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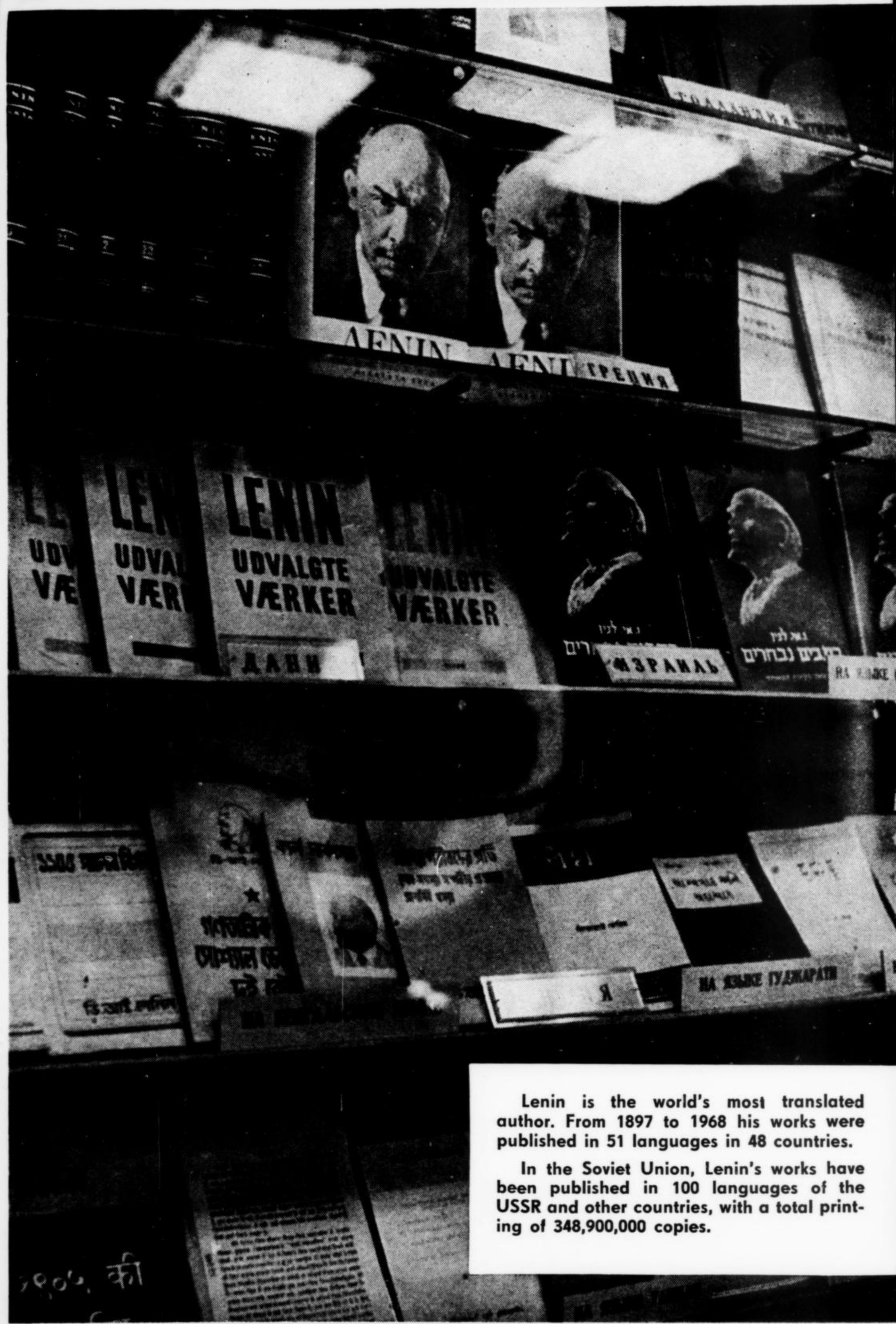
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PROBLEMS OF PEACE AND SOCIALISM

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Lenin is the world's most translated author. From 1897 to 1968 his works were published in 51 languages in 48 countries.

In the Soviet Union, Lenin's works have been published in 100 languages of the USSR and other countries, with a total printing of 348,900,000 copies.

WORKERS OF ALL
COUNTRIES, UNITE!

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among our contributors

TIM BUCK	Chairman, Communist Party of Canada
EZEKIAS PAPAIOANNOU	General Secretary, Progressive Party of the Working People of Cyprus
JEAN TERFVE	Deputy Chairman, Communist Party of Belgium
SRINIVAS GANESH SARDESAI	Member, Central Secretariat and Central Executive Committee, National Council, Communist Party of India
VENELIN KOTSEV	Secretary, Central Committee, Bulgarian Communist Party
JUSTAS PALECKIS	Chairman, Soviet of Nationalities, Supreme Soviet of the USSR
RENE URBANY	Member, Executive Committee and Secretariat, Central Committee, Communist Party of Luxembourg
WILLI GERNS	Member of Presidium, German Communist Party
LUTZ MAIER	Professor, Director of the German Institute of Economics (GDR)
KLAUS ENGELHARDT	GDR economist
HEINZ JUNG KURT STEINHAUS	FRG publicists
LEV LEONTYEV	Corresponding Member, USSR Academy of Sciences
JAMES ALDRIDGE	English writer

Important stage in development of communist movement

The 1969 Moscow Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties holds a conspicuous place in recent revolutionary history.

Though only a year has passed since the Meeting, its results are already having a beneficial influence on the development of all the revolutionary contingents, intensifying their struggle against imperialism and producing new forms and methods of united action in this struggle. This especially applies to the international Communist movement.

The success of the Meeting and of Communist Party activity after it did not come about automatically. It was the result of joint effort and fruitful comradely cooperation of fraternal parties in the battle against imperialism, for peace, democracy, national liberation, socialism and communism.

The world Communist movement made significant headway in the ten years between the 1960 and 1969 international meetings. New parties were formed, the world army of Communists increased, as did Communist influence and prestige in many countries—the movement stood forth as the leading political force of our time. But alongside achievements, there were serious difficulties, differences, diminished cohesion. As a result, in some links of the movement anti-imperialist united action was disturbed. Imperialist reaction was quick to seize on this for counterattacks on various sectors of the world class-struggle front.

The Meeting reflected the urge of Communist and Workers' parties to unite and extend the struggle for their common aims. Appreciation of the requirements of the present anti-imperialist struggle was clearly manifested in the preparatory work and particularly in the discussions at the Meeting, at which 75 Communist and

Workers' parties were represented. They comprehensively examined the central problem of the revolutionary process: "Tasks at the Present Stage of the Struggle Against Imperialism and United Action of Communist and Workers' Parties and All Anti-Imperialist Forces." The central issues of our time were subjected to thorough scientific analysis in an atmosphere of free comradely discussion and mutual respect of views and the results of the debate were formulated in the Meeting's documents.

And the results are convincing proof that its convocation fully accorded with the objective requirements of the international Communist movement and that the conditions for its holding had matured.

Its success was facilitated—and this is noted in its communique—by the fact that it "took place in an atmosphere of frankness and fraternal solidarity, and was assured extensive publicity. The principle of the equality of all parties and collective methods of work were strictly observed both in the preparatory period and in the course of the Meeting."

Now, a year later, it can safely be said that the example it set of democratic discussion of vital issues is being widely and fruitfully emulated by fraternal parties. It has helped the holding of several multi-lateral meetings of Communist parties, contributed to working out a common position and facilitated patient and sustained effort to overcome existing divergences.

The Meeting did not, indeed could not, set out to resolve all the problems accumulated over the past decade. The feeling of supreme responsibility for the destiny of the revolutionary anti-imperialist movement, the genuinely democratic and constructive spirit that permeated all the work of the Meeting, enabled it to achieve

what was most important, namely:

The 1969 Meeting

—gave a creative Marxist-Leninist analysis of the crucial problems at the present stage of world revolutionary development, reaffirming the correctness of the conclusions drawn by Communist and Workers' parties regarding the character, basic content and main trends of our era, the era of revolutionary transition from capitalism to socialism;

—formulated a platform for, and defined the basic orientation of, the anti-imperialist struggle waged by the socialist world system and the international workers' and national liberation movements;

—reaffirmed the principle of international solidarity as a cardinal condition and means of united action of all anti-imperialist forces;

—made a significant contribution to the cohesion of the Communist movement on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

The conclusions drawn by the Meeting and set out in its documents represent a major contribution to revolutionary theory and practice and to the defense and development of the Marxist-Leninist principles which guide the activity of Communist and Workers' parties.

World events over the past year have fully vindicated the correctness and value of the Meeting's assessment of the nature of modern imperialism, its strategy and real potentialities and, on the other hand, of the powerful reserves for intensifying the fight against it and its aggressive policies.

The past twelve months have witnessed sharper antagonism within the imperialist countries, a swelling movement for peace and against imperialism, expressed in demonstrations and other mass actions involving hundreds of thousands of people. The struggle has spread to the very citadel of imperialism, the U.S., to France, Italy, Japan, to Latin America and the Arab countries. Imperialist contradictions have become more tense, and capitalism's economic problems more acute.

The Meeting urged heightened vigilance and activity in the fight against imperialism, which remains a strong and dangerous foe. Recent events have shown that there is ample substantiation for that view which is held by fraternal parties. Now, with American imperialism invading Cambodia, stepping up military operations in Vietnam and Laos, egging on Israel against the Arab countries, engineering fresh pro-

vocations against Cuba, and, through these and other acts, aggravating the war danger, special importance attaches to the Meeting's appeal *Independence, Freedom and Peace for Vietnam!*, the *Appeal in Defense of Peace*, and the *Statement in Support of the Just Struggle of the Arab Peoples*. These documents have helped to mobilize world public opinion against U.S. imperialism and its allies in imperialist aggression.

Imperialism has become more aggressive, but the peoples' capacity and determination to repel aggression has grown immeasurably. That is why the following passage in the Meeting's Document, imbued with profound revolutionary optimism, has such a topical relevance: "Imperialism can neither regain its lost historical initiative nor reverse world development. The main direction of mankind's development is determined by the world socialist system, the international working class, all revolutionary forces."

The Meeting took full account of the new socio-political image of the world. Deepening of the world revolutionary process and the extraordinary pace of socio-economic change have produced this picture: about 34 per cent of the world's population now lives in socialist countries, which account for nearly 40 per cent of world industrial output.

The ideas of the Meeting are being tested and confirmed by experience, by social practice. The Communists and peoples of the *socialist countries* are successfully building the new society, developing its economy and culture and raising the prosperity standards of its people. The economic reforms now being carried out in a number of countries will farther raise the effectiveness of social production. Special attention is being devoted to fuller use of the advantages of the scientific and technological revolution. The economic might of the socialist world system which, as the Meeting emphasized, determines its contribution to the anti-imperialist cause, is steadily growing.

The process of perfecting and deepening socialist democracy continues, with millions of working people being brought into the work of consciously shaping their own history and into the day-to-day work of administering the affairs of their society and state.

Economic integration of the socialist community is advancing, with varied forms of cooperation and mutual assistance being constantly perfected. The 24th session of

the Council of Mutual Economic Assistance held in May and attended by heads of government, examined many important questions upon the solution of which closer political and economic cooperation depend. The consolidation process in the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic is of major importance for strengthening the socialist world system.

The socialist world system is the decisive anti-imperialist force and the principal support base of the world's progressive social development. In the past twelve months the popular liberation struggle received mounting support from the Soviet Union and other socialist countries.

In characterizing present-day capitalist society, the Meeting drew attention to the growing instability of capitalism, aggravation of all its contradictions, and the fresh upsurge of the *international workers' movement*. The number of strikers in developed capitalist countries has more than doubled in the past ten years. The past twelve months have seen fresh socio-political crises in many capitalist countries. About 60 million were involved in strike actions in 1969. The fight of the working class and of the broad masses, led by the Communist parties, has assumed unparalleled proportions. And the fight is not only for economic, but also for political demands. The powerful worker actions in Italy, France, Japan, the United States, Spain, West Germany, Argentina, Chile and other capitalist countries are a vivid illustration of the Meeting's proposition that in defending their vital interests the working people are at the same time fighting for social rights and democratic freedoms. Their demands are increasingly spearheaded against the system of monopoly capital and its machinery of political power. The youth play an increasingly active part in this struggle. In some countries, the scope of the working class struggle is already creating a new political situation favorable for the progressive forces.

The Meeting devoted much attention to the problems of the *national liberation movement*. The validity of its conclusions is being corroborated by reality. The national liberation struggle is undergoing the crucial process of deepening its social, anti-capitalist content. The working masses of emergent countries are more consciously and determinedly combining the fight for national liberation with the fight for social liberation, against capitalism as a social system. And the Meeting indicated that this could be accomplished by more power-

ful mass actions, by uniting in a broad coalition working people and peasants, youth, intellectuals, the urban middle strata, democratic-minded army and church circles, all patriotic and progressive forces; and in particular by heightening the role of the proletariat and its revolutionary vanguard.

The Meeting reaffirmed that there is no fatal inevitability of world war, that world war can be prevented. It indicated the realistic opportunities for promoting peaceful coexistence of states with differing social systems. These propositions are of fundamental importance for peace, and inspire peace supporters throughout the world to intensify the struggle against imperialism's aggressive propensities, for durable peace, security and good-neighbor relations. In particular, Europe's progressive forces are consistently working for European security, for West German recognition of existing boundaries and of the political realities resulting from the defeat of Hitlerism.

The Meeting pointed to the mounting opportunities in the fight against imperialism, emphasizing that they can be brought to bear by uniting the anti-imperialist forces. Its appeal to all Communists, all opponents of imperialism, to organize joint action for peace, freedom and progress has a very topical and permanent significance.

The Meeting gave priority attention to the problems of the international Communist movement which, now as always, is the foundation of any broad anti-imperialist front. The cardinal conditions for consolidating its cohesion and enhancing its political role are set out in delegate speeches and in the Meeting's documents. These conditions include: united action by the Communist parties in the fight against their common enemy and for common aims, correct combination of national tasks and internationalist duty; respect for the independence and equality of the parties and non-interference in their internal affairs; uncompromising struggle against Right and "Left" revisionism; fidelity to Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

The Communist parties are fully alive to, and realistically assess, the difficulties and obstacles with which the movement has to contend. They are determined to translate into practice the propositions adopted by the Meeting in order to unite their ranks, enlarge the scope and strength of the anti-imperialist movement, bringing into it all the revolutionary forces of our time. Cogent evidence of that was provided by the cele-

bration of the Lenin centenary, which developed into an unprecedented manifestation of anti-imperialist unity under the banner of Leninism. The Meeting's unanimously approved Lenin Centenary Address did much to make the celebrations an occasion for intensifying revolutionary activity, developing mass political and ideological work, extending and strengthening Party organizations and furthering the struggle for international unity. Communists show a keener interest in theory and the study of Lenin's works and have attained a higher ideological level.

The creative development of Marxist-Leninist theory is inseparable from consistent struggle against departures from scientific communism. This was especially stressed at the Meeting.

It squarely posed the question of intensified struggle against Right and "Left" opportunism, national narrow-mindedness and chauvinism. Most delegations gave a closely argued critique of the adventurist course of the Chinese Communist Party's present Maoist leadership and its attempts to undermine united anti-imperialist action by the socialist countries and fraternal parties.

The Meeting helped to set higher standards on matters of principle. It is no accident that the ideological and political struggle against manifestations of departure from Marxism-Leninism and opportunist vacillation has crystallized around the meeting and its conclusions.

The Meeting especially noted the importance of collective generalization of experience and the working out of scientifically grounded answers to questions facing all the contingents of the world revolutionary movement. The experience of the past year

has demonstrated anew that this is the only true way of creatively developing Marxist-Leninist theory and of achieving genuine mutual understanding among Communists. Since the Meeting, there has been a number of international theoretical conferences on pressing problems, attended by representatives of many fraternal parties, and more bilateral, regional and multilateral meetings, and a conference of the Editorial Council of *Problems of Peace and Socialism*.

The Meeting signified an important stage in the development of our movement and strongly stimulated the worldwide struggle against imperialism. The Communists have already achieved tangible results by putting into practice its propositions and conclusions. And they are doing everything to assure that the unity effort, which has been carried further since the Meeting, will be completely successful.

Despite all the efforts of imperialism, the forces of socialism are advancing. That is why the importance and impact of the Meeting, that forum of the international Communist movement, have not only not weakened in the past year, but have grown and will continue to grow as its ideas are put into practice.

A symbol of proletarian internationalism, the Meeting stimulated a united Communist struggle and provided new conditions for concerted action by all the anti-imperialist forces. It illuminated the path to new victories for everyone, on every continent, courageously fighting for democracy and socialism, for a brighter future.

J. KOWALCZYK, J. LABORDE
M. HAMEL, P. HENTGES

Lenin and new problems of struggle for peace, democracy and socialism

TIM BUCK

Many new problems and tasks confront the Communist and Workers' Parties of the world today. They are, simultaneously, both challenge and opportunity, in all spheres and at all levels of this momentous phase of the historic worldwide transition from capitalism to socialism. Those who assume that because no such problems existed in Lenin's lifetime, therefore guidance in solving them is not to be found in Lenin's works, are mistaken. Equally wrong is it to say that new problems of the class struggle render Lenin's work obsolete. Lenin's revolutionary theory was distilled from systematic scientific all-sided analysis of the objective processes of development and the developing class relationships reflected in them; in their movement and their interactions. Creative development of our grasp of the new problems must, necessarily, rest upon the same Leninist methods of analysis.

We should have Lenin's firm grasp of reality and use his method of investigation. Basing himself on the theory of Marx and Engels, he was able to recognize that the rise of imperialism changed the law of socialist revolution. By the change that he introduced, Lenin changed the course of world history.

The new problems and tasks, which arise in our epoch, at the threshold of a new phase of revolutionary advance, are all part of the fruit of the victorious Great October Revolution and conclusive evidence of Lenin's genius. Equipped with Marxism-Leninism, the revolutionary contingents—the Communist parties—are leading mankind to the triumph of peace, democracy and socialism.

CREATED BY THE GREAT OCTOBER REVOLUTION

The revolutionary task of compelling the imperialists to accept the principle of peaceful coexistence between states with differing political and economic systems did not exist prior to October 1917. It couldn't exist then, because imperialism enjoyed unchallenged domination of the world and unlimited exploitation of all its producers. The triumph of the Great October Revolution in Russia ended the unchallenged imperialist rule. That revolutionary watershed of history made the issue of peaceful coexistence crucial.

Today, when there is the socialist world system, the necessity to prevent the imperialists from launching an insane attempt to reverse the course of history by world nuclear war is all-pervasive. It is, simultaneously, a struggle of the socialist states, of the proletarian revolutionary forces in those countries which have not yet taken the socialist path, of the anti-imperialist forces in the colonies and newly liberated countries, and of genuine fighters for peace in all walks of life.

Lenin recognized that due to differences in conditions, subjective and objective, the socialist revolution took place in Russia much sooner than in the West but the world socialist revolution as a whole was going to be a long drawn out struggle. Only four months after the victory of October, he warned the workers and peasants of the infant Soviet Republic:

"Now there has arisen against us the giant of world imperialism, a splendidly organized and technically well-equipped,

civilized giant. That giant *must* be fought" (Vol. 27, pp. 64-65).

Imperialism, the "giant" that Lenin said "must be fought," is still strong, though it has lost some muscle. It has been stripped of its colonial possessions, lost its monopoly of the world market, lost the power to determine the course of world development, and experiences all kinds of convulsions and defeats. But this makes it only the more desperate, and therefore dangerous and aggressive. It is being weakened by the growth and the spread of parasitism within it, and its consequent inner decay. This, indeed, is its fatal weakness because the new socialist world system is developing rapidly, presenting the concrete alternative of a new, a higher, and richer civilization, to all thinking democratic men and women.

The struggle for the peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems is an imperative of our time. For the insane men in the Pentagon, the military-industrial complex that they serve, and the allies and dependents of United States imperialism around the world, the declining power of imperialism, its inexorably deepening decay, seems to be the decisive reason why they should strike before it is altogether too late. This why Comrade Wladyslaw Gomułka, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party, was so right when he said, in his contribution to the International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties in Moscow, in June 1969:

"The problem of war and peace remains the most important issue of our epoch. All the basic conflicts of our times are concentrated around the struggle to resolve this question. No one can predict the final result of this struggle, for no one can foresee the future. History, the struggle of the popular masses, will decide whether the forces of socialism and peace will be able to block the road to a world war or whether the striving for aggression, which springs from the very nature of imperialism, will lead to a final test of strength between socialism and the capitalist system in the flames of war."

The guide to action in this new and more mature phase of the struggle is provided today, as it was in 1920, by Lenin's aim to make every status quo a transition to a more advanced situation. The dynamic possibilities which beckon the Communist and Workers' parties must be grasped today, literally "with both hands." Extending and strengthening the struggle against im-

perialism is the essential condition for the prevention of world nuclear war and the transition to socialism on a world scale.

THE WORKING CLASS AND LEADERSHIP OF THE NATION

The new problems and tasks confronting the Communist and Workers' parties are as varied as are the relations of production in different countries and their consequent conditions of life and the political levels of revolutionary struggles. Even if we consider only the countries of highly developed capitalism we find the development of this epoch bringing forward new problems and tasks in such variety that it is impossible to deal with them in one article. We shall give only a few characteristic examples illustrating the role of Lenin's guidance in solving them all. As one such characteristic example, consider the radical change that the world transition to socialism is bringing to the tasks of the revolutionary proletariat in connection with the *leadership of the nation* in capitalist states.

In the youth of capitalism there was a certain correspondence between the ambitions of the dominant circles of the capitalist class and the national interests. They led the development and consolidation of the nation. That correspondence does not exist today. The decay of imperialism with its corollary of the spread of parasitism into every sphere of capitalist activity, is accompanied by increasing nihilism towards the nation on the part of the capitalist class, particularly those circles of it that Lenin described as "the 'geniuses' of financial manipulation" (Vol. 22, p. 207).

In the past, the capitalist class identified itself with the principle of national sovereignty. It fought *as a class* to establish and preserve national control of "its" country's development, its natural resources and their exploitation, its market, and its foreign commitments. But, today, the monopoly capitalists and their political servants barter away national control of all such vital features of nationhood in return for becoming, themselves, partners in great foreign aggregations of monopoly capital. The nation's power to choose and decide its own path and national destiny is eroded by changes in the control of the commanding heights of its economy and, bit by bit, its power is replaced entirely by the alien power of "the other partners" in economic integration.

One of the examples of such calculated

cynical betrayal of the nation was in Canada. There, in the brief period of twenty years, effective control of the national economy, including ownership of the country's priceless natural resources, its manufacturing industries and its commerce, was transferred from Canada to the great aggregations of monopoly capital centered in the United States. Among Canadians a half dozen powerful monopoly-capitalist cliques and a score of the individual "geniuses of financial manipulation" reaped huge profits. Some of them left Canada and became directors in the United States monopolies.

The profits and super-profits accruing to United States owners of the commanding heights of the Canadian economy are so great and constitute such a big percentage of the total of all capitalist profits made in the country that after interest, dividends, taxes, and fat transfers of "undistributed profits" to parent corporations in the United States, the aggregate surplus that they re-invest in Canada every year is enough to increase still further the percentage that they own of the Canadian economy as a whole.

The inevitable result of economic domination was, and remains, political domination also. That is exercised in the main by the simple process of United States capital and its hundreds of thousands of agents and dependents, political, financial, as well as industrial, in Canada acting as "good Canadian capitalists" and ensuring the election of men who pursue policies which correspond with the aims of United States imperialism. In such circumstances it is not surprising that the policies pursued by Canadian governments bear such a striking resemblance to those of the United States.

Canada is not unique. The bitter experience of the people there only illustrates the process which is an all-pervading feature of imperialism in decay. This process is so far advanced in a number of other countries besides Canada that the nation concerned has surrendered, or been tricked out of, effective control of its destiny, including the effective power to decide for itself upon the issue of peace or war.

The interests of the people are to eliminate the impulsion to imperialist war, to eliminate the parasitism which, in the countries of highly developed capitalism, is growing now faster than the growth of the national production, to eliminate the maddening tensions which characterize life in the highly developed capitalist states, to

restore to the people a sense of security and confidence in the future, to harness the scientific and technological revolution to the service of mankind.

In the countries of highly developed capitalism today it is not enough to reject the policies of state-monopoly capitalism, to expose their anti-democratic character and the extent to which they undermine the vital interests of the nation, necessary and important though such exposures are. Communist and Workers' parties, leaders of the revolutionary forces of the working class are called upon increasingly to make the vital leap from theory to practice. They have to assume responsibility for the guidance of the nation. They have to project and fight to win support for concrete democratic alternatives to the nihilistic policies of the monopolists, which now are leading to national disaster. They have to fight by all democratic means that are available and others that will be developed in the course of the struggle, to take over the actual ideological leadership of the nation.

The struggles of the Communist and Workers' parties to unite the majority of the population against the impulsion of imperialism to war, and the ruthless depredations of state-monopoly capitalism on the domestic front, must be characterized by their aim, as Marx put it, to "eliminate everything that contradicts the sovereignty of the people."

Development of broad public action to achieve that brings forward numerous derivative new tasks. Some ardent revolutionaries, who examine them solely in the light of formal political economy, tend to assess these new tasks of the epoch as mere bourgeois reforms, or even as dangerous digressions from the revolutionary struggle for socialism. Respect is due to workers who raise such objections because of concern for the theoretical correctness of their party's proposals. As Lenin pointed out in similar circumstances in discussing the national question: "... we should consider our differences with such comrades to be anything but a matter of principle!

"The only thing that matters is political clarity and theoretical soundness of our slogans" (Vol. 22, p. 329). In a very large proportion of cases, however, such objections reflect mainly failure to consider the changes that have been made in the class content of certain types of economic and political actions by the rising level of the

historic world struggle between socialism and imperialism.

INSEPARABLE RELATIONSHIP

In its Document, the International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties placed special emphasis on the inseparable relationship between the struggle against imperialism, the struggle for democracy, and the struggle for socialism. Emphasis upon the dialectical relationship of these three features of the tasks of today and the forms of struggle that correspond with it are summed up succinctly in the following:

"In the course of anti-monopolist and anti-imperialist united action, favorable conditions are created for uniting all democratic trends into a political alliance capable of decisively limiting the role played by the monopolies in the economies of the countries concerned, of putting an end to the power of big capital and of bringing about such radical political and economic changes as would ensure the most favorable conditions for continuing the struggle for socialism. The main force in this democratic alliance is the working class. These objectives can be achieved, above all, by diverse forms of powerful mass action by the working class and the broadest sections of the population. While making use of all possibilities of parliamentary activity, Communists emphasize that the mass movement of the working class and of all working people is the decisive factor in the struggle for democracy and socialism."

In that paragraph there is adumbrated the line of the struggle by which imperialism, and therefore the would-be instigators of imperialist war, must be defeated. Obviously the forms of this struggle cannot be anticipated in advance. In different countries at different times they will be determined by the conditions of the struggle and the relations of class forces which are changing and will be changed further in favor of the fighters for peace and socialism. What is certain now is that broader masses of workers and other democratic people are joining in anti-monopolist and anti-imperialist actions in every capitalist country, on a scale and with an intensity that couldn't have been anticipated even a few years ago. Workers are fighting back against the excesses of monopoly capital on a scale and for demands which, today, are no longer purely defensive. Their demands express a new level of awareness, not only of their pressing immediate needs, but also of the new pos-

sibilities that are inherent in the radically new levels of productivity to which they are geared. With frank admiration of the great general strikes of the Italian and French workers, there is spreading a new awareness of the potential power of organization. White collar workers: teachers, government employees, etc., are organizing and resorting to strike action on a growing scale in every capitalist country. In March of this year, postal workers in the United States went out on strike for urgently needed wage increases, the first time in history—in defiance of their AFL-CIO union leadership.

Organizationally the rising militancy of the workers in their trade union activity is distinct from the great mass outpouring of indignation at the bestiality of the United States government and its armed forces, in their criminal attempt to literally destroy the people of Vietnam. But, while the two fields of activity are distinct organizationally, they both are part of the same rising struggle. Democratic opposition to the war in Vietnam becomes opposition to imperialism and its military-industrial complexes.

The widespread and militant struggles of the working class and the rising level of their demands contain already the embryo of what Lenin described as "a genuine revolutionary class that is spontaneously rising to struggle" (Vol. 13, p. 104).

The crisis of the imperialist system is being rendered acute by its inner contradictions. The recurring currency crises, each one of which comes closer than its predecessor to creating universal panic, are but the most general evidence that the crisis is inherent in the system. The current pretence by the imperialist governments and their financial experts of covering the widening fissures with "paper gold" is in fact evidence that the slide of their system towards a shattering crisis is now beyond their control. The breakdown of confidence in the imperialist system, and of its authority, is illustrated by a number of developments exemplified by the expropriation of the properties of International Petroleum in Peru and, in addition, the action of the government of that country in presenting to Standard Oil, the parent company of International Petroleum, a bill for hundreds of millions of dollars as Peru's charge for the past years of exploitation and tax evasions. There will be more of such expropriations; not only in Latin America but in all parts of the capitalist world.

Lenin showed that one of the contradictions inherent in imperialism is the contradiction between the impulsion of state-monopoly capitalism to monopolize strategic raw materials, and the national interest of the peoples in the lands where such raw materials are found. He wrote: "The more capitalism is developed, the more strongly the shortage of raw materials is felt, the more intense the competition and the hunt for sources of raw materials throughout the whole world, the more desperate the struggle for the acquisition of colonies" (Vol. 22, p. 260).

Concrete proof of this truth is very much more abundant today than it was then.

The pace at which the monopoly-capitalist corporations of the United States and other imperialist states are extending their neo-colonialist domination of weaker countries through control of their natural resources and of their general industrial development is fantastic. In that process they are making the peoples of the newly developing countries the main victims of the rivalries between the various groupings of state-monopoly capital but, in addition, that process excites the constantly growing resistance of the peoples who are awakening to national consciousness against foreign capital.

We have witnessed already a number of examples of action by the people of newly developing countries to recover control of natural resources upon which their national independence and future economic development depends. Communists everywhere support the democratic right of the people to take such actions and our support does not and cannot necessarily wait until after such action has been taken. More often than not the revolutionary initiative of the party in the imperialist country concerned must be expressed in helping the party and the working class in the developing country by rallying the democratic forces of their nation to press the government of the day to expropriate such properties. Effective assistance to those who initiate such actions and carry them through is one of the forms through which practical proletarian internationalism must be developed and become understood by genuine anti-imperialists everywhere.

SOCIALISM AND DEMOCRACY

An integral part of the struggle to defeat the would-be instigators of imperial-

ist war is the broadening struggle to defeat the systematic attempts by state-monopoly capital to undermine and narrow down the democratic rights of the masses of the people, to put a legal "straitjacket" on the rights of the trade unions.

What is new in this struggle today is its specific significance for the relation of class forces and, therefore, for the issue of policies for peace or policies for war. While bearing in mind the irresistible impulsion of imperialism to "reaction all along the line," a careful observer cannot help but be impressed by the fact that a powerful motive behind the monopoly offensive against democratic rights is fear of the rising militancy of the working class and the democratic masses of the people in their struggle for democratic advance. The dialectic of this contradiction is expressed in the fact that the monopoly offensive against democracy will be defeated in reality only to the extent that, in the fight against it, the working class by united action with all anti-imperialist forces succeeds in advancing democracy, in extending democratic rights, in strengthening the positions and the role of the working class and its allies in the political life of the country.

The crucial character of the struggle today between the forces of peace and democracy and the forces of imperialist reaction, brings forward with a new urgency the emphasis that Lenin placed upon the importance of the struggle for democracy and its content. In his famous theses on "The Socialist Revolution and the Right of Nations to Self-Determination" Lenin wrote: "The socialist revolution is not a single act, it is not one battle on one front, but a whole epoch of acute class conflicts, a long series of battles on all fronts, i.e. on all questions of economics and politics, battles that can only end in the expropriation of the bourgeoisie . . . The proletariat cannot prepare for its victory over the bourgeoisie without an all-round, consistent and revolutionary struggle for democracy" (Vol. 22, p. 144).

In countries of highly developed capitalism the development and consistent improvement of parliamentary activity by the Communist and Workers' parties is now an inescapable part of the struggle to extend democracy. Parliamentary activity cannot be a substitute for the other forms of militant mass action, socialism cannot be achieved by it alone. But the subjective attitude of broad masses of the working

class and other democratic peace-loving people in some countries make parliamentary action one of the main channels by which they may be drawn into active struggle to extend their democratic rights and to curb imperialist reaction. Furthermore, in most of such countries, parliamentary activity is the field through which the differentiation within Social-Democracy and the possibilities to develop united front activity between Communists and Left-wing Social-Democrats becomes an active factor in the political life of the country.

To the extent that the would-be instigators of imperialist war are curbed and support for policies looking to peaceful coexistence becomes a powerful force in the elected public bodies in some imperialist countries, widening circles of workers and forward-looking members of the intelligentsia and other democratic sections of the middle class will become confident that it is possible to achieve the transition to socialism by a radical advance of parliamentary democracy and continued change in the relation of parliamentary forces to the advantage of the Left. To be sure, the process implies a broad democratic movement of the people. The most grudging admission that such developments are possible confronts Communist and Workers' parties in such countries with crucial new tasks. The key to those varied new tasks, alliances, and forms of activity, is provided by Lenin's succinct advice to workers, particularly in Germany and Austria, who were influenced by Karl Kautsky's lying propaganda about bourgeois democracy with its parliamentary facade as "pure democracy." Lenin told them:

"... take advantage of bourgeois democracy which, compared with feudalism, represents a great historical advance, but not for one moment must you forget the bourgeois character of this 'democracy', its historically conditional and limited character" (Vol. 28, p. 369).

Lenin's advice is still the only certain guide to successful *revolutionary* parliamentary activity. It is imperative that Communist and Workers' parties emphasize the crucial political significance of the class content of bourgeois democracy and explain why it is that the working class and its democratic allies must replace the bourgeoisie as the source and the political basis of the majorities in elected organs of the State.

It may not become possible that the revolutionary transformation of society

from capitalism to socialism can be carried through by parliamentary action alone. But in the conditions prevailing today it is incumbent upon Communist and Workers' parties to utilize all possibilities for parliamentary action to strengthen the struggle against imperialism, to hasten the victory for peace, democracy and socialism.

NEW TASKS BEFORE THE TRADE UNIONS

This epoch is confronting the trade unions with new problems and tasks at all levels of their activity. Crucial new problems for the trade unions are being created virtually every day by the influence of the scientific and technological revolution upon production processes. The character of the epoch, most immediately the decay of imperialism, is bringing about a radical change in the relationship of the trade union movement and responsibility for State policies. A typical example of this new type of challenge to trade unionism is the cynical attempt being made to make the working class accept, through the trade unions, a share of responsibility for the run-away inflation and spiralling cost of living which characterizes the imperialist countries. Those attempts, which vary only in details of their forms in different countries, all have a common content in that they are aimed, not only to make the workers acquiesce in further reduction of their living standards on the pretence of "fighting inflation" but, also and further, in that they are aimed to establish in popular opinion the brazen lie that the working class through its trade union movement is responsible for the inflation and the hardships that it is inflicting upon the majority of the population.

The majority of the leaders of the trade unions in imperialist countries are refusing to face this crucial issue. They retreat into loud but equivocal protestations to the effect that they will not accept the measures by which the government proposes to reduce the living standards of the members of their unions because those measures will not affect the earnings of farmers, salaried, and self-employed people, equally as they would affect the earnings of their members. The suicidal surrender that is implicit in their over-all attitude is so evident that it is not necessary to explain it. But to overcome that more than denunciation is required. The membership's will to fight must be given direction; whether the

inflation which is undermining social life in several of the imperialist states will be stopped, or continued until it brings complete disaster to the majority of the people, is a question of State policy. The only real alternatives before the trade unions are: either compel the government to stop the inflation or be one of its first victims.

The most recent challenge to the trade union movement is that extreme expression of the advanced state of the decay of the imperialist system described as "Zero Growth Rate." Its sponsors cloak their proposal with a verbal fog of emphasis upon the evils of pollution and the relation of pollution to industrial growth. But the reality of their proposal has very little to do with pollution. It is a proposal that, by freezing the gross national product at a certain specified level, all economic operations on a scale less than that of the monopolies, unless it is necessary to one or other monopoly, can be frozen out also.

There would be a steady decline year by year in the number of man hours of labor power required. Implicit in the gruesome idea is the hope that, perhaps, even the law of uneven economic development under capitalism might be made inoperative. It is a forlorn hope. The trade union movement must become an active force in the struggle, in every capitalist country, to take the leadership of the nation into the hands of its anti-imperialist forces, the working class and its democratic allies.

CALL THE YOUTH TO ACTION

The new task which confronts us in all the countries of highly developed capitalism of winning the masses of the militant young people for Leninism, will be solved by action. During the winter of 1901-2, in writing "What Is To Be Done?" Lenin, referring to the upsurge of interest in Marxism among students, commented: "Of course, these students were not only, or

even not so much, interested in Marxism as a theory; they were interested in it as an answer to the question, 'What is to be done?', as a call to take the field against the enemy" (Vol. 5, p. 441).

Lenin's words are as true for today as they were for 1902. The main distinctions between the majority of the militant youth of then and now is that, today, there are so many more of them and the efforts of state monopoly capitalism to confuse them about questions of theory are so much more highly organized. But, militant young people want action. The contradictions which make the need for action urgent for them are becoming more and more acute, as their numbers increase at a much faster rate than the growth of the population as a whole. In Canada, in 1971, more than half of the population will be under the age of twenty-five. In that age group already unemployment is nearly twice as high as its level for the population as a whole. There is looming up the prospect that youth again will be made "the forgotten generation." A pressing task of the Communist and Workers' parties is to initiate and develop actions through which young workers and students become involved in action—from teach-ins to takeovers of capitalist enterprises.

Even the ideological struggle, which all of us need to strengthen consistently, must be waged today, increasingly, in the form of popularization of proposals for political action and refutation of the arguments advanced by those who oppose such proposals. This is the path to the ideological unity of the revolutionary proletariat today. Above all we must bring the advanced detachments of the working class to the leadership of all the democratic forces of the nation in the struggle against imperialism. That is the key task in the imperialist states today of the world-historical advance for peace, democracy and socialism.

Fighting anti-communism is our common task

VENELIN KOTSEV

By the inexorable laws of social development and the will of the revolutionary working class, the world army of labor, the 20th century is the century of man's emancipation from the last form of social and national oppression, of triumph for socialism and communism.

