a desire to surpass the achievements of 1968. Characteristic for this year's plan are high and stable rates of growth, more efficient operation, higher profitability standards, investment concentration on key projects and expansion and modernization.

National income is scheduled to increase by at least 10 per cent — wholly from increased productivity of labor. Output of means of production will grow by 12 per cent, that of consumer goods by 10 per cent. Provision is made for further improvement in the structure of industry, to be achieved via new enterprises, accelerated

reconstruction and modernization of existing plant, and extensive introduction of the latest techniques. Priority development of the engineering, power, iron and steel, chemical and other industries indispensable for technological progress will be maintained.

The return from 100 leva of fixed assets in the economy as a whole is estimated at 10.74 leva, as against 10.17 last year.

The consumption fund will increase by 9.5 per cent, and per capita real income by 5.7 per cent. Special attention is paid to the expansion and improvement of services, whose volume will grow by 23 per

cent. Bigger allocations have been made for construction of student hostels and extension of college facilities. The monthly allowances paid to students will be raised. Housing allocations will increase 26 per cent.

This, in the main, is what we hope to achieve in 1969.

Conscious that the building of socialism in our country has its international aspects, our people will continue to do everything to help build up the might of world socialism, promote the development of the world revolutionary process and contribute to the cause of democracy, peace and progress.

HUNGARIAN PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC

IMRE PARDI,

Chairman of State Planning Committee

1. After several years of careful preparatory work, the management reform was introduced on January 1, 1968. Its underlying idea is organically to combine centralized planning with active use of the market mechanism, with the means of production remaining in socialist ownership. Extending to every cell of the economy, the reform will help strengthen our socialist economic structure, accelerate development through intensified production in a balanced economy, and assure a steady rise in living standards.

The main 1968 objective was to introduce the basic elements of the reform and ensure smooth functioning of the new mechanism without in any way disturbing balanced development. In reviewing the year's results we should therefore first of all establish to what degree this has been achieved.

Our priority consideration was an even, proportionate and steady growth rate. In 1967, investment rose by 22 per cent. This made for additional accumulation and large commodity stocks. Consumption was rising faster than personal income, due to the nine per cent increase in industrial output and to a higher-than-average growth of imports. The tension thus generated could have led to economic disproportions. The 1968 plan was so formulated as to have a corrective influence: growth rates were lowered to a more balanced level, and in some cases the proportions set by the plan proved more favorable than we had expected.

The increases in national income (more than five per cent) and consumption (six per cent), were in line with planned indi-

cators, with the result that the supply situation improved and savings-bank deposits showed a substantial increase. We built more housing than in 1967, made good progress on other living standard indicators—on many, in fact, we are already close to the targets set for 1970.

The accumulation rate was lowered and a larger share of the national income went into consumption. Industrial output rose approximately six per cent and its structure was altered to bring it into closer conformity with demand. Farm output was likewise above the 1967 figure notwithstanding unfavorable weather conditions. We can also speak of an appreciable rise in employment.

Internationally, too, our economic position has improved. Trade with the socialist countries was up approximately eight per cent on 1967, and we have a better trade balance with capitalist countries.

This brief enumeration of the major indicators for 1968 is a measure of Hungary's successful development. The new economic mechanism did not lead to any disturbing developments; the new system performed as expected—there was no temporary recession, and we were able more widely to apply planning principles both in relation to our main economic and political aims and to specific economic problems. We thus have practical proof that under socialism planned management is possible without rigid and detailed binding indicators handed down by the central planners.

Another gratifying development is the growth of initiative in all links of the economic system, which now enjoy more inde-

pendence. There is a stronger desire to share in shaping the structure of production and tying it to demand. On the whole, the economy developed more rationally and with fewer bureaucratic impediments. There is a more direct link between production and consumption and this, we believe, is a long step towards a more efficiently operating economy. We have also taken an important step towards general economic equilibrium: the home market is more stable, with a much better demand-supply ratio.

All in all, 1968 was a successful year both in terms of economic results and new methods of management. The fundamentals of the reform have proved sound and can serve as a basis for accelerated and more effective development.

2. The economic directives for 1969 are based on a thorough analysis of the current third five-year plan targets and the experience of 1968. Accordingly, our principal objectives are as follows: even and steady growth rates, continued quantitative and qualitative improvement of demand-oriented production, more extensive differentiation based on economic results, and a rise in living standards. All this calls for a balanced pattern of market relations, i.e., for production keyed to needs. And this, in turn, can be achieved only given a moderate growth rate, especially considering that our aim is to perfect the production structure and to raise technical and quality standards. The 1969 plan therefore retains last year's growth rates in production and consumption. Specifically, national income will rise 5-6 per cent, industrial output about 6 per cent, farm output 2-3 per cent, and building operations 6-7 per cent. These rates will be assured mainly by regulating demand.

A steady rise in living standards is a central aim of the plan: it envisages a 5-6 per cent rise in consumption, and 4-5 per cent in real wages and salaries and farmer incomes.

The higher standard of living will be

attained by increasing individual incomes which, under the new reform, are closely tied to operational results of factories and cooperative farms. No limit has been set to higher incomes accruing from higher production and profitability; in fact, we have introduced many incentives to stimulate better performance and higher quality.

The 1969 plan also provides for sizeable investments in public health, housing and the social and cultural services.

Investments will be at a level of 6-7 per cent above 1968. However, this will not fully eliminate the gap between investment requirements and available resources. One of our most serious problems in this context is excessive construction schedules and shortage of some building materials. A 6-7 per cent investment increase could lead to excessive accumulation and unnecessary stock-piling. To prevent this we have adjusted our credit policy to ensure a more moderate rate of accumulation.

In foreign trade, the plan calls for a 6-7 per cent increase—6-8 per cent in trade with the socialist countries and 5 per cent in trade with the capitalist countries. We are tightening export and import regulations to meet the requirements of the economy, international obligations, and assure a favorable trade balance.

The 1968 results are proof that the guiding principles of the reform are correct, but they also show that some of its elements and regulation levers will have to be modified in line with this year's requirements. Some of these modifications have already been made and incorporated into the 1969 plan, others are set out in appropriate legislative acts.

Such, in brief outline, are our economic tasks for 1969. Their achievement will require concerted effort, but knowing the diligence of our people and their unswerving confidence in the Party's policy, we feel sure that, in fraternal cooperation with the socialist community, the plan will be fulfilled, thereby carrying us another step forward in the building of full socialism.

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

GERHARD SCHUERER,

Deputy Chairman of Council of Ministers and
Chairman of the State Planning Committee

1. I can say with full satisfaction that for the whole of our economy 1968 was a good year. Economic progress has been balanced and stable, and we can look back

on important achievements in solving the problem of "who — whom?" in favor of peace, democracy and socialism.

A characteristic feature of the past year

was continued and diversified use of all the advantages of socialism in building up a highly effective economic structure. The 1968 plan was fulfilled and the targets set for that year in the five-year program were fully attained. National income rose 5.3 per cent, or by 5,000 million marks.

The main contributing factor was higher productivity, which in industry rose by approximately eight per cent—a gratifying figure, for it shows that the measures taken to rationalize and automate industry and concentrate research and development on major objectives have been productive of good results.

Investment in the economy was 10 per cent above the 1967 figure and equal to the aggregate national income of 1950. In conformity with our long-range plan of reshaping the economic structure, we gave priority to industries that have a direct bearing on the technological revolution. I might mention the progress in electronics and continued expansion in petro-chemicals and agricultural machinery.

The foreign trade picture is better, too, with exports up nine per cent. The quality of goods for the home market has greatly improved. Retail trade amounted to 57,900 million marks, food sales were up 4.6 per cent and manufactured goods 4.9 per cent.

Headway was made both in agriculture and the food industry. More efficient cultivation methods are used in agriculture, now being reorganized along industrial lines and working in closer cooperation with other branches of the economy. In combination, these measures have boosted production and improved the supply of food. Government purchases of meat and dairy products rose 4.9 per cent.

Another important fact is continued progress in education which is helping to mould the men and women of socialist society which, incidentally, is an important contributing factor to economic progress.

In assessing 1968 we can say it has produced positive results. They were achieved by our people's persevering efforts, by their dedicated work in economic upbuilding. Last year's results are an indication of the creative abilities and maturity of our people, who know that they enjoy all the fruits of their labor. Under the tried and tested leadership of the Socialist Unity Party, our people are building a developed socialist system and demonstrating their ability to solve the complex problems posed by the technological revolution.

The effectiveness and stability of our national economy is now compelling even those who in the past endlessly predicted "bankruptcy" of the German Democratic Republic to take a more realistic look at the way the republic is developing. Socialist economic planning, legislatively consolidated in our Constitution, has fully justified itself. The material basis of our peaceful socialist economy is now stronger than ever, and we can note with satisfaction the continued growth of the republic's international prestige.

We are forging ahead, shoulder to shoulder with our true friends firm alliance with whom is a cardinal condition of continued progress. In pursuance of our Treaty of Friendship, Mutual Aid and Cooperation with the USSR and other agreements with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, we have entered into new arrangements for closer economic and technological cooperation. This policy of joint economic endeavor by the socialist countries is to the mutual advantage of all the parties concerned.

2. The 20th anniversary of our socialist state, which we shall celebrate in October, has more than national implications. The jubilee will inspire us to continue the building of our socialist system with revolutionary enthusiasm and scientifically-grounded methods. The 1969 economic plan will be a further step in strengthening our socialist state.

These are the sights we have set for the current year: higher managerial standards; integrated automation and greater use of computers; continued introduction of new techniques; wider use of scientific methods for more effective results in research and applied technology; systematic expansion of major research centers working on problems central to our long-range plans, continued implementation of the research and higher-education reform.

A new feature of the 1969 plan is that it is based on scientific prognostication with a view to more systematic utilization of the advantages of the international socialist division of labor to boost growth rates and perfect the economic structure. Coupled with other measures, this will lay the groundwork for the 1971-75 plan.

Specific targets for 1969 are: a nine per cent increase in productivity, five per cent in agricultural output and foodstuffs, six per cent in national income which, for the first time, will top the 100,000 million level.

A major problem we shall have to solve

this year is better and fuller use of producing capacity and concentration of investment on projects designed to improve the general economic structure. The new factories we are building must be at top technical level, and this requires optimal solutions by our designers and engineers. Naturally, the effect of these long-term investments and kindred measures will be felt only several years hence.

This year will see a further rise in living standards, with incomes increasing 4.5 per cent and retail trade 4.7 per cent.

Economic stability and the good results of 1968 should give no cause for complacency. Developed socialism, and international marketing conditions necessitate unremitting effort to achieve the highest levels in research, technology and produc-

tion. That is the goal set in the jubilee emulation drive. This mass initiative gives us the confidence that in the coming months our republic will advance from progress to progress, that the 1969 program will create a firm foundation for higher industrial and agricultural output, the continued flourishing of our socialist way of life and the continued effective operation of the motive forces of the new system, which will fully bring out the superiority of socialism.

The working people of the GDR have a reliable perspective in their firm alliance with the USSR and other members of the socialist community. This inspires them in solving our common tasks, which will mean continued progress for the socialist community.

MONGOLIAN PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC

BY AMBYN RINCHINPILZHE,
Chairman, State Planning Committee

1. In 1968, the third year of our fourth five-year plan, our economy advanced considerably in laying the material and technical foundations of socialism and in turning our republic into an industrial-agrarian country.

In 1968 basic production assets grew by more than 20 per cent, with the productive sphere receiving more than 70 per cent of all investment. Significant success was registered in strengthening the material and technical base of livestock breeding, which plays a very important role in our economy. Much was done in bringing water to pasturelands and in building livestock premises. Agriculture received additional tractors, harvester combines and other machines.

Despite the very unfavorable weather conditions for both crops and animal husbandry, the aggregate social product grew seven per cent.

Industrial output rose by 9.9 per cent. Growth was particularly rapid in the power, fuel, mining, building materials, woodworking, tanning and footwear industries. Many enterprises fulfilled plans ahead of schedule.

Labor productivity in industry increased by almost seven per cent. It is noteworthy that in the Ulan Bator bakery, chosen as the testing ground for the new system of planning and incentive, growth of labor productivity was much higher than the average. Lower costs brought the plant substantial above-plan profit.

All types of transport registered further growth of freight turnover. There was an increase in the transportation of goods and passengers by air. The length of air routes was considerably extended.

Planned assignments for raising the material and cultural standards of the people were fulfilled. A total of 50,000 sq.m. of dwelling space and several public service centers were built.

Targets in public education and in the health services were also reached. Attendance at all levels of education constitutes now 18.6 per 100 of the population. Last year our specialized secondary and higher schools turned out several thousand specialists, while a large number of workers were trained in vocational schools.

Medical services were considerably improved. By the end of the year we had 96 hospital beds and 17 physicians per 10,000 of the population.

An important role in our development is played by the fraternal aid of the other socialist countries, chiefly the Soviet Union, which currently is helping in building some 150 industrial and other installations. Last year the Soviet Union supplied us with fodder and trucks to help overcome the consequences of the drought.

The German Democratic Republic helped us build and put into operation a meat-packing plant in Ulan Bator; Czechoslovakia helped with the first stage of a cement plant in Darkhan; Bulgaria with a hog-

breeding farm, and Hungary with several watering places for livestock.

2. The main target this year is to accelerate the growth of production through tapping unused reserves and raising efficiency.

Bigger and more effective investments are scheduled to bring about a 20.4 per cent gain in basic production assets. Agricultural and industrial production will be stepped up, with a resultant 12.1 per cent growth in national income and 14 per cent growth of the aggregate social product. Productivity of labor will rise by nearly six per cent.

Importance is attached to strengthening the material and technical base of agriculture. Investment in agriculture, comprising 36.8 per cent of total allocations, will be used chiefly for expanding the fodder base, building livestock premises and irrigating pasturelands.

The plan for field husbandry envisages

expansion of the area under fodder crops and increased grain output through raising yields and using more machines.

Industrial output is to rise by 18.7 per cent, with special attention being paid to stepping up output of coal, cement, building materials, leather and footwear.

The steady growth of material production makes possible systematic improvement of the material and cultural standards of the population. Growth of real incomes is fixed at 6.4 per cent. The volume of services will grow considerably. Allocations for social and cultural purposes will be 9.8 per cent higher than in 1968.

All the indications are that our people, led by their Party, will cope with the tasks of this year's plan and thus make another advance towards laying the material and technical foundations of socialism in Mongolia.

Perfecting socialist planning and management

DYMITR SOKOLOV

I.

The economic, social and political progress made by the socialist countries in the past twenty years is impressive. The highly developed capitalist countries, too, enjoying the longest boom since the beginning of the century, registered a marked increase in production and, in most cases, a rise in living standards. In the social aspect, however, capitalism has stagnated, while politically it acquired, in some countries, a reactionary character. A comparison of the respective economic showings will favor the socialist world, where the growth rate has been about twice as fast and more comprehensive. And if to this we add the social and political aspects, then the superiority of socialism stands out even more sharply.

This, however, is no reason for making a fetish of the methods by which this progress was achieved. One of the advantages of socialism is that, as distinct from capitalism, bound as it is by a rigid social structure, it makes possible flexible adaptation of methods to the changing conditions. This, while true for all areas of social life, is particularly important in the economic sphere, where the conditions of work are subjected to highly dynamic changes induced by current needs of the national economy.

In the past decade the economies of almost all socialist countries have undergone considerable change associated with their entry into a qualitatively new stage of development. Completion of the initial tasks of socialist industrialization and so-

cial reconstruction, which required colossal effort and mobilization, gradually exhausted the resources that powered our economic growth. Most countries began to experience a shortage of manpower in the rapidly developing industrial regions and, almost everywhere, in agriculture. Still another factor was the inadequate infrastructures, both those inherited from capitalism and those built in the first years of socialism.

The beginning of the new phase coincided with the onset of the worldwide scientific and technological revolution. From now on progress will be commensurate with ability to switch over to intensive methods of running the economy. While the new phase presupposes maintaining a fast growth rate, this becomes increasingly difficult owing to exhaustion of the extensive factors responsible for the initial rapid advance.

Intensive economic activity calls for a quicker restructuring of the national economies. Specifically, it is necessary to accelerate the growth of those industries which decisively influence the general economic advance and make it possible to achieve and maintain for long periods high-level productivity of labor, deepen the division of labor through inter-state specialization, and vigorously promote research and practical application of its results.

Intensive working also presupposes better use of existing capacities. What counts now is not only the creation of new capacities or growth of working capital, but fuller utilization of available facilities, ability to raise labor productivity and reduce production costs. In the past, at least

we in Poland, could not do much in this respect because the prime concern then was to eliminate the legacy of capitalism (untapped labor resources, backward social relationships) rather than to improve production techniques. Fast growth rates and simultaneous modification of the production structure plus the need productively to engage the unemployed and the surplus agricultural population were not conducive to concentration on more efficient operation. Moreover, so long as abundant extensive growth factors existed it was necessary to use them as fully as possible. Extensive and ineffective are not synonyms. Effective economic development can, up to a point, take place also extensively. But now with the extensive factors virtually exhausted, transition to intensive methods is essential, and ability to achieve maximum results with limited means rather than skill in tapping latent reserves becomes the hallmark of economic activity.

There are, lastly, tasks connected with elevating the economy to the level where it can ensure rational satisfaction of the requirements of society. And the more the economy approaches this level, the greater will be the need correctly to assess these differentiated requirements. Obviously, absolutely full satisfaction of all requirements is impossible, for as some requirements are met new ones appear. Intensification of the economy in this sphere presupposes a certain degree of flexibility in production, making possible correct proportions in satisfying requirements.

