

WORLD MARXIST REVIEW



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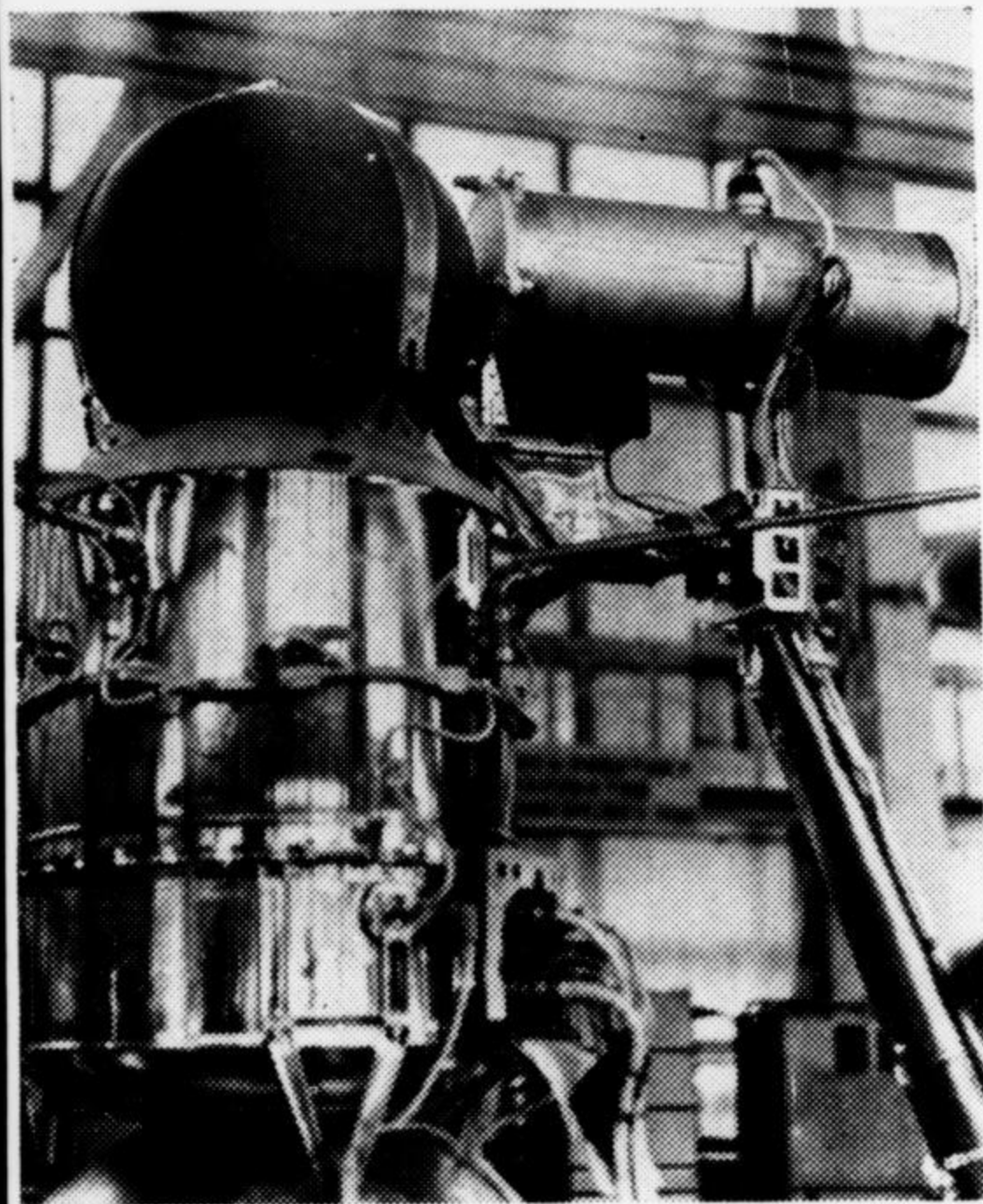
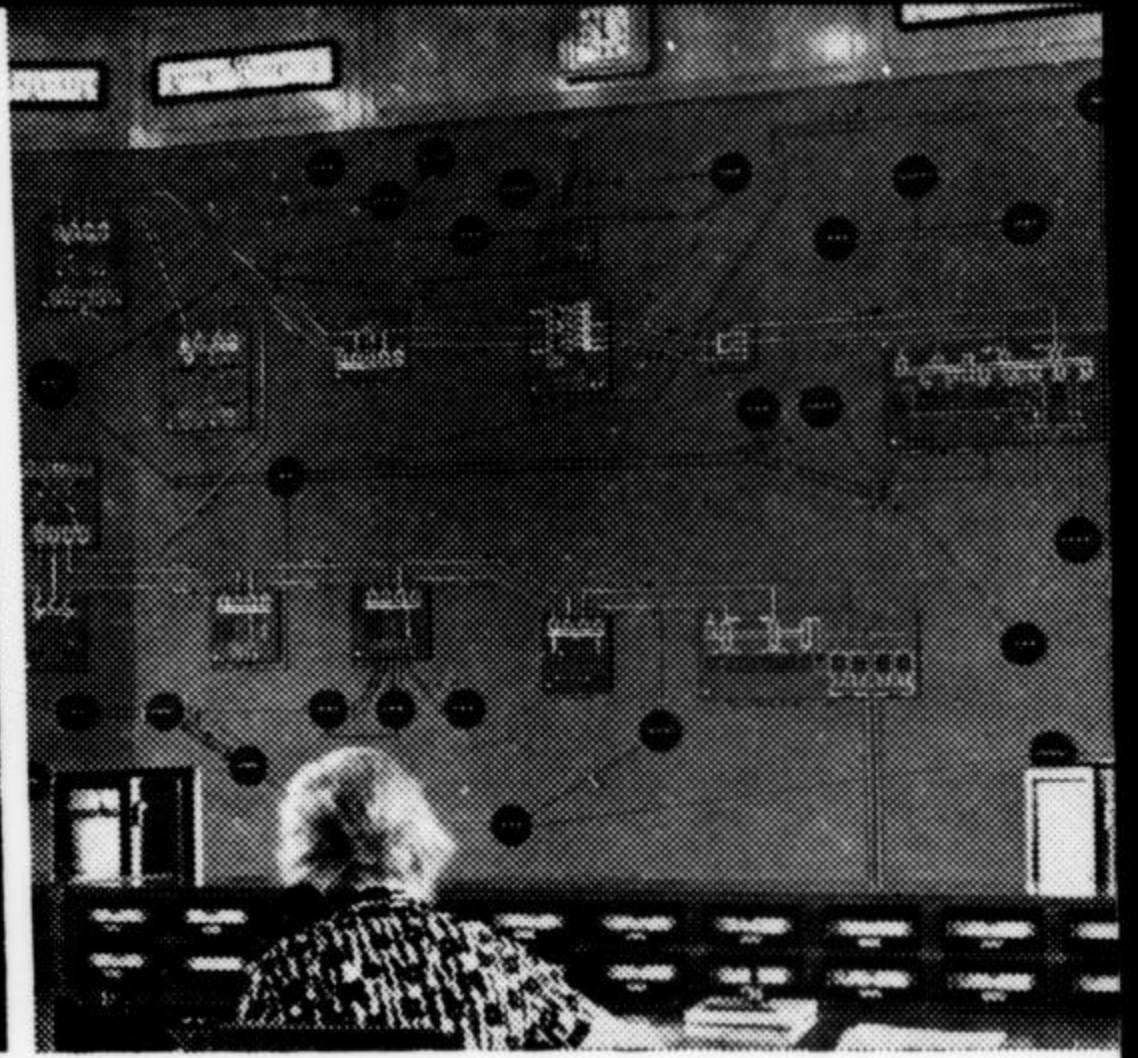
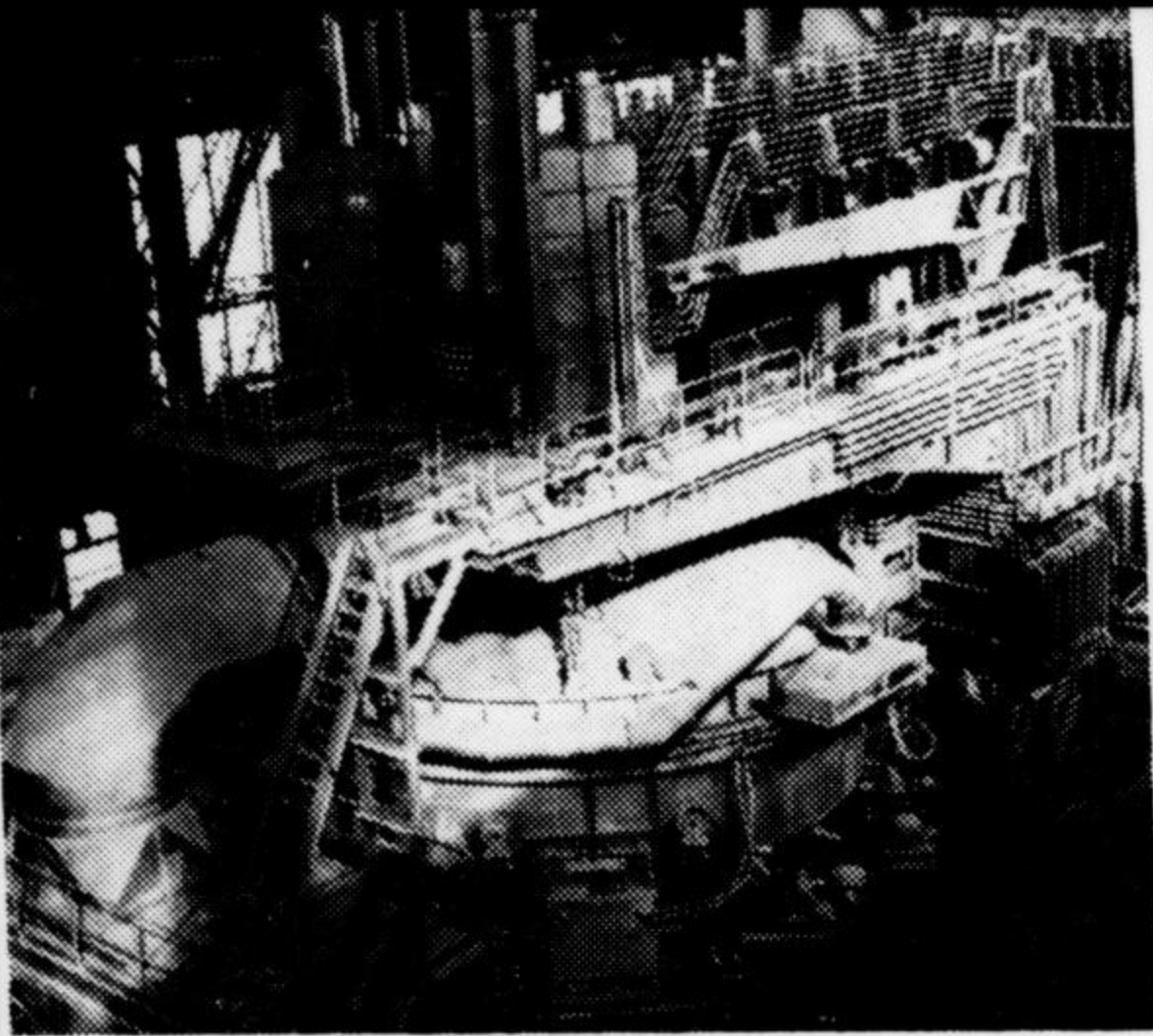
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PROBLEMS OF PEACE AND SOCIALISM

NOVEMBER 1970

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USSR Today

(See pp. 48-56).

Top left: The country's biggest electric steel-smelting furnace started up in Krasny Oktyabr, Volgograd's big iron-and-steel plant.

Top right: Control panel of the world's largest power grid in the European part of the Soviet Union.

Left: Automatic spacecraft, Luna-16. Seen in testing center.

Bottom left: New tractor types tested.

Bottom right: The recently barren Hunger Steppe in Uzbekistan yielding rich harvests.



**WORKERS OF ALL
COUNTRIES, UNITE!**

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and socialism**

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among our contributors

- LUDVIK SVOBODA President of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic,
Member Presidium, CC Communist Party of
Czechoslovakia
- LUIS CARLOS PRESTES General Secretary, CC, Brazilian Communist Party
- HENRY M. WINSTON National Chairman, CP USA
- JACQUES DUCLOS Member Political Bureau, French Communist Party
- ATHOS FAVA Member Executive Committee and Secretariat,
CC Communist Party of Argentina
- GHEORGHE RADULESCU Member Standing Presidium, Executive Committee
CC, Rumanian Communist Party; Deputy Chairman
Council of Ministers of the SRR
- ANDREI ANDREYEV Prominent Soviet Party and Government figure,
member of CPSU since 1914
- GEORGE TOUBI Member Central Committee, Communist Party
of Israel
- JACQUES DORCILIER Member Central Committee, United Party of Haitian
Communists
- BORIS PANKIN Editor-in-Chief, Komsomolskaya Pravda (USSR)
- WIESLAW ISKRA Polish economist

Role of the Soviet Union in the modern world

LUDVIK SVOBODA

I.

The Great October Socialist Revolution, the 53rd anniversary of which world progressives are marking, was a great turning point in history. Under its impact our century became the era of transition from capitalism to socialism.

The October Revolution erupted in a world convulsed by the First World War into which international imperialism had plunged so many nations. Imperialism reigned on all continents. The exploiting classes—opposed to the working class, the masses and the oppressed peoples—maintained their supremacy with huge armies, police machinery, a system of oppression, exploitation and persecution, and a vast propaganda machine.

Headed by V. I. Lenin, the Bolsheviks in a historic exploit breached this international system of oppression and violence.

The October Revolution was in all respects a new type of revolution, giving birth to the first worker-peasant state that set out to eliminate all exploitation of man by man. The fact that power in the new state was held by the Communist-led working class, actively supported by the peasants, and that it exercised this power in the interest of the majority, created a qualitatively new world situation.

For the first time in history, the international labor movement had in the socialist state a dependable basis and support for further growth. Realistic prospects appeared for proletarian victory and the building of a socialist system in other countries. The example of Russia's working class, which had ascended to a new, higher level of so-

cial organization, revolutionized the working-class movement in the capitalist world. Not only did it prove that the workers could win political power, but also showed the way to do so. The slogan, "Follow Russia," spread across Europe and many Asian and other countries, the October Revolution giving a powerful impulse to the entire international liberation movement.

The emergence of the world Communist movement is one of the most significant and permanent results of the October Revolution. Ever since the early congresses of the Communist International, Communist parties have stood at the head of the working class, the working people of their countries, as a source of inspiration and as the organizer of the struggle to eliminate exploitation, championing the people's democratic rights, and peace. The world Communist movement arose on the ruins of the Second International and has, following the example of the Bolsheviks, always stood in the van of progress.

Inspired by the October Revolution and by Lenin's genius, workers in Europe and other continents mounted audacious revolutionary actions. The ideals and the practical example of the October Revolution also had a strong bearing on the modern history of the peoples of Czechoslovakia. The influence of the world's first worker state sparked a powerful popular movement in the Czech areas and Slovakia, then oppressed by the Austro-Hungarian monarchy. The first documents of the Revolution—the Decree on Peace and the Declaration of the Rights of the Peoples of Russia—stimulated the movement for peace and national liberation. The emergence of the

independent Czech and Slovak state was from the first associated with the Soviet example.

The revolutionary workers' socialist-oriented struggle of the early years of the Czechoslovak Republic was defeated due to various unfavorable factors. But the working people looked up to the first socialist state with fervent hope, seeking support and inspiration in their fight for a socially just system in Czechoslovakia. The Marxist Left wing of the Social-Democratic Party said in a statement: "The imposing fact of the victorious Russian Communist revolution cannot but arouse interest among the proletariat of the entire world. The Russian Soviet Republic is the sole hope and guarantee of the proletariat's early deliverance from the unbearable chaos of the present times."

Leninist ideas emanating from the new Russia found fertile soil in the workers' movement, with revolutionary workers joining the newly established Communist Party of Czechoslovakia. On returning from his first trip to Soviet Russia, where he apprehended the new truth of history, Doctor B. Smeral, one of the founders of the CPC, articulated the hope and faith of thousands of Czechs and Slovaks as follows: "I have come from another world a new man. What is happening in Russia is magnificent, dazzling, honest, sensible, necessary and invincible. *Novarum rerum nobis nascitur ordo*. A new order is being born."

Developing under the influence of Leninism and the ideals of the October Revolution, the Czechoslovak Communist Party has throughout the past half-century successfully headed the struggle of the working people for eliminating capitalism and building the socialist system.

Not only did the October Revolution provide a strong impulse for the working-class movement; it also impelled the freedom struggle of the many colonial peoples. It made the first breakthrough in the system of national oppression, Russia's victorious proletariat liberating the peoples formerly oppressed by tsarism. The Soviet Government initiated equal and friendly relations with countries that were subject to colonial oppression.

Completely new opportunities arose for the national liberation movement in the colonial and dependent countries, and not only because the October Revolution stimulated the national liberation struggle. A state had at last appeared that sided completely with the oppressed nations and extended them effective aid in combating im-

perialism. As a result, a wave of national liberation, unprecedented in scale, swept across Asia. Colonies and dependent countries, until then a reserve of imperialism, became allies of the socialist world revolution. Lenin's prediction of the outstanding role that the Eastern peoples would play, came true.

In international relations, too, an entirely new situation took shape. Previously, the imperialist powers subjugated the world with political oppression and aggression, a system of secret treaties, and with intrigues. Then there appeared on the international scene a country representing and championing the interests of the working class and the peoples of the world, against imperialism and militarism.

From the outset, the policy of the Soviet Union appealed strongly to the working masses and oppressed peoples. In a number of capitalist countries the workers and other sections of working people acted in support of the dedicated Soviet struggle against the incursions of international imperialism.

By its peace-loving policy, the Soviet Union also gradually won the support of other segments of society. Soon it was clear that some bourgeois governments, particularly those of smaller countries, had a stake in good, peaceful relations with the Soviet Union. On the one hand, being bourgeois, they were opposed to socialism, but on the other, were compelled to reckon with the fact that the USSR was for them a dependable safeguard against the expansionist designs of the imperialist powers.

Lenin's policy of peace added continuously to Soviet prestige. Futile were all imperialist efforts to isolate the USSR. Its influence on international politics and the nature of international relations became ever more effective.

I have some unforgettable impressions of that period. For example, I recall the reaction to the 1922 Genoa Conference. The capitalist countries invited the Soviet Union to Genoa, intending to cast it in the role of a defendant. But it became the prosecutor instead, indicting imperialism and militarism. The Soviet delegate's fervent appeal for disarmament resounded like a bugle call. The Soviet proposals evoked approval among working people and confusion among the ruling classes. The Soviet Union proved a consistent champion of the interests of the peoples and a standard-bearer of peace and democracy.

Hostile and aggressive anti-Soviet intentions were the common factor in the

plans and actions of international imperialism. U.S. President Herbert Hoover publicly declared destruction of the USSR to be the purpose of his life. The Locarno Conference, Pan-Europe, the arming and support of German militarism and fascism—these were all part of the anti-Soviet conspiracy.

The Soviet Union faced up to its antagonists with a policy of principle, a firm stand for peace and the call for peaceful solution of conflicts. Not only did it repulse attacks, but was also firmly conducting a political offensive. It worked for an easing of tensions in international relations, for an end to the frantic arms drive, and for greater security and peace in Europe and elsewhere. I recall how deeply impressed we were by the Soviet disarmament proposals, submitted in February 1932 to the Geneva Disarmament Conference.

The Soviet Union fought skilfully against the assortment of schemes to impair its own and the vital interests of other nations. Its contribution to assuring the future of mankind was very effective even in that early period.

II.

Particularly conspicuous and lofty was the role played by the USSR in the forefront of the struggle of the peoples against fascist barbarity. At various international forums, Soviet delegates called for concerted action against fascism. The Soviet collective security policy is, indeed, a striking chapter in the inter-war history of world affairs.

I still recall the response to the Soviet proposal of defining aggression, submitted to the international Disarmament Conference early in February 1933, soon after Hitler's advent to power. That definition was an important political instrument in combating aggression.

In December 1933 the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party adopted a decision to work for a system of collective defense against aggression. This was a logical sequel to actions taken or projected by the Soviet Government over a relatively long period. Although the League of Nations and other international bodies were then frequently a tool of anti-Soviet schemes, the USSR generously agreed to join these organizations, hoping to concentrate their efforts on building a united front of peace-loving countries against the fascist peril. It was on Soviet initiative that regional treaties were concluded on mutual

defense against aggression, to which many European countries affixed their signatures.

Of the utmost importance for us, for the Czechoslovak Republic, was the conclusion of a treaty of alliance with the Soviet Union in May 1935. Confronted by Nazi Germany's expansion and her aggressive plans against our country, and threatened by Hitler's "fifth column" at home, the treaty firmed up our international position. All true patriots welcomed it. The strategic situation of Czechoslovakia, an immediate neighbor of aggressive Nazi Germany, almost completely surrounded by it, was extremely complicated. We were aware that Soviet aid could be decisive in frustrating Hitler's designs.

The 7th Comintern Congress in the summer of 1935 called on all Communists to work for a popular front against fascism and war. Struggle for peace was one of the main slogans of the Communist movement. The popular front idea evoked a strong response in all countries, and the examples of France and Spain showed its strength and realistic possibilities.

Its selfless efforts against the fascist peril added to the politico-moral prestige and world influence of the Soviet Union. The intensive growth of the Soviet economy, culture, science and technology, the expansion of socialist democracy, exercised a profound influence not only on convinced revolutionaries, but on the masses in all countries. More and more people realized that the Soviet Union was not only the world's biggest country, but also the cornerstone of a new world, the world of the future.

The Soviet Armed Forces, too, gained prestige. I recall, for example, that the Czechoslovak officers invited to the Red Army maneuvers in 1935 and 1936 referred with respect to its warcraft and armaments, then among the best in Europe.

Of special importance for us was the firm Soviet stand at the time of the danger to Czechoslovakia when the Munich *diktat* was being prepared and then carried through. Through all the phases of the Czechoslovak tragedy, the USSR was the only country to act in behalf of the freedom, independence and security of our land. While the British and French governments, backed by the USA, entered into a deal with Hitler and finally abandoned Czechoslovakia, the Soviet Government expressed readiness to extend all necessary aid to our Republic, even such as transcended the stipulations of the Treaty of Alliance, provided, of course, Czechoslovakia resisted the aggressor and made the appropriate re-

quest. Czechoslovak leaders were confidentially informed by Soviet representatives that the Red Army had deployed 30 infantry divisions, cavalry divisions and strong air and tank forces along the western border of the Soviet Union, which were alerted for combat to render immediate and effective aid to Czechoslovakia.

The relation of strength was then incontestably in our favor. The Czechoslovak Army had 45 divisions. And with Soviet aid we could have built up a decisive advantage over Germany's armed forces. In that stage of the dramatic developments in Europe acceptance of the Soviet proposals could have prevented the invasion of Czechoslovakia and moreover, the outbreak of the Second World War. Firm concerted efforts could have blocked and frustrated the fascist offensive, with a strong bearing on the subsequent course of events. Mankind would have been spared the horrors of the world war, the forces of peace, democracy and progress scoring a significant gain.

Yet the Western leaders chose to open Czechoslovakia's frontiers to Hitler, so that he could exploit her potential in multiplying Germany's military and economic resources for a further "Drang nach Osten." In effect, they allowed him complete freedom of action in order that he should prime for an attack on the Soviet Union. And dreading revolutionary acts by the masses, the Czechoslovak bourgeoisie elected to betray the national interests. In sum, the Munich *diktat* laid open the way to the Second World War.

Hitler's expansion imperilled the very existence, let alone the freedom, of entire nations, and this not only in Europe. The fascist hordes overran Central, Western, Northern and Southern Europe, and reached out into Northern Africa. It was on the Eastern Front, at the approaches to Moscow, that the troops of Germany and her satellites suffered their first defeat. The subsequent events on the Eastern Front, especially the Stalingrad Battle and that of the Kursk Bulge, turned the tide, leading to the collapse of fascism.

The Soviet Union played a decisive role as the leading force of the anti-Hitler coalition. The glorious exploits of the heroic Soviet Army and of millions of Soviet people represent one of the most striking chapters in modern history. Dozens of nations owe their liberation, and mankind its salvation from the threat of fascist slavery, to the first socialist state.

Some Western quarters try to malign and

minimize the Soviet Union's role and credit the armies of its allies with crushing German fascism. But one cannot buck the facts.

It was the Soviet Union that worked hardest in erecting and consolidating the anti-fascist coalition and hammering out effective cooperation in the joint battle against Hitler. We deeply appreciate the fact that thousands of young Frenchmen, Britons, Americans and people of dozens of other nations fought courageously in the anti-fascist war. But this does not alter the historical fact that the Soviet Union made the decisive contribution to the victory. It was on the Soviet-German front, from the day of the Nazi attack until the final day of the war, that the main forces of the anti-fascist coalition and the fascist bloc confronted each other. It was there that Hitler Germany suffered her greatest losses in manpower and arms.

The determinative part which the Soviet Union played in the liberation and progressive postwar development of Czechoslovakia is a token of the significance of the victorious Soviet struggle against Hitler fascism. The fascist occupation endangered the very existence of the Czech and Slovak nations. Hitler intended to Germanize part of our population, expel a part, and exterminate the rest. The USSR did its utmost to liberate our country. The Soviet Government was the first to recognize the London-based Czechoslovak government. The USSR helped us form military units in its territory, which grew from the one battalion we had in the beginning into the First Czechoslovak Army Corps. Soviet aid in arming and training Czechoslovak units added up to 210 million rubles at prewar prices.

The USSR helped the Czechoslovak Resistance Movement with arms and experienced organizers. Strong partisan detachments were formed. Out of the 125 partisan groups operating in Czechoslovak territory, 72 were led by Soviet commanders.

Especially tangible was Soviet aid at the time of the Slovak national rising and the Czech May rising. The Soviet Army mounted ten large-scale operations in our territory, crowned by the glorious liberation of Prague on May 9, 1945. More than 140,000 dead were the heavy price paid by the Soviet Army for liberating the Czechs and Slovaks, paving the way for the finest forces of our peoples, led by the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, to advance the country's development and constitute a People's Democracy and, later, a socialist state.

III.

Not only did the Soviet Union emerge a victor from the Second World War; it also emerged stronger and mightier. The fact that fascism, the most brutal and sinister force of international imperialism, was defeated had a positive bearing on the development of social relations in the world. The progressive influence of the victory over fascism was all the greater due to the decisive contribution of the socialist state. The political prestige of the Soviet Union went up immeasurably.

The postwar development of the USSR is graphic evidence of the enormous potentialities of the socialist system. The unprecedentedly rapid rehabilitation of the country and the further powerful development of the Soviet economy, science, technology and culture, the development of the Soviet nations, and the continued enhancement of socialist democracy—all this exercises a profound influence on the thoughts and views of the masses in all countries. Admiration was evoked among the peoples by Soviet successes in space exploration, that highly complicated field of technico-scientific progress. With a lively interest we are receiving reports that new trends and tasks are being formulated for the country's further economic growth in connection with the preparations for the 24th Congress of the CPSU. Their achievement in the immediate future will help build up the material and technical basis of communism and reduce the economic gap between the Soviet Union and the United States, exercising a revolutionizing influence on world development.

The emergence of the socialist world system is one of the most important factors of the postwar period. It is the product of dedicated struggle by the Communist and Workers' Parties, the working class and broad strata of the working people. Yet it is a historical fact, too, that their efforts were successful due solely to fraternal cooperation with the Soviet Union, which played a decisive role in safeguarding security, independence, peace and other conditions essential for the development of the socialist countries.

The history of the socialist world system is a graphic example of the unity of national and international interests. Each socialist country is sovereign and independent, its development marked by various specific features. However, the basic interests of the socialist countries are the same in all fields, whether it is safeguarding independence

against imperialist incursions, consolidating the socialist social system, promoting economic, cultural and technico-scientific progress or reinforcing world peace and security.

The Czechoslovak experience bears out that not only the common, but also the particular interests and requirements of the socialist countries are best satisfied on the basis of close mutual cooperation. Attempts to divorce, let alone oppose, national and international interests will not only prejudice what is the common element, but also, and primarily, imperil the development of socialism in the country in question, benefiting none but its enemies.

Cooperation with the USSR is of key significance for the economic development of actually all socialist countries. By the beginning of 1967 the Soviet Union had given the fraternal countries technical aid in nearly 1,500 industrial projects. Selfless aid of this kind would be inconceivable in the capitalist environment.

The proof that economic cooperation with the Soviet Union is of vital importance for a socialist country is provided by, say, the development of Czechoslovakia. The Soviet Union with its vast stock of raw materials and large-scale industrial and agricultural production is for us an invaluable partner, its importance underscored by the fact that the highly-developed Czechoslovak industry is dependent on foreign markets for key raw materials and as an outlet for its products.

In 1966-1970 alone, we received from the Soviet Union more than 40 million tons of oil, more than 46 million tons of iron ore, nearly 2,600 million cubic metres of natural gas, 2,400,000 tons of pig iron, 300 thousand tons of cotton, 750 thousand cubic metres of sawn timber, etc. Czechoslovakia imports various Soviet machines and commodities of a high technical standard, this helps to modernize our industry and agriculture, and to diversify our consumer market. As regards exports, the mighty and rapidly developing Soviet potential offers what is in effect an unlimited and advantageous market for our commodities, primarily machinery, which accounts for more than 60 per cent of our exports to the Soviet Union.

From the standpoint of trade, its structure, stability and prospects, economic cooperation with the Soviet Union is an indispensable basis for our economic activity abroad. This cooperation will be the more advantageous, the more it rests on planned specialization and cooperation in produc-

tion, assuming the nature of genuine socialist integration. This applies first and foremost to those areas of economic growth where technical progress is especially rapid. Under agreements concluded by the two countries a further, quite substantial increase is envisaged in the commodity turnover, as well as the extent of specialization and cooperation in production in the coming five years (1971-1975), with cooperation also expanding in science and technology.

We have every reason to say that cooperation with the Soviet Union is for Czechoslovakia the principal and indispensable international factor, which has, from the very outset, enabled us to resolve the problems of socialist construction. This applies to the period preceding February 1948, when the USSR helped us selflessly with large grain shipments during the 1947 drought, as well as after February, when the Western powers tried by an embargo and various other forms of economic pressure to frustrate our country's successful development and impede the building of socialism. That Czechoslovakia was able to withstand these attacks and the concerted pressure of the capitalist powers she owes to her cooperation with the Soviet Union.

The Soviet Union proved its highly responsible attitude to the socialist development of Czechoslovakia also during the grave political crisis of 1968-1969. After January 1968 a bloc of Right and anti-socialist forces endeavored to exploit for its own ends the efforts of honest Communists and non-Communists to rectify the deficiencies and mistakes of the preceding years. The bloc succeeded in capturing important heights in the Party and state, seizing control of the mass information media and, through them, in misleading large sections of the people, creating confusion and a sense of uncertainty. Their aim was to change radically the home and foreign policy of our country and deliver a serious blow to socialism's international positions.

In that critical situation, the internationalist aid of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries created the conditions for frustrating these aims and for the Czechoslovak Communists to restore the Marxist-Leninist character of their Party as the vanguard of the working people and the leading force in society, strengthening and consolidating the socialist system in the interests of the whole people.

Now, after a lapse of time, these conclusions are borne out still more convincingly. The new Party leadership under Comrade Gustav Husak has secured a deter-

minative change in our country's development. The defeat of the Right and anti-socialist forces—doubly significant because it was achieved primarily by political methods and means—helped to overcome the crisis. Based on successful socio-political and economic consolidation, the positive program of the CC CPC and the Czechoslovak Government is winning increasing support among our people, among all the social strata.

Again Czechoslovakia is advancing at a rapid pace along the socialist path. The resolution of the political crisis has also had a positive effect on the situation in Europe and the rest of the world. It has strengthened the positions of socialism, democracy and peace on the European continent and facilitated the common efforts of the socialist countries to ease international tension.

IV.

The revolutionary changes in other parts of the world were also substantially more rapid in the postwar.

The anti-fascist struggle, in which the Soviet Union was internationally the decisive factor, added greatly to the prestige and influence of the Communist and Workers' parties. The worldwide army of Communists expanded considerably. But, as before, Lenin's Party stands in the van of the action, working for unity and effective joint struggle against international imperialism. True to proletarian internationalism, the CPSU spares no efforts or resources in rallying the revolutionary, democratic, progressive and peace-loving forces for the fight for peace and socialism.

The CPSU played the decisive role in the preparations and conduct of all three major international meetings of Communist and Workers' parties. In 1969, just as in 1957 and 1960, it did its utmost to achieve cohesion on the basis of a common action program assuring further growth of the revolutionary forces and serving as an effective weapon against aggressive international imperialism.

This April, together with other members of our CC CPC delegation, I attended the Moscow celebrations of the centenary of V. I. Lenin, the genius and leader of the revolution, and carried away unforgettable impressions of the giant impact of Lenin's ideas, and of the prestige and respect the USSR enjoys among the world's progressive forces.

The considerable rise of socialist influence in the postwar world created a favor-

able situation for a further powerful advance of the national liberation struggle. Ranged unfailingly on the side of the colonial peoples, the Soviet Union renders versatile aid to the national liberation movement and the newly independent countries that have replaced the former colonies. Its aid and experience is helping them cope with the complex problems of development and safeguard security and independence against all imperialist intrigues. Soviet aid in strengthening the defenses of the young national states is adding to their ability of countering the designs of international imperialism and home reaction, of following a policy consonant with their national interest.

The Soviet Union won much fresh acclaim for the struggle it has conducted throughout the postwar to prevent mankind from being plunged into the vortex of a worldwide nuclear war.

The imperialist powers, principally the United States, have enmeshed the world in a network of military bases, built up a system of aggressive blocs and a feverish arms drive. Nothing on earth except the Soviet Union could effectively block imperialism's expansionist designs. The enormous political potential of the Soviet Union is promoting international relations based on the principles of peaceful cooperation and the coexistence of states with different social systems. The Soviet Union has never failed to extend effective aid to victims of imperialist aggression. It was thanks to the firm Soviet stand that the Anglo-French-Israeli aggression against Egypt collapsed back in 1956. New conspiracies against the Middle East countries were uncovered and frustrated in 1957 and 1958. The Soviet Union gave effective aid to a number of African and Asian peoples in combating imperialist aggressors. The selfless Soviet aid to the heroic people of Cuba is well known. Thanks to this aid the imperialist attacks were successfully repulsed, enabling Cuba to consolidate her independence and advance her socialist development.

The U.S. aggression against Vietnam became a grave source of international tension and a threat to world peace. The Soviet Union firmly condemns the aggres-

sive U.S. actions and renders all-round assistance to the just struggle of the peoples of Vietnam and the rest of Indochina.

The Israeli aggression against the Arab countries, prepared and inspired by world imperialism in 1967, is a dangerous provocation against the free peoples. True to its internationalist duty, the Soviet Union sided firmly with the Arab peoples and is giving them extensive and versatile assistance. It insists on the withdrawal of Israeli troops from occupied territory and on a fair, peaceful solution of the conflict in line with the UN Security Council Resolution of November 1967.

The USSR is working for a stop to the arms race and a ban on nuclear missiles and other means of mass annihilation. Together with other socialist Warsaw Treaty member-countries it is working for an easing of tensions and for lasting peace and security in Europe. Among the results, acclaimed by all friends of peace, is the important Soviet-FRG treaty, which sets the stage for better relations among European countries and a better political climate in Europe. With other socialist countries, the Soviet Union is striving to make our continent a continent of peaceful coexistence.

Further advances in building communism in the Soviet Union, its all-round development as a mighty socialist world power, growth of its international influence, and its consistently Leninist policy of peace—that, cumulatively, is the main factor . . . exerting a strong progressive influence on the course of world events.

For all people, the USSR will continue to be the dependable support, the source of faith in a bright and peaceful future, that it has always been. That is why the people of our country, like those of other lands, are looking forward with trust and hope to the coming 24th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. They know that the Congress will create the preconditions for new growth in the Soviet Union, for a further extension of its power and influence in the interests of peace, of the happy future and the progress of all mankind, including the people of Czechoslovakia.

Lenin's heritage and fight against opportunism in the Brazilian Communist Party

LUIS CARLOS PRESTES

Formed under the influence of the Great October Socialist Revolution, the Brazilian Communist Party sees in Leninism the key to the revolutionary refashioning of Brazilian society. Propaganda of Lenin's ideas in Brazil began with the founding of the Party in 1922, and using the Marxist-Leninist analysis it was one of the first to disclose the reasons for the country's backwardness and poverty. Today the masses are joining with it to fight imperialist domination and latifundism.

Lenin's ideas helped us successfully fight fascism and safeguard peace. We were instrumental in Brazil's joining the anti-Hitler coalition in World War II, and in 1950 we successfully opposed its involvement in the U.S. aggression against Korea.

It was Lenin's ideas that enabled us to build a Party proud of its unfailing loyalty to proletarian internationalism, its consistent solidarity with the Soviet Union and its devotion to socialism. Lenin's ideas, so timely reaffirmed by the 20th CPSU Congress, guided our 5th Congress in combating the personality cult, dogmatism and sectarianism. This was a long step towards converting the Party into an active leader of the masses. Our Sixth Congress rejected views and policies that would set the Party on a course inimical to the interests of the people and the revolutionary cause. And notwithstanding setbacks and reverses, our Party, founded on Lenin's organizational principles, has been able to maintain its unity and foil all enemy attempts to split its ranks.

It is no exaggeration to say that all posi-

tive and progressive gains made in Brazil over the past 48 years are intimately associated with the work of our Party, whose history is inseparable from the history of our people. But we were successful only when correctly applying Lenin's great ideas.

Lenin's contribution to the defense, development and application of Marx's and Engels's teaching on the decisive role of the masses in the revolution has a very special relevance for present-day Brazil. We all know of Lenin's unremitting struggle against Right and "Left" opportunist trends that sought to divert the Bolsheviks from educating, organizing and leading the masses in the fight for their vital interests. We know, too, Lenin's rejection of everything that hindered the political education of the workers on the basis of their own experience. The victory of the 1917 Revolution, one of the most inspiring chapters of human history, was possible because of the firmness with which Lenin upheld the importance of mass revolutionary action throughout the long and complex period of preparing the revolution.

A correct understanding of the role of the masses in the revolution has been one of our Party's most difficult problems. Petty-bourgeois influence worked towards prodding the Party to Right or "Left," diverting it from the correct Marxist-Leninist path. The low level of ideological work ever since the Party's inception led to grave errors and did much harm. That is why today as never before we must concentrate on this aspect of Party activity.

In recent years, and more particularly

after the 1964 military coup which placed the country under a pro-imperialist, reactionary and anti-labor dictatorship, "Left" opportunism has been the main deviation. Intellectuals and students, as well as other urban strata, are to one or another degree influenced by adventuristic forms of struggle against the dictatorship, for national liberation and socialism. In fact, some Party members, among them several Central Committee members, fell under the sway of "Left" ideas.

Up to the Sixth Congress (December 1967) the fight against Leftism was largely confined to rancorous inner-Party discussions. The Marxist-Leninist policy Congress adopted was geared to the concrete conditions of our revolutionary struggle. A group of comrades who refused to submit to the Congress decisions and were openly working for a split, were expelled from the Party. This was the beginning of a vigorous ideological campaign against diverse ultra-Left groups which had been strengthened by the inclusion of such active and experienced ex-Party members as Marighe-la, Mario Alves and others. Of course, we do not minimize the courage of these men, brutally done to death by the Brazilian police, whose only method of dealing with protesters is rampant terror. But we do not cease to expose and combat their grave political errors which, even now, are causing our revolutionary movement so much damage.

These ultra-Left groups are very much in the news. Made up mostly of former students and servicemen, their slogan is "direct action"—they attack banks, kidnap foreign diplomats, etc., describing all this as "armed struggle" against the dictatorship. And since all these acts have a sensation value, they are widely publicized by the capitalist press, radio and television. This brings the groups into the public limelight as one of the forces fighting the dictatorship. Their terrorist acts were stepped up after the "palace revolution" of December 1968, which strengthened the hand of the reactionary element in the government. There were more restrictions on elementary freedoms, and the people denied any possibility of sharing in the political struggle, which had flared up anew.

Brazil's Communists know that ultra-Leftism is an expression of the impatience of revolutionaries driven to desperation by the continuing terror of the fascist-type regime—it regards every expression of popular protest as a menace and does not stop

at employing the harshest repressive methods. The youth that makes up these "direct action" groups has no knowledge of the history or the lessons of the working-class revolutionary movement, nor does it know of our own mistakes, the product of subjectivism and sectarianism. For instance, in 1948-54 we tried to fight reaction with "supreme militancy" methods, totally disregarding the concrete situation and the level of mass consciousness. As a result, we lost contact with the masses and the positions we had won in 1945-7, the only period when the Party was able to work legally. It is gradually being turned into a propaganda group, drifting further away from the country's political life, a fact fully established at the Fifth Congress.