Imperialism has lost the historical initiative for good. The world situation bears out the conclusion of the 1969 Moscow Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties that the main direction of mankind's development is determined by the world socialist system, the international working class, all revolutionary forces. This is the time of transition from capitalism to socialism.

However, though imperialism has lost ground, it is neither feeble nor less dangerous. Anything but a "paper tiger," it is a strong and perfidious foe quite capable of committing — and does commit — grave crimes against humanity, of which the U.S. imperialist aggression in Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos, the U.S.-backed Israeli expansionism and the virulence of the FRG revenge-seekers are all too convincing evidence. The imperialists are stoking up world tension and intensifying the arms race.

The main purpose of imperialism's global strategy is to cancel out by armed aggression and acts of political and ideological diversion the historic post-world war changes favoring socialism and national liberation.

The confrontation between progress and reaction, between socialism and imperialism, is sharper these days in all fields, and nowhere sharper than in the ideological,

where communism, the ideology and practice of genuine humanism, is confronted by the ideology of exploitation, slavery and obscurantism.

* * *

Examining *imperialism's ideological subversion in the context of its global strategy*, we cannot help seeing that it is not an aim in itself, but a way of building up political and military pressure, primarily against the socialist world. Subversion is part of the general imperialist front of aggression and counter-revolution, an important element in the imperialists' plan of dividing and destroying the socialist states as the leading force and pillar of the worldwide anti-imperialist revolutionary process.

The imperialists are banking on fragmentation of world socialism as a system, on the one hand, and "erosion" of socialist society, its degeneration, on the other.

Bourgeois nationalism, anti-communism and anti-Sovietism are imperialism's principal weapons of ideological subversion. Imperialist ideologues try to contrapose the socialist countries to the Soviet Union, to undermine the principle of internationalism and disrupt the international solidarity of workers and all working people. They adapt their treacherous tactics to the activity of nationalists and anti-Soviet elements, whom they aid and encourage. In his recent message on "U.S. foreign policy for the 1970s," President Nixon emphasized the special importance for the United States of encouraging the centrifugal forces in the socialist countries and contrasting their national "uniqueness" to membership in the socialist community.

Anti-communists of lower rank are still more explicit. Henry A. Kissinger, the President's top adviser, says in his "American Foreign Policy," a book published in 1969, that the West European ruling class should involve itself more actively in the politico-ideological struggle against the East European socialist states, and insists on closer coordination of NATO policies. He suggests that the NATO countries should "systematically, and at the highest level," study the possibility of "a division of functions . . . in which Western Europe plays the principal role in relation to Eastern Europe, while the United States concentrates on relationships with the USSR" in order to make the most of all favorable opportunities, if such appear.

In other words, the United States is eager to find favorable opportunities for imperialist ideological and political penetration into the socialist countries, rousing the anti-socialist forces and organizing counter-revolutions. That, specifically, is the subversive activity in which the United States wishes to involve its Atlantic bloc allies. The approach is a forced one, because the U.S. has discredited itself by its acts of subversion in the East European socialist countries.

The imperialists are troubled by the objective trend towards greater cohesion that has become strongly visible of late in the socialist community. Their frantic though refined propaganda of nationalism and anti-Sovietism is clearly a sign of their alarm. Their true aims, however, have been formulated, among others, by Ernst Majonika, the top foreign policy spokesman of the West German CDU/CSU. "Nationalism is the explosive," he said. "As I see it, the only possible way to force a solution is by fanning national egoism." Yet with respect to the imperialist bloc Majonika pleads for closer unity. "It is wrong to say that Eastern polycentrism predetermines polycentrism in the West," he writes. In the same breath, he reveals that imperialism is hoping to capitalize on nationalism and so-called liberalization in prevailing on some Communist parties to stop being "parties along Leninist lines."

Capitalist ideologists have also mounted a strident campaign against the leading role of the Communist Party in the socialist revolution and in building the new society, against democratic centralism and the proletarian dictatorship in the framework of socialist democracy.

The class adversary is aware that close

observance of Lenin's principles in the life and activity of Communist parties is the source of the strength of the socialist system and the earnest of further success in the peoples' struggle against imperialism, for socialism and communism.

For the same reasons, imperialist reaction and its ideological menials are hitting out viciously at the principles of proletarian internationalism. Prof. Morris, of the U.S., did not beat about the bush on this score in his book, "International Communism and American Policy." "Take away the internationalism," he wrote, "and what remains . . . Deprived of their international links, the parties would be fated to compromise with the environment to maintain and increase power, and though they might be successful, would they remain communist? In other words, it is internationalism itself, however transfigured, that has been the crucial bond of the Communist movement."

As we see, our opponents' view of the situation is a realistic one, and it is up to us to draw the due conclusions.

* * *

Imperialism continuously improves the means and methods of its ideological subversive activity against the socialist countries. Present-day anti-Communists are highly skilled in disguising their aggressive anti-popular essence. Diverse ways have been devised to condition men's minds, and to cultivate aversion to socialism and antipathy for the Party and government leaders of the socialist states. Anti-Communists are working assiduously to promote a bourgeois-type "liberalization" of political and social life in the socialist countries, and to encourage ultra-Left, Trotskyite, anarchist and similar attacks on the theory and practice of scientific communism. The so-called de-ideologization concept peddled by capitalist propaganda is used for disruptive ends to befog the revolutionary class consciousness of the people, to rob them of their progressive social ideal and to make them more receptive to bourgeois social doctrines. That is why we, builders of socialism and fighters against imperialism, need what Lenin described as ideological clarity, a sharply defined class attitude and the communist sense of principle.

Anti-Communists are taking pains to elaborate a theory of propaganda attuned to the requirements of psychological warfare, demagoguery and mass deceit. That is

what they are banking on in the ideological struggle. Michel Choukas, for one, a U.S. sociologist, in his book, "Propaganda Comes of Age," recommends a strategy of deceit by covert and indirect conditioning of public opinion, maintaining that this strategy can prevail on the human intellect as no open frontal attack could. The strategy of deceit should, according to Choukas, encompass hypocrisy and falsehood, and blandishments by men masquerading as "well-intentioned friends of the people."

Present-day anti-communism would like to "integrate" Marxism in Western culture. Its head-on attacks on Marxism, and equally its attempts to silence or deny it having failed, reactionary bourgeois theory is at present trying to proclaim Marxism, as distinct from communism, a variety of "Western culture."

"Liberal" bourgeois theorists are trying to "re-interpret" Marx, counterposing him to Lenin, and the like. Some even confess to being "Marxists," objecting merely to "one-sidedness" and "excessive extremism," by which they imply the basic revolutionary Marxist-Leninist principles. This is done in the interest of fighting the socialist countries, the Marxist-Leninist teaching.

This is an area in which the convergence of the "liberal" bourgeois ideologues with the outspoken anti-Communists is the most obvious. Nowadays anti-Communists, too, often "admit" to being "partly" Marxist. For instance, U.S. sociologist Niemeyer told a symposium on "Marx and the Western World": We are all Marxists—we accept Marx's diagnosis but reject his prognosis. Obviously, the existence of this trend among bourgeois ideologists is an indication of how hard-pressed our adversaries are to reckon with the immense influence that Marxism-Leninism exercises in the modern world. This bears out Lenin's words: "The dialectics of history were such that the theoretical victory of Marxism compelled its enemies to *disguise themselves as Marxists*" (Vol. 18, p. 584).

At present, as we know, the "theory of convergence" has gained extensive currency in bourgeois sociology. But imperialist reaction is anything but pleased with it, because instead of "active struggle against communism" it exhorts capitalism to passive waiting. This, at least, is what U.S. sociologist Bertram D. Wolfe says in his book, "An Ideology in Power," published in 1969.

Other widespread anti-communist conceptions include those of "post-industrial

society," "deformation of the working class" as a revolutionary force, "pluralization" of Marxism, and the like. Bourgeois sociologists go out of their way to spread the illusion that the technico-scientific revolution obviates social antagonisms, the class struggle and social revolution, mending and perpetuating the system of private enterprise.

In the domain of political economy our foes try to prevail on us to "accept" the idea of a so-called market socialism, designed, in effect, to scrap planning in the socialist countries and undermine socialized ownership.

Due to the unfolding of the technico-scientific revolution and the increasing dynamics of the social processes the need for prognosticating the future has of late also appeared in the West. Forecasts are made concerning the growth of natural science, mathematics, technology, medicine, various aspects of economic life, transport, communications and the like, with some scientific results the value of which none will deny. However, many exponents of bourgeois futurology try to exploit their findings to attack Marxism-Leninism. They contend, among other things, that the prognoses of Marx, Engels and Lenin did not materialize and that Marxism-Leninism is not predictive in character. But that contention does not hold water, is denied by the course of history, the practice of the present world development. Its makers have departed from the scientific approach. They peddle as reality what the imperialist bourgeoisie would want to be reality. In our time, only those who refuse to see and understand can fail to see and understand that history is following the course predicted by Marx and Lenin. By now one-third of mankind has thrown off the trammels of capitalism and follows the socialist way. Marxist-Leninist ideas are winning the minds of many more millions of people, as the recent worldwide celebrations of the centenary of V. I. Lenin's birth have convincingly shown.

Anti-communism cannot yield anything positive. More, it is fashioned to pursue exclusively negative, destructive aims. That is why bourgeois futurologists who devote themselves to anti-communism, cannot offer any more or less scientifically grounded optimistic perspective. For example, they maintain that even in the so-called post-industrial society, a figment of their imagination that will ostensibly replace both capitalism and socialism, the growing pro-

ductivity of labor and growing consumer abundance will produce nothing but new forms of alienation and slavery.

Bourgeois civilization does in fact make a cult of possessing commodities, because it embodies commodity fetishism, a power of the products of labor over the producers. The socialist revolution, on the other hand, eliminates the basis for alienation: private ownership of the means of production and exploitation of labor, creating thereby the main preconditions for man's complete social emancipation.

Obviously, bourgeois sociologists and revisionists are using the "alienation" idea to deprive the working class and all wage-earners in the capitalist countries of the socialist perspective and relieve the pressure of the revolutionary class struggle.

Zionism, that old enemy of the revolutionary labor movement, of scientific communism, has become visibly more active of late. Communists are firmly opposed to anti-Semitism, the offspring of imperialist reaction. But anti-Semitism has nothing in common with the struggle against Zionism, the ideology and practice of the Jewish big bourgeoisie closely associated with international monopoly quarters. Extensively supported by U.S. and world imperialism and the reactionary Israeli ruling caste, Zionism has become imperialism's *force de frappe* against peace, national independence, democracy and socialism. And it is playing a particularly active role in promoting anti-Sovietism and anti-communism.

* * *

In each phase of history, anti-communism uses methods and allies most suitable for, and faithful to, the strategic and tactical aims of the imperialist bourgeoisie.

At present, imperialism's ideological subversion is based on collaboration with various revisionists, opportunists and other renegades. Without the aid of Right and "Left" revisionists, the anti-communism of today has no chance of success in its subversive activity. Traitors to the socialist cause, the revisionists are rendering anti-communism a great service by hawking quasi-revolutionary and petty-bourgeois ideas inimical to Marxism-Leninism among workers and the liberation movement.

The anti-Communist ideologues and revisionists have a common platform: anti-Sovietism in politics and struggle against Marxism-Leninism in the ideological field.

On the pretext of "humanizing socialism"

and brandishing concepts of "poly-Marxism," "national communism" and "different models of socialism," revisionists like Fischer, Garaudy and Sik are advancing ideas desperately needed by our class enemy to relieve the revolutionary pressures in the capitalist countries, to "erode" socialist society and carry forward "creeping" counter-revolution in the socialist states.

The imperialist bourgeoisie shows its appreciation of services rendered by revisionists to its global strategy. Anti-Communists and revisionists back each other up with "arguments" and "evidence." Revisionists are readily granted space for their disquisitions in leading capitalist newspapers and journals, and address audiences of many millions on TV and radio. Bourgeois publishers release a prolific amount of quasi-scientific literature disseminating the anti-Marxist notions of Right and "Left" revisionists.

Experience shows that revisionism can also surface in socialist countries if it is not combated.

"Left" revisionists, who are in effect fighting the theory of scientific communism, the unity of the socialist countries and of all revolutionary anti-imperialist forces under the signboard of "Sinifying" Marxism, are doing immense damage to the world Communist movement and assiduously grinding the imperialist axe. Trying to disrupt the unity of the socialist commonwealth and attacking the USSR, they openly oppose Leninism, declaring that their ideas are a "new era" in Marxism. In substance, however, these ideas are a mixture of petty-bourgeois, nationalist, even racist views that imperil the gains of socialism and, as the facts show, lead to dangerous consequences for the revolutionary anti-imperialist struggle.

Modern Right Social-Democracy is another active helper of forces working against the socialist countries and fraternal parties. The leaders of many Social-Democratic parties regard struggles against communism and the socialist countries as their main task. Imperialism uses Social-Democracy to corrupt working people, especially intellectuals and the younger generation, politically and ideologically. The 11th Congress of the Socialist International in Eastbourne, June 1969, is a case in hand. In his report on the situation in the socialist countries and Communist parties, Karl Czernetz (Austria) substantiates the idea of changing the political regime in the socialist countries by a flexible introduction

of "liberalization." He says the Socialist International follows and studies the "liberalization" process among intellectuals in the socialist countries. He welcomes the process, pointing out, however, that to eliminate the proletarian dictatorship "liberalization" must spread from the intellectual milieu to the working class. That is what the menials of the bourgeoisie are banking on. And that is why, as Lenin emphasized, "the fight against imperialism is a sham and humbug unless it is inseparably bound up with the fight against opportunism" (Vol. 22, p. 302).

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Imperialism's ideological subversion is centered more insistently these days against the Balkan socialist countries, and primarily against their friendship with the Soviet Union. Viktor E. Meier, a strategist of West German anti-communism, tries to prevail on the readers of his book, "Neuer Nationalismus in Suedosteuropa" (The New Nationalism in Southeast Europe) that, ostensibly, the future of the Balkans is best served by cooperation with Western Europe, not the USSR. "Western Europe needs the Balkans for economic reasons," he writes, "and also as a part of the European cultural community, but for the same reasons the Balkans, too, need Europe."

A Balkan socialist country, the People's Republic of Bulgaria has a stake in extensive economic, technico-scientific, cultural and tourist links with all European states. Like the other Warsaw Treaty countries, Bulgaria has called for an all-European security and cooperation conference. We have never failed to promote cooperation, especially with other Balkan countries. But, as we see it, our existence as a state, our national sovereignty and independence, depend on close fraternal relations, alliance, friendship and cooperation with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. We are aware that the expansionist ambitions of the West German revenge-seekers extend to the Balkans. The peace-loving forces have always fought revanchism, for fighting revanchism is fighting to improve the atmosphere in Europe and to safeguard universal peace and security.

The imperialists devote a prominent place to Bulgaria in their ideological expansion. The Western press, radio and television campaign slanderously against Socialist Bulgaria day after day, hour upon hour, attacking the policy of our Party and our friendship with the Soviet Union and the

fraternal socialist states. The subversive activity of Radio Free Europe against Bulgaria and other socialist countries is a graphic example. It is the mouthpiece of rabid anti-communism, broadcasting to Bulgaria, Hungary, Poland, Rumania and Czechoslovakia a total of 540 hours weekly. And now the United States is building what will be one of Europe's most powerful radio stations near our southern frontiers, which, evidently, will engage not only in anti-Bulgarian propaganda.

It is an open secret that the enemy is chiefly soliciting intellectuals and the younger generation. By propagating decadent trends in art and culture, our foes are trying to turn our intellectuals against the method of socialist realism, to confuse them with demagogic slogans of cultural "liberalization," "de-ideologization" of art, and the like. Frantic but hopeless attempts are made to undermine the leading role of the Party on the ideological front, to disrupt the principles of Party allegiance and service to the people in the arts.

The foe also uses tourism for insidious acts of ideological diversion. Often, tourists from capitalist countries conduct subversive work among certain segments of our population, especially the national minorities.

Imperialist propaganda tries to exploit for anti-Bulgarian ends the visits our citizens pay to capitalist countries. And there are countless other methods. We are happy to say, however, that the imperialist attempts at eroding the working people and our youth morally, politically and ideologically, have failed. The organizers of the "erosion" admit this now and then. The *New York Times*, for example, recently described Bulgaria as the "citadel of socialism in the Balkans."

Our Communist Party holds that socialist society and the entire Communist movement cannot develop successfully unless they continuously combat all shades of opportunism. "We Bulgarian Communists," Todor Zhivkov, First Secretary of the CC BCP and Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the PRB, said, "are proud that we were among the first to range ourselves under the Leninist banner. We consider it our right and duty to declare: in our time the attitude to Lenin and Leninism is the watershed between the genuine revolutionaries, the Marxist-Leninists, and all kinds of renegades, revisionists and opportunists in the Communist movement!"

We hold that to repulse the bourgeois

ideology and to prevent emergence of opportunist views, we must persevere in moulding and developing the Marxist-Leninist outlook among the working people and the younger generation. Our Central Committee is taking increasingly effective steps to make Marxism-Leninism the dominant ideology of our entire people. No meeting of the Central Committee has ever failed to devote at least part of its attention to the ideological aspects of our life. Special emphasis is laid on the political education of the intelligentsia, and measures are taken to firm up the Party branches of the creative unions and improve the Communist education of the younger generation of art workers. Our main purpose is to implant the class criterion in the arts and to assure the consistent application of the method of socialist realism. We take a positive view of the mixed public and state bodies exercising guidance in the cultural field, introduced in our country in recent years. The creative intelligentsia approves our measures and has rallied still more closely round the Party and its Marxist-Leninist policy.

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The centenary of Lenin's birth and the Moscow Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties (1969) opened up new ground for a still broader offensive against the bourgeois ideology and anti-communism, and for the further spread of the ideas of scientific communism among the peoples of capitalist, as well as socialist, countries. How well we avail ourselves of the new opportunities depends largely on the degree of *coordination* among the Marxist-Leninist parties.

In its ideological and political struggle against the socialist countries, Communist parties and all progressives, imperialism commands a vast number of research centers, a colossal propaganda machine and the latest achievements of science and technology.

In the United States alone, hundreds of specialized centers, institutes, bureaus, foundations and agencies, and many government institutions, are devoted totally to fighting communism. More than 90 institutes and associations comprising a unified system known as "Ostforschung" are occupied with the same problems in the Federal Republic of Germany. Billions of dollars are spent annually by the imperialist states for ideological subversion.

Despite the many contradictions between

the imperialists of various countries, they succeed in hammering out common views and in concerting efforts against the socialist states and the Marxist-Leninist parties, against the communist ideology.

Apart from the many privately-financed international anti-Communist leagues in the West, the imperialist powers are coordinating anti-Communist action at government level. Ruling quarters collaborate in setting up joint, commonly-financed specialized bodies for ideological subversion that train and employ personnel, exchange experience, information, and the like.

Special sub-divisions working on long-term and operational psychological warfare plans operate under the auspices of NATO, SEATO and the other politico-military blocs of the imperialist powers.

In Asia, Africa and Latin America, too, the imperialists have a generously financed system of international centers, such as the Anti-Communist League of Asian Peoples, the Asian Christian Anti-Communist Association, the World Anti-Communist League, and the like.

Calling on the democratic forces to display vigilance, the 1969 Meeting of fraternal parties noted that imperialism "uses the differences in the international revolutionary movement in an effort to split its ranks. It places its ideological apparatus including mass media, in the service of anti-communism and its struggle against socialism, against all progressive forces."

It is our duty to display the highest possible degree of vigilance, frustrating imperialist ideological subversion, and combating imperialism's petty-bourgeois abettors. We must always remember what Lenin said about our having "untiringly to combat any and every bourgeois ideology, regardless of the fashionable and striking garb in which it may drape itself" (Vol. 5, p. 342).

Integrating the socialist countries' ideological front is an objective imperative in this new stage of our growth, marked by the tendency toward continued concerted economic, political and defensive efforts by our parties and people. The facts show that building a developed socialist society necessarily requires a further extension of all possible contacts among the socialist countries. It follows that a broad offensive against anti-communism will be effective only if mounted in concert, with all the links of the mighty international Marxist-Leninist ideological front, in the van of which stands the CPSU, Lenin's Party, and

the Soviet Union, properly coordinated.

We are objectively in a highly favorable position for organizing this offensive. The communist cause conforms with the objective reality. It expresses the vital requirements of the popular fight for a better future. Anti-communism, on the other hand, is the enemy of humanity. In the politico-social arena it serves the interests of its creators, those of the imperialist bourgeoisie, to the exclusion of all others. In the name of imperialist reaction anti-communism tries to exert its corruptive counter-revolutionary influence on the progressive forces of our time—the international working class, the forces of national liberation and the general democratic movement. That is why Marxist-Leninists have a giant army of allies—the vast majority of the people of our planet. And it is our duty to build up the front against anti-communism into a force capable of stepping up the movement against imperialism, for peace, democracy, national liberation and socialism.

Created by the technico-scientific revolution and the intensification of the class struggle on the ideological front, new problems and phenomena face the socialist countries in the present stage. The problems of socialist revolution and socialist construction, their specifics in each of our countries, require close theoretical study and Marxist-Leninist generalization. Our Party is happy to note that the journal, *Problems of Peace and Socialism* (World Marxist Review) is in that respect an authoritative Marxist-Leninist forum for exchanging experience and views, an organizer of research, an effective weapon against anti-communism and against Right and "Left" revisionism.

Lenin has shown us how to fight bourgeois ideology and to resolve in a positive light and creative manner all the new problems arising before us. All our parties are determined to find the solutions to these problems, leaving nothing for bourgeois ideologists to profit by. Always first to provide scientific answers and solutions to topical problems, we shall retain the initiative, conduct an effective struggle on the ideological front, enrich and amplify Marxism-Leninism.

As our Party sees it, this is the right way of combating the joint forces of our class enemy.

We Bulgarian Communists regard as highly relevant from the standpoint of the

ideological struggle the conclusion of the Moscow Meeting concerning the new fundamental contradiction of state-monopoly capitalism — "the contradiction between the unlimited possibilities opened up by the scientific and technological revolution and the roadblocks raised by capitalism to their utilization for the benefit of society as a whole." It is up to our theorists to join hands and investigate the social, organizational, ideological and moral aspects of the scientific and technological revolution. The symposiums and conferences organized under the auspices of *Problems of Peace and Socialism* will no doubt facilitate this creative examination. Study of topical issues by broadly representative forums will doubtless help our parties, especially those lacking properly trained specialists. Given a collective effort by the fraternal parties, we can expect a fuller development of the creative spirit of Marxism-Leninism, so that our communist truth resounds still more strongly throughout the world.

Our Party notes with satisfaction that the February meeting of Central Committee ideological secretaries of the parties of socialist countries in Sofia proved fruitful in coordinating the ideological activity of the socialist community. We trust that similar new initiatives will follow.

The CPSU attitude to broader fraternal cooperation in the fight against anti-communism is, as we see it, of the utmost fundamental significance. Addressing the commemorative meeting in Moscow on the centenary of Lenin's birth, L. I. Brezhnev, the General Secretary of the CC CPSU, said on this score:

"Imperialist ideologists and politicians are conducting intensive subversive activity against Communists. They exploit every possible means and method to undermine the unity of the Communist front, to drive in wedges where the tiniest crack may appear. This means that Communists should build up militant offensive actions against the bourgeois ideology and cooperate still more actively on a world scale."

Closer and broader ideological cooperation among the Marxist-Leninist parties will help us immensely in combating anti-communism and Right and "Left" revisionism; we shall then advance our great communist cause still more rapidly. We Bulgarian Communists see this as the best way of fulfilling our international and patriotic duty.

Belgium: national question and its class content

JEAN TERFVE

This is a brief survey of the most typical features in present-day Belgium, particularly the set of problems arising from the discrepancy between the political arrangement and the country's reality. To use the Belgian political idiom, we shall look into the "communal problems," though the term is not entirely lucid, veiling the substance of the matter and accentuating its purely nationalist aspects. In fact, the linguistic problem reflects deep changes in the country's economic, social and cultural existence.

It may be proper to recall that in the early phases of her development at the beginning of the 19th century, Belgium was an artificial integer, a progeny of the great-power Holy Alliance against revolutionary France. Also, and especially from 1830 on, the Belgian state was a product of the growing industrial capitalism.

From the beginning, the country has been a compound of two national communities—the Flemish and the Walloon, distinct in language and civilization—run jointly by the bourgeoisie of both; the tongue mainly used by that class being French.

The ruling capitalist class wants a centralized unitarian state, for that, in its view, is the type of administration most effective in securing the desired heights in the capitalist world market.

The communal disparities were long considered a secondary factor. Yet in the course of industrial growth the pattern changed. Heavy industry (iron and steel, and metal-working) and its growth, based on the vast coal deposits, was the econo-

mic basis of capitalist power. Nearly all the coal mines were in the southern, Walloon, part of the country. The metalworking and iron-and-steel industries went up near the coal, spurring industrialization and rapidly making the south the country's principal region.

The northern, Flemish, part—save for the port of Antwerp, where a commercial bourgeoisie sank roots—was industrially backward, agrarian and a preserve of cheap labor.

The economic disparities were used methodically by the unitarian bourgeoisie* to split the workers and exploit communal differences to obscure the class character of various problems.

The capitalist attempts to form a distinctly centralized, unitarian French-speaking state with a predominantly French culture, while reducing to nought the role of the Fleming community, have fallen through. A Flemish nationalist movement sprang up in the early half of this century, pursuing economic, social and cultural ends motivated by the north's retarded economy, the attendant social effects and the linguistic and cultural discrimination.

Benefitting from the support of the Catholic church, which treated the Flemings as a counterweight to the secular trends in the Walloon South, the movement gradually departed from its economic and social aims, adopting a narrow, reactionary nationalist orientation. This was

*We use this term, because, specifically, it is not the bourgeoisie of one national community that oppresses the other community for the advantage it could derive therefrom. Associated with the unitarian state, it supports or, conversely, sacrifices the interests of the one or the other community, depending on the accruing advantages.

something the unitarian bourgeoisie was glad to encourage, at least covertly, while the labor movement, shying from bourgeois nationalism, hesitated to back up the Flemish demands and thereby infuse them with a genuinely class content.

Since then, the situation has changed radically. Belgium is not what it was at the end of the 19th or the beginning of the present century. The economic pattern is not the same. No longer is the Walloon south the country's vital hub. Its coal deposits have gradually run out. Moreover, coal has ceased to be the main fuel. While still an important industrial country, Belgium is short of raw materials and fuel. It depends on overseas sources for its ore and oil, almost all of which are shipped in by sea. The ports are in the north, which, for the north, is an incontestable advantage from the standpoint of the distribution of new industry.

In sum, the economic center shifted from south to north. The big bourgeoisie reacted by applying to the north the policy it had for a century applied to the south. It could not care less about the social consequences.

The economic change impelled demographic ones. The population, practically equal in the two regions in the 19th century, has climbed to about 5,500,000 in Flanders, with about 3,500,000 in the Walloon south.

The abrupt changes have imparted a new content to the "communal problems."

The Fleming community has acquired great power economically and demographically. Its linguistic and cultural claims have become weightier. No longer can its tongue be depreciated or its culture looked upon as mere folklore. Legitimately, it contends for complete equality in the state, claiming what it has been deprived of for years, demanding cultural autonomy and the right to deal with the appropriate issues independently of the unitarian political structures.

Less insistent is the Flemish community's demand for economic and social autonomy. This is understandable, though essentially erroneous and dangerous.

The economic changes, manipulated by the dominant monopolies, are speeding industrialization in a large section of the Flemish area, creating the impression of an identity of interest between the unitarian state and the Flemings. A large section of the Flemish community, firmly in the grip of bourgeois ideology, sees its problems out of the class context and is willing

to allow the monopolies freedom of action in the economic and social spheres, so long as it regains linguistic and cultural freedom.

This posture is traceable to the relatively lesser development of the labor movement in Flanders. The economic backwardness of nearly a century ranks indubitably on top of the list among the variety of reasons for this deficiency. Besides, due to the strong influence of the church, the trade unions have been chiefly Christian, opting to this day for class collaboration. The labor movement is therefore still extensively influenced by reformism and economism, and though workers' actions for immediate demands are usually numerous, they are but seldom directed against the reigning regime.

The evolution of the Walloon community followed a different course. The development of community consciousness was much slower. It did not have to assert itself linguistically and culturally, for the language and culture of the south had been favored by the unitarian bourgeoisie, which tried to impose them on the entire country.

The self-assertion of the Walloons chiefly concerns economic and social areas. They have witnessed the almost total eclipse of coal mining. Their centers of iron and steel, and metalworking, survive simply due to the economic disadvantage of moving. Yet the situation is bleak as regards re-equipment of old and establishment of new industries.

Belgian and foreign investors (the number and importance of the latter growing visibly) regard it as more promising and profitable to build enterprises in the north, closer to the ports. More, they assume that the labor force there is more pliable due to the relatively frail traditions of struggle and the stronger influences of the Christian unions. This is propelling the Walloon economy on its downward course, with a continuing threat to employment, the growth of unemployment, especially among young workers, and the consequent effects on other segments of the population.

The working class and its trade unions are therefore playing an increasingly active role in the Walloon movement. To working people accommodation of the communal problems seems an imperative for the favorable solution of vital issues. That the unitarian bourgeoisie is neglecting the Walloon area, that it is deliberately reluctant to reconvert and expand the Walloon

economy, is causing workers to wake up to the failings of the capitalist system, arousing protest against the regime. True, this degree of class consciousness is still far from general; yet it is often clearly visible as a trend and reflects in one way or another on the nature of the trade union struggles.

The still dominant unitarian bourgeoisie is keenly aware of the flux. In principle, it would be quite content to maintain the unitarian system, in existence since 1830. But it is no longer able to maintain the old structures unchanged. The pressures of the two communities are too powerful and insistent. The incompatibility of the old arrangement and the new situation is much too glaring to preserve the *status quo* without risk of an explosion.

Yet it has been this conservative policy that the ruling classes followed in recent years, leading the country into a political blind alley—a state of affairs that cannot go on for long.

The new plan tackled by the unitarian bourgeoisie is to concede inessential points in order to preserve the essentials. Constitutionally, it is prepared to give up the fiction of a unitarian state and to formalize the existence of regions and communities. It is also prepared to consent to genuine federalization in matters of language and culture and to grant the communities and regions decision-making powers in those areas. This concession, it hopes, will relieve the pressures exerted by the Flemings, whose cooperation it will thus enlist in championing centralized economic and social institutions.

That, for the bourgeoisie, is the main line of defense. It is ready to adopt as the maximum some formulas of deconcentration and decentralization, granting the communal, provincial and regional institutions consultative and administrative powers. However, it is determined to retain decision-making powers in the main national areas—the economic and social. The device is to entrust the functions of a unitarian state to a system of seemingly federative structures. The fierce resistance of the unitarian bourgeoisie is prompted by the fact that many of the socio-economic demands carry new content and strength. The people, especially in the south, associate these with an economic revival of their region, for which end they require effective local political power.

The working people want control over

employment, over dismissals, and over factory cut-backs and closures. They want control over state finance made available to private enterprises, a particularly crucial demand in the state-monopoly environment, in which the private sector is receiving a variety of state grants—long-term low-interest loans and tax exemptions, with local self-administration footing the bill for infrastructural development, and the like.

Of special significance for the economically afflicted areas, experiencing a sharp drop in private investment, is the demand to substitute state funds for private enterprise in setting up economically and socially necessary enterprises.

Though far short of radical reconstruction or a socialist-type system, the demands are cumulatively designed to pare down the omnipotence of trusts and monopolies and to establish controls over their activity. They mirror the stage reached so far in the anti-capitalist struggle. And the bourgeoisie is aware of their purport and peril, resisting them fiercely.

The link-up between institutional and socio-economic reforms is to be credited to the working class. It dates to the large-scale social battles of 1960-61 and is embodied in the slogan issued by André Renard, the former trade union leader: "Federalism and structural reforms." It compounds the persevering efforts of various progressive groups, mostly of a working-class background, among whom the Communist Party plays an eminent role. In the present set-up, the political importance of the trade unions is particularly great.

The fight over the structure of the state has affected the traditional political parties. Formed on a class basis, they were organized to conform with the principles of a unitarian state and are poorly adapted to face up to the centrifugal communal trends.

The Catholic Social-Christian Party, the biggest bourgeois party in the country, has, in effect, broken in two—one part of it comprising the Flemish-speaking membership and the other—the French-speaking. The party is racked by various trends and contradictions. Trying to perform its class role for the big bourgeoisie and working for the maintenance of the unitarian state's socio-economic functions, on the one hand, it must reckon with the Fleming drive for autonomy to retain votes in the

north, where its influence is strongest, on the other. Its position is complicated by the fact that it has to compete with Volksunie, a purely nationalist Fleming party extolling the "new power" of Flanders and counting among its followers a substantial number of fascist-minded elements.

The liberal party, now known as the Liberty and Progress Party (LPP), is another bourgeois party that has for some time endeavored to champion the traditional unitarian state. Seeing that its posture was contrary to the realities, however, it made an about-face. This change put its membership in a state of shock. Some of its branches continued to follow the traditional orientation, while others tried adapting themselves to the communal trends, though not venturing to offer any federative solutions.

The Belgian Socialist Party, the most influential of the working-class organizations, did not escape the shock waves caused by the communal turmoil. Built at first along unitarian lines, it had considerable trouble reorganizing its ranks. The process was complicated by its leadership's reformist policy of neo-capitalist integration and the fact that it participated in the government. While backing the linguistic and cultural demands of its community, its Flemish members side with the bourgeoisie as regards a centralized state with full economic and social powers. The same may be said of the Socialists in the Brussels area. In the Walloon south, on the other hand, where the socialist grip is particularly firm, the demand to reconstitute the state along federative lines resounds more strongly, because the workers' mass pressure is more effective.

Similar demands are contained in the demagogic platform of the Walloon Rassemblement, a new nationalist party of the petty and middle bourgeoisie that has succeeded in winning the allegiance of a certain number of proletarian elements annoyed and impatient with the hesitant and evasive policy of the Socialist Party.

The general shake-up in the political parties and their inability to adapt themselves to the new situation adds greatly to the role of the trade unions. They are closer to the masses, intimately involved in concrete problems and capable of responding to the vital issues. The rapid growth of the Fleming region, the swelling ranks of the working class and of the technical personnel, are precipitating class con-

flicts of growing intensity even where these concern traditional demands for higher wages or center on social issues. With more than 50 per cent of the country's wage-earners organized in unions of long standing, it is safe to assume that the weaknesses in the working-class struggle in Flanders will soon be overcome. Gradually, the demands and aims of the Flemish community are beginning to range farther afield than language and culture. In the setting of intensive trade union activity, economic and social problems are steadily pressing to the fore. Union actions inevitably spark demands for democratic institutional reforms and full regional administrative powers.

The developments are still impeded by the links between the General Federation of Labor and the Socialist Party, on the one hand, and the Confederation of Christian Unions and the Social-Christian Party, on the other. But there is evidence of a tendency to shake off the constraints of the alignments and of advancing independent aims.

Things have gone farther in the south. The Walloon branches of the General Federation of Labor are prominent in the fight for deep-going economic and institutional reforms. Their stand is also blocking the growth of a narrowly nationalist, chauvinist movement. But the danger is still very real, because the existing difficulties leave little hope of rapid and concrete results—something which may nurture impatience and demagoguery.

The other notable fact is the resemblance in the orientation of the two largest trade union centers—the General Federation of Labor (of a socialist-communist complexion) and the Confederation of Christian Unions (of a Catholic complexion). Similarity in their attitude is frequent of late. In some districts, the two even form common fronts, producing joint programs. The Christians are evincing the inclination to shake off the influence of the Social-Christian Party (in formulating union and even political demands), the leadership of which is firmly held by reactionary elements. But that evolution is slow due to the tight grip of the church and the deep-rooted Catholic tradition.

Added strength, a greater degree of political involvement and the capacity to react to changed situations are an asset of the trade union movement. But negative trends, too, are surfacing. There is still the

temptation to integrate with the neo-capitalist mechanism, follow a policy of participation in running that mechanism, which ultimately leads to class collaboration. And that is a tendency which the big capitalists are adroitly encouraging. Besides, it fits in with the traditions of the Social-Democratic and Christian labor movement and with the Socialist Party's policy in the government.

Furthermore, the top trade union leaders are displaying technocratic inclinations, the tendency to produce solutions at top level, without consulting the branches and spurning solutions coming from the shop floor. These transgressions against union democracy are doubly grave in a situation where the mass demand (especially among the young wage-earners) — which has spread and become the principal demand—is full equality for working people, consultation with the people and workers' participation in decision-making.

The failings of the traditional political parties have given rise to scepticism and mistrust. The same thing should not be ruled out with regard to the unions. There have been symptoms of late such as strikes without the consent or even in defiance of the leadership.

We should not lose sight of the fact that despite their increased role, the unions are in no position to carry forward the country's political reconstruction. What we need alongside the common front now crystallizing at union level, and closely linked with the unions, is a political front of the progressive forces. This is all the more necessary, because the unitarian bourgeoisie, shaken by the turmoil in its political organizations, will not sit on its hands. Sooner or later, it will be tempted to resort to some form of authoritarian action.

On analyzing the current situation, the

Communist Party has advanced the idea of a league of democratic and progressive forces leaning on the working class that could wage an active struggle for democratic federalism (an essential phase on the way to a socialist Belgium), for anti-monopoly structural reforms, for the socialist perspective. The Communists have defined the aims of such a league at their latest congress in November 1968, and the Chairman of the Socialist Party supported the idea on May 1, 1969, warning against the dangers of reaction and calling for agreement among the progressive forces on a program of joint action.

The difficulties of bringing the idea to fruition reflect the complexity of the situation. Aided by the government, the unitarian bourgeoisie is working for a compromise on communal problems. It gives way on lesser issues, making formal concessions, hoping thereby to split its adversaries. The Socialist Party, though its congress hailed its Chairman's admonitions, is split into factions. Some of them are for a progressive front, others cling to the policy of participating in the government and integrating in neo-capitalism. The progressive Christian forces are uncertain, fighting shy of an open break with the Social-Christian Party and of forming an autonomous political organization. The parties with nationalist overtones, even those with progressive views on some issues, are reluctant to join a broad front, hoping to profit from the complicated political situation in the next elections.

These conflicting trends tend to obstruct the emergence of a progressive front, the need for which is an imperative of the present set-up.

A hard struggle is under way. It is gaining in intensity. What we need is patience, firmness and political foresight, for we have every chance of winning the battle.

Twelfth congress of AKEL

EZEKIAS PAPAIOANNOU

The 12th Congress of the Progressive Party of the working People of Cyprus (AKEL) which was held March 5-8, 1970, will go down in the history of the Party as one of its most successful.