Implied here is flexibility both in meeting existing requirements and in shaping future ones. Production itself can influence consumer demand by offering new commodities and services, regulating the supply of existing ones, and so on. But it is difficult to influence demand when supply is lacking, as was the case in the past in some socialist countries. In the present conditions of growing well-being and consequent growth of demand for quality goods, it is important correctly to assess this differentiated demand and plan production accordingly.

II.

Thus, in recent times, the socialist economy came up against problems which can be solved only by intensive methods. Socialism has the elements needed for coping with this, such as planned growth and ability to harmonize individual and group interests with the overall interests of so-

ciety and to ensure the preeminence of the general social and long-term tasks over particular and current ones. The new tasks will be successfully carried out only on the condition that the changes taking place in the socialist economic system will lead to a deepening and strengthening of these elements.

The success attained under the existing system—in Poland, for instance—should not blind us to the imperfections of the methods used. An analysis shows that much still remains to be done in this respect. Specifically, we have yet to learn how to dovetail current and long-range optimal indicators. Without this, we will be unable to eliminate waste, to secure growth rates adequate to the means invested, to even up the growth rate and accelerate establishment of optimal proportions between the different branches of the economy. Nor is society helped by the fact that some of the goods produced are not on the level of the requirements of consumers, exporters and investors—in other words, that the results are not in an optimal proportion to expenditure.

Hence the need to improve planning and management. This is particularly important, for future development requires closer combination of long-range and current demands.

On the other hand, these and other failings should not lead us to writing off the whole of the existing planning and managerial system. Its condemnation in toto by bourgeois economists and revisionists has no foundation in fact. We realize that it is not living up to requirements, but we also realize that so far none of the currently existing systems has produced results superior to all that has been done by us.

The thing to do, then, is to improve and enrich the existing system. The improvement should be in line with the demands of practice and not stem from speculative, untested "models."

Needed for intensive economic functioning, and for restructuring the national economy is an improvement in planning techniques. In practice, this means adhering to democratic centralism in determining the aims and in guiding economic processes, encouraging social initiative while consolidating the planning principle.

We frequently encounter mechanical counterposing of these two processes which in its extreme form runs as follows: The more planning, the less initiative, and vice versa.

The underlying idea is that plan and initiative are mutually exclusive, that one can gain only at the expense of the other. But that is an entirely false understanding of the matter, for there is no reason to regard as initiative only that activity which runs counter to the plan (although, on the other hand, only this kind of initiative can be counterposed to the plan). Far from contradicting the planning principle, an initiative in line with the plan assignments consolidates this principle. Deepening and perfecting planning, far from hamstringing initiative, creates new possibilities for it. Promoting planning and social initiative is not only a quantitative process but one which creates qualitatively new relationships between plan and initiative.

Those who advocate the "free play of forces" often say that by affirming planning we are for a return to rigid centralized regulation of the economy, which inhibits initiative and, consequently, socialist democracy. On the other hand, some economists tend to see progress of planning only in those limits to which the centralized planning is confined (such as prices or the wage fund). In either case we are dealing with the view that planning signifies rigid (or bureaucratic) regulation and that the less planning there is the better it will be for social initiative. The fact that arguments such as these can be heard even in scientific discussions is indicative of the tenacity of the narrow, quantitative approach to the matter of planning versus initiative, of failure to appreciate the possibilities for qualitative progress in the planning sphere.

The system of planning and management existing in our country does not as yet satisfactorily harmonize planning with initiative. It is no secret that current planning is not sufficiently geared to fulfilment of the long-term programs. Plans that make no provision for sufficient and mobile reserves can adversely affect economic equilibrium, and administrative decisions to slow down or accelerate implementation of previously set assignments begin to play an excessive role. Problems of this nature are bound to crop up in any planning and management system, a point often forgotten by the authors of various "models." However, the imperatives of carrying out urgent tasks should not be allowed to affect or postpone the realization of plan assignments. A planning and management system too much oriented on current tasks will leave little room for initiative by producers, and the absence of stable plan assignments may

hamper the harmonizing of group interests with those of society as a whole.

What conclusions follow from this? Should we give up continued strengthening of centralized planning and management and delegate all decision-making, at least within the limits of the current tasks, to the actual producers, or restrict centralized planning to working out long-term aims?

If we admit that the present system needs changing we should have our own ideas about how to do so. Only real progress in planning and management methods will enable us to debunk the nihilistic approach to planning.

III.

Intensive economic development calls for a well-considered approach to two highly complex matters—drawing up optimal targets for current and long-term optimal plans, and properly correlating the elements of centralized and decentralized management.

These matters have long been the subject of heated debate in which all kinds of myths and unconfirmed viewpoints have been advanced. Hence the need for a sound view of ways of improving planning and management, a view based on thoroughly assessed experience.

As we see it, intensive operation is associated primarily with solving long-term development problems and creating a day-to-day guidance system which would facilitate this solution. Hence long-term optimization becomes the principal task.

This does not preclude, but rather presupposes, optimization of current plans. However, they must be set within limits that rule out conflict with long-term optimization. This is necessary to keep them in line with the overall tasks of the socialist national economy. Being dynamic by nature, these tasks cannot be carried out in short terms. Consequently, the tasks of long-term development should determine the limits of current optimization, and not vice versa.

However, this priority of social tasks cannot be used as an argument against the principle of current optimization, although the latter influence the distribution of the national income into consumption and accumulation. On the contrary, if the national income is distributed on the basis of the general developmental tasks, every effort should be applied to ensure the rationality of the entire economic activity and

most effective utilization of available means, i.e., full observance of the principle of current optimization. Optimization becomes the principal factor in carrying out both long-term and current tasks. Their implementation on the necessary scale would be impossible without seriously rationalizing the methods of utilizing means. Otherwise this could affect consumption and lead to unprofitable expenditures.

By rationalizing day-to-day operation, current optimization facilitates rapid growth of labor productivity in conditions when the consumption-accumulation ratio remains unchanged. This is explained by the stimulating effect of rising consumption, more rational utilization of resources, and cutting back output of those goods which inadequately meet the socially recognized requirements.

To this argument, which is by no means new, it should be added that current optimization, by rationalizing the economic structure, contributes to systematic restructuring of the economy over long periods of time, for it facilitates the study of future requirements and the search for national ways of satisfying them.

Decentralization, too, calls for a rational and not a doctrinaire approach. Maximum use should be made here of relevant experience, and any recommendations should take into account possible social and economic consequences. Decentralization should not be made an overriding aim counterposed to planning and centralized guidance, or presented as an expression of the highest degree of "socialization" of socioeconomic relations. This doctrinaire and, as we shall try to show later, non-socialist approach is displayed by the extreme advocates of "market socialism." But the tendency to identify decentralization with social initiative and centralization with the absence of it is fairly widespread, even among sincere supporters of socialism.

There is no doubt that encouraging initiative is one of the functions of socialism, a function dictated also by economic considerations, because initiative accelerates economic and social progress, reinforces the humane aspects of socialism and counteracts the trend to doom people to the role of mere executors, to deprive their labor of everything creative.

Earlier, we tried to show that the tendency to identify initiative with actions directed against planning, against centralized leadership and generally against social interests in the name of personal or group interests stems from erroneous prem-

ises and certainly not from the experience of socialism. The alienation theories now fashionable in the West, and the glorification of the "progressive" character of the individual's rebellion against society are entirely inapplicable to socialism. In the West, theories of this kind reflect real conflicts in a capitalist society rent by antagonistic contradictions. To contend that under socialism initiative is bound to contradict the interests of society, and deduce therefrom the need to decentralize, is tantamount to postulating the existence under socialism of antagonistic contradictions inherent only in capitalism.

The matter takes on an entirely new look if we proceed from the only correct premise, confirmed by the experience of socialism, namely, that under socialism individual and group interests basically coincide with the interests of society as a whole.*

The question calling for an answer in the course of practical economic work does not boil down to the dilemma: "decentralization or centralized leadership," which immediately suggests the idea: decentralization instead of centralized planning and management, otherwise there will be no room for initiative. The real problem posed by economic growth is this: how to combine centralized planning and centralized control with decentralizing decision-making power and with encouraging initiative.

The central planning and management agencies, understandably, have at their disposal the technical knowledge and information for the appreciation of the requirements of long-term development and its necessary proportions. This detailed knowledge of the general problems is, as a rule, not available to enterprises. On the other hand, the enterprises have at their disposal a knowledge of the technical, economic and organizational aspects of production which is beyond the reach of the central authority. These two elements cannot replace each other without causing losses due to insufficient knowledge of either the general proportions of development or the concrete conditions in the enterprise. What is needed, therefore, is not any counterposing of these elements but an effective system of their interaction.

We still have to go a long way towards finding the optimal solution. We have not yet fully resolved the problems of supervising and restricting the initiative of en-

*See more on this problem in the article "Economic Relationships and Interests in Socialist Society" by the Soviet economists M. Mikhailov and A. Motyl'ov, printed in the previous issue of *WMR*.—ed.

terprises which, by virtue of the existing system of incentives, results in actions contrary to the interests of society as a whole. And experience shows that a single reform won't help here. The matter calls for steady improvement and differentiation of economic instruments of influence. In the same way the range of directives used by the central bodies is still a long way from meeting the needs of optimal planning. But this in no way detracts from the principle which sees the way out in simultaneously consolidating central planning and encouraging local initiative.

As we see, it is fundamentally wrong to counterpose centralized planning and the need for centralized management to the idea of decentralization and initiative. The way to decentralization, to local and group initiatives is in consolidating and perfecting the centralized planning and management, not through weakening or abolishing them. The limits within which decentralization and use of the market mechanism are permissible without damaging the overall interests of society, are a function of qualitative development of centralized planning and management. There is no contradiction here. On the contrary, these elements are interdependent. Attempts to deny this interdependence, to press forward with decentralization without corresponding consolidation and deepening of centralized planning can but slow down economic growth and lead to a spontaneous play of harmful trends on the market.

Nor can we agree with those "centralists" who see in a decentralizing of decision-making merely an inevitable evil stemming from the inadequate flow of information to the center. In their view progress of data transmitting and processing is bound to lead to a system in which decisions will be made by the central bodies on the basis of a profound study of all the relevant parameters. This strikes us as being both utopian and anti-humane, for it presupposes stripping human labor of all the elements of creativity and initiative.

In reality the opposite is taking place. Better planning makes it possible to maintain a flow of information concerning the requirements of society and the ways of meeting them (automated data-processing methods is but one, and not the most important, technological way of improving planning). This enables each working collective to act more in keeping with the overall interests, to display initiative in choosing methods of such action—to say nothing of influencing the aims of society.

The personnel of a socialist enterprise operating through a planned economy have incomparably better possibilities for initiative than the personnel of an enterprise operating in conditions of the capitalist market system, where competition necessitates directing a considerable part of the effort against other enterprises and hence against the public interest.

Right now, when it is still far from perfect, socialist centralization demonstrates its superiority in advancing the humane aspects of labor, such as initiative, cooperation and concern for the common weal as opposed to the pursuit of narrow self-seeking aims. Further progress will doubtlessly give still freer rein to these valuable aspects of human labor. The future of the socialist economic system lies neither in the dictatorship of a handful of technocrats equipped with electronic machines, nor in anarchy nor in the absolute egotism of a mechanism subordinated to the laws of the market. It lies in encouraging those factors which help humanize relationships among people and make it possible to work towards a common goal—factors which even now are the proof of the superiority of socialism over the market system or technocratic rationalization.

Progress in socialist planning is closely connected with more scientific research. The very basis of planning has to be improved—methods of forecasting the trends of technological advance, social processes accompanying changes in society and the growth of incomes and the prospects for division of labor with both socialist and capitalist countries. We now need a bigger research structure to analyze all economic, technical and social processes, also development of our limited natural resources—in short all the factors that go into economic growth. The results of this forecasting should serve as a basis for determining long-term tasks, establishing priorities, choosing the methods of fulfilling current tasks and assessing the readiness to proceed to the tasks of the next stage.

The more planning becomes scientific and free from elements of voluntarism in assessing the actual state of affairs and indicating future development, the greater will be the operational efficiency of the entire planning system. Specifically, stability of long- and short-term tasks will be achieved, for scientific planning will obviate the need for the plan corrections inevitable when decisions are made administratively without the benefit of scientific analysis. Better coordination of the particular and the gen-

eral tasks will be attained, ensuring the necessary material backing for any planned measure.

Stable plan assignments and precise coordination of specific plans and availability of the necessary reserves will further simplify the methods of day-to-day management. Given these conditions, the extensive system of plan indicators will become superfluous. Planning, although limited to a few basic indices, will ensure more precise fulfilment of the assignments than is the case at the moment, when the separate assignments are insufficiently coordinated and the stimuli do not always work in the desired direction.

Scientific planning makes possible fuller utilization of instruments of economic influence and gives the enterprise greater freedom in tackling its problems.

Matters affecting current optimization of consumer-goods production, especially those for which demand fluctuates depending on quality and variety, will be put right primarily by economic methods. In some branches, and within the limits specified by central plans, we think it will also be possible to delegate to the producers the right to decide matters of capital construction. But the bulk of accumulations should remain at the disposal of the central bodies. As regards investments made by the enterprises' own funds, the central planners should provide the investors with a scientific base, in the form of analysis of the trends of technological progress and a comprehensive study of the possible effect on these investments—just as they do in the case of centralized investments. The banking system, whose duty is to keep watch on fulfilment of the centrally-assigned tasks, should become a flexible mechanism uniting in a single whole the various bodies handling investments.

Thus, contrary to the widespread view, better central planning and management

do not obstruct the initiative of enterprise nor the use of economic instruments, including the market. On the contrary, it enables managers to make better use of the economic levers without fear of any undesired spontaneous processes.

Our experience of several years' work in devising an optimal system of planning and management shows that in the future the economic problems of the particular branches will be more and more differentiated, for the opinion prevails that transition will be made from a "frontal" advance to a concentration of means on selected targets vital to economic progress. Special attention will be paid to consumer goods and the services industry.

A differentiated approach to planning and operational control should favor flexible and differentiated decisions rather than sweeping ones. The transition to the new system underscores the need to strengthen the scientific basis of planning on the scale of both the national economy in its entirety and of its separate branches.

Flexible management not only has advantages, it is fraught also with certain dangers: coordination in the branches may prove to be insufficient, thereby affecting the general economic growth, structural changes in production, evening up incomes and the economic levels of different regions. Failure to achieve this coordination is observed in all universal systems known to us, and this shortcoming will not be automatically removed after the transition to a more flexible system of management. The danger of insufficient coordination may even increase in some sectors. Consequently, it is necessary, in addition to improving planning, to enact legislation that will enable the central bodies, which most fully express the overall interests of society, to exercise conscious and effective control over all economic processes.

Millions join class battles

E. KUCHKO, J. GIBBONS

Featuring the class struggle in the developed capitalist countries nowadays are well organized and hard-fought strikes. Resisted by state-monopoly capitalism, which is blocking solution to many vital problems and refusing to grant the legitimate demands of the working people, the socio-economic struggle often escalates into political actions against monopoly power.

Despite the strident claims to the contrary by bourgeois-reformist economists, sociologists and historians, the people, specifically the industrial working class, have not degenerated into passive objects of history.

The technological revolution, prominently exploited in their arguments by theorists of the "waning" class struggle, far from mitigating the burning social issues, has, on the contrary, intensified the antagonisms between the social nature of production and the private capitalist mode of appropriation, and between the monopoly bourgeoisie and all the other sections. The scientific and technological advance is accompanied by far-reaching changes in the make-up of the productive forces, of which man, the producer, is the main element. Production plant has been largely renewed, with the result that the working class has acquired qualitatively new characteristics, as is evident in its greater proficiency and in the general rise in educational standards.

Yet the bulk of the working people, especially those whose skills, age or education are out of line with current requirements, are hard hit by the social consequences of the technological revolution. With the monopolies firmly in the saddle, the capitalist corporations have amassed fabulous fortunes, there is greater exploitation, a greater intensity of labor, the working day is often longer and unemployment is widespread. In the circumstances, the reasons

for the protests and the resentment in every part of the capitalist world are many, including the arms race, the huge spending on the ramified bureaucratic, military and police machinery, insufficient allocations for education, public health and housing, and the aggressive imperialist foreign policy which is fraught with the danger of nuclear war.

The working class is in the van of the anti-monopoly struggle. Strikes break out not only at enterprise level, or in isolated areas of the economy; quite frequently they are nationwide. Eighty general strikes erupted between 1958 and 1962, and 163 between 1963 and 1967. All the signs are proof of a rising class struggle.

NUMBER OF STRIKERS*

	(millions)	
	Capitalist world	Industrial countries
1958	25-27	13.5
1959	35-37	16
1960	54-58	43-46
1961	50-53	41-43
1962	54-56	41-42
1963	56-68	41-43
1964	55-57	35-36
1965	35-37	19-20
1966	43-45	27-28
1967	46-47	30-31
1968	57-58	43-44

Most of the manifestations took place in

*Estimates of the Institute of the International Working Class Movement, Academy of Sciences of the USSR, yielding an idea of the scale of working class actions. Official figures were checked and finalized against trade union statistics and press reports. The figures include short strikes of half-hour and one or several hours' duration, important in present conditions, sit-down strikes, manifestations for wage-earners' demands in which members of their families, pensioners and others participated alongside the workers, and other forms of mass protest accompanying strikes.

the industrially-developed countries, where the struggle is most acute and where something like 58 million took part in strikes and the accompanying protests and manifestations in 1968.

In some of these countries, notably France and Italy, the resentment evoked by the policy of the ruling class escalated into large-scale social and political actions.

In France in May 1968, a powerful social force stepped on to the socio-political arena. Some eight to nine million, or more than half the workers, participated in the May-June general strike in 1968. Led by strike committees, the workers occupied hundreds of enterprises; these actions reaffirmed the strength of the militant class unions and proved their ability to lead the masses in organized struggles for the people's legitimate demands. Almost the entire working class and practically all the unions rallied in support of students persecuted by the police. The police reprisals were enough to rouse the workers, for discontent with authoritarian rule had ripened over the past ten years. It had surfaced previously, especially after 1963 when the united miners' strike became the prototype of nationwide workers' unity.

