

WORLD MARXIST REVIEW

**THE BATTLE OF
IDEOLOGIES**
Pages 84 - 92



**BOLIVIA:
NEW PROSPECTS**

L. Padilla

Page 41

**SCIENTIFIC & TECHNICAL
REVOLUTION & SOCIETY**

Pages 57 - 75

**POLITICAL SYSTEM
OF
SOCIALIST COUNTRIES**

(Supplement)

PROBLEMS OF PEACE AND SOCIALISM

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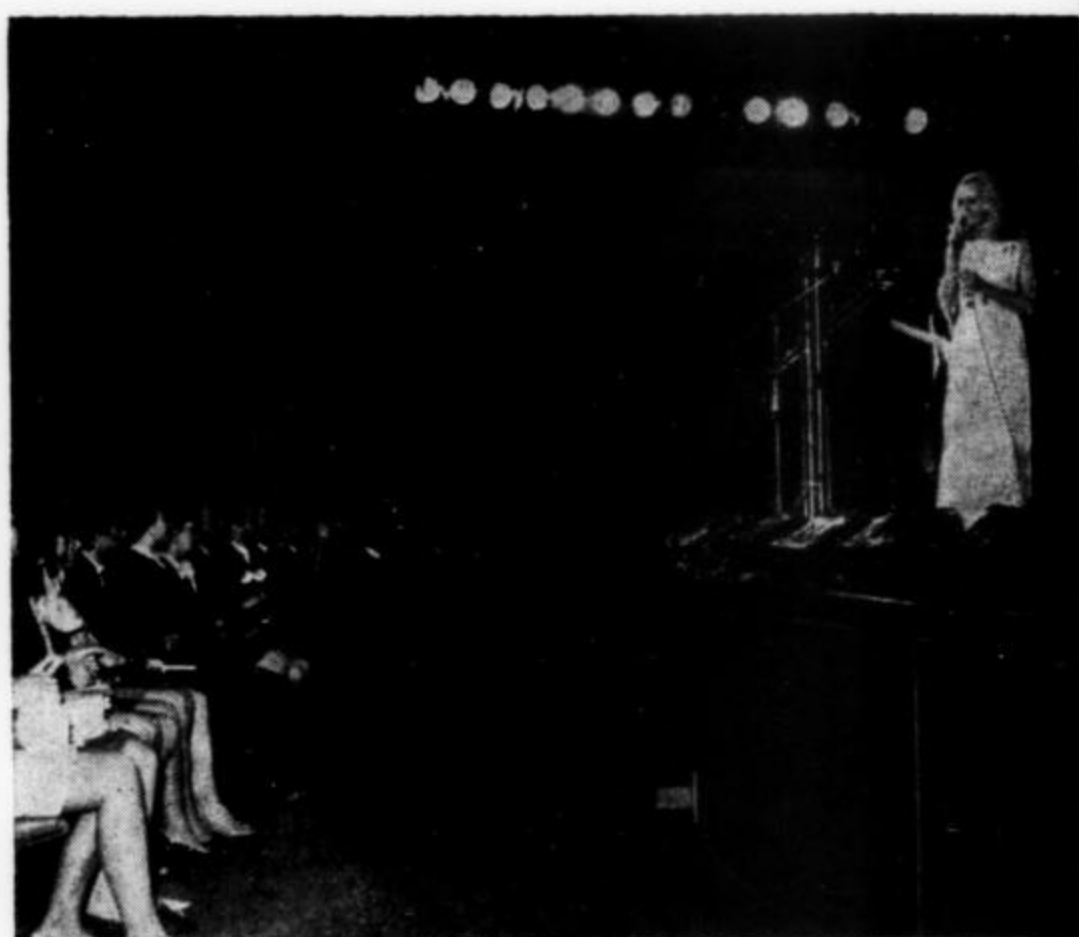
Signing of the Treaty in the Prague Castle.