Held at a time when the imperialist conspiracy against Cyprus was at its highest, the Congress lived up to the expectations of our people.

The main item on the agenda was the mounting struggle of the people against imperialism and for full independence. Stressing the undermining role of imperialism, the political report to the Congress emphasized the following:

"Our Party never ceased emphasizing that the main enemy of the Cyprus people, even following the proclamation of the Independent Cyprus Republic, remains imperialism and more especially American and British imperialism.

"The facts confirm that the British and American imperialists predestine Cyprus as their strongest strategic point in the Eastern Mediterranean and the Middle East. They want it as an unsinkable aircraft-carrier from which to intimidate the Arab people, help their Israeli puppets and attack the countries of the Middle East and socialist countries in a future aggressive war."

American imperialist interest in Cyprus has been manifested time and again. It is no accident that two books have already been published on Cyprus by the American secret services and a third one is being published. We learn from the U.S. Army Handbook on Cyprus that the American Sixth Fleet would have landed military forces in Cyprus in January 1964 if President Makarios had not said No to Ball, and if it had not been for the stern

warning of the Soviet Union. The book titled *Cyprus Between East and West* is nothing but absurd anti-AKEL and anti-Soviet propaganda, while the third book, according to reliable information, is an attempt to drive a wedge between Makarios and AKEL.

The aim of these books is psychologically to prepare the American people for American imperialist intervention in Cyprus on the pretext that the island is in danger of being turned into a "Mediterranean Cuba."

Another serious indication of increasing American imperialist interest in Cyprus is the criminal plan, revealed by our Party, for political assassinations, with the General Secretary of AKEL the first victim in order to create tension as the prelude to overthrowing President Makarios and partitioning Cyprus in the interests of imperialism.

Certain people doubt that the imperialists plan political assassinations and demand proof of this. It would be naive to expect the imperialists to admit that they plan or commit political assassinations. We ask: Will they hesitate to murder the President of Cyprus, the General Secretary of AKEL, or any other political personality in our country? It has been proved beyond a shadow of doubt that, once their imperialist interests demand it, they will not hesitate to commit any crime.

If we call the attention of the Party and the people to the criminal designs of the imperialists it is because we wish to sharpen popular patriotic vigilance in the fight to foil and crush imperialist plans. On the morning of the last day of the AKEL Congress an attempt was made on the life of

President Makarios, who expresses the will of the people and is a serious obstacle to imperialist plans.

The imperialists are not very much concerned about how the Cyprus problem will be solved—whether it will be mutilated independence or partition between Greece and Turkey, as long as they secure Cyprus as a base and starting-off ground for their aggressive aims in the Middle East.

The Soviet Union's policy towards Cyprus has been repeatedly demonstrated during the past few years as a policy of sincere support for our people in solving their problems without foreign interference or intervention. The Cypriots are indeed grateful to the great country of socialism for its unreserved support of their struggle to free themselves from the imperialist clutches and to shape their free and happy future. The presence of the Soviet fleet in the Mediterranean is a serious deterrent to imperialist military intervention in Cyprus.

UNITY—THE KEY TO SUCCESSFUL LIBERATION STRUGGLE

AKEL has faithfully and consistently applied the policy of national unity in the struggle for liberation. And this policy has proved its effectiveness to the present day. Despite continuous provocation by imperialism and its lackeys, AKEL has stubbornly refused to be drawn into activities that would disrupt the popular patriotic forces and their resistance to imperialism.

And there have been many provocations by imperialism and its agents against AKEL and its leadership in the past five years. Bombs have been thrown at Party premises and the homes of Party cadres. There have been threats, provocative leaflets, forged documents and slogans against AKEL and its leadership. Despite all this, AKEL remained calm, an indefatigable and invincible power for unity of the people in the struggle against imperialism and its interference in Cyprus.

AKEL never tired urging patriotic unity, appealing to the people to safeguard and strengthen that unity. There is no resolution of the Political Bureau, the Central Committee or any other Party organ that does not stress the paramount importance of national unity against imperialism.

Application of this policy was not easy. We have been accused of "trailing behind the bourgeoisie," of being "at one with the

government," of being "afraid to attack the government," of having "lost our revolutionary and fighting spirit," of "subordinating the interests of the working class to those of the bourgeoisie," and much more.

For AKEL it would have been much easier to single out only the negative aspects of government policy and speak only of weaknesses, criticizing everybody and everything. It would have been much easier for our Party to cash in on the discontent of the people, channelling it into anti-government demonstrations and other mass actions.

An irresponsible, demagogic policy of this nature would have been easy for our Party. But such a policy would not produce a healthier situation, or improve the state of public affairs, or solve the Cyprus problem. It would bring on the complete collapse of the anti-imperialist front, the partition of Cyprus and imperialist occupation.

There is no doubt that the government of Cyprus needs to be criticized for its shortcomings, and we have never failed to exercise such criticism. Our attitude, however, has always been positive, not negative. We never forget that our main task is to fight imperialism and rid Cyprus of the imperialist presence and influence. It is not at all accidental that imperialism has recently turned against our Internal Front and wants to undermine it. Imperialism knows that the Internal Front is the bulwark of our liberation struggle and that collapse of this Front would mean the actual collapse of our struggle.

The appearance in Cyprus of various fascist terrorist organizations is no chance phenomenon. It is basically the product of a situation exploited by imperialism to promote its aims. These fascist terrorist organizations started with anti-communism and bomb attacks on Party and trade union offices and the homes of AKEL cadres. The idea was to provoke a clash between the Right and Left forces of the people. Their object, also, was to restrict and reduce to a minimum the influence of AKEL and the Left-wing movement.

AKEL POLICY TOWARDS TURKISH CYPRIOTS

When AKEL speaks of the front against imperialism it, of course, includes the Turkish Cypriot people, irrespective of tem-

porary differences. The actual confrontation is not between Greek and Turkish Cypriots, but between the Cyprus people, on the one hand, Greek and Turkish, and imperialism, on the other.

By exploiting certain mistakes and differences imperialism succeeded in promoting intercommunal strife in 1958, imposed the Zurich agreement, and finally provoked the bloodshed of 1965 and a split. AKEL has many times raised its voice in protest against such an impossible situation, which serves only imperialist interests.

AKEL has worked consistently for better relations between Greek and Turkish Cypriots, and its political determination helped to start the Greek-Turkish Cypriot talks. AKEL has always declared that our enemies are not the Turkish Cypriots, with whom we have lived for centuries and will live in the future peacefully in brotherly relations, but the imperialists and their chauvinist tools.

The Congress resolution stresses the "particular importance of work among our Turkish compatriots and for better relations between Greek and Turkish Cypriots, especially today when every effort is being made to arrive at a just and peaceful solution of the Cyprus problem in the interests of the entire Cypriot people. Acknowledging the damage caused by imperialism — which by fostering and exploiting chauvinism managed to deliver a serious blow to relations of mutual confidence, friendship, cooperation and peaceful coexistence of Greek and Turkish Cypriots—we must make ever greater efforts to neutralize this serious damage and restore the good relations of the past."

The government and the people must contribute more decisively to fulfilling this task. At the same time, professional and trade union organizations must play a more active role in raising and solving the many economic and other problems confronting the Turkish Cypriots, and the Turkish Cypriot leadership should also make a positive contribution.

Only by such a policy, only by a concrete and positive approach, by solving the problems of Turkish and Greek Cypriots, will it be possible to demolish the wall of suspicion and hatred erected by imperialism and build a bridge of mutual understanding, friendship and cooperation among Greek and Turkish Cypriots.

PATRIOTIC UNITY AND ELECTIONS

AKEL, as the party of the working class

and working people generally, genuinely democratic, militant, and guided by Marxist-Leninist theory, cannot ignore the fact that the Cypriots' present struggle is basically anti-imperialist, for national liberation, and that at this stage the main enemy remains imperialism. To ignore this basic reality is to follow an erroneous strategy and tactics from which only the imperialists would benefit.

AKEL has acquired rich experience as to the methods by which unity and cooperation is achieved not as a means in itself, but as a means of promoting the aims of the people. And this experience shows that there are no set formulas for developing popular unity and cooperation. It is possible to achieve a form of unity in action even with people far removed from the Party, if we take up the pressing problems of the people.

AKEL supports and promotes the patriotic unity of the broadest masses of the people on the basis of a minimum program. This strategy and tactic serves the general interests of the people of Cyprus and the liberation cause. We neither brush aside nor abandon the class struggle. We conduct this struggle within the framework of the present stage and make every effort to avoid either deviating towards extremism, or holding back or neglecting the interests of the working people. Besides, for us the national liberation, anti-imperialist struggle constitutes an inseparable part of the broader class struggle. The policy of patriotic unity helps us to safeguard the general interests of the working people and, at the same time, achieve maximum cooperation with ideologically differing parties and organizations.

The imperialist conspiracy, which reached its highest point with the attempt on the life of President Makarios, has not been terminated. The imperialists are waiting to exploit every new opportunity to impose their own, imperialist, solution on Cyprus. Pressure on Cyprus is becoming stronger. It is in these conditions that parliamentary elections have been appointed for July 5. And there can be no doubt that the imperialists will seek to exploit these elections to achieve what they failed to achieve by the unsuccessful attempt on the life of President Makarios.

AKEL stresses that the elections must unite, not disunite, the patriotic forces of the people. And the best way to conduct the elections is by cooperation of all parties supporting the solution of the Cyprus

problem as proposed by President Makarios and approved by 96 per cent of the Cypriot people in the February 1968 presidential elections. That is why AKEL supports President Makarios' efforts for patriotic cooperation of the parties, so that the liberation front of Cyprus may become stronger, and not be destroyed in election feuds and antagonisms.

AKEL supports proportional representation as the most democratic electoral system enabling all parties to be represented in Parliament on the basis of popular support. But the present electoral system is the most undemocratic, for it enables parties winning a minority of the votes to get all the seats, while other parties, which together polled an overwhelming majority of votes, remain outside parliament.

ECONOMIC SITUATION

The 12th AKEL Congress dealt also with the economic situation and worked out a line for a more just distribution and redistribution of the national income.

The Cyprus economy developed steadily during the last ten years, with the exception of 1964. Development was more stable, with the application of planning and with the increased direct or indirect role of the state. The results achieved confirm the correctness of the line set out in the Party Program adopted by the 10th AKEL Congress. It underlines the following: "A necessary precondition for the economic development of the country and a steady rise in living and cultural standards of the working people is the application of planning. For this purpose it is necessary to work out long-term and short-term plans for the development of different sectors of the economy on a priority basis and within defined time-limits.

"Parallel with the application of a correct economic and credit policy, investments must be regulated to the degree that this is possible, and directed to sectors of special importance for the economy."

By applying this line, in spite of the shortcomings and weaknesses of the government program, economic development was satisfactory. In the first five-year period the growth rate was 6.8 per cent as compared with the target figure of 6.2 per cent. Per capita gross national income rose from £208 in 1961 to £258 in 1966 and £270 in 1968. Such a rate of increase of the gross national product and per capita gross national in-

come cannot but be considered satisfactory for a developing country like Cyprus.

The second five-year plan provides for a higher growth rate of gross national product, 7 per cent, and 4.4 per cent in per capita income, which is expected to increase from £258 in 1966 to £335 in 1971.

In spite of increased production and improved living standards, the economy still depends on such unstable factors as income from military bases, which in reality only cover our trade deficit. It is therefore necessary to develop, in the nearest possible future, the island's stable resources to replace these unstable factors, so that our economy will not be harmed when, as we hope, these factors (military bases) will cease to exist.

This progress notwithstanding, Cyprus remains essentially a developing agricultural country. And for some time to come, agriculture will continue to be the most important sector of the economy, contributing about 25 per cent to the gross national income, though new structural changes are in the offing, in favor of tourism and other industries.

In recent years there has been a tendency towards concentration of industrial production with the expansion or link-up of small industrial units and the formation of new bigger firms. Thus, Cyprus has already embarked on the capitalist road of development, and this fact cannot but be taken seriously into account in formulating the economic policy of our Party and of the professional organizations of the working people.

Our Party will work for a more equitable distribution of national income, for higher incomes for all working people, for minimum wages corresponding to present requirements, for equal pay for women, for higher wages for young workers, and for healthy working conditions for all. More equitable redistribution of the national income means increasing social security benefits, improved and extended social services, increased holiday allowances, reduction and even abolition of customs duties on necessities. More equitable redistribution of the national income means also free education and free medical services.

MAIN TASKS OF THE PARTY

Throughout the 45 years of its existence, the Party has consistently and faithfully served the people. AKEL not only responded successfully to the main task, the strug-

gle to save Cyprus from partition and imperialist subjugation, the struggle for a united, fully independent, demilitarized Cyprus, but also to the tasks following from the daily problems of the people.

The Party's response to the main tasks does not mean that there have been no weaknesses in its work. Weaknesses and shortcomings were stressed at the Party congress and most of them are of an organizational nature. The basic problem facing AKEL is lack of cadres at all levels. Because of insufficient cadres the Party is not in a position fully to materialize the wide influence it commands among broad strata of the population. The problem of cadres is not an easy one. It requires strenuous, long-term efforts to develop the cadres needed in various areas of Party activity. AKEL is coping with the problem by selecting the most reliable, devoted and militant elements among its membership and helping them acquire the necessary theoretical and practical knowledge for filling Party posts.

The 12th Congress resolved to strengthen the Party by recruiting thousands of new members and improving the work of its basic units, the Party groups. It also decided to improve the work of leading Party bodies by applying collective methods, better allocation of work and more initiative, criticism and self-criticism.

The following are the basic tasks decided upon by the 12th Congress:

1. The struggle for a just, democratic and peaceful solution of the Cyprus problem on the basis of a fully independent, sovereign, unified and demilitarized Cyprus, with the democratic rights of all citizens guaranteed and, more especially, the rights of Turkish Cypriots to be clearly defined and guaranteed.

2. The struggle for the abolition of British bases and for demilitarization of Cyprus. Cyprus must cease to be a base of the imperialists against other peoples and turned into a center of peace, friendship and cooperation of peoples. This will be a great contribution to peace in the Middle East and internationally.

3. The struggle to strengthen national patriotic unity and cooperation among all the patriotic forces of the Cyprus people for a democratic, peaceful and just solution of the Cyprus problem, for complete abolition of the criminal activity of fascist terrorist organizations, which are inspired by imperialist services.

4. The development and promotion of mutual understanding, trust, friendship and cooperation between Greek and Turkish Cypriots. To achieve this it will be necessary to fight chauvinism and the undermining role of imperialism and to work for rapprochement of Greek and Turkish Cypriots as a precondition for the peaceful and just solution of the Cyprus problem.

5. The struggle for a more equitable distribution and redistribution of the national income, a more equitable taxation system and control of profits. The working people are the creators of the increased national income. Our Party must fight to give them a bigger share in the national income. Our Party must also fight for a more equitable taxation system and the imposition of government control on profits, especially excess profits.

6. The Party will work to strengthen the mass movement and promote unity among trade union and other professional organizations. On the basis of the daily problems of the working people, Party members must work hard to organize the unorganized, unite the working people and mobilize them in the struggle for the solution of their problems.

7. Congress underlined the basic task of Party members and cadres to work incessantly for the strengthening of the Party. Without a strong mass party it will not be possible to respond successfully to the serious political and other tasks confronting us.

The 12th Congress of AKEL, convened about a month before the 100th anniversary of the birth of V. I. Lenin, paid tribute to the great teacher and leader of the international working class.

The 12th Congress of AKEL approved the theses contained in the documents of the Moscow Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties.

The significance of the Meeting lies in the fact that, in spite of differences on certain matters expressed by some parties, the Communists at the International Meeting agreed on the main, vital questions of united action in the struggle against imperialism.

We are looking ahead with optimism not as idealist dreamers, but because we are realists. Inspired by this optimism, the AKEL Congress expressed confidence that the fight of our people and the cause of the working class and working people generally will triumph throughout the world.

New attainments open up new prospects

(Notes on Luxembourg Communists' 20th Congress)

RENE URBANI

To understand the confidence with which Luxembourg's Communists analyzed the recent past and weighed future prospects at their 20th Congress, March 29-30, held in industrial Differdange, one must know of the preceding developments.

A week before, interim municipal elections were held in Esch, the steel center and the country's second largest city, because the Right-wing Socialist leadership had torpedoed the efforts to form a Communist-Socialist coalition. The Socialists, split down the middle over the issue, came forward with two lists of candidates, one of them reflecting the standpoint of advocates of cooperation with Communists.

The bourgeois government parties described the new election as a "national test." The "test" culminated in a notable success for the Communist Party: the percentage of votes cast for its candidates went up from 23.7 to 27.9, giving them the sixth seat on the city council and making them the strongest single council group. The Right Socialists, meanwhile, suffered a setback. The majority that has thus emerged in the Esch council favors a Left forces alliance in the city commune. A Council of Elders has been formed of Communists and Socialists, headed by Burgomaster Arthur Useldinger, a Communist.

The outcome in Esch amounts to a spanking political defeat for the government parties and the Right Socialist leadership (which at once began expelling members favoring cooperation with Communists). Also, it is evidence of the people's deep trust in Communists, as well as of the general Left craving for unity.

The "national test" revealed that after its noteworthy success in the 1968 and 1969

elections, the Communist Party has gained added influence. As for the dissent-torn Socialist Workers' Party, it is displaying a growing urge for cooperation with Communists.

Since the 1969 general municipal elections some towns, chiefly with a working-class population, have Socialist-formed Councils of Elders representing a minority. These can run effectively only with Communist support, and after the Esch election things are likely to move swiftly elsewhere, too, towards official Left coalitions. What has unquestionably facilitated this development was the unity of Socialists and Communists in the trade unions for the past several years. The government parties — the Christian-Social and the Democratic (Liberal) are panicky. Their press has redoubled its anti-Communist campaign.

Our 20th Congress, attended by over 200 delegates and guests, had good grounds for pride in the Party's recent attainments and approached all issues in the light of the new trends and prospects. It became an inspiring manifestation of the Party's unity and strength.

The Central Committee report delivered by Comrade D. Urbany, the Party Chairman, and the many salient interventions by other comrades warrant the important conclusion that the general anti-Communist offensive by home reactionaries and their Right Socialist assistants, who had hoped to isolate and smash the CPL over the 1968 Czechoslovak issue, has collapsed. The Party emerged from this latest trial far stronger than before, capable of tackling its tasks with fresh vigor.

ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT

The mounting difficulties and internal strife badgering the two ruling parties and the Right Socialists, Comrade D. Urbany noted in his report, are due chiefly to economic developments. Like other capitalist states, the country witnessed an intensification of the process of concentration. Arbed, for one, our biggest steel concern, took over the Hadir steel enterprises and has thus practically become Luxembourg's sole economic dictator. (Arbed possesses ramified international connections, owning enterprises in West Germany, Belgium and South America. All in all, it employs a labor force of 70,000, including 23,000 in Luxembourg).

Large investments have been made in steel to modernize the industry, which pushed up output and at the same time reduced the labor force. The result: intensification of labor and a mounting rate of exploitation, with wage increases lagging far behind the growth of production and profit.

Alongside industrial concentration, foreign banking capital is making new inroads and U.S. investments are growing. The number of banks active in the country rose from 18 in 1966 to 28. And in 1962-68 the number of holding companies, which in Luxembourg are tax-free, went up from 1,238 to 2,094. Foreign capital has increased from 14,000 million to 47,000 million francs. By virtue of the tax advantages, Luxembourg has of late become one of the major centers of West European finance capital, a kind of Eldorado for exploiters and profiteers.

Our Congress noted that the rapid penetration of U.S. capital and the appearance of U.S. trusts on our economic scene is a novel feature. Through their Luxembourg branches U.S. trusts have built up support bases for penetrating the Common Market. Following the new imperialist pattern, the bases are not for commodity export, but for export of capital—the surest way of gaining influence in other lands.

The benefits offered U.S. enterprises, the CC report said, are excessive. The treasury pays part of the bank interest for them and guarantees debts to the extent of 50 per cent. From 10 to 30 per cent of newly-invested capital is tax-free, and so for the first eight years is a quarter of the profit. Unrestricted shipment of profits out of the country, bypassing exchange regulations, is

guaranteed. Furthermore, U.S. investors have been given responsible assurances that no social legislation limiting free disposal of labor and production, will affect them. For one thing, the bill on workers' participation in management at enterprise level does not apply to U.S.-owned enterprises.

While this plunder of the state treasury in the name of monopoly expansion continues, marked by a growing concentration of wealth in monopoly quarters, the situation of the working people is deteriorating substantially. Exploitation on the shop floor is more intensive, and prices are climbing steadily. The European Economic Community is thus revealing its essence as a league of West European banks and trusts, designed, as we Communists have pointed out repeatedly, to step up exploitation of the workers.

Discontent is rife. Not among workers only, but also among public servants, clerical workers and other social segments. Resistance to the state-monopoly policies of the Christian-Liberal government is mounting.

The Communist Party has come forward with the demand for pegging wages and pensions to the rising cost of living. It is calling for effective price controls and a progressive social policy, for protection and extension of wage-earners' rights in factories and offices, for a democratic educational system, a democratic tax reform, and the like. It is fighting attempts to strengthen the state machinery, subvert the people's democratic rights, emasculate and turn into a mirage the authority and privileges of parliament, rob the communes of autonomy and reinforce the state's repressive bodies.

The Congress report and most of the interventions argued the necessity of cooperation between Communists and Socialists, the need for working-class unity.

By virtue of our patient and persevering unity policy, we achieved the amalgamation of the two trade-union centers early in 1966, promoting Communist-Socialist cooperation at trade union level. Cooperation has of late spread also to the sphere of commune policy.

Twentieth Congress reaffirmed our readiness to continue cooperating with Socialists. We are aware of the need for a much broader unitarian movement. Our Party Chairman said in the CC report that "Communists are prepared to cooperate with anyone championing the life and the social and democratic gains and achievements of

the working people against reaction and monopoly capital, irrespective of differences in outlook and religious beliefs. That is why we proffer our hand also to many Christians, whether they are factory or clerical workers or members of any other segment of the working people."

Yet while working for unity in the fight for day-to-day demands, Communists are always conscious of their ultimate aim. Roundly applauded was the Chairman's statement at the Congress that "it is clear to us, and we must always speak of it in relation to all our actions, that the rapid social development of our people, the freedom of the working people, our country's independence and peace, will not be secure until capitalism is eliminated and replaced by socialism, and until power in the state and the economic administration is taken over by the working people of Luxembourg."

It was stressed that despite changes in the population structure sparked by the technico-scientific revolution, the working class is still the decisive force and, given a strong Communist Party to lead it, will perform its historic mission of socialist reconstruction.

Congress reaffirmed the need for an independent Luxembourg foreign policy based on the principles of peaceful coexistence. It welcomed the conclusion of a cultural exchange agreement with the Soviet Union, and the Luxembourg Foreign Minister's declaring in favor of an all-European security conference. Congress also noted, however, that by and large government policy is still geared to West German, U.S. and NATO imperialist aims.

We consider it our duty to prod the government to active participation in bringing to fruition the idea of a European collective security conference. The government should take a realistic view of the European situation and extend full diplomatic recognition to the German Democratic Republic.

The CPL will continue its efforts for Luxembourg's withdrawal from the NATO system. Albeit purely symbolic, participation of our army units in NATO maneuvers in Norway and Turkey, the CC report noted, is not only a waste of funds, but a source of danger to our country.

Congress also examined the implications of the aggressive U.S. imperialist policy in different regions. It condemned the criminal Vietnam war and adopted a resolution of solidarity with the people of fighting Viet-

nam. The militarist policy of the reactionary Israeli government was stigmatized as an acute threat to world peace. The Israeli government, it was noted, carries out acts of war and various provocations against the neighboring Arab countries and cruelly oppresses the Palestinian people in occupied territories. Congress denounced the U.S. imperialists as the string-pullers and organizers of the Israeli aggression.

FOR WORLD COMMUNIST UNITY AND A STRONGER CPL

We held our 20th Congress under the watchword of proletarian internationalism. It was attended by fraternal delegations from the Soviet Union, Belgium, Bulgaria, the German Democratic Republic, the German Federal Republic (CPG and GCP), France, Italy, Rumania, Czechoslovakia and Hungary. Many other fraternal parties sent messages of greeting.

Comrade D. Urbany closely examined the problems of the world Communist movement and struggle against imperialism. "Our working class and our Party," he said among other things, "have internationalist duties. Success in our own country depends largely on the successes or failures of the working class in other countries, on the course of events in Europe and the rest of the world."

Comrade Urbany stressed the importance of the powerful socialist camp. The Soviet Union has become a world power. The community of socialist states in Europe is steadily growing stronger. The socialist countries, especially the USSR, are the decisive factor for peace. They are a dependable support for the workers of all countries, including those of Luxembourg, in the struggle against monopoly capital.

The CPL put its signature to the documents of the 1969 International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties without any reservations, acting on the belief that Communist unity is the key to fresh successes in the fight against imperialism and that world Communist unity must be based on Marxist-Leninist principles and proletarian internationalism.

The CC report drew attention to the ideological offensive mounted in recent years by the imperialists against socialism, Marxism-Leninism and world Communist unity. Ostensibly novel theories are being peddled in capitalist countries, maintaining that scientific and technological progress is integrating the workers and capital-

ism in a "welfare society," leading to socialism via social partnership or, much more, obviating the need for socialism. The "convergence theory" zealously preached by Right Socialists, is meant to distract the working class from the struggle for socialism.

This propaganda is closely related to attempts at confusing the Communist ranks and selling Communists the notion of a "new," "democratic" socialism. At the same time, excessive praise is lavished on Trotskyites and Mao splinter groups with the object of prying away revolutionary-minded intellectuals and workers from the Communist Party. Preachers of "humane" socialism and of "more revolutionary" methods have one thing in common: hatred of the Soviet Union and the CPSU, prompting attacks on the existing socialism.

The 20th Congress was evidence of our ideological firmness. We can fight successfully against imperialism, for progress, peace and socialism, the CC report says, if our Party proceeds in all its activity from the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. We shall combat all distortions of the teaching of Marx and Lenin in our ranks and among the public at large, regardless of where they originate—on the Right or "Left."

"Left" adventurers allege "embourgeoisement" of the working class and the Communist parties. That is rank slander and evidence of complete lack of comprehension of the true conditions of the fight for socialism in the modern environment. It is still too early to predict whether the socialist upturn in our country will be peaceful or non-peaceful and what role will be played by our parliament. What is certain, however, is that our advance to socialism will be accompanied by continuous and acute social and political struggle against reaction and the old, outdated system. It is also certain that victory depends on whether or not we shall win the broad mass of the people. Phrasemongering and abstract "revolutionary romanticism" will not yield success. All they can do is give cause for reckless provocations, with our adversary the only one to profit.

Those who attack us from the Right are trying to prove that the class struggle has become irrelevant due to the higher standard of living won by the working class, the greater employment in the services and the mounting role of intellectuals, technicians and scientists in production as a result of the technico-scientific revolution, to which

all but supernatural powers are now being ascribed. Marxism, the Rights hold, is outdated, while Leninism is at best applicable in the Soviet Union only. They harangue for freedom of disseminating among Communists ideas opposed to the Party program and the principles of democratic centralism and proletarian internationalism.

For us this is a constant challenge to fight opportunism and revisionism, doubly so because changes in the social structure of the working people are posing new problems. The rural population is moving en masse into jobs in industry, especially the new American enterprises. The number of workers employed in services and commerce is swelling. So is that of public servants and clerical workers, while in industry more people are engaged in mental rather than manual work. All these segments are becoming acutely conscious of the anti-people's consequences of monopoly capital policy and expressing their discontent in various ways. Due to their lack of experience in class struggle they are introducing illusions and prejudices among the fighters against reaction and monopoly capital. Aiding them in the struggle for their demands, we are winning these new segments of wage workers for the labor movement and impressing on them the need for joint struggle.

We can be successful if our standpoint is always a clear one. First and foremost, this must mean recognition of the fact that in our country the working class, especially the industrial workers, are the decisive force. Furthermore, the workers comprise the bulk of our population and it is our prime task to mobilize and organize them.

Conscious of the decisive part the Communist Party must play in this, Congress delegates discussed ways and means of strengthening the CPL. Congress put on record the successes of recent years and noted the Party's greater influence among the people. This was traced to its correct policy and the purposeful and dedicated activity of its press, activists and the membership in general.

At the same time, Congress noted that the Party's numerical strength is still incommensurate with its influence; this applies also to the circulation of the Party newspaper. Congress called for a Party-building campaign and a circulation build-up for Party publications. Delegates also discussed improvement of inner-Party work and promotion of activity in Party branch-

es. It was specially stressed that despite the importance of working in trade unions and other organizations, Party work proper should not suffer. "Nothing, not even the most progressive of trade unions," Congress pointed out, "can take the place of the Communist Party."

Congress adopted a number of resolutions concerning inner Party work. The Central Committee was re-elected unanimously, with no changes in composition.

Summing up, D. Urbany said:

"Our Party has good reason to say that even in the hardest of times it never turned off the Marxist-Leninist way and was always faithful to the Leninist principles of proletarian internationalism. That is the explanation for our successes and the trust we have earned for the Party among broad strata of working people."

This is the course the CPL will continue to follow.

Rumanian Communist Party's program of agricultural development

In all the years of socialist construction Rumanian agriculture has been developing continuously. Its socialist reconstruction through incorporation of millions of small-scale peasant farms in farming cooperatives, coupled with the establishment of a powerful state sector, yielded a notable increase in crop and animal production, bettered the technical equipment of farming and raised the rural standard of living. Our agriculture is meeting the nation's needs in farm produce and those of industry in raw materials.

Figures are the best evidence of the sustained agricultural growth in the years since the working class, jointly with the working peasants, came to power. The 1969 grain output was 12,820,000 tons, or nearly four million tons more than in 1938, economically the best year in bourgeois-landlord Rumania between the two wars.

Animal husbandry, too, has made rapid gains. Livestock in the beginning of the year totalled 5,034,000 head of cattle, 5,971,000 pigs, 13,800,000 sheep and 53,400,000 poultry, surpassing the 1938 figure by nearly 1,400,000 cattle, 3,200,000 pigs, 3,800,000 sheep and 26 million poultry. The fields are worked by 105,000 tractors, dozens of thousands of combines and other farm machinery, whereas all the big landlords had in 1938 was 4,500 tractors.

What agricultural growth has done to raise the nation's living standard is evident from the following figures: annual meat consumption per capita went up from 21.1 kg in 1938 to 31.5 kg in 1968, or nearly 50 per cent; milk and other dairy products from 118.5 to 130.6 kg and sugar from 5.3 to 17.8 kg, or more than threefold.

As our Party sees it, establishment of socialist relations of production is only the first step in the complex process of modernizing what was once an extremely backward agriculture. Extensive material efforts by the state are needed to build up the technical resources, supply the countryside with enough chemical fertilizer, pesticides and herbicides, develop irrigation schemes, etc. Our agriculture has vast potentialities for further growth through intensification and improvement of the productive forces to meet modern scientific and technological standards. The matter was discussed at length at an RCP Central Committee meeting in March (1970), which adopted two national programs: a livestock development program for the 10 years ahead and a 1971-1975 program for the rational use of water resources, extension of irrigation works, damming, melioration and measures against soil erosion, with longer-term tentative targets until 1985. The two programs, which are part of the general economic develop-

ment plan outlined by the 10th Party Congress, were drawn up beforehand and discussed by a wide range of specialists.

The CC meeting noted that some mistakes had been made in past agrarian policies: insufficient funds allocated for farming development, for one thing, and not enough material aid extended to the cooperative sector. Too little was spent on modernizing agricultural production. A number of equipment targets had been cancelled. There was a distant lack of confidence in the capacity of farmers. For all these reasons, the 1955-1965 irrigation scheme and the fertilizer and chemical production plans were carried out only in part.

Referring to these deficiencies, N. Ceausescu, RCP General Secretary, said: "Beyond question, socialist agriculture is the most progressive from the standpoint of property and production relations; however, if we do not grasp the fact that funds must be allocated to equip farming with up-to-date technology in order to make broad use of the gains of modern farming and animal husbandry, socialist agriculture will not resolve the main problems related to the development of crop farming and livestock breeding. Yet that, in the final analysis, is one of the most substantive aspects of progress, civilization and a higher standard of living for our people!"

Agriculture is one of the main areas of the Rumanian economy. Building a harmoniously developed socialist society, building communism, is inconceivable without intensive-type modern farming based on the latest scientific achievements.

To meet the challenge, the 1971-1975 five-year plan envisages agricultural allocations of some 80,000 million leis, plus an investment of about 25,000 million leis by farming cooperatives out of their profits. These sums are more than double the amount invested by our entire economy in the first five-year plan period. Moreover, they do not include allocations to industries servicing or supplying agriculture.

By 1975 farm labor will thus be totally mechanized, with industry supplying an adequate amount of fertilizer.

The state also contributes decisively to the building of a material basis for farming by financing enterprises supplying the resources for mechanizing labor in farming cooperatives. Moreover, agronomists and bookkeepers employed by cooperatives receive their salary from the state treasury. It is the state, too, that organizes improve-

ment courses for millions of cooperative farmers.

Coupled with the efforts to extend the material and technical base in the countryside, the Party is working to consolidate and advance socialist production relations and cooperative property relations in agriculture, which is highly important for the building of socialism and communism. District associations and the National Association of Farming Cooperatives, which organize collaboration by cooperatives and promote improvements in rural relations of production, are playing an increasingly important role.

The program dealing with the nation's water resources, adopted by the CC meeting in March, does not furnish specific answers to all concrete problems. A more detailed national program based on the approved guidelines is to be worked out in due course, providing for the necessary water reservoirs, use of subterranean water resources, measures against water pollution, land irrigation, construction of canals for all desired purposes and amelioration of navigable rivers. This, as we see, goes beyond the immediate agricultural objectives, envisaging a versatile development of the nation's water resources.

It is planned to develop an irrigation scheme for 1,200-1,500 thousand hectares before 1975, pushing up total irrigated land in the country to about 2,400 thousand hectares. It is estimated that in the coming 15 to 20 years practically all cultivated land where irrigation is possible, that is, about 5-5.5 million hectares, will have ample supplies of water. Measures will at once be taken to avert possible damage by an oversupply of water in some parts of the country; this applies particularly to erosion of soil on mountain slopes. Fuller use of water resources will also enable us to build up our fish industry. Irrigation canals are to serve navigation purposes, enabling us to realize the nation's dream of making Bucharest a Danube port.

The other program approved by the CC meeting concerns animal husbandry. The Party is not satisfied with the results already achieved, especially considering the untapped potentialities and the achievements of other countries with advanced farming techniques. By 1980 we are planning to increase cattle to 50-55 head per 100 hectares of arable, including at least 30 cows. This target is to be reached by building up large-scale animal farms. Our experience has shown that cattle breeding on

large specialized farms is the only way to rapidly expand animal husbandry and make it more effective.

Organizing large-scale specialized animal farms is not a purely technical matter. It has a bearing on important social problems and will encourage further improvements in our socialist relations of production. Some farms will be built jointly by several farming cooperatives, while the biggest are to be formed through collaboration between state farming enterprises and cooperatives. As our Party sees it, this type of collaboration between the two socialist sectors of agriculture is a step forward to their ultimate fusion and the emergence of a homogeneous socialist agriculture. Besides, for the working class and the socialist state it is a new form of aiding the cooperative farmers.

Skilled personnel is wanted to fulfil the versatile livestock-breeding program. That aspect, too, is being taken care of. We are planning to increase the number of farm specialists, and, moreover, provide additional training to all farmers.

To make rural labor more efficient, the Party and government have worked out measures improving agricultural planning, to be put into effect this autumn. Central-

ized targets will be set only for production going to the central grain and food funds, whereas all other production is to be planned individually by each farm according to its needs and its stake in raising efficiency.

The livestock development program opens up new prospects for the general economic growth of our socialist state. It is not a merely technical program. The concerted efforts of all the people are required to carry it into effect. "Enlisting the cooperation of the broad masses in working out and fulfilling this program," Comrade Ceausescu noted, "is also an essential condition of our socialist democracy, which requires the direct participation of the people, of the working people, in running all society."

By fulfilling the livestock development program and securing rational use of water resources we shall have made a big advance in the all-round development of socialist Rumania, elevating the cultural level in the countryside and accelerating the eradication of the essential disparities between town and village. This will tend to solidify the alliance of workers and peasants, the unshakable foundation of the socialist system.

B.Z.

In brief

POLAND

The Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party held its fifth plenary session in May to review the system of material incentives. The subject was introduced by Boleslaw Jaszczuk, Political Bureau Member and Central Committee Secretary, who pointed out that the proposed reform was designed to provide more effective incentives to raise production and management standards in the next five-year period. Material incentives will be used in a way that will encourage factories to shift to more efficient techniques and thus increase their contribution to Poland's economic development. Coupled with moral incentives, this should make **for closer identity of the interests of the individual worker, his work collective and the community.**

The funds earmarked for wage raises and bonuses will be allocated in accordance with results achieved by work collectives and managements. In this way, the whole mechanism for raising wages is being entrusted to work collectives.

The reform provides for faster wage increases where, first, wages at a given factory are substantially lower than in other factories in the same industry and, second, where there is a substantial differential between blue-collar and white-collar earnings.

The new system will operate in basic industries, and the chief criterion will be results obtained with minimum expenditure and higher growth rates.

Speaking in the debate, Wladyslaw Gomułka told the plenary meeting that "the idea is to promote more efficient use of national assets, especially machines and other equipment in each factory, better supply and use of raw and other materials, **better organization of working time, and achieve higher quality standards.**"

An important feature of the comprehensive reform is that it delegates more authority to the work collective and raises the responsibility of workers' self-management

and trade union branches for operational results.

SOVIET UNION

Election meetings and conferences have been held in 363,000 Party branches and are still to be held in another 3,500, in which the term of office has not yet expired. The elections showed a high degree of membership activity, initiative, organization and discipline. Altogether, 12.2 million members attended these meetings (89.2 per cent of the total membership of the branches involved), and 3.1 million, or one-fourth of those attending, took part in the debate.

The discussion centered on fulfilment of economic plans and of the Lenin centenary pledges and completion of the eighth five-year plan. The accent, both in reports and debate speeches, was on raising the effectiveness of social production, improving management techniques in the new conditions, and making fuller use of available reserves. Meetings at industrial, building and transport enterprises called for fuller use of the new technology as a means of intensifying production.

In rural areas main attention was on further improvement of collective farming and, more specifically, cultivating every acre to maximum effect.