However, the rise of the present ultra-Left has to be attributed to other and more profound causes stemming, in particular, from the specific features of capitalist development in Brazil and throughout the world, differences within the international Communist movement, the specificity of our Party life and the wrong assessment of its role by the more "militant" spokesmen of the petty-bourgeois democratic trend.

Doubtlessly, all these factors have to be taken into account. But there is no misreading the fact that the rise of the ultra-Left reflects and repeats the "classic" features of petty-bourgeois politics examined by Marx, Engels and Lenin. And while closely watching the changing political situation and reassessing our own experience in combating these adventuristic trends, we must draw on the works of the Marxist-Leninist classics, the rich experience of the Bolsheviks and the valuable advice of Lenin.

* * *

The slogans and actions of the Brazilian ultra-Lefts after the 1964 reactionary coup are reminiscent of those of the various "Left" trends in Russia, vehemently opposed by the Bolsheviks, during the reactionary backlash that followed the defeat of the 1905 revolution. Of course, the two situations are immensely different, but the narrow-mindedness of the Brazilian petty bourgeoisie, its inability to accumulate and assimilate revolutionary experience are so great that it is repeating concepts whose fallacy and harm have been conclusively proved by history. Curiously enough, after the defeat of the first Russian revolution the "Lefts," whom Lenin consistently

fought, repeated the mistakes exposed by Marx and Engels half a century earlier.

There is the record of history to show that when the revolution suffers defeat, the petty bourgeoisie fall into despair. In Brazil, too, after 1964, there was despondency in the democratic camp, to a certain degree even in the Party. Political indifference went hand in hand with adventuristic tactics. Defeat always generates a feeling of despondency among the weaker and less experienced revolutionaries. This is how Lenin described the mood of the revolutionary forces after the defeat of 1905: "The years of reaction (1907-10). Tsarism was victorious. All the revolutionary and opposition parties were smashed. Depression, demoralization, splits, discord, defection, and pornography took the place of politics. There was an ever greater drift towards philosophical idealism; mysticism became the garb of counter-revolutionary sentiments" (*Coll. Work*, Vol. 31, p. 27).

The abrasive criticism and rash judgments of the Party's work and its way out of the post-1964 situation did not, therefore, come as a surprise. A bitter controversy developed over what way the revolutionary movement would follow in the conditions imposed by the dictatorship. The "Lefts" were most vociferous, repeating, in effect, the anti-Marxist views of the Otzovists and other Russian "Lefts," exposed and ridiculed by Lenin more than 60 years ago.

Common to all these "Left" trends was their obstinate refusal to understand the need to retreat, once the mass revolutionary movement had been smashed, its leadership hounded by the police and the Communist Party weakened by incessant persecution. The only solution was to retreat, rebuild our forces, give the masses time to recover. There was no other alternative. We had to advance slogans and find forms of action for a more or less lengthy period of reaction and curtailed mass struggle.

All that, however, was beyond the understanding of the "Lefts." They wanted to express their pent-up hatred of the dictatorship by inducing the Party to launch an immediate "revolutionary offensive" which, by the stroke of a magic wand, would transmute defeat into victory. And the "magic wand" was armed struggle. They were impatient, these ultra-revolutionaries, arguing that all the Party had to do was to accept armed struggle as the only means of toppling the reactionary generals' regime and direct all its efforts and forces to preparing

for a guerrilla war, terrorist acts, armed attacks, etc., and the road to victory would be wide open.

What we have, in short, is a repetition of the old sins of the petty-bourgeois ultra-revolutionaries. But Marxist-Leninists solve the question of forms of struggle depending on concrete conditions, the line-up of class forces, the real strength of the mass movement at the given moment. In other words, events determine the choice of one or another form of struggle, not vice versa.

Lenin wrote more than 60 years ago: "What are the fundamental demands which every Marxist should make of an examination of the question of forms of struggle? In the first place, Marxism differs from all primitive forms of socialism by not binding the movement to any one particular form of struggle. It recognizes the most varied forms of struggle; and it does not 'concoct' them, but only generalizes, organizes, gives conscious expression to those forms of struggle of the revolutionary classes which arise of themselves in the course of the movement. . . . In this respect Marxism *learns*, if we may so express it, from mass practice, and makes no claim whatever to *teach* the masses forms of struggle invented by 'systematizers' in the seclusion of their studies. . . . In the second place, Marxism demands an absolutely *historical* examination of the question of the forms of struggle. To treat this question apart from the concrete historical situation betrays a failure to understand the rudiments of dialectical materialism. At different stages of economic evolution, depending on differences in political, national-cultural, living and other conditions, different forms of struggle come to the fore and become the principal forms of struggle; and in connection with this, the secondary, auxiliary forms of struggle undergo change in their turn. To attempt to answer yes or no to the question whether any particular means of struggle should be used, without making a detailed examination of the concrete situation of the given movement at the given stage of its development, means completely to abandon the Marxist position" (Vol. 11, pp. 213-14).

The "concrete situation of the given movement at the given stage of its development" in the Brazil of 1964 was a situation in which the revolutionary forces had been defeated, a reactionary fascist-leaning regime had come to power, the mass movement of the working class and peasantry had practically been brought to a standstill.

And in this situation the Lefts wanted us to "answer yes or no" to the question of the forms of struggle against reaction. They had forgotten, or had not understood, Lenin's words that "in politics it is even harder to know in advance which methods of struggle will be applicable and to our advantage in certain future conditions." On this question of forms of struggle the revolutionary must bear in mind "first, that in order to accomplish its task the revolutionary class must be able to master *all* forms or aspects of social activity without exception . . . , second, that the revolutionary class must be prepared for the most rapid and brusque replacement of one form by another" (Vol. 31, p. 96).

Yes, it was necessary to retreat, return to the modest, onerous, painstaking work of mass organization and propaganda, pending a new revolutionary upsurge. But in this difficult situation some lost confidence in the masses; some considered it "undignified" for a revolutionary to admit defeat and turn his energies to unspectacular painstaking work in the trade unions, now under reactionary control. And there were also those who rejected, as unacceptable "conformism," available legal opportunities to promote the mass movement. Armed struggle, they insisted, was the panacea against all evils.

Hence the spread among petty-bourgeois revolutionaries, and even within the Party, of various schemes of armed struggle, whether in the form of a peasant guerrilla war, urban "combat centers," etc. And all this, of course, in total disregard of the mood of the masses. On the other hand, these would-be "liberators" contemptuously reject all elementary forms of struggle that would help re-establish contact with the masses.

In 1918, when Lenin rebuffed "Left" attacks in connection with the Brest peace treaty, he reminded the Party of the attitude of the "Left" Communists after the defeat of 1905. "Yes, the turns taken by history are very painful," Lenin wrote. "When, in 1907, we signed the incredibly shameful internal treaty with Stolypin, when we were compelled to pass through the pigsty of the Stolypin Duma and assumed obligations by signing scraps of monarchist paper, we experienced what we are experiencing now but on a smaller scale. At that time, people who were among the finest in the vanguard of the revolution said (and they too had not the slightest doubt that they were right), 'We are proud revolutionaries, we believe in the Russian

revolution, we will never enter legal Stolypin institutions.' Yes, you will, we said. The life of the masses, history, are stronger than your protestations. If you won't go, we said, history will compel you to. These were very Left people and after the first turn in history nothing remained of them as a group but smoke" (Vol. 27, p. 100).

Some of the "Lefts" in our Party were knowledgeable Marxists. Naturally, they could not present their putschist ideas openly and found themselves compelled to veil their adventurism by holding out the prospect of mass struggle. To believe them, terrorist acts, "stabs in the back," encourage the masses to fight. But in that, too, they can lay no claim to originality: they are merely repeating the arguments of the Russian Otzovists of 1907-10 that a group of revolutionaries using armed action, carrying out attacks and so on, could stimulate the revolutionary struggle. Lenin's answer was: "... the stronger the mechanical force of reaction and the weaker the connection with the masses, the more immediate becomes the task of preparing the masses (and not the task of direct action), the more immediate becomes the task of utilizing the methods of propaganda and agitation created by the old regime (and not a direct onslaught of the masses against this old regime)" (Vol. 16, p. 33).

The idea that terror powers the revolutionary spirit of the masses caught up in a reactionary wave, was ridiculed by Lenin in one of his early works, "What Is To Be Done?" He wrote: "Svoboda advocates terror as a means of 'exciting' the working-class movement and of giving it a 'strong impetus.' It is difficult to imagine an argument that more thoroughly disproves itself. Are there not enough outrages committed in Russian life without special 'excitants' having to be invented? On the other hand, is it not obvious that those who are not, and cannot be, roused to excitement even by Russian tyranny will stand by 'twiddling their thumbs' and watch a handful of terrorists engaged in single combat with the government?" (Vol. 5, p. 420).

As Marxists-Leninists we are opposed to all Leftist notions of terrorism and isolated armed actions. And not out of purely moral considerations or abstract "orthodoxy," but because they impede our revolutionary work of raising the consciousness of the masses and organizing them for the fight. Instead of inspiring the masses, infusing faith in them, they cultivate a feeling of helplessness in the face of continued oppression. If isolated acts of violence are

successful, they can, at best, evoke among the masses sympathy and hope that "a handful of heroes" will deliver them from oppression. If these acts end in defeat, they are bound to instill the idea that the oppressive regime is "all powerful."

In 1901 Lenin wrote in "Where to Begin": "Far be it from us to deny the significance of heroic individual blows. But it is our duty to sound a vigorous warning against becoming infatuated with terror, against taking it to be the chief and basic means of struggle, as so many people strongly incline to do at present." That was written at a time when the Bolsheviks were making their first steps as a revolutionary party and when Russia was still a long way from the revolutionary upsurge of 1905. And Lenin explained the need to combat the very method of isolated violent actions: "We . . . declare emphatically that under the present conditions such a means of struggle is inopportune and unsuitable; that it diverts the most active fighters from their real task, the task which is most important from the standpoint of the interests of the movement as a whole; and that it disorganizes the forces, not of the government, but of the revolution. . . . Is there not the danger of rupturing the contact between the revolutionary organizations and the disunited masses of the discontented, the protesting, and the disposed to struggle, who are weak precisely because they are disunited? Yet it is this contact that is the sole guarantee of our success" (Vol 5, p. 19).

Failing to understand the importance of democracy for the revolutionary struggle is part of the Leftism that has won currency in Brazil since 1964. As a rule, the ultra-Left groups have scant use for democratic freedoms or for the workers' struggle for economic demands. And yet, in the present situation, the fight for democratic freedoms is essential if the popular struggle, which aims at much wider changes, is to attain its full scope. Equally, the fight for economic and trade-union demands is essential to raise the workers' class consciousness, revolutionary understanding, appreciation of their historic mission and draw them into the political struggle against reaction and imperialism. "Communist activity," our Sixth Congress political resolution says, "must be directed primarily at organizing and promoting working-class united action for immediate economic and political demands and for an end to the dictatorship. Our guideline must always be united struggle of the workers."

The inference to be drawn from all the evidence is that adventurism rests on disbelief in the revolutionary potential of the working class and the leading, rather than supplanting, role of the Party in the popular united struggle. This has led some Brazil Communists to putschism, a fact noted in the Sixth Congress resolution: "The 1964 defeat revealed many of our weaknesses and clearly demonstrated the ruinous influence on our membership, from the very top, of the fallacious concept that surfaces at crucial junctures. Substantially petty-bourgeois and putschist, it is based on revolution from the top, a revolution performed by the Party, without mass action. It injects in Party work an element of petty-bourgeois impatience and haste, leads us away from sustained effort to attain our tactical and strategic aims by building up the necessary forces and assuring proletarian hegemony. Theoretical narrowness and inadequate knowledge of Brazilian reality have led to serious mistakes and deviations in Party policy, the result of this and other non-proletarian concepts powered chiefly by petty-bourgeois ideology within the Party."

Putschism emanates not only from the "Left." It can stem from any trend that deviates from Marxist-Leninist theory to Right or "Left." Its main characteristic is lack of faith in the masses and the working class and, accordingly, it tends to keep the Party trailing behind some conspiracy of bourgeois or petty-bourgeois groups.

Our Party gained the upper hand over these "Left" trends. The political course charted by the Sixth Congress is predicated on Leninist postulates. It orients the Party on closer contact with the masses, patient organizational and propaganda work in the industrial centers, without speculating on the outcome of the fight against the dictatorship and without binding itself to any definite form in that fight. Indeed, our policy envisages employment of all forms of struggle.

Following the defeat of the 1905 Revolution, Lenin wrote: "Of all the defeated opposition and revolutionary parties, the Bolsheviks effected the most orderly retreat, with the least loss to their 'army,' with its core best preserved, with the least significant splits (in point of depth and incurability), with the least demoralization, and in the best condition to resume work on the broadest scale and in the most correct and energetic manner. The Bolsheviks achieved this only because they ruthlessly exposed

and expelled the revolutionary phrasemongers, those who did not wish to understand that one had to retreat, that one had to know how to work legally in the most reactionary of parliaments, in the most reactionary of trade unions, cooperative and insurance societies and similar organizations" (Vol. 31, p. 28).

We can draw a parallel with the present state of affairs in Brazil. Of all the pre-1964 parties, including bourgeois, ours was the only one to survive and retain its organizations in all parts of the country. The advent of the dictatorship was followed by the advent of dozens of "revolutionary parties," "liberation fronts" and similar petty-bourgeois groups engineering spectacular actions designed to catch the headlines. As a rule these groups do not survive the very first clash with reaction. But our Party is fighting, intensifying its work among the masses, strengthening its ranks undaunted by repression. And it is becoming a force capable of leading the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat and the entire Brazilian people—a struggle now on the upgrade despite the seeming lethargy and political indifference of the masses. We achieved this only by cleansing the Party of the petty-bourgeois pseudo-revolutionary rash.

* * *

However, the realization that a mistake has been committed does not of itself rectify the mistake or remove the damage it does. Repetition of the old, petty-bourgeois sins does not explain either their new forms or scope. We must look deeper, examine certain national and international socioeconomic and political factors.

Some features of contemporary capitalist development provide a receptive soil for petty bourgeois ultra-"Left" groups. This refers in particular to some aspects of the scientific and technological revolution, e.g., extension of the service industries, the growing army of white-collar workers and professionals who, essentially wage-earners, are coming closer to the status of the working class. There is also the fact that a large segment of the youth is deeply disenchanted by the bleak future capitalist society holds out for it, and by the ideological and intellectual vacuum, and is joining in determined protest against the existing order of things.

The growing strength of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries and their growing role in world affairs tends to bring

the urban middle strata closer to the proletariat. The more progressive petty-bourgeois element, notably the intellectuals and students, are taking a more active part in politics under socialist slogans. But they have not yet rid themselves of the prejudices and methods of the petty bourgeois. Many gravitate towards Marxism-Leninism, but do not want to make a deep study of it or of its history.

The presence of petty-bourgeois elements in and around the Party manifests itself in opportunism, both "Left" and Right. Some of these elements "specialize" in one of these varieties, but most of them, with ingrained petty-bourgeois instability, vacillate between the two, with the changing winds of politics.

The danger presented by the Right elements, who would subordinate the Party and proletariat to bourgeois interests, is especially great in countries—and Brazil is one of these—that have not performed, or have not completed, the bourgeois revolution. In all of them the interests of the proletariat and those of the bourgeoisie often tend to mingle, since at a definite stage of the struggle both classes can have common aims against a common enemy. The national and democratic character of the Brazilian revolution facilitates, at the present stage, the emergence of bourgeois or petty-bourgeois nationalist trends within the Communist Party. Those who underestimate the democratic character of the revolution, also reject or minimize the leading role of the working class. On the plea of upholding national interests, they depart from proletarian positions and accept the hegemony of the bourgeoisie.

The problems and differences that have surfaced in the world Communist movement in the past 20 years have in no small measure spurred the rise of ultra-"Left" groups. The avowed divisive policy of the Chinese Communist Party leaders, who have placed the authority and prestige of the Chinese revolution in the service of anti-Sovietism, slander the Communist Parties and distort the proletarian revolutionary theory, has helped to sow confusion not only among people awakened to revolutionary struggle, but also among Communists. The history of the Cuban revolution, not always known and often distorted in Brazil, is likewise exploited by certain elements to justify voluntarist and adventuristic theories of the revolutionary process — in the name, allegedly, of upholding Marxism-Leninism. Left opportunism merges with liberalist and other Rightist trends in

weakening proletarian internationalism, discrediting the Soviet Union and undermining Communist Party discipline and combatability, and invariably on the plea of combating the "personality cult."

Imperialist propaganda adroitly exploits the difficulties of the Communist movement. Imperialist ideologues and propagandists have coined, and are disseminating among the youth, diverse "theories" meant to "save" from communism the new generation awakening to the struggle against capitalism.

The Right-wing elements are still another important factor in the rise of these "Left" groups. This contradictory effect of Right-wing opportunism was disclosed by Lenin, notably in his remarks on the struggle within the Italian revolutionary movement in 1918. He wrote in " 'Left-Wing' Communism—an Infantile Disorder': "Such a mistaken, inconsistent, or spineless attitude towards the opportunist parliamentarians gives rise to 'Left-wing' communism, on the one hand, and to a certain extent justifies its existence, on the other (Vol.31, p. 66).

Right-wing trends, which did such grievous harm to our Party, became more pronounced after exposure of the personality cult and the self-criticism this engendered in the Party. The Fourth National Party Conference (1962) urged the Party to fight these trends. Its resolution on the situation in the Party says: "Unquestionably, when we renounce the methods of imposing policy from the top, there are bound to emerge elements of liberalism. In combating voluntarism and arbitrary planning imposed from above, we tend to work spontaneously, without a plan. In breaking away from rigid control, we denounce all control, even its most elementary form, verification of how decisions are being operated."

Liberalism in organizational matters and disregard of the Party's guideline revolutionary principles, always lead to relaxation of discipline and militancy, to the appearance of discontent manifested in Leftism, to weakening of the Party's prestige. Right-wing elements did not disappear after the Sixth Congress; the new conditions gave rise to new Right-wing elements even after the Congress. Some suggested that the Party play on the contradictions between the various forces supporting the regime and abandon all struggle against the dictatorship, all efforts to isolate and defeat it. Talk of tactical flexibility and effective utilization of contradictions within the enemy camp, was used to screen lack of firmness

on the fundamental issue—the fight against the dictatorial regime.

The Party retaliated by a number of editorials and documents in its central organ, *Voz Operaria*, calling for a fight against legalistic illusions, passivity, wait-and-see attitudes, over-estimation of minor contradictions, and other manifestations of Right-wing opportunism. This is evidence that elements alien to Party policy are still at work, but evidence also that the Central Committee is alive to the need to combat them. And we have to combat them because they play a big part in fostering Leftism.

We feel sure that mass struggle, combined with patient educational work, will enable us to bring over to correct revolutionary positions—indeed into our Party—honest people, especially the young and inexperienced who fall prey to Leftism in the present vicissitudes of the class struggle. Our experience shows the need for a dialogue with "Left" intellectuals and young people. And as they acquire more fighting experience, as they pass through the inevitable setbacks and disappointments, many of these ultra-Left supporters will join us. Some have already joined our Party and are now courageously fighting the dictatorship, for democratic freedoms, for the people's interests.

If we do not want the revolutionary enthusiasm of these numerous representatives of the urban middle strata to end up in the jungle of Leftism, we must under no circumstances acquiesce in the erroneous and damaging conceptions of petty-bourgeois "revolutionism." While working for unity and understanding with honest-minded representatives of these petty-bourgeois ultra-Left trends and groups, our Party must energetically expose and oppose the ideas that inspire them. For only decisive and persevering struggle against Right and "Left" opportunist deviations enables the proletarian vanguard to fulfill its revolutionary mission and become the center of attraction for everyone prepared to work for democracy, full national emancipation and socialism.

Drawing on Lenin's heritage, our Party is stepping up the fight against Right and "Left" opportunism. And we know the truth of Lenin's words that unless the struggle against imperialism is closely connected with the struggle against opportunism, the fight against imperialism is but an empty and false phrase. Lenin's great teaching helps us surmount the difficulties confronting us. And in this Lenin jubilee year, our Party is more deeply studying

Lenin's immortal ideas. His works, his teaching, his method will continue to guide the Brazilian Communists in all their activities.

"The achievements of the socialist world system, the development of the workers' movement in capitalist countries and the victories scored by peoples fighting to break out of imperialist domination all provide historic confirmation of the international relevance of Lenin's ideas. Marxism-Leninism illumines mankind's path to emancipation from oppression, poverty, backwardness and war—from all the evils of capitalism; it illumines the path to a life based on material well-being, freedom, happiness and peace.

"Notwithstanding certain setbacks, our Party has always worked to safeguard its unity, strengthen its links with and extend its influence among the working class and the laboring masses, for its structure and activity are based on the principles of Leninism. . . . Lenin's immortal ideas inspire our people in the fight for full national liberation and social progress, for democracy, peace and socialism."

(From Message of the Brazilian CP Central Committee to the Central Committee of the CPSU on the 100th anniversary of Lenin's birth).

"Unity with the progressive sections of the nationalist and democratic forces, notably representatives of Left movements, is basic to Communist activity, for unity is a key element in expanding the struggle against the dictatorship. We must be indefatigable in our educational work to win these forces for united action, always bearing in mind that our success in this depends on extending the mass movement.

"It is towards this end that we are pursuing a policy of cooperation with all forces opposed to the dictatorship and prepared to fight for democratic freedoms. That policy helps to unite these forces.

"Proceeding from the foregoing, and in keeping with the revolutionary policy set out by the Sixth Party Congress, Communists should concentrate on organizing popular resistance to the fascization process."

(From Political Resolution of the Brazilian Communist Party Central Committee, April 1970).

Black Americans and the Middle East conflict

HENRY M. WINSTON

With Middle East developments causing growing anxiety among American progressives, the U.S. Communists are making a serious study of the situation.

On April 9, 1970 the Political Committee of the Communist Party USA adopted a Statement on the Middle East. Noting that a virtual state of warfare exists between Israel and the United Arab Republic, it warned that: "The danger of flare-up into full scale warfare grows daily, with the attendant peril of escalation into world nuclear war." The Statement declared further that "the primary source of the growing war danger is the continuing aggressive, expansionist policies which led to the Israeli aggression in 1967."

NIXON'S MIDDLE EAST POLICIES

Nearly three months later, President Nixon approved Phantom jets, Skyhawks and other military material for Israel. At almost the same time, in an interview with news analysts of CBS, NBC and ABC he stated that he was for "peace" and "integrity of every country in the area." These Phantoms and Skyhawks will be used by the Israeli militarists for stepped-up aggressive actions against the UAR, Syria, Lebanon and Jordan, for increased raids on civilian targets, for greater use of napalm.

There is already talk about the use of the Sixth Fleet in the Mediterranean. In the same interview, Mr. Nixon laid the basis for this imperialist action when he asserted that "Israel is not desirous of driving any other countries into the sea — the other countries do want to drive Israel into the sea."

There is not a single Arab government

which subscribes to this idea. This fact Mr. Nixon knows very well. This falsification is needed to deceive the people of the United States lest there develop a movement in opposition to his policies in the Middle East similar to the great outburst against the Cambodian invasion extending the war in Indochina.

U.S. Communists resolutely expose American imperialism's policy in the Middle East. "Today," says the Statement, "U.S. imperialism, seeking to offset the defeat of its efforts to overthrow the anti-imperialist governments of the UAR and Syria, and to counteract the growing strength of the Left and anti-imperialist forces throughout the Arab world, is using Israeli military power as its instrument."

Mr. Nixon consciously and deliberately avoids mentioning the UN Resolution of November 22, 1967. This resolution calls for a peaceful settlement and, in the words of the Statement, "is based on both withdrawal from the occupied territories and recognition of Israel's right to exist in peace and security."

Everyone knows that the Arab countries support and fight for the implementation of this resolution. The Soviet Union upholds these efforts for a peaceful settlement and consistently gives support to the peoples fighting for liberation from imperialism.

As for the Israeli government, it refuses to fulfil the UN Security Council resolution. This rejection, which is fully backed by the Nixon administration, stems from the Zionist-inspired annexationist policy of the Israeli rulers.

Continued control by U.S. imperialism of the oil riches in the Middle East; support of puppet regimes, which are obedient to

the will of imperialism, in order to check and reverse the advances made by the people in the Arab countries toward political and economic independence; strengthening and reinforcing the imperialist ramparts in the Mediterranean, including NATO, and enhancement of the position of imperialism for struggle against the socialist world—boiled down, this is the essence of Nixon's present-day Middle East policies, for which the American people have to foot the bill.

The dangers facing our people today are far greater than those which came from the soil of Nazi Germany and led to World War II. The greater danger today, emanating from the soil of the United States, sharply poses the threat of thermonuclear war. Nixon's policy is the very opposite of the struggle for peace, democracy, national liberation, the rights of the Jewish people in Israel and the existence of Israel as a state, and it fundamentally contradicts the national interests of the people of the United States as well.

THE NEW YORK TIMES AD

The *New York Times* on June 28, 1970 carries a full-page ad with the following heading: "An Appeal by Black Americans for United States Support to Israel." It was sponsored by the A. Philip Randolph Institute, headed by Bayard Rustin.

The contents of this appeal for support to Israel should be read and studied, for mirrored in it is the true face of Social Democracy in general, and especially its adaptation by Mr. Rustin, who has the task of presenting it in such a way as to make it palatable to Black people. Of interest is the fact that Mr. Rustin succeeded in establishing a united front with the main integrationist current of Black reformism. And on the basis of opportunism, of a conscious omission of basic facts and a partial statement of truths, he was able to publish this appeal with the signatures of 64 Black men and women as a partial list of sponsors. Among the 64 are these 31: 10 representatives of unions, 5 from churches, 5 Congressmen, 2 mayors, 3 state senators, 1 judge, 2 educators and 3 journalists.

This listing does not include some of the most outstanding Black leaders in the labor movement, men and women involved in struggle against the monopolies. These people are in the mass production industries such as steel, auto, electrical, etc. They helped to forge the recently held conference of 900 rank and file workers in

Chicago (representing millions) who, in defense of their economic interests, condemned the policies of U.S. imperialism in Indochina and the Middle East. Neither does it include the most active and leading forces of the Black Liberation Movement, and leading forces in the arts and sciences.

The masses of the Negro people will never accept this document, and the signatories of the statement represent the interests of neo-colonialism, not those of the Negro people.

Even so, this statement is able to ensnare some honest people.

How is this done?

As I read this ad I recalled that Bayard Rustin had been concerned with sharecropping over a considerable period, and the following thought came to me:

Some sharecropping remains in the Black Belt of the South, even though sharecropping as a system no longer exists. The fight against the impoverishment of the tenants is an economic, political and social struggle whose character is objectively anti-feudal and anti-imperialist. The working class and all democrats must give unstinting support to this struggle.

Mr. Bayard Rustin might also be said to be a "sharecropper." But he is a different kind of "sharecropper," living in an urban community. He is a "political tenant" of a certain section of the bourgeoisie, and not of a plantation owner supervised by the riding boss. The share of the crop for this "political tenant" is the permission to give the appearance of developing a real struggle against the Nixon administration, but in reality only shadow-boxing with it.

An examination of the contents of the ad will suffice to show how Bayard Rustin performs his difficult feat.

In its 800-word statement the word "imperialism" is completely absent. It may be difficult to believe but the name of Nixon is not even mentioned, although the demand for Phantom jets can be implemented only by the Nixon administration. The one point that is raised is anti-Sovietism.

The first sentence of the ad reads: "The crisis of the Middle East is a cause of great concern to all Americans, non-Jew as well as Jew, black as well as white." The second sentence expresses the "concern" of Black people over this danger. The "motivation" for this "concern," the ad declares, is "not only . . . the threat to world peace which is posed by the Arab-Israeli conflict. We are also moved by the ideals which we have struggled to achieve in this country and

which we firmly believe the U.S. should uphold in the Middle East."

The reader would expect to find issuing from such a pronouncement conclusions which would give a true estimate of the situation in the Middle East, and would help to rally the masses, black and white, in struggle for a just solution of the conflict. But the ad completely avoids this question. The reason for this is evident. To give such an estimate would require, on the one hand, an exposure of Israeli aggression, of its support by U.S. imperialism, of national oppression inside Israel and the occupied territories, of the class struggle inside Israel, and of the mounting opposition to the policies being pursued. On the other hand, it would necessitate an honest presentation of the just struggle of the Arab peoples against imperialism, against the comprador capitalists and other domestic reactionaries who are the mainstay of imperialist rule.

The oppressed millions understand that the impoverished position of the masses, the prevalence of illiteracy, ignorance, disease, and economic and social backwardness in general, are the bitter fruit of centuries of colonial domination and imperialist rule. The beautiful rhetoric of the ad conveniently covers up these facts of life. The ad states: "In our opinion the U.S. can best stand by these ideals by unequivocally guaranteeing Israel's security." Instead of a call to the people to compel adherence to the UN Resolution of November 1967, there is an appeal for greater U.S. involvement in the war in the Middle East.

There is no danger to the "security of Israel." This danger could arise only if there is a continuation of present Israeli policies, which may lead toward thermonuclear war.

The ad in the *New York Times* is a distinct service to the imperialist policies of the Nixon administration in the Middle East. At the same time it is a distinct disservice to the Black people of the United States, as it is to all proponents of peace and lovers of democracy in the U.S.

And this happens at a moment when the racist policy of the administration is openly showing its fangs. Bishop Stephen G. Spotswood, Chairman of the National Board of Directors of the NAACP, in his keynote address to that organization's annual convention held in Cincinnati at the end of June 1970, was right when he declared:

"For the first time since Woodrow Wilson, we have a national administration that

can rightly be characterized as anti-Negro. This is the first time since 1920 that the national administration has made it a calculated policy to work against the needs and aspirations of the largest minority of its citizens."

RACISM IN ISRAEL

Acknowledging that Israel has its "shortcomings," the ad then asserts: "It is by far the most democratic country in the Middle East." Let us say, for the sake of argument, that this is true. Can this be a justification for Israeli aggression in the Middle East? Should not such aggression be condemned just as U.S. aggression in Indochina is condemned?

If we are to speak of democracy, it has to be said that Israel is a capitalist country whose destinies are shaped by its bourgeoisie. And for all the praise of Israel's bourgeois-democratic order, there is, doubtlessly, a higher type of democracy.

I recently spent several weeks in the Democratic Republic of the Sudan and witnessed first-hand how the Revolutionary Council is building a national democratic state, how it is leading the nation at a quickened pace in liquidating the crimes of British imperialism and unfolding a program of national reconstruction corresponding to the real needs of the people. I encountered the growth of national democracy. This is not a democracy serving the interests of the ruling class, but of the entire people fighting for complete liberation from the vestiges of imperialism, and open to them is the non-capitalist way. The achievement of this goal will put an end to the exploitation and national oppression, and will serve the interests of the nation as it continues to fight for peace in the Middle East and the world. Splendid prospects are opening up before the people of Sudan and their choice of this development path is a significant African landmark.

Then we encounter this gem: "What is remarkable is that the high degree of political freedom has not diminished despite the constant need to maintain military preparedness." This is not so. Political repression inside the country is the inevitable result which flows from an expansionist foreign policy. The Communist Party of Israel receives the brunt of the reactionary offensive by the ruling circles in Israel. This is so because of its opposition to the imperialist policies of the government.

The Party is helping to forge an ever growing unity among the masses in the

fight against political repression and for political freedom, as part of the struggle to withdraw Israeli troops from the occupied lands and to completely reverse its present course. The greater support the Israeli CP had in the latest Knesset election (the election of three Communists) is but an expression of a growing movement for democratic rights in the country which is part of a struggle to maintain and extend political freedom.

What is overlooked in this tribute to "political freedom" is the fact that within Israel there exists widespread national and racial discrimination and oppression — economic, social and political. This stems directly from the Zionist conception of Israel as an exclusively Jewish state and as a "Western" state — a state in which no Jews and non-Westerners are looked upon as outsiders.

I shall quote an observation made by Dr. Hyman Lumer, editor of Political Affairs, in a pamphlet entitled *Which Way Israel?* (New Outlook Publishers, New York 1966). He writes:

"Israeli society suffers from the widespread existence of national discrimination and oppression within the country. Most notorious is the oppression of the Arab minority, numbering some 270,000. Indeed, the Arab question in Israel plays a role in many ways comparable to that of the Negro question in the U.S. . . ."

Continuing, Dr. Lumer says:

"The powers of military rule have been used as a political weapon against Arabs daring to struggle against their oppression. They have been used also as an instrument for confiscating the lands of Arabs."

The CPI document adopted as a platform for the elections of the 11th Histadrut Congress says:

"The great majority of Arab employees is working in unskilled and temporary labor. This is so because the gates of the big factories, of the companies and government offices are closed to them, and because of the lack of vocational schools and the inadequate vocational preparation given by the Government to the Arab youth. In consequence, only 15 per cent of the Arab workers do work as skilled laborers . . . More than 60 per cent of all Arabs employed are working in temporary, seasonal jobs, at wages lower than the official tariff and under bad labor conditions.

"Besides, the Arab workers suffer from the high expenses for daily commutation, as they work far from their domiciles, and as it is made difficult for them to find de-

cent places for staying overnight in the towns where they work.

"The situation of the Arab women workers is still worse, as in their majority they work as laborers in agriculture and are shamefully exploited by the employers and the middlemen. They are not given any opportunity of learning a trade and to progress socially and professionally. Some hundreds of Arab girls and young women are employed in industry, especially in preserves factories, in circumstances of discrimination with regard to their wages and social conditions.

"The Arab intelligentsia are discriminated against in all spheres. They do not get employment in the Government apparatus, in banks and companies. The share of Arab employees in the government service is only one per cent while their percentage in the population is 12 per cent.

"In more than half of the Arab villages there are no dispensaries, and the existing ones in Nazareth and part of the villages cannot provide sufficient assistance due to the lack of doctors and means.

"Insurance against illness includes 39.5 per cent of the Arab population, as against 97.5 per cent of the Jewish population. Only a third of the Arab population is insured in the Workers' Sick Fund, as against 72 per cent of the Jewish population."

Dr. Lumer says in his pamphlet:

"National oppression in Israel is not confined to Arabs; it is also the lot of the darker-skinned Jews of Asian and African origin. These have migrated to Israel in large numbers lately, chiefly from Yemen and Iraq, and are now about half of its total population. . . . They are subject to all sorts of insults and indignities. "'Cushi,' the Biblical term for Negro," says a *New York Times* story (January 29, 1965), "has taken on the same pejorative meaning in Israel as 'nigger' in the United States."

I should think that this is certainly "remarkable." But is it not strange that we are not told about this?

FOR OR AGAINST IMPERIALISM?

The ad, nonetheless, hastens to tell us about the limitations of democratic liberties in the Arab countries, and correctly exposes the role of the Sheikdoms. But it never mentions that these are the creation of imperialism, and that their share of the take, which is used for their own enrichment, is but a small share of the riches extracted by foreign imperialism, which goes into the banks of London, Brussels

and Wall Street. It never tells us that the most reactionary of these Sheikdoms, such as Saudi Arabia, are closely tied to the United States.

Neither does the ad tell us of the growing struggle of the masses in the Arab world to put an end precisely to this state of affairs. The writers of the ad are learned men, and cannot be ignorant of these facts.

For example, we are told that the struggles in the Sudan and Biafra are not racial in character, but we are not told *what they are*. This cannot be done without explaining the role of imperialism which inflames racial strife and incites separatist movements all over Africa. This was the meaning of Biafra, Katanga, and now the policies of imperialism in the southern region of the Sudan. It is inseparably related to the overall policies of imperialism against the movement for national liberation. We are given a partial truth, only for the purpose of deception, only to hide the real essence of things.

The crocodile tears, shed in the form of "concern" for the "Arab refugees" and the "concern" about "the continuation of the conflict" as being against the interests of the people, become once more nothing but rhetoric, and meaningless when an appeal in the name of Black Americans is made to grant Phantom jets to Israel.

There is a growing realization throughout the world of the Soviet Union's role in its quest for peace and its support of the peoples struggling for freedom from imperialism. The ad states: "We believe that the United States has a vital role to play in ending the crisis. If it does not stand firm in the Middle East, the Soviet Union will be encouraged to increase its intervention, thereby escalating the conflict still further."

What do they call "intervention"? The fact is that the reference in the ad to "Soviet intervention" is designed simply to conceal the true nature of Soviet aid to the developing countries of Africa.

While I was in the Sudan I learned that the Soviet Union had helped that country to work out a five-year plan whose goal is to build industry, mechanize agriculture, carry out electrification, extend health and cultural facilities. In the upper Nile Province in the South of the Sudan, virgin lands, many thousands of acres never before touched by a plough, are now being cultivated on a cooperative basis. The tractors used for this come from the Soviet Union. The first phase of this program will be funded with internal Sudanese resources from nationalization of foreign-owned

banks. The other sources of funds for the plan will come from the socialist countries, primarily from the Soviet Union.

The success of the economic and political development of the newly-liberated countries also depends on the role played by the army. Every state rightfully has its own army, which is a pillar of state power. The question is, what kind of state and what kind of army, what kind of state policy and what kind of military policy? If the policy of the state is one of national democracy, the policy of the armed forces must also take on this character. In the newly-liberated countries the role of the army is, in keeping with this, objectively anti-imperialist.

Previously, in states under the domination of imperialism, the armed forces could be built only in reliance on the imperialist powers, which took care that they would serve the interests of imperialism and the perpetuation of colonial or semi-colonial status. They were designed to be used **against the people** in these states, and in support of the aggressive policies of imperialism.

With the rise of the Soviet Union, and particularly of the socialist world, the situation radically changed. The Soviet Union and other socialist countries pursue a policy that flows from the very nature of socialism. Its aim is freedom from imperialism, and in this there is a complete correspondence of interests between the socialist countries and the newly-liberated countries. The aid which is given to a country in building its armed forces is designed not for aggression, not for use against the people, but for working with the people in the development of the country and in wiping out the crimes of imperialism.

The attack on Soviet aid to the Arab states as an act of "intervention" is a conscious and deliberate piece of propaganda by imperialism. It is a shield for the policies of the Nixon administration. The concept of "balance of power" in the Middle East is in reality a device for maintaining the status of U.S. imperialism in that area. For how can one speak of a "balance" between imperialist rule and independence? One or the other must prevail. The ad places itself on the side of the perpetuation of imperialist domination.

The slogan of "no right of Israel to exist" is the propaganda of imperialism. The healthy national sentiment among the Israeli masses is being monstrously distorted, and by confusion and falsification of fact is

transformed into the nationalism of the Jewish bourgeoisie, into adherence to its most reactionary expression, Zionism. The attempted cleverness in the writing of the ad miserably fails to conceal this simple truth. That is why all progressives and lovers of peace, black and white—all who are anti-fascist, anti-monopoly, and anti-imperialist—cannot remain silent in the face of attacks which would attempt to separate the anti-imperialist movement from their greatest friend, the Soviet Union, which renders them all-round assistance in their quest for freedom.

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The expansionist policies of the Israeli

government, its occupation of Arab lands, and the terror against the civilian population in Arab countries flow from an aggressive war policy. This is a war against the liberation movement in the Middle East, just as it is a war which undermines the struggle for equal rights for Black people in the U.S., against racism and all its manifestations.

The struggle of the Arab people is an inseparable part of the fight of all peoples for liberation from imperialism. And this is indissolubly linked to the struggle of Black people in the U.S.

Success in this common struggle depends on the unity of all forces of national liberation, irrespective of color and race.

Fifty years of the French Communist Party

JACQUES DUCLOS

On December 29, 1920, by a vote of 3,208 to 1,022, the 18th Socialist Party Congress decided to affiliate with the Third International. The decision was the result of a hard struggle between supporters and opponents of the Communist International in the French labor movement. It was the first step in the process of building a new-type party capable of giving leadership to the struggle of the French working class and people.

The French Socialist Party was, as Lenin so aptly remarked, an outstanding example of "the old-type of European parliamentary party—which in fact is reformist and only slightly tinted with revolutionary colors" (Vol. 33, p. 209).

Up to 1917 the French labor movement was under the dominant influence of Right-wing opportunism, and one reaction to that was the spread of anarcho-syndicalism.

After the October Revolution the question was sharply posed of founding a Communist International and extricating the Socialist parties from the control of the Second International opportunist leaders. We could not, in these circumstances, confine ourselves to forming a Communist Party made up only of a minority of the former Socialist Party.

Lenin was highly appreciative of the work of Marcel Cachin. Inspired by the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution, Cachin played a crucial role in getting two-thirds of the Socialist Congress at Tours to vote for Comintern affiliation.

In February 1920, the 17th Socialist Party Congress in Strassburg decided to break with the Second International, which

by its chauvinist conduct during the war had betrayed its mission and had substituted for our noble slogan, "Workers of All Countries, Unite!" the slogan "Workers of All Countries, Destroy Each Other."

But the Strassburg Congress refrained from joining the Communist International, created by Lenin and born in the course of the struggle against the war. It sent two delegates to Moscow on an exploratory mission.

One of them was Marcel Cachin, and on his return to France, together with Paul Vaillant-Couturier, a young and talented militant, he started an affiliation campaign. Their effort was brought to fruition at the Tours Congress in December 1920.