The Soviet-Czechoslovak Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance entered into force in May. Its Article I says:

"The High Contracting Parties shall, in accordance with the principles of socialist internationalism, continue to fortify the eternal unbreakable friendship of the peoples of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, extend all-round cooperation between the two countries and render each other fraternal aid and support based on mutual respect for state sovereignty and independence, equality and non-interference in each other's internal affairs."



People of Prague welcome conclusion of the Treaty.



Czechoslovak performers entertain Moscow audiences.

Snapped at Czechoslovak-1970 exhibition in Moscow, devoted to the 25th anniversary of Czechoslovakia's liberation by the Soviet Army.



WORKERS OF ALL
COUNTRIES, UNITE!

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CONTENTS

- | | | |
|--|------------|--|
| TS. DAVAGSUREN
J. LABORDE
A. MASYAGIN | 3 | The Party and building the new society |
| V. BILAK | 14 | Time-tested friendship |
| F. MUHRI
K. KNIESTEDT | 18 | In the communist and workers' parties
21st CONGRESS OF CP OF AUSTRIA
COMPOUND OF YOUTH AND REVOLUTIONARY
EXPERIENCE
IN BRIEF
HISTORY OF HUNGARIAN WORKERS' MOVEMENT |
| | 35 | Institute of Marxist Studies
(FRANKFURT-AM-MAIN) |
| Y.R. | 39 | Communications and comment
SOLIDARITY WITH FIGHTING LAOS
BOLIVIA: NEW PROSPECTS FOR STRUGGLE
FATE OF U.S. CIVILIZATION
(Political commentary) |
| B. SUKHAREVSKY | 50 | Socialist world today
OBJECTIVE: SOCIALIST INTEGRATION
(Interview with CMEA official)
PROBLEM OF ECONOMIC INCENTIVES IN
CMEA COUNTRIES |
| S. NOVOSELOV
S. LAURENT
B. CAREY
F. LAGER | 57 | Scientific and technical revolution
and society
SHARPENING SOCIAL CONTRADICTIONS OF
CAPITALISM AND NEW PROBLEMS
CHANGES IN SOCIAL STRATA AND CLASSES
IN DEVELOPED CAPITALIST COUNTRIES
CHANGES IN AUSTRALIAN WORKING CLASS |
| T. OTEGBEYE | 76 | Class battles
NO "CLASS PEACE" IN SWEDEN |
| F. COHEN | 78 | Viewpoints
LENINISM AND AFRICAN REVOLUTION |
| R. STEIGERWALD
J. H. HEISELER
J. D.
G. BATAL
L. BOUHALI
M. HARMEL | 84 | Battle of ideologies
LENIN AND FRENCH COMMUNISTS' STRUGGLE
ON TWO FRONTS
MARXIST SPOTLIGHT ON "FRANKFURT SCHOOL"

"EL MERCURIO" AND "PUNTO FINAL": CASE
OF IDEOLOGICAL CONVERGENCE |
| | 93 | End persecution of communists |
| A. DUBACKI
E. YORGEN
V. F. | 94 | Pages from history
IDEALS THAT ARE STILL VALID (on 50th anniversary
of 2nd Congress of Comintern) |
| | 99 | Books and journals
POLISH REMINISCENCES OF LENIN
FIGHT FOR LENINISM IN CANADA
THE PARTY AND TECHNICAL PROGRESS |
| | 105 | Our mailbag

Supplement
POLITICAL SYSTEM OF CMEA COUNTRIES |

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The Party and building the new society

The Moscow Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties in June 1969 gave fresh impetus to Marxist-Leninist theoretical thought. Not only did it produce a conclusive analysis of the present situation and a program of anti-imperialist action; it also showed the importance of the **method** of the collective democratic approach in agreeing standpoints on topical problems relating to the theory and practice of the revolutionary movement.

The time since the Meeting has been a period of increased activity among fraternal parties, aimed at extending and deepening collective work. The most conspicuous event of the year has been the worldwide celebration of the centenary of V. I. Lenin's birth. There have been regional and numerous bilateral meetings of fraternal parties, and, in line with the Meeting's recommendations, also many international scientific and theoretical conferences.