Party work was still another subject of discussion. Here the main point was continued development of inner-Party democracy, better discipline and better fulfilment of Party duties. In the year since the last elections 7,709 new branches, 15,107 shop branches and about 19,000 Party groups were formed.

The problems of ideological work figured prominently at all election meetings. More Communists and non-Party people, it was noted, were studying Marxism-Leninism and the works of Lenin.

The 1.5 million newly-elected members of Party committees include 236,000 workers and more than 180,000 collective farmers; women make up 29.3 per cent of branch

secretaries. In 241 branches, the work of the Party Committee, bureau and the secretary was pronounced unsatisfactory, and 563 branch secretaries were not re-elected. The voting everywhere was by secret ballot. Higher Party committees have analyzed the critical remarks and proposals made at these meetings and are seeing to it that the resolutions adopted are carried out.

CONFERENCE OF NORTHERN COMMUNIST PARTIES

A conference of the Communist parties of North European countries met in May to discuss the political situation and the tasks of the Communist parties. There was an exchange of views also on several other questions.

The final communique says that the Communist parties categorically oppose affiliation to the European Economic Community which, the communique says, is "an economic and political alliance serving the interests of the big monopolies and threatening the sovereign rights of small nations." Membership in the EEC, the conference stated, cannot resolve the market problems of capitalist countries and can only add to the difficulties of their economic development.

If northern economic cooperation is to accord with the interests of the working class and the people at large, the conference declared, it must be paralleled by the creation of a neutral and atom-free zone in North Europe. In this context, the conference urged convocation of a European security conference.

It denounced America's invasion of

Cambodia and called for a united world-wide protest against U.S. imperialist aggression, and for closer cooperation with the peoples of Indochina and all other victims of aggression.

GROWTH OF PARTY MEMBERSHIP

Argentina. In May 1969 the Communist Party set 15,000 new members as the goal of its Lenin centenary recruiting campaign. The figures at the end of the campaign, April 22, were 11,567 new members for the Party and 5,748 for the Young Communist League; most of the new recruits are workers, 25 per cent are women, and the average age is 27 years.

India. Communist Party membership on January 31, 1970, was 242,968 as against 171,386 at the beginning of last year.

Every November, December and January there is an exchange of Party cards and enrolment of new members. This year the campaign acquired special significance since it coincided with the Lenin centenary.

The growth of Party membership has not been even. In Bihar State, for instance, the increase was from 21,500 to 48,600, or nearly 130 per cent, while the national average is about 41 percent. More than half of Party membership is made up of industrial and agricultural workers and poor peasants, with an increasing share of young people.

Italy. By May 5, new Party cards—they bear a portrait of Lenin in honor of the centenary of his birth—had been issued to 1,405,909 members, of whom 84,137 are new members; 1,700 Communists temporarily living abroad reaffirmed their membership.

New contribution to the political economy of socialism

Published late last year, the **Political Economy of Socialism and Its Application in the GDR**, a collective study edited by Guenter Mittag and with a preface by Walter Ulbricht, holds a prominent place among works on this subject.

Its 900 pages cover a wide range of theoretical and practical problems of socialist economics. The authors draw on the fundamental propositions of Marxism-Leninism, the experience of Communist and Workers' parties and Marxist research in the USSR and other countries. Naturally much use is made of resolutions of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany and legislative and other acts of the German Democratic Republic. The authors, however, emphasize that work on the book will continue, utilizing the latest achievements of the USSR and other socialist countries and the experience in building up the GDR's socialist economic system under the 1971-75 plan.

In this review, Soviet economist Lev Leontyev presents his personal views on some of the problems posed by the German team.

This collective endeavor summarizes not only German, but also international experience of socialist construction. The authors stress the significance and value of Soviet experience, pointing out that, even before the socialist revolution, the SUPG leadership rejected the theory of a special German road to socialism, which under-rates the universal laws governing the transition from capitalism to socialism. But the SUPG leadership avoided schematic copying and worked out concrete forms of applying universally valid economic laws (cf. p. 106).

The study clearly shows that there is no contradiction between accepting the universal applicability of Soviet experience and taking due account of the specifics of socialist construction in one or another country.

The book is permeated with the militant spirit of class struggle, partisanship and irreconcilability to bourgeois and revisionist ideology. In this respect it continues the traditions of Marxist-Leninist political economy.

DUAL FUNCTION OF THE POLITICAL ECONOMY OF SOCIALISM

The reader will doubtlessly appreciate the authors' definition of the role of political economy in building socialism: "We now consider science a productive force and act accordingly. This applies especially to the political economy of socialism, which can and should become an essential productive force in the GDR" (p. 10).

An interpretative generalization of socialist construction leads the authors to conclude that the political economy of socialism has a dual function, economic and ideological.

Socialist economics encompass "the fundamental objective economic conditions and laws of the socialist mode of production, basic economic relations and processes in the economic system of socialism in its emergent, formative and operational stages, including definite interrelations between mode of production and superstructure" (p. 50).

Political economy, the authors point out,

has very practical implications: "By developing political economy, the working class creates its scientific and ideological basis for balanced, rational and effective management of social reproduction" (p. 51).

From this follows that socialist economics and socialist economic policy are inseparably linked: "Through its economic policy the socialist state assures consistent creation of economic conditions, concrete implementation of the economic laws of socialism and participation of the working people in building a developed socialist system and its core, the economic structure" (p.57).

That interpretation, we think, is all the more valuable since attempts have been made, even by Marxist writers, to restrict socialist economics to abstract investigation of economic laws divorced from economic policy. But economic policy moulds the mechanism through which these economic laws are realized.

FOUNDATIONS OF SOCIALIST ECONOMY

Examination of the economic laws of socialism is based on the premise that "socialism is not a brief transitional phase, but a relatively independent socio-economic formation in the historical epoch of the world's transition from capitalism to communism" (p. 188).

This, too, is important, for it provides a reliable guide in analyzing the central problems of socialist economics.

The Marxist-Leninist classics, it will be recalled, gave a comprehensive definition of communist society and its development. They regarded socialism as the first phase of communism, one that emerges from capitalism, as distinct from the highest stage, communism, which develops on its own foundations. That is sometimes oversimplified: socialism, it is alleged, is the relatively short span needed to build its "own foundations" which, in turn, are sometimes restrictively interpreted as the material and technical base. In our opinion there is no substantiation for that view.

For the new society's "own foundations" cover a much wider scope of social change: obliteration of essential differences between mental and physical labor and between town and country; classless society, the withering away of the state, a communist attitude to work, etc.

Experience has shown that socialism is a fairly long phase in the development of

the new society. It covers the period of gradual building of the entire complex of preconditions for transition to communism, the main features of which become increasingly tangible. And that is only logical, for independence of socialism in relation to communism is highly relative—there is no hard and fast boundary between the two, nor can there be, inasmuch as both are of the same socio-economic type, with public ownership of the means of production and abolition of exploitation.

The concept of socialism as a brief non-independent transition stage leads to underestimation of the difficulties involved in socialist construction, prevents a correct understanding of the contradictions that surface in the process, and results in dangerous disregard of the resistance of world imperialism and other hostile forces.

Socialism differs from communism in level of productive forces, forms of ownership, character of labor and distribution, class structure of society, superstructure pattern, economic laws and categories. Hence, the passage from socialism to communism represents a qualitative advance — society enters the higher, classless stage. "This transition to a new quality is not, however, identical with the concept of social revolution, for it does not involve one class superseding another in the exercise of political and economic power" (p. 192).

The contradictions of socialism are not antagonistic and their resolution does not require social "explosions." In an exploitive society elements of the future system are created within the productive forces and only partly in the superstructure. In a non-exploitive, socialist society elements of the future communist system are created both in the basis and superstructure. The independence of socialism in relation to communism is, therefore, highly relative, and the building of a developed socialist society implies, by the very nature of the process, a simultaneous advance to communism.

While paying tribute to the authors' theoretical boldness in dealing with complex problems, it has to be said, we think, that these problems, and especially the question of the degree of relative independence of socialism, require further investigation and discussion.

And such investigation, we believe, will help expose the fallacious view that the economic laws of socialism are a mixture of the laws relating to two formations, capitalism and communism. This would

only contrast two types of economic laws of socialism, of which one type is considered positive and should be closely studied from the standpoint of the advance to communism, while the other type is shunned as negative.

The authors remark that though socialism replaces capitalism and prepares the material and spiritual prerequisites of communism, "it can discharge this function only if all its motive forces are brought into play. And this presupposes knowledge and consistent application of socialism's socio-economic laws and categories. As in all preceding modes of production, these laws exist within the system, in close interaction, not parallel" (p. 189).

Some are inclined to ask: To what degree are the economic laws of socialism "rudiments of capitalism"? This is the author's answer: "If we are to build an economy that is comprehensive, develops harmoniously and produces maximum effect for the whole of society, we must consistently and comprehensively apply all the objective laws operative in the socialist mode of production" (p. 191).

This is followed by the very apt remark that the operation of economic laws of a given mode of production cannot be artificially restricted or extended, and any attempt in one or the other direction is bound to impair efficient functioning of the socialist economy.

The authors base their investigation of socialist production relations on a definition of socialist property and an analysis of the new pattern and character of labor. In a socialist society no class can appropriate the results of the labor of others. Consequently, labor power is no longer a commodity and the means of production no longer capital, but public property (p. 219). This means that the very nature of labor has changed radically, to become the labor of associated producers free of exploitation; direct social labor conducted according to plan. The authors examine in detail the implications of the change-over from capitalist competition to socialist emulation, that powerful motive force of the new mode of production.

INTERCONNECTION OF ECONOMIC LAWS

The study ably discloses, in our opinion, the intrinsic connection between the basic economic law of socialism and the law of balanced economic development (p. 233, et seq.).

The basic economic law of socialism reflects the cardinal conditions of the existence and development of socialist production relations. Although it "reacts on all aspects and phases of the process of social reproduction, it cannot be regarded as an all-embracing law containing the kernel of all the other socialist economic laws" (p. 237).

The basic economic law of socialism and the law of balanced economic development are objectively interconnected, inasmuch as both determine the optimal dynamics and effectiveness of production and economic proportions. And in this interconnection, the authors believe, the accent should be on dynamics and effectiveness, for a high growth rate is a distinguishing feature of the socialist economy. But a high growth rate presupposes a dynamically balanced economy. Now, with the technological revolution, simplistic statistical notions of economic proportions can seriously impede higher growth rates and higher effectiveness. Consequently, it is not a matter of static proportions, but rather of proportions as part of the development process, its scope and tempo.

The authors project a new concept, the *law of socialist appropriation*. They understand it as the form in which socialist ownership of the means of production manifests itself. "Socialist society," they write, "can appropriate only what it produces and only as much as it produces. This concerns all its component parts—groups, work collectives, and individual workers as members of the productive community . . . The main income of the working class and the working people generally as joint producers and owners of production and of the product of their labor derives from their labor, the amount of labor they invest" (p. 250). In our view, the law of socialist appropriation merits serious discussion. In examining its concrete operation, the German authors analyze Marx's scheme of distribution of the social product in a socialist society outlined in *Critique of the Gotha Program*. They take it as their starting point in analyzing the practical aspects of appropriation and distribution according to work done. Socialist appropriation strongly facilitates implementation of the principle: "What is good for society should be good also for every production collective, for every worker. Thus the law of socialist appropriation becomes, simultaneously, an objective determining factor in dovetailing social and personal interests" (p. 256).

Closer analysis of the law reveals the substance and forms of the worker's material interest in socialist production. First, it completely precludes appropriation by others of the results of his labor. Second, based on socialist commodity production, it links personal material interests to society's need to raise productivity. Third, it creates material incentives for raising the effectiveness of work collectives, industries and the national economy as a whole and, in this way, fourth, promotes a moral interest in society's growth and development. "The very fact that society materially appreciates the productive contribution of each of its members stimulates their will to work, provides greater moral and ideological motives for socialist work. Material and moral interests are thus directly linked, both operating jointly, complementing each other and, consequently, should be used in their interconnection" (p. 258).

CRUCIAL ROLE OF PLANNING

The pivotal idea here is that centralized planning and administration are organically tied in with balanced, responsible and constructive activity of the socialist commodity producers, on the one hand, and responsible regulation of public life by local government bodies, in their respective areas, on the other. These propositions are set out in official documents of the Socialist Unity Party and in legislative acts of the GDR. We think that they represent an interesting experiment in concretizing and translating into economic terms the *Lenin principle of democratic centralism in economic management*. And in this study democratic centralism is rightly described as the only possible form of economic relation between workers as the collective owners of the means of production (cf. p. 223).

There is a detailed analysis of the role of commodity production and commodity-money relations under socialism. Much of the material is based on the experience of socialist construction in the USSR, other socialist countries and the German Democratic Republic. And that experience has clearly demonstrated that socialist production, by virtue of its intrinsic factors, can only be highly developed and planned commodity production (cf. 260).

At one time the theory was current that commodity-money relations are but a vestigial carry-over from capitalism, a birthmark of the old mode of production. An analysis of economic realities led the Com-

munist and Workers' parties of most socialist countries to reject that notion. The CPSU Program, for instance, expressly states: "It is necessary in communist construction to make full use of commodity-money relations *in keeping with their new content in the socialist period*" (my italics—L.L.). The problem is treated in much the same way by the authors of this study: "Commodity production is a component of the planned socialist economy. The SUPG has invariably been guided by this dialectical interconnection. It rejects the concept, and its practical implications, of socialist commodity production as a residual carry-over or birthmark of the capitalist society. But it also rejects the concept of an anonymous commodity-money mechanism, or of commodity production as a separate entity. The social essence of commodity production is here the decisive factor" (p. 260).

All past economic history has known of only one type of commodity production, that based on private property of the means of production. *We are witnessing the successful development of a new type of commodity production based on public property of the means of production.*

The authors are fully justified in emphasizing that socialist commodity production is a specific category. "Social production based on public ownership is unknown to all preceding commodity-producing societies. The economic categories of socialist commodity production, its management principles, its very essence and social implications, are characteristic only of the socialist mode of production" (p. 263).

The level of productive forces and socialist production relations determine the need to "reduce all work to socially necessary labor, to value, and apply the economic principle of equivalent socially necessary compensation in the process of the planned production and exchange of material values. This explains why socialist commodity production, and its corresponding exchange of commodities through specifically socialist commodity-money relations, operate in all spheres of the national economy" (p. 268).

Underestimation of the law of value, the authors say, tends to disparage the role of prices, production costs, financial factors and cost accounting. From a decisive factor in the functioning of the economic system, cost accounting is thus reduced to a planning and bookkeeping technicality, to a management instrument deprived of economic content.

While wholly rejecting the bourgeois-

revisionist concept of "market socialism," the authors examine the real role of the market in a socialist planned economy. They proceed from the thesis that the state of the market, that is, *the sum total of conditions for realizing the social product, is an essential aspect of the socialist reproduction process*. There is no justification, therefore, for regarding emphasis on the market as a concession to the "market socialism" concept.

For that concept is virtually tantamount to renouncing centralized economic planning and management and returning to market spontaneity as the chief economic regulator. That distorts the very fundamentals of socialist economics.

Under socialism, realization of the social product is not the result of the "free play of market forces." In a socialist economy *market formation is powerfully influenced by centralized planning*, inasmuch as the latter determines the basic orientation and rate of economic growth, and also the principal economic proportions.

"Under socialism, the market is a phase in the planned regulated process of social reproduction. It is not an entity unto itself, but is subject to the primacy of production" (p. 214). Economic planning makes it possible to avoid serious disproportions and eliminate them when they do appear, thereby resolving possible contradictions between plan and market.

Some object to the very concept of socialist commodity production, arguing that commodity production, which serves different social systems, has stable intrinsic characteristics, and even under socialism retains some features of the private-property economy. That is neither a historical nor a class approach, for a mode of production must be judged by its determining characteristic, the form of ownership and the class in power.

A class approach to the nature and role of socialist commodity production is, we think, an important prerequisite for a correct understanding of the practical and ideological functions of political economy.

Its practical function resides in the fact that socialist commodity-money relations facilitate centralized planning and management by serving as an authentic gauge of economic results, as an instrument of cost accounting and as a material stimulator of production.

The ideological function lies in the fact that the Marxist understanding of planned

socialist commodity production cuts the ground from under the feet of anti-communist propagandists, notably advocates of the convergence theory, who seek to present economic reforms in the socialist countries as application of capitalist methods.

Bourgeois ideologists are helped by the revisionists, both Right and "Left," who are prone to equate socialist commodity-money relations with capitalist. The Right revisionists want the socialist economy to revert to capitalist methods, while the "Left" revisionists anathematize such fundamental principles of socialist economics as cost accounting, profitability, material stimulators.

SOCIALIST REPRODUCTION

The reader will find much of interest in this section of the German study. Discussing *scientific prognosis* as a long-range planning instrument, the authors describe its use in working out the general orientation and structure of the economy. In the context of the scientific and technological revolution, they remark, it is especially important to give the entire economic process a clear perspective and goal.

Another problem dealt with is productive and unproductive labor in a socialist economy. Here the authors take as their starting point Marx's definition of this category under capitalism and show the change it undergoes when socialist production relations prevail. This is their basic conclusion: *under socialism, with the continued development of highly socialized production based on modern technology, the concept of productive labor becomes incomparably broader*.

The product of labor is increasingly transformed into the social product, or, to use Marx's definition, into the collective product of the collective laborer, i.e., of the combined work collective, each member of which stands at a shorter or longer distance from the direct object of labor. "Rapid expansion of the productive forces, the mounting impact of science, and the increasing socialization of the production process, steadily raise the share of productive mental labor in that process, i.e., in the effective functioning of the collective laborer. This applies also to various preparatory stages—planning, research and invention, organization, technological preparation, etc. These partial functions play a vital role in

assuring the effectiveness of the productive process and, hence, also intensive expansion of socialist reproduction" (p. 507).

Much attention is paid to use of the economic laws of socialism by the Council of Mutual Economic Assistance. Convincing evidence is adduced to show that the international socialist division of labor is the direct opposite, from a class standpoint, of the capitalist division and rests on new objective foundations.

* * *

This study by a team of GDR economists raises and discusses many important problems. Their continued Marxist-Leninist examination in comradely discussions will doubtlessly benefit economic science, which is so intimately associated both with the practical problems of socialist construction and the ideological struggle against socialism's opponents.

Lev LEONTYEV

Against U.S. aggression in Indochina

(Conference of Communist Parties of European capitalist countries)

Representatives of the following Parties met in Paris on May 15: Communist Party of Germany, Socialist Unity Party of West Berlin, Communist Party of Austria, Communist Party of Belgium, Communist Party of Denmark, Communist Party of Spain, Communist Party of Finland, French Communist Party, Communist Party of Great Britain, Communist Party of Greece, Communist Party of Ireland, Italian Communist Party, Communist Party of Luxembourg, Portuguese Communist Party, San Marino Communist Party, Left Party—Communists of Sweden, Swiss Party of Labor.

The Cyprus and Norwegian Parties were unable to send delegates, but signified their support of the conference. The German Communist Party announced full agreement with the Conference, regretting that it could not share in its work. The Communist Party of the Netherlands was represented by an observer who informed the conference of the campaign in his country against the imperialist aggression in Indochina and undertook to communicate all conference proposals to his Party.

The Communiqué published after the conference stresses the need for urgent action in view of the deteriorating Indochina situation. The conference discussed coordinated action and decided:

- to increase political, moral and material support for the Indochina peoples in their heroic battle against U.S. imperialist aggression;

- to demand the immediate, complete and unconditional withdrawal of U.S. forces from South Vietnam and all other parts of Indochina;

- to intensify mass pressure on the re-

spective governments to condemn the U.S. aggression.

The conference approved an appeal to the peoples of European capitalist countries urging redoubled vigilance. U.S. imperialism, it says, is escalating its aggressive war in Cambodia and throughout Indochina, causing more devastation, death and suffering and dangerously aggravating the international situation.

The appeal condemns the U.S. government's actions and its claim to act as world gendarme.

"In Cambodia, just as in Vietnam, U.S. attempts to compensate for previous defeats by extending the war are doomed to failure," the appeal says. "United in common struggle, and supported by the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, by the working class and the forces of peace and liberation, the peoples will fight through to victory."

This war can be stopped now, the appeal says, by accepting the proposals of the Indochina peoples.

"At a time when imperialism is extending its aggression and endangering the freedom and peace of the nations," the appeal says, "the Communist Parties of capitalist Europe are pledged to promote closer joint action by the international Communist movement, convinced that concerted effort by all the Communist and Workers' parties will help unite all anti-imperialist forces for victory."

The conference addressed letters to the Working People's Party of Vietnam, the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam, the Patriotic Front of Laos and the National United Front of Cambodia, declar-

ing that the Communist parties of European capitalist countries, true to their internationalist duty, will effectively contribute to the fight against the fresh onslaught of the common enemy, U.S. imperialism. The letters outline plans for protest meetings in the capitals and main cities of capitalist Europe under the slogan: "An end to im-

perialist aggression!" "Americans, Withdraw from Indochina!", "Independence for the Peoples of Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia!", "For World Peace."

The letters pledge solidarity with the peoples of Indochina in their fight for independence and express confidence in their ultimate victory.

Cambodia: U.S. myths, inventions and plots . . .

JAMES ALDRIDGE

The American invasion of Cambodia was obviously prepared in detail for many months, and if one knows a little about military strategy, and United States political strategy, it is clear that no aspect of the operation was left unorganized and unthought-out. In fact, the computerization of U.S. politico-military action is part of the American method, which means that all factors of the problem had to be fed into the Pentagon's planning computers before any important results could be decided on.

It was therefore not merely an invasion of expediency. And obviously the final decision was a human one. Either it was the soldiers who decided it, or it was the President. Or it was both. President Nixon has, in fact, taken full responsibility on himself. But it doesn't matter who made the decision. What matters is the sort of thinking that these human or inhuman planners brought to the problem.

Perhaps it is because I am a novelist, and have written of this sort of problem on other levels, but it doesn't require much imagination to realize how many conferences and sub-conferences were held in those Washington committee rooms, or in the war room under the White House. How many conversations were held over lunch, and in the darkness of the night among the men planning the operation. How many organizations had to be consulted, how many logistic problems worked out, how many men had to be flown back and forth, to and from Vietnam, to inform and consult and report to the men on the spot.

And when the plan had finally been decided and put down on paper, like all military plans it was certainly given a brief outline of objectives, which probably read on that blue United States military paper something like this:

- 1) Remove the neutralist government of Prince Sihanouk.
- 2) With the help of the CIA, create as much hostility as possible between Cambodians and the Vietnamese minority living in Cambodia.
- 3) Invade the Mekong Delta with maximum effort.
- 4) Destroy as large an area of countryside and township as possible, in order to create confusion and fear in the population.
- 5) Having penetrated as deep as possible into Cambodian territory with all arms, United States forces may go through the motions of withdrawal. This to be decided later.
- 6) The United States will leave behind in Cambodia the South Vietnamese army as the occupiers, even the conquerors of the Mekong Delta areas.
- 7) Continue to exploit the hostility between the Vietnamese minority and the Cambodians, and to suggest national hatred and rivalries in the area. Create, in fact, as great a physical mess as possible out of this hostility.
- 8) On the basis of the success or failure of this venture, and taking into some account the world response to it, begin to plan a similar operation in Laos. . . .

Word by word this may seem like an

exaggerated version of what the United States planners used as an outline for the operation. But in fact, if you read the reports already published of conversations with U.S. soldiers and politicians and generals, and if you follow the character of the entire operation, and also read reports in newspapers like the *London Times* and the *Guardian*, even the language is not exaggerated. In reality the invasion of Cambodia was more horribly explicit and cynical and Machiavellian than I have made it here.

In fact one has to measure this operation by what has already happened in Vietnam. Almost every restraint that civilized nations have tried to put on war has been broken by the United States forces in Vietnam. United States forces have used gases, chemicals, explosive bullets, and a volume of civilian bombing with napalm which has had no parallel in history. United States soldiers have shot down and murdered, on their own admission, helpless women and children with hand weapons and even with bayonets.

The only justification the U.S. and Saigon have offered for invading Cambodia is the same one that Hitler used. The country had to be saved from communism.

What the United States government also tried to invent for its aggression was the notion that there was a huge and mysterious "Vietcong headquarters" somewhere in the Mekong Delta. President Nixon said that when this vital "Vietcong complex" was captured and destroyed, the operation would be over and the United States troops would be removed. Every day, as the Americans advanced into Cambodia, we read in our press that there was no sign of any "Vietcong" base. As late as May 16, Michael Hornsby, the *Times* correspondent in Saigon, wrote: "The headquarters of the legendary Communist Central Office for South Vietnam (in Cambodia) still remains to be located. The notion that there is a single Communist command center is now being quietly dropped."

There has been no real evidence of any large body of "Vietcong" in the area at all. Nonetheless, this was the excuse for the destruction of the town of Snoul which was bombed to ashes on the pretext that it was full of Vietnamese guerrillas. When the Western reporters entered the burned out city immediately after the bombing, they found several dead women and a horribly wounded child, and no sign of any kind of Vietnamese liberation forces.

The *Times* reporter on the spot, Murray Sayle, also reported another example of this myth of the "Vietcong" strongholds. He stood with an American Lieutenant in the typical Cambodian village of Phom Tasuos "with its tall Buddhist Temple, houses on stilts among the trees, and a neat little mud-plastered schoolhouse." It was empty when the Americans arrived. Sayle asked the American Lieutenant: "What have we got here?"

The Lieutenant pointed to "Vietcong barracks and installations." But Sayle suggested that it was only where the monks of the temple lived. The Lieutenant pointed to a "Vietcong indoctrination center." "More likely the schoolhouse," Sayle says. (The day's lessons were still on the blackboard.) A long muddy pond could be a "Vietcong obstacle course for commando training," the Lieutenant said. "It could also have been the village pig wallow," Sayle adds. Finally, the Lieutenant in exasperation said: "What about these enemy rice caches?" And Sayle had to point out that the bin full of rice they had found in a prosperous Cambodian house was not unusual, because after all "Cambodians also eat rice."

In fact nobody in his right senses ever believed the myth of the huge "Vietcong" base in Cambodia. Nobody was ever supposed to believe it. It was one of those peculiar lies, similar to the ones that Goebbels invented, which everybody knew was a lie but which you were supposed to uphold as the truth, otherwise you were not patriotic.

Even so, the most sinister aspect of this U.S. invasion is not so much the deceptions, as the reality itself. In a dispatch from Saigon published in the *London Times* of May 12, Michael Hornsby wrote: "Events in south-west Cambodia have suddenly taken a dramatic and somewhat sinister turn. The new factor is the emergence of the South Vietnamese Army as an effective and *territorially acquisitive* fighting force."

Hornsby points out that the advance of the South Vietnamese forces was ostensibly to ensure the safety of Vietnamese living in Cambodia — "many hundreds of whom are believed to have been massacred by Cambodian troops. However," he goes on, "it is now clear that the relief of the refugees is merely part of a much more extensive military operation. The South Vietnamese are not committed to the American withdrawal date of June 30." He suggests that in fact the Saigon army will

remain in Cambodia with American help. In other words, part of the United States plan has been to encourage expansionist ambitions by Saigon, so that they could seize part of Cambodia and hold on to it like conquerors. On May 14 the *London Times* published another report from Saigon on its front pages which quoted the Saigon task force commander in Cambodia, General Do Cao Tri, as saying: "The Cambodian Army isn't fighting the Vietcong. It seems more afraid of us than of the Vietcong. They don't seem sure of our motives."

No wonder!

The next day, May 15, The *Times* published another dispatch about Cambodia from its Saigon correspondent, Michael Hornsby, which had as its headline: "Saigon arrogance as troops start new sweep." And the story under it said that Saigon troops were taking over a large part of south-west Cambodia with the intention of hanging on to it.

The principle is clear. U.S. policy not only wants to divide and rule the area, but it encourages its puppets and mercenaries to invade and conquer a peaceful neighbor. By manipulating this sort of national hatred and local violence, the United States clearly hopes to leave behind in Cambodia a human and political mess. In fact it is the lesson they have learned from British imperialism, which always left conflicts and antagonisms in the wake of its retreat.

Already a hundred thousand Vietnamese who were living quite peacefully in Cambodia have been forcibly taken away to South Vietnam by the Saigon Army under this policy of conquest and furious national hatreds. Reports in our press make it quite clear that there is nowhere in South Vietnam itself for these people to go. TV films showed them packed onto river-craft like animals and simply shipped down the river to a future of misery and homelessness in wretched camps. It is something only paralleled since the last war by the plight of the Palestinians.

The more one records these events of the Cambodian invasion, the more one asks angrily and grimly when it will stop. The American people themselves are asking that same question every day. At the same time, we also read about the "agony" of President Nixon, trying to decide what to do in Indochina. We are supposed to have sympathy for the President of the United States because he has to struggle with his conscience when he orders his army to invade

Cambodia, when he orders his bombers to drop napalm on defenceless villages, when he shifts thousands of people from their homes and turns them into refugees and beggars.

On May 16, for instance, John Swain, the *Agence France-Press* reporter in Cambodia with the Saigon and American troops, casually reported this sort of thing: "The Vietcong forward position could be seen clearly through field glasses, with uniformed men walking through the rubble of Tonle Bet. One Vietcong soldier was taken prisoner. 'We shot him on the spot,' Major Sam (the outpost commander) said."

How many times has that happened in Cambodia? How much "agony" has that given the President and his advisors? Murray Sayle reported on May 17 in the *Sunday Times* that what had happened in the whole area was really an attempt by the United States to change the whole map of Indochina. But, as Sayle adds: "Whether this revision of Indochinese geography has been worth 40,000 American dead, not to mention more than a million Vietnamese, is another question."

Where is the President's "agony" in that?

Fullbright told Henry Brandon, the *Sunday Times* correspondent in Washington, that "the war is a disaster for this country." And Brandon, himself a supporter of most U.S. policies, says: "In the country, patience with the American commitment in Vietnam is virtually exhausted. The President through not abiding by the requirements of the Constitution, has contributed to lawlessness, many people in Congress say . . . Instead of calming this country, he has sharpened the divisions and heightened the dangers of anarchy . . ."

Anarchy, of course, is another name for popular resistance.

What the youth of America are telling the President, in fact, is that their future is not his future. Their resistance to the Vietnam war and the Cambodian invasion is by no means consistent or simple. It is very complex and it is confused by the nature of the political contradictions in American life. But one thing seems clear. The next generation does not want to fight Johnson's war, Nixon's war, or General Abrams' war, or Saigon's war. On that simple and practical issue there is real unity among the youth in America, who are willing to face the same guns that the Vietnamese and Cambodians are facing in order to make their point.

The result of all this Machiavellian

scheming and planning and lying is that nobody will quite believe President Nixon again. He had promised that there would not be another Vietnam in Cambodia. He had promised that the United States would steadily withdraw from the area. Every one of these promises has been broken. Even his friends and his ministers are reported to be unhappy with the isolation that this sort of policy has forced on him.

The danger is that the deception will continue. If the invasion of Cambodia was carefully planned beforehand, then the planning is obviously continuing to the next stage. No matter what President Nixon promises now, the world is justified in watching suspiciously for the very opposite to happen. Already there are signs of the next move. A few weeks after the invasion had begun, an ominous item appeared in the *Times* from Vientiane. The report said that Colonel Thong Phanh Kno-sky, the spokesman for the Laotian Defense

Ministry, was already suggesting that it was necessary for South Vietnamese to enter his country, to help "clean up" Laos as well.

First Korea, then Vietnam, then Cambodia and Laos . . . And who knows where else?

The future really depends on the kind of resistance that world opinion puts up. Almost every important capital in the world had large demonstrations against the United States invasion of Cambodia. Almost every level of society has protested against it. In fact, the real contest is not the battle between soldiers in Vietnam, but the battle between reactionary forces everywhere against the intelligent and thoughtful and humane forces that exist everywhere. It is these latter forces that will eventually dispose of these vulgar Machiavellis who think they can rule us by terror, and perpetuate themselves by lies.

Political struggle in India

S. SARDESAI

The political struggle in India is assuming new forms. The focal point of the rapid developments has been the unprecedented crisis in the Indian National Congress, accelerating the polarization of the progressive and the reactionary forces in the country. This crisis reached a qualitatively new level in November and December when the Congress split completely into two parts, each section holding its national convention at the end of December.

Inevitably, the Congress Party in Parliament also split into two, the majority section composed of about two hundred and twenty Congress MPs, led by Prime Minister Mrs. Indira Gandhi, and a minority group of slightly over sixty Congress MPs, led by what is now called in India "the Syndicate," i.e., the diehard reactionary section of the leadership of the former undivided Congress.

The gravity of the situation is aggravated by the fact that while the united Congress had a majority in Parliament, obviously the Indira Gandhi section no longer holds that position. Since the splitters crossed over to the opposition the numerical relation between the ruling party and the opposition is now roughly 220 against 299. So, for the first time in independent India we have a minority government at the center. And yet the government survived the censure motion brought against it in the winter session of Parliament by the Syndicate and its allies. In fact, the no-confidence move was defeated by 307 votes against 146, i.e., by a majority which even the united Congress did not enjoy. This was a major defeat for the Right reactionary conspiracy of dislodging the Indira Gandhi government and capturing political power.

How is it that a part of the former ruling party, and moreover reduced to a minority, got such support in the Parliament? This happened because, for the first time in the history of our Parliament, most of the democratic, progressive and Left parties in Parliament, and many independent members supported the Indira Gandhi government against the no-confidence motion which was dominantly sponsored by the Syndicate and the other Right reactionary parties, viz., the Swatantra and the Jana Sangh.

It will be difficult for foreign readers, excepting those closely acquainted with Indian problems, to realize the profound implications of these developments for our country and its politics.

The Indian National Congress, founded in 1885, nourished by the heroism and sacrifice of literally millions of Indians, and moulded by leaders of international stature such as Tilak, Gandhi and Nehru, led our country to freedom. During the last twenty-two years, after we achieved national independence, developing as the main political party of the Indian bourgeoisie, it steadily lost its influence, but still held the monopoly of power both at the center and in most of the states, till 1967. During the same period, however, in the context of the growing mass misery and discontent resulting from the capitalist policies pursued by the Congress government, Communist and other Left forces developed rapidly outside the Congress. Simultaneously, the landlord, princely and growing monopoly bourgeois forces in India, supported by foreign reaction, also built their Right reactionary parties, mainly the Jana Sangh and the Swatantra.

This was not all. During the same period, the conflict between the reactionary forces in the Congress, mainly representing the monopoly bourgeoisie and landlords, and the non-monopoly sections within the Congress, also sharpened. In result, the Congress suffered a severe setback in the general elections of 1967, being reduced to a minority in the majority of states, and securing a bare majority of forty in Parliament. This further aggravated the crisis in the organization, which developed into a general political crisis. It is this conflict which has now reached a stage which marks the end of an entire period of our post-independence history and heralds the beginning of an altogether new period of political and economic developments, a period of extreme fluidity and very sharp twists and turns.

The historical relation between the Congress and the Indian people being what it has been for more than three quarters of a century, its split has led every political party in India, Right, Left or Centrist, to reassess the national situation and work out its policies in the light of all the consequences.

As stated above, both the sections held their national conventions at the end of December, the Syndicate in Ahmedabad, which is its stronghold, and the Indira Gandhi Congress at Bombay. What did the two conventions reveal? First, it is accepted by all independent judges that a clear majority of delegates elected by the undivided Congress membership attended the Indira Gandhi session at Bombay. This also applies to the membership of the All India Congress Committee, which is the highest policy making body of the Congress between its annual national conventions. This is so far as the national picture is concerned.

But it also came out that the Syndicate carried with it the great majority of delegates from the states of Gujraht, Mysore and Tamilnad. It has also the support of a good section of active Congress cadres in many other states.

Right down among the masses all over the country, there is no doubt that Indira Gandhi has a progressive image and enjoys great popularity and prestige, which cannot be said of the Syndicate leadership.

Secondly, the dominant refrain of the resolutions passed and speeches delivered at the Syndicate session was a most virulent attack on Indira Gandhi. The topmost leaders, not to speak of their storm-troopers, and in fact, the president of the Syndicate Congress himself, attacked Mrs. Gandhi as pursuing a path that would spell ruin for the whole country. One leading member of the Syndicate stated that "the daughter was carrying forward the ruinous policies first initiated by the father," i.e., Jawaharlal Nehru. To top all, the president of the session declared that the policy of his party would be to pull down the Indira Gandhi government at the center by all available means.

A third feature of the Syndicate session was its clearly expressed opinion that the period of one party majority rule in India was over. The period of coalitions had begun. Simultaneously, direct hints were given that the Syndicate Congress would seek an alliance with the Swatantra and Jana Sangh because it considered them to be "like-minded, democratic, patriotic parties."

These overtures have been openly welcomed by the leaders of the Jana Sangh and Swatantra.

Conscious that they were being looked upon by the common people as agents of the industrial tycoons and big landed interests in the country, the Syndicate leaders adopted a fig-leaf resolution on economic policy at their session. It makes no mention of the problem of foreign or internal monopoly capital. There is a vague reference to the expansion of the public sector, to a ten-point economic program adopted by an earlier Congress session, and a lot of talk about land reforms with aid to the small farmers. Characteristically enough, the speakers on the resolution ridiculed what they called "radical, socialist slogan-mongering," advocated "pragmatic policies for increasing production," and spouted all the usual stock-in-trade of the reactionary bourgeoisie.

The Syndicate and its Congress have thus clearly cast themselves in the role of the doyen of the reactionary parties in the country out to build a common front of all similar parties and forces spearheaded against what they call "the menace of communism" and determined to pull down the Indira Gandhi government at all costs.

The Indira Gandhi Congress session at Bombay was comparatively a much more complicated affair. The total upshot of the session clearly corroborated our Party's earlier evaluation of the character of the Indira Congress as well (now often referred to as the "real" or the "new" Congress). The Indira Gandhi Congress is by no means Left, and, of course, not socialist by any standard of measurement. Despite all its claims, the "new" Congress is still a national bourgeois organization. There is no doubt that a number of radically oriented and serious elements are being attracted towards it, but that does not alter the character of its leadership or its social composition.

Having stated this, one has to make a serious and responsible estimate of the Bombay Congress, and not poohpooh or deride it as a "farce," as is being done in India by the CPI (Marxist). Politics based on such pseudo-radical evaluations are dangerous in the present Indian context, since they only bring grist to the mill of the forces of reaction. At the Bombay Congress session, Indira Gandhi and her colleagues did not indulge in any vitriolics against the Syndicate leadership. The tone of the speeches and resolutions was more serious and responsible. The main theme of the

speeches of Mrs. Gandhi and her colleagues was that the serious loss of influence of the Congress in the country was due to the non-implementation in practice of the progressive resolutions, declarations and commitments accepted by the Congress over the years. The people had lost faith in the promises of the Congress, and hence were searching for new leaderships and parties.