The victory over opportunism in Tours on the question of Comintern affiliation was possible only because of the triumph of the Great October Socialist Revolution and Comintern assistance to the healthy elements in the international workers' movement in the fight against opportunism. Comintern support was very much felt at the Tours Congress. It was symbolized by the presence of Clara Zetkin, who had come in defiance of a French government ban and police surveillance. Her speech, imbued with supreme faith in the future, trenchantly criticized the opportunists and helped expose their maneuvers and demolish their attempts to hold back the process of renewal in the French workers' movement.

Assistance from Lenin and the Comintern played a decisive part in the rise of our Party. And the founding of a Communist Party in France played a very meaningful part in the growth of the Communist International. That idea was saliently

expressed by Clara Ketkin in her speech: "Not only Communist workers, but revolutionaries in every country, are keenly following the debates, and even more so the decisions, of this Congress. This applies also to former supporters of the majority policy and Centrists in every country. . . . The decision you take with regard to the majority policy and the policy of the Socialists will be a condemnation of that policy in all countries."

This condemnation of opportunism, in one of the strongest of the old European Socialist parties, had a beneficial effect on the development of the Third International.

* * *

Now that the Tours Congress had voted to join the Communist International, and now that the French Communist Party had been founded, we were faced with the biggest task of all—building a workers' party of the new type, and in this, too, Comintern assistance played a cardinal role.

Much has been said about the terms of admission to the Communist International. Related to the international situation and the position in the workers' movement at the time they were formulated, some of them are no longer relevant. Like the Comintern, which was dissolved in 1943, they no longer accord with the requirements of reality.

But it has to be emphasized that in their time the "21 conditions" were an essential basis for the formation of truly revolutionary parties. The Second Comintern Congress, which formulated these conditions, and the Comintern Executive, which helped the parties translate them into practice, made a decisive contribution to the fight against opportunism.

All affiliated parties were expected to accomplish the following: complete break with reformism and its representatives; Communist orientation of all propaganda, beginning with its most elementary forms and, where necessary, combining legal with illegal work; practical work among the toiling peasantry and among peasants and workers drafted into the army; clearly formulated policy on the imperialist war and on colonial and national oppression; effective solidarity with the Soviet people in their fight against the counter-revolutionary designs of world imperialism; reorganization of the Party on the principles of democratic centralism, which presupposed elimination of all factions and trends, and subordination of the parlia-

mentary group to the Party's leading organs; fulfilment by all Party members of decisions taken by these organs at all levels; fulfilment of general and fundamental decisions of Comintern congresses and the Comintern Executive, with due account to the conditions obtaining in the different countries, and, lastly, all parties shall adopt the name Communist Party.

Expressed in these 21 conditions was the firm resolve to put an end to class collaboration and wage a consistent struggle against capitalism and for the triumph of socialism.

Our Party's formative years were marked by a struggle to apply these principles in the concrete conditions of France. And it was in the course of this struggle that ours became a party of the new type, a party so vitally needed by the French workers' movement.

Two factors played a cardinal role in the Party's growth and consolidation: the fight against opportunist and sectarian groups that refused to comply with the Comintern slogan of working among the masses for a united working-class front, and the fight, against these same trends, to reorganize the Party along Leninist lines.

The Comintern slogan "Into the Masses! For a United Front of the Working Class!" was understood and accepted by the French Communists. The task now was to unite the workers and peasants, infuse in them a feeling of confidence that once their alliance becomes a reality, then "all the parties that wish to win over the proletariat will be obliged to unite in the struggle against capital and break with the bourgeois parties" (Comintern Executive Committee Appeal, January 1922).

This gave rise to a dual opposition, from the opportunist and from the sectarian groups, with some opportunist leaders seeking to force the Party into revising the Tours decisions.

Lenin's advice to individual members of our Party, his work, and that of the Comintern, were of inestimable value to our young Communist Party in fighting plans and actions that jeopardized its very existence.

Comintern assistance played an immense part also in the Party's reorganization. For reorganization involved fundamental political problems: strengthening Party influence in the factories where the labor-capital antagonism is ever present; organization of Party nuclei as active centers of ideological education, political ini-

tiative and organization of the masses for the struggle; proper social composition of the working-class Party—such were the goals we set ourselves.

The Fifth Comintern Congress (1924) initiated a broad campaign to reorganize the Communist parties as the basic condition for their conversion into parties of the new type.

In France, reorganization along Leninist lines led to the rise of a new Right-wing and sectarian opposition. Our Party upheld the Leninist organizational principles and combated mechanical application of the factory nuclei slogan. In this battle the Party emerged victorious thanks to the efforts of Pierre Semard, elected General Secretary at the Clichy Congress (January 1925), and Maurice Thorez, elected Organizational Secretary in July 1925.

The Comintern again helped us fight Right-wing opportunism and sectarianism within the Party by its advice and its struggle against the Trotskyite offensive after Lenin's death.

In operating the correct policy of the Fifth Comintern Congress, the French Communist Party, in common with other parties, contributed to the accumulation of collectivist experience. This was noted, for instance, by the organizational conference called by the Comintern Executive in February 1926: "The ideological resistance noted in some parties and Party organizations has been practically overcome. . . . Factory Party nuclei have been established and have proved their value as the primary Party units."

It will thus be seen that the collective experience summarized in Comintern documents was a key factor in establishing and consolidating a genuine Communist Party in France. And thanks to this collective experience, accumulated in the process of struggle by all Communist parties in the specific circumstances of their countries, we were able to avoid or to rectify many errors that could have led to revision of the Tours decisions.

* * *

Our efforts for a united front and for Party reorganization were closely linked with our general political struggle.

Indeed, it was the great battles then raging that helped our rank and file grasp the implications of the fundamental issues involved in our fight against opportunist and factionalist trends.

The Party's first major political battle centered on two issues, on both of which

the Socialist leaders had taken a clear opportunist stand. I refer to the French occupation of the Ruhr in 1923 and the rise of the national liberation movement against French occupation of Syria and, later, of Morocco.

In World War I, the Second International parties joined with the imperialists of their countries against rival imperialists. Now, the young French Communist Party joined with the Communist Party of Germany against the occupation of the Ruhr. This brought down on us a wave of repression, and the fainthearts left the Party. But we emerged from this ordeal stronger and more closely associated with the European Communist parties.

The campaign against the war in Morocco played an important role in our Party's development. The 21 conditions, it will be recalled, required a clear-cut political line on the colonial question. France was the world's second colonial power and this contributed in no small measure to the spread of Right-wing opportunism in the labor movement. And it was not easy, in a country whose bourgeoisie exploited the 70-million population of its colonial empire, to instil the idea of Marx and Engels that a nation which oppresses other nations cannot itself be free.

The national liberation movement against French occupation of Syria and later Morocco tested the firmness of our Party's internationalist views. For the first time in French history, the workers' movement declared its unqualified solidarity with a colonial people fighting for independence.

The Central Action Committee, of which Maurice Thorez was elected chairman, conducted an extensive campaign against the Moroccan war, and, for the first time in the history of the French labor movement, the proletarian vanguard clearly dissociated itself from colonialist and chauvinist ideology. This was the first result of our shop-floor united front policy. That result was evident, for instance, in the mass political strike of October 12, 1925. It was a forceful demonstration that the working class and its Party were determinedly opposed to the French government's colonial policy.

Steeled in these hard-fought battles, our Party reached maturity in the thirties and discharged its mission with honor.

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The 1930's—the advance of fascism in Europe, the drift to the Second World War.

It is against this background that one can properly assess the importance for the international workers movement of the Party's fight against fascism, for the Popular Front, against non-intervention in Spain and, later, its role in the Resistance movement for freedom and national independence.

From the Seventh Party Congress (Paris, March 1932), with its accent on mass work to build up popular resistance to war and fascism, and to the July 1934 united action agreement with the Socialists, our entire policy was a vivid confirmation of the Communist International's united front slogan.

Its application spared France the shame and horror of fascism, then in power in Italy and Germany. Besides, the united front policy enabled the Party to gain a deeper understanding of all the problems involved in promoting unity of the working class and alliance of all the working people. The result was the idea, and then the fact, of the Popular Front.

Needless to say, this was a new policy, the significance of which was not immediately grasped by everyone in France and abroad. But when the Seventh Comintern Congress (August 1935) reviewed the initial successes of the Popular Front, Georgi Dimitrov declared: "The French Communist Party rendered a singular service in clearly understanding the tasks before it today and not following the sectarians, who were doing everything to prevent an anti-fascist united front. On the contrary, with courage and in a Bolshevik spirit, through the united action agreement with the Socialist Party, it prepared the united front of the proletariat as the foundation of the anti-fascist Popular Front."

And drawing conclusions from French experience, the Seventh Congress worked out a uniform strategy for uniting all the working people around the working class in the fight for democracy. For the choice was between fascism and democracy, and not between fascism and Communism, as the fascists tried to make out in their repeated attempts to split the anti-fascist forces.

The Seventh Congress endorsed the policy of our Party which, having borrowed from the bourgeoisie the revolutionary traditions it had abandoned, directed them against the bourgeoisie and by its policy and action showed the people that it was a party of freedom and national independence. The Comintern Congress called on

Communists everywhere to pursue a policy based on these principles, with due account to the traditions of and situation in their respective countries.

While operating this policy of uniting all victims of capitalism around the working class, our Party tried to go further, beyond the Popular Front, towards an alliance of the French nation for a free, powerful and prosperous France.

That was not realized in the Popular Front period, but the idea of such an alliance found expression in the Resistance, in which our Party successfully and honorably coped with its formidable tasks.

Communists were in the front ranks in the battle to liberate the country from the Nazis, whereas those who branded us as "foreign agents" collaborated with the invader. The Communists were consistent and persevering in rallying all patriots to liberate France.

The experience of this alliance in the Resistance and Liberation periods, the rise of state-monopoly capitalism, the sharpening contradictions between the exploiter minority and the mass of the population, the changed world alignment following the defeat of Nazi Germany—all this made it necessary for our Party to analyze and tackle the new problems.

* * *

In 1946, Maurice Thorez said that "the progress of democracy throughout the world, with the few exceptions that prove the rule, shows that we can envisage new paths to the triumph of socialism, other than the path followed by the Russian Communists."

In 1950, the 12th Party Congress emphasized that war was no longer an inevitability.

These two ideas were advanced by our Party in the cold war climate, when France's reactionary rulers were conducting a vicious anti-Communist campaign, fabricating all manner of non-existent conspiracies and resorting to the foulest type of provocation. The conclusions we drew from our own experience and from the new developments in international politics enabled us, despite the very difficult situation, constructively to chart out our policy.

The ideas mentioned above were discussed also by the 20th Congress of the Soviet Communist Party in February 1956. Its profound analysis of the changed world situation and the new opportunities it offered, its condemnation of the personality cult and of Stalin's erroneous propositions,

helped to consolidate our Party on the positions it had held for several years.

The 20th CPSU Congress decisions, which rectified the mistakes of the past, generated a new rise in the movement for socialism—despite all the designs of the bourgeoisie—and to a considerable extent helped our Party extend and intensify its struggle.

Today, that struggle is against the stranglehold of the capitalist monopolies, for the building of a socialist France, a goal shared by increasing numbers of Frenchmen.

New blood is being infused into the Party. It is being joined by young people who regard it as the road to the future. And they are right, for there is no more correct path for anyone who wants to build the world of his hopes.

The French Communist Party is celebrating its first half-centenary. It has travelled a long road. It has proved its ability to unite in its ranks the finest sons and daughters of France. It has shown that it retains all its youth and vigor, for its cause is the future itself.

Our membership includes blue-collar and white-collar workers, engineers, technicians, schoolteachers and other professionals, students and peasants. And such outstanding intellectuals as Anatole France, Henri Barbusse, Paul Langevin, Frederic Joliot-Curie, Henri Wallon, Paul Eluard were all members of the Communist Party.

Many Communist intellectuals gave their lives in the battle against Nazism. The list includes Georges Politzer, Jacques Solomon, Jacques Decour.

Pablo Picasso, the greatest artist of our time, says he came to the French Communist Party "as one comes to a fresh stream."

France's greatest living writer, Louis Aragon, is a member of the Party's Central Committee.

It can be said that the Communist Party is the quintessence of thinking, working France advancing to fundamental change. In its Manifesto "For an Advanced Democracy, For a Socialist France," confirmed by the 19th Congress this February, the French Communist Party shows our working class and people the road to such fundamental change.

Having decided to dedicate its strength and activities to uniting all the democratic forces and the working class on a common program, the Communist Party believes that the desired result cannot be achieved either by refashioning the existing system or through any of the coalitions suggested by some reactionary politicians.

The distinguishing feature of our era is that socialism is on the agenda, in France as in other countries. And to provide optimal conditions for the advance to socialism, the Communist Party proposes a transitional system in the form of an advanced democracy.

Our Party is rooted in the finest traditions of the French people. It faithfully continues these traditions, combining supreme fidelity to proletarian internationalist solidarity with passionate patriotism. And today, in celebrating its 50th anniversary, it is working with redoubled energy to give leadership to the struggle of our people.

The 19th Party Congress theses declare: "The French Communist Party will fulfil with honor its role in the struggle for the well-being of the workers, the entire French people, for an advanced democracy, for socialism."

Lenin will never be forgotten

ANDREI ANDREYEV

Much has been said and written about Lenin as the theoretician and leader of the revolution, and doubtlessly there will be much more research and writing on the subject. For Leninism is an inexhaustible source of strength in the battle for communism.

My acquaintance with Lenin began long before October 1917. At first I knew him only from his articles in the Party and workers' press. Personal acquaintance came much later.

In 1910-14 I was working in Moscow and Party comrades in the printing and engineering trades (I was not yet officially a member of the Party though I was active in workers' organizations and Party circles) gave me copies of *Zvezda*, *Pravda* and the journal *Prosveshcheniye*, which carried Lenin's incisive and pithy articles, usually under a pseudonym or without signature. After the difficult years of reaction these Bolshevik periodicals played an immense part in educating and organizing the workers.

When I moved to Petrograd and contacted Party branches there, I had wider access to illegal literature sent in from abroad. The *Sotsial-Demokrat* newspaper and pamphlets by Lenin were read literally to tatters. But all of us Petrograd Bolsheviks were eager to know more about our leader. What was Lenin like? And every comrade from the Central Committee returning from a trip abroad was invariably asked: "How is Lenin?" Like all my comrades, I wanted to see Lenin. That came later.

On April 3, 1917, the square in front of the Finland railway station was filled with people long before the train carrying Lenin and a group of exiles arrived. A guard of honor of soldiers and sailors were lined up

on the platform. I was there with a group of members of the Central and Petrograd Party committees. All Petrograd workers wanted to greet Lenin, but we had to limit the welcoming group to delegations from factories and regiments.

Late in the night of April 3 some of us, Central and Petrograd committee members, gathered in the hall of the Kshesinskaya Palace to wait for Lenin. He soon arrived with his wife, Nadezhda Krupskaya. After shaking hands with all of us he addressed the gathering, giving his views on the situation in the country and the tasks of the Party.

With Lenin's arrival everything became much clearer. This was a time of mounting activity in the anti-Bolshevik camp and sharpening class contradictions. And in this situation the division between those for and those against the revolution was more sharply etched. Lenin's return to Russia was not simply the home-coming of a prominent leader as was, say, the arrival of Plekhanov, but an event that had a momentous impact on the future of the Party and the revolution.

I heard Lenin speak on many occasions, and in differing circumstances, before and after the October Revolution. I saw him at huge public meetings, at the April 1917 Party conference which laid the foundations for transition from bourgeois to socialist revolution, I saw him at the moment that revolution triumphed, when he addressed the Second All-Russia Congress of Soviets. And the overwhelming impression of all his speeches was the clarity and conviction they carried: he held his hearers' attention from the first word to the last.

My personal acquaintance with Lenin

came in March 1920 at the Ninth Party Congress. This is how it happened.

The Congress was drawing to a close. It had already elected the Party Central Committee, of which I was made a member for the first time. It was decided that I would work in the Central Trade Union Council. During the intermission, when the resolution was being drafted, I was sought out by M. I. Kalinin, an old Petrograd friend.

"Lenin would like to see you," he said. My excitement can well be imagined. I was only 24 then and young also in terms of Party work.

In the room behind the platform Kalinin walked over to Lenin who was then talking to someone: "Comrade Lenin, this is our new Central Committee member, Comrade Andreyev."

Lenin turned round: "Very good, let's get acquainted." We shook hands and then in a warm, fatherly way, as though we had long known each other, he put his hand on my shoulder.

"You're from the Urals, I think?" he asked. And then followed question after question: Were all the Urals mills back in operation? What was the mood of the peasants after Kolchak, and could we expect grain supplies from them, and many more. At first I was too excited to answer coherently, but Lenin soon put me at ease and I gave him an account of how things were shaping out in the Urals.

Only Lenin could make a newcomer feel at ease. Having asked me about the Urals (he was never satisfied with a general reply, always wanting the facts, in minute detail) Lenin remarked: "Well, now you'll be working in Moscow, at the Central Trade Union Council." The conversation was cut short by the announcement that the session was about to resume.

This first encounter with Lenin is indelibly engraved in my mind. One can never forget the charm, the comradely warmth emanating from this simple, considerate man so near and dear to all of us.

Lenin was a unique, I would say ideal, revolutionary leader of the masses, with whom he was always in touch. For him, addressing workers' meetings was a vital need, as was detailed knowledge of the life of the people, their needs and thoughts. He always wanted to know if there was any discontent among the workers and frequently invited trade union officials to discuss the workers' needs.

Lenin was a remarkable organizer. Though living abroad, he was in touch with

Party organizations in Russia and instrumental in starting new ones. He was surrounded by a galaxy of able helpers whom he, the Bolshevik Party and working class, had trained over the years.

He was a man of principle and would never yield on matters affecting the Party's principled line, even prepared to challenge recognized authorities and to break friendships to uphold that line. That was especially so at times when decisive measures or abrupt policy changes had to be made.

Lenin consistently fought idealism in all its forms and consistently championed the materialist dialectical philosophy. Every Communist, he maintained, must approach social phenomena from class positions.

He abhorred everything that smacked of servility, was exacting without being rude, was humane in the best, Communist sense.

Lenin hated the enemies of the working class, for struggle was impossible without hatred. And his enemies paid back in kind, although they could not but respect him.

He was especially contemptuous of opportunists, Russian and foreign, and in his polemics with them he did not stint ridicule in demolishing their arguments.

One can write endlessly of Lenin's outstanding leadership qualities. It is more than 46 years since his death, but I, like many others, always remember the living Lenin, his inimitable intonations and characteristic gestures.

As a member of our Party's delegation to the Second Comintern Congress, I was able to watch Lenin as organizer and leader of the Third, Communist International, as leader of the international workers' movement.

The workers of Petrograd, the cradle of the Great October Revolution, welcomed their leader and the Congress delegates by a huge demonstration on the square in front of the Winter Palace. Lenin was one of the speakers. I recall how he marched at the head of the column, a red carnation in his buttonhole, smiling and evidently gratified that, at long last, his dream of a new, revolutionary international working-class organization had come true. Maxim Gorky marched by his side.

All of us were impressed by an incident, which, I believe, occurred after the election of the Congress Presidium (of which Lenin was, of course, a member) and approval of the agenda. Lenin got up from his seat on the platform and, ignoring the rather solemn nature of the proceedings, rapidly walked to the other end of the hall: he had seen an old comrade, Shel-

gunov, if I am not mistaken. Lenin embraced him; everyone rose, there was loud applause. No one saw anything strange in this, though had someone else done it, there would have been astonishment, but for Lenin this expression of cordiality was only natural.

After M. I. Kalinin had welcomed the Congress on behalf of Soviet Russia's workers and peasants, Lenin was given the floor to deliver his report on the international situation. His appearance on the rostrum was greeted with loud applause and shouts of "Long live Lenin!" in many languages. It was some time before the ovation subsided, though Lenin repeatedly raised his hand asking for silence.

He began his report with an appraisal of the international situation, giving a Marxist analysis of economic and political relations after the First World War and the sharpening of imperialist contradictions that followed it. And on the basis of this analysis he formulated the tasks confronting the proletarian parties affiliated to the Communist International.

Lenin concluded his report by expressing confidence in the triumph of proletarian revolution throughout the world. His last words were drowned in the storm of applause and the strains of the Internationale sung by the delegates.

After Lenin's report, which generated immense enthusiasm, there were several short speeches by Comrade Rosmer on behalf of the French workers, Comrade Marchlewski on behalf of the Polish workers and delegates from several other countries.

The Congress continued in Moscow. Lenin made the report on the national and colonial question, emphasizing that the central idea of our theses must be the difference between oppressed and oppressor nations, remarking that this was in contrast to the Second International and bourgeois democracy which deliberately glossed over that difference.

The Congress was addressed by representatives of the German Independents and Italian Socialists, who tried to put through their opportunist views. These were trenchantly criticized by Lenin as utterly out of keeping with the tasks of the International. In this debate, Lenin disclosed and explained the fundamental difference between the communist and opportunist approach to the winning of power by the working class, the agrarian question, the need and possibilities of revolu-

tionary work in the absence of a revolutionary situation, and on other issues.

After this drubbing by Lenin and rejection of their application to join the Comintern, the opportunists left. Lenin was right in his assessment of their policy and activity, for all these Crispiens, Dittmanns and their ilk were soon on the other side of the barricade.

Lenin showed the greatest concern for united proletarian action and criticized the "Lefts" for their wrong position on such questions as work in the trade unions and bourgeois parliaments, showing that their views smacked of sectarianism and divorcement from the masses.

Lenin's speeches on the Party were of particular importance. In his theses he stressed that what the movement needed was not parties of the Second International type, but parties of a new type, effectively linked with the masses and able to lead them. Only the Communist Party, the genuine vanguard of the revolutionary class, can bring together its finest representatives. It is indissolubly linked with the life of the working class and through it with all the exploited. It enjoys their full confidence and is capable of leading the proletariat in a relentless, sustained and decisive struggle against all the forces of capitalism.

On the other hand, only under the leadership of such a party can the proletariat bring to bear all its latent revolutionary energy, overcome the inevitable apathy and resistance of the capitalist-corrupted labor aristocracy; only under the leadership of such a party can the proletariat bring into action all its forces, which are immeasurably greater than its share of the population.

All the parties of the Communist International, Lenin said, must translate into practice the slogan of "Closer ties with the masses," that is, with all those exploited by capital, particularly the less organized, less educated and more oppressed sections of the people. We must learn to approach the masses, Lenin insisted, always showing the greatest patience and caution and an understanding of the specific psychology of each section, each trade, etc. The Communists must not hush up the shortcomings of their movement, but openly criticize them in order the sooner to eliminate them.

These and other Lenin postulates on the Party were of immense importance for the development of our own and other Communist parties. Everyone was amazed

by Lenin's seething activity and his deep knowledge of the situation in the various countries and parties. He spoke on practically every item on the Congress agenda and took part in several committee discussions. I recall him attentively listening to the speakers, injecting his own remarks, replying to questions. He could be seen making notes sitting on the steps leading to the speaker's rostrum. Lenin was fluent in several languages and some of his Congress speeches were in German and French.

In presenting his report, he remarked that he would not repeat his theses on the main tasks of the Comintern, which had been circulated to all delegates. The theses were of outstanding importance for all the parties, as also his theses on the national and the agrarian questions and on conditions for affiliation with the Comintern.

Together, they form an integral statement of policy. It is no exaggeration to say that their clear and forceful elucidation of the tasks and tactics of the Communist parties reminds one of the Communist Manifesto.

Every Communist has his own personal life, but the main purpose of his life is to serve our common cause, and in that he measures his activities against those of Lenin. Lenin taught us always to forge ahead; to stand still is to move back. Lenin's banner proudly waves over the Soviet Union and the countries that have embarked on the socialist road. Revisionists, whether Right or "Left," try in vain to "reinterpret" Marxism-Leninism in order to rob it of its effectiveness. But no one can hold back the victorious onward march of Marxism-Leninism!

Words across the years

BORIS PANKIN

Fifty years ago on October 2, 1970, at the Third All-Russia Congress of the Russian Young Communist League, V. I. Lenin made his well-known speech, "The Tasks of the Youth Leagues," rated as one of the more important documents of the Communist movement substantiating and elaborating on the principles governing the activity of proletarian youth organizations and their guidance by Communists. Lenin's ideas are still relevant and are helping Communist parties, those in power and those still working for it, to frame their youth policy.

Reading Lenin's speech, one marvels that it was delivered 50 years ago to people now around 70. For our young people they are veterans of a distant, almost unreal past, though the feeling they get reading the speech is that it was made only yesterday, even today.

Millions of young people in the so-called Third World and the capitalist countries are joining the champions of the workers' ideals. For them Lenin's concrete examples of struggle and labor jointly with workers and peasants in 1920, are no anachronism. These tasks, big and small, some albeit simple, were or are the start for many a

league of revolutionary working youth. Back at the First Congress of the Young Communist International in 1919, fourteen youth leagues attended, including the Russian YCL, whereas today Young Communist leagues are active in more than 70 countries, their membership totalling more than 80 million. Besides, Lenin's teaching is accepted not by young Communists alone. For the democratic youth, too, his speech to the Russian youth is a program of struggle and labor.

"The tasks of the youth . . . might be summed up in a single word: learn," Lenin said, and stressed: "This is only a 'single

word.' It does not answer the principal and most essential questions: what to learn, and how to learn?"

In ill-heated and ill-fed Moscow of the third year of Soviet power it was truly visionary to speak of learning. And it had to be a leader of great audacity and foresight who would warn the 18- and 20-year-olds, half of whom could hardly read or write, there and then, that learning communism was not simply acquiring the sum of the knowledge contained in Communist manuals, pamphlets and books, that to learn communism was not *simply* to learn, that is, to acquire and accumulate knowledge. To learn Communism was to learn to build and to marshal all energy for the struggle, inconceivable without the "conscious discipline of the workers and peasants," lacking which the "cause is hopeless." To learn communism is to gear the training and education of the youth to communist ethics and morality, the only way to do which is to link every step in study, training and education with the struggle against the old society of exploiters. Cumulatively, Lenin stressed, this transforms communism "from cut-and-dried and memorized formulas, counsels, recipes, prescriptions and programs" into a guide to action.

Lenin's speech is itself a guide to action—bold, constructive, revolutionary, adding to our ideological resources not only by *what* it says, but by how it sets out Lenin's ideas.

Its magnetism is so great and our references to it so frequent that everything else Lenin said earlier to or about the youth, seems to be put in the shade. Our ideological antagonists, for one, go to the length of contending that the Communist Party did not discover that the youth presented a social problem, and showed no concern or interest in it, until after the 1917 Revolution.

It is no exaggeration to say, however, that hardly any political action by the proletarian, student or peasant youth ever escaped Lenin before, as well as after, the Revolution. And unfailingly his analysis of the specific situation, of its social motivations, was at once a basis for generalizations transcending the temporal and spatial limits of the event. What could be more convincing in bringing this home than the fact that on the eve of the socialist revolution, calling for an armed rising, the Party on Lenin's initiative addressed one of its main resolutions specifically to the working youth.

Ruminating over Lenin's ideas about the youth, one hardly knows what to marvel at more—at the depth and insight of Lenin's analysis of the then specific situation or at its relevance to our time of rejuvenescence and of the decisive, perhaps final, contention for the minds and hearts of the youth.

Deprecating the simplistic "revolutionism" that scorns the imperative of a comprehensive doctrine as a basis for the youth's ideological unification, Lenin in a controversy with a Russian revolutionary student publication in 1903 postulated for many decades ahead the irresistible impact of the socialist ideal, warning the young against political eclecticism and tolerance, against amorphous thinking and prattle about broad views and universal progress.

Warning against "false friends" whose idealistic phrase-mongering and philistine laments distracted young people from serious revolutionary tempering, Lenin, as it were, anticipated the Marcusean contagion contracted in the sixties, be it for a short time only, by fairly large sections of West European youth, fired solely by "revolutionary sentiment." Now it seems to have sunk in among most that Marcuseanism is no more than a vogue term designating a mass of kindred "teachings" identifying themselves with the impatient intolerance of capitalism felt by vast segments of the youth. Even some serious Communist theorists aver that these trends and "teachings" had impelled the anarchist revolt of the young in, say, France. That, however, consciously or not, is an idealist error. What happened was the reverse: it was the constantly mounting, unconscious, often instinctive protest of diverse sections of the youth, protest that is inescapably a concomitant of the general crisis of capitalism, that engendered all these theories, initially the most digestible and appealing for the many dedicated but politically ignorant rebels, for protest, like any movement, needs conceptualizing and programming.

This phase in the political maturing of petty-bourgeois youth turning proletarian appears to be no more avoidable than discovery and acceptance of Lenin and Leninism is for anyone determined to protract his searching until he finds the truth. On the 50th anniversary of Lenin's speech we see this evolution, impelled by the course of events, spreading to large numbers of young people on all continents caught up in the common struggle.

This it is that makes relevant for us Len-

in's vehement objection to there still being Communists who were absurdly and priggishly terrified of the youth.

Lenin stressed that we must learn to anticipate, avert or try to correct the youth's possible mistakes, to do so circumspectly, chiefly by persuasion. Adults misleading the proletariat, laying claim to leading and teaching others, he said, are one thing, and youth organizations admitting they are still learning, is another.

* * *

The youth is the future of the world. This idea, as old as the world, has a new ring these days. More than half the world, statistics show, is under 24, and that is a responsible, conscious age. The future we associate with the youth, is, therefore, near at hand. Nor is it a question solely of the future. Our present, too, depends on the kind of youth we have today.

If older generations of class antagonists of the opposite societies have anything in common at all, it is the desire to mould the youth in their own likeness, dedicated to the ideals of its fathers.

That the fathers are different and the ideals completely divergent, is another story. Censuring what he styles the rebellious minority—which he describes as consisting chiefly of the young—Richard Nixon, then still a presidential candidate, opposed it to the vast majority of Americans, the forgotten ones, those who are silent and take no part in demonstrations, the Americans that he describes as law-abiding, decent and considerate, as people who work, who save money and pay their taxes. Whether or not Nixon's estimate of the number of "rebels" and of the "silent" is right, does not concern us for the moment. What strikes us is how he makes the wish father to the thought. The decent, considerate, tax-paying and money-saving are, indeed, an ideal worthy of the society that upholds it. However, the "reasonable American" of the "silent majority" is increasingly doubtful that it can be attained, which worries certain quarters considerably.

Our planet, theatre of the global confrontation of the two systems—socialist and capitalist—is also a theatre of battle for the youth. The clash of different youth concepts is clearly an adjunct of the clash of the political forces. Nor is it purely vocal, confined to academic antagonists only.

In the United States, for example, the ruling class is a paragon of tolerance as regards freedom of entertainment, whims of fashion or bickering with the authorities, while any determined—though all too often immature—youth acts in behalf of their social interests and employment rights, or against the Indochina aggression, precipitate arrests, imprisonments and wanton shooting of student demonstrators. For years American youths in Vietnam have been paying with blood for their blindness, while in Kent and elsewhere those who had begun to see light were also shot down.

The social cataclysms of recent years confirm the historical relevance of Lenin's ideas about the youth.

No "youth problem" in the capitalist sense exists in the Soviet Union. Nor does any manipulation of the youth.

"We cannot advance effectively without the participation of the youth in the country's socio-political life," L. I. Brezhnev said in May 1970, addressing delegates to the 16th YCL Congress. For any unbiased observer this is an authoritative explanation for the "silence" of the Soviet youth, its social activity and socially responsible conduct.

I use the word "silence" because capitalist ideologists are using it in their studies of the "phenomenon" of Soviet youth. And I enclose it in quotation marks because it is certainly no key to that "phenomenon."

Unable to sidestep the fact that the youth in capitalist countries are opposed to the Establishment, capitalist ideologists cast about for a respectable apology. One of the most widespread is that the youth revolt is a tribute rather than a reproach. The young people in revolt, they aver, demonstrate not protest but the right to protest, thus underscoring the merits of Western democracy. But their position became untenable after the shooting of students in Kent and elsewhere.

By the same strange logic they infer that the "silence" of the Soviet youth is a reproach. That it neither protests nor demonstrates is taken to mean that it "cannot," that it "fears punishment," that it has "cast away its aspirations and ideals," that it is "indifferent and passive."

Traceable in this kind of talk are the criteria of a society in which the interests of the individual and the state are ever at loggerheads and all activity is necessarily opposition to the existing order or egoistic

adaptation. By the same token, loyalty is acceptance of the official policy, ability to save money and readiness to pay taxes.

Soviet youth needs not to choose between revolt and indifference. The older generations have done their utmost to provide the youth with facilities for education, intellectual development and active creativity. Absorbing the ideas and traditions of their fathers, the young learn from the facts around them that they are truthful and progressive, and are impelled by the wish to project them into the future. No irreconcilable contradictions exist. But there is a problem: how best to advance combining the experience of the elders with the energy of the young.

The idea that the Communist Youth League's role in society should be continuously enhanced was uppermost at the 16th YCL Congress, and understandably so, because prompted by the objective imperatives of our growth and principally by the precipitous scientific and technical progress. This progress indubitably affects all spheres, not the economic alone, giving rise to all kinds of social and psychological problems. Obviously, too, it necessitates an inflow of young and active strength into all the cells of our political and social mechanism. Moreover, it needs young people who, embarking on their careers, could quickly traverse the time of apprenticeship and do their chosen work well equipped with knowledge, intellect and the vigor of their age. In this era of technico-scientific advance, the youth is an asset that society wishes to put to use as swiftly as possible.

When we say that in socialist society young people are given all opportunities, we mean much more than elementary social benefits. We also mean the rights and guarantees of their effective participation in labor and in social and political activity that charges them with a sense of social responsibility.

Recent CPSU decisions have added to the authority of the YCL as an organization that by Party mandate represents youth interests in society. No issue relating to improvement and promotion, hiring and firing, working conditions, study, leisure and living conditions of the youth may be settled without YCL representatives. And this at national, as well as shop-floor level.

Some ask why youth rights are being played up so much. Do they need protecting in a socialist society? This view is based on the fact that antagonistic classes

are non-existent and the interests of the individual and society do not conflict. However, not all grounds for friction between different social, age and other groups have yet been completely eliminated. We must not take it for granted, for one thing, that even with the best of intentions one will never misunderstand one's duties or responsibilities. That can happen to anyone, at any level. Furthermore, abuse of one's responsibilities or of one's standing or status, to say nothing of parochialism, nationalist prejudice and egoism, cannot be wiped out overnight.

In production and education, as well as in every-day life, conflicts are fairly widespread, some traceable to obtuse administrators wanting to cash in on the enthusiasm of the youth and its readiness to grapple with all difficulties for the common cause. For these older men the lofty elan and dedication of the youth is a means to cover up their own deficiencies, their slowness and lack of consideration. Yet it is these people who complain most about the "pampered modern youth." We had to bunk in tents, they say, while they want palaces to live in.

Recent sociological research shows, too, that complaints of young people "scorning manual labor" often stem from the young people's natural revulsion to technically backward, primitive, non-creative work.

Collisions may arise, too, over the young people's thirst for education—secondary and higher — on a study-while-working basis. The state and society encourage this in every way—morally, materially and legislatively. Hardly anyone in our country would ever think of disapproving. But in practical terms this educational drive creates many a problem for the management, entailing additional study leave for a large segment of young workers, a variety of financial outlays and because it bedevils regulation of manpower. The managers concede the benefits of education, but see them somewhere in the future, whereas its attendant problems are immediately felt.

The facts show that a school-leaver's assimilation in production is not always smooth, due, among other things, to objective reasons such as, say, the mosaic nature of modern production, in which manual, mechanized and automated labor frequently combine in one enterprise. What this means is that groups of workers who, as it were, represent the past, present and future of social production, work side by side in the same factory. A young man com-

ing to the shop floor directly from secondary school often contends with a technology that requires no secondary education. This applies mostly to the smaller enterprises, causing disenchantment and giving rise to a sense of unfulfilled expectation. Statistics shows, indeed, that drudgery at the workbench is a widespread reason why youngsters quit their jobs.

That the contradiction will be eliminated through scientific and technical progress in due course, does not appease the young workers' ruffled feelings, because for the young a year is an eternity. They look for escape, and the important thing is that they should do so in step with society, with their workmates and YCL comrades.

That the YCL has representatives in government, public, trade union and economic bodies makes more tangible the young people's sense of common possession, stimulating their responsibility for the common cause and their capacity for administration, and lending substance to Lenin's behest that "the Young Communist League must be a shock force, helping in every job and displaying initiative and enterprise."

Widespread these days is the practice of concerting resources for the upbringing of the rising generation. This applies to government, trade union, scientific, cultural and creative bodies and institutions, and the recently formed Youth Affairs Commission of the USSR Supreme Soviet and the similar bodies of other Soviets in the country are designed as coordinating and guiding centers. On these commissions young deputies and YCL functionaries work jointly with prominent scientists, economists, builders, teachers and economic administrators. The commissions are vested with directive functions and legislative initiative.

The highly-ramified system of YCL mass communication media designed for all age groups is another important vehicle of communist education, evidence of the independence of the youth organization, and a means for resolving many of its ethical and material problems. The Soviet YCL publishes 225 newspapers and journals with a total circulation of 63 million. The daily circulation of the two country-wide newspapers, the *Komsomolskaya Pravda* and *Pionerskaya Pravda*, falls only a bit short of 20 million.

Soviet youth is afforded every possible opportunity for scientific and technological creativity—in school, university, produc-

tion and the big range of clubs and societies.

In material terms the effect of this diverse activity is fairly sizeable. But more important still is the fact that it cultivates not mere would-be scientists, inventors, engineers or worker-innovators, but also moulds citizens, public-spirited and opposed to inertia and routine.

Outdated scientific or technical ideas and incorrect decisions are usually traceable to some backward administrator, sometimes an entire institution. And unconventional modern ideas and solutions always entail a clash with outdated views, notions and conceptions. What this proves is that for the YCL of the present day verbal forms of education are a thing of the past. The notion that the YCL is an organization designed solely to lecture, exhort or persuade—which still prevails here and there—is wide of the mark. It is a school of hard work, of struggle, an organization tempering the character. That is as Lenin conceived it.

* * *

"A happy combination of enthusiasm and realism," a foreign publicist once said of the Soviet youth. And this formula, laconic though it is, seems to really convey the essence of the young man of today. Our young people are basically patriotic, aspiring to serve the country and its communist ideals.

But that is not all. The forms and movements expressive of their enthusiasm differ from stage to stage in our struggle and in building communism.

When we think back to our construction projects of the 1930's, trains, barges and ships arise in our mind's eye, packed with strong young men and girls in padded jackets, with barrows, pick-axes, and spades.

These days we talk of blueprints, slide-rules, semi-conductors, electronic devices, outer space and cybernetics. To be sure, all these are but symbols. They hardly convey the extent to which our people have changed.

Society is moving ahead. Its social, economic and technical resources set the young man increasingly complicated tasks, making him set his emotions against reason, his elan against calculated design. His enthusiasm, multiplied by a realistic assessment of success and failure, his own and that of the people, prompts him to look about more closely and fires his desire to improve the economic and social

mechanisms of our system and, of course, to improve himself.

Once he sets out on his own, the young man—in our society, too—encounters many problems. He knows that the abc of human and social relations is far more complicated than it appeared to him as schoolboy or student.

The young people's yearning for independence, for realism in thinking, freedom in words, deeds, and manners, blended with an increasing self-awareness, are, beyond question, a sign of the times. How should they be assessed?

There is only one answer to that, some say: these tendencies are welcome; they are bred by our time.

Regrettably, however, they do not exist in a pure form. Life is not a test-tube or laboratory where everything may be reduced to its components. Sound aspirations sometimes spill over, and in a manner that puts them in question. That lies at the root of the other viewpoint, whose exponents deny independence to the youth and consider it their duty to guide young people continuously, protect them from sharp and violent impressions, hemming in their each step with rules, restrictions and bans.

Take the simplest example: our periodicals, literature and pedagogics have been wrangling over young people's clothes, haircuts and dances. They attacked fads and fashions born continuously, and dying.

Are fads good or bad? If bad, how bad? Is the danger real or fancied? It is probably ridiculous to look for political ingredients in the width of trousers or the length of hair. But, on the other hand, it is up to us to cultivate good taste among our young people, and help them differentiate the good from the bad.

Yet we are all or almost all agreed in principle that command, regulation and needless bans are not merely futile, but harmful. They do not treat the malaise. More often they cause a deterioration, proliferating fancied conflicts and producing artificial sources of irritation, a fertile soil for the generation gap myth.

Tactless and inconsiderate mentorship is liable to prejudice the finest sentiment, the finest ideas, the loftiest wish to help the youth. That is clear. But some draw the conclusion that we need a new approach, new forms of education, new forms of influence. Others go from one extreme to the other, maintaining that the time has come to stop trying to influence the youth on the plea that the youth does not tolerate

it, does not like it, and will settle its own problems.

It may be proper to note that a kind of youth cult, demagogical to no small degree, is spreading in some capitalist countries. For many bourgeois sociologists and psychologists, the modern youth is a thing in itself, a phenomenon governed by its own, undecipherable laws. Fear of the youth breeds the desire to curry favor with it, vocally and in writing, to canonize each of its inclinations. What this or that group of young people happens to favor at any given time is, as these people see it, sacred and universal; anyone who disagrees is hopelessly backward.