One of these was the **international symposium, "The Growing Role of Communist Parties in the Revolutionary Process of Building Socialism and Communism,"** held under the auspices of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany in Berlin, June 16-18, in which representatives of 34 Communist and Workers' parties participated, including those of ten socialist countries: Bulgaria, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, the German Democratic Republic, Hungary, Mongolia, Poland, Rumania, and the Soviet Union.

The general interest evoked by the symposium is understandable, for the vanguard role of the working-class Marxist-Leninist parties in the revolutionary reconstruction of society is a cornerstone of scientific communism. Party activity acquires new features in different phases, depending on the concrete conditions and the nature of the priority tasks. The forms and methods of Party guidance change accordingly, with appropriate improvements made in the Party's organizational structure.

The Party's leading role is today the object of an acute ideological struggle on a world scale, the object of diverse speculation by capitalist propaganda and the various Right and Left opportunist trends.

A positive scientific elaboration of the role and place of Communist parties in society, coupled with criticism of hostile and fallacious conceptions, therefore ranks among the main trends in Marxist-Leninist theoretical work and has a crucial bearing on the progress of socialist construction and the activity of all the contingents of the Communist movement.

The review below deals with the key issue raised at the Berlin conference.

In the opening remarks, Comrade Walter Ulbricht, First Secretary of the CC SUPG and Chairman of the GDR State Council, said that the symposium was logically a projection of the extensive ideological and theoretical activity sparked by the Lenin centenary.

"In organizing this symposium," Comrade Ulbricht noted, "we followed the guidelines set down in the Document of

the International Meeting, which said that utilization of the immense advantages implicit in the new social system depends first and foremost on the ability of the ruling Communist and Workers' parties to resolve the problems of socialist development by Marxist-Leninist methods."

Discussed by the symposium were papers by Comrade Erich Honecker, Member of the Political Bureau and Secretary, CC

SUPG, "Implementation by the SUPG of Lenin's Teaching on the Leading Role of the Party in the GDR"; Comrade P. N. Fedoseyev, Member of the CC CPSU and Director of the CC CPSU Institute of Marxism-Leninism, "The Leading Role of the CPSU in Building Communism," and Comrade James Jackson, Member of the Political Committee of the National Committee, CP USA, "What the Leading Role of the Working Class and Its Marxist-Leninist Party in the Socialist Countries Means for the Workers' Struggle in the Developed Capitalist States."

In addition to the general discussions, there were three sections, which discussed the leading role of the Communist Party in (a) state affairs and the field of socialist democracy, (b) the economy, and (c) the ideological and cultural field. In the sections interventions were made by 48 speakers, outlining the experience of their respective parties and examining various aspects of the topic.

SOME GENERAL POINTS

Theory and practice have proved that the emergence, growth and activity of the Communist and Workers' parties is part of the process of history impelled by the objective requirements of social development. "The Great October Socialist Revolution and the process it sparked of the worldwide transition from capitalism to socialism," Comrade Honecker said in his paper, "which has made an imprint on our epoch, proved that the working class and its revolutionary party are the vanguard of mankind in the advance to a happy future."

Speakers agreed that the leading role of the Marxist-Leninist party is a universal necessity in building socialism, a law equally effective in all stages of growth. The latter point is particularly important, because some revisionist theoreticians maintain that the Party's leading role is necessary at some single stage only, say, the stage preceding the revolution. Comrade Fedoseyev demonstrated that these contentions were groundless and damaging. The rich experience of the revolutionary working-class movement, he said, bears out that Communist Party leadership is absolutely essential in the workers' struggle for the socialist revolution, and then in building a socialist and communist society.

Communist parties shape their policy to

suit the vital social, economic and ideological tasks of each specific stage of socialist development. Following the Marxist scientific method, the symposium analyzed the concrete conditions in which the parties act at present and examined the present stage in the socialist countries.

Attention was drawn to the fact that socialist countries are at different stages of building the new society. While some are only laying the foundations for socialism and repulsing imperialist attacks with the support of the fraternal countries, others are building the developed socialist social system, and the working class and people of the USSR, led by the CPSU, are improving their socialist society and laying the material and technical foundations for communism.