All the leading speakers including Mrs. Gandhi emphasized that the fruits of the industrial and agricultural development in the country had gone to a handful of rich people and that monopoly capital was threatening to take over political power. The acuteness of the agrarian discontent in the country was laid at the door of the Congress for its failure to implement land reforms. It was stressed that if land reforms were not carried out expeditiously no one would be able to "control" the situation in the country. Emphasis was laid on proper protection of the rights of the minorities, i.e., the Muslims, the untouchables, the tribals and so on.

The president of the session emphasized that if the Congress was serious about the execution of its policies, the social composition of the organization itself would have to undergo a big change.

Polemics were directed mainly against the parties of the Right, the Swatantra, Jana Sangh and the Syndicate Congress. The anti-communist note was unmistakable in some speeches, but generally an appeal was made to all progressive forces to join or cooperate with the "new" Congress.

While asserting that India would pursue an independent foreign policy, the Bombay session also defended India's friendly relations with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries.

The specific commitments on questions of economic policy given at the Bombay Congress were the abolition of the privy purses and privileges of the former princes before the next budget session of Parliament; the nationalization of general insurance; placing a ceiling on urban property; progressive taking over by the state of the trade in food grains and important agricultural raw materials; growing state participation in the export-import trade; and the implementation of land reforms by the end of 1970.

If carried out seriously, this would be by no means a small beginning.

However, left to itself, there should be no doubt that the Indira Gandhi Congress and its governments at the center and in

the states where they rule, are not going to execute even this program. With all the talk about the politics of commitment and time-bound implementation at the Bombay Congress, no more than certain halting, partial measures are to be expected. For the Achilles heel of the Indira Gandhi Congress lies in two vital realities. The social composition of its leadership from the top to the district level is either bourgeois or kulak.

Secondly, the administrative bureaucracy in India from top to bottom is reactionary, with a handful of progressive officials scattered here and there. And there is little reason to hope that Indira Gandhi and her colleagues have the strength, though some of them do have the intention, of substantially altering either the composition of their organization or the bureaucracy.

The leadership, thus, while adopting certain progressive measures, will undoubtedly vacillate and make a number of compromises with big business, the landlords, the bureaucracy and foreign monopoly capital.

What is the policy which our Party, the CPI, has decided to follow in this extremely complex, fluid and unstable situation? Throughout 1969, as the crisis deepened with every passing month, our Party went all-out for organizing militant mass struggles of the working class, agricultural laborers and youth as the key weapon for fighting reaction and finding a people's way out of the national crisis. Naturally, we did this with all possible cooperation with the CPI(M) and other Left parties.

At the same time, our Party does not treat the crisis and split in the National Congress as a family affair between two groups of equally reactionary bourgeois-landlord leaders, motivated purely by considerations of factional power politics. This is the analysis of the conflict being made by the CPI(M) and the two other main Left parties in India and the Samyukta Socialist Party. The blindness of such analysis is patent for any serious observer of Indian politics.

Firstly, the split is definitely not connected only with the internal relations in the Congress. On the contrary, its basic roots lie in the growing contradictions of the path of capitalist development pursued by the Congress leadership since independence; in the acute contradictions bred by the development of Indian monopoly capital and its growing offensive resulting from such a policy; in the various compromises with landlord and foreign monopoly inter-

ests made by the Congress rulers; in the profound economic crisis resulting from such compromises; in the resultant intensification of the contradiction between the monopoly and non-monopoly bourgeoisie in the country during the last decade; and in the growth of the Left forces outside the Congress. To fail to see the impact and inter-relation of all these vital factors on the conflict within the Congress and its ultimate break up is to bid a good-bye to Marxism-Leninism itself.

Is it an accident that the Indira Gandhi leadership concentrates the fire of its attack on the Swatantra and Jana Sangh and has been approaching the Left parties, including ours, for support on a number of occasions? It must be noted that unlike the SSP, the CPI(M) members of parliament supported the Indira Gandhi government against the Syndicate motion of no-confidence. Naturally, for despite its tortuous analysis of the inner-Congress conflict the CPI(M) cannot be as blind to reality as the essentially petty-bourgeois SSP.

Considering all these factors our Party has taken the clear position that while we will oppose—through mass struggles and in the legislatures—all anti-people measures proposed or adopted by the Indira Gandhi government, we will stand by it on any occasion when the triple alliance of the Syndicate, the Swatantra and the Jana Sangh attempts to topple it and take over power. For there is not the remotest doubt that such a threat is very real and if it materializes it will be the beginning of downright reactionary, authoritarian, pro-imperialist rule in India. Our Party has welcomed the split in the Congress as opening out the prospect and opportunities of a much broader national democratic front against internal and foreign reaction in India.

There is no question of forging a united front with the Indira Gandhi Congress or government in the present situation. But there certainly are prospects of mass struggles and popular demands securing increasing support from broad sections of the Indira Gandhi Congress, particularly at the lower levels. And through such joint pressures the government can be made to adopt firmer measures against the vested interests and lean more on the left than on the right. This will also help the process of differentiation within the Indira Gandhi Congress which is a necessity for the further development of the patriotic front. We cannot forget or ignore vast sections of

the masses who have rallied behind Indira Gandhi since she stood up and boldly challenged the Syndicate domination over the Congress organizational machine.

Our Party has also put out a minimum program of anti-imperialist, anti-monopoly, anti-feudal measures and we are campaigning for their acceptance and implementation by the new Congress. As never before, the new situation is a challenge and test for all the Communist, Left and democratic forces in India.

Can they overcome their differences and forge a minimum of common understanding, outside and inside Parliament, to isolate and fight out all the forces and parties of reaction who are rapidly ironing out their mutual contradictions and banding together for a Jihad against all Communist, Left and democratic forces in the country? That is the crux, the vital essence, of the Indian situation. That is precisely what our party is fighting for with all its strength and determination.

A glimmering of this compulsive necessity is emerging among these forces, though the negative features are also such as to cause concern. For instance, Mrs. Indira Gandhi herself, while stressing that she was not a Communist, stated that she and her Congress share certain social and economic objectives with the Communists. She also stated in parliament that the denunciation of her policies as Communist was nothing but McCarthyism which always raised the bogey of communism to attack all progressive policies. There are many healthy elements in her camp though it has to be borne in mind that a number of reactionaries, opportunists and anti-communists have also got on to her bandwagon since she is at present the ruling authority in the country. In her foreign policy statements, Mrs. Gandhi never fails to stress the friendly relations between the Soviet Union and India, her support for the Arabs, for non-alignment, and so on.

On the occasion of the no-confidence motion mentioned above, the SSP, in its blind anti-Congressism and anti-Nehruism, supported the motion against the Indira Gandhi government. The specious plea given for joining hands with the Syndicate was that it was the Indira Gandhi Congress which was the real and official Congress, and since the SSP was sworn to dislodge the Congress from power under any circumstances, that government had first to be pulled down before the party thought of anything else.

But this patently dishonest plea by the leadership of a Left party whose ranks take their Leftism seriously has brought about a serious crisis in the SSP, particularly in the states of Bihar and Uttar Pradesh where the SSP is strong, and there is a big revolt against the de facto pro-Syndicate policies of the party bosses. In fact, an important section of the SSP leadership itself has declared openly that their party must take a stand against the Syndicate and for an understanding with Indira Gandhi.

Cause for anxiety arises from the policies of the CPI(M) leadership. They have no doubt that a takeover by the Right reactionary parties in India implies a frontal attack against all Communists, including themselves. That is why they opposed the no-confidence motion in Parliament. But their traditional and obdurate refusal to recognize the political significance of the contradictions within the bourgeois camp has led them to make all sorts of obscurantist formulations which equate the Indira Gandhi and the Syndicate camps and yet attempt to make a spurious distinction between the two. This leads to opportunist positions in matters of day-to-day policy and total failure to take any initiative in the decisive task of forging the unity of Left and democratic forces against the Right.

Much graver concern is caused by the policies of the CPI(M) in Kerala and West Bengal, which states are ruled by Left and democratic united front governments headed by Communists.* In both the states, during 1969 the disruptive policies of the CPI(M) were intensified still further and took the form of an all-out offensive against every other party in the united front, and most of all against the CPI.

The CPI(M) leadership has attempted to justify the attack on the charge that all its partners have entered into a conspiracy with the Congress (now the Indira Gandhi Congress) to drive it out of the united front and subsequently to form governments in alliance with the Congress. It never attempts to adduce the slightest evidence for this allegation.

An attempt is also made by the CPI(M) to theorize its factional attacks on the other partners in the front. According to the CPI(M) it embodies the leading role of the working class in Indian politics and such a role demands the ruthless exposure

*The West Bengal United Front government was dissolved in March 1970 and the State placed under Presidential rule.—Ed.

and isolation of all petty-bourgeois and revisionist parties "such as the CPI and the other Left and democratic parties in the united front." Hence, we are told, the CPI(M) has to concentrate fire against its allies! In a word, the disruption of the democratic front is equated with the leading role of the working class.

Thus, in reality, the boot is on the other foot. As the major partner in the united fronts in West Bengal and Kerala, the CPI(M) was given many important portfolios in both the governments. Instead of playing a responsible and fraternal role in the coalition ministries, the CPI(M) went all out to eliminate the other partners in the front by grabbing all power for itself. No means and no methods were left unused by the CPI(M) in the pursuit of such a ruinous policy. Physical attacks were launched against the cadres of the other united front parties by the activists of the CPI(M) in close cooperation with the police. Many cadres of other parties were killed in West Bengal and Kerala in such assaults. Similar attacks were launched against the trade unions and other mass organizations led by parties in the united front.

Even working class strikes led by other parties were broken up by CPI(M) cadres. In the joint struggle for land occupation, followers of the CPI(M) were provoked to occupy land belonging even to poor peasants who were supporters of other parties in the front.

In this utterly factional drive for power, the CPI(M) even obstructed the implementation of the united front program and started distributing innumerable governmental jobs to its own members and supporters. Matters went to such a length that, in Kerala, the other partners came to the conclusion that joint functioning with the CPI(M) was no longer possible unless it completely mended its ways. On this, Comrade Namboodiripad, the CPI(M) Chief Minister of the State, submitted the resignation of the entire ministry.

Subsequently, the other united front partners formed a new ministry in Kerala with Comrade Achyutha Menon (a member of the Central Secretariat of our Party) as

the Chief Minister. This happened at the end of October.

This ministry, within a short span of time, has gone forward vigorously and implemented innumerable popular measures. A very radical land reforms act giving land to three hundred thousand tillers, is being rapidly put into force. Ordinances have been issued for the compulsory recognition of trade unions, for the payment of gratuity benefits to retiring workers, for debt relief to the peasantry, etc., and are being expeditiously enforced. Food trade has been taken out of the hands of private traders and handed over to the state food trading corporation.

Incensed by the fact that its departure from the ministry, instead of exposing its partners as "traitors" and "Congress stooges" has enabled the new ministry to function as a cohesive, popular ministry, the CPI(M) has been issuing one provocative call after another, in order to precipitate violent clashes and disorder in Kerala. All these attempts have failed miserably till now and the people of Kerala are seeing for themselves who, in truth, works for them and who disrupts their unity under the pretext of fighting "revisionism" and "the stooges of the Congress."

Comrade Sundaryya, General Secretary of the CPI(M), and Namboodiripad have, further, publicly declared that they will cooperate with the Syndicate Congress in Kerala to pull down the Achyutha Menon ministry.

This, surely, is neither a healthy nor a happy situation. Our Party and the other parties in the new ministry are striving to bring the CPI(M) to reason and induce it to return to the fold of the united front, for it is still a force in Kerala. What is more, the reactionary forces in India could not get a better gift in the present situation than division and disunity within the Left and democratic camp. If, however, the CPI(M) leadership persists in its ways, its mass support will weaken, as has happened in Kerala.

The role we are called upon to play needs all the courage, wisdom, determination and fidelity to principles and flexibility in their application, that all Communists and democrats must muster.

Violence and its origins

Not a day passes without the headlines of national capitalist newspapers reporting some conflict, crime or sensation that is compromising for the already deficient "free world" ideals. "Bombing in Ulster, hijacking in Korea, diplomat-shooting in Guatemala, escalation in Southeast Asia and reports of another sharp increase in violent crime at home all tend to the immediate conclusion that we are living in an age of almost incredible folly and wickedness." Those are lines by British political commentator David Watt, one of the many Western pressmen disturbed by the rising intensity and territorial spread of crime and violence.

The spread of violence as a means of attaining aims in foreign relations and as a factor of home politics is causing public consternation in the West. Anxiety is shown not by progressives only, but by bourgeois ideologists, strategists, propagandists, legislative and executive officers, academics and businessmen—all pillars of capitalist society.

* * *

In the troubled days when the world was stunned by the new U.S. aggression in Laos and Cambodia and the National Guard firing on and killing students in Ohio, the problem of violence was raised by the *Financial Times*, mouthpiece of Britain's finance and business. Digging for the roots of the "contrariety" in modern capitalist society, the paper, thorough as befits a business publication, fell back for support on statistics. It broke down violence into two types: "conflicts," meaning situations involving regular armed forces and use of arms, and "civil strife," meaning group actions against the Establishment.

Conflicts, 1898-1967

	1898- 1907	1908- 1917	1918- 1927	1928- 1937	1938- 1947	1948- 1957	1958- 1967
Europe	0	6	2	1	3	3	0
America	3	3	0	2	0	5	5
Asia	3	2	3	4	6	10	12
Africa	3	3	2	1	1	5	18
Middle East	0	1	4	0	2	5	10
	9	15	11	8	12	28	45

Civil Strife, 1961-1965

	Extent (participants per 100,000)	Duration (sum of all events)	Intensity (casualties per 100,000)
U.S. (1963- 1968)	1,100	five years	5
Britain	80	one year	0.5
France	2,200	two years	4
Japan	300	two months	1

The paper's endeavor to present the antagonisms graphically and evaluate the extent of the danger, is of doubtless interest. However, it is easily seen that the tables omit many of the most powerful and most massive manifestations against the rule of capital and the deficiencies of modern capitalism, its aggressive foreign policies, against militarism, racism and reaction.

The massive anti-war movement attained unprecedented proportions in the United States after 1968. The social climate is electrified by the radicalization of many of the unions, battles against racial discrimination and the student unrest. The Administration has tried to restore "law and order" by violent means, resorting to the regular army. The acute crisis precipitated by the Black Panther killings and the killing of students on the Kent University campus has stimulated extremism and terror. The U.S. press is filled with reports of bomb explosions in office and administration buildings (in Baton Rouge, New York and Washington), of delayed action bombs mailed in parcels to high-ranking officials, raids and fires in military research laboratories of universities and headquarters of war-industrial corporations. Alongside, come disconcerting figures: 43 killed during demonstrations in Detroit and another 23 in Newark; eight killed, 75 wounded in Georgia, and two killed in Mississippi. This kind of statistics, which could substantially broaden the *Financial Times* compilation, is inevitably outdated before it reaches the reader.

French political commentators are still under the impression of the 1968 May-June events. Of late, mass popular actions and

opposition to the government-projected ban on violent demonstrations have been complemented by Right and "Left" extremist actions. Anarchists of all shades—the OAS, masquerading in patriotic garb, down to the pseudo-revolutionary Maoists — have committed countless acts of provocation. In 1970 alone there have been 15 registered acts of violence by them in January, 30 in February and 40 in March.

The Japanese press labels the powerful worker and student demonstrations against the Japanese-American Security Treaty, the war base on Okinawa, and the like, as acts of "disciplined violence." The scale of "organized violence" by the Japanese police is immense. Of late, isolated ultra-Leftist groups, especially the so-called Red Army Group, have been resorting to terrorism, using means which even the capitalist press describes as "more typical of the Japanese Right than of the Left."

The ruling element of the "welfare" or "affluent" societies in the modern capitalist world is deeply alarmed by the disastrous dimensions of crime. Murder and felony, criminal alcoholism and drug addiction, delinquency, permissiveness and immorality among the rising generation—all symptoms of a moral crisis accentuating the social evils of capitalism—have become a central topic of discussion among Western sociologists.

Statistics are not necessary to bring home the implications of the problem. The geography of terror and violence is graphic enough. A glance at the daily headlines yields an altogether convincing, though somewhat gaudy, picture, revealing a multitude of conflicts different in nature but all involving violence in Asia and Africa, the Middle East, America and Western Europe.

Laying the facts before their readers, the capitalist papers prefer not to differentiate, deliberately obscuring the social disparities between the various acts of violence. Genocide is presented alongside crime reports and police brutality alongside anti-war demonstrations.

Yet the class approach in evaluating the facts will show that violence differs. Colonial oppression, army and police operations and court reprisals are one thing, and repelling aggression and colonialism, anti-government demonstrations, strikes, student manifestations and demonstrations of national minorities are another. In the former case we are witness to how the

capitalist state performs its function of suppression and compulsion in relation to the people, whereas in the latter it is the people who act against imperialist policies and the failings of capitalism.

In those rare cases when the Western press does try to differentiate between acts of violence, it leaves no doubt as to whose side it is on. Take the editorial attitude of the *International Herald Tribune*:

"In the United States, during this time of turmoil, many injustices are being done, by the police, by the courts—and by the revolutionaries. But for the first two categories of offenses there is at least appeal—there is none within the revolutionary framework."

* * *

What are the explanations offered by capitalist propaganda for the massiveness and intensity of violence in the "Western democracies?"

There are many conceptions on this score. The most widespread follow:

"Violence is part of human nature." Man is inherently aggressive due to his instincts; it is impossible to suppress his aggressive inclinations; all that can be done is to sublimate and direct them along harmless channels; in man the aggressive instinct is counterweighed only by the sexual.

Citizens are prevailed upon by means of this obviously Freudian concept that society is impotent and not responsible for acts of violence. Small wonder that one of its exponents, a certain Alexander Mitscheli, who wrote the book, *The Idea of Peace and Human Aggressiveness*, won a peace award in the Federal Republic of Germany.

In the United States, the National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence, appointed in the time of President Johnson has, in effect, adopted a similar view. Asked why four of the last 20 U.S. Presidents have died a violent death and four others have narrowly escaped the same fate, the fact-finders declared that Presidents are killed because America is inherently a violent country and that it looks as though things are getting worse.

Dr. Robert Jay Lifton, a U.S. psychiatrist, adds a touch of racialism to the "instinct of violence" concept. As he sees it, U.S. atrocities in Vietnam are largely traceable to the fact that Americans there are fighting against a non-white race.

"In general," he told the *U.S. News and*

World Report in an interview, "all races do this with one another," pointing out that every significant massacre in U.S. military history seems to have involved non-whites—Indians, Moros, and now the Vietnamese.

"Violence stems from the spread of the Marxist ideology." The vocabulary of protest, some say, is often weighed down with an outmoded Marxism. Terror and violence, say others, are the Communists' tactical tools.

The dodge of ascribing social disturbances in capitalist countries to revolutionary Marxists and "subversive elements" is typical of the contemporary anti-Communists. They capitalize on the Marxian dictum that violence plays not only a destructive, but also a revolutionary role in history and is the midwife of any old society pregnant with a new. This leads them to the conclusion that Marxism is an ideology of violence, and again we see them piling all forms of violence—organized mass manifestations and individual terrorism—into one heap.

"Violence stems from a sense of relative inferiority caused in people by the industrial society, from their alienation." As the *Observer* sees it, there is a "credibility gap, aggravated by propaganda between the tolerant if imperfect workings of liberal democracy and the hopes of the idealistic young"; what results, says U.S. Vice-President Spiro T. Agnew, is "a gloomy coalition of choleric young intellectuals and tired, embittered elders."

The impulse of this concept comes from the increasing polarization of wealth and poverty in the capitalist world against a setting of modern technology and accumulation of riches. In between the two poles is an agglomeration of economic and political organizations and bureaucratic institutions which cause the increasing alienation of the masses from society. A growing number of people is deprived of the fruits of technico-scientific progress and is incapable of finding its place in society.

The numbers of "relatively inferior" by far exceed those defined by the U.S. Vice-President. Vast masses of people drawn into the vortex of capitalist exploitation and unsure of the morrow feel alienated. So do national minorities fed up with the demagoguery of their rulers, working people in backward countries languishing under the dual oppression of foreign monopolies and national capital, and, last but not least, the technical intelligentsia and students

outraged by the prospect of science being used for military purposes.

The animation in the market of ideas spurred by the growth of crime and violence unavoidably produces ideological extremism. Stoking up an atmosphere of despair, the followers of Herbert Marcuse maintain that "protesting words are as empty as air in a technological society where power is concentrated in a few hands." The exponents of a unique "zoological method" suggest watching the behavior of rats in crowded conditions, short of food, in order to draw conclusions about people in overcrowded cities, even to forecast the future of the globe. The anonymous "Professor X," writer of *Sociology of the Absurd*, a book that appeared in the United States, borrows inspiration for fighting violence from homeopathy, in which a disease is treated with a remedy that would produce symptoms of the disease in a healthy person. "May it not be," asks Prof. X, "that the true remedy for a society ridden by more and more violence, may actually be additional doses of violence (administered sporadically and universally) throughout society."

* * *

The problem of the social origins and sources of violence in capitalist society has become an important area of ideological combat. The flood of pessimistic, often candidly reactionary propaganda via the mass information media does untold damage to the progressive forces in the capitalist world. The concepts that it peddles are based precisely on the earlier mentioned undifferentiated approach to varieties of violence, designed to conceal its class content and origin. The quality of these concepts disappoints even the liberal-minded of bourgeois society. They are searching for the origins of the "contrariety" in the essence of the system based on exploitation and oppression. "The point to be made," says Pulitzer Prize Winner Norman Mailer, the U.S. author, "is it's administration that's shedding the blood—not the New Left."

Communists are the ones who point unfailingly to the principal cause of violence in the modern world: *imperialism and its ramified machinery of aggression and compulsion*. Take a closer look at the figures in the first of the two tables given earlier: the blame for most of the conflicts of the postwar times may be placed at U.S. imperialism's door.

The most glaring acts of violence are rooted in the nature of the imperialist system. Glance at the map of the world:

In Indochina—U.S. aggression and methodical extermination of the Vietnamese population; Cambodian regulars use Vietnamese civilians as a shield in battling units of the National Liberation Front.

In the South African Republic—racialism at its worst and wholesale arrests of progressives under the Prevention of Terrorism Act, followed by “death from natural causes.” In Mozambique and Angola—Portuguese colonialists on the rampage; in Nigeria a drawn-out fratricidal war and in the Chad Republic clashes between patriots and French troops.

Civilian victims of the Israeli aggressors in the United Arab Republic; expansion of Israeli “punitive” operations against Arabs in the Lebanon and Syria; the Arab population in Israeli-occupied territory subjected to a reign of terror.

In Brazil, “preventive detentions” of suspected “subversives” and in Guatemala extermination of political prisoners. In Trinidad and Tobago—armed suppression of Negro manifestations and of an army mutiny. In Venezuela—the killing of a student during an anti-U.S. demonstration. In Haiti—suppression of a coast guard revolt followed by wholesale arrests, and in the Dominican Republic police repressions on the eve of the presidential election.

Repressions against progressives in Spain and Portugal. In Greece, a reign of terror by the militarist clique. Mass arrests during the clash of students and 5,000 police during a NATO armed forces parade in West Berlin.

All this—the ultra-Right reaction, the arrests and court proceedings, use of the army against strikers and demonstrators and, lastly, the “mysterious” murders of activists of mass movements and of liberal political leaders—belong in the indictment of imperialism. Summing up the facts of “organized violence,” W. Weinstone, Member of the National Committee, CP USA, notes that as capitalism ages, the state exposes itself increasingly as a machine of class despotism.

Hence the “use by the people of force against those who used force against the people” (Lenin, Vol. 10, p. 244).

As relevant today as 65 years ago are the following lines of Lenin: “The reactionary classes themselves are usually the first to resort to violence . . . they are the first

to ‘place the bayonet on the agenda’ . . . And since such a situation has arisen, since the bayonet has really become the main point on the political agenda” . . . then “constitutional illusions and school exercises in parliamentarism” are out of place (Vol. 9, p. 132).

Bourgeois propaganda goes out of its way to divert public attention from acts of “violence by the system,” laying the accent on Left radical transgressions and individual terror, on unrest among the national minorities and students. Whenever desirable, it obscures the class character of the truly popular actions in the capitalist countries. Writes *Time*: “The newest revolutionary impulse is not economic or political but romantic and sensual (at its mildest) or anarchic (at its harshest).”

Communists emphasize the motive forces behind the many instances of action protesting aggression and racial oppression—action definable as violence in response to violence. That these forms of protest are imperfect, all too often bordering on Blanquism and harming the general movement of the progressive forces, is a different matter. Conscious of these two approaches in evaluating violence, J. Faria, General Secretary of the Communist Party of Venezuela, noted: “Though the terrorists who killed the West German Ambassador in Guatemala deserve to be stigmatized . . . it is doubly necessary to stigmatize . . . the Guatemalan government.”

In vain are the attempts to cover up the deficiencies of capitalism with the “subversive activity” of Marxists and with references to the “violent” quality of the Marxist ideology. Marxism-Leninism has a clearly defined revolutionary attitude to violence; its approach has stood the test of time. In pre-revolution Russia, for one, it was the Marxists who continuously opposed the petty-bourgeois “Leftism” of the Socialist-Revolutionaries, whose tactics of individual terror they firmly rejected. The real revolutionaries supported “such forms of violence as were calculated to bring about the direct participation of the masses and which guaranteed that participation” (Vol. 6, p. 195).

Stressing the imperative of exposing adventurism and individualism in the class struggle, Lenin held that “Blanquism and anarchism easily occur to the minds of people who have a weakness for stereotype” (Vol. 11, p. 217) and branded “indi-

vidual terrorism, bred of intellectual impotence" (Vol. 9, p. 283).

These Marxist guidelines are so well known that only the least scrupulous ideological foes stoop to distorting them. Even *Time*, none too fastidious in its interpretation of Marxism, saw fit to declare that Lenin would "no doubt excoriate the passionate bomb throwers of America's S.D.S. and other extremist groups as dangerous amateurs, afflicted with the 'infantile disease of leftism'."

True Marxists reject the terrorism of lone operators and Blanquism as a conspiracy of the intellectual minority. They are harmful for the revolutionary movement of the masses. But as a science of the laws of the development of society, Marxism cannot overlook the roots and

origins of violence in the capitalist environment. It is not enough to merely denounce and reject the organized violence of the minority against the majority in an exploiter society. The history of revolutionary struggle shows that this should be opposed by working people with organized violence. That is why Communists back *revolutionary violence by the masses* against the exploiting minority in the name and with the participation of all toilers and oppressed. That kind of violence will tear down the moribund social system and assure progress to socialism. Nothing but mass political struggle by the working class and its allies can, as aptly said in the *Internationale*, the Communist anthem, destroy "the world of violence."

Jan PRAZSKY

Federal Republic of Germany

- The Trends of Imperialist Development
- Bundeswehr—"School of the Nation"
- The Educational System and the Fight for Social Progress
- The Fighting Capacity of the Anti-Monopoly Forces
- Facts and Figures

In this issue we present selected studies of the state-monopoly system and social sidelights in the Federal Republic of Germany.

In Germany, capitalism began to develop at a relatively late date, its rate of growth increasing considerably at the turn of the 20th century. "This rapid development of capitalism in Germany was the development of a young strong predator, who appeared in the concert of European powers," wrote Lenin (Vol. 24, p. 404).

This predator, his conscience tainted with the blood of millions of people, the victims of two world wars, is now again priming for aggression and revenge. The work of investigating from the workers' class viewpoint the new trends in West German imperialism is, therefore, certainly not in vain. And GDR economist Lutz Maier makes a thorough job of it.

West German imperialism is the main source of the war danger in Europe. Emergence of a military-industrial complex in the FRG, the strategy of the arms monopolies and militarization are the subject of an article by K. Engelhardt, a GDR publicist.

The giant cost of arming is a heavy burden for the people. The present socio-political system in the FRG cannot utilize the extensive opportunities opened up by the scientific and technological revolution to satisfy the people's needs. People lack a sense of security. Prices are going up. So are service charges and house rents. Radical improvements are called for in public health, labor safety and social insurance. The crisis in education, the effect of monopoly capital rule, is really deep. West German journalist Willi Gerns probes the causes of that crisis in his article.

The ruling element is powerless to remove the contradictions of imperialist development. Class antagonisms are more acute, the working people more active in promoting their social demands. This is evidenced, among other things, by the upturn of the strike movement in the autumn of 1969—a topic dealt with in their article by the West German researchers H. Jung and K. Steinhaus.

The people's fight for social progress and participation in running enterprises and the economy will hardly succeed unless tied in with political struggle. The German Communist Party is convinced, says its Program Statement, that "the vast majority of the working class and all working people in the country will in the process of struggle for their social rights and for democratic changes realize the need for historical progress to higher forms of social life, to socialist society."

New trends in development of West German imperialism

LUTZ MAIER

One of the main purposes of Marxist-Leninist analysis is to weigh the concrete conditions of a country's development, and primarily its main orientation. To this Lenin attached the utmost significance. Probing the aggregate of phenomena in an imperialist country, he always concentrated on defining their specifics. However, he regarded capitalist growth in a country as a concrete element of the general development of world capitalism in its imperialist stage.

Acting on Lenin's principle, the participants of the International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties stressed: "Each imperialist power pursues its own aims. At the same time, together they form the chain of the world system of imperialism." The dialectics of the interconnection between the imperialist system and its various links is relevant not only for foreign policy analyses, but also for the economic and political relationships in separate countries, and should therefore be taken into consideration when examining trends in West German imperialism.

SOME PECULIARITIES OF THE PRESENT-DAY WEST GERMAN IMPERIALISM

Geographically and politico-militarily, West German imperialism occupies an important place in the main class confrontation of our time — the struggle of the two social systems.

The FRG is more prominent in the economic competition against socialism than any other European imperialist state. It feels more directly the implications of that confrontation in territory once undividedly ruled by German imperialism; now, part

of the nation (in the GDR) has turned its back on the capitalist system for good and is a successful exponent of the socialist alternative.

In no imperialist country are the "rock-bottom" monopoly capital interests and those of struggle against socialism as a social system so intimately interwoven as in the FRG. The "cold war" was a convenient medium for West German imperialism, the junior partner of U.S. imperialism, to restore the pillars of its power. Now, it has been assigned a special role consistent with the changed alignment of forces in imperialism's global strategy. And, certainly, it is determined to make the most of it for its own ends. The sum of these factors should be carefully weighed, for it determines the political essence of the West German variety of imperialism.

FRG imperialism is first and foremost an anti-socialist force. It regards itself as the socio-political antipode to the socialist system and aligns its strategy to the long-term aims of "eastern policy." The "ideology of combating socialism" has of late exercised an increasingly strong influence on Bonn's main strategic line. To maintain that policy has been the prime concern to which the present Bonn government, too, is applying itself in every way.

In his book, "Politik der praktischen Vernunft" (Policy of Common Sense), Horst Ehmke, Willy Brandt's trusted associate, a Social-Democratic publicist and currently chief of the Federal Chancellor's Office, defines "political and social struggle against communism" as the over-riding political function of Social-Democracy. And Schroeder, top-ranking CDU politician and former Bonn Minister of Defense, says the *raison*

d'être of his party is "to consolidate the Federal Republic as the model of an integral non-socialist Germany."

Despite the considerable growth of German imperialism's postwar economic potential, its confinement to FRG territory and the mounting economic power of the socialist countries, have changed its international economic position.

Its share in the world's prewar industrial output was 12 per cent, shrinking to 5 immediately after the Second World War. By 1969 it exceeded 9 per cent of the capitalist world output, but its share in the aggregate world output was no more than 6. What is typical of imperialism in general, is doubly so of the West German variety.

The operation of the law of the uneven economic and political development of capitalist countries, discovered by Lenin, should be analyzed these days with an eye to the influence of the socialist world system. The qualitatively new situation has a particularly strong bearing on West German imperialism and the sharpness of its contradictions. Economic consolidation abroad is unfailingly exploited by German imperialism to pursue further political expansion and to promote its far-reaching aims. For FRG imperialism, impediments in that area are especially painful, because they immediately affect its "vital nerve."

The link-up of the economic and political aims of West German big capital has always been a specific feature of its home and foreign policies.

The "fateful significance of economics" was stressed by all Bonn governments. Former Federal Chancellor Kiesinger, for one, told a CDU/CSU economic conference that "everything we are planning to undertake in our home and foreign policy depends on whether or not we succeed in maintaining the power of our economy."

"The development of society and the state in the FRG," writes Ruediger Altmann, a West German publicist, "depends on the state of our economy much more than is the case in other industrial countries. . . . To see this relationship is to realize its danger. What that danger . . . amounts to is that no one, neither the government nor the industrialists or groups of industrialists, can completely control the economic process."

The new SDP/FDP government has made it clear that it intends to follow the old guidelines of imperialist economic expan-

sion and is farthest from the thought of a fundamental modification.

Hence, West German imperialist policy in spheres where it employs its economic potential — export of capital and international monetary relations, the relationship with present and potential EEC members, etc. — will not be properly assessed unless linked with its publicly admitted political aims.

In the sixties, West German imperialism entered a new stage, which, for all its resemblance to the postwar rehabilitation period, possesses some new features. The motive forces in economics, politics and ideology are shaped by the underlying logic of consolidating state-monopoly capitalism, intensifying its expansion and by the continuing growth of the scientific and technological revolution.

A conclusive assessment of these new features was made by the Seventh Congress of the Socialist Unity Party in 1967. "Whereas the development of West German imperialism was relatively stable after war's end," its documents point out, "the new period is marked by a considerable measure of economic instability and a far greater oscillation of the political balance of forces. Greater politicalization of the social struggle is therefore only to be expected, coupled with polarization of the class forces and class contradictions."

In recent years, new conflicting phenomena have surfaced, bearing out that judgment.

We see the introduction in economic policy of "medium-term state-monopoly planning," on the one hand, and signs of a cyclic over-production crisis, the first after the war, stemming from the structural crisis of 1966-1967.

We see a "wave of mergers," accompanied by extensive measures rationalizing and enhancing the competitive capacity of the West German concerns, on the one hand, and intensification of the working people's social struggles for higher wages, which reached their peak during the September 1969 strikes, on the other.

We see the policy of the CDU/CSU, the principal monopoly capital party, turn more reactionary, with official recognition extended in the party framework to the candidly neo-Nazi NDP, on the one hand, and militant anti-fascist action by working youth and students and the revival of Marxism-Leninism in the FRG as an ideological trend, marked by the founding of the German Communist Party, on the other.

We see Bonn masterminding the strategy of "softening up" the GDR and other socialist countries, on the one hand, and maneuver in acknowledging the existing European arrangement, and especially as regards recognition of the GDR, on the other.

On one side of the ledger is the crystallization of a bloc of Right political forces, with a nucleus comprising the CDU/CSU, NDP, and revenge-seeking militarist organizations, including the upper layer of the Bundeswehr, and on the other replacement by the SDP/FDP coalition of a government that had run the country for twenty years under CDU/CSU leadership.

These processes have been unfolding against the setting of state-monopoly capitalism's further growth, witnessed in a variety of forms and inevitably accompanied by a sharpening of old and the emergence of new contradictions and conflicting tendencies. New phenomena keep cropping up in the economy and politics — all of which must be taken into account in framing practical policy. Stressing the necessity of so doing, Lenin said: "The fundamental task of a politically conscious public man is clear; he must evaluate these new changes, 'make use' of them, grasp them . . . and at the same time he must not allow himself to drift helplessly with the stream, he must not throw out the old baggage, he must preserve the essentials in the forms of activity and not merely in theory, in the program, in the principles of policy" (Vol. 17, p. 146).

THE NEW PHASE OF MONOPOLIZATION

That the process of monopolization, of the concentration and centralization of capital, must be thoroughly examined is an axiom of the Marxist-Leninist approach to developments in imperialist countries. "Everything hinges on economic monopoly," Lenin stressed (Vol. 23, p. 42). As he saw it, monopolization was a key factor in organization, especially in that of German imperialism, whereby it tried to balance off its disadvantage in the competitive struggle and which also constituted the source of its expansionist ambitions.

Of late, the monopolization process in West Germany has gained velocity. Between 1960 and 1968 the share of the big stock companies (assets over DM 100 million) in the aggregate stock capital went up from 50.4 to 58.4 per cent. People now speak of a "concentration wave," a "con-

centration leap" and "new dimensions" of production. The West German economic papers record more than 1,000 mergers and take-overs annually. The eye is drawn not only to the scale of monopolization, but also to its specific features, which exercise a substantive influence on West Germany's political, as well as economic development.

Firstly, in contrast to the prevalence of ruin and sale of small and medium-sized enterprises in the mid-sixties, the most typical these days is the merging of large-scale concerns or the establishment of links between them based on cooperation, or founding of joint enterprises, examples of which follow below:

Steel: incorporation of Dortmund-Hoerder-Union in the Hoesch concern and of Huettenwerk Oberhausen in the Thyssen concern; founding of a joint enterprise, Mannesmann-Roehrenwerke AG, by Thyssen and Mannesmann.

Chemicals: incorporation of the Wintershall concern in Badische Anilin- & Soda-Fabrik AG.

Power: fusion of Rheinisch-Westfaelische Elektrizitaetswerke AG and Gelsenkirchener Bergwerk AG; founding of Ruhrkohle AG, a concern that, in effect, controls all Ruhr coalmining.

Electrotechnical: incorporation of Telefunken in AEG and founding by Siemens and AEG of several joint enterprises building power stations and transformers, manifesting the tendency of creating a Siemens-AEG super-concern.

Automobiles: take-over of NSU-Motorenwerke by Volkswagenwerke AG and the former's merger with Auto-Union GmbH to form Audi NSU—Auto-Union AG; acquisition of shares by Daimler-Benz AG in Hanomag-Henschel Fahrzeugwerke GmbH and Rheinstahl Hanomag AG and further interlacement of Volkswagenwerke and Daimler-Benz (Flick) interests.

The emergence of new monopoly groups is an indication that the present concentration in some industries will soon see two or three super-concerns, or perhaps just one, dominating the entire market.

Secondly, horizontal and conglomerate mergers predominate in the concentration process.

Fifty-five per cent of the biggest mergers in 1967-1969 were *horizontal* (i.e., mergers of enterprises in the same line of business), 40 percent *conglomerate* (of only loosely or not at all related companies) and only two per cent *vertical* (mergers of enter-

prises in which separate stages of the same production cycle are segregated).