United action at enterprise level, by federations and departmental associations of unions, was achieved *de facto* more than once, especially after January 10, 1966, when the General Confederation of Labor and the Democratic Confederation of Labor, the two biggest trade union centers in the country, concluded a joint action agreement on the basis of a common list of demands. The manifestations of May 17, 1966, November 23, 1966, February 1, 1967, May 17, 1967, United Action Week against the emergency decrees of October 1967 and United Action Day in December 1967 on the initiative of the two union centers, were milestones leading up to the explosion of May 1968.

The focus was on demands accumulated over the years. These concerned the exceedingly low wages of some 4,000,000 people earning less than 600 francs monthly, a sum lower than the subsistence minimum. The strikers demanded a general wage increase, pointing out that production had risen 63 per cent since 1958 and productivity of labor by as much as 50-60 per cent, while wages were, in effect, the same as in 1957. The demand to repeal the zonal wage scale was coupled with the call to enforce the 40-hour week without reduction in pay (the average work week in France is 46.7 hours). Demands for guaranteed employment merged

with demands to abolish the emergency decrees affecting 34 million wage-earners and their families.

In May-June 1968 the French workers proved that they were still the main anti-capitalist force under whose leadership other sections can achieve their progressive aspirations.

The rift in the Left had a negative effect on the further course of events. The lack of a unified democratic program impeded effective political struggle against monopoly rule.

Controlling the levers of political and economic power, monopoly capital recouped the loss of billions of francs caused by the strike, securing extra profits. The people's purchasing capacity, which went up 14 per cent after the strike, dropped by nearly half (six per cent) due to price increases in the second half of 1968.

The May actions emphasized the need for Left unity based on a program supported by the majority, as advocated by the French Communists and the General Confederation of Labor. The reactionary forces were fused into a solid bloc by the tempestuous events, in the face of which, with illusions about the supra-class state, the arbiter state, shaken and the state acting obviously, as always, as a committee running the general affairs of capitalists, any division in the ranks of the working-class and democratic forces is too much of a luxury impeding the anti-monopoly struggle.

Speaking of the forms of struggle, the May-June events showed, as Waldeck Rochet pointed out at the Central Committee meeting of the Communist Party in December 1968, "the extremely important role that economic and political strikes can play if combined with other forms of struggle in impelling the mass movement for an anti-monopoly government capable of opening up the road to socialism."

In his recent book, *A Look at the Future of the French Communist Party*, Rochet writes: "The unprecedentedly powerful spring strikes of 1968 cast doubt on monopoly rule, the harm of which needs no more proof, putting in question the nature of the state whose sole purpose is to add to the profits and power of the capitalist oligarchy." What were the guidelines of the Communist Party? "Firstly, to support the working men's struggle for their demands so that these would be instantly satisfied, as they had every right to expect, and secondly, to secure united action in the political context of all forces joining the struggle on a clear basis, that is, the basis of a common

program aimed at replacing the Gaullist regime with a truly democratic one supported by the will of the people and able to pave the road to socialism."

Carrying on the effort for a united labor front, the General Confederation of Labor came out with the initiative of a national day of action on February 12. Its call to safeguard and extend the gains won in May-June and to secure a sliding wage scale to offset the constantly rising prices won the support of broad sections. Many branches and departmental bodies of the Force Ouvriere, the National Federation of Educational Workers and the Democratic Confederation of Labor, whose top leadership had turned down the General Confederation of Labor initiative, took part in the February strikes and manifestations along with the CCL local branches. Later in February and early in March big strikes broke out in the Renault factories in Mans and the Peugeot plants in Sochaux, and on the railways.

These strikes were followed on March 4 by the meeting of union, employers' and government spokesmen at which the latter rejected the union demand for wage increases, pleading instability of the franc and the need to maintain the competitive capacity. The response to this intransigence was a mass strike on March 11, organized by all the union federations, and supported by student and youth organizations. The unity essential for the further growth of the class struggle is being forged in these strikes.

* * *

This French experience is being used and projected in other countries, primarily Italy. After 20 years of division the Italian working-class movement benefited greatly from the reconciliation of the country's three biggest trade union centers in the autumn of 1968. The strike movement, visibly livelier at the end of 1967 and early in 1968, was highlighted by mammoth strikes last November, involving practically the entire nation.

The people demanded radical improvement in social insurance and an end to pauper pensions, for which as many as 12 million participated in the national strike on November 14. On February 5, 1969 the strike spread, with at least 80 per cent of the country's wage-earners, that is, about 18 million, downing tools in the North and in the South; the strike was supported by mass meetings and manifestations in Rome, Milan, Turin, Genoa, Palermo, Florence, Venice and other cities. The "proletarian

method of agitation, of rousing and uniting the masses and of drawing them into the struggle," which Lenin taught the international revolutionary movement, proved its worth (See Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 18, p. 105). Another strike erupted on February 12, with five million workers demanding wage increases in the south of the country.

The fight for a democratic reform of social insurance, for the people's right to participate in resolving that problem, merged with demands for higher wages, for repeal of the zonal wage scale, against intensification of labor, for shorter hours and full employment. The complexion of the battle, which involved millions of wage-earners, became distinctly political. Strikes spreading from city to city, from one industrial area to the next, were often accompanied by strikers' occupying the factories.

On February 16 the Council of Ministers had no choice, after conferring with the unions, but to approve the bill reviewing the pensions scheme, a clear result of the changed balance of class forces in the country.

In Italy the class struggle is charged with a strong social potential, evidenced by the deep-running discontent over the existing state of affairs. As in France, popular resentment centers not so much on particulars as on the entire socio-political make-up, on the desire for a radical reconstruction. The antagonisms between monopoly capital and the majority of the nation, now more acute, cry out for a solution.

"We know," Comrade Luigi Longo stressed at the 12th Congress of the Communist Party in February, "that socialism is on the agenda in Italy: it is embedded in the consciousness of the people, because they understand that the basic problems of the nation cannot be fully resolved without socialist reconstruction. But we also know that this reconstruction cannot begin, as Antonio Gramsci pointed out, without a new bloc of forces being formed, strong enough to isolate the monopolies and the extreme reactionary conservative groups, without winning to the side of the workers all those whose interests bring them into conflict with the monopolies. This link between the democratic struggle and the struggle for socialism is the core of our policy along the Italian road to socialism. It is along this road, the road of sharp and powerful democratic actions, that we shall march to socialism."

* * *

The year 1968 and the beginning of 1969

witnessed a sharpening of class struggle also in Spain. The strikes of the Asturian miners, the mass manifestations in other industrial centers, the mounting discontent of the farmers who want an agrarian reform and an end to the latifundia, the student movement and the anti-Franco sentiment running high among intellectuals, clergy and in the Army, compelled Franco to declare a state of emergency. The working class and the foremost democratic groups responded to the escalation of violence with greater resistance. Strikes broke out in Bilbao, Barcelona and in other places. By mid-February more than 100,000 were involved in strikes, the state of emergency helping consolidate the anti-Franco forces.

In sum, 1968 was a momentous year in working class history in France, Italy and Spain, opening up new perspectives for the workers and enriching the international working-class movement with valuable experience.

In other countries, too, there were significant developments.

Features of the economic situation in Great Britain are an ever-growing concentration of capital expressed in a tidal wave of mergers with the bigger industrial giants swallowing the only slightly less bigger and especially under the Labor government, a growing intervention by the State in the economy.

In 1968, for example, mergers amounting in value to £4,000 million took place compared with £1,000 million in 1964.

For the capitalists and the shareholders the mergers are a new Eldorado. The same cannot be said for the workers, skilled and unskilled, who have lost their jobs as a consequence of the mergers. Since 1966 in the British engineering and electrical industries alone 63,000 jobs have been lost.

For the workers who are the main voting strength of the Labor Party, the unholy alliance of the Wilson government and the big monopolies is a particularly bitter pill. When they were still Her Majesty's opposition, Wilson and his colleagues promised the workers full employment, more nationalization and a war against monopoly.

We now have the paradox of a Government elected in very large measure by working-class votes turning against its electors and working in alliance with big capital.

Wilson and his Cabinet colleagues hastened to enact their Incomes and Prices Policy—the policy of wage freeze. In 1968 they published an anti-trade union *White Paper* entitled *In Place of Strife*, a kind of program

for class peace. This document because of its encroachments on the right to strike has delighted Big Business and its Tory Party political wing. But it has been unanimously rejected by the General Council of the Trades Union Congress and by rank-and-file trade unionists in the factories. The British Communist Party, in a call to defeat this combined assault against long-established working-class rights, urges a nationwide counter-offensive by the unions and supports the call for an emergency meeting of all union executives.

The wage freeze accompanied by a considerable rise in profits and prices evoked a response from the workers who began vigorous strike action. Last year the number of days lost through strikes rose to 4,692,000; in 1967 the figure was 2,787,000; in 1966—2,398,000.

With 4,950 strikes in 1968 alone, the past two years in the United States are comparable only with early postwar. The greater intensity and duration of the strikes, coupled with labor's reluctance to compromise and its urge for unity, were highlights in 1967 and 1968.

In Japan, 11 million took part in the 1968 "spring offensive" against 7.5 million in 1967, 7 million in 1966 and 6.5 million in 1965. Though higher wages, the traditional demand of the "spring offensive," was the main slogan, strikers also advanced other demands aimed against rising prices, capitalist "rationalization" of production and the declining social insurance. The immediate result was a 14 per cent wage increase, never before equalled in Japanese union history.

A wave of Vietnam solidarity actions swept Japan in the autumn of 1968, and at present the people are fighting against the Japanese-American "security treaty," which expires in 1970.

* * *

The scale of the workers' struggles testifies to the profound crisis gripping the state-monopoly system, a crisis that is neither fortuitous nor transient, being rooted in the deep-going irreversible processes triggered by the technological revolution.

Statistics show that the percentage of propertied men and people of the so-called free professions in the active population is shrinking in all the developed countries, while wage labor is expanding intensively.

In France, for example, the March 1968 national census showed that the active po-

pulation had risen five per cent, passing the 20 million mark, in the past six years (1962-68), while the number of independent men had decreased 12 per cent and wage-earners had risen 11.9 per cent from a total of 12,800,600 to 15,224,000.

Bankruptcies among small and medium-sized industries and farms, craftsmen, small shopkeepers and the free professions are flooding the labor market. Moreover, teenagers and women workers now comprise about one-third of the work force.

The modern working class also includes office employees, technicians and engineers whose number in production has increased spectacularly in the era of the scientific and technological advance. The changes wrought in their mode of life and work have gradually erased the traditional barriers separating them from the workers of a few decades ago. White collar workers are more ready to take part in strikes. Hundreds of thousands of technicians and engineers took part in the 1968 and 1969 strikes in France and Italy. Slowly but surely, their old-time disdain for politics is vanishing. They either form their own unions or join existing ones and act parallel to or jointly with the factory workers as a social group, fighting for common as well as their own socio-economic demands.

Clearly the social pattern of the strike movement has broadened. Strikes are no longer the traditional manual workers' strikes from which the white collar employees and engineers remained aloof. They are a weapon not only of the workers, but of the other categories in industry, and are spreading fast to other sections of society, to professional and social groups. Peasants, too, strike alongside workers, often simultaneously, blocking roads in the fight for a rational price for their products. Professors and students often strike in protest against government educational policy. Physicians, newspapermen, radio and TV workers strike in protest against government policy, unjust taxation, etc. The strike movement nowadays synthesizes public discontent over a wide range of issues, nationwide stoppages being a potent indicator of inner-political crises.

That unorganized wage-earners affected by the deepening social crisis are also joining the class struggle is tremendously important. In the capitalist countries the unions embrace but a minority of wage-earners: 17-18 per cent in France, 20 in the USA, and about 40 in Britain and West Germany. Yet some 8-9 million people went

on strike in France, and as many as 80-90 per cent of the working population participated in strikes in Italy.

The rising militancy and the fact that the unorganized are joining the struggle compels the reformist union leaders to go beyond the so-called parity talks and mere negotiation. Often, they act as strike organizers, and this not only of strikes parallel to those organized by the militant unions, but also of joint strikes. In the fight for greater public influence, it is those who consistently champion the people's interests who come out on top. As a result of the May-June events in France, the General Confederation of Labor gained 400,000 new members, and the Democratic Confederation of Labor (formerly the Confederation of Christian Workers) about 100,000.

A novel factor is that young workers are participating broadly and actively in the strike movement, especially in countries where reformist unions predominate (e.g., USA and Canada). Scorning the customary forms of struggle based on the principle of compromise with the ruling classes, the young workers challenge not only the monopolies, but also the union bureaucrats.

* * *

The greater concentration of production and capital generated by the technological revolution has brought into being powerful industrial complexes in the main branches of industry, with a resultant greater concentration of workers. The organic ties between enterprises belonging to one trust, one industrial complex or industry, naturally result in corresponding trade union ties. The workers are thus able to act as a united force, waging their battles on a higher organizational plane. A strike at one factory often triggers a chain reaction in factories of the same area, or in the specific industry. Strikes extend and merge with others, spreading throughout the country, as in France, Italy, Japan and Belgium.

In the modernized plants with expensive equipment, especially in key industries, the threat of a strike is enough to push the administration to the wall, compelling it to satisfy union demands and avert stoppages. Intermittent and surprise strikes, strikes erupting at an especially unpropitious time for the employer—all comprise an effective weapon in the present-day workers' struggle.

The claims of bourgeois, reformist and left revisionist theorists that the revolutionary energy of the working class is waning

due to higher wages, their claims about the integration of workers and their organizations in the institutional system of capitalist society, that the working class is dissolving in the middle classes, all are confuted by the facts, which clearly confirm the classical Marxist postulate that "even the *most favorable situation* for the working class . . . however much it may improve the material existence of the worker, does not remove the antagonism between his interests and the interests of the bourgeoisie, the interests of the capitalists" (Karl Marx, *Wage Labor and Capital*).

No matter what the theorists of neo-capitalism may say to the contrary, the fact is that the more skilled and educated workers earning relatively high wages are taking an active part in the strike struggle, which adds to its strength and degree of organization.

Important too is that the mass of wage-earners are conscious of the steep increase in the volume of production when fighting for higher wages. Wage stagnation, the visible lag of growth of wages behind that of production invariably intensifies the strikes. The growth of national wealth in the midst of the technological revolution is a solid foundation for the workers' demands concerning wages, safety, shorter hours, and guaranteed employment.

The recent strikes show that workers are deeply aware that the benefits of the technological revolution are reaped chiefly by the monopolies and that, as before, the lot of the working man consists of exhausting labor which modern plant does little to alleviate. Attempts by the ruling circles to combat the socio-economic demands of the people only accentuate the political content of the class struggle. The contradiction between the social nature of modern production and the principle of private property, between the possibilities offered by the technological revolution and the narrow framework of monopoly organization, between the demands of the people objectively interested in changing the outdated socio-economic system and the state power which guards monopoly domination, is most distinct against the setting of the achievements of the socialist world system.

* * *

With planning and programming centralized and the state acting as regulator of economic growth, fixing ceilings for nominal wages in all areas, the fight for socio-economic demands centers on the policy of

the ruling class. The unions reject the anti-labor line of the incomes policy and other instruments of state interference. Leaning for support on the strike movement, working-class organizations insist more and more compellingly on their right to participate in political and economic decision-making.

At parliamentary level and in government bodies such as the Social and Economic Council in France, the fight is for democratic methods of state regulation, for programming consistent with the basic interests of the nation, for a just tax policy and against excessive military and other non-productive spending. A fight for nationalizing the key monopolies and for democratic use of the state sector is under way in France, Italy, Belgium, Great Britain and other countries.

In the meantime, the working-class movement is consolidating its positions at factory level. The law guaranteeing the rights of union branches was one of the most important results achieved in the May-June events in France. Each of the representative unions can now have its branch in enterprises with 50 workers and upwards. It can collect membership dues and is guaranteed the right to post up union announcements and distribute leaflets on factory grounds after working hours. The members can hold monthly meetings in the factories. Employees' delegates are allowed time off to perform their functions at the cost of the enterprise. In factories with upwards of 200 employees, unions are now entitled to special premises.

Workers' and production councils, and factory committees consisting of members of the administration, engineers, technicians, workers and office employees, play an important part in factory life, with the personnel following their activity and rendering them support when needed.

By its persevering struggle the working class has gained sound positions in many capitalist countries from which to influence economic and social matters. And in many countries—in Belgium, Italy, the FRG and France—many labor rights have been legislatively formalized.

On the other hand, the rulers seize on every opportunity to extinguish the flames, to blunt the discontent and prevail upon or intimidate the workers. Police and gendarmes, special security units and military are dispatched to strike areas, where bitter clashes occur, as recently in the United States, Japan, France, Italy, Spain, Belgium and other capitalist countries.

Governments enact legislation to give the semblance of legality to repressive actions. Recall, for example, the Taft-Hartley Act in the United States, which Johnson used on several occasions, or the Japanese law adopted shortly after the war prohibiting Government employees, who comprise 26 per cent of all wage-earners, from participating in strikes. In France a decree on forcible labor mobilization, operative since 1959, has been invoked to frustrate strikes. In June 1963 the National Assembly enacted a law obliging the trade unions in state-owned enterprises to give strike notice at least five days in advance. In Britain, too, the Labor government recently issued a White Paper envisaging a variant of the Taft-Hartley Act and providing for a "cooling off" period.

Pleading the cause of balanced economic development, governments fix annual ceilings for wage increases, intervene in labor conflicts and often annul labor-capital agreements.