Those are the two extremes. But where is the golden mean? We must not issue importunate commands, but neither must we play up to the youth. Remember Lenin's words, "We must not flatter the youth." No, we must not lecture. We must persuade, and do so subtly, helping young people apprehend the basic truths of our life and struggle.

We should not forget that in this age of technico-scientific progress and a precipitous growth of information media it is practically impossible to shield young people from contacts with even frankly hostile ideology, to say nothing of the fact that due to expanding political and cultural contacts they constantly encounter creative works which, though perhaps positively charged, require a definite effort, a definite amount of knowledge, to be understood.

The collision of old and new, of the backward and progressive, gives rise to different views even among people of the same outlook. And we cannot expect, therefore, that moulding a personality in the modern world can be based on some single factor, some single source of information. It should be clear that the character and psychology of the individual develops under the influence of an increasing number of factors. To think that all negative influences can be excluded is an illusion. It is all the more important, therefore, to secure an overall positive result. That the individual is purely and simply a recipient agent may seem an active point of view and is fairly widespread in recent Soviet books. In effect, it is defeatist. What you apprehend, that you reflect. Simpler still, that is what you become. According to this formula, the individual is neither a fighter nor a thinker, but a mirror that inevitably reflects everything that happens to appear on the horizon.

That is no abstract problem. It relates to our ideological work, its content, intensity and emotional diversity. We have to choose between unimaginative monotonous propaganda and political bombast which Lenin so opposed, on the one hand, and variety in form, method and genre, on the other. We have to choose between hammering in formulas and definitions, on the one hand, and encouragement of independent thinking, on the other.

Any simplistic notion of the character-building process in the socialist environment in practice turns into importunate didactics and rejection of dialectical analysis.

To be a Communist, said Lenin, one must acquire all the knowledge accumulat-

ed by mankind. What does that mean? It is impossible to know everything. Evidently, it means that the individual should strive for knowledge continuously, cognizant of its infinity. What it means is that the aggregate of knowledge should be placed in the service of education.

None but those who cultivate their political intuition, their class consciousness and good taste, will distinguish the bad from the good, opposing the former and championing what deserves championing. Independence and mature perception are decisive. One will not get far on mere cramming. Especially in our time. That is another of Lenin's behests to the youth; it is up to the Communists to translate it into reality.

HSWP science policy

Long-range science directives drafted last year by a plenary meeting of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, which analyzed the state of research, are now being put into effect.

* * *

In the past ten years the increases in allocations for research and technological development exceeded the national income growth rate, and with science playing an outstanding role in our time, particularly in building socialism, the CC has decided to maintain this trend in the years to come.

International cooperation is of prime importance for our scientific and technological progress. Ours is a small country with limited resources and it cannot cope with the essential research and development on its own. Furthermore, available resources cannot be utilized unless we participate in the international division of labor. That is why our decisions envisage greater international scientific cooperation with other socialist countries, mainly the Soviet Union, which has powerful scientific and technological facilities. We would like to see a significant expansion of joint research and direct cooperation, a wider license policy, closer relations between research institutes, greater exchanges of science delegations and information.

We have more than a thousand research centers, of which 130 are institutes, while the rest are part of educational establishments, factory laboratories, etc. These are fairly substantial facilities, considering Hungary's size and that they were built up mainly since the country's liberation.

Our scientific research has yielded a great deal in fields such as pharmaceuticals, automat designing, agriculture, animal husbandry and poultry farming. We have also made advances in the study of solids and the mechanism of chemical processes. In

social science we have produced a six-volume history of Hungarian literature and carried out important research in political economy, etc.

The Central Committee found on the basis of analysis that available resources are not utilized fully enough and practical application of achievements lags far behind demand. It drafted a detailed program furthering research, technological development and better science management.

Our purpose is to assure satisfaction of the public interest and concentrate all research on solving the key problems. That is the keynote of the 15-year scientific research plan to be launched in 1971 alongside the 15-year economic development program.

Substantial changes in planning, financing and guiding research were effected in 1968, when we set out on our economic reform. The industrial research institutes, comprising about half the country's science facilities, are self-sufficient, covering costs out of their own profits. This orientates their research on practical problems, while the state finances the more general research and theoretical and sociological studies, with allowances for work on specific practical problems not included in the plan on a contractual basis.

Expansion of the system of research evaluation is motivated by the same aims. Academic degrees are conferred on the basis of the socio-economic importance and practical worth of the dissertations. Designing of industrial plant or of new means of production, new production techniques and new ideas in, say, political economy, reflecting scientific achievements, may also serve as criteria of scientific worth.

We are stimulating research in colleges and universities. This is consistent with our socio-political interests and helps reduce the relative lag in research and to

appropriately utilize trained personnel. Active participation in scientific life provides a good setting for discussions and development of scientific schools, while preventing individuals or groups from monopolizing some scientific field. Besides, scientific involvement of the teaching staff spurs continuous improvement, and in this age of rapid scientific and technological progress, future specialists should be encouraged to better their knowledge and keep abreast of the advance.

While recognizing the value of fundamental research, the CC directives call for a substantial increase in the scale of research relating to immediate production problems.

Lastly, the directives stipulate that allocations should be spent mainly on modernizing and equipping existing institutes to secure a more intensive growth of scientific facilities.

* * *

The CC directives also define the Party's attitude to important ideologico-political aspects of scientific development.

Far greater freedom is afforded for creative scientific thought in our socialist society than in any capitalist country. Our society respects research workers and provides for their needs. Their achievements are used for the benefit of all society.

As we see it, freedom of research implies that no study of truly scientific problems could run counter to our political interests; no conclusions may be imposed on a scientist; he must draw them from his work; a researcher is entitled to defend his point of view with appropriate scientific proof and, naturally, promote practical use of his conclusions.

Scientific freedom (part of the concept of freedom as being limited by a definite social framework) requires a certain regulation, even limitation. Rational concentration of resources is in the public interest and of that of scientific growth, even if restricting individuals who treat research as a hobby. Great responsibility devolves on individuals and institutions applying the achievements of social science, because society cannot be the object of experiments and stringent socio-political control is necessary.

This concept of the freedom and responsibility of researchers, creative centers and editors is reflected in the policy of our publishers. The experience of the past twelve years has confirmed the principles of that policy: to promote research serving public

welfare, socialism and communism and asserting Marxism-Leninism and the Party's positions; to be tolerant to, and polemicize with those whose platform differs from ours, but whose viewpoints do not prejudice our basic political interests and ideology; prevent anti-communist, or non-humanitarian and hostile acts.

Also, the CC took a stand on the notion that there are several trends in Marxism.

"There is but one objective reality," the CC directives point out. "In specific historical conditions there is only one objective truth. Hence Marxism, which studies this objective truth, cannot be of several kinds. Marxism-Leninism, the revolutionary ideology of the working-class Party is a single scientific world outlook. The pluralist concept of Marxism could breed pluralism in politics and finally lead to denial of the leading role of the Communist Party and, consequently, the working class. Neither is it acceptable politically and ideologically, because it casts doubt on practically everything, seeing everything as relative and suggesting falsely the existence of a 'boundless,' all-encompassing, universal Marxism-Leninism, while treating science nihilistically."

Though we reject pluralism and maintain that there is but one Marxism-Leninism, we do not consider our scientific world outlook to be a consummated and exclusive system, a collection of immutable postulates. We hold that the power of Marxism-Leninism derives from its developing together with the changing world, and that it can by scientific analysis of conditions at any given time yield realistic solutions of the problems of our time. Divergent points of view, and even schools, may doubtless arise in scientific research. And collation of conclusions in scientific debate is the way to realistic and correct scientific solutions. That is why our Party supports schools in science, promoting an atmosphere of sound and constructive discussion. All this, however, has nothing in common with any pluralized Marxism.

Thus the HSWP rejects both the revisionist and the dogmatic approach to Marxism-Leninism. Defense and further creative development of Marxism-Leninism are part of one process and feasible only in combination.

The relationship between Marxist-Leninist policy and the social sciences in a socialist society is one of unity and interaction. This policy and science are based on the socialist state, public ownership, a planned economy, the aim of building a

new society and struggle for the common goals.

The directives view the ties between politics and science in all dimensions.

In the long term, there is under socialism an essential harmony between political strategy and the social sciences. All Party activity is based on Marxism-Leninism and those who guide society strive to produce scientifically substantiated solutions for all concrete problems. For science, too, political guidance plays a definite role: it defines the needs of society, drafting and applying policy in science and securing practical use of the results of research.

This interaction and harmony does not imply a constant automatic coincidence of everyday politics with definitions supplied by science. Temporary differences and contradictions are possible, because current historical, socio-political and economic conditions must always be carefully considered in planning specific political moves. In other words, scientific models cannot be applied mechanically. This must always be taken into account, to enable the political leadership and scientists to resolve all problems in close collaboration, founded on mutual trust and common goals.

"After the victory of socialism," the

Central Committee pointed out, "scientists, because of their scientific way of thinking, generally sympathize with the socialist system as a society the conceptions and basic nature of which are founded on reason and the purpose of which is to serve mankind."

* * *

Under the socialist system, the Communist Party is society's leading force, performing this function in all spheres of life. Hence, the necessity for Party leadership in science.

Naturally, the content and method of this leadership are determined by the specifics of scientific work. In no case does this imply petty control and solution of scientific problems by vote.

Party guidance of social science is, of course, more direct than that of other fields of science. This is due to its ideologico-political content and class nature and to the fact that the Party must express its point of view on ideological and theoretical problems.

As we see it, the CC directives are a significant contribution to the elaboration of the principles of Party leadership in science.

Tibor HALAY

Victorio Codovilla and the Argentine communist movement

True son of the Argentine working class and people, Victorio Codovilla was a sterling revolutionary whose life was entirely dedicated to the Argentine workers and people and to the achievement of the great ideals of Marxism-Leninism.

His death was a sad loss not only for the Communists of Argentina but, as evidenced by the numerous messages of condolence, also for the Communists of the world.

Victorio Codovilla is no longer with us, but his heritage, his theoretical and practical work will always be with us.

* * *

To write of the life and work of Codovilla is to write of the rise, growth and

consolidation of the Communist Party of Argentina, of which he was one of the founders.

The April 1917 Socialist Party emergency congress, convened at the insistence of its internationalist wing to define the Party's attitude towards the imperialist war, passed a resolution condemning that war. But the jingoist majority in the leadership and parliamentary party refused to abide by it. The internationalists retaliated by setting up a Committee in Defense of the Emergency Congress Resolution, with Codovilla a member of its steering group.

The committee fought the reformist and opportunist policy of the Party leadership

in relation to the imperialist war and the Russian revolution. Its members subscribed to Lenin's ideas and came out in defense of the October Revolution. In January 1918 the Committee became the nucleus of the Internationalist Socialist Party (IPS), in the founding of which Codovilla played a leading role and was elected to its central committee. In 1963 he became Chairman of the Communist Party of Argentina. In 1920 the IPS accepted the 21 conditions for affiliation to the Communist International and changed its name to Communist Party of Argentina.

Codovilla concentrated on building a party with branches in all the provinces, towns and villages, but primarily in the major industrial plants. His efforts were directed at a party capable of influencing the democratic, anti-imperialist and patriotic forces of Argentina. He recommended finding intermediate or temporary organizational forms that could help to bring together the masses and educate them in the spirit of Marxism-Leninism. The Party, Codovilla stressed, must be brave in the face of the foe and consistent in its activity. It must be an attacking party, but able to retreat when necessary in order to resume the offensive. It must sensitively react to the problems confronting the people and be closely linked with — but under no circumstances dissolved in — the proletariat. It must always be alive to the workers' needs, always capable of mobilizing and leading the masses. But it must never lose sight of its ultimate aim of leading the proletariat in fulfilling its historic mission of abolishing exploitation and building the most humane society of all, socialism.

Comrade Codovilla worked indefatigably to arm the Party with a political and tactical line based on scientific socialism. The whole Party, he insisted, from its primary nuclei to the Central Committee, must assimilate and apply Lenin's organizational principles. He worked towards a Party whose activities were entirely predicated on democratic centralism. "The revolutionary party," he wrote, "must be monolithic, an integral whole. It cannot be a conglomerate of factions like those of the opposition in which Lefts, Centrists and Rights are lumped together. Nor can it be a talking club. Consequently, we must work with the utmost energy, for the more energetic and united the Party is in combating all these deviations, the sooner will it complete the process of Bolshevization."

We shall always remember these words

and will carry to fruition the work of building a strong mass Communist Party.

* * *

The principal characteristic feature of Codovilla's 60 years in the revolutionary movement was boundless devotion to Marxism-Leninism. He invested much time and effort in popularizing its revolutionary theory among the workers and in training several generations of Argentine Communists.

He made a significant contribution to the battle against distortions of Marxism-Leninism from "Left" and Right.

In the early years of the Party, its membership included many workers from small factories and a sizable petty-bourgeois element which, naturally, was conducive to the spread of Leftist trends. Together with other comrades, Codovilla was one of the first to combat the extremists and phrasemongers. And in this he was greatly helped by Lenin's "'Left-Wing' Communism—an Infantile Disorder," also by his attendance at meetings of the Comintern Executive Committee and by the latter's Open Letter to Argentine Communists.

An extended meeting of the Communist Party Executive met on June 27, 1925, to hear Comrade Codovilla's report on his work in the Comintern Executive Committee. In formulating the tasks facing the Argentine Communists, he said: "We have to work out a firm political and tactical line for the Party, unite its ranks, make it homogeneous, guided by a single ideology. We must draw up a plan of action to extend our mass base, and, equally important, bring new proletarian elements into the leadership."

Anti-Marxist-Leninist trends were defeated at the Party's Seventh Congress which opened on December 26, 1925. The "History of the Communist Party of Argentina" describes the process thus: "In the course of a long struggle against hostile trends, our Party gradually came to realize that only the proletariat was to the end true to the cause of liberation, to its people and nation.

"To discharge its mission, the Communist Party must be proletarian both in ideology and in composition."

In his ideological struggle for Leninism, Codovilla was irreconcilable towards Trotskyism, the anti-Leninist substance of which was all too clear to him. And when, in 1926, the CPSU was fighting Trotskyism, the Argentine Communists adopted a reso-

lution pledging solidarity with the Bolshevik Party. It reaffirmed their opposition to Trotskyism and condemned its fallacious anti-Leninist conceptions.

Codovilla had a profound knowledge of Argentine reality and was able to disclose the implications of the various processes at work in the country. Using the Leninist methodology, he helped the Party chart out the path of the proletariat and the working people to national and social liberation and the building of socialism.

The Eighth Congress (November 1928) mapped out the Party's political and tactical course. A close analysis of the country's economic and social structure showed that the revolution was bound to be anti-imperialist and agrarian. Prior to the Congress, the Party was fighting capitalism in general, without adequately concentrating on the fight against the imperialist monopolies and their main agent, the landed oligarchy. Now it precisely defined the chief enemy, and this helped define the allies the working class could enlist in forming a broad democratic front against the oligarchy and imperialism. It would include all the democratic and progressive forces led by the proletariat—the main motive power of the revolutionary process—in alliance with the peasantry and the section of the national bourgeoisie whose interests clash with those of the imperialist monopolies and the oligarchy. Codovilla made a big personal contribution to elucidating the problem of the proletariat's allies.

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Comrade Codovilla did much to organize the masses to fight for national and social independence by exposing the criminal policy of the imperialist powers and the various forms of imperialist penetration, especially economic, in Argentina and Latin America generally.

In 1925 he took part in the London anti-imperialist congress in support of the Irish people's liberation struggle. It laid the basis for the Anti-Imperialist League founded in Brussels in 1927. Codovilla had a share in its organization and subsequent activity. Beginning with 1923, he had an active part in the solidarity movement with Italian anti-fascists, and in the campaign against imperialist aggression in colonial and dependent countries.

In June 1929, he delivered a report on the danger of imperialist aggression in colonial and dependent countries.

In June 1929, he delivered a report on the danger of imperialist war at the first conference of Latin American Communist and Workers' parties, attended by delegates from 14 Latin American countries and a representative of the Communist Party of the United States.

The conference also discussed the all-important problem of the character, motive forces and allies of the Latin American revolution, on which there was a good deal of confusion in some parties. Writing on the subject in the pages of *World Marxist Review* in 1964, Comrade Codovilla said: "Its (the 1929 conference's) assessment of North American and British imperialism and the land-owning oligarchy as the No. 1 enemy of the people, enabled the conference correctly to define the character of the revolution in Latin America as an anti-imperialist, agrarian and bourgeois-democratic revolution. This meant that the main blow had to be struck against the landlords through realization of a comprehensive agrarian reform, and against imperialist domination through expropriation and nationalization of the monopoly enterprises.

"As for the classes and strata interested in the victory of the bourgeois-democratic revolution, the conference noted that although it was important not to underestimate the role played by the small and national bourgeoisie in the anti-feudal and anti-imperialist struggle, it was doubly important to remember that at a definite stage in the development of the revolution these forces tended to compromise with the landlords and foreign monopolies and, in the event of coming to power, to capitulate to them. Hence the workers and peasants, acting in close alliance with the proletariat, and under its leadership, should be the driving force of the revolution."*

The 1964 Havana Conference of Latin American Communist and Workers' parties was a landmark on the road to unity and cohesion. One of its central decisions called for active solidarity with all peoples subjected to imperialist aggression.

That firm anti-imperialist stand of the Latin American Communist parties, taken from their very inception, is especially important now when sundry elements, using a welter of pseudo-revolutionary phrases, are trying to arrogate authorship of a policy the Communists have been faithfully operating for decades. And one of the main

*Victorio Codovilla, "The Ideas of Marxism-Leninism in Latin America," *World Marxist Review*, August 1964.

framers of that policy was Victorio Codovilla.

Faithful to his behests, our Party has been working to promote the common struggle against imperialism, for, in the final analysis, intensification of the liberation movement, its consolidation and development, will depend not only on the alignment of forces within our country, but in many ways also on the solidarity of the Latin American Communist and Workers' parties and peoples.

* * *

Comrade Codovilla was a consistent and staunch internationalist. For ten years, 1930-40, he was active outside Argentina—in the Anti-Imperialist League, Comintern representative in Spain, his Party's representative on the Comintern Executive Committee, and later Secretary of the South American Bureau and member of the International Control Commission.

Proletarian internationalism, effective solidarity with fraternal parties and embattled peoples, were always a sacred duty for him and for our Party, in which he instilled a strong internationalist feeling. Codovilla taught us that one cannot be a true patriot, a true continuer of the country's democratic traditions, without at the same time being a consistent internationalist. Similarly, one cannot properly analyze national realities and chart the proletariat's path to power in isolation from the problems of the revolutionary movement as a whole.

Comrade Codovilla trained the Party in the spirit of militant struggle, teaching it to place the common interests of the revolutionary movement above all else. For only in this way, he emphasized, could the proletariat of a given country fully discharge its historic mission and steer a correct course, avoiding the many ideological traps set by its class enemy.

Passionate defense of the Soviet Union was a salient expression of Codovilla's internationalism. He taught the Party that, just as social problems should be seen in the light of the interests of the proletariat, international problems should be analyzed in the light of the proletariat's most vital gain, the Soviet Union, the world's first socialist state. And he always associated the Soviet Union's gigantic achievements with the leading role of its Marxist-Leninist Party, the CPSU, instilling in his own Party and people love and respect for the Soviet Union and the CPSU.

He was animated by a feeling of sincere affection for the Soviet people, by fidelity to the principles of the October Revolution and solidarity with the CPSU as the true continuer of the historic work begun by Lenin. Addressing the Seventh National Party Conference in 1967, he said: "Today more than ever before, we must study the history of the glorious CPSU, which set a model of Marxism-Leninism in action. We must especially study the Russian Communists' strategy and tactics, worked out under Lenin's direct guidance, in preparing the October Revolution. Their experience is of inestimable value for Communists in countries like ours which have not yet broken out of imperialist domination and capitalist exploitation."

One of Codovilla's greatest practical efforts was organization and direction of the solidarity campaign with Soviet Russia during the 1919-21 imperialist intervention. At the end of the Civil War, in 1921, Soviet Russia was going through a very serious food shortage and the Argentine workers, as those of other countries, set up relief committees. In 1921-24, the Argentine committees were directed by Codovilla.

"The most vivid expression of Comrade Codovilla's proletarian internationalism," the Argentine Communist Party Central Committee statement says, "came during the historic battle the Soviet people were waging to expel and defeat the Nazi imperialist hordes." As a devoted friend of the Soviet Union and the CPSU, Codovilla, together with other members of the Central Committee, exerted every ounce of energy to generate in the Argentine workers and people hatred of fascist barbarity and solidarity with the Soviet people in their legendary struggle, which saved mankind from Nazi enslavement.

Codovilla's part in the heroic struggle of the Spanish people is well known. Dolores Ibarruri writes in her book, "The Only Path": "I must say a few kind words about our Argentine comrade Victorio Codovilla, who in those days and later helped us overcome our political errors, rid ourselves of sectarian methods and strengthen the Communist Party. Comrade Codovilla's name and work are permanently and inseparably linked with our Party's growth and struggle in those difficult days."

And still another demonstration of Comrade Codovilla's consistent internationalism was his work in support of socialist Cuba. He was indefatigable in upholding Cuba's cause, popularizing its achievements and exposing imperialist designs. "The Cuban

revolution made a tremendous impact on the working class and popular movement in Latin America,"* he declared. And he initiated a solidarity movement with the people of Cuba, their Party and its recognized leader, Comrade Fidel Castro. The Argentine people support the Cuban revolution heart and soul and this too should largely be credited to Comrade Codovilla.

Solidarity with Vietnam is another chapter in Comrade Codovilla's internationalist activity. Our Party will always remember his passionate appeals to make support of the heroic Vietnamese people an integral part of our day-to-day work. And a broad movement of support for the Vietnamese developed in factories, villages and schools.

Codovilla devoted much effort to strengthening international Communist unity on the basis of Marxism-Leninism.

His experience and knowledge were a factor in the relentless fight against deviations. In this context mention should be made of his uncompromising attitude towards the anti-Soviet and anti-Communist attacks of Chinese propaganda. In August 1963, at an extended meeting of the Party Central Committee, he made a report on the subject, disclosing the basic issues of difference with the Chinese Communist Party.

Comrade Codovilla's international revolutionary activity won him the respect and gratitude of fraternal Communist parties.

* * *

This article would not be complete without mention of two other dominant traits of his character—his courage and charm. Codovilla showed exceptional solicitude for every Party member and firmness on questions of discipline. He taught us to overcome errors and shortcomings through criticism and self-criticism, a method to which he imparted profound political content.

The Argentine reactionaries hated and

persecuted him, sent him to prison, forced him to live in exile—practically his whole revolutionary career in Argentina was in the underground. And it should be observed, in this context, that he insisted on the Party maintaining its leadership within the country, even in the most difficult times of reactionary terror and repression. His wife, Itala Mari de Codovilla, shared with him all the ordeals that fall to the revolutionary. And in her person we wish to express the gratitude of our Party to thousands of our women for their self-sacrificing and dedicated work. In the harsh conditions of clandestinity and repression, in which we Communists have to work, they have always been of unfailing help. That is epitomized in the life of Itala Mari de Codovilla.

In 1967, speaking at the Seventh National Party Conference, Comrade Codovilla urged mobilization of all our forces to overthrow the dictatorship through united mass struggle. "Today as never before," he said, "it is extremely important to achieve united action in a patriotic democratic front to put an end to the military-fascist regime and replace it by a provisional government based on a broad democratic and anti-imperialist coalition."

In an address to all Party members, the Seventh Conference said:

"We are deeply confident that the present situation is transitional, that sooner or later the military regime will be forced to quit the scene and the country will win through to democracy, freedom, national independence, peace and socialism."

Comrade Codovilla was a tireless fighter for unity of the democratic and anti-imperialist forces. He had boundless faith in the ultimate victory of the proletariat led by its Marxist-Leninist Party. "Our Party must fulfil its historic duty, and nothing and no one can prevent this," he said. It was to this cause that he devoted all his fervor and energy, the whole of his life.

Athos FAVA

*World Marxist Review, August 1964.

In brief

MEETING OF COMMUNIST AND WORKERS' PARTIES

Representatives of 45 Communist and Workers' Parties met in Budapest on September 28-30 to discuss some topical questions of the anti-imperialist struggle.

They reaffirmed that their parties would make every effort to promote cooperation and unity of Communists and other anti-imperialist organizations and forces on the basis of equality and intensify concerted action in the struggle against imperialism.

The meeting was held in a business-like atmosphere and proceeded in a spirit of comradeship and solidarity.

SOVIET UNION

A recent CPSU Central Committee resolution, "Organizational and Political Measures Relating to the Initiative of the Working People for a Socialist Emulation Drive in Honor of the 24th Party Congress," expresses high appreciation of this new popular initiative. Party, administrative, trade union, Komsomol and economic organizations are urged to stress pre-schedule fulfilment of the annual and 5-year development plan.

The CPSU has a membership of more than 14 million (over half are workers and collective farmers) and 365,000 primary organizations (which include 345,000 shop cells and 430,000 Party groups).

The Congress is preceded by election meetings in primary organizations, and district, city, regional Party conferences and republican Party Congresses, at which central problems of Communist construction are discussed. The accent at all these meetings and conferences is on Party guidance of the economy, development of the productive forces, operation of the economic reform, higher effectiveness of social production, and scientific direction of social processes.

In view of the forthcoming 24th Party Congress, the central theme in Marxist-Leninist study and propaganda this year

will be popularization of the results achieved since the 23rd Congress. This will be followed by a study of the decisions adopted by the 24th Congress, with special attention to the problems of the Party's economic policy and effectiveness of social production.

Last year lectures were attended by over 16 million, while enrolment in classes on the fundamentals of Marxism-Leninism totalled 6,600,000, of whom 2,470,000 attended political economy classes and 2,000,000 courses in philosophy and scientific communism.

The 337 Marxism-Leninism Universities, 2,200 schools for Party activists and 184,300 theoretical seminars were attended by over 5,000,000 Communists and non-Party activists.

The Party has 1,100,000 trained lecturers, of whom 178,000 are Party, Komsomol, and administrative personnel and 296,000 research workers and university instructors.

M.D.

CHILE

A Communist Party plenum in mid-September discussed the situation following the Presidential elections. It met in a theatre seating 7,000 on the day after a mass rally to mark Dr. Allende's victory and aroused much public attention.

Orlando Millas, member of the CC Political Commission, called the elections "a historic victory for the people of Chile, the result of Left unity and militant actions by workers, peasants, women, students, intellectual and middle-strata groups." The victory, the speaker said, was the start of a revolution in Chile, in the sense that it initiated a process of genuine social change—a change in relations of production and the advent to power of classes that make up the majority of the population.

The plenum stressed that a popular government would carry out the program on which the election was fought, namely, nationalization of foreign monopolies and

major industries vital to the country's economic development; abolition of large land holdings; full capacity operation of industry; guaranteed jobs and social security; expansion of the health services, free education and child, mother and family welfare.

The most urgent problem at present, it was noted, is consolidating the election victory by uniting the efforts of all mass organizations and Popular Unity committees, with the working class and other social strata of the people taking the lead. "The proletariat is ready to sacrifice all to attain this goal," Orlando Millas said. Communists appreciate the United Trade Union Center's decision to call a nationwide strike if the reactionary forces try to foil the Popular Unity victory.

There is abundant proof that the working people support, and will defend, Salvador Allende, and this should rule out

the Rightist forces' return to power.

However, there is also evidence of more activity by the oligarchic forces and the CIA. Their aim is to create economic chaos, and to that end they are intimidating the small investors, trades-people and businessmen, and are pressuring Jorge Alessandri. The idea is to induce Congress to elect Alessandri, after which he would step down and new elections would have to be held. The Communists have exposed that as a maneuver that could lead to bloodshed.

The CC plenum noted that the armed forces had taken a patriotic and constitutional stand. As for the Christian Democratic Party, which some claim to be the best guarantee of democracy in Chile, the plenum pointed out that the best and only guarantee of civil liberties are the people of Chile.

Jorge TEXIER

The USSR today

Completion of the current, 1966-70 five-year plan brings the Soviet Union to a new development landmark. The forthcoming 24th CPSU Congress will review the results obtained over the five-year span and set new targets in the building of communism.

In its own way, capitalist propaganda, too, is preparing for the Congress. Its aim is to sow anti-Soviet feelings among the people of non-socialist countries and to condition a negative reaction to the Congress decisions. The capitalist press is carrying all manner of articles purporting to show the "dogmatism" of the CPSU and the "obsolescence" of its Marxist-Leninist ideology. The idea is to instill distrust of the positive facts of Soviet reality. There have been more attacks on the Soviet economic system, and more allegations that "industry is not doing at all well," while "agriculture is constantly coming up against crises," and much more in the same vein.

With this issue, **World Marxist Review** begins publication of articles and other items on various aspects of Soviet life. They will give the reader in capitalist countries objective information and the opportunity to judge how true—or rather untrue—are capitalist press reports. The articles in this issue deal with the Soviet economy.

COMPLETING THE FIVE-YEAR PLAN

Each five-year plan is not merely a continuation of the preceding one: it sets new tasks and tackles new problems. That applies in full measure to the current, eighth plan covering the years 1966-70. Its fulfillment necessitated solution of a number of complex problems. Many of these, L. I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CPSU, said in April, "are, essentially, connected with our growth, with our entry into a development stage that does not allow working in the old way, but demands new methods and new solutions. Past experience is a poor counsellor here, and the new has to be brought to bear through sustained effort and persevering search." And there need be no doubt that such effort and search made possible the significant economic advances under the current plan.

CHIEF RESULT—HIGHER PROSPERITY STANDARDS

One of the characteristic features of the eighth plan is *accelerated growth of nation-*

al income: an increase of 42 per cent in 1966-70 as against 37 per cent in the preceding, 1961-65 period. And equally important is the fact that higher national income has been attended by rapid expansion in *consumer industries and services*, both in absolute figures and in percentage share of national income, allowing for far-reaching measures to raise prosperity standards.

There has, for instance, been a marked increase of wages, salaries and collective-farmer earnings: a total of 225 billion rubles more than in the previous five-year period. The targets set by the 23rd Party Congress were achieved in 1969, that is, in four years instead of five. This has meant a fast rise in real incomes of the population—26 per cent, compared with the 23 per cent envisaged by the 23rd Congress.

Of especial importance in this context is expansion of the public consumption fund which under socialism finances education, health, culture, pensions, family grants, etc. In 1966-70 payments out of this fund (pensions, grants, paid holidays, free edu-

cation and health services) will have increased by 98 billion rubles.

Another feature of the current five-year period is the vast expansion of services enterprises. Last year alone they increased 18 per cent, with a much more impressive figure, 28 per cent, in the rural areas. In fact, expansion here has been at a faster pace than in any other branch of the economy. And this, too, is evidence of significant changes in consumer demand, especially in non-urban areas. People are getting used to more free time for recreation, study, entertainment and other cultural pursuits.

Higher personal incomes are changing consumer patterns. For instance, there is a much higher demand for meat products and certain other foods, and also for consumer durables. These are the figures: the volume of retail trade increased 7.4 per cent in 1969, whereas sales of refrigerators went up 15 per cent, washing machines 8 per cent and vacuum cleaners 10 per cent.

The rising demand and supply of automobiles will pose a complex problem. The new automobile plant in Togliatti on the Volga has begun production and in a short time will be turning out 660,000 cars a year. Other automobile plants are being enlarged too. More automobiles will boost road building and the organization of a ramified service network. Planning agencies and public organizations are already dealing with some of the anticipated negative effects—air pollution, congested traffic, accidents, and so on. All these questions are being discussed in the press. The public is waiting for the new cars to be put on the market, and there is a fully effective demand: savings bank deposits in the first half of the year increased at a rate of 900 million rubles a month; 15 or even 10 years ago, such an increase would have taken between 12 and 18 months.

NEW DEVELOPMENTS IN INDUSTRY

The marked improvement in living standards was made possible by attainment of the 23rd Congress targets, notably in industry, which in the past four years increased its output 39 per cent (the plan called for 36-38 per cent).

A distinguishing feature of industrial growth over the past five years is closer harmony between expansion rates in producer goods (group A) and consumer goods (group B). For the first time in 20 years, group B has for two consecutive years, 1968 and 1969, advanced at a more

rapid pace than group A, and this pace-ratio is being retained in 1970. Most of enlarged group B production is in consumer durables, which in 1969 rose 13 per cent, whereas engineering registered a 12 per cent, chemicals and petrochemicals a 10 per cent and electric power a 9 per cent increase.

The following examples—and, space allowing, more could be cited—are indicative of progress in key industries.

Electric power output this year will be 740 billion kwh, an accretion of 233 billion over 1965. The magnitude of the increase will be seen from this comparison: 1958 USSR power production, 235 billion kwh, was roughly equal to the combined 1969 figure for Italy and France.

Continued expansion in oil and natural gas has enabled us to restructure the country's fuel pattern. Today, oil and gas account for 60 per cent of all the fuel used, a leap from less than 20 per cent in 1950. The changed fuel pattern gives the economy a higher performance potential.

The USSR topped the 100 million ton mark in steel in 1967 and at present steel output is running at an annual rate of 115 million tons, only 12 million tons below America's 1969 figure. The time is not far off when the Soviet Union will overtake the U.S., considering that its steel increment for 1966-70 amounted to 23.5 million tons.

Engineering is the key to technological progress. And advance in engineering is spelled out in the following 1969 figures: designing and construction of 2,700 new machines and about 1,000 new types of instruments, with an especially high rate of growth in precision engineering and automotive devices. The 1970 plan calls for a 9.2 per cent increase in engineering output, but for higher indicators in precision engineering and automation devices (16 per cent), and for a 40 per cent rise in computer equipment. This latter figure is indicative of the way cybernetics are being applied in the economy.

Capital construction is steadily increasing, with 350 major industrial units commissioned in 1969. Unfortunately, there is still an excessive volume of unfinished construction and this immobilizes large sums of money. Shorter construction schedules are now a central aim, and it has been decided to give all building organizations fixed and stringently controlled construction schedules for each year of the coming 5-year plan.

PERFECTING THE ECONOMIC REFORM

The success of the five-year plan is largely due to operation of the economic reform, the underlying principles of which were formulated at the September 1965 Plenum of the Communist Party Central Committee. By the close of last year, the new planning and incentives system was in force at 36,000 enterprises, accounting for 83.6 per cent of industrial output and more than 91 per cent of industrial profit.

The reform is yet to be completed, but its beneficial results are already obvious. A. N. Kosygin, Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, pointed out in June that the reform "has fully demonstrated its viability. . . It has helped increase the effectiveness of social production and made for fuller use of production facilities and raw material resources. All this has markedly cut losses and increased profits which, in turn, contributed to a higher standard of living."

The economic reform is being steadily perfected in conformity with the requirements of an expanding economy. One of the most complex problems now is how to raise the efficiency of economic management. The Party Central Committee devoted much attention at its December 1969 Plenum to simplifying, improving and reducing the cost of economic management by more rational application of the economic reform.

Essentially, the problem is to devise a management mechanism that will bring together in a comprehensive system, based on uniform economic principles, the vast variety of relationships that make up economic activity. And one of the key elements of such a system is *industry amalgamations*, the need for which was emphasized at the September 1965 Central Committee Plenum which adopted the economic reform.

By mid-1970, there were more than 600 such amalgamations, and at present the economic ministries, administrative and Party bodies are working to extend the system. The speed with which the problem will be solved will to a considerable extent determine the efficiency of economic management. For these amalgamations make possible the changeover from a five- or six-element management structure, which now prevails in many industries, to a three-element structure, the advantages of which have been proved by experience.

* * *

The results of the five-year plan testify to the Soviet Union's growing economic strength and to the socialist economy's ability to solve the most complex problems. The Soviet economy is confidently approaching its new frontiers, which will be mapped out by the 24th Congress of the Communist Party.

VALERI MAXIMOV

Basic Soviet Economic Indicators

(1913 = 100)

	1950	1960	1970 (plan)
Gross social product	821	2,123	4,050
National income	877	2,327	4,530
Basic production facilities	326	833	1,945
Gross industrial output	1,332	4,032	8,961
of which:			
producer goods (group A)	2,746	8,963	20,906
consumer goods (group B)	566	1,498	2,980
Gross farm output	140	224	305
Freight carriage, all transport	566	1,496	2,996
Capital investment	1,113	3,665	7,087
Total employment	313	481	698
Labor productivity			
industry	545	1,113	1,817
agriculture	209	347	477*

*1968

Major Industrial Output

	1913	1950	1960	1970 (plan)
Electricity (bill. kwh)	2.0	91.2	292	740
Oil (mln. tons)	10.3	37.9	148	350
Gas (bill. cu. metres)	0.02	6.2	47.2	197
Coal (mln. tons)	29.2	261	510	618
Steel (mln. tons)	4.3	27.3	65.3	115
Sulphuric acid (mln. tons)	0.15	2.1	5.4	12.2
Artificial fibre (000 tons)	—	24.2	211	625
Synthetic resins and plastics (000 tons)	—	67.1	312	1,630
Turbines (mln. kwh.)	0.01	2.7	9.2	15.7
Metal-cutting lathes (000)	1.8	70.6	156	203
Automobiles (000)	—	363	524	922
Tractors (000)	—	117	239	456
Paper (000 tons)	269	1,180	2,334	4,183
Cement (mln. tons)	1.8	10.2	45.5	95
Fabrics (mln. sq. met.)	2,194	3,374	6,636	8,994
Leather footwear (mln. pairs)	68	203	419	675
Radio sets (000)	—	1,072	4,165	7,800
Television sets (000)	—	11.9	1,726	7,500
Refrigerators (000)	—	1.2	529	4,221

Growth of Material and Cultural Standards in USSR

	Pre- revolution	1940	1968
Real incomes in industry and building trades, with account to absence of unemployment and shorter workweek—average per worker (1913 = 1)	1	2.7	7.1
Average real farmer income (1913 = 1)	1	2.3	11.0
University and junior trained personnel (mln)	0.2	2.4	15.0
Total enrolment, all educational levels (mln.)	10.6	47.5	77.5
of which, in higher education	0.13	0.8	4.47
Day nursery and kindergarten accommodation (000)	5	1,953	8,822
Number of libraries (000)	76	277	347
Book publication (mln. copies)	99	462	1,383
Number of doctors (000)	28	155	618
Number of doctors per 10,000 population	1.8	7.9	25.9
Hospital beds per 10,000 population	13	40	104
Average workweek—adult industrial workers (hours)	58.5	about 48	40.7

Consumption of Basic Foods
(Kilograms, per capita per year)

	1913	1950	1960	1968
Meat and animal fats	29	26	40	48
Milk and dairy products (conventional milk units)	154	172	240	290
Eggs	48	60	118	144
Fish and fish products	6.7	7.0	9.9	14.3
Sugar	8.1	11.6	28.0	37.5
Potatoes	114	241	143	134
Other vegetables	40	51	70	80
Bread, cereals, etc.	200	172	164	148

USSR and U.S. Economic Indicators

	USSR in percentages of USA		USSR in percentages of USA
Industrial Output		Cement	
1913	12.5	1913	13
1968	about 70	1968	127
Power Output		Cotton Fabrics	
1913	8	1913	40
1968	42	1968	91
Industry use of electric power		Farm produce average for 1909-1913	65
1913	13	average for 1964-1968	85
1968	65		
Steel Output		Freight carriage all transport	
1913	14	1913	19
1968	88	1968	98
Mineral Fertilizer Output			
1913	3		
1968	75		

USSR and U.S. Growth Rates

	Average annual percentage growth — 1951-1968	
	USSR	USA
National income	8.9	3.75
Production facilities	9.5	3.1
Industrial output	10.4	4.5
Farm output	4.2	1.85
Freight carriage, all transport	9.1	2.3
Capital investment	10.1	3.0
Industrial labor productivity	6.3	3.2

NEW STAGE IN SOVIET AGRICULTURE

A new stage in Soviet agricultural growth was inaugurated by the July 1970 CC CPSU Plenum and subsequent Central Committee and Council of Ministers decisions. The Plenum decisions, coming in advance of the 24th CPSU Congress, are the basis for the new five-year agricultural development plan to be endorsed by the congress.

BETWEEN TWO PLENUMS

The July decisions are a development of

the agricultural policies outlined by the Central Committee at its plenum in March 1965 and the 23rd CPSU Congress, providing for a redistribution of the national income in favor of agriculture, expansion of its material and technical base, added material incentives for collective and state farms and rural workers, and a more rapid rise in living and cultural standards in the countryside.

The agricultural growth rate has been

relatively high—approximately double that of the United States over the past 30 years. As compared with 1952-1956, farm production per head of population has increased some 50 per cent, as against 30 in Western Europe.

However, rates of advance alone do not provide exhaustive criteria in comparing the socialist and capitalist economic systems. The replacement of collective, socialist forms of agriculture for private yields advantages that are not measurable in terms of output alone. The Soviet farmer knows no exploitation, harsh and inhuman in capitalist agriculture. The state guarantees the marketing of the collective produce and insures against crop failures. Like the state-farm worker, the collective farmer today has a guaranteed wage and the benefits of state social security, with a pension in his old age.