Growth of conglomerates is conspicuously rapid. In that respect, the German concerns follow in the footsteps of the U.S. monopolies. This new type of monopoly association, in which the profit motive and craving for more power are laid bare to the extreme, has been described by Comrade Gus Hall, General Secretary of the CP USA, in a recent issue of this journal (No. 11, 1969).

To be sure, the emergence of conglomerates is impelled by the operation of capitalism's economic laws, mirroring the increasing contradiction between the structural changes in the economy under the impact of the technico-scientific revolution and the old type of monopoly association. Evidently, the vertical and horizontal mergers that predominated until recently, are alone insufficient to assure adaptation to the rapidly changing terms of monopoly marketing. A negative offshoot of the need for distributing and redistributing resources in the context of the economy as a whole, the conglomerates are a capitalist *ersatz* for nationalization of large-scale industrial, commercial and financial enterprise. That is how the decay of the pillars of capitalist private ownership, defined by Lenin, surfaces.

The incongruity of the capitalist principles of running the economy and of its organization, the fact that they are historically behind the times, is increasingly obvious.

Thirdly, the current monopolization process is marked by intensive concentration of economic power.

Out of the total 47,000 firms, the twenty biggest control fully a quarter of the manufactured goods market. Nearly half the West German commodity export is in the hands of the fifty biggest companies, and Prognos AG, of Basle, predicts their share will continue growing. The trend of monopolist super-concentration is still more in evidence in the export of capital. The Munich Ifo Institute, which recently polled 4,500 FRG manufacturing firms, estimates that 84 per cent of investments abroad in the next five years will be financed by but 12.4 per cent of the industrial companies.

This necessarily speaks of a high degree of profit concentration. An analysis by the German Institute of Economics (GDR) revealed that in 1966-1968 the share of 15 giant concerns (assets in excess of DM 500 million) in the profits of the 100 biggest

West German companies has gone up from 53.9 to 59.7 per cent.

Fourthly, the present monopolization process is of an expansionist orientation, which is borne out by the increasing export of capital.

By mid-1969 direct private FRG investments abroad climbed to DM 15,700 million. The rate of growth of exported capital is striking: investments have doubled in the past five years, whereas the initial half of the present sum was invested over twelve years. True, foreign investments in the FRG (DM 17,900 million) are still somewhat greater than direct FRG investments abroad, but a qualitative change was observed in 1967-1968: for the first time, growth of direct investments abroad by West German firms exceeded the influx of foreign capital.

"The export of capital," Lenin pointed out, "... is closely linked with the economic and territorial-political partition of the world" (Vol. 23, p. 106). True, the concrete conditions for the expansion of West German capital have changed. Important investment areas have been totally forfeited, or have shrunk substantially, as a result of the development of the socialist world system and the national liberation revolutions in the former colonial countries. However, the substance of Lenin's view of the role of capital export is completely relevant.

The structure and orientation of the export of capital has also acquired new features. Some 70 to 75 per cent of West German investment abroad is in the industrially developed countries, with the rest in the developing countries. This ratio is not likely to change in the foreseeable future, though, certainly, investments in the two groups of countries will increase in physical terms. This is an indication that the center of gravity in the internationalization of the economy has shifted from foreign trade to the sphere of production, adding impetus to the monopoly battle for dominance in the main areas of scientific and technological progress and for possession of sources of strategic raw materials.

The relationship of U.S. and West German monopoly capital is of special interest in this context. The FRG press is beating the drums for continued inter-penetration of capital, for a move from one-way (import of U.S. capital) to two-way traffic, that is, a mutual interlacement of the capital of the two countries. In recent years export of West German capital to the USA

went up considerably, passing the DM 1,000 million mark in 1968.

The flow of U.S. capital to the FRG has frequently precipitated conflicts and collisions in the country's economy. Yet the Bonn government is farthest from the thought of erecting barriers to further U.S. penetration. This seeming contradiction is largely politically motivated. R. Hellmann, a West German economist, says: "U.S. investments in the Federal Republic are regarded as the surest guarantee of the American military presence in Central and Western Europe." And this stake in close political ties with the United States has also been strongly emphasized by the Brandt government.

FRG monopoly quarters are determined to exploit this "guarantee" to fashion a political and military "partnership" with the United States, but one that would allow FRG imperialism a more independent role than heretofore. However, the economic contradictions between West German and American monopoly capital will not be relieved even by a "two-way traffic" of capital. With capitals interlacing, the unevenness of economic and political development will be more marked, altering the balance of forces between the countries.

Fifthly, fields of strategico-military importance occupy a special place in the present process of concentration and centralization.

Concentration and centralization is in progress not only among private monopoly groups in aviation and missiles, chemicals, and the nuclear, electronics, automobile and power industries. It likewise embraces state research programs (especially in uses of nuclear energy, space exploration, electronics, and the like) and "medium-range budgetary planning" designed to promote the aggressive objectives of the monopoly bourgeoisie. The Bundeswehr leadership, for one, is insisting on a closer coordination of military and economic planning.

The tendency to build up a military-industrial complex of the kind already existing in the USA, is ever more pronounced. Military research and arms manufacture have become a lucrative source of profit for FRG concerns, especially so in the rapidly growing crucial fields, with the Bundeswehr, whose budget exceeds DM 22,000 million, a leading and permanent customer.

In the case of some firms, military production accounts for 50 and more per cent of their output, while Defense Ministry

orders are increasingly determining the trends of work in research institutions. It is estimated that defense orders have been placed with 120 higher educational establishments, 65 research institutions and 60 industrial firms. This economic basis impels the appearance of committees, offices and organizations in which the military work hand in hand with monopoly and government representatives, and with scientists, to step up the country's militarization.

Official efforts are in evidence to play up the role of the armed forces. Attempts to increase Bundeswehr influence on education are particularly alarming. Social-Democrat Helmut Schmidt, the new Defense Minister, is, in effect, backing Bundeswehr demands to modernize the army (primarily the leadership principles and armaments) and enhance its "effectiveness and striking power." Schmidt predicts that the military budget will grow annually by at least three per cent in coming years. His assurances of "integrating the Bundeswehr in society," establishing "democratic controls" over it, and the like, cannot conceal the fact that military influence on home and foreign policy is visibly growing.

INTERACTION OF ECONOMICS AND POLITICS

The analysis of the present-day political developments in the FRG in the context of the enumerated fundamental social processes inevitably underscores one of the main characteristics of imperialism: the sharpening of antagonistic contradictions between monopoly dominance, on the one hand, and the mass aspirations for broader democracy and a policy of peace, on the other.

That government spokesmen have repeatedly championed the interests of the big concerns is all too well known. Economics Minister Schiller, for example, eager to justify the need for tax measures facilitating mergers and take-overs, told the Bundestag that "in the 'modern' growing and advanced industries technical progress and expansion of markets often requires a scale of enterprises not yet attained in the FRG." As he sees it, the Federal government should be prepared "to relax or remove restrictions by taxation or of a legislative nature, which have until recently obstructed emergence of larger enterprises and firms consistent with the present structure of the economy."

The SDP leadership has publicly support-

ed this economic course. A new note was struck by the party leadership recently in a statement on "preventive control over the merging of companies." This control is to be exercised by an "independent monopoly commission," reminiscent of the "Federal cartel administration" of Erhard's time. The latter "independent" government body, too, was supposed to prevent emergence of monopoly groups and secure "balanced market competition." However, the spate of mergers that followed shows how matters really stood.

It will be recalled that in the United States anti-trust legislation has been in force for years. An "independent" body handling monopoly affairs is also functioning in Britain. But did this prevent the emergence of new giant concerns, which succeeded moreover in securing a determinative influence on government policy?

What, in these circumstances, are we to make of the "democratic reforms" promised by the present FRG government in all public spheres? Brandt's government program indicates that extension of democracy by reform and conduct of a peace policy are tied in with the expansion of the economic power of the big concerns and with encouragement of their activity abroad.

Lenin's warning against divorcing economy from politics, repeatedly borne out by past facts, is highly relevant with respect to analyzing the current situation in the FRG. Criticizing Kautsky's thesis on "ultra-imperialism," Lenin said: "The essence of the matter is that Kautsky detaches the politics of imperialism from its economics, speaks of annexations as being a policy 'preferred' by finance capital, and opposes to its another bourgeois policy which, he alleges, is possible on this very same basis of finance capital. It follows, then, that monopolies in the economy are compatible with non-monopolistic, non-violent, non-annexationist methods in politics. It follows, then, that the territorial division of the world, which was completed during this very epoch of finance capital, and which constitutes the basis of the present peculiar forms of rivalry between the biggest capitalist states, is compatible with a non-imperialist policy" (Vol. 22, p. 270).

The resemblance to the present period is striking. The necessary interconnection between economics and politics explains the recent emergence of reactionary political forces. Economic monopoly is driving for

political monopoly, and monopoly capital is building up economic power for greater political influence at home and abroad. This is borne out by plans envisaging "internal state reforms," the adoption of "emergency laws," attempts to subvert trade-union independence, open and organized neo-Nazi activity and, last but not least, propaganda of the Bundeswehr as the "school of the nation" and the "guarantor of statehood." In foreign policy, efforts are being stepped up on behalf of West-European integration, coordination of U.S. and FRG strategic planning and elaboration of a long-term "Eastern policy" aimed at changing the status quo in Europe. Those are the political trends most typical of the new period in the development of West German imperialism. Having recovered its economic and political power, it is now straining to expand.

To be sure, this is no reason to regard the interconnection between imperialist economy and politics as fatally inevitable. Lenin considered the link between economics and politics an intricate complex of class relationships. He stressed that although monopoly tends to reject democracy, it "aggravates the antagonism between imperialism's denial of democracy and the mass striving for democracy" (Vol. 23, p. 25). The alignment of class forces, a link through which objective economic laws affect politics and the influence of politics is brought to bear on the economy, is, therefore, of the utmost importance.

The alignment of class forces at home and abroad exercises a strong influence on the country's social development. The CDU/CSU has been ousted from government in the latest Bundestag election. That is obviously the cumulative result of acute social conflicts during the transition of FRG imperialism to the phase of expansion, of the influences exercised by the policy of the socialist countries and of the clamor for change among a considerable section of the people. That, precisely, is the point of departure for the anti-imperialist struggle in the FRG, a realistic opportunity to counter trends sparked by the intrinsic laws of imperialism. Struggle for this aim will pave the way to a peaceful future and to democratic social progress. Past experience shows that the battle against West German imperialism will certainly succeed if directed against the economic and political foundations of monopoly capital rule.

Strategy of the war monopolies

KLAUS ENGELHARDT

The 1960's saw a marked change in the Federal Republic's military-political doctrine and in the role of its military-power machine and war monopolies. This is a follow-up of a major policy shift: West German imperialism considers the "postwar period" over and is using its economic and increased military potential in a drive for political supremacy in Western Europe. Its current demand is "military equality," a long step towards more influence on the policy and strategy of NATO and on the military economy of its member states.

STATE-MONOPOLY CAPITALISM AND MILITARISM

The West German population is being conditioned to accept militarism as a necessary defense element of democracy. The propaganda ploy is not a very subtle one: the present militarization process is compared with that of the imperial and Nazi years to show that the old traditional militarism no longer exists. This superficial comparison is designed for psychological effect: people are more likely to accept a "democratic" militarism.

But even bourgeois writers in other countries question that. One of them, the American Arthur A. Ekirch jr., remarks that the two world wars have erased the old concept of 19th century Prussian militarism, with its brass bands and arrogant officer corps. There is a new concept, total militarism, its influence extending to every area of national life, highlighting the contradiction between the military and civilian authority. That is why, Ekirch says, present-day militarism offers a much greater menace.

That menace, inherent in militarism's close link with imperialism, can be fully disclosed only by examining the growing

interdependence of capitalist economics, politics and strategy, a tendency noted by the Marxist-Leninist classics and much more pronounced in the period of imperialism's decline. This is due to the operation of a number of factors:

—Imperialist policy is increasingly determined by class aims in the common struggle against world socialism, national liberation revolutions and the workers' movement. This finds clear expression in imperialism's global strategy, which envisages mobilization of all economic, military and political forces to fight socialism and the liberation movement.

—Coalescence of monopoly and state to form an all-embracing system of state-monopoly capitalism powered by war and its preparation, creates a new basis for militarization of the economy and of society as a whole.

—The weaponry revolution, a concomitant of the technological revolution, has in the past 25 years fundamentally changed the imperialist concept of war and its strategy. Nowadays, war preparation goes far beyond the manufacture and supply of weapons; it extends to all the main branches of the economy and all aspects of social life. Imperialism has built up a military-power mechanism that includes military-economic and military-ideological elements—a mechanism hitherto employed only in wartime.

Such are some of the outstanding factors that have gone into the making of the military-industrial complex. Bourgeois ideologists often interpret that term to mean only lobbying by the big war concerns or the intertwining interests of the top military and the munitions manufacturers. We understand the term to imply coalescence of the top military hierarchy and the government agencies primarily responsible for

militarization. The military-industrial complex is the most bellicose and reactionary element of state-monopoly capitalism. It seeks to direct internal policy along a more reactionary, and foreign policy along a more aggressive and adventuristic, course.

West Germany's military-industrial complex took final shape in the sixties, when its continuously growing components merged to form a single combine. With consolidation of the Bundeswehr completed in 1963, German imperialism had Western Europe's biggest ground forces. NATO has 1,200 West German staff officers, including more than 20 generals. The military-industrial complex has used this, in cooperation with its American allies, to turn NATO into a still more dangerous instrument of aggression and impose on it the celebrated forward strategy.

In keeping with that strategy, large forces were concentrated near the frontiers of the GDR and Czechoslovakia; a low "nuclear threshold" in the event of war was imposed; West Germany's military potential was fully integrated in the NATO planning system.

Bonn's development policy over the past ten years has put heavy accent on the war industries. The monopolies have been given credits, subsidies, assured a stable market and favorable conditions for superprofits. Monopolization has been encouraged and stimulated. West German research and development centers, international agreements and integration, helped these war concerns catch up with their international rivals and they are now making a strong bid for the West European armaments market.

The military clique and reactionary politicians exploited the rapidly expanding military potential to gain a bigger say in NATO. Their argument is that the West can negotiate with the Soviet Union only from positions of strength. In internal politics, the military, supported by the Christian Democrats, insist that the Bundeswehr became a "school of the nation." There is a close interconnection between the rise of the military-industrial complex in the sixties and the wave of neo-nazism.

There is no overlooking the continuity between the old and the new militarism. The chief socio-political motive force of Prussian militarism was the tight clique of Junkers, capitalists and top brass. With the general crisis of capitalism and the rise of state-monopoly capitalism, and as a result of the technological revolution, present-day

militarism has a wider social base. Its chief social motive force is the military-industrial complex. The new militarism has inherited the aggressiveness of its predecessor and, like it, wants to alter the world balance of strength on the plea that Germany has again "missed the bus."

The influence of the military-industrial complex was clearly demonstrated in the discussion over the new strategy which precipitated the political crisis of 1965-66. Without abandoning their old expansionist aims, the ruling circles called for more flexible methods of attaining them.

Christian Social Union chairman and spokesman for the military-industrial complex, Franz Josef Strauss, formulated one of the key elements of this flexible policy towards the socialist states: "We need an analysis of the East-West situation to define the optimal forms of rapprochement, with the help of which we can soften up the international organization of the Communist world empire and break it up from within by peaceful methods."

The policy of reversing the status quo has been unreservedly accepted by Helmut Schmidt, the new Defense Minister in the Brandt-Scheel government.

The military expression of this "flexible policy" is the forward strategy in its diverse variants, ranging from secret and local wars to thermonuclear war. Accordingly, the Bundeswehr is being reorganized into a multi-purpose army. This has the unqualified support of Defense Minister Schmidt, though his attitude is in crying contradiction to Brandt's policy statement emphasizing the Bundeswehr's defensive functions. No wonder Schmidt has the wholehearted approval of the generals, the reactionary politicians and the armaments concerns.

The latter believe that the expansion begun in the sixties and based on the forward strategy is no more than the groundwork for a much more ambitious drive. In the next few years they expect to develop and produce more sophisticated weapons, and have by no means abandoned their plans to develop and produce nuclear weapons.

MILITARIZATION OF RESEARCH

Stepped-up militarization of scientific research is a major feature of the expanding military-industrial complex and makes for still closer intertwining of the interests of the military, politicians and top mono-

polies. In the late fifties the Bonn government publicly renounced all intention of building a military potential, but strongly supported war-related research.

How strongly will be seen from these figures: military research expenditure rose from 32 million marks in 1957 to 978 million in 1969, accounting for 31 per cent of all budgetary appropriations for science. Long-term research programs give preference to military research, nuclear energy, outer space and computers. Total spending on nuclear energy up to 1968 was 6.2 billion marks; the figure for 1968-72 has been fixed at 5.1 billion. Outer space and missile research received 415 million marks in 1969, compared with 10.8 million in 1962, and 700 million are earmarked for the current five-year program ending in 1972.

West German propaganda has tried to veil this galloping militarization. But GDR scientists and West German nuclear scientists who went over to the GDR in 1968, have adduced conclusive evidence that FRG research in nuclear energy centers on its military uses. A nuclear-fuel cycle is being set up. Experiments for a full production cycle, from uranium ore to "pure" fissionable material, can be carried out in West German facilities. This provides the basic technology for the production of nuclear weapons, and gives the military-industrial complex a stronger position to demand a share in a West European nuclear force.

Space and missile research, both in FRG facilities and through West European organizations, is likewise oriented on projects that have military implications.

Last December, leading FRG aircraft and missile firms initiated a project for a superpowered European missile, and preparatory work is now being conducted by the Messerschmitt-Boelkow concern.

The level of research militarization is determined largely by its organizational and structural pattern. Decentralization is combined with tight coordination to produce optimal results for military technology. The Defense Ministry cooperates with a large number of universities, research centers and the development facilities of leading concerns. The Ministry's biggest department, Military Technology, employing 25 scientists and 300 engineers and technicians, acts as coordinating center. It determines the general orientation of military research, has a direct part in setting key problems for all research,

and assesses results from the standpoint of their military usages. The Defense Ministry is in touch with numerous scientific organizations, armaments firms, government agencies and, of course, NATO.

Commenting on the nature and trend of scientific research in the Federal Republic, one of its well-known publicists, Helmut Krauch, writes: "The determining criteria in promoting knowledge and skill is extension of power, not extension of social values . . . Scientific research institutions are encouraged only if they are likely to produce, or help to produce, now or at some future time, new weapons systems." The harmful economic results of the present policy in science and technology will be felt only a few years hence.

WAR INDUSTRY CONCENTRATION

The role of West Germany's war industry has undergone radical change in the past 10 years. In the early sixties it played no significant role in Western Europe, and was only just beginning to develop, largely on the basis of foreign licences. This had a dual advantage.

First, it gave the new plants detailed information on the modern military technology of other NATO countries. Research and development could be oriented accordingly. Second, modern facilities could be built at a relatively low cost, inasmuch as foreign models and methods were widely applied.

A new period began in the mid-sixties, with the accent on home production and equality in joint NATO projects. However, NATO military integration is a form of struggle for markets and spheres of influence, and a sizeable war industry would give West German imperialism a much stronger position.

At the early stages of the arms drive nearly all military supplies had to be imported; now West Germany produces 80 per cent of its requirements. Its war industry employs 250,000 and with supply and service auxiliaries about 700,000.

The production of modern weapons is expressly forbidden by the Potsdam agreements and the decisions of the Western European Union. The armament concerns are constantly violating these bans by producing missiles, military aircraft, submarines, heavy tanks, etc.

The present process of concentration and centralization is accelerated by the operation of three factors.

First, a sizeable share of the national income is channeled to the war industry through the budget. This gives the monopolists high profits, which can be used for further expansion. Besides, the Bonn government directly stipulates mergers, even threatening to deprive recalcitrant firms of military contracts. *Das Handelsblatt*, the paper that speaks for big industry, has this to say of Social-Democratic Economic Minister Schiller: "Professor Schiller's economic policy has done more towards concentration than the policy of any other economics minister."

Second, development and production of modern weapons, in which specialists in various branches are involved, accelerates concentration and diversification.

For instance, the huge Siemens electrical engineering concern has branched out into modern weaponry and has extended its influence to shipbuilding, aircraft, missiles, chemicals and nuclear energy.

Third, an expanding home armaments market and penetration of the NATO market have sharpened the rivalry between FRG and West European monopolies. This, too, has boosted centralization, an essential feature of the monopolization process that has spread to all industries and has no parallel in the whole history of German imperialism.

New forms of monopoly domination are breaking the traditional and relatively stable corporate structure. The leading concerns have already monopolized the weapons market and hold key positions in the system of state-monopoly capitalism. Capital migration, a characteristic feature of West Germany, has deprived the Ruhr of its importance as the "military smithy of the Reich," while Bavaria has become one of the new war-industry centers. The Flick, Messerschmitt-Boelkow and Siemens concerns are firmly established in the south, where they are intimately associated with the pro-militarist Christian Social Union and its leaders.

Concentration of the war industry and militarization of research play a decisive part in West German imperialist strategy. The head of the Messerschmitt-Boelkow concern, a typical representative of the military-industrial complex, says that cooperation between, and the merging of, military concerns in Federal Germany and other parts of Western Europe will continue at a faster pace.

DRIVE FOR WEST EUROPEAN SUPREMACY

The military concerns are striving to win new positions through integrated NATO projects. A few years ago they suggested production of a Franco-West German tank. The project never got off the ground because the Flick concern, the chief FRG partner, decided it was being cheated out of its fair share. Flick began production of the Leopard tank, of which 1,000 have already been sold to the Bundeswehr and 900 to Belgium, Holland and Norway, with negotiations under way for sales to Denmark and Italy and vigorous lobbying in Greece and Spain.

In this way, FRG concerns are already shouldering out their British and American rivals. The tank sales led to cooperating with local armaments concerns, which often act as components suppliers. West German firms are also preparing the ground for future exports, all the more so that plans for joint production with the USA of a NATO tank for the 1970's have failed to materialize. The Flick concern is now designing such a tank, better adapted to West European requirements, to replace the Leopard in the mid-seventies.

The agreement between the FRG, Holland and Great Britain for joint development of a gas centrifugal installation to produce enriched uranium has already provoked worldwide protest, for enriched uranium is the base product of nuclear weapons. The project envisages installations in Britain and Holland, while designing and development would be concentrated in the Federal Republic. This would enable the West German war concerns, which could draw on the technology developed by their partners, to claim that no weapon-grade material is being produced in the FRG.

The West German concerns obviously want to set the tone in an industry of vital importance for economic expansion and for the drive for West European supremacy.

To all intents and purposes, the highly concentrated FRG war industry represents a new West European military-industrial center with very clear expansionist proclivities. Furthermore, coalesced with the top military and the extreme reactionary forces of state-monopoly capitalism, it is becoming a dangerous seat of reaction and revanchism in Europe.

ONLY ALTERNATIVE—STRUGGLE

Keeping international tension, the war psychosis and bellicose anti-communism at a high pitch is a must for the military-industrial complex. The controversy over the FRG's accession to the nuclear non-proliferation treaty showed that the extreme reactionary forces brought pressure on the Brandt-Scheel government to procrastinate by advancing many reservations and dragging out ratification in order to leave a loophole for participation in a West European nuclear force.

One of the first official acts of Social-Democrat Defense Minister Schmidt was to participate in a meeting of NATO's nuclear planning group. It was agreed that the FRG would have a bigger say in formulating NATO nuclear strategy. Schmidt also announced reorganization of the Bundeswehr to raise its combatability, give its staff wider powers and tie it more closely to the forward strategy. These measures are designed to build up the FRG military potential to become a major political factor. In his book, *Strategy of Equilibrium*, Schmidt criticizes the consternation in Bonn on August 13, 1961, when the GDR took decisive steps to safeguard its frontier in Berlin. At the same time, he has his own conception of coordinating and organizing the economic, political and military forces

which, he affirms, will enable the FRG to have an active share in "resolving crises."

So far, nothing has changed in the Bonn power structure. The military-industrial complex continues to grow in strength and scope. The new government has done nothing to limit the influence of the more aggressive forces.

This is in total disregard of the will of 16 million voters. But there are real opportunities for changing the situation. They are spelled out in the draft treaty proposed by the GDR and in the statement the Chairman of the GDR State Council, Walter Ulbricht, made at an international press conference in January. Recognition in international law of the GDR and of existing European boundaries, a ban on the production and stationing of nuclear weapons on German soil, reduction of the arms drive and an exchange of statements obligating the two Germanys not to resort to force—all this could significantly limit the influence of West Germany's military-industrial complex.

This can be achieved only in struggle against the aggressive militarist forces, a struggle to which the working class and all progressive forces of the FRG have to make an active contribution. Its success will depend to a significant degree on joint action by the European working class.

Crisis of the educational system

WILLI GERNS

In the midst of the scientific and technical revolution the state of general and professional education exercises a strong influence on the growth of the productive forces, with a bearing on the welfare of individuals and society as a whole. It depends on the quality of education and the opportunities of improvement how expeditiously workers and operators react to the stormy changes in their trade or occupation. That is why education and education-

nal reform have become an important area in the fight for social progress.

Is the technico-scientific revolution a boon or a curse for the working people of the Federal Republic of Germany? That depends first and foremost on whether they succeed in restricting, and ultimately overcoming, the dominance of big capital, driven by thirst for power and profit. It depends, too, on whether they succeed in winning the right to genuine participation

in enterprise management and ultimately to independent guidance of the economy and society. The preconditions can and must be wrought by a democratic educational system that will produce harmoniously developed people with a democratic outlook and a working knowledge of the social interconnections and requirements.

The FRG educational system is far short of this mark. In fact, it is in a lamentable state. A pre-scholastic education system is conspicuous by its absence. Until 1965 nearly half the schoolchildren, especially in the rural areas, attended so-called people's schools, which are eight-year establishments where the curriculum from bottom to top grade is taught simultaneously in one or two classrooms. And a considerable percentage of children still attend schools of this sort.

The shortage of teachers is disastrous. In Lower Saxony, for example, the vacancies number 5,000. Vacancies in the people's schools add up to some 10 per cent. In the gymnasiums (advanced secondary schools) one out of every ten lessons is cancelled weekly due to the absence of an instructor. In North Rhine-Westphalia vacancies are 9.6 per cent in people's schools, 13.8 per cent in secondary schools and 26.7 per cent in gymnasiums. In other Federal lands matters are just as bad or worse. The shortage of premises and equipment is alarming. Estimates published in December 1969 by the Union of Scientific and Educational workers set the shortage of teachers (excluding occupational schools) for 1970 at close to 150,000 for the country as a whole.

The system of vocational education is outdated, geared to the profit motive and far behind the needs of the technico-scientific revolution.

The number of universities and other higher educational establishments is insufficient. Lecture halls are overcrowded, which makes normal teaching impossible. Besides, higher education is patterned to rear loyal subjects working for the interest of the capitalist minority.

The school and university structures are authoritarian and the content of education largely based on unscientific anti-democratic ideas, designed to perpetuate the capitalist system. Young minds are being contaminated with anti-communism, nationalism, ideas of revanche and falsifications of history. This produces fertile soil for the cultivation of neo-Nazism.

The class nature of the educational system is reflected in the social composition of the student body. Despite the formal equality of educational opportunities, the obstacles for wage-earners' children, deriving from the social relationships, have not been removed. A mere six per cent of the undergraduates are of working-class origin, although industrial workers comprise more than 50 percent of the population.

The reasons for the material and spiritual paucity of the Federal education system are rooted in the revival and consolidation of big capital and the fusion of monopoly and state power, or, in other words, in the social system. In educational standards the FRG has fallen far behind not only the socialist countries, particularly the German Democratic Republic, but also many capitalist states.

In 1966 students of all grades comprised 19.8 per cent of the population in Holland, 19.2 in France, 18 in Belgium, 15.4 in Italy, 15 in Luxembourg, and only 13.9 per cent in the Federal Republic. France had 102 students per 10,000 population, while the FRG had 46.

The sorry state of education is a consequence of ambitious West German imperialist policies. The objective of revising borders and "liquidating" the GDR, the drive for supremacy in Western Europe and the craving to possess nuclear weapons is costing the state huge sums of money, depressing allocations for educational needs. West German imperialism gives priority to rearmament, anti-communism, revanchism and nationalism. Its greatest effort is centered on preparing and carrying forward its aggressive plans. For German big capital non-commissioned officers have always been more important than teachers and barracks more important than schools.

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The clamor for educational reform has assumed proportions that no political force in the country can afford to ignore. All the parties have set out their views on this score. The need for reform has also been stressed in the policy statement of the new Federal government.

The keen interest in education displayed by the men in power is stimulated by definite factors.

The abyss between the requirements of the technico-scientific revolution and the backwardness of the educational system has

grown so deep as to be an impediment to monopoly capital, which is seeking bigger profits and more power. The shortage of competent personnel in production and science is about to become a brake on industrial growth.

The educational lag may have adverse effects for West German capitalism in its acute competitive struggle against other capitalist countries. It is looming big as an obstacle to the designs of our big capitalists, who are plotting to establish economic and political dominance over Western Europe.

It is not surprising, therefore, that industrial groups are coming out more articulately of late for an educational reform.

In its report for 1968-69, the Federal Union of German Industry, for one, the principal organization of West German big capital, said: "Representatives of industry regard . . . a radical revision of policy in the educational field in the 1970s as inevitable."

The state-monopoly system is experiencing a dual political pressure. The student movement for a democratic educational reform, coupled with the movement of apprentices, young workers, teachers, parents, the unions and other democratic organizations, is gaining in vigor. The ruling element is trying to paralyze it by means of partial solutions, and to channel the reform along lines consistent with the big capitalist interests, to reduce its dangers to the present system. On the other hand, however, the capitalist system of the FRG is compelled to compete with the socialist in the GDR. This is gaining in importance as the attainments in the German Democratic Republic are becoming public knowledge in West Germany. Competing in the field of education is particularly hard for the FRG, because GDR superiority is incontestable. Bonn rulers are forced to look **for solutions that would cover up this superiority, yet leave the pillars of their system intact.**

In sum, the imperative of educational reform is unquestionable. The question is one of content and pattern.

Comparing the educational programs of the CDU/CSU, SDP and FDP, we discover fairly substantial differences in approach. The CDU/CSU and its progeny, the neo-fascist NDP, are more or less candidly in favor of preserving the existing authoritarian structure of schools and universities, firming up thereby the privileges of the privileged. Their program says nothing of

pupil and student participation in running educational establishments. As for the NDP, its fuehrer, Thadden, could not have formulated its program more succinctly than he did by saying: "The word 'obedience' must again become one of the principal words in the school vocabulary."

The program of the FDP and particularly that of the SDP contain demands for certain structural improvements. Some of the SDP demands are traceable to pressures exerted by unions and other democratic forces. This applies also to some of the guidelines related to the development of education in the policy statement of the new SDP-led Federal government. Some points of the SDP platform coincide with or resemble the proposals of the German Communist Party, envisaging structural changes in education.

This could be a point of departure for a joint democratic educational reform campaign by Communists and Social-Democrats. The vulnerable point in the SDP and FDP program, and in the policy statement of the new cabinet, is that they are confined to merely changing the structure and improving the material provisions for education, while sidestepping the issue of democratization and focussing on the preservation of monopoly capital dominance, the main cause of the present sorry state of affairs.

Structural changes alone will not democratize the educational system. What is more, they may be used to firm up the state-monopoly set-up, unless the content of education is altered and the power of big capital in economy and society is hemmed in.

The SDP and FDP programs and their government statement say nothing of the concrete sources of allocations. A few years ago the SDP demanded a substantial cut in arms expenditures to increase funds for education. Today, with the military budget swelling, it regards arms allocations as untouchable.

FRG monopoly capital wants educational changes making its dominance more effective. It conceives the reform as an adjustment of education to the changed demands of big industry. This is put in so many words by spokesmen of the industrial groups.

The call for revising educational policy contained in the 1968-69 report of the Federal Union of German Industry envisages more extensive teaching of natural science in gymnasiums and universities, more vo-

cational and technical schools and a reduction in the duration of training specialists, so that they are more speedily available for capitalist exploitation.

Big capital is poised to exert a still greater influence on the content of education. A statement on "The Economy and the School," issued by the Federal Association of German Employers' Unions, says the school should "contribute decisively" to the education of future workers in the spirit of "readiness to coexist and cooperate," or, to put it more simply, in the spirit of the notorious social partnership with the exploiters. The capitalists assume that anyone with a social and university education, anyone who has become a highly qualified specialist, should be a loyal subject.

The reform concepts of the big capitalist groups, designed to solidify their system, were the basis of the CDU/CSU-headed "grand coalition" educational policies. The same concepts dominated the thinking in Bonn after the change of government. In Leussink, the new Minister for Scientific Research, the monopolies have a faithful backer. He is set firmly on the course charted by his CDU predecessor, Stoltenberg. This surprises no one, for as president of the Science Council Leussink acted as a loyal champion of the industrial interests.

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At the end of 1969 the German Communist Party made public a democratic educational system project. It differs greatly from the conceptions of big capital and the programs of the CDU/CSU, SDP and FDP.

1. Being a Marxist workers' party, the GCP takes guidance in the vital interests of the working class. Its proposals are designed to produce a democratic system of education that would in the course of the technico-scientific revolution assure social progress and preconditions for improving the material condition and cultural level of the working people.

The prime GCP aim is to "do away with the educational privileges of the propertied classes and afford equal development opportunities for children of working people." Its proposals envisage the moulding of "harmoniously educated individuals who are not only highly qualified specialists, but also democrats conscious of their responsibilities. We want to bring up free men, who, cognizant of the laws of social

development, could *consciously* build their life and participate actively in the fight for social progress."

At the same time, Communists are aware that full development of the individual is possible only in a socialist society based on the political power of the working class and its allies, and on public ownership of the means of production.

The aims of a democratic educational reform will not be attained without fighting for radical democratic change. That is why the GCP regards the "democratic reform of the educational system as an important particular aspect of its general strategy, centered on restricting and ultimately overcoming the rule of big capital and on a democratic renovation of the state and society."

2. The GCP holds that any democratic educational system must be based on a unity of content and structure. It holds that "the content of education should be based on the latest achievements in social and natural science and on the ideals of peace, humanism, social progress and militant democracy, of which the people is the bearer."

Unscientific ideas, anti-communism, revanchism, militarism and neo-Nazism must not be allowed to exercise any destructive influence on education. "The school must be a place where the student grows up in the course of critical cognition of the political, economic and social reality as an independently thinking individual closely associated with the working people, an individual who will not submit to any spiritual manipulation."

3. The GCP is working for "the right of the working class and its organizations to participate in educational solutions, for democracy exercised by elective bodies, comprising parents, teachers, students and representatives of the trade unions and democratic youth organizations." This is an important precondition for a general democratic educational system, embracing district councils for education, democratic educational councils and science councils.

4. To obtain additional funds for education, the GCP demands a substantial reduction of arms expenditures and higher taxes on employer profits.

5. The GCP bases its policy on the incompatibility of the interests of the working class and the monopoly bourgeoisie. A consistently democratic policy in education should express the interests of wage-earners. To achieve it, teachers, parents, stu-

dents, the working class and its allies must fight jointly against the dominance of big capital.

The progressive educational reform should be part of the general democratic alternative. It cannot be accomplished overnight. However, the intolerable deficiencies should be removed at once. That is why the GCP is calling on factory and clerical workers, intellectuals, parents, teachers, and students to mount a joint struggle for the following urgent measures:

a) extension of pre-scholastic education, effective nine-year schooling and early introduction of ten-year schooling, gradual introduction of long-day schools, extension of curricula in vocational schools, revision of legislation concerning vocational education, development of higher education;

b) introduction forthwith of tuition-free schooling and free supply of text-books and teaching aids in all Federal lands, reduction of the pupils-per-class ratio, and

issue of adequate material aid to school and university students;

c) dismissal forthwith of teachers glorifying war and cultivating nationalism, racism and hostility to other nations among pupils and students, a ban on text-books and teaching aids of this kind, removal of influence exercised on schools by employers and the Bundeswehr;

d) extending the rights of teachers, pupils and students, parents, trade unions and democratic youth organizations in schools and higher educational establishments, and their participation in solutions related to general educational matters.

The German Communist Party will do its utmost to build up actions in support of these demands that may develop into a joint struggle for a broad democratic educational reform, a part of the democratic renovation of the state and society in the FRG.

Strike struggles

HEINZ JUNG and KURT STEINHAUS

Last September's powerful strike wave and mass worker action against the neo-fascist National Democratic Party were beyond doubt the most important political developments in the Federal Republic over the past few years. They clearly brought out the militant spirit of the forces destined to play a decisive role in the impending battles against West German monopoly capital.

The 1969 strikes are now history. But instructive history, for they clearly revealed the alignment of forces within the West German labor movement and set the pattern for the seventies.

Neither in scope nor intensity can they be compared to the mass actions of the Italian and French working class. Their character was determined basically by the fight for immediate social and economic demands. But it was a hard and determined

fight, ending in most cases in victory, thanks to the stamina and organization of the strikers. This is a qualitatively new phenomena for West Germany, and one that has shown that the industrial workers are back on the political scene.

The strikes dealt a telling blow at the social partnership ideology, so deeply ingrained in the West German union movement, and exposed the fallacious theory of the working class having lost its militant potential and of the intelligentsia becoming the revolutionary force of the future. Our Party's orientation on the industrial workers proved correct.

The strike struggles brought to the fore the whole problem of the trade union's role in the community, and more particularly their wages policy. For the strikes were carried out in spite of and against trade union permission. For the first time the

workers violated the guidelines set by the state-monopoly system. They ignored capitalist "law and order," which prohibits unofficial strikes, and forced renegotiation of collective agreements. The way was thus opened to breaking the stalemate in trade-union wages policy.

This is the economic background to last year's strike wave. The 1966-67 recession was followed by a sizable economic pick-up, largely at the expense of the working class. Swelling unemployment was dexterously exploited for more speed-up: industrial employment declined 6.5 per cent in 1967, while productivity rose 7.6 per cent.

Improved economic conditions in 1968 did not, however, make good the 1967 wage losses, as will be seen from the following table showing the dynamics-ratio of wages and profits.

Half-year Percentage Changes in Wages and Profits

Half-year	Wages	Profits
2/1967	-1.1	+ 1.6
1/1968	+3.1	+24.6
2/1968	+7.4	+21.9
1/1969	+9.6	+ 9.9

The trade unions' wages policy could not check higher exploitation, more speedup, longer workday, etc. This was bound to breed discontent among the rank and file. Shop-floor sentiment was increasingly in favor of action to eliminate, or at least narrow, the wages-profit gap.