Methods of pressure combine with continuous psychological indoctrination oriented on anti-communism and extolling neo-capitalism. Theories about the harm and futility of strikes are aired via the radio, television and the press. The "vicious circle" theory is peddled to show that any increase in wages is always followed by higher prices. Public opinion is incited against strikers, while the true reasons for the steady rise in prices are hushed up: vast monopoly profits, chronic cutbacks of production, export of capital, and heavy taxes to finance the armaments program and the inflated machinery of state.

Much effort goes into spreading the idea

of class harmony, the association of labor and capital and workers' participation in enterprise profits. The benefits of paternalism, of "human relations," are extolled and attempts are made to integrate the unions into the existing system of public relationships.

In some cases the financial oligarchy resorts to extreme measures to avert the danger of defeat. Seizure of power by the junta of "black colonels" in Greece, the example of Spain where Franco recently declared a state of emergency, the SIFAR conspiracy in Italy and the emergency laws in Federal Germany, all indicate that big capital is determined to go to all lengths to safeguard its rule. It hopes to frustrate the working class struggle by extreme measures, though to do so is none too easy in present-day conditions. The modern working class in the capitalist countries is well organized and politically conscious; it has an experienced vanguard in the Communist parties and in its powerful unions, which vigilantly follow all reactionary moves.

Nor are the workers alone in their fight for social justice. A regrouping of the socio-political forces is taking place in the developed capitalist countries. A youth and student movement, a movement of intellectuals and other professionals is rising alongside the working class movement, adding to the expressions of discontent over the domestic and foreign policies of the capitalist governments.

More and more sections of the population are siding with the working class. The monopoly bourgeoisie is now faced with a powerful adversary whose strength is growing daily.

Enduring basis for European security

Peace and security in Europe are global problems bearing on the vital interests of all peoples. It is natural, therefore, that everybody — the socialist countries, the Communist parties, the working-class and general democratic movements, and opinion in Europe and the world — should be interested in a satisfactory solution.

Governments, political parties and public organizations are studying the Appeal to all European countries by the Warsaw Treaty's Political Consultative Committee in Budapest on March 17. The timeliness of this document derives from the fact that, in view of the situation in Europe, it suggests concrete measures to reinforce continental peace and security.

The global importance of European security does not stem from any sense of historical fatalism. Europe, after all, is the focal point of the global political contradictions, the continent where the two world wars broke out, for which chief responsibility rests on German imperialism.

The demarcation line between the two world systems runs across the continent, where the main political and military forces of the imperialist camp and the socialist community confront each other.

Europe is also the arena of the intra-imperialist contradictions — those between the United States and its West European rivals, and between the various groups of West European states. Lastly, European imperialism is an unrelenting exploiter, strangler of the freedom of the developing countries.

The relationship between and interaction of situations in specific areas of the world and the general international situation is an established fact. Especially is this so in our time. The place occupied by the various regions in international relations and the influ-

ence of each on world affairs hinge chiefly on economic, political and military potential, that is, on weight in the overall balance of strength. The immense economic and politico-military potential of the European countries past and present is, therefore, a determining factor in Europe's influence on the world situation. The continent produces more than half the world's industrial product, and more than half the world's labor force works in Europe's industries.

The biggest aggressive line-up of modern imperialism, the North Atlantic Alliance, has its headquarters on the continent, with some 4,000 rocket-launching pads and nuclear guns dispersed over Western Europe.

The danger to European peace, impairing the security of the peoples, emanates from within, Bonn's revenge-seeking policy being its main source, and likewise from without — from U.S. imperialism.

The German Federal Republic refuses to accept the postwar frontiers; it goes so far as to demand revision of borders. It refuses to become reconciled to the existing realities and to reckon with the existence of the German Democratic Republic which celebrates its 20th anniversary this year. For no valid reason, it claims to represent the entire German nation, voices claims to West Berlin, an independent political unit, and declines on various pretexts to put its signature to the nuclear non-proliferation treaty. Bonn cooperates with American imperialism in subversion against the European socialist countries. Revived with U.S. aid, West German imperialism again turns its gaze towards Asia, Africa and Latin America, collaborating actively with the Israeli extremists and the African racist regimes.

From its admittance to NATO up to 1965 West Germany spent half as much more on military purposes as Hitler did in preparing

for the Second World War. Mass production of sophisticated weapons is in full gear. The West German Army is the biggest capitalist army in Europe, with Bonn's generals in many key NATO posts. Bonn does not relinquish hopes of laying its hands on atomic weapons, its avowed aim being to revise the outcome of the Second World War.

The idea of *revanche* is regarded as state policy, providing fertile soil for the revival of fascism. Important government, Army and party posts go to former Hitler officers and dignitaries of the fascist Reich, with the neo-fascist National-Democratic Party gaining political ground.

The U.S. "presence" in Europe and U.S. imperialism's efforts to draw the European states into its political orbit for expansionist ends is another source of danger to security and of tension in international relations.

The aggressive North Atlantic bloc formed in 1949, with the Washington-Bonn alliance as its hub, was the instrument whereby the United States compelled West European countries to depart from good-neighbor relations and European cooperation and to embark on the dangerous policy of hostility to the socialist countries, joining in the armaments drive and militarization. As U.S. Senator Ellender put it aptly, in Europe the United States put the military cart before the diplomatic horse.

As a result, peace and security constitute the most acute international problem of our time.

The United States has covered Europe with military bases. Press reports have it that the U.S. Seventh Army and two tactical air armies are now stationed in Europe, with a large number of nuclear-missile units. Seven thousand nuclear warheads, or about half the U.S. nuclear arsenal, are stored in U.S. dumps in Europe and some 700 warplanes, including bombers equipped to deliver nuclear missiles, are at the 37 main U.S. air bases there. U.S. ground troops in Europe count nearly 2,000 tanks and dozens of U.S. Sixth Fleet ships are permanently stationed in the Mediterranean. Senator Mansfield has estimated that U.S. servicemen in Western Europe total between 400 and 450 thousand men. In sum, the United States accounts for about 70 per cent of the aggregate North Atlantic military strength.

It could not be clearer that no one intends to attack Western Europe and that, therefore, this vast war machine is maintained by the United States, West Germany

and the NATO countries for anything but peace-keeping purposes.

That, in general outline, is the substance of the danger to European peace and security emanating from the American continent. And one would hardly argue with former State Department official Ronald Steel that "so long as there is an integrated military alliance between the two continents, America will be able to involve Europe in nuclear war, and Europe will be able to do the same thing to America."

That is the reason why the socialist countries and the Communist parties call on the peoples of Europe for extreme vigilance and make every effort to solve the problem of peace and security in the interest of all European nations.

It is said that an unrealistic policy creates problems, rather than resolving them. The 20 years of the North Atlantic Alliance have not only spoiled the political climate and the prospects for peace; this alliance is responsible for the immense additional burden of military expenditure borne by people in European and other countries. In these 20 years the NATO countries have spent nearly \$1,300 billion on preparing a new war, a sum far in excess of the cost of the Second World War. In 1968 alone the NATO countries spent \$104 billion for military purposes, or 5.5 times as much as in the first year of the aggressive alliance. What the NATO countries squander on the arms race in any single month would suffice, according to *France nouvelle*, to irrigate the entire Sahara.

The jubilee session of the NATO Council in Washington and the feverish activity of U.S. and FRG quarters in connection with the expiry of the 20-year term of the alliance are aimed obviously at ending the crisis gripping the North Atlantic Alliance, to preserve it at any cost and prolong its police functions and general aggressive orientation. An anti-Communist campaign is under way in the press, radio and television, peddling the invention of a "Soviet threat." Herr Strauss, speaking the mind of the FRG revenge-seekers, said candidly that NATO should on no account be sacrificed to relieving tension.

Imperialism has not only ceased to be ruler of the world, it has irrevocably lost its capacity for historical initiative, acting as a brake on social progress. Washington-Bonn efforts to snuff out the forward-looking trends on the European continent keep the European countries harnessed to the NATO chariot and to step up war prepara-

tions against the socialist countries are, evidently, the imperialist reaction to the advance of peace, democracy, national liberation and socialism, a reaction of class revanchism.

In its Statement of April 10, the Soviet Government was justified in drawing the attention of the NATO countries and all nations to the dangerous consequences implicit in the continued existence of the bloc, and to the compelling need for solving the urgent problems of European security and world peace posed by the course of events.

Whatever Washington and Bonn may do to the contrary, the desire for détente, for settling controversial problems by peaceful means, has never been greater. It is realized by people of differing political convictions in Western Europe that the continent has become the most dangerous potential seat of a world conflict, and that the only realistic way to lasting peace is to substitute a system of collective security for the confrontation of military alliances.

People in Europe want action to improve the political climate. Manifestations against NATO war preparations, numerous national and all-European peace forums and the spring peace marches are but illustrations of the magnitude of the movement for peace and security. This sentiment is meeting with ever increasing understanding in some government circles, parliaments, political parties and mass organizations, evidenced, among other things, by Canada's recent decision to reduce the contingent in NATO.

The neutral European countries are articulate these days in promoting a peaceful accommodation of Europe's problems and reinforcing continental security. Finland, for one, initiated the idea of a nuclear-free Northern Europe. Sweden has repeatedly voiced her support for nuclear-free zones and has campaigned against giving the West German revenge-seekers access to atomic weapons. Austria and Switzerland, too, view with sympathy the idea of reinforcing European security.

France's withdrawal from NATO's military arm was a blow to U.S. and FRG designs. French realism plays a prominent role in helping to strengthen security and extend mutually advantageous cooperation between capitalist and socialist countries.

Other NATO members, too, are searching insistently for ways of safeguarding European peace. Norway has turned down the NATO request to station nuclear arms on her territory, and the Danish Government

has suggested a joint conference of NATO and Warsaw Treaty member-countries.

Though this falls far short of resolving the cardinal problems of European security, it is unquestionably an impediment, at least to a certain extent, to Bonn's aspirations of revenge and contributes to a sounder atmosphere.

A genuinely democratic solution prompted by deep concern for the vital interests of all European nations was advanced by the socialist countries and the Communist parties of Western Europe. The fight for peace and European security is an important area in the general strategy of the Communist parties to rally the world's anti-war, anti-imperialist forces to combat the aggressive imperialist line.

Back in the days when the first signs of the war danger created by the rulers of the United States and West Germany appeared in Europe, the Soviet Union and the other socialist states did all in their power to prevent it from escalating.

The Warsaw Treaty concluded in 1955 was a response to the menace to the socialist countries, to European and world peace, implicit in NATO and its military organization.

But even after the defensive Warsaw Treaty organization was formed, the Soviet Union and other socialist countries worked on for détente and collective security. The Soviet Government advanced more than one proposal to that effect. A series of proposals aimed at a partial or complete solution of the problem were advanced also by Poland, the German Democratic Republic, Bulgaria and other socialist countries.

The Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty meeting in Bucharest in 1966 put forward a comprehensive program for peace and security in its Declaration, followed up in 1967 by the Statement of the Karlovy Vary Conference of the Communist and Workers' parties of Europe.

The Bucharest Declaration urged all European states to work for good-neighbor relations based on peaceful coexistence of countries with differing social systems, rejecting all forms of discrimination and pressure, establishing normal relations between European countries, including the two German states. The Declaration suggested scrapping military blocs and setting up a collective-security system, with all member-countries uniting against any aggressor. The socialist countries suggested that the North Atlantic Alliance and the Warsaw Treaty should go out of existence

simultaneously, to be replaced by a system of collective security embracing all European states.

Seeing that the NATO countries would be reluctant to scrap their military alliances in Europe forthwith, the Bucharest Conference suggested dissolving the military arms of the two alliances as an initial step, so that a satisfactory solution of all the other problems could be hammered out in due course jointly by all the European nations. The Declaration enumerated measures that would relieve the tension in the area, including a pronouncement by the two German states that they would not seek to manufacture or possess nuclear weapons, to which the German Democratic Republic had given its consent. The Declaration emphasized the need for an all-European conference to explore these issues.

The efforts of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries to advance disarmament and to impose a total ban on the use and manufacture of nuclear arms and other weapons of wholesale annihilation are a distinct contribution to the cause of European and world peace.

The Karlovy Vary Conference of European Communist and Workers' parties held in April 1967 stressed in its Statement that "the constructive proposals for strengthening security and peaceful cooperation in Europe, advanced by the socialist countries in the Bucharest Declaration of the Warsaw Treaty states, and the proposals of the Communist parties of the capitalist countries put forward at their meetings and in their decisions, provide a realistic basis for strengthening peace and security in Europe."

The Communist and Workers' parties listed as the principal conditions for achieving these aims the immunity of existing frontiers, particularly that along the Oder and Neisse, and that between the FRG and GDR; recognition of the German Democratic Republic; denial of atomic weapons in any form to West Germany, West Germany to abandon her claims to sole representation, and, last but not least, unconditional recognition of West Berlin as a special political unit. They demanded that the Munich deal be declared invalid from its inception, that all neo-Nazi organizations be banned, revenge-seeking forces in West Germany curbed, and all European peoples afforded the undivided right to be masters of their continent, precluding U.S. interference. They expressed their firm conviction that expansion of mutually advantageous

economic, scientific and technical cooperation among all European countries, relations based on trust and mutual respect, coupled with unconditional recognition of the immunity of the neutral countries, were a precondition for European peace and security.

The European Communist and Workers' parties proceeded from the fact that the interests of the peoples of Western and Eastern Europe coincided in matters of war and peace and on many other issues. The watershed, they indicated, did not run along geographical frontiers, not even along the frontiers between the social systems. It separated the masses aspiring to continental security, to lasting peace, on the one hand, from the small "war party" leaning for support on alien trans-Atlantic forces, on the other.

The peoples working jointly for peace, for their vital interests, are the decisive factor in achieving security. That is why the Communists addressed themselves to the Socialist and Social-Democratic parties, trade unions, intellectuals, youth and women, to bourgeois groups taking a realistic view of the world, to all peace-loving forces, appealing for unity, for broad campaigns, nationally and on the scale of the continent, for collective security.

The Karlovy Vary Conference had an all-European impact. For the first time, the Communists of all European countries gathered to discuss the vitally important problems of European peace and security. The documents they adopted bore out the fact that the Communists have no concern greater than that of serving the working class and the peoples.

The Conference also showed that unity of views on the most complex international problems is possible between the fraternal parties, and that united action and closer cohesion are essential to assure progress in the fight against imperialism, for peace and socialism.

The basic idea of the Budapest Appeal issued on March 17 is that all European states should act in concert without delay, working to relieve tension, advance disarmament, cooperation and peace. The Appeal renews the proposal for an all-European conference to discuss European security and peaceful cooperation, and notes that the European countries have never convened in common since the Second World War, though numerous matters need to be negotiated. There is no valid ground, it says, for delaying an all-European

Conference if we have the interests of peace at heart.

Reiterating previous proposals aimed against the division of the world into military blocs, against the armaments drive and the consequent dangers to peace and security, the Warsaw Treaty countries stressed that to avert military conflicts and to reinforce the political, economic and cultural contacts between all states on equal terms, with respect for independence and sovereignty, is a vital necessity. "An enduring system of European security," the Appeal says, "creates the objective possibility and the necessity for joint projects in power, transport, water and air enterprises, and health, all of which have a direct bearing on the welfare of the people of the continent. It is this common interest that could, and should, be the foundation of European cooperation."

The socialist countries declared themselves ready to consider alternative proposals concerning the procedure of convening the conference, and its agenda.

The public response to the Appeal shows that it was received with interest. The Western press emphasized the constructive nature of its proposals. No country has

opposed the idea of an all-European conference. Bonn, not surprisingly, was the only capital which voiced "reservations." The idea of collective security would impair its aggressive plans, making redundant the huge militarist machinery and the hostility to the socialist countries which the West German revenge-seekers and their trans-Atlantic patrons have labored to build up over the past 20 years.

European security is essential to avert a world nuclear conflict, a precondition for securing the peaceful coexistence of states with differing social systems and accelerating social progress. Bridling imperialism and revanchism on the continent would help the embattled Vietnamese people, the West European and international working-class movement and the liberation struggle on all continents. That is why the workers, the masses, have a vital stake in Europe becoming a continent of fruitful international cooperation, a factor of stability, peace and mutual understanding. The socialist countries, the Communist and Workers' parties of Western Europe, are showing the straight and realistic way to this aim.

Vladi TALL

On May 25, Africa Liberation Day, the peoples of that continent annually review the results of their struggle for complete liberation from colonial slavery. Readers of our journal want to know how this struggle is progressing. Ousmane Samb answers this question.

Africa's problems and her prospects

Africa, the second largest continent, is fabulously rich and disastrously poor. It produces about 75 per cent of the world's gold, but some of its tribes are ignorant of even the simplest ways of obtaining ordinary cast iron. Its rivers carry 40 per cent the world's potential hydro-power resources, but the continent accounts for only two per cent of the world's electric power. Nearly 70 per cent of the world's cocoa comes from Africa, but most African children have never tasted chocolate. The continent could feed the whole of mankind, yet half of its 300 million population are chronically under-nourished and in many cases are simply starving because the best land is still in the hands of European plantation owners, and its basic products are exported, as before.

Although the bulk of the African population (80 per cent) is engaged in agriculture, Africa has only two per cent of the world's tractor fleet. National income per capita is approximately 15 times less than the average income in the industrially developed countries. About 60 per cent of Tropical Africa's male labor force is engaged in subsistence farming. The continent accounts for only one per cent of the world's industrial product, although it is inhabited by approximately one-tenth of humanity.

For years colonial oppression, economic plunder and slavery, which deprived the continent of 60 million of its able-bodied inhabitants, was the lot of Africa. Today its working people are exploited by modern neo-colonial methods—hence its economic backwardness.