There are still numerous difficulties, it is true. Standards are still short of present-day requirements. The grain problem is not entirely resolved, with yields substantially lower than in the United States and Western Europe. The demand for meat products is rising steadily, while average per capita production is below that of the United States and some other capitalist countries (in 1967, for example, per capita meat production was 49 kg in the Soviet Union, 111 in the United States, 48 Britain, 29 Italy, 86 France, 62 the FRG, and 11 Japan).

For a number of objective and subjective reasons, the rate of agricultural growth dropped in the first five years of the sixties. A considerable acceleration followed the decisions passed by the March 1965 CC CPSU Plenum and the 23rd Party Congress. In the four years 1966-1969 the average annual grain harvest increased by 32 million tons (against nine million in 1961-1965); the average annual increase in meat production was 2.1 million tons (against 1.4 million in 1961-1965), etc. Per capita meat consumption in 1969 was six kilograms higher than in 1965, whereas between 1961 and 1965 the increase was one kilogram. For milk the respective figures were 53 and 11 kilograms. Meanwhile, bread and potato consumption decreased by five and nine kilograms, respectively, a clear indication that the national diet has improved. All in all, the living standard of agricultural workers has gone up. Higher state purchasing prices and other steps providing greater material incentives and boosting output and productivity pushed up 1969 monthly earnings 26 per cent against 1965 for state-farm workers and 33 per cent for collective farmers.

In sum, in the past four years a major step forward was made, and the 1970 outlook is one of further substantial growth. This the advocates of capitalism should note, for they still prattle of a "crisis" in Soviet agriculture and see every measure taken by the Communist Party as evidence of alleged failures and setbacks.

SOVIET AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT

	1913	1950	1969
Total farm production, in comparable prices (1913 = 1)	1	1.4	2.8
Total cultivated area (mln. hectares)	118.2	146.3	208.6
Gross harvest (mln. tons)			
Grain crops	86.0	81.2	161.1
Raw cotton	0.74	3.54	5.7
Potatoes	31.9	88.6	91.7
Vegetables	5.5	9.3	18.2
Crop yields (centners per hectare)			
Grain	8.2	7.9	13.0
Raw cotton	10.8	15.3	24.3 ²⁾
Potatoes	76	104	113
Livestock (in terms of cattle, at end of year, mln. head)	59.5 ¹⁾	59.0	98.6 ²⁾
Meat and dairy products			
Meat (slaughter weight, mln. tons)	5.0	4.9	11.6 ²⁾
Milk (mln. tons)	29.4	35.3	81.6
Eggs (billion pcs.)	11.9	11.7	36.5
Average annual milk yield per cow (kg)	982	1,370	2,056
Number of tractors (thous.)	—	595	1,908

1) 1916 2) 1968

In recent years output growth was mainly the result of higher qualitative standards on collective and state farms, bigger yields of main crops and higher livestock productivity.

In 1970, cultivated areas totalled 206.3 million hectares against 209.1 million in 1965, while crop yields went up perceptibly. This is worth noting as, in the years preceding 1965 the average annual grain yield had been about 10 centners per hectare, while in the next four years it passed 13 centners despite extremely unfavorable weather in some years. The productivity of livestock has also increased. This shows that Soviet agriculture has gone over to predominantly intensive farming.

INTENSIVE FARMING

This will be the keynote in 1971-1975. The need for intensive farming is underscored by the steady rising demand, which is due to a variety of objective factors: growth of urban population (18 per cent of total population in 1913, 33 per cent in 1940 and 56 in 1969); general population increase (population was 160 million in 1913, 178.5 million in 1950, over 240 million at present and estimated 300 million in 1990); growing consumer demand due to rising incomes and qualitative changes in demand caused by rising real incomes (real incomes have increased 50 per cent against 1960); rapid industrial development, especially in the light and food industries utilizing agricultural raw materials; the need to expand exports of farm produce to meet the growing demand in fraternal socialist states and provide aid in food to developing countries, which the Soviet Union regards as its internationalist duty.

The prime criterion of intensive farming is crop yields. The target for the new five-year period is an average yield of 17 centners per hectare. This would raise per capita grain production to 800 kilograms by 1975 (1969 per capita grain production was 309 kg in Italy, 324 kg the FRG, 661 kg France, 1,002 kg the United States and 671 kg the USSR).

By 1975 it is planned to increase milk production 20 per cent, meat by one-third, and eggs by more than one-third.

One of the means to reach these targets is to boost material incentive for farms and farm workers, especially in animal husbandry, which, as we have said, still fails to meet the growing public demand. In 1965 fifty per cent premiums over the

basic price were introduced for cereals sold by farms in excess of their quotas, while basic prices were raised to enhance profitability of grain farming. It is expected that in the new five-year period more than 20 million tons of grain a year, equaling over one-third the procurement quota, will be sold to the state at premium prices. In 1970 a 50-per cent premium was also introduced for meat, milk, eggs and wool sold in excess of quotas. The basic purchase prices are fairly high and, besides, state procurements, transportation, processing and marketing of meat are almost completely subsidized by the state.

Also, increases in purchase prices and other material incentives do not affect state retail prices of staple foods and, consequently, the consumers' budget. Obviously, the simplest way of stimulating agricultural production would be to raise food retail prices. Demand would then drop, while farm incomes rose. But, by thus undercutting real wages, the state would be shifting the cost of developing agriculture on the working people. This, in fact, is one of the solutions offered by the advocates of "market socialism." However, a genuine socialist economy is incompatible with the spontaneous market mechanisms adjusting demand and supply, because they encroach on the vital interests of the working people in the cities and encourage proprietorial tendencies among farmers. To be sure, it is harder to boost farm output quickly without raising retail prices, but all the greater are the gains. There is only one course: improving the time-tested methods of planned management, introducing more effective economic stimuli, furthering the Leninist principle of material incentives for collective farmers and individual workers and, of course, increasing state investments.

SEVENTY PER CENT INCREASE

For a number of objective reasons investments in agriculture were comparatively low. This, naturally, affected technical equipment and labor productivity. Not surprisingly, therefore, the announced agricultural investment figure of 77,600 million rubles for the 1971-1975 five-year period, representing a 70 per cent increase over the previous five years, made press headlines abroad. In fact, government investments in the coming five years will be higher than in the 20 years of 1946 to 1965.

This is indicative of our greatly expanded economic potential. It is also additional

proof that agriculture is truly entering a new stage.

Allocations for scientific and technological progress are spread mainly in three fields: mechanization, chemicalization, and land improvement.

The importance of integrated mechanization hardly needs stressing. It helps not only to increase labor productivity and improve working conditions, but also to perform the seasonal jobs in the best time. It is estimated that owing to the shortage or shortcomings of machines, grain harvesting continues beyond the set deadline. Timely harvesting could yield an additional fifteen or sixteen million tons of grain annually. Only machines can realize this potential reserve.

The following figures show the scale on which technological advancement is to be pursued. Today farms in the country have 1,908,000 tractors, 605,000 harvester combines and more than 1.1 million trucks. In the coming five years they will get almost as much as they have now: 1.7 million new tractors, 541,000 harvester combines and 1.1 million trucks. Considering the potentialities of efficient machine use, there is every reason to expect that the coming five years will bring the Soviet Union substantially closer to its aim of total integrated mechanization in agriculture. In addition to tractors, combines and automobiles, the farms will get a wide range of other machinery and equipment, including 6,000 million rubles' worth for mechanizing labor-intensive processes in livestock farming, where manual labor still predominates.

Crop yields are largely dependent on the amount and quality of fertilizers and various chemical means of crop protection. This year the Soviet Union will have produced some 54 or 55 million tons of chemical fertilizers, with 1975 production going up to 90 million, providing an average of 80 kg (of active substance) per hectare of sown area, and thus equalling the standard of the United States and Canada. It should be emphasized that the chemicalization program was drawn up with due consideration for the latest scientific and technological advances, with an accent on developing the microbiological industry and manufacture of chemicals for crop protection.

In the Soviet Union arable land is scattered over a range of soil and climate zones and almost inevitably favorable conditions in some coincide with drought or excessive rain in others. This necessitates land improvement. An additional three mil-

lion hectares will come under irrigation in the new five-year period, and five million hectares in regions of excess precipitation will get drainage systems. Melioration works are planned for eight million hectares of meadows, pastures and other land. Irrigation will enable us to meet the rice demand in the next few years. By 1985 improvement will extend to 48 million hectares, with 21 million or more than 10 per cent of the total sown areas to date, brought under irrigation.

INTEGRATED APPROACH

The Communist Party defines the essential trends of the economic policy, but it never forgets that success depends on properly organized labor. The rise of Soviet agriculture to a qualitatively new level is the concern of the whole Party, of all working people in town and countryside.

The working class is assigned the important task of supplying agriculture with new machines, fertilizers, building materials and with consumer goods meeting the rapidly growing rural demand. It is not too much to say, in fact, that success in agriculture depends on virtually every branch of industry, construction, transport, science and technology. The present interdependence of industry and agriculture in the scientific and technological revolution emphasizes the need for the balanced integrated approach marking the Communist Party's economic policy of recent years.

Steps are being taken to develop the industries closely linked with agriculture. Thus, accelerated development is envisaged in farm machinery production with 16 new plants to be built and 100 existing ones reconstructed. Another 16 mills and 110 large shops at existing plants will be built to make fertilizers. Plans have been drawn up to develop industries supplying the hardware for transportation, storage and processing of farm products.

Success largely depends on the organization of production and other social relations in the countryside and the development of socialist democracy. A year ago the 3rd All-Union Congress of Collective Farmers* adopted the new Model Collective Farm Statutes providing for an extension of the economic independence of collective farms and envisaging participation by the rank-and-file in running public affairs. Elective collective-farm councils were formed in the administrative districts, regions, territories and autonomous and constituent

*See WMR, No. 2, 1970, p. 67.

republics of the Union, with coordinative functions vested in an All-Union Collective-Farm Council.

Party branches in the country discussed the materials of the July 1970 Central Committee Plenum with an eye to improving their political and organizational work. Communists in regional and district organizations, and in the collective and state farms, outlined the practical approach to the Party measures.

In view of the good outlook for this year's harvest general meetings of collective farmers and state-farm workers in a number of regions have pledged to produce and sell more of the main farm products to the state than originally envisaged. This is the initial contribution to the implementation of the Party's agricultural program.

Leonid BORISOV

Rumania in economic and technical cooperation

GHEORGHE RADULESCU

In the 25 years since Rumania's liberation from the fascist regime, our people, led by the Rumanan Communist Party, have re-patterned the economic structure and made considerable headway in modernizing production and in developing science and culture. This blended with the process of building the new social system.

Before the war a predominantly agrarian country with a poorly developed industry and feudal survivals, Rumania today is a rapidly growing land preoccupied with all-round industrialization and modernization. In the recent five-year plan periods the average annual industrial growth rate exceeded 13 per cent and industrial output topped prewar more than 16-fold. Agriculture is organized along modern socialist lines, meeting food and industrial needs. With socialist production relations prevalent throughout the economy, the victory of socialism may be termed complete.

Our accomplishments in building socialism rest on the Marxist-Leninist policy of the RCP, which, eminently successful as the country's leading political force, assures further growth of the economy, science and culture. Our extensive 1971-75 development program, with longer-term perspectives, is centered on expanding the

productive forces, improving production relations and advancing all areas of economic and socio-political life. Adopted by the Tenth Party Congress, it marshals the nation's effort for tasks crucial for rapid progress and building a comprehensively developed socialist society.

The 1971-75 Draft Directives envisage an 8.5-9.5 per cent average annual industrial growth rate, an annual boost of 5.0-5.5 per cent in aggregate farming output and an average national income growth of 7.7-8.5 per cent. In the ten years ahead industrial output is to go up 100-130 per cent. Our agriculture will become distinctly intensive, and the national income will double.

As a result, Rumania will draw abreast of the more economically advanced countries. Still more dependable preconditions will be wrought for continuous betterment of the nation's material and spiritual life. The economic mechanism and all social machinery is being improved. The five-year program is securing proper application of democratic centralism, the main principle of economic management combining centralized guidance with extensive local autonomy, greater powers and responsibilities at enterprise level.

Our successes, like those of other socialist countries, show that intensive mobilization of available human, material and financial resources through the fullest use of the advantages of the new system is the main factor of economic, scientific and technical progress.

The economy of a country is one whole, embracing the basic processes of material production and reproduction serving as the base for the growth of all society. Yet economic and technico-scientific progress hinges largely on the country's international relationships. The structure of a nation, Marx pointed out, "depends on the stage of development reached by its production and its *internal and external* (our italics—G.R.) intercourse" (Marx and Engels, "The German Ideology").

With the technico-scientific revolution exercising a powerful influence on the economic, scientific and technical growth of each country and the degree of interdependence of different national economies, expansion of international economic and technico-scientific cooperation and participation in the world economic turnover, are objectively imperative.

One of the fourteen states forming the world socialist system, Rumania seeks all-round bilateral and multilateral economic and technico-scientific co-operation with all socialist countries in the context of the socialist international division of labor, based on the Marxist-Leninist principles of socialist internationalism, national independence and sovereignty, complete equality, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, mutual advantage and comradely aid, which form a dialectical whole.

Speaking at the International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP General Secretary and Chairman of the State Council, pointed to the "close dialectical connection between the internal and external factors of the building of the new system, between the efforts of each people to promote continuous cooperation of the socialist countries; this is an expression of the unity between the national and international interests of the socialist countries."

Economic, scientific and technical co-operation fortifies the economy of each socialist country, promotes the advancement of each socialist nation, adding also to the might of the world socialist system and to socialism's power of attraction and prestige.

BILATERAL ECONOMIC TIES WITH SOCIALIST COUNTRIES

The socialist countries top the list in Rumania's foreign trade, their 1969 share surpassing 55 per cent, which is a more than 86-per cent increase against 1960. Commodity exchanges country by country have also grown impressively, trade with the other CMEA members increasing between 1960 and 1969: 3-fold in the case of Bulgaria; Czechoslovakia and the GDR—nearly 2-fold, Mongolia—7.6-fold, Poland—2.9-fold, Hungary—1.2-fold and USSR 1.7-fold. The Soviet Union is Rumania's main trading partner, its share in our foreign trade approaches 28 per cent or about half our commerce with the socialist community. Commerce with other socialist states has also increased in this period: Yugoslavia—4.6-fold, Albania—2.4-fold, China—1.4-fold, Korea and Cuba—more than 2-fold and the Democratic Republic of Vietnam—almost 1.8-fold.

Growth in the volume of trade has been accompanied by far-reaching changes in the structure of our export and import. Highly-processed manufactured goods of a higher technical standard and greater complexity figure much more prominently in our transactions. This positive advance is causally connected with the success of Rumania and other socialist countries in industrial modernization, greater industrial use of scientific and technological gains, specialization and new, more effective forms of economic and technical cooperation.

Working for the greater effectiveness of foreign trade, our Party and Government have adopted measures to diversify the assortment of export commodities and improve their quality and technological standard. Between 1960 and 1969 machinery and equipment climbed from 19.8 to 30.5 per cent in our total exports to other socialist lands. The same tendency applies to chemicals, fertilizers and synthetic rubber, the share of which in our commerce with other socialist countries has gone up from 2.3 to 6.3 per cent.

Concentrated industrial growth based on a centralized long-term conception, has enabled Rumania, in the prewar an importer even of the simplest manufactured commodities, to ship out machinery and equipment, complete installations, appliances and products of the chemical, iron-and-steel, wood-working and consumer industries. Also on our exports list are various minerals, industrial crops, ani-

mal products and foods, for which we have a favorable climate, good soil and well-developed production facilities.

Machinery, equipment and complete installations of a high technical standard, as well as other products required for our extensive construction program, predominate in our imports from other socialist countries. Rapid industrial growth is also pushing up the raw materials demand, primarily for the iron-and-steel industry, engineering, the chemical, petro-chemical and electro-technical industries, aluminum production, etc. Part of our needs in raw materials, such as coke, iron ore, bauxites, natural rubber and cotton, of which we are in short supply, are met by imports from other socialist countries.

Planned economic development coupled with the state's foreign trade monopoly necessitates mutual commodity deliveries based on a stable, long-term scheme, adding to the importance of long-term agreements and annual trade protocols concluded by socialist countries prior to the final endorsement of their economic plans.

Important, too, in extending the socialist international division of labor is greater economic and technical cooperation. Rumania is highly conscious of the benefits of this joint form of activity. To begin with, cooperation facilitates industrial, agricultural, transport, tourist and other projects and accelerates manufacture of technically up-to-date commodities competitive in the framework of the national research and designing program. What is more, it enables the partners to make better use of available production capacity and manpower, and promotes direct contractual relationships between enterprises on mutually acceptable terms. It opens new ground for combining production, designing and research, paving the way for the best use of expertise and of the scientific potential of each country, stimulates specialization, trade expansion and economy of monetary resources, while assuring long-term stability of foreign trade.

Various types of cooperation have been devised to secure a combination of forms of collaboration and specialization in production—from research, designing, technical aid and introduction in production through to supplying the partner with the finished product or selling it to third parties. The forms of cooperation include joint building of economic projects and plant producing short-supply commodities, licensing and patenting, exchange of modern

know-how and advanced experience, and personnel training; joint research in priority fields on a contractual basis; direct contacts between industrial administrations, amalgamations and other bodies for joint building and other collaboration; establishment of mixed companies for manufacture and sale; joint building of economic projects in third countries, and the like. Highly relevant for enduring mutually-advantageous economic cooperation is the retention of ownership by the country in the territory of which a joint project is built.

An extensive program has been worked out to promote economic and technical cooperation. We have approached other socialist countries with a variety of proposals to this effect, and have given deep consideration to their proposals. Mixed government commissions have examined them and adopted appropriate decisions.

Prominent among these is our agreement with the Soviet Union concerning delivery to Rumania of 178-megawatt hydropower equipment, and with Yugoslavia concerning manufacture of equipment for a hydro-power and navigational scheme in the Iron Gate area, a project of the utmost importance for the Rumanian and Yugoslav economies.

A 440-megawatt atomic power station is to go up in our country under an agreement with the Soviet Union, which will provide the technical specifications, the equipment and installations, help in designing, assembly and starting up, and in personnel training. Rumania has undertaken to supply some types of equipment and installations and to do the designing, building and mounting. Another agreement envisages construction in Rumania of a series of iron-and-steel projects, including plant for continuous steel casting, a high-grade steel rolling mill, a rolling mill for large shapes, rails and ingots, a chemical plant for the Galatz coking mill and iron-and-steel works, and the like.

Cooperation agreements have also been concluded with other socialist countries: starting manufacture of hydraulic mine props with Czechoslovakia; manufacture of optical goods, machine tools and other equipment with the German Democratic Republic; building freighters and fishing vessels with Poland, etc. Further industrial cooperation with the Hungarian People's Republic is now being negotiated.

Those were but the earliest results, to be complemented by more agreements soon.

Mention should also be made of Soviet cooperation in building a hydro-technical melioration project on the Prut near Spinca-Costesti; joint designing with Bulgaria of a hydro-technical scheme on the Danube in the Izlaz-Somovit area; construction of a power transmission line and a gas pipeline from the Soviet Union to Bulgaria, and our building hotels in Czechoslovakia.

Extensive plans are afoot in the engineering industry. Rumanian and Soviet negotiators are in the final stage of their talks concerning joint manufacture of special oil-extracting equipment, use of Soviet-made hydro-installations in our country and long-term cooperation in shipbuilding, including manufacture of powerful diesel ship's engines. We are also negotiating joint production of special-purpose automobiles with the GDR, production of improved wood- and metal-processing machines with the GDR, Yugoslavia and Poland, joint production with Yugoslavia and Hungary of power-generating equipment, joint production with Hungary of equipment for the chemical industry, etc. Negotiations are under way for Rumanian participation in mining iron ore and other minerals in the Soviet Union and development of iron ore and bauxite deposits in Yugoslavia. Discussions are being held on possible Rumanian participation in prospecting non-ferrous and rare metals in the Mongolian People's Republic.

Steps have been taken to promote further economic and technical cooperation between Rumania and the People's Republic of China. Uninterrupted expansion of Rumanian-Chinese economic relations and the mutual desire to extend them has witnessed a growth and diversification of commodity exchanges, with an expected increase of 30 per cent this year over 1969.

Recently concluded agreements create favorable prospects for greater trade and more extensive cooperation between Rumania and the Korean People's Democratic Republic.

Relations between Rumania and the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, expressive, at the same time, of the fraternal aid extended by us to the heroic people of that country, are expanding.

Good possibilities exist for Rumanian-Albanian cooperation. We are now studying the prospects of Rumanian participation in developing Albanian salt, bituminous sand and chrome ore deposits, oil-extraction, building oil refineries, etc.

Cooperation with Cuba has been expand-

ing in recent years, with prospecting and development of mineral deposits already under way. Also, we are supplying equipment for a sulphuric acid factory and helping build a copper mill.

Scientific and technical cooperation is another important area in Rumania's immediate economic relations with other socialist countries. Mixed technico-scientific cooperation commissions have accomplished some fruitful work. Since 1967 they have come to terms on about 2,000 subjects relating to mutual provision of technical data and specialists' travel to compare notes and acquaint themselves with techniques and technology. Most prominent is technico-scientific cooperation with the Soviet Union. More than 300 subjects relating to various industrial and agricultural branches have been dealt with recently by the 25th sitting of the Rumanian-Soviet Technico-Scientific Cooperation Commission.

RUMANIAN PARTICIPATION IN IMPROVING THE WORK OF THE COUNCIL FOR MUTUAL ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE

A founding member of CMEA, Rumania participates in efforts to extend and improve the forms and methods of cooperation among the fraternal countries. Cooperation is being organized in the CMEA framework in a variety of areas—coordination of plans, specialization and cooperation in production, coordination of crucial research, foreign trade, monetary relations, transport, standardization, and the like.

With cooperation among CMEA countries expanding, important resolutions were adopted by the 23rd (Special) CMEA Session in April 1969, reaffirming the principles governing relations between socialist countries as recorded in the CMEA Charter, spelling out the main trends of further growth and listing tasks to be finalized in the long-term comprehensive program. Acting on principles that have proved viable in the socialist interstate relations, the Session envisaged further expansion and improvement of cooperation on the basis of state sovereignty, independence and free will, ruling out supranational bodies and not affecting internal economic planning and the financial activity of the countries involved.

Each CMEA country, the Session resolved, may participate in any CMEA project, joining it at any stage, the purpose of the comprehensive program being to pro-

mote rapid development of the productive forces of each country, attainment of the highest possible technico-scientific level and the maximum growth of economic efficiency in social production, while reinforcing the leading role of the working-class party and the economic functions of the socialist state on the basis of democratic centralism and economic planning.

The Session reaffirmed that CMEA is an open organization, in the work of which socialist and non-socialist countries accepting the principles of the CMEA Charter may participate as members or in any other form. This decision should add to the attractions of CMEA and promote a new type of relations among states in the international context.

Consistent with the principles of Rumania's foreign policy, our Party and Government delegation headed by Comrade Ceausescu, General Secretary of the RCP, submitted a number of constructive proposals designed to extend cooperation and examined closely the proposals of other countries, seeking to hammer out mutually acceptable solutions.

The work and documents of the 23rd (Special) Session were studied by our Central Committee at its May 1969 meeting, which pointed out that they "are an important contribution to extending economic and technico-scientific cooperation among CMEA countries, improving the activity of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance based on the principles of socialist internationalism, complete equality, respect for sovereignty and national interests, mutual advantage and comradely mutual assistance."

Acting on the objectives defined by the Central Committee Meeting, we took the appropriate steps to assure Rumania's participation in implementing the Session's decisions. Rumanian delegates collaborating in the drafting of the comprehensive long-term program, submitted proposals designed to promote and improve cooperation among CMEA countries and produce realistic solutions in the interest of all countries concerned.

The work done by national bodies and CMEA working groups drafting the comprehensive program was reflected in the measures adopted by the 24th CMEA Session in May 1970.

Greater cooperation requires persevering and patient work by all CMEA countries, based on thorough analysis and a

long-term approach, to jointly find dependable constructive solutions consonant with the interests of each country, the common interests of the CMEA countries and those of the entire socialist system. Though the socialist countries have common tasks and the common ultimate goal of socialism and communism, it should be borne in mind that their economies are independent units which are for obvious historical reasons at different levels of development and with different structures and potentials. Therefore, we should always strive for forms and methods most consistent with the interests of building socialism and communism in each country and enabling all countries to participate in the common cooperation program.

While active in CMEA, Rumania is also contributing to the work of other socialist international organizations — the International Economic Cooperation Bank, Railway Cooperation Organization, Central Dispatchers' Board of the Joint Power Grid, Joint Railway Pool, Organization for Postal and Electric Communications of Socialist Countries, etc. Recently, Rumania's Metal-import concluded an iron-and-steel cooperation agreement with Inter-metal.

As we see it, international socialist bodies should accelerate the development of the technical and material basis of each country and reinforce socialist property and economic planning—these being decisive for the advancement of the socialist countries and the further strengthening of the entire world socialist system.

EXPANDING ECONOMIC RELATIONS WITH DEVELOPED CAPITALIST STATES

Economic diversification paves the way for broader economic relations with all countries, regardless of their socio-economic system. In the setting of the technico-scientific revolution, exchanges of material values and achievements of science and technology are clearly an objective necessity. Participation in world trade is also spurred by the demand for new technology and the greater sales opportunities. Greater economic cooperation on a world scale extends the international contacts of the socialist countries and contributes thereby to world peace and security.

Acting on the principles of its foreign policy, Rumania, like the other socialist countries, is increasing trade exchanges and cooperation with the developed capitalist states in step with its growing economic

potential. Our relations are based on the universal principles of respect for national sovereignty and independence, equality, non-interference in internal affairs and mutual advantage. We are working against discrimination and inequality, so that international economic relationships should in their specific field promote economic progress. Removal of existing artificial barriers could clear the way for normal international economic relations in keeping with the requirements of our time.

From 1960 to 1969 Rumanian trade with developed capitalist countries increased more than 310 per cent. This growth, reflecting our increasing export potential and the need to acquire the latest technology in the world market in order to carry forward our comprehensive capital construction program, was facilitated by long-term agreements with Western countries and short-term commercial credits on the customary terms.

Another factor impelling exchanges with developed capitalist countries is the growth of economic, industrial and technico-scientific cooperation. This is governed by bilateral long-term inter-governmental agreements stimulating and easing cooperation between pertinent economic organizations, amalgamations and enterprises. Bilateral economic, industrial and technical cooperation agreements are a new type of international instrument providing for a stable and enduring economic relationship.

Cooperation between Rumanian state enterprises and firms in the developed capitalist countries is highlighted by an agreement with British firms to irrigate arable land in the Danube valley and an agreement for assembly of medium-sized passenger planes, an agreement with Renault, the French car firm, for the manufacture of components for special-purpose automobiles, an agreement with a Swedish firm to produce electronic computers, an agreement with an American firm to build a large hotel in Bucharest, with an Italian firm to build a ceramic tiles and panels factory, know-how agreement with a West German firm making wood-working machine tools, etc.

Recent experience prompts our enterprises to seek new, as yet untapped possibilities of cooperation in engineering, irrigation, building of sanatoria and tourist hotels. Payment for deliveries required under the cooperation schemes will be made with the products obtained at the enterprises and with services.

Our economic relations with developed capitalist countries provide additional opportunities for economic and technical cooperation. Rumania is pursuing this form of cooperation with the object of extending its share in the world economic turnover.

SUPPORT OF DEVELOPING COUNTRIES

As much as it can, Rumania supports the efforts of Asian, African and Latin American countries to build up their economy, principally their industrial potential, the cornerstone of genuine independence from the neo-colonialist policy of the imperialist countries.

Rumania's expanding economic relations with developing countries saw a four-fold increase in trade between 1960 and 1969, trade with India increasing more than 50 per cent, Brazil 40 per cent, Iran 12.5-fold, Turkey 540 per cent, the Lebanon about 500 per cent, the United Arab Republic 70 per cent and Iraq 230 per cent. Trade with other countries has also gone up. The number of developing countries with which Rumania maintains economic relations has grown from 35 in 1959 to more than double this number today.

As seen from the agreements, including long-term ones, economic and technical cooperation has increased steadily in this area. Under concluded agreements, we have undertaken important projects—prospecting of minerals in Algeria and Iran; aiding the construction of an oil-processing plant in India and expanding an oil refinery in Pakistan; helping develop iron ore deposits in the UAR; building industrial timber-processing plants in Ceylon, Iran and Ghana; building phosphate dressing plants in the UAR, Syria, Tunisia and Jordan; installing tractor assembly lines, building a tractor works and a crop and animal husbandry complex in Iran, and laying out experimental farming centres in Iran and Morocco. Similar projects, still to be tackled, are now being negotiated with partners in various African, Asian and Latin American countries.

The cooperation contracts and long-term trade agreements are paving the way for greater mutually beneficial cooperation between Rumania and the developing countries embarked on industrialization.

ACTIVITY IN THE UN FRAMEWORK

A member of the United Nations, Rumania takes part in all debates relating to

economic development, submitting proposals that evoke extensive responses, particularly among the developing countries. Also, Rumania has frequently been the venue of important international conferences relating to cooperation.

In the UN General Assembly and other UN bodies, such as UNCTAD, the UN Development Program, UN Industrial Development Organization and the International Atomic Energy Agency, Rumania joined other delegations in initiating various cooperation projects, including the proposal of industrial equipment deliveries against credits to be paid for with products or services, broader use of long-term agreements securing greater stability of international economic exchanges, establishment of export industries, developing modern forms of economic, industrial and technical cooperation, use of electronic computers in the economy, etc. Rumania has also cooperated internationally in resolving crucial problems, such as industrialization, planning and modernization of national economic structures, use of science and technology in rationalizing employment of manpower, development of natural wealth, and the like.

A European country, Rumania has a big stake in the UN Economic Commission for Europe, designed to extend inter-European economic cooperation, a premise for a more secure peace on the continent. This being a vitally important problem for all European nations, Rumania, like the other socialist countries, regards it as useful to place economic cooperation among European countries on the agenda of the projected All-European Security Conference.

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The Communist Party and the government of the Socialist Republic of Rumania follow a policy of international cooperation on the assumption that success in socialist industrialization, modernization and diversification promotes broader participation in the international division of labor and exchange of material values and achievements of modern science and technology. This paves the way for mutually advantageous solutions in the common interest. Broader economic ties create material premises for peaceful harmonious cooperation among the peoples of the world and for broader new, socialist-type relations among states, strengthening socialism and peace.

Economic integration of socialist countries

OLEG BOGOMOLOV

Since its 23rd session in April 1969, the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance has been working on a comprehensive long-term program of socialist economic integration, with economists from the fraternal countries studying and analyzing the experience of the international socialist division of labor. Their views often clash, and interesting discussions arise, which, considering that integration is a new development for the socialist states, is only natural.

Capitalist propaganda, too, is "chipping in" with suggestions. It says, on the one hand, that socialist integration is based on Soviet hegemony and the so-called "limited sovereignty" concept; on the other, it advocates spontaneous market integration.

In view of the importance of this question and its bearing on the ideological struggle, we are in this issue opening an exchange of views on the economic integration of socialist countries. The first contribution is from Oleg Bogomolov, Director of the Institute of the Economics of the World Socialist System, USSR Academy of Sciences.

PREREQUISITES

No good can come from speeding up processes not yet ripe. This is why socialist integration is justified only if the necessary prerequisites are at hand. It would be foolish to launch it as a concession to the current vogue or to slavishly copy the West European pattern, the purposes and methods of which are alien to the socialist world.

Before deciding whether the objective prerequisites are at hand, we should see how far the current level of economic cooperation among socialist nations meets their requirements and, especially, to what extent it contributes to scientific and technological progress.

The CMEA countries have advanced far along the road of economic cooperation. The bulk of their foreign trade is transacted among themselves. Cooperation has promoted international specialization in

many fields, giving impetus to the development of international transport systems, helping improve the structure of industry, raising labor productivity on the national level and satisfying the consumer demand more effectively. The socio-political and economic makeup of the CMEA countries has evened out, with most possessing well-developed industries and advancing to more mature forms of socialism.

The CMEA countries have worked out principles for joint planning and coordinating national economic plans and scientific and technological researches. Important advances have been made towards an international socialist market, with a visible improvement of its levers: prices in reciprocal trade, common terms of delivery, a system of settlements, and banking and credit systems. The Council for Mutual Economic Assistance, set up in 1949 as a collective body for promoting multilateral cooperation, has matured. A system of bi-

lateral bodies (intergovernmental committees) has been instituted and many international organizations, concerned with various industries, have been set up.

An important contributing factor in economic cooperation has been the cooperation of the socialist countries in foreign policy and defense in the framework of the Warsaw Treaty, and their joint ideological struggle against opportunism. This has given added meaning to the principle of socialist internationalism, the cornerstone of the economic and political relations among our countries.

In the latter sixties, socio-economic progress in the CMEA countries posed new problems, which could not be effectively resolved by the old methods of cooperation. For a number of reasons, most of them purely objective, the CMEA countries tended to regard their external links as an auxiliary factor that helped balance their annual and five-year plans. Often the links were invoked solely to overcome temporary shortages. Matters transcending the requirements and interests of the five-year plan frequently remained outside the sphere of cooperation and joint planning.

With their economic development routed towards intensification, the CMEA countries today require more scope for international maneuvering of material, fiscal and labor resources, effective forms of pooling economic, scientific and technological reserves and concerting the effort to solve cardinal problems arising in the building of socialism and communism. It has become apparent that if the different national economies are to function and cooperate effectively, the role of international planning will have to be considerably enhanced. An integrated systematized approach to an ever greater circle of problems of cooperation is on the order of the day.

The need for an approach to cooperation taking account of long-term perspectives and alternate solutions is exemplified by the fuel and raw materials problem confronting all CMEA countries. This, it has been shown, cannot be done simply by expanding foreign trade. What is required is an optimal structure of fuel, power and raw material supplies not only in each country, but for the community as a whole. This calls for coordinating investment in the fuel and raw materials industries, joint measures for rational, more efficient utilization of local and imported raw materials, fuel and power resources, introduction of new types of materials and power carriers, and better international transport facilities.

Obviously, we need a long-term, integrated program embracing all aspects, from the research and blueprint stages to the actual implementation of specialization and cooperation in manufacturing relevant equipment, joint building of industrial projects, etc. Examples of the need for integration could also be drawn from fields such as scientific and technological research, engineering, metallurgy and chemistry, to name but a few.

Differences in economic development still exist, and it will take the CMEA states some time to overcome them; this should not be overlooked in defining the objective prerequisites for integration. The need for socialist integration, and its appreciation, varies, and will probably continue to vary, from country to country, depending on their material and technological level. The opinion has been voiced that new, dynamic forms of cooperation are best applied when economic levels are sufficiently advanced and approximately equal. Before integration, it is claimed, differences in industrial levels should be reduced to the minimum and all countries concerned should have well-developed versatile economies with sophisticated industries.

This view tends to underestimate the potentialities and advantages inherent in the reciprocal complementing of variously developed socialist economies. The experience of Bulgaria, for example, shows that a lower level is no obstacle to establishing national industries based on large-scale, internationally specialized production, i.e., on the most advanced basis. This offers opportunities to make up for past omissions, skipping some of the stages passed by the more developed countries.

As we see it, the process of integration that began at a definite stage in the development of some of the socialist states is no obstacle for the remaining fraternal countries to join it, regardless of their level of industrialization. Naturally, each country is free to decide what forms and fields of cooperation are most in accord with its interests.

Thus, on the one hand, international socialist integration must be seen as a natural projection of the achievements and basic aims of the economic cooperation of CMEA countries; on the other, it imparts new features to this cooperation.

ESSENCE AND CHARACTERISTIC FEATURES

What is the essence of socialist integration as an objective process and a specific

trend in the economic policies of the nations of the socialist community? What is its objective basis and how does international socialist integration compare with capitalist integration?

A profusion of answers to these questions has appeared of late in scientific publications in CMEA countries. Some reduce integration to setting up new organizational and economic facilities promoting cooperation and a radical improvement of its mechanism. Others see socialist integration primarily as an aggregate of structural changes in the industrial bases of the various countries, as a new state of international production relations naturally requiring new forms, methods and institutes of cooperation. The difference between these views seems important.

Socialist economic integration is necessitated by the general internationalization of economic life, a natural and irreversible result of the development of the productive forces. The scientific and technological revolution makes the process all the more rapid and all-inclusive.

With time, the economic life of socialist countries acquires common traits deriving from the laws of socialist economy and characterized, in particular, by the existence of a socialist international market, stable industrial contacts, certain common economic proportions and common economic and industrial organizations and institutes. All of which is an indication of the continuous formation of a world socialist economy.

It is clear that for the outstanding economic problems to be successfully resolved it is not enough simply to speed up integration; it must be made the cornerstone, the basis of relations between socialist states. As was pointed out by Marx, Engels and Lenin, socialism offers the best opportunities for economic internationalization. The socialist system is essentially internationalist and provides opportunities for harmonizing the national interests of sovereign proletarian states with international interests, for joint planning under guidance of the Marxist-Leninist parties, and for economic aid to formerly economically and culturally backward nations on the basis of socialist internationalism.

The first steps towards a world socialist economy do not, of course, imply an integrated economic organism in the early stage. This will come much later and will not necessarily embrace the whole world socialist system, but, perhaps, only a few countries with especially close economic

ties leading to a gradual interlinking of their reproduction processes.

It would be right, in our view, to define the integration of the economies of socialist countries as a *deliberate, plan-controlled process of aligning their economies and the ultimate creation of an international economic complex*. This process manifests itself in the mutual improvement of national economic structures, growth of extensive and stable bonds in the leading branches of production, science and technology, and expansion of the world socialist market.

Economic integration is a qualitatively higher stage in the use of the advantages of socialism as a world economic system. Though its roots are in internationalization of production, integration is not identical to it. It implies a far-reaching interdependence of economic life, a definite degree of unity of the national economies.

One of the characteristic features of the overall process is that it simultaneously embraces production, distribution and management; it requires an all-round, integrated, approach to questions of improving cooperation, joint planning, establishment of relevant international organizations, and coordinating efforts to improve national machineries concerned with external economic relations.

Contrary to the views of some authors, socialist integration cannot be reduced merely to a sum-total of politico-economic measures designed to expand cooperation. It must be seen much more as expressing a high degree of concentration and centralization, as a qualitatively new means of internationalizing the productive forces.

The economic aspect of integration is intertwined with the political. Politically, it cements the unity of Communist and workers' parties on the basis of common goals and Marxist-Leninist ideology, of socialist internationalism. It also accentuates the principle of socialist internationalism in relations between fraternal states, strengthening their common defense potential in the face of possible imperialist aggression, and joint action against imperialist encroachments.

In the case of socialist nations, the economic and politico-ideological aspects of integration complement each other, promoting the general tendency, pointed out by Lenin, of the gradual elimination of national isolation, a tendency that develops only with the elimination of the exploitation of man by man. It goes without saying that the process is a gradual one and must be completely voluntary.

The current and long-term advantages of joint measures in the sphere of production and distribution can best be appreciated and utilized when approached from positions of proletarian internationalism. The political cooperation of Communist and Workers' parties facilitates accord in matters bearing on the vital interests and objectives of the socialist countries, and provides a dependable basis for the proliferation of various links.

FORMS AND METHODS

The order in which socialist economic integration is to be effected, and especially its forms and methods, is a highly relevant aspect, both in terms of theory and of practice.

The general lines are, in our view, fairly apparent. The next three or four five-year periods will see the implementation of the program outlined in the decisions of the 23rd CMEA session, the details of which are being worked out at national levels and in CMEA bodies.

While this is being done, with traditional levers of cooperation improving, a search will proceed for new forms and methods to extend ties between national economies with a gradual dovetailing of industrial structures.

One of the major problems in building up an effective mechanism of socialist integration is, in our view, to attain the right balance between political-governmental and economic methods of control. A lively debate is taking place around this problem.

Some specialists in CMEA countries give priority to perfecting the market mechanism of integration, insofar as, in their view, too little attention has been given to this aspect. Others, while giving their due to levers of integration, such as prices, currencies, credits and trade quotas, hold that it is necessary to start out with measures in the production sphere, with plans promoting specialization and cooperation processes and the expansion of scientific and technological cooperation.

Differences in assessing the role of the market reflect on the modes of approach to the more specific problems. Among these is the problem of ensuring that the collective currency should perform its function of world money and the related problem of trade without quotas, that is, not governed by commodity lists. Some economists call for expanding this form of trade so that it should ultimately become predominant. Accordingly, it is suggested that a

new collective currency should be introduced, covered by the commodities involved in trade without quotas. Not only would it be the medium for settlements, but also one of purchase, as well as accumulation, because exchangeable for desired commodities regardless of whether or not they are stipulated in the trade agreements.

However, most CMEA economists hold that commercial links between countries with planned economies should be based as before on five-year trade agreements and annual protocols of mutual export-import commitments in terms of both quantity and cost. Commodity exchanges transcending the agreed quotas, they hold, can play only an auxiliary part, with the provision that settlements and prices in this commodity group should follow the same pattern as in the case of commodities in the agreed lists. That is our view, too.