The first to down tools in support of a wage demand were the workers at the huge Hoesch steel plants in Dortmund. Several of the company's subsidiaries had been merged, with resultant wage disparities. Management was slow in equalizing wages, but quick to increase work loads. It even rejected extra pay for work during the hot summer months. It made no secret of its gratification over higher output and profits. A point was reached when the workers could take no more. Management refused to grant their full demands, and 27,000 workers came out on strike and presented higher demands. Management was forced to accept them and, what is more, pay compensation for time lost during the stoppage.

This heartening success triggered off stoppages in other industries and areas. The movement rapidly spread throughout the Ruhr, followed by steel workers in

the Saar and Bremen, then by Saar coal miners. Lastly, there was the massive walkout at the Kiel shipyards. By September 19, 140,000 workers were on strike in 69 plants, with a registered loss of 532,000 man-days.

Wage raises were won in most cases, and a start was made on renegotiation of collective agreements. Wages were substantially increased in chemicals, municipal services and transport, benefitting millions not involved in strike action.

The strikes involved mainly industrial workers, with women and foreign workers to the fore in many industries. True, office personnel took part, too, especially where their demands were taken into account (for instance, at the Bremen steel mills). This narrowing of the margin between the conditions of blue-collar and white-collar workers helps to bring the latter into the fight for broader socio-economic demands. On the whole, however—and there is ample evidence to substantiate this—the industrial workers remain the militant core of the movement, and there is no justification for the contention that that role is passing to the so-called new working class.

Men in the top skill categories, and in some cases workers in factory transport and repair services, were the most active element. All age groups were involved. If we were to single out the front-rank group, it would be union activists, progressive-minded shop stewards, production council members, etc., who reject employer-worker collaboration in whatever form or disguise.

The strikes showed that there is no hard and fast border line between economic and political demands. The workers demonstratively burned copies of Springer's reactionary *Bild-Zeitung* in protest against deliberate misinformation. Wherever NDP neo-fascists appeared on the scene, the workers tore down their placards. Distrust in the ruling class and the government machine at times led to explosive situations. This was so at one of the southern steel plants when the news came through that the management was calling in troops; also in the Ruhr following a rumor that police were being brought in. Apparently, the front-rankers, whose strike activity showed that they will not tolerate unlimited exploitation and are capable of organizing militant resistance to the ruling class, will continue to play a big part in promoting political action.

Most of the strikes were sit-in actions—practically all struck factories were occupied by the workers. This, plus tight organization, unshakable unity, and little or no scabbing made picketing unnecessary. Furthermore, the authorities were anxious to avoid trouble, so that factory occupation was not attended by the clashes characteristic of the Italian and French strikes.

The factories had to be occupied because the strikes were not backed by the unions. The men could not rely on strike relief from union funds, and the only way to win compensation for time out was through persevering and organized struggle. And the workers understood this from the very start. Numerous manifestations of solidarity provided a psychological defense against the virulent anti-strike propaganda of the mass media.

But the strikers went beyond the factories, organizing demonstrations to show the public, and the class enemy, that they were united and determined to win. This was also a major morale booster.

The capitalist press and political parties were stunned by this wave of "wild-cat" strikes, fearing that it was the beginning of the end of the industrial peace imposed on a docile working class. And the press spoke lamentingly of the situation developing into "disorders of the French, Italian or British type." Faith in the stability of the capitalist system was shaken. The trade unions were roundly denounced for failing to discharge their "law and order" mission by disciplining the workers and safeguarding capitalist stability.

The Communists were the only party to support the strikers. All the others were cautious, mindful of the coming Bundestag elections. More cautious than the rest, perhaps, were the Social-Democrats, who draw most of their votes from industrial and office workers. They found themselves obliged to depart from their original intention of accusing the Communists of provoking the strikes. The workers' demands, the Social-Democratic Party declared, were justified, but it did everything it could to bring the strikes to an early conclusion. Social-Democrat factory groups are the strongest of all, but since the party program is oriented on retaining and consolidating state-monopoly capitalism, there was not much they could do, and their part in the strikes was out of all proportion to their numerical strength.

The German Communist Party is a young party which only now is building up its strength after many years of a blanket ban on Marxist organizations. It is therefore too early to measure its influence against that of the Social-Democrats. But in the 1969 strikes the Party's political orientation and fighting capacity partially compensated for its modest numerical strength in the factories.

At most factories there was factual unity of Social Democrats, Communists and workers of no party affiliation on concrete common demands. All controversial political problems (the Bundestag elections, for instance, or attitude towards the FRG's socio-economic system) were not debated and no stress was laid, either by leaders or rank and file, on party divisions and divergent political views.

Attempts to counter increasing Communist influence by increasing anti-Communist propaganda failed dismally. The Communists were fully accepted by their fellow workers and in a number of cases played a leading part. They showed themselves to be staunch champions of the workers' interests and many were elected to representative bodies.

Factory newspapers, published exclusively by the Communists, were a valuable weapon throughout the struggle. In fact, in most struck factories they were the only source of objective information, and the only press organs to take up the workers' cause. This was exceptionally important in the early stages of the strike, when it was necessary to bring home to the workers the socio-economic position of the country and to furnish effective arguments for winning over the waverers.

The factory production councils and shop stewards are the officially recognized guardians of the workers' interests. Under a 1952 law, the production councils are not allowed to interfere in industrial labor conflicts—the law enjoins them "faithfully to cooperate" with management in the interests, needless to say, of the capitalist system. A 1951 law grants mining workers a share in management through trade-union parity representation on supervisory councils. Under this law, the appointment of pit managers must be cleared with the trade union and the work collective as a whole. The law was adopted as a result of working-class pressure and Right-wing union leaders hold it up as a glowing example of labor-employer cooperation.

However, the capitalists have used it to prevent labor conflicts. In reality, it gives the workers no say whatever on such matters as profit and administration.

The pit managers appointed with trade-union agreement did not support the strikers, nor did the trade-union supervisory council members. But they could not block strike action, and this earned them much abrasive criticism from management. In short, the whole concept of social partnership based on worker participation in management proved a dud. If these participatory organs are to become true conduits of the workers' interests, they must be freed of all the fettering reservations that are part of the social partnership concept and become elective organs accountable to the work collective. That is the essence of the progressive unionists' demand for real participation in management.

The workers regard the production councils as the main defender of their interests. The legal ban on participation in strikes puts them in a very difficult situation, but this time they managed to get around the law. In many places they stood at the head of the strikes, and this led to sharp differences, in some cases to a split. Much the same applies to the trade union leadership. Most factory union committees, particularly in the early stages of the strike, backed the workers' demands. The miners and power workers was the only union officially, and sharply, to come out against strike action. It used all manner of anti-communist fabrication to intimidate the workers and, to all practical purposes, sided with the employers. This evoked sharp criticism from other affiliates of the German Trade-Union Federation.

The metal workers' union accepted the workers' demands but sought to bring the strike under its control. In steel, the conflict ended with conclusion of a new collective agreement, but some engineering plants were still out after an agreement had been signed. In some plants the union's leadership resorted to anti-communist propaganda, but, on the whole, anti-communist attacks by union and party leaders proved largely ineffective. In factories where Communists held leading positions union officials did not succeed in setting the workers against them. It became obvious that the Communists were courageously fighting the anti-union sentiments that cropped up spontaneously, especially where union leaders were opposed to strike action and did nothing to help fight the

common foe. The Communists insisted: "We are the trade unions and it depends on us to make them strong."

The strikes started a movement for collective agreement re-negotiation and led to record wage raises. For the first time in many years the working class came to see that better conditions depend mainly on its fighting ability. This and the fighting experience it gained is one of the most important results of the 1969 strikes.

Supported by the government, the monopolies are steadily jacking up prices to take back some of the material gains won in the strikes. Government-encouraged capital exports, huge expenditure on armaments and the infra-structure are a heavy burden on the working class. But the strike struggles have shown that there are forces capable of resisting the capitalist onslaught.

The strikes sharply posed the question of the political role of the trade unions. They showed, too, that the social partnership policy militates against the unions and compels the workers to take over the fight for their economic interests. The gap between the union leadership and the rank and file will become wider still if the leaders are guided by government recommendations and gear their wages policy to monopoly interests.

The best way to prevent that is to broaden union democracy. And in this respect, too, the strikes showed that there are vast potentialities for strengthening the unions. But they can be effectively used only if union policy takes closer account of shop sentiment, and if members of factory committees are actively involved in wages conflicts at every stage and have a bigger decision share on major issues.

It does not require much perspicacity to predict sharper social battles in industry. The forces that played such a prominent part in the strike movement will strengthen trade union militancy and organization. In this respect, West German Communists active in industry and in the unions have much work before them. They have to show the West German working class that, in the words of the *Communist Manifesto*, "they have no interests separate and apart from those of the proletariat as a whole"... and that "in the various stages of development which the struggle of the working class against the bourgeoisie has to pass through, they always and everywhere represent the interests of the movement as a whole."

Facts and figures

FRG Exports, 1958-68
(percentages)

	1958	1968
EEC countries	27	38
Rest of Western Europe	27	23
US and Canada	9	12
Socialist countries	5	4
Others	32	23

(Official data).

Capital Exports
Direct private foreign investments
(mln. marks)

Investment areas	1960	1968
Developed capitalist countries	1898.5	9249.7
including:		
EEC members	363.6	3807.8
EFTA members	540.4	2767.4
US	282.3	1081.6
Canada	432.5	1119.3
Japan	27.6	72.9
Developing countries	1029.5	3792.9
Total	2928.0	13042.6

(H. Schafer. Lohn, Preis und Profit heute, p. 99.)

CDU Program, 1949

"Fair allocation of economic income and social legislation should increasingly convert the propertyless sections of our people into property owners."

(The CDU Duesseldorf Guidelines, 1949).

Twenty Years Later

In 1969, one-third of the national wealth and more than 70 per cent of productive facilities were concentrated in 1.7 per cent of high-income families (*Welt der Arbeit*, April 17, 1970).

At the same time, 2.5 million must be classed as poor, "even given the most stringent interpretation of the term."

(Herman Markus, *Property and Incomes in the FRG*, 1969, p. 138).

"Bonn's supreme policy principle with regard to property was and remains: make the biggest gifts to the biggest property owners".

(*Der Spiegel*, 28.7.1969, p. 44).

Adenauer's policy: — "... the historical achievement which remains the foundation of our political actions and the guarantee of our security"

(Chancellor Brandt's statement to the Bundestag, 8.5.1970 on the 25th anniversary of the end of the war).

"NEW EASTERN POLICY"

"The GDR's insistence on recognition in international law puts Bonn in a very difficult position. So far, it has merely announced that it will not take sanctions against GDR recognition by third countries."

(*Der Spiegel*, No. 12, 16.3.1970, p. 27)

... AND THE HALLSTEIN DOCTRINE

The day before the Stoph-Brandt meeting in Kassel "State Secretary Ahlcrs said the Federal Government deplored Algeria's recognition of the GDR, adding that this would not help improve FRG relations with Arab countries."

(*Neue Zuercher Zeitung*, 22.5.1970)

Brandt's Eastern policy was sharply criticized at the Munich Meeting of Sudeten Germans and at other traditional rallies of West German fraternities. The "expellees" objected primarily to the Federal government's recognition of the Oder-Neisse boundary.

CDU Bundestag deputy and Chairman of the "Union of Expellees," Czaja, told a rally of "Upper Silesians" in Essen: "The Federal government, representing only 48.3 per cent of the electorate, has no legitimate right to change Eastern policy."

(*Neue Zuercher Zeitung*, 19.5.1970).

Armaments spending in 1962-68 amounted to 152 billion marks.

According to one estimate, 148.6 billion are needed to eliminate the shortage of schools and hospitals.

(*DWJ Berichte*, 1969, No. 12, p. 20).

Factual and Proposed Armaments Expenditure Under Bonn's "Interim" Plan

(billion marks)

1969	19.5
1970	21.5
1971	22.2
1972	22.9
1973	23.3

(DWJ Berichte, 1970, No. 4, p. 7).

By 1969, the Krauss-Fafei firm (controlled by war criminal Flick) alone earned 1.5 billion marks on tank contracts for the Bundeswehr.

(Dr. Guenter Erdmann in DWJ Berichte, 1970, No. 4, p. 27).

"DEMOCRACY" AND NEO-NAZISM

"In 1952, the Federal Court ruled that the existence of the neo-Nazi SRP was contrary to the Constitution and set out the guidelines for declaring a party unconstitutional. But what happens if three competent bodies—the Bundestag, Bundesrat and the Federal Government—refuse to start proceedings against a new neo-nazi party which clearly comes within these guidelines? Nothing, and the NDP can develop its propaganda unhindered".

(R. Kuehn. *Gewerkschaftliche Monatshefte*, 1969, No. 11, pp. 695-696).

— AND REVANCHISM

A "Community of East-German Land-owners" was founded in Bonn in December 1969. Its open letter to the government demands "return" of the 1937 German territories and — "The East Finland, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, the Eastern Carpathian region and Eastern Rumania."

(*Der Spiegel*, No. 14, 30. III. 1970, p. 76).

EDUCATION IN THE GDR AND FRG University and School Attendance per 10,000 of population, 1967

	GDR	FRG
Higher educational establishments	62.3	45.3
Vocational schools	72.2	35.0

Number of Universities and Colleges

	1945	1960	1969
GDR	7	44	56
FRG	31	32	39

In 1967, students from working-class families made up 39.1 per cent in the GDR and 5.3 per cent in the FRG.

More than 80 per cent of GDR students receive state stipends; the figure for the FRG is around 25 per cent.

(*Student und Studium in der DDR. Wie loesen Sozialisten Hochschulprobleme?* Berlin, 1969, pp. 23, 39, 88, 92).

In the FRG, 1.4 million youngsters attend vocational and factory schools.

Vocational schoolteacher Rolf Freitag of Essen says: "The boys and girls grow up, but make no progress in their spiritual development."

Otto Brenner, Metalworkers' Union President: "Tens of thousands of young people are not only being poorly trained, but are trained for trades that have no future."

Results of vocational training inquiry: in Muelheim (Ruhr) one-third of trainees have to work overtime.

In Flensburg, the workweek for 16-18 year olds in the catering trades is from 48 to 80 hours.

School-leavers in the Federal Republic, unlike their counterparts in the GDR, have no notion of what profession to choose, and are helpless when they have to choose out of approximately 500 professions.

(*Der Spiegel*, No. 18, 27.4.1970).

THE WELFARE STATE MYTH Social Polarization in the FRG

	1950	1967	1967 in per cent of 1950
Gainfully employed population (000's)	20376 100%	26292 100%	129
(a) "independent" (000's) (employers, liberal professions, etc., and families)	6413 31.5%	5112 19.5%	79
(b) "dependent" (000's) (workers, office workers, etc.)	13963 68.5%	21180 80.5%	151.5

The economic miracle in the FRG is extending the sphere of exploitation and swelling the army of unemployed. The myth of "integration of the working class" has been dispelled.

In 1967 hourly wages in the automobile industry were 5.31 marks (before deductions), while a Volkswagen director averaged 248 marks an hour.

(DWJ *Berichte*, 1969, No. 10, p. 30).

Prices of goods and services listed in the official "average family" cost-of-living index rose 20.4 per cent between January 1963 and December 1969, and government experts forecast another 4-5 per cent increase in 1970.

Net profits increased 53 per cent in 1966-1969, with another 7.5 per cent rise forecast for 1970.

(*Gewerkschaftliche Monatshefte*, 1970, No. 1, p. 8).

The FRG's "social welfare system" is a veritable jungle. Much of the budgetary expenditure listed as "social welfare" is diverted to revanchist uses, such as grants to "political prisoners," "expellees," etc.

A substantial part of "social service" expenditure goes into pensions to veterans of the Hitler Wehrmacht. In 1968 this item accounted for 11 billion marks, or 13 per cent of total social service appropriations, of which more than a quarter comes from contributions by workers and office workers. In 1955 these made up 27.1 per cent and in 1968, 28.1 per cent of the total, while contributions from the national budget dropped from 35.1 to 27.9 per cent.

(DWJ *Berichte*, 1970, No. 1).

Decline of Budgetary Pension Allocations for Wage and Salary Workers

(in percentages of total pension appropriations)

1957	1961	1964	1967	1968	1969
30.6	23.3	22.0	18.4	16.7	15.9

(DWJ *Berichte*, 1969, No. 10; 1970, No. 1).

INDUSTRIAL ACCIDENTS AND OCCUPATIONAL DISABILITY

(3 or more days' absence from work)

1950	1,382,353
1955	2,476,107
1966	2,808,302

(FRG Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs)

Medical examination of 30,000 workers revealed that only one-third were in good health. More than 68 per cent required hospitalization. These figures are for Baden-Wurttemberg, but experts say they are typical of the entire Federal Republic.

(*Welt der Arbeit*, No. 16, 17.4.1970).

The German Communist Party Calls for:

- active factory and trade-union struggle for higher wages and better conditions;
- government price controls;
- far-reaching prophylactic measures, better safety arrangements in industry, etc.

"During the long economic boom begun in the 50's, there was absolute social and political calm in the Federal Republic".

(Heinz Oskar Vetter, President, West German Trade Union Federation). *Gewerkschaftliche Monatshefte*, 1970, No. 1, p. 1.

But the facts are:

STRIKES IN THE FRG

	Number of strikers (000's)	Workdays lost (000's)
1960	17.1	37.7
1961	21.1	65.3
1962	79.2	450.9
1963	100.9	878.0
1964	5.6	16.7
1965	6.3	48.5
1966	196.0	27.1
1967	59.6	389.6
1968	25.2	25.2
1969*	150.0	530.0

*Estimate.

(*Gewerkschaftsspiegel*, West-Berlin, 1969, No. 25).

U.S. imperialist policy in Latin America

LONGINO BECERRA and JOSE DICKMAN

The political map of the world continues to change despite all imperialist efforts to block the march of history. Everywhere the masses are fighting with mounting energy to break out of imperialist bondage.

This tempestuous development of the revolutionary process and the unparalleled scale of the national liberation movement are compelling the imperialist powers to devise new forms of countering the forces of progress. One of these is to adapt their foreign policy to the new situation: to achieve their old aims by new or camouflaged methods.

Of course, this is not publicized; you will find no proof to this "new" policy in official or unofficial statements. Every precaution is taken to keep its substance and aims out of the public eye. It is presented as a means of devising just solutions to vital problems, but no mention is made of the fact that these problems are the result of imperialist domination. Imperialism is reactionary by its very nature, and it cannot but oppose freedom, progress, peace and social justice. Lenin once remarked that "'finance capital strives for domination, not freedom'. Political reaction *all along* the lines is a characteristic feature of imperialism" (Vol. 23, p. 106).

This is saliently borne out by the U.S. policy formulated by President Nixon early this year. And so, let us examine some of the central aspects of America's new strategy vis-a-vis the Latin American continent.

WORDS AND DEEDS

Before dissecting America's "latest" Latin American policy, it has to be emphasized that it is part and parcel of its global

strategy. Many aims of this "new" approach to Latin America follow from Nixon's overall foreign policy program.

It was set out in the President's message to Congress, United States Foreign Policy for the 1970s, on February 18. The contents of this document are added proof of the reactionary and aggressive nature of U.S. imperialism and of its antagonistic hatred for the interests of other peoples.

Nixon bases his foreign-policy thinking on the need to defend and retain the positions American imperialism — rightly he thinks—holds in the world. To quote the President: "Our objective in the first instance is to support our interests . . . We will help where it makes a real difference and is considered in our interest." That the "interest" refers to the positions held by North American monopolies hardly needs to be explained.

The President contends that America's relations with her allies and other countries must shift from "predominance" to "partnership," and in this connection he declares that the U.S. is ready to "employ negotiations" to resolve all conflicts.

All these fine words about "partnership" and "employing negotiations" do not denote a change in the reactionary substance of imperialism. Their only purpose is to adapt political tactics to the objective changes at work in the world of today. For U.S. imperialism is finding it more difficult to maintain its role of overlord. Attempts to do that have in many cases aggravated inter-imperialist contradictions and fostered stronger national sentiment among the peoples, with resultant acceleration of democratic and revolutionary actions. That is why the men who write and direct U.S.

policy are so anxious to give their country a new and better image: America must be seen, they reason, not as an overlord, but as an equal "partner."

The celebrated "negotiations" formula is a result of the changed world situation, and Nixon admits that the power balance in the world has altered. Negotiations are part of the President's pragmatic philosophy and are employed (or promised) or rejected to suit imperialist interests. Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CC CPSU, declared in his Lenin Centenary Address: "The peoples of the world are beginning to see more and more clearly that imperialism, which has already forced two world wars on mankind, is in our days inseparable from such crimes as wars of aggression, flagrant interference in the life of other countries and peoples, and the brutality of racists and colonialists. In different parts of the world it maintains outworn political regimes that are hated by the peoples."

In short, Nixon's speechifying is meant to present Washington policy in a light more acceptable to other nations. But all the flowery words of this lengthy document cannot conceal or obscure the real aims of U.S. policy: defense of imperialist interests; open or veiled penetration into other countries; opposition to the socialist countries and the international Communist movement. Peace, which is the President's professed aim, is thus a mere fiction, especially when advocated by an imperialist government that is egging on Israel against the Arab peoples, is waging a barbarous war against Vietnam, escalating the aggression in Indochina, engineering plots against progressive independent states, and supporting avowedly reactionary regimes.

MOUNTING STRUGGLE

The "new" policy towards Latin America is being presented as a program of "action for progress" and is supposed to be much more "realistic" than the reforms the late President Kennedy used to counter the influence of the Cuban revolution. In fact, Nixon rejects the Kennedy program and refuses to cooperate with the bourgeois-liberal forces that were to play such an important part in operating the promised reforms. A few months before his election, Nixon called for a review of the Alliance for Progress which, in his opinion, jeopardized the neo-colonialist *status quo* in Latin America and, inferentially, the U.S. position there.

The axis of Washington's policy is inveterate opposition to the Cuban revolution and to the growth of anti-imperialist consciousness as a result of that revolution and of the changed world balance of strength in favor of democracy, peace and socialism. For Washington, socialist Cuba is a thorn in the flesh. That is why it persists in conspiracies against the Island of Freedom, economic blockade, aggression, sabotage and high-pressure propaganda designed to undermine Cuba's prestige. Consequently, if the struggle against Cuba, that heartening example for all Latin American countries, is the axis of Yankee policy towards our area, solidarity with the Cuban revolution and its achievements is a prime duty of our revolutionary forces. And that fully accords with the principle reaffirmed at the International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties, namely, that the defense of socialism is the internationalist duty of every Communist.

The anti-imperialist struggle is steadily and irrevocably spreading throughout Latin America, with intensified class battles and other actions of the working people in many of its countries. The Moscow Meeting noted that the proletariat, the Communist and Workers' parties, are playing a more important role in the Latin American anti-imperialist movement. And it might be added that it is being joined by social strata which not so long ago were indifferent or even hostile.

Mention can be made of the armed forces of imperialist-controlled countries. Only a short while ago they faithfully defended the interests of foreign capitalist concerns. Today, in some armies there are more or less pronounced patriotic trends, and this poses new problems for imperialism. Mention can also be made of the church, primarily the Catholic church, known for its rigid conservatism. Here, too, we have active manifestations of progressive and democratic trends. In some countries the church is no longer a monolithic supporter of imperialism. We can also speak of growing anti-imperialist sentiment among intellectuals and other sections of society.

Nor is that accidental. This process should be seen in context with the achievements of the socialist world system, the dedicated Communist struggle in all parts of the world, and the spread of the scientific principles of Marxism-Leninism. In combination, these factors are generating a growing realization that imperialist dom-

ination is responsible for the suffering of the peoples, and that only socialism can bring genuine freedom and progress.

Much of the growing nationalism and patriotism centers on the demand for return of national resources now controlled by the imperialists and in a number of countries this is supported by the ruling element. Peru and Bolivia, both ruled by military regimes, have introduced far-reaching measures to curb U.S. monopoly domination, furnishing a new form of resistance to U.S. imperialism.

The report Nelson Rockefeller submitted after his tour of Latin America intimates that spreading nationalism is a threat to U.S. monopoly interests. And nationalism, the report stresses, is not confined to any one country nor to any one source; national sensitivity results from America's disproportionately dominant role in production and investments, used mainly to extract raw materials and to assure safe markets.

The No. 1 task of the U.S. ruling faction is to retard the spread of the anti-imperialist movement, which is sapping imperialist strength and, in addition, can, as it takes deeper hold in one or another country, lead to new, more revolutionary forms of struggle.

EQUAL PARTNERS?

U.S. relations with Latin America, Nixon says, will henceforth be patterned on "equal partnership." Applied to countries robbed by Yankee imperialism, that slogan can have only one purpose, namely, to create the illusion that the United States will no longer abuse its superiority, will stop its ruthless exploitation, threats and violence, and will not interfere in Latin America's internal affairs.

That is the intended illusion. The reality is that there can be no equal partnership between the two. Equal partnership will come only when imperialism is eliminated and the class character of Latin America's regimes fundamentally changed. So long as the U.S. monopolies continue to exploit our peoples, the relations will be based on the old imperialist pattern. Nixon's partnership talk is merely another demagogical move to mislead Latin Americans.

The President outlined his "new approach" in an address to the Inter-American Press Association on October 31. The United States and Latin America, he said, represent a community of differing nations with differing cultures. He did not, of

course, point to the real reason for the contradictions between our peoples and U.S. imperialism: the clash between the former's striving for freedom and progress, and the latter's predatory propensities. Obviously, inter-American agencies, including the Organization of American States, cannot remove this antagonism either now or in the future, because the express purpose of these agencies is to help the U.S. penetrate, and subvert, its South American neighbors.

In fact, the "new" policy relies heavily on the so-called inter-American system to prevent, or at least minimize, structural socio-economic changes that do not suit the United States. Its policy toward Peru and Bolivia is ample proof of that: when the two countries nationalized important North American monopoly assets, Washington retaliated by engineering plots against them behind a smoke-screen of protracted negotiations.

PRIVATE INVESTMENTS INSTEAD OF LOANS

From the very first days of his administration, Nixon has been trenchantly criticized for financial assistance to Latin American countries. And the criticism clearly showed that the "assistance," ostensibly designed to promote economic development, has been to the advantage of the United States and to the disadvantage of the recipient countries. Chile's Foreign Minister Gabriel Valdés told the President on June 11, 1969, when he handed over the Vina del Mar memorandum drawn up by the Special Latin American Coordinating Commission: "It is generally thought that the continent is receiving effective financial aid, but the figures prove the very opposite: Latin America is helping to finance development in the United States and other industrial powers."

In the face of that criticism, Nixon shifted the accent to private investments as effective levers of development. He told his audience: "My own strong belief is that . . . private enterprise has a vital role to play in social as well as economic development." But despite that "belief," American investments, far from playing a "vital role" in development, are actually keeping our countries backward and disintegrating their economies, for U.S. investments impede the change-over from archaic to modern socio-economic structures. Besides, they are the direct cause of the decapitalization process which is undermining our economies. For-

eign Minister Valdés felt compelled to tell Nixon: "Private capital investments result in much more money going out of the continent than coming in. Our potential capital is being steadily reduced." There are data to confirm that: a recent study by the Inter-American Economic and Social Council shows that, whereas U.S. investments in 1950-67 amounted to \$7,473 million, profits totalled \$16,079 million, of which the greater part was drained out to the U.S.

SUPPORTING REACTIONARY REGIMES

On the diplomatic plane, Nixon says, the U.S. will take a more "realistic" approach to Latin American governments. The only logical result of such a policy will be to bolster reactionary dictatorial regimes with their rabid anti-communism and utter contempt for the people's rights and freedoms, such as the present governments in Haiti, Paraguay, Brazil, Argentina, Guatemala and Nicaragua. Nor is it any great secret that the object of this supposedly new policy is to install reactionary dictatorships in other countries and help them build up their apparatus of repression.

Nixon is very cautious on this score. But the Rockefeller report, the source of much of his political wisdom, is more outspoken. Rockefeller counsels more military assistance to Latin American governments by continuing and expanding training programs for their military and police personnel in the U.S. and in U.S.-run Panama centers. The problem is a vital one, the report suggests, and recommends renaming the American Military Assistance Program the Western Hemisphere Security Program—added proof that the imperialists want to use the Latin American armies for police functions.

OLD PROMISES

A question that figures prominently in the Special Coordination Commission memorandum is trade barriers and trade discrimination against Latin American nations.

The memorandum urges the United States to remove all impediments, customs and otherwise, and pursue a fair-prices policy with regard to Latin American exports. Nixon dealt with the problem in his October 31 speech and promised a three-point adjustment: "energetic efforts" to induce industrial nations to lower *non-tariff* barriers; encourage financial and technical assistance

to promote Latin American trade; arrange for regular commercial consultation within the inter-American system.

Trade with the U.S. rests on the principle of Latin America supplying raw materials and a profitable market for U.S. industrial goods. This imposed principle has enriched U.S. industry and impoverished the Latin American economy. To prevent Latin American manufactured goods competing on the American market, the U.S. has instituted a system of customs barriers, quantity and quality quotas, etc.

That this places the Latin American countries at a disadvantage, is putting it mildly. They are wholly dependent on the U.S. market, and what they do export to it is sold at U.S.-fixed prices. The net result is a tremendous annual loss. How tremendous will be seen from these few figures: a one-cent per-pound price decline on coffee entails an annual loss of \$24 million for Brazil, a similar decline in copper means a \$15 million loss for Chile, and a similar price drop in sugar loses the Dominican Republic \$14 million a year.

This flagrant discrimination has engendered a good deal of resentment and a strong fair-trade movement—even some sections of the bourgeoisie are now anti-imperialist. Little surprise that public pressure has led to broader economic, scientific and cultural exchanges with the socialist countries, notably the Soviet Union and Cuba. Nixon's three-point trade program, a rehash of old promises that were never honored, is meant to check that process and prevent its political consequences.

The present U.S. administration agreed to set up a permanent trade promotion agency. Inaugurated in Caracas at a conference of the Inter-American Economic and Social Council this January, its Washington conference early in May, less than five months later, showed that it was less than useful. The U.S. delegate declared that solution of Latin America's trade problems would be a slow and long process, in other words, was being postponed indefinitely.

* * *

And so, the "action for progress" program has nothing new to offer. And certainly it cannot facilitate Latin America's development, first, because that is very far from its real object and, second, because its sponsors represent a system that is anything but progressive. The Nixon program follows Washington's traditional pol-

icy of stifling the national liberation movement in Latin America, neo-colonialist penetration and the exploitation of our peoples.

But there is the proof of history that imperialism cannot stop, let alone reverse, the march of progress. The popular struggle in Latin America dooms U.S. imperialist policy to certain failure. The influence of

Cuba is increasingly spreading throughout the continent as a result of successful socialist construction on the island, and of the aggravating problems confronting all Latin America. In the end, its countries will, at one or another time and by one means or another, fight through to liberation.

Asia and Africa: capitalism and the socialist option

YURI ROZALIEV

The national liberation movement in the East has entered a new phase. Topping the agenda are questions of social emancipation and consolidation of economic independence. The right approach to defining the ways to progress and choosing the methods of overcoming economic backwardness must be based on the prevailing socio-economic conditions and geared to the peculiar growth of local capitalism. For the progressive forces that is the only way to avoid mistakes and difficulties in fighting for the socialist orientation.

Choice of the way of growth ranks among the most acute questions of the ideological struggle. Imperialists go out of their way to prove that the development of the newly independent states must inevitably be capitalist, pointing to the "advantages" of such growth. Encouragement, support and aid to national capitalisms and segments of the home bourgeoisie is a key element of imperialist strategy in Asia and Africa. Imperialism has a big stake in the capitalist growth of former colonies and semi-colonies, because neo-colonialist policy and expansion needs the support of local capitalists.

For the toiling masses growth of capitalism in the Eastern countries is a complex, contradictory and extremely painful process. The capitalist mode of production and the capitalist economic system made its appearance in the Afro-Asian countries long before their political independence. In the days of free competition local capitalism in colonies and semi-colonies was barely coming into existence, its growth gaining pace considerably in the imperial-

ist epoch. Quite naturally, in the distinctive setting of each country, with its historical, socio-economic and political specifics, local capitalism acquired many peculiar features all its own, distinguishing it from the classical capitalism of Europe and the United States. This, mind you, does not imply any "exclusiveness" of the Eastern countries, merely indicating the particular ways in which the common laws of capitalist growth worked in the Asian and African environment.

GROWTH OF CAPITALISM IN THE AFRO-ASIAN COUNTRIES

The peculiar features of capitalism in the Afro-Asian countries are traceable to colonialism and the special Afro-Asian type of feudalism. Colonialism was indubitably an impediment to the development of colonies and semi-colonies, twisting the natural processes of capitalist evolution to suit the needs and wishes of the metropolitan country.

Capitalist production, as we know, passed three basic stages of growth—ordinary cooperation, division of labor and manufacture, and machine production. And each stage was preceded by processes paving the way for qualitative changes in the economic structure. What colonialism did to the socio-economic development of colonies was to impel—under impact of chiefly external factors—the emergence of new forms of enterprise before the preliminary stages of growth were passed and completed. In India, for example, as rightly noted by the Soviet researcher, A. Levkov-

sky, a versatile base for ordinary commodity production had not been anywhere close to completion, the manufacture stage had not yet been arrived at, when capitalist machine production and the related elements of wholesale trade and of banking made their appearance. The development of simple commodity production out of the subsistence type of economy and the process of the primary accumulation of capital, the emergence of manufactures and factories, did not follow any preparatory phase in each of these stages, but occurred almost simultaneously. Variations of these in effect identical processes are to be seen in many Asian and African countries.

The incompleteness of all the necessary stages of socio-economic evolution is evident in town and countryside, where we are witness to what are nearly parallel processes of capitalist growth in the "traditional" and "modern" segments of farming. In countries such as Algeria, Sudan, Egypt, Tunisia and Turkey, big landowners (many of them foreigners) active in the "modern" areas, operating chiefly for the foreign market, developed into large-scale capitalist operators employing advanced agricultural techniques and technologies, despite the country's over-all economic and social backwardness. As a result, there emerged a unique "upper-stratum" capitalism, only loosely linked in most cases with the rest of the national economy.

At the same time, in the "traditional" sectors of agriculture, operating chiefly for the home market, elements of private enterprise spurred the development of a rural bourgeoisie out of the more prosperous peasantry in what we may take to be the usual way. This created an extraordinary entanglement of conflicting interests among the different sections of the rural population. Furthermore, a vast variety of pre-capitalist forms of relationship and levels of capitalist growth are in evidence in nearly all the Afro-Asian countries, their different districts and zones.

At present, too, in practically all of them capitalism continues to grow against a setting of many different modes of economy, while the processes of primary accumulation have not yet fully run their course and the development of modern types of enterprise out of the "old capitalism" is yet incomplete. Side by side we may observe such heterogeneous yet interconnected phenomena as decay of the clan system

and feudalism, disintegration of the subsistence economy and growth of small commodity production, growth of ordinary capitalist cooperation, emergence of manufacture based on cheap manual labor, and the inception and growth of the highest forms of private enterprise. Pre-capitalist and early capitalist relations of production still exist in almost all Asian and African countries. Small-scale commodity production and small-scale capitalist enterprises are, as a rule, numerically dominant, occupying a fairly weighty place in the economy in percentage terms. Commodity-money relationships are in most cases immature and the home market still in the formative stage and often split up into numerous local markets.

What also distinguishes the economy of some Afro-Asian countries are specific forms of production relationships, such as public cooperative production and joint sale of produce by village communities, which emerge and develop alongside conventional production patterns. As we see, in the socio-economic context the developing countries have a gaudy variety of forms of relations and production patterns.

SPECIFICS OF CAPITALIST EVOLUTION AND OF FORMATION OF THE BOURGEOISIE

The transition from the feudal to the capitalist mode of production follows two basic directions: either the producer becomes merchant and capitalist, in contrast to the natural agricultural economy and the guild-bound handicrafts, or else the merchant establishes direct sway over production. As Karl Marx pointed out, the former is the "really revolutionizing path," whereas the latter "cannot by itself contribute to the overthrow of the old mode of production, but tends rather to preserve and retain it as its pre-condition" (Marx, *Capital*, Vol. III, p. 329). The colonialists, naturally, supported those forms of enterprise that did not lead to a revolution in the mode of production and acted as a brake on economic progress.

As a result, the elements most closely associated with the colonialists produced a unique type of "conservative" bourgeoisie active chiefly in trade and usury (in many cases involving compradore functions), and, to a much lesser degree, national industrial production. They leaned on the semi-feudal system of peasant ex-

exploitation, on the widespread manual production of small-scale commodity producers held tightly in subjection by buyers, merchants, suppliers of raw materials and semi-manufactured goods.

At the same time, the elements of private enterprise pushed up "from below" a vast number of tiny, small and, in some cases, medium operators, whose emergence was the result of capitalism's growth "in breadth," that is, of the spread of capitalist production to new regions and spheres of activity (see V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 3, pp. 593-94). Industry, chiefly represented by a dispersed type of manufacture, was the main production base for this torrent of endeavor. In the colonial period this mass of continuously burgeoning and continuously perishing petty-bourgeois element was exposed to oppression by colonialists and the top strata of the local commercial and compradore bourgeoisie.

The exploitive superstructure looked like a pyramid, the apex of which was represented by the colonialists, leaning chiefly on the "conservative" commercial-usury-compradore bourgeoisie and the numerous feudal and semi-feudal groups and strata. Below was the substantial mass of small-scale capitalist and semi-capitalist enterprises, whose operators came largely from the midst of commodity producers at the base of the pyramid.

When the Asian and African countries won political independence, the situation changed. The independent states had more of an opportunity to influence the economy and promote capitalist growth on a national basis. State capitalism began to play a crucial role. It was the most effective way of encouraging national enterprise, of gradually eliminating many of the pre-capitalist survivals, of boosting the economy and protecting local capital from foreign competition. In particular, state capitalism helped, in a way, to resolve the problem of accumulation, to push out over the limits of the narrow home market, to lay the foundations of factory production, to borrow the latest organizational techniques of capitalist enterprise, to begin overcoming technical backwardness, and the like.

At the same time, in the capitalist environment state capitalism strengthens and extends the sphere of exploitation of workers and the many millions of peasants, tending to sharpen the class contra-

dictions and leading to the enrichment and consolidation of some segments of national capital. In certain conditions, it accelerates the growth of big capital, the formation of local monopolies, and the emergence of some features of a unique type of state-monopoly capitalism.

The role and significance of state capitalism in the developing countries depends in many ways on the political factor. Some bourgeois groups in the Eastern countries are eager to seize the commanding heights in the state machinery, for this enables local private enterprise to exploit state-capitalist measures for its selfish ends.