Neo-colonialism manifests itself not only

in the economic, but also in the political and ideological spheres, and in many instances takes the form of direct military intervention. Thus, neo-colonialism, far from doing away with old colonialism, supplements it. A glaring example of the symbiosis of neo-colonialism and the old colonialism is the support given by the imperialist powers to Portuguese colonialism in Africa and to the racist regimes in the South African Republic and in Rhodesia, which have formed a reactionary economic and political bloc spearheaded against the independent African countries. In its fight against the national liberation movement imperialism is tenaciously clinging to the remnants of its colonial possessions while at the same time trying to prevent the economic and social progress of the states that have won political independence. It is doing so by supporting the reactionary circles in these countries, by imposing on them economic agreements and military-political pacts that infringe on their sovereignty, and through unequal trade terms, onerous loans and so-called aid.

The African continent was carved up among the European colonial powers in the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century. Britain, France, Germany, Portugal and Belgium grabbed the largest slices of the African cake. One of the bloodiest pages in the history of colonialism was written then when the colonialists drew the boundary lines of their possessions with total disregard of the interests of the Africans. Lenin's *Notebooks on Imperialism* has this laconic reference to it: "1890. Treaty between Britain and Germany (Heligoland is exchanged

for a part of Africa)." The Anglo-German treaty, mentioned by Lenin, completed the division of East Africa.

The colonialists settled down and "made themselves at home" in Africa. Then came the revolutionary storm of the great October, the birth of the land of Soviets—the state of working people—and with it the awakening of the people in faraway Africa. This awakening was slow, it is true: up to World War II there were only three independent states on the entire continent: Egypt, Liberia and Ethiopia.

The victory of the anti-Hitler coalition gave new impetus to the liberation movement. A particularly notable year in the destiny of the Black continent was 1960, which has gone down in history as "Africa Year." It was not until then that 17 countries cast off the chains of colonialism. Today there are more than 40 independent states in Africa. However, 11 per cent of the population and 16 per cent of the continent's territory are still under the colonial yoke. Although the colonialists are compelled to surrender their positions, step by step, they have by no means laid down arms. The nearly ten years since "Africa Year" was first proclaimed, shows that the enemies of the African peoples are plotting and planning more assiduously than ever, that the colonialists and their allies are stopping at nothing to maintain their domination in this part of the world, establishing fascist-racist alliances such as the Lisbon-Pretoria-Salisbury bloc, organizing economic blockades, assassination of leaders of the national liberation movement and even outright aggression. For nearly nine years now, the Portuguese colonialists, relying on the aid of NATO member-countries, have been waging war against the people of Angola, Guinea-Bissau and Mozambique. Punitive expeditions are devastating villages and entire areas. But napalm, toxic

chemicals and poison gases are powerless to save the Portuguese colonialists. Two-thirds of Guinea-Bissau has been liberated, the Mozambique Liberation Front is in control of one-fifth of the country's territory. Guerrilla forces have driven out Portuguese punitive expeditions also from a number of provinces in Angola.

The racist governments in the South African Republic and Rhodesia are encountering growing resistance from the native African population.

The countries that have gained political independence see it as their priority task to counter neo-colonialism in all its forms and manifestations: continued imperialist exploitation, an extortionate price policy and foreign-monopoly domination. Each is tackling its problems in its own way. Some are carrying out radical socio-economic reforms and pursuing an independent foreign policy; in others the governments are trying to come to terms with the imperialists; there are states which occupy an intermediate position. However, irrespective of the path chosen, they are one and all concerned with the basic problems of African unity.

It was with this end in view that some six years ago, representatives of the independent African states decided at a conference in Addis Ababa to establish the Organization of African Unity, uniting all the states of the continent, excepting the racist regimes in Rhodesia and in the South African Republic. The conference also decided to mark annually, on May 25, Africa Liberation Day. On this day the people of Africa review the results of their efforts to develop the economy and culture, chart the next phase of the struggle for complete liberation from the colonial yoke. Progressive people everywhere wish the freedom-loving peoples of Africa prosperity and success.

Ousmane SAMB

SEMINAR IN BERLIN

A seminar on Socialism and the Intellectual, sponsored by **World Marxist Review**, was held in Berlin over March 20-21. It was attended by scientists, writers, artists, Party functionaries, members of the WMR Editorial Board and representatives of a number of Communist and Workers' parties. A report of the seminar will appear in forthcoming issues of our journal.

Clarion of communism

FRIEDL FUERNBERG

The first issue of the magazine *Communist International* appeared 50 years ago and in the nearly 25 years of its existence the journal played a significant role in the international labor movement. It mirrored the development of the Communist movement from small beginnings to a force extending to the five continents.

The first issue was published in Petrograd in May 1919. French, German and English editions were to appear simultaneously with the Russian, but the first issue in German was put out in Hamburg only in August 1919—an indication, incidentally, of the formidable difficulties the Communist International and its magazine had to contend with. It should be remembered that 1919 was a year of stormy and rapid change in Europe. When the magazine first came out, the Hungarian Soviet Republic was deploying its armed forces to defend the people's revolutionary state. When the first German issue came off the press, the Hungarian Soviet Republic had already been overthrown by imperialist armed intervention and Hungary became the scene of a rampant white terror.

From its very inception the magazine was an important propaganda vehicle of communist ideas and helped to solve some of the problems facing the Marxist labor movement. On the whole, it can be said that it fulfilled its mission but, naturally, reflected, and to a certain extent shared, the shortcomings of the movement.

The first issue carried Lenin's article, "The Third International and Its Place in History." In it Lenin analyzed the role of the First and Second Internationals, but his main thrust was against opportunism in all its manifestations.

Lenin wrote in this programmatic article: "If any Marxist, or any person, indeed, who has a general knowledge of modern science, were asked whether it is likely that the transition of the different capitalist countries to the dictatorship of the proletariat will take place in an identical or harmo-

niously proportionate way, his answer would undoubtedly be in the negative. There never has been and never could be even, harmonious, or proportionate development in the capitalist world. Each country has developed more strongly first one, then another aspect or feature or group of features of capitalism and of the working-class movement."

Lenin remarked that it would be a miracle indeed "if history granted us the establishment of a new form of democracy without a number of contradictions."

He pointed to the method the magazine should adopt in popularizing and promoting Marxism in the world labor movement: avoid abstract theorizing unrelated to the class struggle and seek to draw theoretical conclusions from concrete objective facts of national and international class battles.

The magazine performed an exceptionally valuable function in the struggle which, immediately after its inauguration, the Communist International had to wage against



First number of the Communist International (in Russian).

reformism and opportunism. This struggle had many facets: exposure of the opportunists' responsibility for the collapse of the Second International, disclosure of the social and political roots of opportunism, dissemination of Bolshevik experience in the fight for socialist revolution. But from the very start the magazine had to rebuff attempts by opportunist elements to infiltrate the new, Third International. For many Social-Democrat leaders who had zealously supported the imperialist war in 1914 were now clamoring for international working-class unity. They were prepared, they said, to build a new International jointly with the Bolsheviks, but on this "minor" condition: the October Revolution must be regarded merely as a Russian development conforming only to Russian conditions—a revolution from which the movement in the capitalist West could draw no useful conclusions. In short, their purpose was to prevent the spirit of proletarian revolution taking hold in their own countries and parties. Had they succeeded, the Russian socialist revolution would have suffered, for socialist revolution, by its very nature, is internationalist.

Lenin, it will be recalled, fought all such attempts at opportunist infiltration of the new International. The 21 conditions of admission to the Communist International, adopted by its Second Congress, set out, with the utmost concreteness, the tasks then confronting a revolutionary party and in this way prevented opportunist elements who formally accepted the revolution from joining the International and trying to undermine it. Some of the 21 points are, of course, obsolete, but the method of maximum concrete delineation of the revolutionary tasks of Communist parties retains all its validity as a touchstone of revolutionary sincerity.

The controversy in the international labor movement of those years involved hundreds of thousands and resulted in a sharp division between revolutionary Marxists and opportunists. This process can be traced in the *Communist International* for 1919, 1920 and 1921 in its reports from various countries and its constant polemic with reformists and Centrists. Time and again Lenin emphasized that Communists must always and everywhere study and take into account national historical, economic and political distinctions. He provided Left-wing people in the Social-Democratic parties with cogent arguments against opportunism and for the organization of Communist parties. He helped them show

the masses the need for and possibility of revolutionary class struggle culminating in a proletarian revolution like the one of October 1917 in Russia.

In his "*Left-Wing*" *Communism*, Lenin noted that the initial stage of the struggle against reformism and opportunism had led to the organization of a revolutionary vanguard. This, he said, should be considered a major victory, but the next step was for the Communist parties to win over the majority of the working class for proletarian revolution. And it fell to the magazine to popularize this aim in all countries and facilitate its realization.

It should be noted in this context that the tasks set the labor movement, namely organization of the vanguard, winning over the majority of the working class and the working population generally, seizure of state power, building of socialism, etc., are often understood mechanistically. One might think that it is merely a matter of building a house, with the second floor erected on the first, and so on, and with all the elements remaining unchanged. That does not apply to social problems, and certainly not to the labor movement: its elements exert a definite influence on each other. If the vanguard is incapable of winning the confidence of the masses, it will find that it can easily be undermined, split and, in the end, destroyed. Similarly, disregard of Marxist principles, failure to draw the necessary theoretical conclusions and develop them in conformity with the constantly rising new phenomena, can endanger the movement.

The rise and growth of the Communist parties can be traced through the *Communist International*. At first its columns were given over mainly to factual reports from various countries, but gradually more space was devoted to articles on ideological and theoretical problems. This was indicative of the maturing of the Communist parties working in diverse conditions and beset by numerous difficulties and persecution, of their transformation into Marxist-Leninist parties, and of the emergence of new leaders, theoretically equipped and steeled in battle. They contributed articles on the problems of their countries and on international strategy and tactics.

After victory over the counter-revolution and foreign imperialist intervention, the Soviet Union was faced with the all-important task of mapping out its further development. Solution was all the more difficult because at about this time the revolutionary

upsurge in Europe, ushered in by the war and the October Revolution, had abated and capitalism had achieved temporary and relative stabilization. This necessitated re-orientation of the parties in the capitalist countries. The situation was further complicated by the death of Lenin, the leader of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and of the Communist International. Charting a correct course in this complex situation was not easy. A sharp controversy developed in the Soviet Communist Party and the Communist International, in which the magazine played a big and, on the whole, positive part, thought it reflected the errors which had made themselves felt in the Comintern.

Having overcome its early difficulties—in struggle on two fronts, against Right-wing and Left-wing opportunism—the movement faced the mounting menace of war and fascism. Here, too, the magazine made an important contribution, elucidating the tasks that would confront the Communists of all countries in the event of war against the USSR. It was largely responsible for the widespread understanding among Communists in capitalist countries of their duty to rally the working class to combat the aggressive policy of their governments and to side with the Soviet Union.

Hitler's accession to power and his aggressive imperialist policy, attended by ferocious terror in Germany, awakened in the European peoples the will to resist fascism and the menace of war. This, too, found expression in the magazine, which analyzed the factors that had brought fascism to power in some countries and exposed the essence of the fascist movement.

The magazine ably and convincingly popularized the Seventh Comintern Congress decisions, particularly the call for working-class unity and a Popular Front against fascism and war.

It also played a creditable part in organizing international solidarity in defense of the Spanish Republic, whose struggle was of the utmost importance not only for Spain, but for the working class of all countries.

The *Communist International*—and this should be specially noted—devoted much

attention to the liberation struggle in the colonies and dependencies. It printed many articles examining the historical and economic development of colonial territories, the prospects of their liberation and the tasks of Communists following therefrom. It indicated the path which the liberated countries could follow, a subject treated in many articles on China, India, Indonesia and other countries.

World War II, triggered off by the Nazi attack on Poland, made it difficult to maintain contact with the Communist parties, the number of which had grown — there were now parties in all the continents. But in this period, too, the magazine played its part, helping the parties, both legal and illegal, to find their bearings in the new complex situation.

Circulation difficulties were naturally multiplied after Hitler's attack on the Soviet Union, and the theoretical organs of the various Parties assumed some of the tasks of the *Communist International*. It ceased publication with the dissolution of the Comintern in May 1943. And it had every justification in saying, in its last issue (No. 5-6, 1943):

"Founded in 1919 as the organ of the Comintern Executive Committee, the *Communist International* has for nearly a quarter of a century helped to uphold Marxism against vulgarization and distortion and facilitated the dissemination of true Marxism."

Much has changed in the world since then. Many countries are building socialism and the Soviet Union is in the transition stage from socialism to communism. This is not a smooth path, many obstacles have to be surmounted and, at the same time, the struggle has to be waged against imperialism and for the preservation of peace. Communists in the capitalist countries are searching for the best path to the victory of socialism, at the same time exerting every effort to promote peace and prevent a third world war. And precisely in these conditions it is useful to draw on the past, never overlooking the fact that the Communist movement, if it wants to win, must be a united international militant community.

Solidarity

(50th anniversary of mutiny of French sailors in the Black Sea)

The October Revolution in Russia evoked an immediate and profound response in the countries of Western Europe, particularly in France where the working people and the Paris working class, in the first place, saw a new Commune in the Soviets.

The big bourgeoisie of France, however, and also of the other capitalist countries realized only too well that the example of the October Revolution might be followed by the working people elsewhere. And so, at the end of 1917, when the imperialist war was still on, the governments of France, Britain and the United States decided to invade the young republic of the Soviets. In the spring of 1918, their troops landed in Murmansk as the first step to seizing the north of Russia. The Japanese imperialists occupied Vladivostok. In the summer of the same year the intervention armies mounted a large-scale offensive in conjunction with the internal counter-revolution.

Meanwhile Germany occupied part of the Ukraine, thereby rendering direct support to the White Guard generals on the Don.

On November 11, 1918, the day the armistice with Germany was signed, a powerful French naval squadron was heading for the Black Sea via Constantinople. This force occupied Sevastopol, Odessa and other Black Sea ports. The squadron had been dispatched to reinforce the French expeditionary corps of 40,000 men, and the counter-revolutionary forces under the command of General Denikin and General Kolchak.

However, when Denikin launched his offensive against Moscow in July 1919, he could no longer count on the French soldiers and sailors: they had compelled the government, with the support of the working people at home, to have them recalled from Soviet soil.

* * *

The soldiers and sailors were, in their mass, opposed to a war against the revolution in faraway Russia. Many of them had experienced the horrors of the imperialist world war, fighting for the interests of a handful of big capitalists. They realized that

the Russian people constituted no threat to France, that they had been dragged into an unjust war.

The first collective refusal to fight against Soviet troops was on the part of the 58th Infantry Regiment. Billeted in Benderi, on the right bank of the Dniester, the regiment was ordered on February 4, 1919 to cross the river and occupy Tiraspol on Soviet territory. The French soldiers refused to take up combat positions against the Red Army, and by common agreement returned to their billets. They were supported by the 2nd Alpine Artillery Regiment which operated together with the 58th Infantry. Two days later, the men of the 58th Regiment again informed their command of their unanimous refusal to fight against the Red Army. The regiment was thereupon disarmed and later sent back to France. Its example was followed by many other units.

Wherever the occupation troops were stationed the argument was one and the same: "We are not at war with Russia. The armistice was signed five months ago. There is no longer any fighting in France."

The French command was compelled to withdraw its troops to Odessa and subsequently, at the beginning of April, to evacuate them from there as well. Shortly after, the naval squadron in the Black Sea mutinied.

The squadron had considerable firing power and constituted a serious threat to the incipient revolutionary army. But it could not be used. Upon learning that the Entente troops had been evacuated from Odessa the opposition of the crews flared up, erupting in a revolt in mid-April, which quickly spread to the entire squadron. As a result, the naval squadron, too, had to be withdrawn.

On April 16 the battleship *France* arrived in Sevastopol from Odessa. There was widespread discontent among the seamen who were opposed to intervention of any kind against the Soviets. Only with difficulty did the officers get them to execute the order to give fire support to the White troops. Many arrests were made.

On April 19, shortly before Easter, the

seamen unanimously refused sentry duty, held meetings, released their arrested mates, and made contact with the crew of the flagship *Jean Bart*.

Next day the two ships ran up red flags. Big demonstrations took place in Sevastopol with the crews of all the French ships taking part. When Greek soldiers under the command of a French officer opened fire on the demonstrators, the angry crews took virtual possession of the entire squadron.

In these conditions the Allied Command could not, of course, continue military operations and decided to surrender Sevastopol to the Soviets.

On April 23, the *France*, whose crew had decided to make for home shores, lifted anchor. On the following day the vessel passed through the Dardanelles en route for France. The remainder of the squadron followed several days later. On April 28, the Red Army entered Sevastopol.

Shortly before, on April 16, André Marty, ship's officer on the torpedo boat *Protet*, stationed at Galatz (Rumania), was arrested together with several others for conspiring to seize the ship, take it to Odessa and hand it over to the Red Army. But unaware of the planned mutiny, the remainder of the crew did not rally to the defense of those arrested. However, when the news of the arrests spread, it added to the growing ferment among the sailors away from home shores.

The news about the Sevastopol events had immediate repercussions on the ships at Odessa. On April 27 a revolt broke out on the cruiser *Waldeck Rousseau*. The crew refused to carry out orders, demanded to be sent back to France, and prepared to take action against the officers. The movement was irresistible, spreading to the other ships. The command was compelled to give way, and the *Waldeck Rousseau* sailed for France. Shortly after, the remaining ships in the Black Sea were recalled by the government.

And so, the sailors, like the soldiers, achieved victory.

The Black Sea revolt gave added impetus to the anti-intervention opposition of the servicemen at home. The summer of 1919 witnessed increasing cases of sailors and soldiers refusing to obey orders.