Obviously, market mechanisms are less important in the case of socialist integration than in the capitalist world. Socialist ownership of the means of production facilitates mutual adjustment of the economic structures of different countries not through spontaneous market fluctuations, but in more direct and effective ways, on the basis of governmental regulation. The commodity-money mechanism alone cannot ensure a radical upswing in the effectiveness of social production. *The most effective lever of the integration process is the state plan.* Joint planning being the *main link* in the economic mechanism of integration, it is essential to improve it in all possible ways, expand its scope and perfect its methods. In the first stage planning should, in our view, embrace at least the following fields:

- coordination of national five-year economic plans;
- joint long-term forecasting of the main trends in the economic and technological development of the countries concerned;
- joint planning in the key industries accelerating technological progress;
- coordination of certain questions of internal economic policy bearing on external economic relations among CMEA countries;
- coordination of policy in respect of industrial and economic links with other countries.

Priority of planned over market levers in controlling economic relations should not, of course, be interpreted as disregard of market levers. In fact, planning presupposes thorough study of world market conditions and the use of commodity-money levers. The strengthening of the socialist world

market, the development of currency and credit relations, the improvement of the system of price formation are all highly important for enhancing the effectiveness, flexibility and adjustability of economic cooperation, including the joint planning machinery. All of which explains why economists in the socialist countries are devoting so much of their attention to improving commodity-money levers and cost-accounting incentives as a means of expanding the socialist international division of labor. Naturally, each of these problems must be studied separately. The common object is to master to the greatest possible extent the mechanism of the world socialist market as a plan-controlled sphere of exchange.

The legal and organizational basis and forms of economic cooperation need improving. Integrated long-term economic agreements could play a bigger role in regulating economic cooperation between socialist states. This would put the implementation of joint decisions on the sound basis of economic settlements and ensure that commitments are met, since agreements provide for effective sanctions. Other ways of building up the legal and organizational basis of integration include expansion of the existing international

bodies and the establishment of new ones endowed with sufficient rights and resources to tackle the key problems of cooperation.

Many point out that the rate of integration and its effectiveness in the various fields depends in many ways on domestic systems of economic management and planning and, in particular, on the scope of the local economic reforms. The facts show that differences in domestic mechanisms concerned with the external economic affairs of CMEA countries, their being insufficiently adapted for integration, can indeed retard the process. As we see it, therefore, it is essential to center scientific research and debate on securing the optimum coordination of national economic bodies at all levels and gradually improving the internal economic mechanisms of the nations interested in mutually advantageous economic integration.

* * *

International socialist integration is on the order of the day. Socialism is to demonstrate its complete superiority in this important socio-economic area. This is no easy task, but it will doubtless be accomplished in the interests of all the socialist countries and all mankind.

INTEGRATION IN ACTION

(Facts and Figures)

**Growth of Reciprocal CMEA Trade
(1950 = 100)**

	1969
CMEA countries	666
Bulgaria	1,079
Czechoslovakia	532
GDR	897
Hungary	598
Mongolia	356
Poland	451
Rumania	435
USSR	765

At present, more than 30,000 million convertible rubles' worth of commodities are

exchanged on the CMEA market, amounting to more than six per cent of world trade.

Before the war, trade between the present European CMEA countries was an insignificant fraction in their exports and imports. In 1938, for example, the share of the future European CMEA states in the Soviet Union's foreign trade was seven per cent (including Germany). Their share in Czechoslovakia's trade balance before the war was 15-17 per cent (excluding Germany); in Bulgaria's foreign trade it was around 10 per cent. Foreign trade between the future Common Market countries was much livelier. Today approximately two-thirds of the CMEA countries' foreign trade is in reciprocal exchange, while in the Common Market system reciprocal trade does not yet amount to even half of the total commodity turnover.

**Share of Socialist Countries in 1969
CMEA Exports
(Total exports = 100)**

Exports to Socialist Countries		
	Total	To CMEA States
Bulgaria	79.0	75.6
Czechoslovakia	69.1	62.7
GDR	73.0	68.0
Hungary	68.0	64.3
Mongolia	99.3	94.5
Poland	65.7	61.9
Rumania	59.4	51.7
USSR	65.9	54.9

* * *

The most extensive bilateral export-import links in the CMEA community are those between the Soviet Union and the GDR. In the coming five-year period (1971-1975) trade turnover between them is to increase 56 per cent, as compared with the present five-year period, and will total 5,200 million rubles in 1975, which is considerably higher than the present level of trade between the FRG and the United States, Great Britain or France.

* * *

CMEA bodies have drawn up recommendations on the specialization of some 2,300 types of machines and equipment, more than 2,300 types and sizes of rolling-friction bearings, some 3,000 chemical industry products and a series of products in the iron-and-steel, nonferrous metals, electronics and other industries.

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The European CMEA countries are partners to the Unified Mir Power Grid. In 1968 reciprocal power deliveries totalled some 10,000 million kwh.

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Since 1964 the CMEA countries have

operated a joint railway pool of more than 100,000 freight cars carrying more than 100 million tons of goods per annum.

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The Druzhba oil pipeline, the world's longest, carries Soviet oil to Hungary, the GDR, Poland and Czechoslovakia. So far more than 100 million tons of oil have been pumped to these countries through the line. It is estimated that transport costs are one-fifth of those of rail haulage and half those of shipping. Czechoslovak specialists, for example, estimate that in six years the Druzhba pipeline has enabled Czechoslovakia to save more than 1,500 million crowns in transport costs.

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The Bearing Industry Cooperation Organization, which includes Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, the GDR, Hungary, Poland and the Soviet Union, succeeded in 1968 in having these countries meet 98 per cent of their requirements in bearings out of locally produced stocks and out of mutual deliveries.

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Intermetal, a body for cooperation in the iron-and-steel industry sponsored by Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, the GDR, Hungary, Poland and the USSR, marked its fifth anniversary in July 1969. It organizes reciprocal deliveries of rolled stock, pipes, metal-ware and utilization of temporarily idling capacities. Plans are being drawn up to build an iron-and-steel works in the Soviet Union to meet the demand of the Intermetal members in raw materials, semi-finished and finished products. This will be an ambitious project on a par with the Druzhba pipeline and Mir Power Grid.

The Middle East: dangers and prospects

GEORGE TOUBI

Political and social developments in the Middle East are tightly linked with the struggle in the world between the progressive forces of peace and socialism and the forces of war and imperialism. Any attempt to detach the Israeli-Arab conflict from the framework of the worldwide confrontation of the forces of progress and reaction, socialism and imperialism and simply present it as a mere local clash between Israelis and Arabs is unrealistic, untrue and unscientific. The aim behind this would be to distort the real nature of the conflict in order to whitewash the aggressive designs of imperialism and Zionism in this tumultuous corner of the world.

The Document adopted by the International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties defining the tasks at the present stage of the struggle against imperialism includes a correct and principled stand on this question.

"The Arab liberation movement," it says, "is playing an outstanding role in the battle waged against world imperialism. It is exerting a positive influence on the entire movement against imperialism and neo-colonialism in the Middle East and Africa. The struggle of the Arab peoples against imperialism and the Israeli aggression is a part of the general struggle between the forces of freedom and socialism throughout the world, on the one hand, and world imperialism, on the other."

This is the key to the Marxist-Leninist approach to the events and developments in the Middle East.

In the historic struggle between imperialism and the national liberation movement,

the imperialists try to draw conclusions from their own experience and change their tactics, but not their strategy. They adjust their methods in an attempt to face the new realities in the world and to cope with the constant change in the balance of forces in favor of peace and socialism.

The Zionist ruling circles in Israel had played and are still playing an important role in the imperialist strategy and in its attempts to carry out its treacherous designs in the Middle East.

From their bitter experience in Vietnam, the U.S. imperialists have reached the conclusion that it would be better for them—if possible—if the sons of other nations shed their blood in order to achieve their imperialist aims and preserve their positions and regain what has been lost. This objective was formulated in what is known as the "MacNamara Doctrine."

A short time before the June 1967 aggression MacNamara defined this doctrine as follows:

"It is the policy of the USA to encourage and achieve partnership with those nations that are capable of and obliged to participate in our responsibilities in the world." Some time later the *New York Times* published an item from its Jerusalem correspondent in which he says that, "Israel feels that it suits this definition."

This "doctrine" was applied in June 1967 when the Zionist ruling circles in Israel in coordination with the U.S. imperialists launched an aggressive war against the neighboring Arab countries in a bid to undermine the national liberation movement and the progressive anti-imperialist

regimes in the Arab countries, preserve the imperialist oil monopolies in the Arab world and break off the Arab peoples' friendly relations with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. Moreover, the Zionist circles hoped that through this aggressive war they would be able to realize their aims and achieve territorial gains.

Despite the military success of the aggressors, the June war was a political fiasco, since it failed to achieve its main aims and this thanks to the tremendous and all-round help of the Soviet Union which backed the Arab countries, victims of the aggression.

Under pressure of world opinion and due to the energetic and tireless efforts of the Soviet Union, the UN Security Council adopted a resolution on November 22, 1967, calling for the withdrawal of the Israeli troops from the occupied Arab territories, for the termination of the state of war, for the recognition of the right to sovereign existence of all states in the region, for a just solution of the problem of the Arab Palestinian refugees and for freedom of navigation in international waters for all the states of the region.

It was hoped that in the course of time the implementation of the resolution would drain off many of the sources poisoning relations and guide events towards a just peaceful settlement of the Middle East crisis.

The UAR and other Arab countries have more than once officially declared their readiness to carry out the Security Council resolution in full.

In contrast, the Israeli government, guided by its Zionist ideology and aspirations for territorial expansion and backed by the rulers of the USA and other imperialist countries, refused to fulfil the Security Council resolution.

Regrettably, certain armed Palestinian organizations and some Arab countries rejected the Security Council resolution. This position was unrealistic and, in our view, has caused harm to the anti-imperialist struggle in the Middle East, to the fight against Zionism, for the withdrawal of Israeli forces from the occupied territories and the achievement of the legitimate national rights of the Arab people of Palestine. Objectively such a stand has helped the Zionist circles ruling Israel and their imperialist patrons in their attempts to perpetuate the occupation and to deprive the Arab refugees of their just right to return to their homeland.

For three long years the Israeli government, with the help of U.S. imperialists, has been doing everything in its power to prevent the implementation of the Security Council resolution and to bring about a dangerous escalation of the aggression against the Arab countries and especially against the UAR in the hope of achieving what was impossible to achieve in 1967—to undermine the anti-imperialist regimes in the Arab countries, impose terms of surrender upon them, and annex Arab territories.

For three years the Israeli government has been deliberately foiling every prospect and every initiative towards a peace settlement.

But three years of war, of destruction, of attacks deep into the UAR and daily raids beyond the Canal have fully proved that it is impossible to compel the Arab peoples to renounce their rights and to surrender. The adventurous policy of force, occupation and annexation has failed completely. The monstrous hope of the Israeli government to bring about an American-Soviet confrontation, and intervention in the conflict by NATO has proved to be false.

The failure of imperialist and Zionist plans in the Middle East was mainly due to the following factors.

The balance of forces in the world has changed in favor of peace and socialism. The might of the Soviet Union has grown economically, politically, scientifically and militarily. The development and consolidation of the socialist countries increasingly influences the international scene. The general crisis of capitalism is on the upgrade.

Heavy blows are being dealt to the U.S. imperialists in Vietnam and Cambodia. The treaty signed between the Soviet Union and the FRG is also a sign of the times. The FRG had to reconcile itself to the results of the Second World War and to agree to the present boundaries in Europe.

In the Middle East the attack of the imperialists and their Zionist agents against the Arab national liberation movement has failed completely. Owing to the help of the Soviet Union this movement has not only withstood imperialist attacks and plots, but has gained new momentum. Since the June war two new Arab states — Sudan and Libya — have succeeded in breaking the imperialist chain and embarking on the road of national independence and social progress.

The aggressive war and other military

actions of the Zionist circles ruling Israel failed to crush the anti-imperialist regime in the UAR, stop the deep social changes that are being carried out, or force the UAR to break off its friendly relations with the Soviet Union. On the contrary, despite the barbarous military attacks, despite the fact that parts of its territory are occupied, the UAR with the help of the Soviet Union has scored important successes in the political, economic, and military fields.

The realistic and wise policy of the UAR under the leadership of the late President Nasser, particularly during the recent years, has aroused the deep sympathy and support of ever wider sections of world opinion, and has contributed to the further isolation of the aggressors, unmasking the expansionist plans of the Israeli government.

In the economic field the UAR, far from collapsing, has scored important achievements. In this period the Aswan High Dam has been completed, and this added 850,000 new feddans to the cultivated area of the UAR; electricity production climbed to 10 billion kwh. Industrial production (despite the loss of the oil wells in the Sinai Desert and the industrial projects in the Canal zone), which in 1966-67 amounted to £1,077.6 million, increased in 1968-69 and reached the sum of £1,332.7 million. The military power of the UAR has been rebuilt, strengthened and consolidated.

In Israel the internal situation has been deteriorating. Many Israelis are deeply discouraged by a seemingly endless war which takes a steady toll of the Israeli youth and is a severe burden on the Israeli economy.

In August this year the Knesset (Israeli parliament) had to hold a special session in order to approve an additional £1,750,000,000 (500,000,000 dollars) for war expenditures, bringing the total war expenditures to about 60 per cent of the 1970-71 budget.

Israeli Finance Minister Saphir declared in the Knesset that "the coming generations too will have to pay the costs of this war."

Recently new taxes amounting to £440 million were imposed upon the masses in Israel. Broad sectors of the working class have awakened to the fact that they are being cheated and robbed, and respond to the assault on their daily interests by intensified struggle.

The courageous struggle of the Communist Party of Israel against the aggressive policy of the ruling circles, and the experience of the masses have opened the eyes of many who now see that the Israeli

government is interested in territory, not peace. Many young people, workers, students and intellectuals for the first time have started to question official Israeli policy. They have the bitter feeling that they are being asked to shed their blood not for the defense of their country but for the interests of the imperialist powers and the expansionist Zionist policy.

The question worrying the great majority of people in Israel was and still is—when, at last, will this endless bloodshed stop? Is there really no alternative? Many new sections have reached the conclusion that there is an alternative, a perspective for peace, depending on a radical change in the pro-imperialist expansionist policy of the Israeli government, which is obstinately barring the road to peace.

The repeated warnings of the Israeli Communists that the Zionist ruling circles are deliberately foiling every peace initiative in the Middle East have not fallen on deaf ears.

A movement without precedent has developed inside Israel opposing government policy. More voices have joined the Communist Party demand for the downfall of the "national unity" government, which is leading towards national disaster, and for the establishment of a new government, a government of peace and national independence which would help implement the Security Council resolution and achieve peace without annexations.

In the middle of 1970, mass demonstrations swept Israel in protest against the official policy that stubbornly bars the road to a just peace.

All these developments, the change in the balance of forces in the world and the Middle East, the changes inside Israel, have forced the U.S. imperialists to reconsider their tactics and compelled them to take steps for the implementation of the Security Council resolution.

That is how the American initiative known as the "Rogers Plan," came into being. This plan is actually based on the acceptance of the Security Council resolution, and reflects the failure of the American policy in the Middle East. The ceasefire based on this plan was possible because of the efforts of the Soviet Union which placed its immense weight on the scales in order to achieve a just and stable peace settlement in the national interest of all nations in the Middle East and the interest of world peace.

The UAR took the initiative in the cease-

fire, seeing it as a possibility for the political solution that would ensure the evacuation of Israeli forces and a just settlement of the long-standing problem of the Palestinian Arab refugees.

The Israeli government did not find it possible to reject this plan. Its refusal to accept it would have caused its absolute international isolation and greater opposition to the government inside Israel. Israel accepted this plan with clenched teeth following a stormy discussion within the government which resulted in a decision of the Right-wing "Gahal" bloc to quit the Cabinet.

The consent of the UAR, Jordan and Israel to the plan made it possible to reach an agreement upon a ceasefire and to start negotiations under the auspices of Gunnar Jarring, UN mediator.

It should be noted that the Israeli consent to the plan was not without many reservations regarding the withdrawal from the occupied Arab territories and the just solution of the refugee problem. Israeli Prime Minister Golda Meir declared even after the ceasefire agreement went into effect: "We shall not return back to the boundaries of the 4th of June 1967. . . ."

Guided by these motives, various provocations have been put into play by the Israeli government. The Israeli charges about alleged moves by the UAR armed forces were nothing but an excuse to interfere with the Jarring talks and prevent a withdrawal. Then came the Israeli decision (adopted under the pressure of the hawks led by War Minister Dayan) to suspend participation in the Middle East talks.

These provocations and especially the decision to suspend participation in the talks aroused international indignation against the rulers of Israel. Circles well known for their support of official Israeli policy could not but criticize the Israeli government for its irrational behavior. The Israeli government actually found itself in a very difficult and critical situation. But it received unexpected help from an unexpected source — the opposition to the ceasefire agreement and the opening of the talks by the armed Palestinian organizations and other Arab forces. Such a position endangered the unity of the anti-imperialist forces in the Arab world and harmed the cause of the Arab people of Palestine; to this was added the airliner hijacking by the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, which evoked general criticism in the world (the Arab world

included) and even inside the Organization for the Liberation of Palestine.

The coincidence of the hijackings and the provocative Israeli maneuvers was astonishing. As a drowning man grasps at a straw the Israeli government seized on these adventurous acts in order to evade complete isolation, foil the peace talks and bar the road towards the implementation of the Security Council resolution.

The drama surrounding these acts diverted attention from the real Middle East problems and from the fact that Israel had actually blocked negotiations. Even in Jordan King Hussein, encouraged by U.S. imperialists, has tried to exploit the adventurous acts of the extremist Palestinian circles as an excuse to start a massacre of the civilian population and a war against the Palestinian organizations in order to curb the remarkable rise of national consciousness and militancy among the Palestinian Arab people who are waging a just struggle against imperialism and Zionism and for the recovery of their land occupied by the Israelis in June 1967.

The attempts of the U.S. imperialists and Israeli Zionist ruling circles to exploit the tragic events in Jordan in order to carry out a military intervention were frustrated due to the tireless efforts of the Soviet Union and the anti-imperialist forces in the Arab world, and especially to the efforts of the late President Nasser and the President of Sudan, Numeiri, who succeeded in putting an end to the tragic bloody events in Jordan.

We very much hope that the Palestinian resistance organizations as a result of deep analysis of the situation and a correct political program will find the best ways for serving the cause of anti-imperialist Arab unity and will make a forceful contribution to the struggle for the just cause of the Palestinian Arab people.

Though developments in the Middle East may again seem to be in a deadlock, it was nevertheless clear even at the beginning of the ceasefire agreement that the road to peace was still long and arduous.

The grim truth is that if the peace talks are not resumed and the initiative for a political solution of the crisis is foiled, the world may witness a serious and dangerous escalation of military operations in the Middle East.

No doubt conditions are still present for a political solution of the crisis, for ensuring evacuation of the Israeli forces from

the occupied Arab territories and establishing a just peace.

It is the urgent task of all anti-imperialist forces in the Middle East to rally strength and to cement their ranks in a resolute, comprehensive and principled struggle to force further setbacks upon the Israeli aggressors and their imperialist patrons.

The Communist Party of Israel will spare

no efforts in mobilizing the broadest possible forces in Israel for a resolute fight against the provocative policy of the Israeli government, against the Zionist policy of expansion and annexation, against the policy of depriving the Arab people of Palestine of their just national rights and for the implementation of the Security Council resolution.

Benefits of peaceful coexistence

LARS JUNTILA

Finnish-Soviet relations, based on the Friendship and Cooperation treaty, extended for another 20 years during President Kekkonen's July visit to the USSR, are clear proof that coexistence of states with differing systems is not only possible, but mutually advantageous.

And it has gained growing recognition throughout the world as the socialist states increase their economic strength and political influence. World public opinion, and realistically minded political personalities in capitalist countries, are coming to realize that coexistence is the only alternative to armed conflict which, in this nuclear age, is fraught with uncountable calamities. By building up public support for peaceful co-existence, the Communist and Workers' parties have done much to induce bourgeois governments to accept it.

Economic instability in many capitalist countries—market fluctuations, monopoly competition, restricted potentialities of the capitalist market — suggests that they would gain much from more trade and other relations with the socialist states. And experience shows that such relations, based on equality and mutual advantage, can be very beneficial.

Finland's experience is highly indicative. It shows that implementation of the proposals of the Warsaw Treaty states for broader trade, economic, scientific and technological links, based on equality,

would benefit all European states and would contribute to their political cooperation and help towards enduring peace and security on our continent.

Relations between Finland and the Soviet Union—between a small country and a large one — rest on complete equality, mutual respect of interests, sovereignty and independence, and non-interference in each other's affairs. That, in fact, is the very essence of the Soviet Union's Leninist policy of peaceful coexistence.

The Finnish-Soviet Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance, signed April 6, 1948, proved a success and was prolonged twice, in 1955 and 1970.

The Treaty set relations between the two countries on a course advantageous to both. Speaking at a reception in the Finnish Embassy on July 20, 1970, L. I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CC CPSU, described the Treaty as "a major landmark in the establishment of peaceful cooperation between peoples in postwar Europe. It was one of the crucial documents embodying the Leninist principles of peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems," and its prolongation for another 20 years, L. I. Brezhnev emphasized, "is an act projected into the future. . . . Life itself indicates ever new ways for expanding mutually advantageous economic, scientific and technological contacts between the USSR and Finland. And

such contacts, which are not dependent on conjunctural fluctuations, are in the vital interests of both our countries and contribute to their economic development." President Kekkonen, in turn, emphasizing the great importance of the Soviet Union's recognition of Finland's neutrality, remarked that "on issues of war and peace Finland is not neutral: it stands for peace and against war."

The steady expansion of these peaceful coexistence relations has to a significant degree contributed to Finland's prestige and her role in European politics. In particular, the Finnish initiative for an all-European security and cooperation conference has met with wide response.

Following conclusion of the 1948 Treaty, the Soviet Union, though it had to cope with numerous postwar difficulties, met many of our requests, thereby unequivocally demonstrating its faith in the assurances of Finland's leaders that their country would work for friendly relations with its Soviet neighbor. One result of this was that the hostile attitude towards the Soviet Union, for decades fostered in the Finnish people by reactionary elements, began to vanish. Major Soviet responses to Finnish requests included reduction of war reparations, waiving, in 1956, of use of the Porkkala-Udd area (something no capitalist state with foreign military bases had ever done voluntarily), and use of the Soviet stretch of the Saimaa Canal. To this could be added the low-interest credits, with no political or other strings attached, for new industries.

Closer economic cooperation has had a favorable effect on Finland's economic structure, notably rapid development in engineering and shipbuilding. That Finland was able to pay its reparations, restore its economy and boost its agriculture so quickly was directly due to the receipt of raw materials and fuel from the Soviet Union on favorable terms.

Finnish-Soviet cooperation is in the best interests of both nations. It has enabled our country to develop its economy on a more stable basis, free from market fluctuations. This is especially important considering that over 50 per cent of Finnish exports are products of the woodworking and paper industries, for which a market has to be found.

The first five-year trade agreement, concluded in 1950, was one of the first long-term commercial arrangements between a socialist and a capitalist country. The fifth agreement, for 1971-1975, was formalized

during President Kekkonen's July visit to the Soviet Union. The communique issued after the visit stresses development of commercial and economic relations. "Both parties," it says, "attach great importance to the favorable development of trade, economic, scientific and technological co-operation between the Soviet Union and Finland. This objective is furthered by the recent agreement on peaceful uses of atomic energy, a contract for a nuclear power plant in Finland to be built with Soviet participation, Soviet orders for three big icebreakers, and participation of Finnish firms, specialists and workers in construction jobs in the USSR."

The Finnish-Soviet Chamber of Commerce was set up in 1946. Subsequently, several new organizations were formed to promote economic, scientific and technological cooperation, which is coordinated and directed by a Soviet-Finnish inter-governmental committee on economic co-operation. Fifteen years ago a committee on science and technology was set up. In 1970, joint working groups were organized in such areas as cybernetics, physics and archaeology. In all these organizations representatives of the two countries work in fruitful cooperation. The Soviet Union is interested in Finland's pulp and wood-working products, architecture, civil engineering and building materials, and Finland benefits from Soviet achievements in automation, mathematics, physics and cybernetics.

The Soviet Union's readiness to help reduce unemployment in Finland is still another factor in mutually advantageous co-operation. Soviet cooperation in expansion of shipbuilding, wood-working, textiles and other industries makes more jobs, as does employment of Finnish workers and specialists in building electric stations and other projects in the Soviet Union.

This summer Finland decided to buy Soviet electric locomotives to expand railway electrification. These and other orders are being carried out on highly favorable terms.

Finland is also interested in Soviet natural gas, for as President Kekkonen has pointed out, imports of gas are of vital importance to the nation's industry if it is to compete effectively on the world market.

The Finnish press is giving prominence to the proposed construction of a major industrial complex in Siberia which will include timber mills, processing plants, a

transport network, housing and service facilities. If Finland shares in this major project, the press points out, it could mean the beginning of long-term diversified cooperation with the Soviet Union in new and important spheres. It will be interesting to see whether this time, too, the forces opposed to closer ties with the Soviet Union will object to such participation which, obviously, would be a great boon to the Finnish economy.

Closer contacts are being formed between youth, women's, trade union, cooperative and other public organizations in the countries. Scientists from many countries attended the UNESCO international symposium on the Lenin centenary in Tampere. This was a highly symbolic occasion, expressive of the tremendous importance of Lenin's ideas for strengthening international relations and promoting cooperation and friendship between peoples.

But peaceful coexistence has to hew a way for itself, as our experience in Finland has shown. Many questions concerning Finnish-Soviet cooperation are the subject of heated debate in Parliament and in the government, and their solution depends on mass support by the people.

There is ample evidence that peaceful coexistence in no way contradicts the interests of the class struggle or the struggle

for the rights of the working people. And here, too, we can point to Finnish experience: the working people widely use methods devised in the 1956 general strike to press their demands. There have been several major strikes. This spring, for example, more than 85,000 workers in metalworking, paper and shipbuilding, took strike action. The struggle for better wages and working conditions involves plants working on Soviet orders. Naturally, it is directed not against Soviet orders and involves only local issues of employer-worker relations.

From its inception, the Communist Party of Finland, though illegal before the war, has consistently worked for friendship with the Soviet Union. This has always been central to our policy statements and to all our work in the factories, in the trade unions and other public, government and municipal organizations. The Finnish people endorse our Party's struggle for good neighbor relations and cooperation with the Soviet Union, considering it to be in the best interests of the working people and the nation as a whole. The Communist Party of Finland will continue to see that every opportunity provided by the Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance is utilized to the best effect. The Treaty is a cornerstone of our Party's policy.

Important landmark on way to democracy and independence

Sometimes one event can catapult a country into the very center of public interest and discussion. In Chile such an event was the election of Salvador Allende, candidate of the Popular Unity Alliance, in the recent presidential contest. The election results have had wide reverberations not only in the Americas, but in many other parts of the world. They are the subject of heated discussion among statesmen and public leaders in many political parties and organizations.

Gilberto Vieira, General Secretary of the Communist Party of Colombia, says the

victory of the Chilean Left is the most important happening in Latin America since the Cuban revolution. Latin American Communists regard it as a victory over the forces of internal reaction and foreign imperialism. Nor is it only a victory of the PUA—it is a victory for the Chilean people in their long and hard effort for independence and socio-economic change.

"Our consistent efforts for popular unity and our program of far-reaching reforms, envisaging nationalization of major mining enterprises, banking, insurance, foreign trade, the oil, chemical and paper indus-

tries, extension of the agrarian reform and other social measures, have borne fruit," writes Hector Mujica, the Venezuelan Communist MP and member of the Party Central Committee.

The Argentine Communist paper *Nuestra Palabra* says that in the elections the Chilean people clearly stated that "there can be no social justice, economic progress and genuine political democracy until we get rid of imperialist and oligarchic oppression." In the paper's view, "the Chilean experience is an object lesson that the United Front of the working class and people is in a good position to defeat the monopolies politically."

That view is shared by other Latin American parties. Senator Jovito Villalba, General Secretary of the Venezuelan Republican and Democratic Union, has made this comment: "Senator Allende's victory is the people's answer to the profound crisis of representative democracy and to the manifest inability of the existing economic and social structures to assure independent development, safeguard our economy against American monopoly penetration and give the people decent living and working conditions." And this from *Unidad*, organ of the Peruvian Communist Party: "Neither the millions of dollars of the North American companies that control Chile's copper, nor Rightist threats of armed terror, nor the rabid propaganda campaign could break the people's resolve to see the country of Caupolican, O'Higgins, Gabriel Mistral and Pablo Neruda run by a Left government."

The most important implication of the elections, Jorge del Prado, General Secretary of the Peruvian Communist Party, says, is that it conclusively demonstrates not only the objective need for socio-economic restructuring, but also the mature political consciousness of a people that has the determination and the forces to carry out such structural changes.

In analyzing the factors that went into the election success, political commentators are at one in declaring that the organizational ability of Chilean Communists played a major part in building this broad and powerful popular front, raising the class consciousness of the proletariat, strengthening its alliance with the peasantry, forging unity of the Left parties and consolidating their alliance with other progressive forces. "Allende's victory in the September 4 elections," writes Arnoldo Ferreto, Member of the Political Commission of the People's Vanguard Party of



Popular Unity bloc supporters hail Salvador Allende's election victory.

Costa Rica, "did not come automatically; it was no mere accident. It was the result of the correct application of Marxism-Leninism in the specific conditions of Chile. It was a victory of a people led by a far-seeing Communist Party on the correct path to revolution." But Latin American revolutionaries are not inclined to belittle the contributions of the other PUA parties.

In assessing the implications of the elections, Latin American progressives and democrats say they were a victory for all the peoples of the continent. The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Argentina says in its statement: "September 4, 1970 will go down in Latin American history as an important landmark on the way to democracy and national independence." And this in a resolution of the Venezuelan Communist Party Central Committee: "This victory opens up unparalleled vistas to Latin America's democratic and anti-imperialist movements."

"The fact that for the first time in history a Socialist, a Marxist, has been elected within the framework of the bourgeois system," writes Jorge del Prado, "is an important signpost in the political and ideological development of revolutionary consciousness throughout the world. It shows that in the course of the worldwide battle between capitalism and socialism, between the imperialist system and the social forces fighting for socialism, national emancipation, peace and social progress—in this battle the reactionary forces of imperialism and its allies are being rebuffed, are encountering mounting resistance and are sustaining defeat not only on the battlefield (Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia, etc.), but are suffering severe reverses even within

the institutional framework of the capitalist system.

"... Seen in this light, the Chilean people, its revolutionary forces, have made an invaluable contribution to the international anti-imperialist struggle."

The Venezuelan Communist paper *Tribuna Popular* writes: "The PUA has realized in practice what hitherto remained a theoretical postulate: its election victory shows that it is winning men's minds in the battle for power." The Chilean Communists have provided corroboration of the Marxist-Leninist theory of revolutionary paths and have thereby dealt a telling blow to the dogmatic and adventuristic theories of the ultra-Lefts, who absolutize armed struggle as the only possible one."

Communists are only too well aware that the forces of reaction and imperialism, in Chile and beyond it, still have at their command ways of preventing the Chilean people from taking over political power and introducing sweeping revolutionary changes. That much is evident from the high-pressure campaign of slander and intimidation started by the Latin American, the U.S. and some Western press organs—the monopolies are concerned for the fate of their Chilean investments.

Rumors and inflammatory propaganda are complemented by outright threats. The Brazilian weekly *Veja* writes: "It

should be perfectly clear that a coup d'état is now the only acceptable political solution for Chile." That opinion is shared by the *New York Times*, which suggests that a coup would be "less deplorable" than the advent to power of the man elected by the Chilean people.

In this confrontation of the forces of progress and reaction, the PUA victory can, as Arnoldo Ferreto had pointed out, develop "into an armed struggle right down to civil war. But the fact remains that the vast majority of the Chilean people have cast their vote for revolutionary change."

World public opinion is closely watching reactionary and imperialist intrigue. The Presidents of Peru, Ecuador and Bolivia have expressed their solidarity with the Popular Unity Alliance, and so have many statesmen, political and public leaders, progressive and democratic parties and organizations throughout Latin America. Communists and other progressive Latin American forces condemn the reactionary imperialist designs and appeal to world public opinion to come out in support of the president-elect. The defense of the unfolding Chilean revolution must become the common cause of all revolutionary parties, all democratic and anti-imperialist movements.

Yu. E.

The non-alignment movement

The third conference of the heads of state and government of non-aligned countries in Lusaka, Zambia's capital, September 8-10, sidestepped none of the acute problems of our time. Specifically, the non-aligned condemned the Israeli militarists and their U.S. imperialist backers and called for an end to the U.S. intervention in Indochina. Ranking high in their resolutions was the call to make the Seventies a "decade of disarmament"; end nuclear arms production and ban all nuclear tests; cease stockpiling and development of chemico-biological arms; convene a world disarmament conference.

Held in Zambia, which borders on Portugal's colonial possessions and Smith's racist Rhodesia, the conference appropriately discussed racial segregation and South African apartheid; the patriotic struggle against Portuguese colonialism in Angola, Mozambique and Guinea-Bissau; the South African Republic's refusal to recognize the independence of Namibia (South-West Africa); support for the Zimbabwe (Rhodesia) liberation movement. Most delegates scored arms sales and major investing by imperialist states in South Africa. Passing censure on the abettors of racialism, the resolution condemned all states—especially the USA, France, Britain, West Germany, Italy and Japan—cooperating politically, economically and militarily with the SAR government, thus encouraging its racist policy.

The non-aligned countries, it was pointed out, associate their policy with activities of the UN as an instrument safe-guarding peace and security, and are faithful to its purposes and principles. They are determined to work on for the final elimination of colonialism and neo-colonialism, extirpation of racialism, consolidation of their sovereignty and independence, and for economic progress. The Conference acclaimed the peaceful coexistence policy and called for greater international cooperation.

The speeches, interventions, resolutions

and press reactions fix attention on the movement of non-aligned countries, providing ample food for thought about their role in international affairs, their aims, principles and practices.

* * *

The non-alignment movement has evoked divergent opinions. The assessments of its nature and role varied. Is it a "third force," an isolated bloc of countries with a similar history and an identical social and economic background? Are the non-aligned countries of today comparable to the neutral states of the past? And, lastly, is the movement merely an attempt to make official a state policy of pacifism diverse trends of which dozens of organizations still advocate in the capitalist world,

The principles and purposes of non-alignment were first spelled out at the 1961 conference in Belgrade. There was no intention, that conference said, of forming a "third bloc." It opposed alignment with all pacts and proposed a search for ways of stabilizing peace, freedom, equality and peaceful international cooperation.

Yet some political minds endeavored to conceptualize the burgeoning movement as a bloc ranged against the two social systems, the "great blocs," the two "super-powers." Under the banner of non-alignment, they averred, poor countries were ranged against the rich, the "oppressed South" against the "exploiting North." This dovetailed with the imperialist designs of recruiting potential allies among the non-aligned or at least neutralizing some in relation to the confrontation of capitalism and socialism.

The evolution of non-alignment has foiled these designs. Winning independence, more countries closely linked with the national liberation struggle joined the movement over the years, and those associating their future with socialism and committed to radical socio-economic reconstruction gained prominence. The movement gradually asserted itself as a progressive and highly

influential international factor.

Totally groundless were notions that emasculated non-alignment of its social content: the development of the newly-independent African and Asian countries, which are the backbone of the movement, is an ascent from national liberation to social struggle. As the young states advance, their choice of way becomes decisive. On it hinges success in achieving complete national freedom and all-round progress.

As one of the great trends in the world revolutionary process, the national liberation movement has become a mighty factor of social progress—something not to be overlooked in assessing non-alignment.

The "supra-bloc" posture, it will be recalled, was fairly widespread in the early sixties. It was the response of many national and international organizations, chiefly of a pacifist complexion, to the mounting nuclear threat. Several dozen, mostly in the developed capitalist countries, initiated an International Confederation for Disarmament and Peace in 1963. Traditionally pacifist and religious groups grew highly active, such as the Committee of Friends (Quakers), International Peace Bureau, Christian Service for Peace, etc.

The pacifists rated non-alignment as a formalization of "non-resistance" and "non-violence," as well as a singular reaction to the mounting world tensions.

But these interpretations proved unfounded. The conferences of non-aligned countries made it clear that their policy was anything but neutral as concerned the war threat, colonialism, racialism and neo-colonialism. Their agenda encompassed the acute international issues, and their stand bore no resemblance to pacifism.

The Belgrade Conference, for one, convened when international tensions were high due to aggressive U.S. imperialist designs on Cuba and subversion against other socialist countries, devoted itself principally to anatomizing the world situation. It voiced support for the Cuban revolution, denounced imperialist interference in the affairs of other countries, and acclaimed peaceful coexistence as the sole alternative to nuclear conflict.

The second conference, held in Cairo in 1964, coincided with the imperialist assault on the independence of Congo (Kinshasa) and other newly-free countries. It re-asserted, even accentuated, the anti-imperialist thrust of the Belgrade platform, saying:

"The process of liberation is irresistible and irreversible. The colonial peoples may

legitimately use arms to secure their right to self-determination and independence."

* * *

It strikes the eye that many of the problems raised in Lusaka were also examined by the International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties in 1969. Comparing their respective documents we shall find points of resemblance in the assessments and the formulation of tasks and slogans. Particularly, this applies to the aggression in Indochina, the Middle East, South African apartheid, colonialism and neo-colonialism, and the arms race. The approach to peaceful coexistence is also similar. The Communist world forum, it will be recalled, said: "The policy of peaceful coexistence does not contradict the right of any oppressed people to fight for its liberation by any means its considers necessary—armed or peaceful. . . . This policy does not imply either the preservation of the socio-political status quo or a weakening of the ideological struggle. It helps to promote the class struggle against imperialism on a national and worldwide scale."

What is behind the resemblance in attitudes? To begin with, the problems dealt with by either forum were thrust to the fore by the realities of the times. And no country or political movement aspiring to world peace, to sovereignty and independence, and to economic progress, can afford to sidestep the issues. This applies doubly to the Asian and African countries still living down the aftermaths of imperialist oppression.

The resemblances show that the Communist and Workers' parties are collectively searching for scientific answers to questions facing all anti-imperialist forces, in order to hammer out an effective operational program against imperialism for the three great forces of our time—the world socialist system, the international working class and the national liberation movement.

* * *

From the outset, there were two distinct political attitudes to non-alignment: that of the socialist community and the world Communist and working-class movement, and that of the imperialist powers. The socialist countries, Marxist-Leninist parties, and all democratic forces welcomed the collective emergence of the non-aligned countries with their peaceful anti-colonial

program on the world political scene. They supported non-alignment and showed understanding of its principles.

The imperialist powers, on the other hand, set out to try and exploit the new movement, or at least some of its members, for their global strategy, the struggle against socialism, the propagation of anti-communism. They applied political blackmail and economic pressures, invoked their "foreign aid" mechanism and let loose their propaganda hounds, disseminating the latest findings of capitalist "theorists."

It cannot be denied that the ideological subversion has left a mark: the seeds of imperialist propaganda did not fail to sprout here and there. Examining some of the speeches and decisions at the non-aligned conferences we spot evidence that the pseudo-theories and false conceptions have not yet been completely renounced. Some delegates in Lusaka, for one, endeavored to substitute the concept of "poor and rich countries," of "North and South," for the world's division into socialist and capitalist states. Some definitions are vague, defying a clear understanding of them. The 12th point of the Declaration on Peace, Independence, Economic Development, Cooperation and Democratization of International Relations, for example, advocates struggle against the existence of military alliances and pacts of the great powers. Yet many in Lusaka said it is absurd to identify the peaceful policy of the USSR and the other Warsaw Treaty member-countries with the imperialist policy of the NATO states. Syria's Foreign Minister, Mustafa Said, for example, said Syria would not identify countries representing imperialism and colonialism with the socialist forces, which support his country in its fight for independence, against imperialist aggression and Zionist expansion.

It is common knowledge that the Warsaw Treaty was a response to the aggressive NATO bloc, that it was a move forced on the socialist countries. It is common knowledge, too, that the socialist countries have suggested scrapping the Warsaw Treaty and NATO in the interests of European peace. The socialist community has proved by deed that it is a loyal friend of the developing states, helping them maintain and consolidate independence, promoting their economic progress and aiding their efforts to raise their living standards. This was stressed in Khartoum by General Numeiri, Chairman of Sudan's Revolutionary Council, on his return from the Lusaka Confer-

ence. "The socialist camp," he said, "stands beside us in the struggle against imperialism and extends the developing countries selfless aid, whereas the capitalist bloc exploits them and impedes their development."

* * *

The movement of non-aligned countries is now in its tenth year, and is steadily expanding. Twenty-four countries were represented in Belgrade, 58 in Cairo and 63 in Lusaka. The last figure stands for about half the countries of the world. The conferences are at the high heads of state or government level, which gives international weight to opinions and attitudes adopted on the key issues.