Hence, for the progressive forces, fighting for control over these state-capitalist measures is the most important objective of the class and political struggle. This would help turn state capitalism into a means of consolidating the national economy, safeguarding independence, repatterning the socio-economic structures and, last but not least, creating the necessary conditions for non-capitalist growth.

SPECIFICS OF BIG AND MONOPOLY CAPITAL IN COUNTRIES OF THE EAST

The opinion prevails among a section of scholars that monopolies in the Afro-Asian countries (India, Pakistan, Turkey, the Philippines, Thailand, Egypt before 1952, etc.) are a chance occurrence in view of their economic backwardness and the substantial public sector. What they overlook is the intrinsic tendency of capitalist growth and the high degree of imperialist influence. The birth of monopolies in Eastern countries is spurred by objective internal and, especially, external conditions. The viability of the local bourgeoisie depends largely on whether they can introduce modern methods of organizing capitalist enterprise. By striking up an alliance with the imperialist monopolies, the burgeoning big and monopoly capital in Asia and Africa obtains the necessary technical and financial support, even on unfavorable terms. Besides, establishment of certain industries on the basis of the latest technology inevitably requires large-scale (mostly monopoly in the case of the Eastern countries) organizations that spring up, as a rule, with the aid and support of the state. In the backward agrarian countries which have not passed the cycle of capitalist evolution, with many pre-capitalist and early capitalist types of relations

still extant, with many different economic patterns and with the less productive ones far ahead numerically, relatively powerful large organizations of the local bourgeoisie appear almost overnight with the help of the state and of foreign capital, seizing control over whole industries and turning into "upper-stratum" monopolies, into "superstructures" of an underdeveloped economy. The main role in this process, seemingly the reverse of "normal," is played by the banks, which become the main seats of activity where the power of domestic big capital is concentrated.

Extending their influence in every direction, big capital and the monopolies play an immense role in changing the structure of Eastern national capitalism. The monopoly superstructure, still in the formative stage, makes good use of the existing forms of small capitalist and even pre-capitalist enterprise in its own interests (e.g., usury through bank credits), on the one hand, while tending to suppress capitals not directly connected with the monopolies and growing "from below" on the basis of small-scale commodity production, on the other. This produces most acute contradictions between the different trends of capitalist evolution.

Monopoly capital has attained different stages from country to country. More developed in India and Pakistan, it is still in its early phases in Turkey, Iran, Thailand, South Korea and South Vietnam. It is hard to speak of the economic substance of the so-called bureaucratic capital of Indonesia, Malaysia and a few African countries. We may assume, however, that it is a unique form of local monopoly capitalism, based on the acquisition by the bureaucracy of state property and the levers of power.

In India there are about six fully-fledged monopoly groups (Tata, Birla, Dalmia-Jain, Hirachand, B. Mukherjee and M. Chettiar) and 40 groups at different lower stages of development, with at least 200 other groups associated with the monopoly upper stratum by a thousand different threads. Official figures confirm the growing power of the monopolies. In 1964-1967 alone, Tata assets went up 24 per cent and those of Birla 58 per cent. "The capitalist path of development," Shripad Amrit Dange, Chairman of the National Council, Communist Party of India, said, "has given rise to an enormous concentration of wealth and economic power in the hands of the 75 monopoly houses which sit at the apex

of our economic life. Particularly disturbing is the fact that these and other big business houses have entered into numerous collaboration agreements with the U.S., British and West German monopolists for the joint plunder of our national resources" ("International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties, Moscow, 1969," Peace and Socialism Publishers, Prague, 1969, p. 478).

In Pakistan, monopoly capital is headed by four groups—Habib, Adamjee, Saigal and Daud. Out of these, the Habib group alone comprises 40 companies. Economic power in the country, Pakistani economists estimate, is wielded by 20 financial and industrial groups controlling 66 per cent of industrial assets, 79 per cent of insurance assets and 80 per cent of banking deposits.

In Turkey, too, a comparatively small group of private companies, numbering some 3-5 per cent of the joint stock companies, control 80-85 per cent of the aggregate joint stock and annually appropriate at least 80 per cent of the overall profit. The apex of the group consists of 15 societies, among which the Business Bank is the biggest monopoly establishment.

Just as in India, so too in Pakistan and Turkey, the bulk of the national banking capital is, in effect, controlled by 2-5 banks.

The main monopoly banking concerns in Asia (naturally excluding Japan, where monopoly capital is highly developed) have approximately equal power. They have attained a level where they exercise economic pressure not only on their "own," but also on neighboring developing countries. Experience shows that big capital and the emerging local monopolies are the most zealous protagonists of the capitalist way, of an alliance with imperialism and the establishment of reactionary dictatorships.

CAPITALIST WAY AND PASSAGE TO SOCIALIST ORIENTATION

Experience shows, too, that the passage of the newly-independent states to the socialist orientation creates complicated problems, stemming from the need to draw up concrete programs and define methods of action. Of the utmost importance is the disparity in points of departure, which we may reduce to two main types: extreme backwardness of social relationships, a practical absence of developed capitalist production, on the one hand, and the ex-

istence of a more or less developed national capitalism, an "upper-stratum" big capital, on the other.

Some writers examining the non-capitalist way and the passage of developing countries to the socialist orientation treat the subject chiefly in general theoretical terms, and much less in terms of the experience of specific countries, taking as typical examples states where capitalism is in no way developed. Their extremely backward economy, absence of developed capitalist forms, the widespread pre-capitalist structures and other factors, as well as efforts to build up a foundation for a socialized economy, fit perfectly into the general pattern of the non-capitalist way, of which the Mongolian way is a classic example.

But the existence of yet another group of countries, we hold, requires a differentiated approach to the choice of ways of evolution. Can we unconditionally apply the concept of the non-capitalist way to countries with a relatively developed capitalism? We think not. Quite obviously, the passage of such countries to the socialist orientation is fraught with many specific traits stemming from the unique correlation of economic formations, of class and political forces. Progressives in those countries still need to overcome (or hem in) the growth of the "upper-stratum" forms of capitalism. Their main problem is not to by-pass the capitalist stage of development, part of which has already been traversed, but to complete the program of national-democratic reconstruction. This was pointed out by many spokesmen of Afro-Asian Communist parties at the 1969 Moscow Meeting.*

The main task in countries with a relatively developed capitalism is to complete the bourgeois-democratic reforms, while some capitalist forms of production and small-scale commodity production continue to exist. Invoking Lenin's well-known proposition, we may say that in the first stage of the revolution in those countries, the struggle centers on "ousting Octobrist capitalism and replacing it by democratic capitalism" (Vol. 34, p. 439).

In many relatively developed Afro-Asian countries contradictions have grown sharp-

*E.g., see Comrade Khaled Bagdash, General Secretary of the Syrian Communist Party; Comrade Abdel Khalek Mahgoub, General Secretary of the Sudanese Communist Party; Comrade Larbi Bouhali, head of the delegation of the Socialist Vanguard Party of Algeria, in "International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties. Moscow, 1969."

er, generating a struggle not only between the antagonistic classes, but also among representatives of different capitalist production patterns. The imperative is not elimination of local capitalism in general and expropriation of the entire bourgeoisie. The present imperative is to restrict the activity or eliminate the positions firstly of the upper-stratum bourgeoisie, of big and monopoly capital (which is in league with imperialism), and of the landlord class largely associated with various pre-capitalist forms of exploiting the peasants. In this phase the small, medium and even part of the bigger bourgeoisie may be an ally of the proletariat.

The fight against the upper bourgeois strata centers on concrete measures of a state-capitalist complexion which, as the facts show, fit into the framework of bourgeois society and law, and sidestep confiscation and repeal of all capitalist ownership, the basis of exploitation. At the same time, they undermine the rule of big capital and take the people a step closer to social emancipation.

In fact, the situation in these Afro-Asian countries resembles that predicted by Lenin in his "The Impending Catastrophe and How to Combat It." In the existing special conditions, the revolutionary democratic governments are compelled and able to nationalize the key economic branches, introducing controls over production and consumption. Lenin pointed out that for genuinely revolutionary bourgeois governments measures of this sort are not especially difficult to carry through. The difference between the present situation in the Afro-Asian countries and that of the early century is, however, that in the present day progressive reconstruction inevitably confronts the bourgeois government with a choice of ways and the option of passage to a socialist orientation. This is the result of the influence exercised by the camp of peace and socialism and by the struggle of the international proletariat on the socio-economic processes in the developing countries.

The development of the Afro-Asian countries presupposes a long co-survival and interaction of different economic formations, including the state-capitalist, small-scale and, in some cases, developed private capitalist. Given the political guidance of progressives and a greater role for the proletariat and its party, this interaction of formations may in some circumstances act as a basis for transition to the

socialist orientation. However, the existence of the capitalist mode of production inevitably sparks a class struggle for the aims and principles of socialism. Doubtless, a concrete analysis of the experience of some of the Afro-Asian countries forcing through progressive reconstruction, can provide new facts about the ways and methods of transition to the socialist orientation by countries where capitalism is growing fairly rapidly and where the

workers' class struggle expands from day to day.

What this requires first of all is a thorough study of local capitalism, the interests of the various segments of the bourgeoisie, their connections and contradictions with imperialism, and their capacity to act as ally of the progressive forces in the struggle for economic independence, social reconstruction and democracy.

The re-awakened land

On 30th anniversary of restoration of Soviet power in the Baltic Republics

JUSTAS PALECKIS

Soviet power was restored in Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia 30 years ago when the three Baltic states entered the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. This was an event of giant proportions for their peoples, taking the socialist road once and for all and building communist society with all the other peoples of the Soviet Union. Also, it was a significant event internationally, because it meant that more links had dropped out of the capitalist chain.

The reconstitution of Soviet power in the Baltic republics still evokes fury among their former masters, bourgeois emigrants and international monopolists. Small wonder that bourgeois propaganda has never desisted from falsifying history in all these 30 years, alleging "aggression," "occupation," and the like.

The Editors asked Justas Paleckis, Chairman of the Soviet of Nationalities of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, to contribute an anniversary article. A Lithuanian journalist and professional writer, Paleckis participated in the fight for Baltic democracy and national independence, first as an independent and since 1940 as a member of the Communist Party. After the overthrow of the fascist dictatorship in Lithuania (June 1940), he headed the popular government and was subsequently elected Chairman of the Presidium, Supreme Soviet, Lithuanian SSR and Deputy Chairman of the Presidium, Supreme Soviet of the USSR. Since 1966 he has been Chairman of the Soviet of Nationalities, Supreme Soviet of the USSR.

For many centuries the destiny of the Lithuanian, Latvian and Estonian peoples was interwoven with that of Russians, Byelorussians, Ukrainians and Poles.

Together, they resisted tsarist autocracy—a struggle headed since the turn of the century by Lenin's Bolshevik Party, structured as an all-Russia party concerting the revolutionary efforts of the proletarian masses of the entire country.

The militant activity of the Latvian, Estonian and Lithuanian working people was highly prominent during the 1905-1907 revolution.

Baltic workers and peasants took a distinguished part in the Great October Socialist Revolution. From among Baltic revolutionaries emerged many prominent leaders of the Bolshevik Party and Soviet state.

In Estonia and that part of Latvia unoccupied by German troops, Soviet power was established as a consequence of the October Revolution. But it survived only until February 1918, when all Latvia and Estonia were overrun by the German Kaiser's armies.

At the end of 1918, after the Germans were withdrawn, the Baltic peoples lost no time in re-establishing the Soviets. By January 1919 Soviet power was set up in most of Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia, with Bolshevik influence dominant in the Soviets. The Baltic nations that had fought for the overthrow of the tsar, the landlords and capitalists, were set on building a Soviet state jointly with the Russian and other fraternal peoples.

Their efforts, however, were frustrated by reaction and imperialism. The Entente,

the German militarists and the home reactionaries organized an armed intervention. German troops were used as the shock force, helped by the British Navy, Polish Pilsudski legionnaires, Russian Whiteguards and black-hundred squads of Finnish, Swedish and Danish mercenaries, led by U.S., British, French and German officers. The contribution of the local nationalists was at first insignificant, because attempts to build up an armed nationalist "volunteer" force fell through.

I saw Riga captured by the interventionists on May 22, 1919. German troops and a Whiteguard unit broke into the city under the overall command of von der Goltz, a German general. Not until the following day did units of bourgeois nationalists—just a few companies—enter Riga.

Colonel Tullent, a Briton, was appointed civilian governor, while U.S. Colonel Dogley became military governor. The counter-revolutionaries ran amuck, showing no mercy to workers and progressive intellectuals. That day, many thousands fell victim to White terrorism. Soviet power was throttled. Its last stronghold, the city of Daugavpils, was occupied by Pilsudski Poles and Latvian Whiteguards in January 1920. For many years to come the three Baltic republics were in thrall to the bourgeoisie.

With power presented to them by the imperialist interventionists, the Baltic bourgeoisie served them faithfully, suppressing revolutionary and progressive forces by repression and terror. To deceive the people, they were unsparing of blandishments and democratic slogans, prattling about freedom, equality and rule of law, and setting up constituent assemblies for the sake of appearances against a setting of total reactionary control.

The Lithuanian bourgeoisie, for one, did not observe the decorum of parliamentary democracy for very long. A military coup in 1926 set up a fascist-type dictatorship. And in 1934 fascist coups followed in Latvia and Estonia. But neither the pretence of democracy nor terrorism could dampen the people's struggle for freedom, waged under the leadership of the Communist parties of Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia, which operated underground. Forcibly separated from the Soviet Union, the Baltic peoples followed developments in that country with deep interest, rejoicing at its successes in building socialism. They supported the USSR, going into the streets to

demonstrate against imperialist plots and armed ventures.

In the 20 years of bourgeois dictatorship, the Baltic nations led an unbearably hard life, with little hope of improvement. Their natural historical bonds with Russia totally disrupted, the industry of the three countries wasted away, with many larger enterprises closing down. In Estonia, matters reached a point where the expensive machinery of the Tallinn Shipyards was sold for scrap. In Latvia, industrial production slumped, factory buildings stood empty, and the number of workers declined.

Many tens of thousands were officially registered as unemployed in each of the Baltic republics. In the countryside, hundreds of thousands were out of work. In Lithuania, for example, according to Kristunas, the bourgeois Minister of Agriculture, "redundancy" struck some 300,000 people. Disappointed in capitalist "independence," nearly 100,000 Lithuanian workers and peasants emigrated to Brazil, Argentina, Uruguay and other countries. The flow of emigrants from Latvia and Estonia was also considerable.

Education and culture were denied scope for growth. Though obligatory six-year schooling was introduced in Latvia and Estonia, the bulk of the children in Lithuania had no hope of even a primary education. And secondary and higher education were totally beyond the means of working people. Meanwhile, the bourgeoisie howled about a "surplus" of intellectuals, many of whom were jobless and destitute.

That, in general outline, was the life of the Baltic peoples in the days when Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia were, in effect, semi-colonies of international imperialism. All key economic branches were directly or indirectly controlled by foreign capital. The reactionary rulers were faithful to their imperialist patrons also in matters of foreign policy. Although Soviet policy was friendly, the three republics were an asylum for anti-Soviet forces, who regarded them as a convenient staging area for an attack against the USSR. And when Hitler came to power, fascist Germany steadily expanded her influence there.

The situation in Lithuania was particularly precarious. In 1920 her capital, Vilnius, was seized by Polish imperialists. In vain were the pleas for protection to the League of Nations and the governments of Britain and France. In 1939, soon after invading Czechoslovakia, Hitler's troops

pushed into Klaipeda, the only large Lithuanian port, and its environs. Lithuania owes it to the firm Soviet stand that the Nazis did not dare then to overrun the rest of the country. But this failed to knock sense into the reactionary government. In September 1939, with the Second World War already ablaze, it sent a delegation to Danzig to secretly negotiate an alliance with Hitler. The move was foiled by the Soviet Government, which concluded mutual aid treaties with the three Baltic republics, under which Soviet Army units were stationed in strategic points to protect the interests of the Baltic nations and those of the Soviet Union. Lithuania regained her capital and the Vilnius region, which were liberated by the Soviet armed forces.

The double-dealing policy and provocative conduct of the fascist ruling cliques created a threat of German invasion. Reacting to it, the working people, led by the Baltic Communist parties, overthrew the fascist regimes and set up people's democratic governments, which included Communists. This was acclaimed by the people with an unprecedented display of enthusiasm. Tens of thousands gathered in city squares, welcoming the overthrow of imperialist reaction and the establishment of popular governments that lost no time in carrying out democratic reforms.

In mid-July 1940 the masses went to the polls, electing representatives to the Sejms in Lithuania and Latvia and the State Duma in Estonia. As many as 90-95 per cent of the voters turned up, with 93 per cent of the ballots in Estonia, more than 97 per cent in Latvia and 99 per cent in Lithuania cast for candidates of the Communist-non-Party bloc. The democratically elected parliaments, acting on the wishes of the working people, proclaimed Soviet socialist republics in Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia. And in the beginning of August 1940, at their request, the three states were admitted to the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

In the early months after reunification, all banks, large industrial and commercial enterprises, the big apartment houses and transport facilities, were nationalized. The land became a national endowment, with private farms restricted to 30 hectares. Under the land reform, 1,700,000 hectares confiscated from big landowners were apportioned among 200,000 landless peasants. Unemployment was quickly wiped out.

Schools were flung open to the youth. A drive was launched to eliminate illiteracy (almost 300,000 illiterates in Lithuania alone).

Hitler's attack interrupted these constructive efforts. The war and the Nazi occupation did untold damage to the Baltic nations. The Hitlerites and their menials—the bourgeois nationalists—exterminated nearly a million civilians and prisoners of war. The magnitude of that figure shows that the battle against fascism was a fight for survival; it was part of the Nazi plan to annihilate or enslave the people of Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia, to Germanize them and to wipe out their nationhood. Baltic army units, part of the Soviet Army, participated in liberating the Baltic states from fascist slavery. Partisan detachments operated effectively behind the enemy lines. Victory over fascism spelled salvation and liberty. The efforts of the Nazis and the bourgeois nationalists, who launched a ferocious anti-Soviet propaganda campaign, were in vain. Only a handful of Nazi menials and misled people left with the retreating Hitlerites and are now scattered all over the world as so-called displaced persons, men without a country. The Baltic nations remain loyal to Soviet power.

The war and the postwar reconstruction wiped out all of ten years. Not until 1950 were we ready to restart economic development. The results in the years that followed are striking.

The Baltic republics maintained the highest industrial growth rate in the USSR. Compared with 1940, aggregate industrial output went up approximately 25-28-fold, whereas that of the Soviet Union as a whole increased 11-fold. More than 190 large factories were built in Lithuania, and the number of factory and office workers soared from 179,000 in 1940 to 1,140,000.

The increase in power production is impressive. With but 80 million kwh yearly, bourgeois Lithuania was in this respect the most backward country in Europe save Albania. At present, Lithuania produces 7,000 million kwh, which, in per capita terms, equals Italy and France. Estonia's present per capita output (about 7,000 kwh) is considerably higher than in Western Europe and only somewhat behind that of the United States.

A new life has come to the countryside. Prewar production has been substantially exceeded as a result of collectivization,

which had sparked an acute class struggle and required considerable effort. Lithuania, for example, has 1,732,000 head of cattle against 1,054,000 in 1941, while pigs total 2,071,000 against 1,068,000. Milk output is 789 kg per capita, much higher than in the United States, against 470 kg in 1939. Average pre-war crop yields were 12-16 centners per hectare, whereas Estonia's 1969 crop yield was 25 centners, Lithuania's 24 centners and Latvia's 21 centners per hectare.

Cultural progress is truly revolutionary. For centuries, Lithuania was culturally the most backward of the Baltic countries. Under capitalist power she had 69 gymnasiums and 27 pro-gymnasiums (junior high schools) with an enrolment of 27,000. Now enrolment in the 492 secondary and 824 eight-year schools is 340,000. Accordingly, the number of teachers has gone up from about 9,000 to nearly 40,000. Students in the 13 Lithuanian higher educational establishments total nearly 56,000, or 14 times as many as in 1939. In 20 years of bourgeois power only some 2,500 Lithuanians received a higher education, whereas in 1968 alone 6,200 specialists were graduated.

At the beginning of 1941 Latvia had 28,000 specialists with a higher or specialized secondary education. Now she has 166,000. In Estonia, the number of scientific workers has risen 7.7-fold against 1940. Yet no one complains about a "surplus" of intellectuals.

The Baltic scientists' dream of having national academies has come true. They conduct extensive research in the natural sciences, technology, history, linguistics, literature, ethnography, economy and philosophy.

The writers, poets and dramatists of the Baltic nations are making a significant contribution to Soviet literature. There are many more theatres, and of a much higher creative standard. Each republic has its philharmonic society. Amateur arts are highly popular, with hundreds of thousands taking part.

Much more could be said of the economic and cultural growth of the Baltic republics. Towns and villages are built up; public life throbs everywhere. The aspirations of the Soviet peoples, including those of the Baltic states, could come true only in the socialist environment.

Dreading the growing influence of communist ideas, imperialist propagandists are still trying to denigrate or distort the achievements of the Soviet people. Bourgeois nationalists who fled West with the Nazis are highly active in this occupation. But their prophecies have fallen to the ground. No longer do they dare fib about "famine," "the stifling of national cultures," "Russification of the Baltic seaboard," and the like.

Many emigre Lithuanians, Latvians and Estonians visit their former homelands. They become acutely aware of the fact that life is improving, prosperity setting in, culture rising steadily, and national statehood growing. Many have returned for good, and have been given employment and security.

Here is what a group of Lithuanians from Canada wrote after visiting Lithuania:

"We knew that a lot had changed, but we did not expect to see such astonishing changes. We have seen that Soviet power revived our country like a bracing spring rain. We will tell Lithuanians abroad about this, so that they should know the truth about their country, which we found prospering and on the way to more progress. We want to tell the young people: learn to value the light of your lives, given you by Soviet power."

As equal members of the family of Soviet nations, led by Lenin's Party, the Lithuanian, Latvian and Estonian Soviet Socialist Republics are building communism hand in hand with the other fraternal nations, strengthening the Soviet Union, their socialist homeland, the bulwark of peace and progress, by their labor and creative effort.

Lenin is with us

The life and work of outstanding political personalities provides much food for thought. That old maxim is convincingly confirmed by the life and work of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin. Reading his works one cannot but admire the power and brilliance of his thought, the depth and relevance of his conclusions.

Lenin lives among us, arming us in the struggle, extending our horizons, inspiring confidence in victory.

That is why this book, *The Presence of Lenin**, by Georges Cogniot, gifted publicist and director of the Maurice Thorez Institute in Paris, will be read with interest both by Party veterans and new recruits.

For Cogniot the forecasts and conclusions of such titans of thoughts as Marx and Lenin are not things of the past, but weapons in our struggle. Cogniot remarks: "Men like Lenin do not have biographies compressed into two dates, birth and death; their biographies have only one date — birth, for they remain contemporaries and leaders."

In his first volume, Cogniot acquaints the reader with Lenin's life, a life never separated from the masses and entirely dedicated to their cause; the life of a man who forged the steel-like party that led the people in the attack against tsarism and capitalism and rescued them from ignorance, poverty and centuries of virtual slavery.

From the very beginning of his revolutionary career, Lenin had a clear vision of the road he was to follow. At the age of 24, in his early battles with the Narodniks, he exposed these false friends of the people, opposing to them the theory of revolutionary Social Democracy: "The Social-Democratic answer to the question is based, as we know, on the view that the Russian economic system constitutes a bourgeois society, from which there can be only one way out, the one that necessarily follows from the very nature of the bourgeois system, namely, the class struggle of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie" (Lenin, *Coll. Works*, Vol. I, p. 160).

*Georges Cogniot, *Présence de Lénine*, Paris, Editions sociales, 1970. Vol. 1, 251 pp.; Vol. 2, 157 pp.

This was followed by many more battles against those who distorted, emasculated, challenged or rejected the teachings of Marx and Engels.

One of the merits of this book is that it shows Lenin in constant struggle against the Right opportunists who relied entirely on spontaneity and advocated following the liberal bourgeoisie, and against the "Left" opportunists who substituted revolutionary phraseology for revolutionary struggle.

The second volume analyzes the theoretical and political foundations of Leninism, Lenin's contribution to the legacy of Marx and Engels, and his influence on the international workers' movement.

Cogniot writes: "Experience has shown that any deviation from Lenin's principles, any attempt to substitute for scientific theory opportunist views closely related to bourgeois liberalism, or pseudo-revolutionary phraseology, leads to betrayal of the historic interests of the international workers' movement. Twentieth-century Marxism and Leninism are synonymous."

The author exposes the milk-and-water idealism, the anarchistic and revisionist propositions of Ernst Fischer, who wants to "deprive all power of its power" and carry out a "revolution of consciousness." Cogniot battles against the Chinese leaders' distortion of Leninism and criticizes the Right-wing opportunist advocacy of "market socialism."

The concluding chapter deals with the militant Marxist philosophy. In combating all forms of idealism, Cogniot writes, Lenin continued the struggle waged by Marx and Engels and developed their philosophical theory. The pages devoted to the theory of reflection, science and practice, the dialectical concept of development, historical materialism, partisanship and the role of science, will be read with special interest.

Published in the Lenin centenary year, this book by Georges Cogniot gives the reader a comprehensive picture of the life and work of one of the most remarkable refashioners of history, a man who has done so much for mankind.

Jean FREVILLE

Autopsy as a social science

The main character of an O. Henry story examines matrimony as an exact science. A French professor, M. Jacques Ellul, has gone him one better—he has elevated autopsy to the rank of a social science. In fact, he has written a book on the subject: "The Autopsy of Revolution" ("Autopsie de la révolution"), published in Paris last year.

Presumably, the professor regards revolution as dead, though probably not yet buried. He was impelled to undertake this post-mortem, he says, because "everyone today speaks of revolution. It has become a must for the thoughts and actions of modern Western man." And the Bordeaux professor deems it his bounden duty to help "Western man" learn all about revolution, its consequences and implications.

He does not try to impose his views on the reader. No, he wants to set out the facts—as he interprets them—and let the reader draw his own conclusions.

His autopsy begins with a long trek back into history. He compares the Ama Kusa events in Japan with the Great French Revolution, the Spartacus revolt in ancient Rome with the mutiny in the British Navy in 1797, the peasant revolt led by Stepan Razin in 18th-century Russia with the Paris student unrest of May 1968. Against this historical background the author analyzes the relation between revolt and revolution, the revolutionary movements of various periods, and sets out his own understanding of revolution and its "conformity to the process of history."

The reader is thus led into a labyrinth of historical, philosophical and political concepts from which there is only one way out — the way, needless to say, indicated by the professor. And that way is supposed to lead the reader to the conclusion that, contrary to Marxism, social revolution is not a logical result of social development.

The author does not bother to examine the contradictions of social development, the conflict between the new productive forces and the old production relations. He

confines himself to the bald statement that Marxism wholly misunderstands the direction of human history. Marx's "total error," he tells us, was his failure to understand the nature of the state. This led to a wrong understanding of the course of history, which is "not determined by the conflict between exploiter and exploited leading to a socialist society. The basic factor of history is the relation between the whole of society and the state, with the latter steadily becoming stronger and acquiring a new quality, commonly known as the Nation-State."

That bit of theorizing can lay no claim to novelty. Another French professor, Raymond Ruyer, an ardent champion of the consumer society, counterposes the political state to the "economic society," i.e., the best part of the nation in his understanding (Cf. *Problems of Peace and Socialism*, No. 2, 1970).

Revolution and the state, the reader is told, are incompatible categories: every revolution inevitably produces a counter-revolutionary state, and every state is, intrinsically, hostile to revolution. Elsewhere the author presents a confused picture of different types of social revolution, lumping together slaves, bourgeois and socialist revolutions, equating the exploitive state with its direct opposite, the socialist state.

One of his central autopsic arguments is that revolution is negated by counter-revolution. In this context he deals in some detail with the depreciation or, to use his own term, banalization, of revolution. This, he claims, is a logical and natural process in the development of any revolution as the new society realizes its implications. The suggestion is that, to escape from revolutionary reality, this "new society" takes refuge in "illusions," "terminology," "study of unexplored areas." Banalization thus comes within the operation of the law of negation, but in reverse—the old negates the new!

The purpose of this tortuous banalization theory is to attack revolution on two fronts:

"revolution has been vulgarized, has become customary" ("the so-called consumer society has fully assimilated revolution, which is now just as much an object of consumption as everything else"); revolution should not be idealized and still less made the subject of theoretical study (theoretical schemes of revolution reveal only its humane aspects and conceal the "concrete horrors" which, the professor believes, are its inevitable concomitant).

M. Ellul deduces these "concrete horrors" from his theoretical deduction that the masses regard revolution as a "primitive festival" always attended by bloodshed, brutality and terror. Proof? "Nero, an artist, singer and poet, arranged spectacular nocturnal orgies lit by the burning bodies of slaves. . . ." This harping on "horror" is meant to warn "modern Western man" against light-hearted interest in the theoretical problems of social revolution because, the author estimates, there is an excessive number of "drawing-room

intellectuals who faint at the very sight of a machine gun, but are easily taken in by theoretical schemes of revolution . . . failing to see what is behind them. . . ."

The "Autopsy" deals with many other problems. But the few listed in this review provide a good idea of Professor Ellul's purpose. The men who speak for capitalism can no longer frighten the public by holding up the old bogey of revolution. Professor Ellul tries a more sophisticated ploy: he gives a confused and vulgarized picture of the problems of revolution, which he then "solves" in a way designed to lead the reader to these paradoxical conclusions: first, there is no such thing as social revolution and, second, revolution is dead and should never be resuscitated. That is the point and purpose of this "Autopsy," which reveals the bourgeoisie's mortal fear of the cleansing revolutionary storm.

V.S.

Annotations

BERECZ J. *Ellenforradalom tollal es fegyverrel*. Budapest, Kossuth Konyvkiado, 1969.

BERECZ J. *Kontrarevoluce perem a zbrani*. Praha, nakladatelstvi Svoboda, 1970.

Put out by the Hungarian Kossuth and the Czechoslovak Svoboda publishers, Janos Berecz's "Counter-revolution with Pen and Gun" is an analytical account of the abortive 1956 counter-revolution in Hungary. The author clearly shows that the revolt resulted from the operation of a number of internal and external factors. He mentions the major errors in socialist construction committed by the former Party and state leadership. He effectively exposes the theories advocated by the revisionists, their attempts to extend their influence to the cultural field and to the youth, and their instigation of anti-Soviet sentiments. The author emphasizes that common to all the subversive groups were ideas and plans elaborated by international imperialist centers.

Drawing on documentary evidence, Janos

Berecz exposes the campaign these centers, notably the Free Europe Committee headed by prominent U.S. politicians, conducted against Hungary and other socialist countries. He describes in some detail Operation Focus, the master plan for overthrowing the socialist system in Hungary.

The concluding chapter deals with the defeat of the counter-revolution and the lessons to be drawn therefrom. The author emphasizes that the Soviet Union's internationalist assistance was approved by the entire Communist movement and cites this statement by Janos Kadar: "A cardinal principle that follows from our aims is that we must always be with the people in the fight for popular rule, and always rely on proletarian solidarity in the fight against international imperialism."

Lenin i sovremennaya nauka (Lenin and Modern Science). Nauka Publishers, Moscow 1970. Vol. I, 455 pp.; Vol. 2, 655 pp.

This fundamental study, edited by Academicians M. V. Keldysh (Head of the Editorial Board), M. D. Millionshchikov, A. M.

Rumyantsev and others, deals with three main subjects: "Lenin's Ideas and Modern Society," "Lenin's Ideas and Modern Natural Science," "Scientific Progress in the Union Republics." The introductory article, "Lenin and Scientific Development," is by M. V. Keldysh, President of the USSR Academy of Sciences.

The many contributions by members of the USSR Academy and presidents of all the Union Republic academies disclose Lenin's outstanding part in developing science. In particular, the book shows how under Lenin's leadership, for the first time in history, scientific revolutionary theory was applied to refashioning society and building socialism. Contributors point to the value of Lenin's writings and organizational work in promoting scientific progress. Other articles deal with the work of Soviet scientists in traditional and new

areas of research, and their contribution to the solution of such cardinal problems of the century as outer space exploration, peaceful uses of nuclear energy, etc. Soviet scientific achievement, the authors emphasize, has fully corroborated Lenin's views on the role of science in building socialism and communism and its transformation into a productive force.

The book describes the unremitting efforts of the CPSU to assure the continued progress of Soviet science, which now accounts for a quarter of the world's research workers and rests on a firm foundation of constantly expanding educational and research facilities. Much attention is paid to the problems of scientific and technological progress and the effective use of its results in the economy and other fields of endeavor.

FROM AGUADILLA. PUERTO RICO

Dear Comrades,

Your journal is a great help in uniting the working people.

In our country, democratic rights are only for the monopolies. The press, radio and television are controlled by American capital, and anyone who dares talk about this is sure to be marked out for repression. Our oppressors use deceit and intimidation to keep the people in submission. Huge sums are spent on the police, while the people live in poverty and ignorance.

The U.S. government is using young Puerto Ricans as cannon fodder in its unjust imperialist wars. Sons of the rich manage, by hook or by crook, to evade the draft, but if an ordinary Puerto Rican tries to he is clapped in jail and deprived of civil rights. Nevertheless more and more of our young men refuse to have any part in America's criminal war in Vietnam.

We try to make up for our lack of fighting experience by studying the articles in your journal and in progressive Latin American publications. We are not many, but we are forming close ties with workers and students and help them see through the demagogic propaganda imperialism and the oligarchy spread in an attempt to shore up the colonial regime. We realize that the liberation revolution can be the result of conscious and organized struggle by the workers, peasants, progressive intellectuals and other social groups united in a broad national front. We know that he is a true Communist who fights not alone, but at the head of the masses, learning, with them, from the experience of the struggle. We are confident of victory.

With fraternal greetings, on behalf of a group of comrades,

Ignacio M.

FROM MOSCOW

Dear Comrades,

I have been a reader of your journal for more than four years. I am mostly interested in items appearing under the headings "Battle of Ideologies" and "Viewpoints."

I suggest that there be more articles on ideological problems, considering that ideo-

logy is now the central front in the struggle of the two world systems, socialism and capitalism. More articles on the economics of capitalist countries and on the political economy of socialism would be welcome.

I would also like to see articles on social psychology and the sociology of the class struggle today.

Nikolai Khmarin

Student of First Moscow
Medical Institute

FROM MAURITIUS

Comrades,

I take great pleasure in writing to you as a keen student of your policies. I am a proletarian living on the small island of Mauritius, which became independent on March 12, 1968. After independence our two main parties, the Social-Democratic and Labor, formed a coalition government, and things have gone from bad to worse. Unemployment and corruption are increasing. The new government gives us only promises and the working people are the ones to suffer most.

I realize that you cannot stand aside from politics if you want to improve the lot of the poor. Judging by the state of affairs on our island, the Communists are the only party that looks out for the poor. I want to master your science, Marxism-Leninism, so as to bring our working folk a little happiness and prosperity. But how to do this?

I am 38, am pretty well educated, know two languages, English and French, and sometimes write for the local press.

With best wishes,

Yves Moothoo

FROM AYACUCHO, PERU

Dear Editor,

As a philosophy instructor, it is my job to help students master the new philosophy, dialectical and historical materialism, and to combat idealism, which is especially widespread in this country. It poisons the minds of students of religious colleges and Catholic universities, where neo-Thomism

and other decadent idealistic philosophies are taught.

I distribute "Problems of Peace and Socialism" to progressive students. It helps them towards a better understanding of

philosophy and politics and gives them a clearer vision of our socialist future.

With best wishes,
Sincerely,
Juan Arbayza Ramires

JUST OFF THE PRESS

LENIN AND CANADA

His influence on Canadian political life

With appendix of articles and an address by the author

by Tim Buck

Paper \$1.95, Cloth \$5.95

The writings of V. I. Lenin had a profound impact on Canadian political life. This book commemorates his birth centenary, April 22, 1970 and deals with the influence of his ideas in Canada, particularly during the '20s. Of special interest is the treatment given the effect Lenin had on the early Canadian Marxists striving to give direction to the mounting demand for a socialist transformation of Canada. Lenin's views on the theory and practice of seeking such a change in the modern world played a decisive role in the eventual formation of the present-day Communist Party, a party of a new type, dedicated to the scientific socialism. The book traces how, through creative

use of Lenin's germinal thought on imperialism, an objective understanding of the nature of the Canadian economy and state system was made possible—in the first place by Canadian Communists. On this basis Communists pioneered in charting economic and social policies directed against monopoly capital, and were the first to raise in a thoroughgoing way the slogan of Canadian independence against U.S. domination, many years before it became the great national democratic issue it is today. Canada's Communist Party continues to provide the same spirited leadership on this great issue as part of its program for the realization of a socialist Canada.

**Order from Progress Books
487 Adelaide Street West
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PEACE AND SOCIALISM PUBLISHERS

take pleasure in announcing the release of:

Leninism and the Revolutionary Process, Prague, 1970, 390 pp.

This book in the "Marxism Today" series is a collection of contributions and interventions by functionaries and theorists of Communist and Workers' parties at an international conference, "Leninism and Our Time," held on the centenary of the birth of V. I. Lenin in Prague, November 19-21, under the auspices of the journal "Problems of Peace and Socialism" (World Marxist Review). The conference was the first international theoretical forum held since the 1969 Meeting of Communists and Workers' Parties in Moscow.

The collection contains a thorough analysis of Lenin's theoretical legacy, relevant for the present-day revolutionary reconstruction of the world, and examines many of the topical issues of modernity in the light of Lenin's ideas.

Available in Russian, English, Spanish, German and French.

Against Modern Anti-Communism, Prague, 1970, 95 pp.

This pamphlet contains contributions by Central Committee secretaries of the Communist parties of the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia, Canada and Syria at an international conference in Moscow, January 19-23, on the centenary of the birth of Lenin. It reveals the profound influence of Leninism on the social development of the present day and examines the means and methods employed by anti-communism against the socialist countries, the working-class and Communist movement and the forces of national liberation.

Available in Russian, English, Spanish and French.

Los problemas de la integracion economica de America Latina y la clase obrera (The Problems of Latin American Economic Integration and the Working Class), Prague, 1970, 205 pp.

The collection, in Spanish, contains the materials of a round-table conference on the problems of Latin American economic integration, held in Prague, June 16-18, 1969. It examines the social, political and other aspects of the integration processes in the Latin American countries, and furnishes striking evidence of the neo-colonialist orientation of U.S. policy in Latin America. Strong criticism is levelled against the reformist standpoint that economic integration is, ostensibly, a universal way of overcoming backwardness.

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