The opposition movement spread to the ships away from home waters, to the squadrons based in Bizerta, particularly the battleships *Condorcet* and *Voltaire*, in the Gulf of Corinthia, in the Baltic and as far away as Vladivostok. The entire French navy was

paralyzed as a result, thus helping to put an end to the military intervention against Soviet Russia.

The Black Sea mutiny was closely linked with the struggle waged by the working class at home. The actions of the railwaymen, the Lorraine miners, garment workers in Paris during January-April 1919, were indicative of the growing militancy of the masses. The working people vigorously opposed the intervention against the Republic of Soviets. The slogan of the day was "Hands Off Soviet Russia!" This demand was given powerful support by the strikes that swept the country in June 1919, involving the miners of the North, the textile workers of the Lower Seine Department, and in Paris the metalworkers, subway and department store workers and even the printers of the *Journal officiel*. At the beginning of July the General Confederation of Labor decided, in agreement with the Socialist Party, to hold a 24-hour general strike which was timed with similar actions in Britain and in Italy.

The working class was supported by prominent intellectuals, including Vaillant-Couturier, Raymond Lefebvre, Henri Barbusse, Fernand Desprès, Anatole France, Paul Langevin and Romain Rolland. More and more intellectuals, true to the democratic traditions of revolutionary France, joined the movement as they realized what was really taking place in Russia.

After the Black Sea mutiny a big campaign was launched to save the soldiers and seamen who had been court-martialled. In June and July 1919, the gunners Louis Lafargue, Louis Minet, Emile Le Scaun, Vigoroux (19th Artillery Regiment), Constantin Eugène (2nd Alpine Artillery Regiment) and Lesueur of the 7th Sappers Regiment were sentenced to death. Many others received sentences of 20, 10 and 5 years' hard labor.

However, none of these sentences was fully carried out, thanks to the nationwide campaign for the release of the condemned soldiers and seamen, in which masses of people participated, among them leading intellectuals. At a public meeting held in Wagram Hall in Paris in 1920, the world-famous physicist Paul Langevin paid tribute to the sailors of the Black Sea squadron.

In October 1919 the first group of soldiers and seamen were released. In July 1920 a stormy debate took place in the Chamber of Deputies, and although it did not result in an amnesty, it contributed to the sentences of some of the prisoners being considerably

reduced, and to the release of others.

In October 1920 the Socialist youth organization was reorganized into the Communist youth organization. On the initiative of its leader, the 19-year-old student Gabriel Péri, the future hero of the Resistance, the Communist Youth League and its weekly *L'Avant-Garde* centered their efforts on the campaign to release the soldiers and seamen still in prison.

In December of the same year the Communist Party was founded. *L'Humanité*, which under the direction of Marcel Cachin from its very inception supported the actions of the soldiers and the seamen, intensified the campaign for an amnesty. During parliamentary by-elections at the time the Communist Party proposed nominating the prisoners, and was supported in many cases by the Left parties. By 1923 practically all the prisoners had been released. Lesueur, however, who had been condemned to death, was freed only in 1925.

The success of the Black Sea revolt of the French soldiers and sailors was largely due to the Bolshevik Party which had strong organizations in the region, notably in Sevastopol and Odessa. The members of the Bolshevik Party never identified the soldiers and sailors, most of whom were workers and peasants, with the imperialists who had sent them to fight against the working people of Russia. On the contrary, while organizing an energetic struggle against the military occupation they at the same time conducted intensive propaganda, explaining to the foreign soldiers and sailors the meaning of the intervention against the Soviet revolution.

"You are told that we are criminals. But is it a crime to defend the workers against the capitalists, the peasants against the landowners, the poor against the rich? We are your friends. Demand to be sent back home, and if you are refused, go back yourselves, establish Soviets." This was the gist of the numerous leaflets and newspapers, put out in French by the Bolsheviks and distributed among the French servicemen, despite the White terror. The soldiers and sailors eagerly read this printed matter, for it reflected their own demands and sentiments.

This explanatory work and this fraternal attitude of the Bolsheviks towards the French soldiers and sailors facilitated the outbreak of the revolt.

The Bolshevik actions to win the French soldiers and sailors over to the revolution were supported by a French Communist

group formed in Moscow in September 1918. This group of French people residing in Moscow consisted of some 20 members, among them Jeanne Labourbe, daughter of the Communard Rosa Barberey, her 18-year-old son Henri, the soldiers Robert Petit, Marcel Body, Raoul Chapoan, the teacher Marie-Louise Petit, and Inessa Armand. Jeanne Labourbe, secretary of the group, had come to Russia as a young girl to teach French. She participated in the 1905 revolution, later joined the Bolshevik Party and took part in the 1917 October Revolution.

The group was supported by Captain Jacques Sadoul, formerly attache of the French Mission in Russia. A man of integrity and political foresight, Sadoul welcomed the October Revolution. He tried in every way to combat the anti-Soviet slander and to inform the working class in France of the truth. Sadoul opposed the counter-revolutionary actions directed in Moscow by the French Ambassador Noulens. For this he was sentenced to death by French justice, a sentence which was annulled in 1925.

With the participation of Jacques Sadoul and Inessa Armand, the Communist group published a weekly *The Third International*, the first issue of which appeared on October 20, 1918. The paper told the workers of France, Belgium and Switzerland about the Russian revolution, addressed itself to the French soldiers still on the Russian fronts and helped organize the French, Belgian and Swiss workers residing in Russia. The group also published numerous leaflets and appeals to the soldiers and sailors.

In February 1919 Jeanne Labourbe, with the agreement of the Central Committee of the Bolshevik Party, arrived in Odessa to carry on work among the French occupation troops. She took part in editing and distributing leaflets, pamphlets and newspapers, among them *The Communist* which appeared twice weekly.

On March 1 Jeanne Labourbe, with a group of other activists, was arrested by French Guards. She and her comrades—five women and four men—were shot that same night.

One month later, the fraternization between French and Russian working people that Jeanne Labourbe had worked for, had given her life for, began. The red banner of the Soviets waved over liberated Odessa.

The glorious image of Jeanne Labourbe who came to Odessa "to work in a Communist spirit among the French workers

and soldiers" (Lenin), symbolizes for all time the solidarity of the French working people with the cause of October, with the cause of proletarian internationalism.

* * *

The Black Sea mutiny showed the importance of the international solidarity of the working people with the Soviet socialist revolution in the fight against the imperialist intrigues and plots. Lenin stressed the significance of this solidarity as follows: "Why did the Entente troops quit the North and Odessa? Because the more deeply their soldiers, who were themselves workers, penetrated into Soviet Russia, the more emphatically they refused to fight against us. That means that one of the reasons for our victory was this: we can be fought only by a big force, but a big army can be recruited only from among the workers and peasants, and the workers of the West do

not want to fight us. We were therefore victorious not because we were the stronger, but because the working people of the Entente countries proved to be closer to us than to their own governments." (*Collected Works*, Vol. 30, p. 303.)

This international solidarity helped the working-class and revolutionary movement in France to make its choice, to declare for the Communist International, founded by Lenin. At the congress in Tours, in December 1920, this choice took concrete form with the founding of the Communist Party.

Looking back over the path traversed since the Black Sea mutiny, the French Communists are proud of the glorious actions of the revolutionary soldiers and sailors of their country, are proud that they aligned themselves with the cause of justice, with socialism, at the dawn of October.

Victor JOANNES

The man known as Quebracho

Asuncion, the capital, was dark and quiet after a long hot day. The silence was broken only by the roar of cars catering to the nightclub trade and by the bark of the *perros*, the big guard dogs kept in most yards. The full moon shed a silvery light on the water of the River Paraguay, on the tall office buildings and on the slate roofs of the squat houses on the outskirts. This was a typical night in January, a favorite theme of many a Paraguayan poet.

And on this moonlit night, a tall man, well-built and well-dressed, walked with sure and quick steps through one of the side streets with its sharp odor of decaying fruit. He kept to the dark side of the street, peering into every corner, for he sensed that there was danger ahead. And there was: three men stepped out from behind a hedge and quickly walked into the road.

"Halt, hands up!" The voice was hoarse and menacing.

More appeared from behind the hedge, all of them carrying revolvers.

"Identity card!" the hoarse voice demanded, as another of the group searched for arms. The identity card was duly produced and carefully examined in the light of an electric torch. Again the hoarse voice, but this time with a distinct jubilant note: "Well, well, Julio Rojas himself — we've been looking for you for days. Put the cuffs on," he beckoned to one of the group. "And no monkey business—'killed in an attempt to escape', you know that?"

Early next morning the news that a top Communist leader had been arrested was communicated to the presidential residence, a sumptuous two-storey white-stone villa standing in a tropical garden and surrounded by a high wall patrolled night and day by dour-looking individuals with tell-tale bulges under their left armpits. The tenant of the villa is a bulky, blustering, heavy-jowled man, with a tooth-brush moustache,

short arms and big red hands—the composite image of a butcher. He is universally hated for his brutality. His name—Alfredo Stroessner. He became president some 15 years ago as a result of a coup. He is an admirer of Hitler and of the Hitlerian "method" of ruling a country. Following that method, he has turned Paraguay into a prison. He is ready to destroy anyone opposed to his regime, which serves the interests of a tight group of latifundia owners, the big commercial concerns and, of course, foreign capital, especially U.S. capital, which all but controls Paraguay's national wealth.

The targets of Stroessner's brutality are the Communists, the most consistent champions of democracy and of a brighter future for the people. Membership of the Party, even the mere suspicion of membership, is enough to send a man to the torture chambers. For Stroessner believes, rightly, that the work of the Communists, their close contact with the people weighed down by poverty and longing for change, is the main danger to his despotic regime. "No mercy for the Communists," is his maxim. It figures in every speech he makes.

And now that Julio Rojas was in the hands of the Investigation Police—Stroessner's version of the Gestapo—the president was happy, but not for long. For it was not enough to capture Rojas—the other Communist leaders had to be found, too. Even with only a few at large, the regime would be in danger. Stroessner would have liked nothing better than to do away with Rojas and all the other imprisoned Communists, but he knew only too well that that would not do away with popular resentment. A political murder would only make things worse. And so he rejected the advice of his aides to shoot Rojas "in an attempt to escape." He had a better idea: suppose Rojas could be induced to renounce communism? Maybe that would demoralize his followers?

Accordingly, the police were instructed to "induce" Rojas to sign a recantation, publicly and loudly to announce that he was abandoning communism. In the event of refusal, well, the police would see to it that he would feel death was a relief. . . .

A key turned in the lock and the heavy iron door swung back. Rojas rose from the floor as two of the warders entered.

"We gave you some rough treatment last night, Senor Professor, but that was just a little exercise to keep you fit. The chief wants to have a word with you, and for your own good, talk, don't contradict him, otherwise your life won't be worth a *guarani*."

The chief, a small, obese man, was politeness itself: "Won't you sit down, Senor Professor? Cigar? No? Perhaps a cup of coffee? We have much to discuss," he began, motioning to the guards to leave the room. Fixing his eyes on the prisoner he spoke slowly, carefully pronouncing every word, explaining what the authorities wanted. Several times he emphasized that if the Senor Professor agreed, he would be freed immediately and, moreover, would be given a tidy sum that would allow him to live in comfort.

Rojas listened. He was aware of all the usual police tricks, but this was something new. They wanted him to become a traitor, a renegade, to sell his soul for hard cash. Honest men would despise him, his name would be mentioned with disgust. Of course, he would never agree, he would never bow to the men who had plunged his people, his country, into such misery and tyranny. And in a calm voice he replied "No."

The police chief was furious, he jumped up, punched Rojas in the face, gave vent to his feelings in a flow of filthy abuse, called in the guards: "Teach the bastard! Make mincemeat of him!"

The guards pounced on their victim, threw him to the floor and began beating him. In a matter of minutes Rojas' clothes were a mass of bloody rags, his back and chest an open wound.

When he came to he was lying in a puddle of water on a cement floor. There was a strong smell of carbolic. The slightest movement was excruciating, his head was like a throbbing motor, his tongue was swollen. But gradually thought came back, and with it questions: "Why was I arrested immediately after a secret meeting? Was I shadowed by the police or betrayed? And if there was a traitor, how many more would

suffer?" His concern was for the safety of his young comrades, energetic and eager to learn, for to them would fall the work of building the new Paraguay, free from tyranny, exploitation and poverty.

His thoughts turned to the past, to childhood days in the small town of Barrero Grande, the thatched cottage in which he had been brought up. He recalled the taste of the *locro*, the poor man's dish of spiced maize to which bits of meat were added on holidays. And he meditated on the life of the peasant, land-hungry while the vast tracts owned by the latifundi and the foreign companies lay idle. The only solution, he repeated in his mind, was agrarian reform that would turn the land over to those who till it. The lot of the workers and artisans was no better. For them, for the whole people, the only solution was an end to the dictatorship, freedom from U.S. monopoly exploitation, democratic and social reforms to pave the way to a better future. Paraguay would in the end follow the path that had brought the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries such impressive achievements. That, surely, was well worth fighting for, despite all this torture. Such were his thoughts.

Rojas was transferred to the City Prison, a large, walled building surrounded with the inevitable watch-towers and their armed guards. And here the interrogation began all over again:

"Where are the Party headquarters?"

"Where is the illegal printshop?"

"When will you sign a statement renouncing your Communist views?"

Rojas did not answer. The daily questioning was followed by beatings with rubber truncheons. "How can you stand it?" one of the guards asked. "Are you made of stone?" Rojas replied simply: "I am a Communist."

Later on Rojas, now classified as a "highly dangerous criminal," was sent to the Tacumbu concentration camp patterned on Hitler's death camps and commonly known as the "green hell." Located in the jungle not far from the capital, its inmates were made to work 12-14 hours in the quarries. The weaker died from this back-breaking toil, and many succumbed to epidemics. Julio Rojas organized a protest movement among the prisoners, for which he was sent to the punishment cell.

The beatings and torture failed to break him. The prisoners named him the *Quebracho* of Paraguay. The *Quebracho* is an oak that almost defies the axe, and in

South America the name is the greatest compliment that can be paid to a man of courage and fortitude.

The penal labor and the repeated beatings ruined his health—Rojas is suffering from tuberculosis. One morning, looking into the barrel of drinking water the sight of his reflection astonished him—he was emaciated, and his face only a shadow of what it had once been. And he recalled that shortly before his arrest an artist friend had drawn his portrait. "You've made me look too stout," he had said to the artist. What would he say if he saw me now? Rojas thought to himself.

Though physically weak he was strong in spirit. He remained the same dedicated fighter, respected by all the prisoners. As a member of the Party Central Committee, he had been assigned to work among teachers and taught Marxism-Leninism in clandestine classes. Now too, in this "green hell," he used every opportunity to talk to the other men, told them about Lenin and how under his leadership the socialist revolution had triumphed in Russia. These talks, though brief, not only helped the prisoners to see things in a broader light; they infused in them renewed strength, a firmer resolve to continue the struggle.

His thoughts often turned to Antonio Maidana with whom in 1940 he founded the Teachers' Association and two years later led the teachers' strike. Another close friend was Alfredo Alcorta. Later he learned that both had been arrested. How good it would be to meet them again, even in prison! And that day came: Rojas was transferred to No. 3 police station in Asuncion, where Professor Maidana and the economist Alcorta were detained. Both were seriously ill—Maidana had heart trouble and Alcorta advanced sclerosis. Together with 11 other men they were kept in a small cell with a tiny window letting through little sun and very little air. Communist prisoners were forbidden to read and write and were denied the daily exercise in the yard, a privilege reserved for "ordinary" criminals.

In 1960 the regime decided to make short shrift of Maidana, Alcorta and Rojas. They were put on trial, on the assumption that a

death sentence would evoke less public anger than outright murder by the secret police. It did not work. The judge who tried them, Dr. Tomas Acosta, was not prepared to do Stroessner's dirty work, and after sifting the "evidence" acquitted the three men. But they were not released. Cynically flouting its own laws, the government ordered them to be held in strict confinement. Newspapermen, however, learned that the three men were being held as hostages—a fresh outburst of public unrest would be met by a threat to execute them.

Julio Rojas, arrested in January 1958, has been in prison for more than 11 years, longer than any political detainee in Latin America.

It requires extraordinary courage and supreme devotion to one's cause to endure these long years of torment and humiliation. And like other sons and daughters of the Paraguayan people, Rojas possesses both. They are supremely devoted to the ideals of socialism and communism, they are true Leninists. Neither prison walls nor the torture of the secret police can make them break with the Party or give up the fight on behalf of their people. They know that their Party is rallying fresh forces, working to organize a national front against the dictatorship that will unite all the militants of the working class, peasants, students and intellectuals in a democratic movement for freedom. Rojas and his friends know that this movement will gain in strength and scope and will overthrow the reactionary regime.

The Quebracho of Paraguay must live; he must be released. But together with Maidana and Alcorta he is in constant danger of being "liquidated" by the regime's henchmen. The working class and all progressive people in Paraguay are rallying to their defense, and demands for their release have come from other parts of the world. Stroessner has to reckon with this. This growing international solidarity with men who have dedicated their lives to the happiness of their people can and should develop into an effective force that will stay the hand of Stroessner and open the gates of Paraguay's prisons.

A. PEREIRA

Soldiers write about the war

It will be a quarter of a century next year since the unforgettable day in May 1945 when the guns became silent in war-ravaged Europe. Hitler Germany was brought to its knees in an arduous six-year war, and mankind was delivered from Nazi tyranny.

The world has changed. The political map has been repatterned. New socialist countries have come into being. But interest in the Second World War is still very keen. War literature is prolific, and so is its readership. Understandably so, because millions of people were involved, the destiny of nations on all continents affected. The younger generation, too, who did not experience the war, is eager to know about it. Furthermore, and probably most important, the outcome of the war still influences the solution of many vital political and economic problems.