The basic principle of non-alignment, that of non-participation in any blocs, is a fairly effective obstacle to the emergence of new aggressive groupings and the expansion of old ones, sponsored by the USA or other capitalist powers. For one thing, the imperialists failed to involve any of the non-aligned countries in SEATO and CENTO, and in recent years the two military alliances are, in effect, in a state of paralysis. Neo-colonialist schemes of military alignments in Africa, too, have fallen through, because most African states opposed them. In other words, the movement's principles are unquestionably beneficial to peace, security and the independence of nations.

The accomplishments of some non-aligned states may be rated as contributions to the renewal of the world, elimination of outworn patterns, to the world revolutionary process. This, of course, applies primarily to countries renouncing the capitalist way and carrying forward radical socio-economic reconstruction in the people's interest.

Non-alignment helps rally the peoples against imperialism and promotes anti-imperialist awareness among large segments. Not only does it benefit from the steady shifting of the relation of world strength in socialism's favor, to the detriment of imperialism, but itself contributes to this process.

The crisis in the relations between former metropolitan and former colonial and dependent countries, is growing more acute in step with the mounting strength and influence of socialism. The fight for independence and sovereignty, and the developing countries' drive for economic progress, clash with the neo-colonialist policies of

the imperialist powers, their attempts to retain their right of exploiting, of imposing their will, on these countries. Non-alignment is an expression of this conflict. The non-aligned countries are striving in concert to safeguard their right to a better future on the basis of a common anti-imperialist platform.

As the movement grew, the anti-imperialist platform of the non-aligned became more lucid. New countries shaking off the colonial yoke joined it, the national liberation struggle spread tempestuously, and progressive regimes gained a firmer footing. In due course, the influence of the movement on world affairs became more marked, evidenced, among other things, in the United Nations framework, facilitating positive development. Enabling the UN to adopt important resolutions, beneficial for its prestige, the anti-imperialist, anti-colonialist, peace-loving stand of the majority of non-aligned countries hemmed in the U.S. "voting machine" that impeded passage of UN resolutions oriented on peace and the sovereignty and independence of the developing countries.

It should be borne in mind, however, that the non-aligned countries vary in complexion. Some are building socialism; some are eager to take the same road; others follow the capitalist way, and others still are, in effect, semi-feudal monarchies. Understandably, therefore, their stand on various international issues cannot be the same, despite their sitting round the same table at their conferences.

This reflects on the wording and implementation of documents and programs. Frequently, those voting for a resolution at

the conference, subsequently act against its spirit and letter. In accordance with a Belgrade resolution, and another adopted in Cairo, the non-aligned states were to break off relations with the racist South African and Portuguese colonialist regimes. But many, the Lusaka forum revealed, went back on this decision. The same applies in the case of foreign military bases. The 1961 and 1964 conferences resolved that the bases should be closed down. Some non-aligned countries, however, Nigeria's *Daily Times* notes, have not lifted a finger against the imperialist bases in their territory.

Most members of the movement are aware, evidently, that actions contrary to the common trend, are intolerable. Important in this respect was the intervention in Lusaka by Ali Salem al Beidh, Foreign Minister of the People's Republic of South Yemen, who called for more precise criteria qualifying a country for participation in the non-alignment movement.

Yet the vagueness of some of the definitions in the Lusaka and other conferences does not detract from the anti-imperialist orientation of the movement as a whole. Doubtless, the movement is contending with difficulties. Yet it exercises a strong influence on the consolidation and expansion of the anti-imperialist front, the struggle for peace and peaceful coexistence, for international cooperation. The forces of democracy and progress have reason to hope that the realities will bring home many things to the non-aligned countries, with a positive effect for the conceptions of the movement, helping it mature further.

Jan PRAZSKY

Towards united trade union action

To mark the 25th anniversary of the World Federation of Trade Unions we print this interview with its General Secretary Pierre Gensous.

QUESTION: What are the salient features of the present stage of the class struggle in capitalist countries?

ANSWER: Latterly, there has been a powerful upsurge in the class struggle in capitalist countries and a significant extension of the movement in support of workers' demands. These class conflicts owe their tensivity, basically, to the new problems posed by capitalist development, which sharpen the principal antagonism, that between labor and capital.

Continued monopoly concentration, sharper monopoly rivalry, nationally and internationally, and its companion piece, the search for new means of raising productivity and, of course, profits, expansion of the capitalist state's economic functions—in combination, these substantially worsen the conditions of the working class and the working population at large. And the working people retaliate by using the most effective weapon at their command—strike action.

The workers do not strike without cause, for strikes often mean lay-offs, lockouts, hardship. But only by resorting to strike action can they mitigate the consequences of super-exploitation, retain their hard-won rights and win new ones.

The march of events has shown the fallacy and utter ineffectiveness of the class collaboration policy which the WFTU has consistently exposed. "Affluent society," "new society," "shareholding," "progress agreements" and many other catchwords have been coined for the sole purpose of replacing the class struggle by class collaboration. In fact, workers in Britain, Sweden, Federal Germany, the U.S. and other countries have categorically rejected this collaborationist view of trade-union aims and functions. That much is obvious from the many unofficial strikes which of

late have become a more or less regular feature of the labor movement.

Recent strike actions in capitalist Europe, Japan and the U.S. are indicative of the workers' new determination to prevent the monopolies appropriating all the results of economic progress and higher production. Two types of demands have come to the fore: fairer distribution of the benefits accruing from scientific and technological progress, and effective participation in shaping social policy in the interests of the workers. At the same time, we can speak of common demands advanced in most countries—higher wages, a shorter work week, lighter job loads, job protection, broader trade-union rights, improved social insurance, etc.

There is stiffer resistance also to the policy of restricting, in some cases even abolishing, trade union rights, and this is accelerating radicalization of the class struggle.

QUESTION: In view of the radicalization of the trade union movement in a number of developed capitalist countries, can we anticipate closer united action by unions of differing persuasions?

ANSWER: Recent months have seen significant headway for united action on a national and international scale between unions of differing orientation.

In countries with several trade union centers, the working-class struggle has facilitated their rapprochement. Italy is one example. Its three union centers are exploring avenues for organic unity on a class basis. In France, there have been positive changes in the French Democratic Confederation of Labor and this can make for a common policy with the General Confederation of Labor. Such cooperation on a national scale is bound to influence international trade union relations. In this context, mention should be made of the contracts between the French General Confederation of Labor and two Italian centers

—the Trade Union Confederation and the Labor Union, following the recent meeting of the French and Italian General Confederations of Labor. In my opinion, this is evidence of better relations between unions of capitalist Europe.

Of especial importance are the recent bilateral consultations between most European national trade-union centers for the convocation of an All-Europe Trade Union Conference to discuss the socio-economic problems confronting all unions irrespective of their affiliation.

As for coordinated action of unions operating in the big monopoly concerns, I would point to meetings between representatives of the three Italian and two French federations on problems facing Fiat-Citroen workers. Another instance is the European conference of the International Metalworkers' Federation on working conditions in the Fokker plants. There have been other instances, too.

This incipient unity movement is making progress, though not very fast, in relations between three international trade union centers—the World Federation of Trade Unions, the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions and the World Confederation of Labor. For instance, at the last International Labor Organization conference they tabled a joint resolution on the situation in Spain and Greece. As yet these are but modest steps and there are many difficulties to be overcome. But we look forward to faster progress in the near future, inasmuch as the identity of the demands advanced by the various unions and the growing realization that there must be a united front against monopoly action, will work towards closer co-operation.

STRIKE STRUGGLES: SUMMER 1970

For capitalism this has been a hot summer indeed. Industrial conflicts, some of them sustained and uncompromising, the merger of strike actions with the democratic movement of large segments of the population and mass anti-government and anti-war demonstrations, have combined to produce a tense social atmosphere throughout the capitalist world.

This summer's strikes have highlighted many of the features and trends characteristic of labor action in recent years.

For one thing, they clearly demonstrated growing working-class militancy and action ability and provided conclusive confirmation of the conclusion drawn by last

year's International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties: "In the citadels of capitalism, the working class . . . is the principal driving force of the revolutionary struggle, of the entire anti-imperialist, democratic movement."

Available data for the first half of 1970 show that 35 million were involved in strike actions, including 25 million in industrially developed countries. Both figures are higher than last year's. Millions more were brought into the strike movement in the three summer months. The range of tactical methods has been extended, with more accent on token, staggered, pinpoint strikes, work-to-rule actions, sit-in stoppages, and more industry-wide and national strikes. Labor-capital clashes reached the highest point in countries with a long tradition of class struggle—Britain, Italy, France, USA, Japan and Federal Germany.

The facts confirm that strike action by industrial workers is the main weapon against capital, but today the social composition of strikers is changing, and so are their demands. Most stoppages were still in support of wage demands. But more and more workers are coming to realize that the struggle for economic demands, though important, is not enough. They are learning that soaring prices, higher taxes and active government intervention in labor relations can, and do, cut deeply into wage rises.

Another characteristic of the present working-class struggle is closer combination of purely economic and general democratic and political demands. Strikers are more insistently demanding trade-union rights at factory level, the right to strike, guaranteed employment, more and better social insurance, participation in management, restriction of monopoly power, repeal of anti-labor legislation, changes in government economic policy, and so on.

Political demonstrations and strikes were much more frequent this summer. And here the demands were for repeal of anti-labor laws, an end to persecution and other repressive measures against progressive leaders and organizations. In this category mention should be made of the widening strike movement among government employees, aimed directly at capitalist governments, their economic and social policies. The political implications of the summer movement are evident in mass actions against the U.S. aggression in Indochina, military alliances and military bases on foreign territories, international mono-

poly interference in the affairs of Afro-Asian and Latin American countries.

On the other hand, the economic struggle itself is undergoing a substantial change. The workers are coming to see that their priority aim, stable growth of real wages, can be achieved only through political actions, such as active interference by working-class organizations in monopoly policy and the regulatory functions of the state, and use of the incomes policy and machinery in the interests of the working people.

Substantiated concretization of strike demands is increasingly becoming an objective necessity. Trade unions and Communist parties are in principle against the incomes policy, which the monopolists and their governments exploit to freeze wages and curtail the workers' rights. But the very logic of the strike movement, now that it has reached a high level, dictates not rejection of government regulation, but rather active interference by trade unions and other working-class organizations in economic policies, with a view to finding ways and means of making it serve the workers' interests.

One example of a successful fight for concrete demands is the July 1970 agreement concluded in France guaranteeing private industry workers the right to occupational training without loss of wages.

Major strike demands in the U.S., Britain and several other countries called for a curb on monopoly and government inflationary policies, radical tax reform, more money for the social services, etc. This, too, is a sign of the movement's higher maturity.

The number of strikers is not the only criterion of growing militancy. There has been a sharp increase in the number of strikes, including major conflicts started in defiance of the union leadership, and heightened rank-and-file activity—in many cases the membership has been able to impose its will on union leaders. These rank-and-file actions are the workers' challenge to the reformist union chieftains who cling to their old methods and old slogans of "class truce" and "social pacification."

The so-called unofficial strikes, that is, strikes called without leadership consent, were especially impressive in the FRG, Belgium, Holland, Sweden, Denmark and Norway, countries always held up as "models of class peace." No wonder the *Paris Monde*, referring to the situation in Scan-

dinavia, said these strikes were a "blow at social concord."

Mass action has strengthened the Left wing in a number of French, Italian and Belgian unions and in Spain's government-controlled Francoist unions, now vigorously opposed by the revolutionary Workers' Commissions movement.

The American working class opened a new chapter in U.S. labor history with the National Rank-and-File Action Conference held in Chicago in June. What we have is a new organizational form of the movement, primarily of its Left wing, that rejects the AFL-CIO "accommodation" policy on home and international issues.

Reformist propaganda is at pains to present this radicalization process as evidence of a "crisis" or "split" in the movement and "decline" of the workers' class consciousness. The derogatory term, "wildcat" strike, is being used to attribute to the workers anarchistic tendencies that, it is alleged, undermine organized struggle.

Communist parties in capitalist countries take an entirely different view. There is nothing "wildcat" about these independent actions. The working class is a mature class deeply conscious of its mission. Rank-and-file actions are an inalienable part of the modern trade-union movement and are directed not against the unions or against trade-union unity, but against discredited and ineffectual trade-union officialdom. The U.S. Communist paper *Daily World* remarked two months after the Chicago conference that the movement it initiated had already been joined "by scores of full-time union officials." Its object is to restore to the unions their strength and militancy, make them more effective in a situation which, as never before, calls for organized united action to fight international monopoly capital.

Still another feature of the strike struggle, and one that merits closer examination, is the militant action of foreign workers in France, West Germany, Belgium, the U.S. and other countries. Drawn chiefly from Greece, Spain, Portugal and partly Italy, they make up a very large contingent of the working class: 3 million in Britain, 3.5 million in France, 1.7 million in West Germany, etc. And they get the worst deal of all: are paid the lowest wage, denied job protection, harassed by the authorities, subject to chauvinist propaganda. But despite all that, they are keenly aware of the class antagonism between labor and capital, which no amount of capitalist propaganda can obscure. Their

part in the West-European strike movement has come as a telling blow to the Common Market's "coordinated" labor power policy.

The sterling examples of class solidarity set this summer will go down in labor history as one of its finest pages. This refers in particular to the international solidarity with the British dockers during their general strike. Addressing one of the many solidarity rallies in the Soviet Union, docker Vladimir Afimov said: "We Arkhangelsk dockers well remember how English dockers demanded 'Hands Off Soviet Russia' when our country was fighting back foreign intervention. Soviet workers, in common with their comrades throughout Europe, are prepared to give their British class brothers every assistance in their just fight."

The history of the class struggle is replete with examples of the capitalists using every available opportunity to mount a counter-offensive in order to restrict the workers' rights. There were many such instances this summer. In several countries the monopolies, with government backing, used intimidation, repression, psychological pressure, or a combination of the three, to hamstring labor action through anti-labor laws and compulsory arbitration. But this did not in any way reduce the tensivity of the class struggle. More, workers in countries like Spain, South Africa and Sweden, which have a partial or total strike ban, have been brought into the movement.

The workers' reaction to this fresh monopoly onslaught can be judged by the summer events in the United States. Frightened by "labor unrest," Big Business representatives in Congress urged going back to the open shop. And the more zealous Congressmen even call for abolition of the National Labor Relations Board which in the New Deal days mediated in labor conflicts, but which today, according to these Congressmen, is "too soft" on the unions. In July, the Nixon administration used compulsory arbitration to prevent a rail-

way strike. In August, a Cleveland court issued an injunction against strikers at a local automobile plant. Plans are afoot in ruling quarters to extend the interpretation of "strikes against the public interest" to include practically every major dispute.

The National Coordinating Committee set up at the Chicago conference issued an Open Letter calling on the entire labor movement for an all-out fight against the anti-labor policy of Big Business and the government. The appeal was taken up by many unions. Encouraged by their initial successes, the workers are pressing the fight for more political gains. In August, the American Federation of Government Employees conference representing 310,000 members decided to erase the no-strike clause in their constitution (strikes by government employees are officially banned in the U.S.). This was followed by a similar resolution by the United Federation of Postal Clerks and the National Association of Letter Carriers. Another union, the American Federation of Teachers, decided to delete the anti-communist clause from its constitution. The *Daily World* says these and other developments show that the fight is being carried into new areas, that substantial changes are taking place in the labor movement as a whole, and that the unorganized are coming into motion.

Expansion of the class struggle and the higher political level of the Workers' movement call for more effective leadership from the Communist parties, armed as they are with the most progressive theory of social development. In a number of capitalist countries the Communists are an active force in the strike movement and are making an important contribution to the leftward swing in the trade unions. Speaking in September, John Gollan, General Secretary of the Communist Party of Great Britain, said that in the new period of sharp class confrontations, the working class movement needed the Communist Party more than ever before.

STRIKE DIARY

USA

Rank-and-file strike by members of the United Mine Workers of America extends to 150 pits in Pennsylvania, Virginia, West Virginia and Kentucky. Demands are for

stringent observance of safety regulations and higher pensions. Strike lasts several weeks.

Six-week strike of 5,000 General Motors workers in Ohio wins better working conditions. In September 350,000 General Mo-

tors workers in the USA and Canada down tools in support of demands for higher wages, pensions and fringe benefits.

RCA electrical workers out for several months in support of wage and pension claims; 12,000 members of United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers boycott RCA plants in solidarity action.

Westinghouse workers win higher wages, no-overtime schedule, equal pay for equal work, and better safety facilities after 3½ weeks' strike.

Truck drivers win wage increase for half a million workers after 12-week strike.

Several unions support Detroit television workers on strike for more wages.

Agricultural workers in California and Colorado win union and contract rights and unemployment and sickness benefits after long struggle.

BRITAIN

First general dockers' strike since 1926 generates powerful international solidarity movement. Belgian dockers urge Transport Workers' International to block all ships sailing from British ports. Appeal is supported by French, Dutch, Swedish and West German dockers. Solidarity meetings in Tallinn, Leningrad, Murmansk, Arkhangelsk and other Soviet ports express readiness to help strikers families. Two-week strike wins guaranteed minimum wage and higher overtime pay for 47,000 dockers.

In auto, 20,000 workers table wage demands and towards the end of the summer similar demands come from miners, postal workers and municipal workers.

FRANCE

Thousands of workers in state industries — arsenals, armaments and ammunition plants — walk out in Paris, Bordeaux, Brest, Toulouse and Toulon in protest against plans to "rationalize" state-run industries. Strikers demand restriction of private capital interference in armaments production, an end to technological layoffs, higher wages and shorter work week.

Major strikes by employees of finance system.

12,000 Paris postal workers demand higher wages and shorter work week. Post office truck drivers on strike for pensions at 55 and higher wages, are supported by truck drivers in other cities.

Builders in many parts of country call strike for higher wages: 12,000 in Gironde Department, 10,000 in Upper Garonne; 90-

95 per cent of all workers involved in Toulouse stoppage; in Paris, strikers organize 16 demonstrations.

Other summer strikes: 38,000 city transport workers in Paris; national pharmacists against high taxes on medicine; workers and office personnel in a number of other industries.

ITALY

Millions demonstrate on May Day, highlighting solidarity of the Left in struggle for economic and social reforms.

Piedmont paralyzed in early summer by selective strikes in auto, transport, printing and other industries. General strike in Liguria. Nationwide strike for higher pay, better conditions, improved social insurance involves 180,000 railwaymen, 600,000 municipal employees, 45,000 industrial white-collar personnel, 220,000 service workers.

Printing workers stage series of 24-hour strikes for new collective agreements. Press personnel win extension of trade-union rights and other demands.

Series of 24-hour strikes by private bus-line personnel demanding new collective agreements, higher wages and shorter working hours last from early winter to late summer.

SPAIN

Police attack on Granada building workers demanding higher wages and shorter workweek sparks off solidarity movement involving all Granada builders, protest strikes in Madrid, Barcelona, Seville; militant actions in Andalusia, Castille, and the Asturias. In Madrid, solidarity actions involve 5,000 Pegaso workers and personnel of country's biggest banks. Peasants in Granada region join in solidarity action. Madrid subway workers come out for higher wages and new collective agreement and are supported by many bus drivers.

At end of summer, 15,000 Madrid workers, 12,000 Asturian miners and workers in other trades still out on strike for higher wages and better conditions. According to incomplete data, more than 270,000 involved in strikes in August.

FRG

Summer strikes include actions by steel and engineering workers, auto workers at Daimler-Benz plants in Mannheim, for higher wages; more than 2,000 Beiersdorf shipbuilders demanding new collective

agreements; steelworkers and dockers protesting against projected 10 per cent income tax rise. In September, about 120,000 workers in the Ruhr and other industrial centres down tools in support of wage claims.

BELGIUM

Up to 100,000 involved in summer strike actions. List includes Limburg miners, postal workers, personnel of the French Michelin rubber plants, American Caterpillar works, and Clabecq steel mills in the south.

HOLLAND

Country's biggest strike in 20 years — 33,000 shipbuilders and dockers demanding higher wages — paralyzes Rotterdam port in August and September.

SWEDEN

Adalen dockers' strike in May-June.

JAPAN

Hundreds of thousands participate in rallies and demonstrations against prolongation of security pact with U.S. Actions are organized by Sohyo, Japan's General Trade Union Council. Over 100,000 employees of government railways walk out for more pay and against impending layoffs.

CANADA

Higher wages, better conditions and job protection are the demands of 27,000 postal workers out on strike for several weeks. In Quebec province, 16,000 building workers out for three months, and in British Columbia 25,000 building workers strike for similar demands. Workers in power and fishing continue their strike for economic demands.

AUSTRALIA

In Sydney, 55,000 transport workers stage 24-hour stoppage to press wage claims. Strike of engineering workers in petrochemical industry wins higher wages, more overtime pay and longer paid holidays. Other strikes: power workers, miners for more pay, and building workers employed by American Alcoa concern for shorter workweek.

TURKEY

Strike by 100,000 workers against anti-labor bill before parliament. Strike for new

collective agreements and better conditions by 40,000 road builders and 21,000 sugar-industry workers supported by workers in other trades.

INDIA

In Calcutta, 15,000 seamen and 18,000 dockers win wage increase. Strike of railway workers. Workers at the big Durgapur steel mills down tools to press demand for higher pay, better conditions and re-instatement of laid-off workers. Prolonged stoppage at India's biggest dynamite plant. In West Bengal, Communist-led United Front conducts general strike demanding dissolution of Legislative Assembly, new elections, end to police terror, guaranteed democratic rights and freedoms and radical land reform.

ISRAEL

Actions against growing unemployment and government policy of depressing real wages and raising taxes. In July, 11,000 hospital workers strike for higher pay.

SOUTH AFRICA

Johannesburg miners take strike action in August in defiance of official strike ban.

SOUTH VIETNAM

Strike in Saigon's new port in early summer, followed in June by general solidarity strike involving 100,000 belonging to 124 union organizations and supported by 2,000 students. Strikes accompanied by anti-American demonstrations.

ARGENTINA

Cordoba automobile workers out for more than a month to back demand for wages and better conditions, supported by solidarity actions in other automobile plants. Strike by 20,000 sugar refinery workers for higher wages and new contract. Other strikes: Cordoba aluminum workers, glass, furniture and municipal workers in support of wage claims; 24-hour stoppage of 5,000 workers in meatpacking to reinstate laid-off workers — strike brings 40 Buenos Aires packing plants to a standstill; Astarsa shipbuilders protesting against unsanitary conditions.

CHILE

United Trade Union Center calls strike of workers, office personnel, students and

peasants for higher wages and genuine agrarian reform.

URUGUAY

National Trade Union Convention calls general strike to back wage demands and in protest against government interference in education.

BOLIVIA

Press staffs in La Paz take strike action against ban on circulation of *Prensa* weekly.

VENEZUELA

Ford automobile workers strike against company's violations of collective agreement and for reinstatement of victimized workers. Strike supported by 60,000 workers.

ECUADOR

More than 3,000 employees of five government offices on strike against law limiting civil service rights and salaries are supported by workers in 34 private enterprises.

Struggle for land and land reforms in India

C. UNNI RAJA

The agrarian question dominates the political, economic and social life of India today. This was forcibly manifested by the nationwide and unprecedentedly militant mass struggle of the poor peasants and the agricultural reforms in the recent months. Unless and until radical democratic changes are brought about in the agrarian structure, and the miserable conditions of the vast majority of the rural population are rapidly and basically improved, India with its vast population of 541 million, like other newly independent countries of Asia and Africa where the agrarian problem is still unsolved, cannot advance along the road of all-round progress.

From 1955 onwards the Congress Governments introduced a series of measures for land reforms. As a consequence of the land reform laws enacted and implemented by the Congress Governments in various states, old feudal types of land tenure which covered 40 per cent of the cultivated area were abolished and the peasants in these areas got considerable relief. Thereby nearly 20 million tenants were brought directly under the state.

With regard to tenancy legislation, rents have been regulated in all the states, ranging from 1/6 to 1/4 of the total produce. But only a small portion of the tenants got occupancy rights on their lands. Mass evictions have taken place under one pretext or other. Over and above this, there are large numbers of tenants-at-will, concealed tenants and sharecroppers who enjoy no legal protection and are at the mercy of the landlords.

On the other hand, the old feudal landlords whose overlordship over the land not leased to tenants, was abolished, have still got in their possession about 64 million acres of land. These lands they either cultivate with hired labor or illegally lease

out to tenants extracting from them still exorbitant rents. They also get more than 6,400 million rupees (850 million dollars) as compensation. Huge palaces, savings in cash and other properties were also left intact with them.

As far as imposition of a ceiling on land holdings is concerned, it is now universally recognized that in all the states the existing ceiling laws have proved to be an utter failure. For these laws are heavily weighted in favor of the landlords. A large number of categories of land are exempted from the operation of these laws; the official, bureaucratic machinery responsible for their implementation has everywhere allowed the bigger landlords to circumvent the laws under various excuses. Thus practically very little land was left, in the eyes of the law, for being taken over by the government.

It is estimated that in India, as a whole, there are available for distribution among the agricultural workers and poor peasants 90 million acres of land; if radical amendments are made in the present ceiling laws, another 90 million acres of cultivable waste land in the possession of the government and 28 million acres of forest fallow lands. Thus 210 million acres of land are available for distribution among the rural poor.

The Congress Governments have distributed only a small part of the fallow and waste lands in their possession to the agricultural laborers and poor peasants and that too after bitter struggle. In fact landlords and rich peasants were allowed freely to occupy government lands. Recently the Congress Governments in some States leased out large tracts of lands to some of the richest capitalist monopolies for large-scale mechanized cultivation. The billions of rupees which have been pumped into the villages in the name of Rural Development

during the three five year plans, have gone, in the main, to strengthen the position of the bigger landlords, landowners and rich peasants. The mass of landless and land-hungry peasants and agricultural workers have practically not benefited. In fact, the vast majority of the actual tillers of the soil have remained outside the benefits of the facilities and services provided by these five-year plans, whether they are cooperative credit, small and medium irrigation or better technique of production and mechanization.

Actually the Congress-sponsored land reforms and the huge amounts spent for increasing agricultural production have resulted in widening the gap between the rich and poor in the countryside of India. Because the basic aims of the agrarian policy of the national bourgeoisie were to create conditions for the development of capitalism in India. It was not for the complete abolition of feudal and semi-feudal landlordism; it was for the complete break-up of private monopoly of landownership; on the other hand, it wanted only to curb and at the same time compromise with feudal and semi-feudal interests, to gradually transform into capitalist farmers.

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In India agrarian reforms sponsored by the Congress Governments were certain means to pave the way for capitalist development in agriculture. But because of the path of compromise followed by the leading circles of national bourgeoisie, the stranglehold of survivals of semi-feudal land relations still persists.

The transitional character of land relations still persists.

The transitional character of land relations in Indian agriculture due to the interpenetration and coexistence of pre-capitalist (semi-feudal) and capitalist forms can be clearly seen. Land is still leased out to sharecroppers and other tenants-at-will who cultivate it with their own implements and other resources. Tenant holdings, according to the census of 1961, constituted nearly 22 per cent of the total land under cultivation. But these figures do not include concealed tenancy. In any case semi-feudal land relations must have come down after Independence from 40 per cent to 25 per cent of the total cultivated land.

A class of substantial landowners who are resorting more and more to capitalist

forms of production, through employment of hired labor and use of modern techniques, has arisen. These capitalist landlords own a considerable part of the cultivated area. They have also in their hands a substantial part of the trading and usurious capital of the rural areas. They invest their accumulation in trade and small-scale agro-industries. They freely indulge in usury also. They have close links with the rural commercial and banking interests. They dominate and make maximum use of the cooperative credit societies. In fact they constitute the new rural capitalist class created by the socio-economic policies pursued by the Congress Governments and are the main oppressing class of the rural poor.

At present 30 to 40 per cent of all arable land is cultivated by hired labor either fully or partially. But this includes land owned by rich peasants also. The class of rich peasants has grown and strengthened its positions as a result of the growth of commodity-money relations in agriculture. Though the rich peasant as a cultivator is subjected to the economic pressures exercised by big trading and commercial interests and is hit by certain taxation and price policies of the Government, he is able to secure economic advantages in various ways which are not open to middle or small peasants. He exploits wage labor, to some extent he indulges in usury and land grabbing, participates in rural trading and black marketing and has thus become linked up with the ruling and exploiting classes in the countryside.

Agricultural production for the market (i.e., commodity economy) has developed during the last two decades or so far more rapidly and sweepingly than ever before. Money economy has reached and enveloped even the remotest villages. Today even the small peasant, growing foodgrains, though his total production is not sufficient to meet the annual needs of his own family, is obliged to sell a large part of it in the market immediately after the harvest and then to purchase foodgrains again from the market for consumption afterwards. In fact production for the market has become the general rule for all types of farmers.

At the same time remnants of the semi-feudal mode of production still continue to exist, including even pressures other than economic. Even after all the reforms, money rent has not yet become universal; labor rent (unpaid labor on a certain part

of the landlord's land as the rent for the land leased to the tenant) still prevails in certain areas in the case of certain of the tillers. The scheduled castes and scheduled tribes,* majority of whom are agricultural laborers without land, without even a homestead, still suffer from social oppression, lack of civic freedom due to untouchability, debt slavery and forced labor in many forms in many parts of the country. Members of the untouchable castes are still being socially oppressed. Laws enacted for the abolition of untouchability have mostly remained on paper.

Referring to the conditions in Russia, Lenin spoke of two paths of capitalist development—the Prussian path of feudal landlords developing into big capitalist farmers by forcibly evicting the peasants en masse from their lands and converting them into hired labor and the American path of sweeping capitalist development in agriculture.

Neither of these paths is suitable or even feasible in the case of developing countries in Asia. The land systems in these countries are subjected to a very high pressure of population and are dominated by small peasant holdings. Such systems cannot be reorganized on a capitalist basis by uprooting the great mass of peasants from their tiny holdings. They are bound to put up a life and death resistance to such attempts. Nor can there be any rapid or sustained development of agriculture along the path of capitalist reorganization of land relations. This is the experience of India during the past two decades. As pointed out in the program of the Communist Party of India:

"The agrarian policies of the national bourgeoisie are now in a state of crisis. All its vacillations, weaknesses, and compromises in favor of the rural and urban propertied classes, are now coming home to roost. After registering an initial release of some productive forces and expansion of agricultural output, the agrarian economy has started stagnating and agricultural production is not growing. In fact . . . national planning is facing a critical situation on this account. Chronic food deficits and a precarious reliance on foreign food imports has become the order of the day. In the countryside the impoverishment of the mass of toiling peasantry is growing.

*Article 15 of the 1949 Constitution authorizes the government to issue special decrees affecting the development of socially and culturally backward classes of citizens, or scheduled castes or tribes, the latter two being designated by the President of India.

Landlessness is on the increase. To the traditional exploitation of the peasants by the remnants of semi-feudal vested interest has been added a more intensified fleecing of the peasantry through the market by big trading interests, speculators and hoarders" (Documents of the VIII Congress of the Communist Party of India," pp. 295-296).

Indian economy has already reached a stage of acute crisis. So much so, even in the industrial sphere, the progress has become very halting, with periods of recess and stagnation. Naturally, development of capitalism is bound to be slower in agriculture than in industry. Moreover, the emergence of monopoly groups in the national economy of India affects Indian agriculture also. They are in league with foreign capital and the semi-feudal elements. They are stifling the development of productive forces and restrict the growth of the agrarian bourgeoisie who also are exploited by the former. This conflict is reflected in the split that recently took place in the ruling Congress Party, the premier political organization of the Indian bourgeoisie.

In the modern epoch, capitalist development in agriculture is not historically inevitable in India nor in other newly independent countries. After the Great October Socialist Revolution, after the formation of the world socialist system, after the liberation of most of the colonies and semi-colonies, new ways of development have opened. The achievements of the socialist world system are an inspiring example for supporters of non-capitalist development.

For Indian agriculture the real path of development is the non-capitalist path which would speedily and completely liquidate the remnants of feudal backwardness and prevent the emergence and growth of big capitalist farming. What does the non-capitalist path of development in agriculture mean? It means the complete elimination of all those forms of exploitation, whether it be landgrabbing, evictions, usury, excessive rents or high prices, which seriously depress the productive efforts of the actual tillers of the soil. Its main aim and direction is the rapid development of the productive energies of the great mass of peasants through direct state aid.

The non-capitalist path of development in agriculture implies complete and unconditional severance of all landlord-tenant relations, breaking up the private monopoly of land ownership so that the agri-

cultural laborers and poor peasants get land for cultivation. It further means complete protection for rural working people from usurious exactions and from the loot of the capitalist market through price manipulation.

The struggle for a non-capitalist path in agriculture in India is a struggle directed not only against the vested interests in land, but also against the industrial and commercial monopolies which are reaping fabulous profits through the sale of such essential commodities for agriculture as fertilizers, pesticides, agricultural machinery, pumping sets, electric engines, etc. A non-capitalist development would imply the taking over of the production of all essential agricultural requirements from the control of the capitalist monopolies and putting them in the public sector, regulating their prices and supplies to suit the needs and interests of the vast mass of cultivators.

The non-capitalist path of development also means maximum state aid to the peasant masses directly through cooperatives in respect of credits, irrigation, cheap fertilizers, better seeds, modern implements, etc., for unleashing a great production upsurge in agriculture. It also means full protection to the peasant producer in respect of prices of the commodities he sells and buys through a network of marketing and consumers' cooperatives.

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What such a radical democratic reorganization of the social and economic structure of agrarian set-up in India practically means is shown by the implementation of the land reform law in the State of Kerala by a Left and democratic United Front Government in which the Communist Party of India played a decisive role. Last September's elections strengthened the positions of the United Front.

From January 1, 1970, landlordism has been completely abolished in the State. All relations between tenants and landlords have been severed; no landlord has anymore the right to demand rent or any other payment from the tenant-cultivators who are cultivating the land owned by the former. And no tenant has the obligation to pay any dues to his landlord. All peasants who are cultivating the land belonging to landlords or religious institutions, whatever be the "legal" name of the lease, whether he possesses any document or not,

have become the owners of the land they till. It is the responsibility of the Government to pay compensation to the landlords. The tenants have only to pay reduced fair rent in sixteen annual installments to the Government as purchase price.

Kerala's Law radically differs from all land reform laws hitherto enacted by Congress Governments. Land reforms hitherto enacted or implemented by the Congress Governments have only abolished traditional feudal landlordism, transferring the ownership to various types of middlemen who are rich peasants, and different types of tenants like sharecroppers continue to exist under them. For the first time in India the Kerala Land Law confers unconditional ownership rights on actual tillers of the soil, and leasing of land is prohibited. In all previous agrarian reform acts there are several loopholes through which the landlords can evict tenants on various pretexts. So their implementation actually resulted in large-scale evictions. There are no such provisions in the Kerala Law.

The Law imposes a ceiling (upper limit) on land holdings. No landowner can possess more than twenty acres of land, whatever its quality and however big his family. All land in possession of the landlords, above the ceiling fixed in the Law, will be taken over by the Government and distributed among the landless and the poor peasants. Priority in land distribution will be given to agricultural workers. No person or family can purchase land if already in possession of land up to the ceiling limit. In this respect also the Kerala Law is radically different from Congress Party-sponsored land reform enactments. They set the ceiling limit so high and provided for all sorts of exemptions that practically no surplus land was available for distribution.

One more important feature of the Kerala Law is that it gives protection for the hundreds of thousands of urban and rural poor who live in huts or small houses constructed on land belonging to the landlords. They are given the right to purchase their homesteads by paying a nominal price.

Together with the implementation of the Agrarian Reform, the new United Front Government worked out a plan for distributing all available cultivable land in the possession of the State to landless agricultural workers and poor peasants. The implications of this plan become clear if

one takes into account that in Kerala tens of thousands of landless peasants have "illegally" occupied waste and forest land belonging to the State. They are faced permanently with the threat of eviction and other penal action. Under the leadership of the Communist Party they have fought many a heroic struggle in defense of the land occupied by them. The new United Front Government decided to confer free of cost permanent ownership rights on all such peasant families who have occupied waste and forest land belonging to the State.

Thus when the Agrarian Reform Law is implemented in full and distribution of Government land to landless peasants is completed, it will mean:

- 2.5 million tenant-cultivator families will become owners of the land they till;

- 500,000 rural and urban poor families will get the ownership of their house-sites;

- 400,000 peasant families in "illegal" occupation of Government land will receive full ownership rights;

- 100,000 landless peasant families will get land at the rate of one acre per family through the distribution of Government land;

- many more thousands of agricultural laborers and poor peasants will get land to cultivate when surplus land above ceiling limit is taken over and distributed.

It will mean that there will be no landowner of any type (except for estates run on an industrial basis) who possesses more than 20 acres of land. At least three to four million peasant, rural and urban poor families will get for the first time land of their own.

Already by the end of July 1970, 125,000 peasant families have been given ownership rights over the government or forest land which they had occupied "illegally," and an equal number of rural and urban poor families received the ownership of their house-sites. The distribution of land and conferring of ownership rights developed into big mass festivals in which tens of thousands of people participated and held joyous demonstrations to celebrate the realization of their long-cherished dreams.

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Implementation of radical agrarian reforms, breaking up the private monopoly of landownership, is not an easy or smooth progress. It can be accomplished only through fierce and prolonged class struggle. In fact one of the crucial questions on which a sharp political conflict has de-

veloped in India between the forces of progress and of reaction is the question of land reforms. The Right reactionary forces represented by the split-away Right wing of the Indian National Congress (Syndicate), Jan Sangh and Swatantra Party, who are trying to form a "grand Alliance," are strongly opposing all measures for fundamental changes in the agrarian set-up. They tried their level best to overthrow the United Front Government in Kerala so that the implementation of the land reform law was halted. Unfortunately, the break-away Communist Party (Marxist) also joined hands with the Right reactionary forces to topple the United Front Government in Kerala.

The leaders of the ruling Congress Party are talking tall and loud about the need for implementation of land reforms. But the State Governments, controlled by their Party, are doing nothing in the matter of land reforms.

Generalizing the experience of implementing the agrarian reform laws in Kerala as well as the experience of organizing and leading the struggle of agricultural workers and poor peasants in other States during the past two years, the National Council of the Communist Party of India decided to launch a nationwide struggle for land and land reforms together with the All-India Peasants' Organization and the All-India Agricultural Workers' Union. The struggle was to take the form of actual occupation of waste and fallow lands and surplus land belonging to big feudal landlords and monopolists.

The National Council of the Communist Party of India, which met in May 1970, in its resolution said: "A widespread militant movement of the agricultural workers, poor peasants and tribal people to force the hands of the Central and State Governments is needed to make them bring radical amendments to the existing legislations and to get the Government fallow lands and "name-sake" forest lands distributed properly. Such a movement and struggle are quite possible in the present changed political situation in our country and the militant mood of the agrarian masses."

The resolution went on to point out that "the upsurge of tens of millions of agricultural workers and poor peasants in rural India today will radically transform the political situation and raise immediately the tempo and sweep of the entire democratic movement."

The movement started on July 1, 1970, with massive demonstrations, public meet-

ings and occupation of Government fallow lands. It is the first time in the history of post-Independence India that a militant agrarian movement on an all-India scale against the forces of feudalism and for land has been unleashed. In the month of July nearly 200,000 acres of land were occupied and cultivation begun. Trade unions, organizations of youth and students are actually helping the peasants and agricultural workers. In many places the peasants and Communist Party volunteers had to face the bullets and batons of the landlords and police.

The second phase of the movement started on August 9, 1970 when the peasants and agricultural workers, led by the leaders and activists of the Communist Party of India, started marching to occupy large farms of former feudal landlords, former princes and monopolists who had grabbed thousands of acres of land, belonging either to the state or from the peasants. Other Left parties like SSP and PSP have also entered the arena with their own program of struggle. Many State Governments have started talking about taking speedy steps for enforcing ceiling laws and distributing waste lands. But at the same time, they have also unleashed severe repressions against the movement and thousands of peasants and Communist volunteers have been already arrested in the name of maintaining "law and order."

As pointed out by the Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party of India in its resolution dated July 27, 1970, "Intensification and extension of this movement will be the biggest blow not only to the forces of feudalism and Right reaction, but also to the landlord-big kulak sections inside the Congress. It is clear that only a militant movement of the agricultural workers, poor peasants, and tribal people, supported by the progressive forces, can force the hands of the unwilling State Governments and the Central Government and make them implement their declarations on land reforms."

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After the experience of the Great October Socialist Revolution, Lenin in his "Preliminary Draft Theses on the Agrarian Question," adopted at the Second Congress of the Comintern, emphasized: "Only the urban and industrial proletariat, led by the Communist Party, can liberate the working masses of the countryside from the yoke of capital and landed proprietorship, from ruin and the imperialist wars which will in-

evitably break out again and again if the capitalist system remains. There is no salvation for the working masses of the countryside except in alliance with the Communist proletariat" (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 31, p. 152).

The experience of the subsequent national liberation and socialist revolutions as well as the construction of socialism in different countries have repeatedly proved the validity of this proposition. But there are still people who call themselves Marxist-Leninists and revolutionaries who deny this. They either denounce the entire peasantry as a reactionary mass and refuse to recognize them as the ally of the working class in the struggle for democratic advance and socialism or elevate them as the only revolutionary force and preach the theory of "revolution beginning from the countryside and gradually enveloping the cities." Both refuse to recognize the need for class alliances and the leading role of the working class.

Since Independence in India many mass movements have taken place. In different States the entire people have gone into protest political actions. Workers in a particular industry have conducted struggles on a national scale. Peasant struggles in particular regions in specific demands were also many. But the masses on an all-India basis have been stirred into political action mainly during general elections. It is only now that the peasantry, under the leadership of the working class, participated in such a massive campaign for basic structural changes on a national scale.

This was possible because the Communist Party took the initiative to organize such a mass movement. It was also because the Communist Party was a decisive force in the United Front Government that in the state of Kerala radical agrarian reforms in the interests of the mass of the peasantry were introduced. And it may look strange but it is a fact that the "Left Communists" in India (either of the extreme type who talk loud about agrarian revolution or belong to the Communist Party (Marxist) which denounces the Communist Party as "revisionists") not only kept away from this first national movement of the peasantry, but actually opposed it.

One of the significant achievements of this land struggle is, as rightly pointed out by Rajeswar Rao, General Secretary of the Communist Party of India, "the beginning of the forging of unity between industrial

workers and the town on the one hand, and the agricultural workers, peasants and Adivasis (tribal people) on the other. . . . These beginnings of unity on the field of

battle between the toilers in town and villages bode good for the future of the revolutionary democratic movement of our country."

WMR

against the persecution of democrats

Courage and dedication of Haiti's communists

JACQUES DORCILIER

For more than 13 years now, ever since 1957, Haiti has been under the iron heel of Duvalier. Supported by U.S. imperialism, the reactionaries set up a despotic regime in an attempt to stem the revolutionary movement and prolong the rule of a tight group of exploiters—big landowners, comprador bourgeoisie and U.S. monopolies. Democratic freedoms, even the most elementary civil rights, have given way to an unmitigated terrorism.

For the Duvalier regime is, to all practical purposes, a mediaeval tyranny depending for its existence on murder, torture and imprisonment. The dictatorship is already responsible for the death of 26,000 Haitians.

In 1960 it launched an all-out offensive against the Communist movement. Our losses were great: practically all members of the Popular Unity Party Central Committee were killed (in January 1969 this party joined with the Democratic Union to form the United Party of Haitian Commun-

ists). Among the victims of this anti-communist crusade were Jacques Stephan Aléxis, a world-renowned writer who died after horrible torture; Gerard Soufrant, student leader; David Laine, 70 year-old peasant leader, and such sterling Communist fighters as Mario Rameau, Yvon Piverge, Georges Florestan and Yves Michel.

Our people will always remember and revere the courage and fortitude of Jean Jacques Ambroise, one of the organizers of the present Communist movement in Haiti. Tortured, he refused to give the police any information, was dragged out and pushed into the baggage compartment of a police car, where he died of suffocation. And we shall always remember the 17-year-old student Yvon Priverge, tortured to death for this wall inscription: "Duvalier is a murderer: Long live Communism!" Duvalier's thugs, the tonton-macoutes, arrested and threw into jail the poet Rony Lescouflair, a popular figure among young Haitians. There has been no news of him since December 1967. The same

fate befell Joel Liautaud, who left his wealthy family and studies abroad to join in the movement for Haiti's freedom. Many prominent Communists are condemned to a slow death at the Fort Dimanche prison, where cell walls and floors have been deliberately studded with pieces of sharp glass.

Our party has retaliated by forming fighting groups of activists and urging people to take up arms against the terror. And popular resistance is steadily increasing in town and country.

The United States Central Intelligence Agency is behind this unending wave of repression and works hand in hand with Duvalier's Gestapo. That has been exposed by Roger Mehu, a Communist who fell fighting the tonton-macoutes at Cazal. Passing through the United States, he was arrested and jailed by the CIA, tortured—his arm was broken—in an attempt to make him turn informer for the U.S. Embassy in Haiti. He pretended to agree, but the moment he returned to Port-au-Prince he told his comrades what the CIA wanted of him.

This exposure did not stop CIA attempts to recruit stooges within the Communist Party. And in one case, unfortunately, it succeeded. In 1967, a member of the Party's Military Commission was sent to Santo Domingo on an important assignment. Recruited by the CIA, this traitor helped start a new terror campaign against Party members and supporters.

The CIA had a hand in the arrests of V. Joseph, Claudette Mirville, Suze Domingue and other comrades in Port-au-Prince. The police were able to discover some of the Party's undercover premises. There was a series of raids, and the police suffered heavy casualties before they could break into the buildings, for our comrades fought to the last.

Many a Communist has given his life heroically fighting for the cause of his Party and his people. Gerald Brisson, Raymond Jean-Francois, Jacques Jeannot, Gaveau Desrosier and many more will always be remembered for their bravery and dedication to the revolutionary cause. Another name is that of Daniel Sansaricq. The day after the police killed his family, he declared he was remaining in the ranks of the working class and its Party and would continue the fight to free Haiti of the dictatorship and U.S. imperialism and set Haiti on the road to socialism.

Mounting resistance has meant mounting terror. The tonton-macoutes and the army burn homes of "suspects," stage raids in

city streets, shooting down men, women and children in a blind orgy of blood.

But the regime is coming to see that people from all walks of life actively support the Communist Party and protect its functionaries, often at the risk of their own lives. It has retaliated by a psychological campaign based on the new anti-Communist law which elevates terror to official government policy.

Duvalier got his "parliament" to enact the law, which came into force on April 28, 1969. Article 1 lists the following as "crimes against the security of the state": "All expressions of communist convictions, whether oral or written, public or private; all propaganda of communist and anarchist doctrines, whether in a public speech, lecture or conversation, at public or private gatherings, or through leaflets, posters, newspapers, magazines, books or drawings; all communication with local or foreign societies or with persons disseminating communist or anarchist ideas, also the receipt, collection or direct transfer of any matter designated for the propagation of said ideas." And the law lists potential violators: "owners and managers of shops, printing works; owners or tenants of private and public concert halls; owners, managers or tenants of dwelling houses," etc.—in fact, everyone who "in any way assists persons in the commission of crimes against the security of the state, or allows such persons the use of housing facilities, or renders them aid of any other description". Under Articles 3 and 4 all such persons are to be tried by the Permanent Military Tribunal, whose mandatory sentence is death and confiscation of all property.

That this terrorist law is directed against communist ideas is very significant. For the regime has publicly and repeatedly claimed that there are no Communists in Haiti, and no movement capable of overthrowing the government. Now it as good as admits that Marxism-Leninism has an immensely attractive power and exerts a powerful influence on the working people. And equally significant is the fact that the law is directed against the entire population. This, too, shows that the Communist Party enjoys much influence and plays a vanguard role in the fight against Duvalier and his henchmen. In fact, ours is the only organized progressive force that has been fighting with such firmness and self-sacrifice to overthrow the dictatorship and to tear the country out of imperialist oppression.

The reference in the law to the "Per-

manent Military Tribunal" is not likely to fool anyone: its statute and composition have never been made public. And it is probably true to say that the "tribunal" is simply a firing squad — no Communist has ever had a court trial. Duvalier and his clique know only too well that a Communist's speech in court, even if it is the last he ever makes, enables the Party to spread the ideas of Marxism-Leninism among the people.

But it has to be said that the regime and its new draconic law are meeting with growing pressure from public opinion in Haiti and abroad. And Duvalier has been obliged to release a group of our comrades, among them the Party's General Secretary, Joseph Roney. True, all of them are still under stringent police surveillance. But to one or another degree the regime has had to yield to persistent public pressure and the worldwide solidarity movement with Haitian political prisoners, greatly spurred

by the Statement on Haiti issued by last year's international Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties.

It can be confidently said that Duvalier's new law will not produce the expected psychological effect. All the terror, mass murders and torture will not frighten the working people of Haiti from supporting our Party. Its central organ, *Boucan*, wrote in a special issue exposing the Duvalier terror: "The people are demonstrating active sympathy for the Communists. Everywhere people warn our comrades of the danger. Without this our losses would have been greater still. Often at the risk of their lives, sympathizers help our comrades conceal Party propaganda materials. . ."

Haiti's finest sons and daughters are prepared to give their lives for the triumph of democracy and socialism. The battle continues, and let no one doubt that it will end with the victory of the people.

Paraguayan communists demand release of patriots

In a moving appeal issued in August, the Communist Party of Paraguay demands the release of the hundreds of political prisoners held by the Stroessner dictatorship. It is addressed to workers, peasants, teachers, students, professionals, servicemen — to every true patriot irrespective of social status, political views or religious creed.

Stroessner's police regime has launched an all-out offensive against the people. Repressive measures against workers' organizations, peasant and student unions — against everyone opposed to the regime — have been stepped up. Communist Central Committee members Antonio Maidana, Julio Rojas and Alfredo Alcorta have been in prison for over 12 years now despite the 9-year-old court order to set them free. Labor leaders Livio Gonzalez Santander, Ireneo Aveiro, Severo Acosta Aranda and Ananias Maidana, schoolteacher, have been in jail for 7 to 10 years. Stroessner's police

are responsible for the death of over 250 men and women, among them Central Committee members Antonio Alonso Ramirez, Wilfrido Alvarez, Norberto Martinez, J. Bautista Rondelli and Juan Mora.

Over 200 people, many of them women, were tortured and jailed in April and May alone. The courage and fortitude displayed by Isabel Ortiz de Casal, Maria Elina Rodas, Idalina Gaona, Saturnina Almada, the widow Maria Rondelli and Oilda Recalde during their many years in prison have won them respect and admiration.

The same harsh treatment is meted out to recalcitrant members of Stroessner's own Colorado Party, and here the list includes such names as Dr. Agustin Goiburu, Capt. Ortigosa, engineer Virgilio Bareiro and Dr. Pineiro.

The "phased democratization" farce, that camouflage screen, cannot obscure or conceal, let alone mitigate, the reign of terror.

Nor can all the talk of "free elections," "representative democracy," etc. The reactionary 1967 Constitution, "the defense of democracy and law and order" legislation and the state of permanent emergency are all eloquent proof of attempts to perpetuate the archaic social structure, beneficial only to a handful of big land-owners and to groups in the pay of foreign monopolies.

But popular opposition to the government is growing rapidly. The widespread solidarity movement with political prisoners is stimulated by their staunchness and courage. A few years ago the movement was comprised exclusively of Communists. But today almost all political parties, the Catholic church, the Christian Labor Confederation, the Lawyers' Association, youth organizations, peasant alliances, the National Commission in Defense of Human Rights and numerous cultural and other mass organizations have joined in the demand for the release of political prisoners.

If the popular movement for the liberation of political prisoners has not yet

scored a victory, the Communist Party appeal says, it is chiefly for lack of proper organization and coordination. It is time to rally the people for vigorous action.

Expressions of friendship and solidarity have come from all parts of the world. Only concerted action by the national and international movements can force a general amnesty and immediate release of the political prisoners.

The CPP appeals to workers, trade unions, peasant, youth and other mass organizations to demand the liberation of their comrades. All who cherish freedom and human rights must voice their protest. Greater initiative must be displayed by political personalities, government employees, housewives, and the church—from churchgoer to Bishop.

Communists call upon the people of Paraguay to put an end to the Stroessner tyranny, liberate the political prisoners, and set up a provisional government that will launch the country on a course of consistent democratization.

The strategy of intensive economic development

This is the title of a collection of articles put out earlier this year in Warsaw.* The authors include Boleslaw Jaszczuk, Political Bureau Member and Central Committee Secretary of the Polish United Workers' Party; Professors J. Pajestka and J. Anuszewski, Deputy Chairmen of the State Planning Committee; Professor Z. Knyziak, a noted economist; A. Plocica and S. Werewka, officials of the Party Central Committee, and Professor J. Kaczmarek, Chairman of the Government Committee on Science and Technology.

The book is divided into three parts. The first deals with basic methods of perfecting the economic mechanism; the second with the role of capital investments and investment processes, and the third with technological progress and utilization of latent reserves.

Poland has made impressive economic progress. National income in 1969 was up 260 per cent on 1950, industrial output 600 per cent and agricultural output more than 50 per cent. Far-reaching structural changes have converted Poland from a predominantly agrarian into a rapidly developing industrial nation: in 1968 industry accounted for 54 per cent and agriculture for 17 per cent of the national income.

This was largely achieved by extensive development, that is, by repeated injections of capital and labor. Actually, Poland had little choice in the matter. It had to find jobs for its manpower reserves, and to do that had to invest heavily in new industries and increase the volume and rate of capital accumulation. Employment in the public sector rose from about four million in 1949 to 9.2 million in 1968, and the rate of accumulation from 16 to 29 per cent. This, too, was inevitable if the country was to eliminate the legacy of economic back-

wardness and the acute shortage of many goods, particularly producer goods. This necessitated a high rate of growth in the initial period.

But we know that excessively high growth rates adversely react on the quality of production and this, in turn, militates against economic development. Besides, the conjuncture of internal and international factors—the world scientific and technological revolution, economic competition with leading capitalist countries and, more especially, economic integration of the socialist countries, now a major factor in accelerating their development — called for a re-ordering of priorities in economic strategy. The shift had to be made to more rational use of labor power, production facilities and capital investments to encourage intensive development, that is, by increasing productivity of labor and machinery, better technical and administrative organization to produce a wider range of goods and of higher quality, but geared to the country's resources and the requirements of the international socialist division of labor. Other factors are improved economic, moral and political stimulants, more efficient economic planning and management.

These central problems of economic policy are the subject of this collective study.

One of the contributors, Boleslaw Jaszczuk writes: "The decisions of the Fifth Party Congress and of the Second Central Committee Plenum called for a thorough review of our policy to direct the economy in the coming years towards intensive and selective development.

"The changeover is necessary to assure sustained high growth rates, streamline the economy, raise the national income and living standards. The basic sources of such intensive development are fuller and more effective use of our national wealth and

*Strategia intensywnego rozwoju gospodarki. Praca zbiorowa pod redakcją A. Plocicy. Warszawa, Państwowe Wydawnictwo Ekonomiczne, 1970. 463 str.

the achievements of the world scientific and technological revolution, with due account, of course, of our requirements and potentialities.

"... We want to become a modern state making optimal use of all the achievements of science and technology, a state of continuously growing prosperity for its citizens. To do that, we must make better use of existing and newly-created production facilities and concentrate on industries that can raise the country's general economic level. The two tasks are interconnected and therefore have to be accomplished simultaneously" (pp. 19 and 23).

Hence, intensive development presupposes more efficient use of the basic factors that go into material production.

The percentage increase in the relative weight of these factors in the annual accretion of industrial output is shown in the following table:

	1961	1962	1963	1964	1965	1966	1967	1968
Total employment	26	49	44	19	51	50	53	41
Technical equipment	46	23	60	42	23	50	37	40
Technical and organizational level of production	28	28	-4	39	26	0	10	19

The goal for the next few years is a sharp increase in the second and third parts of the table, i.e., the factors that make for intensive development.

The authors stress that existing production facilities still have a large potential for sustained high rates of economic growth. There are convincing figures to show that much fuller use can be made of existing plant. This will make for a higher return per investment unit and for faster replacement of obsolescent equipment.

Intensive development—and this is especially emphasized — depends on a more rational investment process. Specifically, this refers to concentrating investment on major projects, cutting construction costs and time, faster replacement of machinery, and also better financial arrangements, shifting from government subsidies to loans.

Such investment loans are seen as a major lever of economic accountability, and will be used in combination with financing out of the factory's own funds. The very fact that these loans have to be repaid will tend to cut construction schedules, thereby accelerating capital turnover.

The second basic principle in the economic development strategy is selectivity. This implies selecting definite elements of

a given structure for fast development and the formation of new structures. Specifically, the idea is to achieve optimal indicators in the range and quality of goods produced. But selectivity carefully takes into account the fact that Poland is a country of average economic potential and limited resources. We cannot, therefore, aim for excessive expansion. Instead, production structures will in some cases have to be narrowed to bring them into conformity with available resources. This also implies more reliance on the international socialist division of labor and on extension of economic ties with the world economy.

The accent in selective strategy is on industries and products that are more likely to promote technological progress. This, naturally, refers to electronics, electrical engineering, new materials and plastics, automated machinery, precision engineering, computers, molecular biology, laser and

nuclear techniques, and so on.

Considering the vast importance of technological progress and the need to improve technical and quality standards, we have drawn up new quality criteria. The book cites the 1965-70 modernization program for the electrical engineering industry. It envisages the following percentage share of goods conforming to the top world standards:

1965	1966	1967	1968	1969	1970
31.7	36.2	43.3	51.5	57.5	64.3

It is too early to judge fulfilment of the program. But the figures given above are indicative of the course Poland is following in its new economic strategy.

Another point made by the authors is that economic progress, present and future, calls for new stimulators. This problem was closely discussed at the last, Fifth Plenum of the Party's Central Committee. Material stimulators are tied to the principle of payment by work done.

The Fifth Plenum decisions provide that bonuses and other incentive payments shall be based on factory performance indicators. And in these the accent is on reducing production costs and raising technical and quality levels.

On the whole, this is a valuable book—it lucidly explains the basic features of the new strategy, generalizes Poland's postwar

development and charts out the landmarks of its continued economic advance.

Wieslaw ISKRA

The relevance of Leninism for Latin America

For more than ten years now the beacon of the Cuban revolution has been shining over Latin America. And today it is not only the Communists who give voice to the popular demand for socio-economic change. The anti-imperialist, democratic popular movement is being joined by progressive intellectuals, students, patriotic-minded servicemen, members of the clergy and of the radical petty bourgeoisie. Marxism-Leninism is steadily gaining acceptance among Latin-American revolutionaries, as evidenced by the growth of most of the continent's Communist and Workers' parties, their increased authority and prestige, and their greater role in public and political affairs.

Why have the ideas of Lenin, the leader of Russia's proletarian revolution of more than 50 years ago, proved so relevant for Latin America? What are the ways and means of resolving the crisis of a continent enmeshed in imperialist dependence? These are the problems Rodney Arismendi, First Secretary of the Uruguayan Communist Party, treats in his new book. "Lenin, Revolution and Latin America."*

The author begins by describing Lenin's role as professional revolutionary, founder of the new-type proletarian Party, leader of the Communist International, whose revolutionary traditions are continued today by the world Communist movement.

Using the documents of last year's Meeting of Communist and Workers' parties and policy statements of his own and other parties, the author analyzes the revolutionary processes at work in Latin American countries. And from this careful analysis he draws the conclusion that the immediate goal is a democratic, anti-imperialist revolution that would eliminate dependence on imperialism, primarily its U.S. variety, and the still considerable residue of

pre-capitalist formations. The distinctive feature of this revolution is mass participation, and attainment of certain anti-capitalist goals already in the initial stage.

Arismendi draws on the experience of the anti-imperialist struggle in Uruguay to demonstrate that the national bourgeoisie is incapable of playing a leading role in the revolutionary process unfolding against a background of sharp class struggle. He holds that in many cases the national bourgeoisie cannot, unreservedly, be considered one of the motive force of the revolution. The role of its different strata must be assessed in each concrete case.

Using the Leninist method to analyze the experience of the Cuban revolution, the author shows that the above fully applies to Cuba. This does not mean, of course, that specific conditions can be left out of account. But the fact remains that the Cuban victory is part of an objective reality the distinguishing features of which are to be observed throughout Latin America.

The Cuban revolution revealed the sharp socio-economic and political contradictions that are characteristic of the entire continent, and are so assiduously hushed up by apologists for imperialism. Today, Arismendi says, we have a further aggravation of these contradictions as evidenced by mounting anti-imperialist sentiments, more frequent conflicts in Latin America's relations with the United States, the rise of the popular struggle, involving new, hitherto politically inert social groups.

The advent to power of nationalist-minded military leaders in Peru and Bolivia and their anti-imperialist, democratic reforms, Arismendi emphasizes, is not an accident, but the result of the anti-imperialist struggle in these countries.

Lenin stressed that, whether the revolution follows a peaceful or armed path, the

*"Lenin, la revolucion y America Latina." Montevideo, Pueblos Unidos, 1970. 483 pp.

aim is the capture of power by the revolutionary classes and the break-up of the bourgeois machinery of government. Arismendi discusses this question of revolutionary paths in the light of the Marxist-Leninist classics and the documents of the international Communist movement. The choice of revolutionary path, he says, must be left to each Party, and that choice must be made on the basis of a concrete assessment of the alignment of class forces, the determining factor in the development of the revolutionary process.

The author categorically rejects revisionist attempts to distort the decisions of the 20th CPSU Congress and the statements of the 1957 and 1960 Communist and Workers' parties conferences. The revisionists contend that they orient the Communists exclusively on peaceful means of achieving socialism in most parts of the world. But Arismendi convincingly proves that the CPSU and the international Communist movement, acting in strict accord with the spirit of Marxism-Leninism, are creatively developing the theory of the paths of revolution in the new conditions of history resulting from the emergence of the socialist world system.

There is a comprehensive discussion of the guerrilla movement as one aspect of the armed rising of the proletariat and the oppressed peoples. Again drawing on the Cuban experience, the author trenchantly criticizes those who would copy it mechanically, in the belief that victory can be

won simply by duplicating the march of the insurgent army from Sierra Maesta to Havana. This simplistic approach to the Cuban revolution can only belittle its significance or present it in a false light. Cuba's experience, the author says, can be applied in one or another country only after careful appraisal of the alignment of forces. And in support of that he quotes the following statement of Lenin: "We have not the slightest intention of foisting on practical workers any artificial form of struggle, or even of deciding from our armchair what part any particular form of guerrilla warfare should play in the general course of the civil war in Russia. . . . But we do regard it as our duty to help as far as possible to arrive at a correct *theoretical* assessment of the new forms of struggle engendered by practical life. We do regard it as our duty relentlessly to combat stereotypes and prejudices which hamper the class-conscious workers in correctly presenting a new and difficult problem and in correctly approaching its solution" (Vol. 11, p. 223).

The very title of the book, "Lenin, Revolution and Latin America," is indicative of the wide range of problems the author discusses. Several of his observations may appear controversial or incomplete. But, doubtlessly, the publication of this book in April 1970 is one more proof that the Lenin jubilee has given an impetus to Marxist thought.

Victor GONZALEZ

Short notices

W. HOLLITSCHER, "Der Mensch im Weltbild der Wissenschaft." (Wien, Globus Verlag, 1969. 434 pp.)

This is not the first time the problem of man, his existence and condition, in short, the whole complex of his relationship with the world about him, has come to hold such a conspicuous place in philosophical and public discussion. Interest in anthropological and humanitarian problems usually increases in transitional and crisis situations, when man, and mankind, are squarely faced with the need to reappraise old values and choose new paths of

social development. In this age of transition from capitalism to socialism the problem of the conception of man, man's rights and freedoms is inevitably catapulted into the forefront of ideological struggle. And central to that struggle is the question: What should be safeguarded, encouraged and developed in man?

This has given rise to a motley collection of idealistic "philosophies of life" — personalism, existentialism, psychoanalysis are probably the most popular with bourgeois intellectuals. On the other hand, recent years have seen a mounting interest in the subject also among Marxist scholars.

Nor is that a concession to the vogue or the result of an imposed discussion. Implementation of the Marxist humanitarian program in building the new, socialist society logically calls for creative development of the concept of man. And, naturally, progress here is possible only through interpretative generalization of the new data of world development, the experience and theory of socialism and advances in the sciences. In other words, Marxism sees the study of contemporary man as a complex problem requiring a synthetic approach.

Walter Hollitscher, an Austrian Communist scholar, has made a contribution to that with his new book, "Man in the Scientific Picture of the World." His fundamental study brings together, and analyzes from Marxist positions, the latest developments in biology, physiology, psychology and the social sciences. Using the Marxist principle of historicism, he examines the physical, psychic and social traits of modern man, and adduces a wealth of factual and scientific data to show that the essence of man—that complex amalgam of natural, individual and social ingredients—should be seen in the sum-total of social relations. Having reaffirmed that key Marxist proposition, Hollitscher effectively exposes present-day revisionist attempts to "complement" Marxist philosophy by a special "philosophy of man" and to substitute for Marxist humanism abstract disquisitions about "man in general."

Central to this study is man of the contemporary world, man living in a "stormy transitional period of history" (p. 7). The social, economic and ideological problems of capitalism and socialism are considered in the light of the materialist understanding of history and the prospects and opportunities of mankind's continued development. "What can man become?"—these words of Antonio Gramsci are the epigraph of Hollitscher's book.

His scientific and, at the same time, class approach enables the author to disclose the fundamental difference in the status of the personality under socialism and capitalism and objectively to analyze the inevitable difficulties that stem from the historically restricted framework of socialist society as the lower phase of communism. Bourgeois ideologists have exploited this in their attempts to present socialism as based entirely on alienation. Hollitscher's scientific criticism of the bourgeois theory of total, anthropological alienation (Sartre, Fromm, et al.) is but one example of his principled polemics with proponents

of diverse idealistic theories. Nor is this a nihilistic rejection of one or another conception. For instance, in revealing the fallacy of modern psychoanalysis, its attempts to produce a hybrid of Freudism and historical materialism, the author warns against disregarding some of Freud's ideas.

Hollitscher's is not an abstract academic study. His Marxist analysis is organically linked with the political and ideological struggle and the strategy and tactics of the Communist and workers' movement. It is from this angle that he examines the various forms of spiritual activity (science, art, religion) and deprecates attempts to de-ideologize Marxism-Leninism. His closely argued criticism of bourgeois and reformist ideology and revisionism is convincing proof that only Marxism has the answers to the vital questions of social development in our time.

This new study, like Hollitscher's earlier one, "Die Natur im Weltbild der Wissenschaft," can serve as a guide to the complex problems of the science of man.

V. RUMIL

F. M. BURLATSKY, "Lenin, the State, Politics." (Nauka Publishers, Moscow, 1970. 526 pp.)

Historical materialism is the common methodology of the social sciences, the only instrument for correctly describing and analyzing intricate and multiform social processes. However, concrete examination of one or another social phenomenon must of needs rely also on what has now come to be known as "intermediate" theories. Applied to the political sphere, that is, to the mechanism of the state, political parties and public organizations, the interrelation of classes, such an "intermediate" theory is the materialist theory of politics.

In this book, Soviet author Fyodor Burlatsky sets out the principal elements of this theory, elaborated by Marx and Engels and developed into an integral system by Lenin. Taking that as his starting point, he dissects the political anatomy of present-day society from a general and concrete sociological standpoint.

The first part of his fundamental study deals with the more general aspects of the organization and functioning of political systems. The second considers the problem of the bourgeois state and revolution, and the third the socialist-type state. The reader will doubtlessly be interested in the author's use of sociological methods to

study a cardinal realm of public life, namely, the class struggle, the question of power, the workings of the political machine. And in the process, Burlatsky systematizes a maze of factual material and critically examines various theories of political development. He has some original things to say about politics as a science, the variety of the political regime in socialist countries, the need for a differentiated analysis of the technology of government.

As in every creative study, this one contains controversial propositions and some that could do with closer argumentation. Ye, the book will be read with interest not only by specialists, but by the general reader who wants to know more about the Marxist-Leninist theory on the state.

Kh. SHIGIN

C. RAJESWARA RAO, B. SEN, Y. V. KRISHNA RAO. "Problems of India's Agrarian Sector." (New Delhi, Communist Party Publications, 1970. IX+82 pp.)

K. SHANKAR, P. V. PARAKAL, "Studies in Indian Monopolies." (New Delhi, People's Publishing House, 1970. 80 pp.)

Both books are topical: they deal with problems of central interest to India's democratic movement.

In the first, Rajeswara Rao, General Secretary of India's Communist Party, takes up the main problems of the peasant revolutionary struggle unfolding in the tangled situation of post-independence India. His critical survey of the National Congress government's agrarian legislation over the past twenty years shows that semi-feudal exploitation of the peasant still exists in different forms and is further aggravated by exorbitant land rent and usury. However, capitalist relations in agriculture have developed too. "A powerful section of the rich peasants and capitalist farmers has come up, which is using modern methods of agriculture and employing wage labor. This section is now dominating the rural setup along with the old feudal lords turned into capitalist landlords and industrialists. At the same time, the entire peasantry, including the rich peasantry, is looted by the big traders and monopolists through the manipulation of the price mechanism of agricultural products" (p. VI).

The democratic movement's land reform demands have gone beyond the bounds of theory and propaganda. This is an important development. In Kerala State, for instance, the United Front government com-

posed of the Communist Party and other Left and democratic forces, introduced radical reform measures on January 1, giving the land to those who till it and assuring the vital rights of agricultural laborers. That is the road ahead, and in the author's view the measures now proposed (they are listed in the book) could lead to the distribution of nearly 210 million acres among landless peasants and farm laborers.

This study deals also with various economic-policy issues as they relate to agriculture and with the social problems of agricultural laborers.

The second book is, for the most part, a critical survey of the growth of India's monopolies and their enrichment through influence on government policy. Specifically, the authors discuss the process of "industrial licensing," which is supposed to enable the state to plan the economy and assure balanced industrialization. The dominance gained by Big Business in both economy and politics after independence, as India's progressives are coming to see, is a menace to democracy and social progress. The ruling party's attempts to "regulate" the monopolies, the authors emphasize, are doomed to failure.

The main issue is: what path for India? The Communist Party calls for "... a non-capitalist path of development wherein the public sector will be rapidly and extensively developed so as to become the decisive factor in the economy and where credit institutions, foreign trade and a few important industries will be nationalized and in the remaining branches of industrial and commercial activities the public sector enterprises will play the leading role" (p. 28). Only in this way can India rapidly develop without the concentration of economic power in the monopolies.

M. ATCHUTHAN

A. A. ISKENDEROV, "The National Liberation Movement. Problems, Regularities, Prospects." (Moscow, M.O. Publishers, 1970, pp. 392).

A study of the present stage of the national liberation movement is an important area of Marxist research. In this book, Soviet historian Akhmed Iskenderov deals with a wide range of problems concerning the future of Afro-Asian countries now that they have won through to independence. He singles out some new features of the present phase of the national liberation revolution, examines the alignment of class forces and the role of various poli-

tical parties, discusses possible paths of progress and shows the inevitability of far-reaching changes in the socio-economic structure of Third World countries.

Of especial interest is his examination—somewhat sketchy it is true—of the socialist doctrines current in the Third World. The subject has hardly been touched in Marxist literature and there are still many unexplored areas and controversial viewpoints. This, incidentally, is reflected in Iskenderov's book. But the author does not confine himself to describing the present state of research into the problem, or to systematizing research results: his propositions and hypotheses will very likely stimulate further investigation.

For instance, he draws attention to the fact that many of the socialist doctrines, though petty-bourgeois in their social and class implications, are not merely variations on mid-19th century reactionary petty-bourgeois socialism. What we have, he emphasizes, is a new ideological phenomenon, the product of the age we live in, and very often expressive of a progressive orientation.

In classifying these various doctrines, the author brings them into context with the social reality and progress of developing nations. He demonstrates the fundamental difference between the way these doctrines critically approach capitalism and discloses their utopian features: rejection of the class struggle in the advance to socialism, attempts to synthesize socialist and religious ideas, the contention that socialism is possible "without communism," i.e., without power passing to the working people, with the working class and its political vanguard playing the leading role.

Not all these non-Marxist socialist doctrines are the antithesis of scientific socialism. It should be borne in mind that in Third World countries socialist thought is relatively young, still in the formative stage. In many cases its development will proceed through borrowing and assimilating different aspects of scientific socialism. That trend is evident among national-patriotic forces who opt for a socialist orientation but do not accept Marxism. And in this connection the author suggests that in assessing which of these doctrines is closer to scientific socialism, we must

always consider the trend of development. In any case, we should avoid baldly negating that the national patriotic forces are animated by socialist aspirations. Ours should be friendly constructive criticism of their programs to help scientific socialism influence and stimulate socialist thought in developing countries.

E. GEORGIS

LENS, S., "The Military-Industrial Complex". (Philadelphia, Pilgrim Press, 1970. 183 pp.)

Opposition to the U.S. military complex, imperialism's strike force and bulwark of reaction in world politics, is democratic in nature. The foes of the complex comprise a diversity of outlooks and socio-class attitudes. Lens represents the anti-militaristic petty bourgeois section of U.S. society dreaming of a capitalist "humane state" that would with a platform of "competitive coexistence" respond to communisms' challenge not by force of arms, but by promoting social progress, elimination of hunger, disease, illiteracy, poverty and war. In Sidney Lens' case the dream blends with realistic and convincing criticism of U.S. imperialism. His investigation contains a wealth of factual and statistical data, skilfully used to show that the military-industrial complex jeopardizes the very existence of the nation. Total dissolution of the complex, the writer stresses, will involve an all-national alliance to combat the ruling elite.

The book concerns itself with the confrontation of militarism and the working class. It shows the corrupting influence of the military-industrial complex on the U.S. labor movement and supplies prolific evidence relating to the role of the trade union bosses in the conduct of the cold war and the policy of anti-communism, the split of the international labor movement and the promotion of militarization.

Lens' book is evidence of the mounting wave of criticism of the military-industrial complex in the United States. It shows that more people are becoming conscious of the need to counter the policy breeding militarism.

E. JORGEN

"Economie et politique"

This French Communist Party journal regularly carries articles on the political economy of modern capitalism and the topical problems of the working-class struggle. What caught our eye in its September issue is an investigation, "Modern Forms of Exploitation Under State-Monopoly Capitalism," which is in fact part of a monograph, "The Political Economy of State-Monopoly Capitalism," soon to come off the presses.

"To apprehend the implications and forms of capitalist exploitation," its writers (Jean-Claude Dufour, Patrice Grevet and Henri Nolleau) say, "is for the worker, office clerk, technician and engineer to apprehend their own situation as hired laborers in the enterprise, . . . to apprehend the necessity for collective, organized struggle against capital, to apprehend why each gain they achieve is achieved by struggle only and is never final. What this means is to apprehend that a revolutionary change of capitalist production relations is necessary to eliminate exploitation."

The investigation exposes bourgeois and opportunist efforts to decelerate the workers' struggle against exploitation by contentions that class conflicts impede economic growth and by the reformist theory that political struggle is "unnecessary" because the workers' economic demands and struggles are able to repattern capitalism. The journal also censures the ultra-Leftist view that struggle for immediate economic demands is "futile."

The authors single out four main spheres in which, they hold, workers' exploitation is most patent: a) the labor market and the employment policy; b) wages and the incomes policy; c) intensification of labor and working hours; d) expansion of unsatisfied requirements.

In the setting of state-monopoly capitalism, the writers note, the reserve army of labor assumes new forms. Of late, the gainfully employed population in capitalist countries has been augmented by low-paid groups—immigrants, women, young people and part-time workers.

Manpower migration is increasing in all the large imperialist countries. For ex-

ample, 1,625,000 foreign workers have come to France since the war, not including Algerians, whose number is also considerable. More recently, the process has assumed vast proportions: more immigrants (870,000) have come to France between 1962 and 1968 than in the preceding 16 years, while the number of foreign workers in Britain approaches the three million mark. Migration rates have gone up since the founding of the West European common market.

Migration is no novelty. What distinguishes the present-day process is its "phased" character. In Italy, for example, internal migration — from the backward South to the industrially-developed North — is accompanied by external—from Italy to West Germany, Switzerland, etc., while cheap labor flows into Italy itself from the economically more backward Greece and Portugal. To be sure, this is typical not of Italy alone.

On arriving in a foreign country, immigrants become a convenient object of exploitation, for their trade union, political and social rights are practically nil. In the event of an economic recession, immigration is a kind of escape vent for the monopolies, preventing steep growth of unemployment and the attendant social "troubles." The 1967 slump in West Germany, for example, caused no visible unemployment. Instead, 400,000 foreign workers were compelled to leave the country.

Furthermore, the monopolies exploit immigration to split the working people by fanning racial sentiment.

The share of female labor has gone up steeply in the capitalist economy. In most cases, women are paid less than men for equal work. Even after the French workers' May-June 1968 gains, the gap between male and female wages exceeds 35 per cent. Also victimized in this way are young workers. They get the lowest wages and unemployment among them is around 40 per cent.

Examining wages and incomes, the writers take note of new factors intensifying workers' capitalist exploitation.

Working-class action through the unions

and political parties compels Big Business to adopt collective forms of resistance. Never remiss in coming to the aid of capital is the bourgeois state. Official propaganda tries to prevail on the workers that their demands are "untimely," jeopardizing the economy's ability to compete and the stability of the national currency. Slogans are bandied about, calling for "class cooperation."

Forced to raise nominal wages, state-monopoly capitalism tries to make up for it by raising prices. The 19th Congress of the French Communist Party, held this February, pointed out: "Today, employers and the authorities are trying to recoup the considerable concessions they were compelled to make as a result of the May-June 1968 battles. The purchasing capacity of the working people is again being cut back. It has already dropped 7-8 per cent against 1968 due to rising taxes and prices."

Modern methods of intensifying labor are an important component of present-day exploitation. Capitalists increase work quotas, reorganize labor when starting a new line of production, and cut down on the rest periods. Working time is compressed to the utmost.

The writers call attention to the rift between the normal rhythm of human activity and the labor tempo imposed by the capitalist use of machinery. The natural result is an increase in nervous tension, incidence of industrial diseases and in the accident rate. According to official statistics more than one million out of the total 11 million working people in France have had accidents in recent years, 2,000 of them fatal.

To compensate for the falling purchasing capacity, workers in capitalist countries are compelled to work overtime. According to official statistics (July 1969) 40.5 per cent of the work force in the French manufacturing industries work 48 and more hours weekly, 21 per cent work 49 and more hours, and 7 per cent more than 53 hours. In other words, more than half the French workers have longer hours than envisaged in the 1919 eight-hour law and the 1936 40-hour week law. And workers in the building industry, the community services, mining and transport sometimes work a 60-hour week.

Economie et politique also examines the growth of unsatisfied requirements. Some theorists contend that the new historical requirements and the flood of new commodities on the market are making "bour-

geois" of the working class. The writers argue against this, quoting what Lenin said back in 1893: "We must not lose sight of the indubitable fact that the development of capitalism inevitably entails a rising level of requirements for the entire population, including the industrial proletariat. . . . Of course, that phenomenon is manifested primarily and most readily in the adoption of the purely outward, ostentatious aspect of 'civilization', but only arrant reactionaries . . . are capable of bewailing it and seeing nothing in it but 'decline'" (Vol. 1, pp. 106, 107).

In the setting of state-monopoly capitalism the growth of new requirements obviously outstrips the capacity of meeting them. Furthermore, the tax burden imposed by bourgeois states on the pretext of covering social costs, presses down increasingly on the working people. In fact, however, the social costs are being continuously cut back. What we see, the writers note, is a rationing of social expenditure and, consequently, a restriction on satisfying requirements; to this, they add, the working people are the first to fall victim. The result is a low percentage of working-class children in universities, a shortage of less expensive housing, and the like.

Those are but a few of the ways in which capitalist exploitation spreads to the sphere of requirements, embracing all aspects of the reproduction of manpower.

The workers' fight for the satisfaction of their requirements relating to wages, working hours, employment guarantees, general and vocational training, public health, and the like, explodes the contentions of the celebrants of state-monopoly capitalism, who maintain that the latter helps meet the growing needs of the people.

The *Economie et politique* investigation confirms the conclusion drawn by the 1969 International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties: "Contrary to assertions about the 'revolution in incomes' and 'social partnership', capitalist exploitation is in fact increasing. The rise in wages lags far behind the growth rates of labor productivity and the intensification of labor, behind the social needs and even more so behind the growth of monopoly profits."

The investigation is based chiefly on French data, but the breadth of its approach and depth of vision yield a good idea of the forms of working-class exploitation typical of the capitalist system as a whole.

S. SORONI



In memory of Gamal Abdel Nasser

The death of President Gamal Abdel Nasser of the United Arab Republic is a great loss to the national liberation movement and the progressive peace forces.

His consistent and indefatigable fight for the independence and progressive development of the United Arab Republic won Gamal Abdel Nasser the affection and respect of his countrymen. He directed the preparation and performance of the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal revolution in Egypt, the overthrow of the monarchy, which served as the basis for foreign domination, the proclamation of the republic and the introduction of economic and social reforms. The importance of these developments goes far beyond Egypt. Gamal Abdel Nasser conducted a sustained struggle against the forces of reaction, worked for anti-imperialist unity of the Arab peoples. He was the champion of the Arab aspirations for independence and freedom.

Gamal Abdel Nasser fully realized that success of the national liberation movement necessitated alliance with the socialist

countries, primarily the Soviet Union, and the international workers' and democratic movement, and he made a significant contribution to strengthening that alliance.

In the past few years he devoted all his energies to liquidating the aftermath of imperialist Middle East aggression and assuring enduring peace on the basis of re-establishing the integrity of the Arab countries and respect for the Palestinian people's national rights.

The name of this hero of the Arab liberation struggle will have a permanent place in history. Communists and progressives throughout the world are confident that the noble cause of the late President will be continued by all Arab patriots.

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On October 1, members of this journal's Editorial Council called at the Embassy of the United Arab Republic in Prague and expressed their condolences to the UAR Ambassador on the death of President Gamal Abdel Nasser.

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