Looking back, readers seek the answers to why and how the war broke out drawing into its orbit 61 countries and 80 per cent of mankind; they want to know who was responsible for the loss of 50 million lives and the incalculable material damage and, above all, they want to know what must be done to avert another tragedy.

These are not idle questions. There are more than enough reasons for anxiety. The United States, West Germany and other imperialist powers are back on the road of militarism which, as history bears out, leads all too surely to war. Much of what we see today, much of what is done by imperialist governments, much of their home and foreign policy—the armaments drive, the forging of aggressive blocs, local wars, unbridled anti-communism and anti-Sovietism, and assaults on the democratic forces—all are reminiscent of the immediate prewar days.

The danger of a third world war is ever-present and what is more, the danger is increasing. Yet the people detest the very thought of war. To combat the danger they want to know more about how it germinates.

The answers may be found in the works of the military historians studying the documents and the sources. They are found also in the first-hand testimony of the war veterans. No authentic history of the war is conceivable if it ignores the memoirs. War is a multiform thing. Battles are fought over vast areas, involving vast masses of men, and no documentary material can fully reflect the complexity and dynamism of the military operations. Besides, many highly important orders were verbal or issued by radio or the telephone.

War memoirs have appeared in many countries, written by the statesmen, diplomats and journalists involved in the war in different capacities. But the most prominent place belongs to memoirs of the soldiers, of men ranging in rank from private to marshal.

In the Soviet Union, too, war memoirs are popular. To date, central and local publishers have issued more than 600 memoirs, and collections.*

Soviet war memoirs are extensively read abroad. "USSR in the Second World War," containing reminiscences of many Soviet generals, appeared in France and Italy, Marshal Chuikov's memoirs in the United States and Marshal Konev's in France.

The war is seen from many different angles: by men who served as rank and file soldiers, by men who operated behind the enemy lines or on flying missions, by sappers who cleared the mine-fields.

*Soviet war memoirs include V. T. Davydov's "Frontline Notes," the diary of a soldier; M. P. Chéchneva's "The Planes Take Off," notes by a woman pilot; S. A. Neustroyev's "The Road to the Reichstag"; I. I. Azarov's "Embattled Odessa"; A. G. Rytov's "Knights of the Fifth Ocean"; General Telegin's "Moscow Did Not Surrender"; General Rodimtsev's "Holding the Last Line"; General Shtemenko's "The General Staff in the War"; and Marshal Konev's "Nineteen Forty-Five"; Marshal Zhukov's "Recollections and Ruminations"; Marshal A. A. Grechko's "The Battle for the Caucasus"; Marshal Meretskov's "In the Service of the People"; Marshal Rokossovsky's "The Soldier's Duty"; Marshal Yeremenko's "The Beginning of the War" and many others.

This specifically personal appreciation, this variety of viewpoints deriving from the variety of military occupations enables us to reconstruct events exhaustively, making the memoirs a cumulative chronicle of the nation's exploit.

The testimony of the war veterans is invaluable. But understandably readers are particularly attracted by the memoirs of the top Soviet generals—the men who directed the fight against Hitler's war machine.

Marshal Rokossovsky has no doubts about the early weeks of the war. "We lost the battle of the border," he says, concluding that no rapid turning of tables could be expected. "We cannot stop the enemy by merely deploying more units to the riddled front," he writes. "What we must do is concentrate a strong group far back in our territory, able not only to withstand the powerful war machine of the enemy, but also to inflict a devastating blow. For us the task of slowing down or halting the enemy is now crucial, a matter of life and death."

Looking at the situation through the prism of personal experience, Rokossovsky describes the state of affairs at the end of July 1941 in the central sector of the Soviet-German front. "The situation in the Smolensk area was becoming increasingly complicated," he writes, "and this not only for our troops, but also for the enemy. Clearly, the Germans were bogged down. Looking at things dynamically, the enemy's blitz was running aground. In substance, cracks had appeared in it at the very beginning of the war."

We know now how the situation was assessed in Nazi Germany—not to the strains of the martial music broadcast day and night over the radio and not as presented in the columns of the official press, but in top military spheres. A month after the war against the Soviet Union was launched, General Halder, Chief of Staff of ground forces, noted in his diary:

"Along the Army Group Center front the enemy has succeeded in breaking out of the encirclement at Nevel . . . Generally speaking, the situation at many points is very acute . . . In the newly established sector north and south of Smolensk . . . the enemy is mounting stubborn and energetic attacks . . . The ferocity of the battles fought by our mobile units . . . the delays in deployment of infantry divisions from the West, the slowness of all deployment . . . the visible fatigue of the troops

making long marches and fighting bloody battles from the beginning of the war—all this has caused a lowering of morale among the military leaders, as epitomized by the depressed mood of the Supreme Commander of Ground Forces."

On July 20 Halder still did not see the grounds "for such pessimism," but on August 11 he put down his opinion emphatically: "The general situation shows more clearly and obviously that we underestimated the Russian colossus . . . This applies to all the economic and organizational aspects, to communications and, particularly, to the purely military side."

Marshal Meretskov writes: "In that difficult hour we worked hard to secure a turning of the tide as quickly as possible and, however unpleasant to admit this, we did not display adequate persistence at times to prevail on our superiors about the need for various measures. But we were confident of victory, of the grand and just Soviet cause. Our trust in victory helped us work and fight, infusing strength and spurring our men to feats of valor."

The Battle of Moscow was one of the most momentous battles of the whole war, raging for nearly six months and fought over a vast area. Hitler's strategists geared all their plans to the capture of the Soviet capital. "Striking at Moscow," Field Marshal Kluege said, "we shall crush the brain and heart of the Soviet system." Like a vast magnet, Moscow drew the enemy host.

Anticipating the designs of the enemy, Supreme Headquarters massed its forces to cover the capital, the political and economic hub of the country. All the accounts of the Battle of Moscow tell of fierce fighting and of the resolve with which the Communist Party and the entire country defended the city.

The Hitler generals, whose books are widely published in the West, try to show the reasons for the German defeat at Moscow. Distorting the course of events, they blame either the mud in which the motorized units got bogged down or the unexpected onset of winter, or the immense, nearly 20:1 Soviet numerical advantage. Soviet war historians refute these excuses; theirs are serious studies of the socio-economic, political and military reasons for the Nazi debacle, showing the heroism of the Soviet soldier and superiority of the Soviet military doctrine.

It is proper to say that greatness is better seen from afar. Today, more than a

quarter of a century after the Battle of Stalingrad, we can see how decisive it was for the final outcome. The memoirs provide exhaustive accounts of the epic battle, and of how Supreme Command, General Staff and Military Councils of the Fronts planned the encirclement of the main enemy group between the Don and the Volga. None but Supreme Command and General Staff could have shouldered this formidable assignment, as Marshals Vasilevsky and Zhukov rightly note in their books.

The writers naturally rely on their memory, but back it up with documents, some appearing in print for the first time, which adds authenticity to their work. Take the following example. The South-Western Front mounted its counter-offensive at Stalingrad on November 19, while the Don Front went into action 24 hours later. Why? Marshal Zhukov reveals that the former had been set a more difficult task; its march up was longer, and it had to force the Don. Zhukov quotes a document he received from Stalin: "You may pick the day for the resettlement (code for offensive—P.Zh.) of Fyodorov and Ivanov (code for Generals Vatutin and Yeremenko—P.Zh.) at your discretion . . . If you feel that one of them should begin resettling a day or two earlier or later, I authorize you to decide the matter at your discretion."

Documents of this kind, quoted by the war veterans, are numerous. And this combination of memory and documentary evidence helps us to grasp the facts of history more accurately; and the facts show that the victory at Stalingrad had a tremendous international impact, raising the morale of the Soviet troops and adding to the faith in the victory of the USSR and other nations. As a result, the people in the Hitler-occupied countries intensified their resistance to the invader.

Upon learning of the disaster at Stalingrad Hitler said to his Chief-of-Staff, Zeitzler: "Now that Paulus has surrendered we cannot expect the men to fight on. I can only say that the chances of ending the war in the East by means of an offensive are gone. This we must see clearly."

The spectacular Soviet offensives after the Battle of Kursk are described in detail in many memoirs. Marshal Konev's "Nineteen Forty-Five" deals with the final phase of the war. He describes the actions of his First Ukrainian Front in the Vistula-Oder, Lower and Upper Silesia, the Berlin and Prague operations, and his story of the

huge command of 1,200,000 men, up to 17,000 guns and mortars, between 2,200 and 3,300 tanks and self-propelled guns, 2,500 and 3,300 planes, illustrates the colossal striking power of the Soviet Army.

Konev describes the basic features of the Soviet art of war which made it distinctly superior to the German school: correct definition of decisive objectives, judicious choice of the direction of the main blow, rapid operational development in depth and of flanking movements, and skilled conduct of successive operations.

Interest is aroused by S. M. Shtemenko's "The General Staff in the War." The author occupied key posts in the General Staff and knew all the operations in detail, being one of the men who did the operational planning, mapping out the various campaigns and participating in decision-making at top level. As witness and participant Shtemenko is well equipped to recreate the atmosphere in the General Staff and at Supreme Headquarters, to describe their style and methods of work. "Supreme Headquarters and the General Staff which was the former's working body," Shtemenko writes, "were firmly in control of planning campaigns and operations and in charge of the reserves; they followed closely the developments in the vast areas engulfed by war. Nothing escaped their vision—no change of the front line, no move of an army. Vital contacts were maintained with the troops. Representatives of Supreme Headquarters and of General Staff were present on all key sectors, verifying the Supreme Commander's directives and orders and giving counsel during the operations."

Though his book may not be exhaustive, Shtemenko discusses matters untouched by anyone before him. It is the novelty of his information, previously unknown to the general reader, presented in good literary style, that makes his memoirs so welcome.

Marshal Zhukov's book evokes special interest. He cites previously unpublished documents, reconstructs his talks with Stalin on fundamental organizational and operational matters, and describes the effort that went into the war planning. The reader is shown that the strategic planning was a collective and creative process, involving Supreme Command, General Staff, and the commands and headquarters of the Fronts.

Zhukov also shows the intimately related political and organizational effort by the top Party and government bodies, whose

responsibility was to keep the Fronts supplied with what they needed for their strategic aims. He devotes many pages to recollections of conferences with the Supreme Commander and to the solutions hammered out on many a crucial military issue.

What Zhukov writes about the final phases of the war, the liberation of Poland and Czechoslovakia and the culminating Berlin Operation will doubtlessly arouse lively interest. His "Recollections and Ruminations" refute those bourgeois historians who cast doubt on the significance of the Berlin Operation, such as the U.S. historian M. Florinsky, who contends that the Soviet Army entered Berlin and Prague by the grace of the U.S. and British governments and military commands.

Zhukov has interesting things to say about the Control Council in Germany, showing how much the Soviet Government and the Soviet troops in Germany did to make good the ravages of the war, normalize life, assure food supplies, rehabilitate the economy and reconstruct life along new democratic lines. The book also deals with the Potsdam Conference and the subsequent gradual revival of militarism encouraged by the Western powers. What he says about German imperialism should be a warning to all potential aggressors: "German imperialism set itself the aim of destroying the world's first socialist state and enslaving the peoples of many countries. By now documents,

directives and maps showing what Hitler's men had in mind for Europe, Asia, Africa and America after defeating the Soviet Union, have grown yellow. But it is always well to remember them when thinking of the significance of the Great Patriotic War fought by the Soviet Union and, generally, of what claims to world supremacy are liable to lead to."

Reconstructing the ordeal and the glorious victories of the Soviet people under the leadership of the Communist Party in the most cruel of all wars, describing the substance and purport of the patriotic and internationalist exploit of the Soviet Armed Forces and portraying the heroism of their comrades-in-arms, the memoir writers impart undying glory to Soviet arms and hand down fine traditions, setting the standard of behavior for Soviet people who consider their right and duty of defending the socialist country a sacred privilege.

Soviet memoirs are an important ideological weapon, helping to repulse bourgeois falsifiers who endeavor to distort the history of the Second World War and to minimize the decisive contribution made by the Soviet Union. Recalling the past in the name of the present and future, they produce an imposing portrait of the Soviet soldier who safeguarded the independence of his country and selflessly helped liberate the European peoples from the fascist scourge.

P. ZHILIN

From Verdun to the Communist Party

"Is there any point in relating the story of my life, the story of a worker whom circumstances destined to play a political role in the national and international movement?" Jacques Duclos asked himself before writing his memoirs.*. "I leave it to the reader to answer that question."

And thousands of French readers have answered it. Reviewers are unanimous in saying that the book is highly instructive and highly readable. Instructive because

the author—a veteran Party worker who rapidly advanced to leading posts in the French Communist Party and the world Communist movement—reveals in his memoirs insight and shrewd judgment. Interesting because Duclos transmutes history into understandable facts and tempers its dramatic situations with humor.

*Jacques Duclos *Mémoires*, 1896-1934. Le chemin que j'ai choisi. De Verdun au Parti communiste. Paris, Fayard, 1968, 434 pp.

The first volume, published last year, covers the period from 1896 to 1934, that is, from the author's "entry into life" in a village in the Pyrenees up to the anti-fascist struggles and the beginnings of the Popular Front. World developments are seen through the author's subjective reactions. World War I is seen through the eyes of a soldier called up in April 1915 at the age of 18. The October Socialist Revolution is seen through the eyes of a 21-year-old youth with pronounced socialist leanings. Spain in the closing years of the Bourbons and Germany in the years of Hitler's climb to power are described by an underground fighter and delegate of the Communist International.

Some of the episodes related in volume I merit closer examination.

One is the emergence of the French Communist Party, which Duclos joined at its inception, on December 30, 1920. But this way to the Party was not always a straight one. And not only because he belonged to a generation that had been a victim of the war. Duclos explains the circumstances attending the birth of this party of the new type: "Many Socialist and trade union leaders now realized the full import of the betrayal of 1914 and keenly felt the need to resurrect the French labor movement, infected by war-time jingoism.

"Much the same applied to the ex-soldiers who, having returned from the front, expected significant change. But what significant change could there be unrelated to the momentous event that had shaken the world, the October Revolution of 1917?"

Those who even today are at pains to prove that the founding of the French Communist Party was no more than an "accident of history," an event inspired, even instigated, from outside, are wilfully distorting history. For the impact of the October Revolution was especially felt in a country which more than a century before had gone through a bourgeois-democratic revolution, a country in which many of the Paris Communards were still alive, a country, lastly, where the trade union and socialist movement, despite its shortcomings, had taken root.

To affirm that the emergence of the Party was spontaneous is to ignore both French national tradition and the influence of the October Revolution. Incidentally, this is yet another example of how anti-Sovietism merges with contempt for national history. Duclos' personal experience

flatly refutes these distortions and proves that the formation of the French Communist Party was "an expression of the mass protest against a policy whose ruinous consequences had been tolerated all too long."

In 1921 Duclos was secretary of the Party branch in the 10th Paris district. Ten years later he was to become, together with Maurice Thorez, Secretary of the Party Central Committee.

In this volume he describes the first steps and achievements of the Party as vanguard of the working class and the unifying and organizing force of the masses. His is the evidence both of a witness and of an active participant.

The first job was to reconstruct the Socialist Party branch, which existed before the Tours Congress, into a Communist organization. Many features and practices of the Socialist Party were still making themselves felt. Theoretical misconceptions had to be dispelled, an end put to the fight between conflicting trends, day-to-day activity reorganized for a persevering drive to win over the majority of the working class and to draw the masses into political activity.

The United Front policy recommended by the Third Comintern Congress in 1921 and formulated in the slogan "To the Masses!" met with considerable resistance. The fight thus had to be waged on two fronts—against Right-wing opportunism, which advocated a united front through concessions to the reformists, and Left-wing opportunism, which regarded the Socialist rank-and-file, in the words of Albert Treint, merely as "chickens to be plucked." The United Front policy, however, proved eminently successful: on October 12, 1925 about 900,000 took part in a mass political strike against the colonial wars in Morocco and Syria, against the high taxes and for a general wage increase.

Duclos does not conceal the difficulties confronting the Party in 1927-31, but he also describes how the Party gained through its efforts to democratize its inner life.

Yet it polled only 800,000 votes, less than eight per cent of the total, in the 1932 general election; its membership then was a mere 34,580 and it had only 474 factory branches. It was with this restricted influence and still weak organization that the Party had to face the dangerous growth of fascism.

It drew a valuable lesson from Hitler's advent to power in Germany and formu-

lated a perspective acceptable to the people. It rejected the dilemma "either fascism or communism" with which the bourgeoisie sought to intimidate the people. Instead, it called for concerted effort to prevent a fascist take-over by building up an alliance of all the forces standing for democratic freedoms. It took an initiative which was to have far-reaching implications: on February 9, 1934, the working class repelled a fascist bid for power. Thanks to its unity and activity, the working class was able to form broad and effective alliances. Duclos writes: "The mutual prejudices separating the Communists and Socialists vanished in the joint struggle of anti-fascists of differing persuasions against their common enemy . . . And since there was a new pattern of relations between Communist and Socialist workers, new prospects opened for our United Front policy."

The experience of building up the "Popular Front in the battle for bread, freedom and peace, in which there was room for everyone anxious to bar the way to fascism," has not lost its topicality in our day. United action by the working class in a broad mass movement helps to bring together democratic parties and trade unions and to promote joint action. This in turn stimulates the further extension of the mass movement.

The Communist Party's bold united action policy was not fully appreciated at the time by the leading bodies of the Communist International. Full appreciation came later, at the Seventh Comintern Congress in 1935, when its positive results were obvious. Thus, experience had suggested the best combination of the national features with the principles of proletarian internationalism.

One of the most interesting chapters in this first volume is Duclos' views on the effective combination of national sentiment with the principles of international

solidarity, the inseparable link between purely national and international tasks. And in describing the Party's early solidarity campaigns—against the occupation of the Ruhr in 1923 and the wars in Morocco and Syria in 1925—Duclos emphasizes this inseparable link between the genuinely national interests and proletarian internationalism.

And he fully supported Maurice Thorez in promoting this bold and far-seeing policy at the Lille congress in 1926. The need then was to overcome the trend towards national nihilism as a reaction to the chauvinism that had infected the labor movement during World War I.

In the underground years, when Duclos was Comintern representative to the Spanish Communist Party and later when, together with Georgi Dimitrov, he was a member of the Comintern leadership with special responsibilities for the West European parties, he paid special attention to the national peculiarities of the countries he visited, always searching for optimal conditions for the working-class and popular struggle.

The memoirs are imbued with the optimism of a fighter who, despite repeated persecution, remains unbended. But let Duclos himself describe the reasons for his faith in the cause to which he has dedicated his life:

"What inspires me, a veteran fighter, is the place socialism holds in the world of today, despite all the difficulties confronting the international Communist movement. The socialist world system not only exists and plays a determining role in the life and development of our society, but everywhere, in the capitalist countries and developing countries alike, no problem of the future can be seriously discussed unless in the context of the socialist perspective."

Andre VIEUGUET

United Arab Republic: development problems

(Survey of magazine **At Talia**)

Sweeping changes have taken place in the United Arab Republic since the July 1952 revolution. Big and medium-sized industry, foreign trade, insurance, banking, construction and transport have been nationalized, private landownership restricted, producer and marketing agricultural cooperatives are being formed, the fellaheen are becoming masters of the land, heavy industry is being built up.

The changes extend to the social sphere, too: more jobs, a minimum wage, and, for the first time in Egypt's history, worker participation in management.

The July revolution which began as a liberation and anti-imperialist revolution, turned to the non-capitalist way of development.

Developments in recent months have injected yet another element—the enhanced role of the working class and peasantry in social and political life, exercised through the Arab Socialist Union (ASU), recently reorganized to unite the national forces.

Non-capitalist development, consolidation of economic independence, tackling the difficulties resulting from the 1967 Israeli aggression and rallying the people to participate in the affairs of state—now the United Arab Republic's principal problems—are the subject of discussion in the Cairo theoretical monthly *At-Talia*.

It focuses attention on the reconstruction of the Arab Socialist Union. Its new constitution, approved by President Nasser, describes it as a political organization of peasants, workers, soldiers, intellectuals and representatives of national capital—in short, a vanguard organization of the entire people in the fight for social progress, national development and democratic reform in keeping with the principles set out in the National Action Charter.

The formation of the ASU was a positive factor. However, the magazine notes that its structure was not clearly defined. For

one thing, there was no clear-cut pattern of relations with the executive and legislative authority, and this immediately led to strain in its dealings with the executive and to differences in its own ranks. Besides, there were no elected leading bodies (to prevent infiltration of elements hostile to the revolution).

The March 30 Program enunciated by President Nasser in 1968 provided for a new structure of government, with the center of gravity shifted from administrative bodies to the Arab Socialist Union. This, naturally, necessitated complete reorganization of the Union and its top committees to give it a more active role in political and social life. The Union has made democratic centralism its guiding principle and all its committees, from the lowest to the highest, are to be elected.

In an article discussing the activity of the Union's primary units (in No. 8, 1968), Helmi Yasin says they should give guidance to the people in factory and field and serve as the connecting link between the country's leadership and the masses. The author urges closer ties with the masses and closer fidelity to democratic traditions as the earnest of success. The magazine also sharply criticizes many formerly appointed officials of the Union's branch organizations, who submitted patently falsified reports to create the impression of successful political work, concealed shortcomings and opposed all criticism. This tended to divorce the ASU leadership from the masses.

The Union's continued democratic development, the magazine says, must be based on criticism and self-criticism, with every organization under the direct control of the masses.

An analysis of past experience leads *At-Talia* to conclude that the Union's task today is to rally the masses for the general line of the revolution and to inculcate a correct understanding of the problems that

crop up in the process of revolution. And chief among these problems is overcoming the aftermath of the Israeli aggression. That, the journal says, is the cornerstone of all political activity.

In most of its last year's issues, *At-Talia* discussed the elections to the various ASU committees: branch committees, the National Congress, which is the Union's supreme political body, the Central Committee, the CC subcommittees and the Supreme Executive Committee.

In its December issue it reported on the first congress of the Union (July-September 1968), and its decisions. Several articles discussed political leadership of the trade unions, strengthening of Arab unity against imperialist aggression, economic development, the role and tasks of the mass media, and the organization of a people's army.

The UAR leadership has sought to combine solution of political problems with enrolling the people to surmount the economic difficulties and assure steady progress.

The September issue carried an article, "Economic Mobilization," criticizing those who advocate the capitalist way. Their argument is that an analysis of the difficulties (trade and balance of payments deficit, under-capacity operation in industry), shows that the non-capitalist way is not suitable to Egypt, and that the situation can be remedied only by capitalism, with its private ownership and free enterprise. These apologists for capitalism urge abolition of the public sector and central planning.

In contrast, *At-Talia* shows that only the non-capitalist way will enable Egypt to break out of her economic backwardness. It examines in detail the development of the public sector as the "guarantee of independence and the basis for the transition to socialism."

Answering those who long for a return to capitalism, the magazine cites facts and figures showing that Egypt's economic development problems cannot be solved by capitalism.

Capital investment is, of course, a basic factor in economic development. Before the revolution most investment was through depreciation funds, as will be seen from the following table.

	1946	1947	1948	1949	1950	1951
Investment percentage in national product	5	6	7	8	7	7
Net investment percentage (exclusive of depreciation funds)	0	1	2	3	2	2

The low rate of investment led to increased unemployment—about a quarter of the able-bodied population being without jobs, and in some years employment dropped to very low levels: 277,000 jobs in 1947, and even less, 255,000, in 1952.

After the July revolution Egyptian capitalists were granted special privileges to encourage them to invest in economic development and assure a rapid growth rate on a capitalist basis. There was a high protective tariff and a low tariff on imported machinery and equipment, generous tax exemptions, guaranteed minimum profits and free land concessions. The state was responsible only for industries requiring heavy investment (iron and steel, cement, fertilizers). In 1954-58 the government accounted for 74 per cent of all investment in heavy industry. The Council for Industrial Development, established in September 1952, served as technical consultants to private industry, studied development projects and helped found private companies.

However, by 1956 it became obvious that the capitalists had little or no desire to invest in the country's development. When the government inaugurated ten industrial corporations with a total capital of E£22.2 million it found little support among capitalists and had to contribute E£ 12.2 million out of the public exchequer. The capitalists, of course, preferred to invest in industries promising quick returns.

Foreign enterprises were nationalized after the 1956 aggression and preparations made for intensified economic development. The economic plan adopted in the summer of 1957 envisaged an annual industrial production gain of 16 per cent (compared with only four per cent in 1954 and six per cent in 1956). Annual investments were planned at E£45 million, in the hope that some of the money would come from private sources. But, again, the capitalists, true to their principle of maximum profit, refused to contribute. And to evade participation, they concealed their true profits, sold their shares, transferred their assets abroad and engaged in currency speculation. In short, private capital was undermining industrial expansion.

The nationalization decrees of July 1961 put an end to this and set the country on an industrialization and higher living standards program. Private capital was left with only minor enterprises, and today the public sector accounts for 90 per cent of national output (excluding agriculture).

Nationalization of foreign interests and socialization of production greatly acceler-

ated economic development, as will be seen from the following figures of annual growth of national income: 1913-28, 1 per cent; 1929-39, 1.25 per cent; 1930-50, 2.5 per cent; 1950-55, 0; and 1956-65, 6.7 per cent.

On a per capita basis growth of national income was 5 per cent in 1913-55, or about 0.1 per cent per annum. After 1956 annual per capita growth averaged 4 per cent, which means that in 1956-65, at the end of the first five-year plan, it had grown at a much faster pace than in the previous 42 years. Indeed, the 1956/57 financial year was the dividing line between economic stagnation and expansion.

And the rate of expansion after the 1952 revolution is measurable in the growth of agricultural and industrial output. The annual increase in farm produce rose from 1 per cent in 1939-55 to 3.5 per cent in 1955-60 and 3.1 in 1960-65. The annual gain in industrial output under the five-year plan was 8.5 per cent (and would have been greater had there been no foreign-exchange deficit) compared with 5 per cent in 1939-54. Allocations for education and public health have likewise increased.

When the 1960-65 five-year plan was being drawn up (and when its results were evaluated), there were suggestions that it was not realistic and far beyond the country's potentialities. The present difficulties, including the slower growth rate (4 per cent under the 1968/69 plan) are, it is alleged, inherent in the plan itself.

The plan called for doubling the national income in the ten years 1960-70, which presupposed an annual accretion of 7.2 per cent, or slightly more (1.2 per cent) than the 6 per cent average for the preceeding four years. These were wholly realistic aims. A 7 per cent annual growth rate presupposed that about 20 per cent of national income would go into investments; the actual figure was 17-18 per cent.

But the goal of doubling the national income is not being achieved due to objective and subjective factors. These include a below-plan growth rate and negative phenomena, such as failure to re-cast industrialization methods. Industrialization began by expanding industries requiring large imports of plant, and this adversely affected the balance of payments position. Besides, consumption grew much faster than envisaged by the five-year plan, which led to progressively smaller accumulation and more unemployment, despite skilled-labor shortages in several industries. Things were complicated by inflationary trends,

soaring prices, lack of coordination between industries, resulting in under-capacity operation in some branches.

The underlying causes of the slump were excessive emphasis on extensive industrialization with scant attention to effectiveness of the investments. The most important thing, it was believed, was to invest more. This was the "quantity" rather than "quality" strategy. Yet only purposeful investments make for effective economic growth and produce the necessary structural changes. The "quantity" strategy led to the building of factories that answered no immediate economic need and could not be fitted into an integrated economic plan. Furthermore, there was no uniform approach to selecting investment projects, with the result that some industries were lavishly financed whereas others were short of expansion funds.

This drive for physical expansion did not always conform with long-range industrialization goals, nor did it help to lay a firm foundation for heavy industry. In adjusting the balance of payments, the main concern was to restrict imports by boosting home production. But this, to, required the purchase abroad of plant, and the outlays involved were often away above the foreign-exchange saving that would accrue from expanding home production. Scant attention was paid to matters of purchasing power. Most of the goods produced were designed for people in the higher income brackets, and attempts to restrict their consumption by raising prices and taxes resulted in unsold stocks.

The magazine analyzes some of the major problems of the public sector, emphasizing that these difficulties do not nullify the advantages of socialist economics, and do not speak in favor of capitalism. They are temporary difficulties and can be overcome only by non-capitalist development.

Several articles emphasize that development plans are not based on scientific investigation but are merely a catalogue of investments by various government departments. The magazine points to the urgent need for scientific planning and advances concrete proposals towards its achievement.

Discussing the question of national capitalism and its potentialities, *At-Talia* suggests that in Egypt capitalism can still play a definite positive part in the country's economic development. It defines "national capitalists" as persons opposed to colonialism and neo-colonialism, motivated by non-imperialist interests, prepared to participate

in the country's economic progress and to observe its labor laws. "National capitalism," *At-Talia* writes, "can play a useful part in plant and livestock farming on the old lands, in construction and in the light industries." As for the many thousands of small producers who do not employ wage labor, they should be brought together in cooperatives.

The matter of foreign capital has been the subject of much controversy. The important consideration, in the view of *At-Talia*, is that "foreign capital is out for the biggest possible profit, while the UAR wants the fastest possible development." However, cooperation with foreign capital is possible in some areas, notably oil and the tourist trade, and on a sound economic basis.

Another much-discussed issue is the "economic mobilization" necessitated by the Israeli aggression and the economic difficulties that preceded it. In this context the magazine suggests a progressive economic reform, and puts forward concrete proposals, among them scientifically-based

central planning, but with ample opportunity for public discussion.

The youth issue is discussed in five of last year's issues. In one of them, the author argues that the students rather than the working class are now the vanguard force. This is sharply criticized in an article by Abu Saif Yusuf.

The worker-peasant alliance is a vital national and social factor is examined in the October issue. Citing the Marxist-Leninist classics and the history of the revolutionary movement, the author criticizes the anarchists and others who considered the peasantry the leading force, saying that they were much more revolutionary than the industrial working class. The author quotes Marx, Engels and Lenin on the leading role of the working class, its revolutionary party, and the importance of the worker-peasant alliance, and invokes the experience of the Great October Socialist Revolution in Russia.

A. L.

IN MEMORY OF G. P. FRANTSOV

Academician G. P. Frantsov, former Chief Editor of **Problems of Peace and Socialism** (**World Marxist Review**), candidate member of the Central Committee of the CPSU, died on April 18, in Moscow after a long illness.

Georgi Frantsov was born in Moscow in 1903. Upon graduating Leningrad University he engaged in research, teaching and journalism. He was one of the organizers, and for many years director, of the Leningrad Museum of the History of Religion. During the Great Patriotic War, Georgi Frantsov worked in the Leningrad City Committee of the CPSU.

An eminent scholar in the spheres of philosophy and history, leading Party newspaperman and active public figure, Frantsov did much to train new scholars. He directed the Institute of International Relations, and for six years was Rector of the Academy of Social Sciences of the Central Committee of the CPSU.

Georgi Frantsov was author of a number of works on the history of philosophical thought. He edited Volume I of **World History**, and contributed to the multi-volume work on the history of philosophy. From 1948 until 1952 Georgi Frantsov was head of the Press Department of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs, later was deputy editor in charge of the **Pravda** foreign desk. For four years, from 1964 to 1968, he was Editor-in-Chief of **Problems of Peace and Socialism** and more recently, deputy director of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism in Moscow.

G. P. Frantsov was a delegate to the 22nd and 23rd congresses of the CPSU, at which he was elected a candidate member to the Central Committee.

G. P. Frantsov, a true son of the Communist Party, working unstintingly to further the international Communist movement, dedicated his life to the great cause of Communism.

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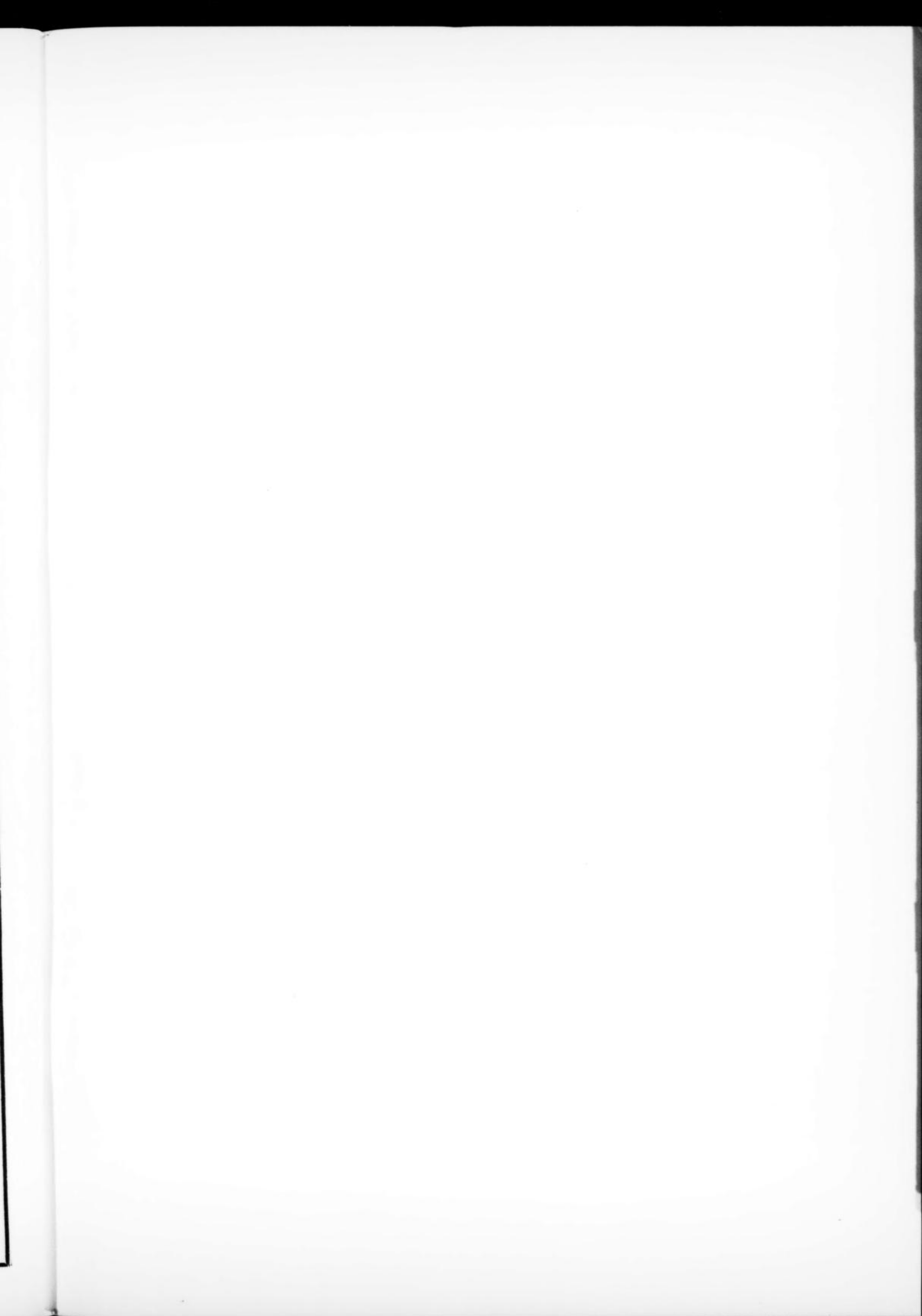
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