Speakers dealt at length with the concept of *developed socialism*, which a number of countries in the socialist world system have set as their aim in the new stage. The main criteria, the discussion revealed, were: a high level of the productive forces coupled with high growth rates; consolidation and development of the socialist relations of production, and of the authority of the state; all-round extension of socialist democracy; uninterrupted development of education; and better living and working conditions for the people. Throughout this process, the socialist ideology and culture sinks deeper roots in all areas of public life.

The far-reaching changes in the economy, the political system, ideology, culture, and the people themselves, it was pointed out, are part of an *all-embracing revolutionary process* which only a Communist Party, a force with revolutionary ideas and revolutionary organizational principles, could successfully direct. Exercising an influence in all public spheres, Comrade D. Nemes, Member of the Political Bureau of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, pointed out, the workers' Marxist-Leninist vanguard directs the activity of the socialist state, works out the country's economic and social policy and provides guidance for the trade unions and other public organizations.

As the Rumanian Communist Party sees it, said Comrade V. Roman, member of the CC RCP, successful solution of the problems of building socialism and communism in the present day, when guidance of society is increasingly becoming a science, requires leadership by a strong working class party. That, he added, is a top prior-

ity and an essential factor in further socialist construction.

Attention was drawn to the fact that in building a developed socialist society and communism, the moulding of new relationships amounted to moulding an *integral system*. "The Communist Party," Comrade K. Baichinsky (Bulgarian CP) stressed, "secures the harmonious development of all elements—the material and technical basis and the political superstructure, the socialist state and the public organizations—and the right kind of relationship between the Party and the state bodies, the proper combination of political and economic and of organizational and ideological work. Experience shows that if any of the links of our social system begin to fall behind, or are displaced, this reflects instantly on its work and effectiveness."

To perform their leading role in the socialist countries, the Communist and Workers' parties must rise to the demands of the times. Only the Party is able to coordinate the different areas of social activity and the different links of the integral socialist system, assuring the desired uninterrupted growth.

It was demonstrated, for example, that with social processes in the socialist countries gaining in velocity and becoming more complicated — due, among other things, to the unfolding scientific and technological revolution — the utmost importance attached to *planning and forecasting*.

"Our experience shows," Honecker said, "that the interaction of the various socialist sub-systems must be effectively controlled. We have been relying on broad, social prognoses in . . . extending our system of planning and assuring the essential links and proportions between the sub-systems in terms of quality, quantity and timing, and in organizing interaction between them in the general framework of the system."

Scientific theoretical substantiation for the measures taken by the Party in exercising its leading role has become much more vital now, and necessitates more vigorous theoretical research. The parties have responded to these needs, but must also bear the responsibility for synthesizing the achievements of science, especially social science, in their policy.

In view of the existence of the socialist world system, speakers stressed, building the new society is increasingly in *international process*, a process with *international*

implications. The parties must therefore harmonize the international and national factors in their policy and thereby secure a steady development of the socialist world system, the world Communist movement and the national liberation struggle.

THE PARTY'S LEADING ROLE IN ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

Capitalist ideologists and some of the revisionist elements who object to the Party's direction of the socialist society are at best prepared to "concede" it the role of one of the "socialist forces" or that of an "ideological factor." The attacks on the leading role of the Party are mounted chiefly in the economic sector. It is averred that the Party's "administrative intervention" hinders the natural course of the economic processes.

Comrade Albert de Coninck, Political Bureau Member of the Communist Party of Belgium, said on this score:

"The power-holding parties cannot define themselves to purely political leadership, and must constantly occupy themselves with economic affairs. For them economic development is of cardinal importance. The impact of the new phenomena generated by the scientific and technological revolution is so great that the Party is continuously compelled to promote new efforts in order that development should not get bogged down. The Party must continuously produce new ideas and orientations, and see to their implementation. That is why the role of the Party cannot be confined to just propaganda and education."

The Party's scientifically-grounded economic direction invigorates the political system of the working class and its allies, assuring the development of the integral socialist system.

Speakers defined the Party's main functions in guiding the economy: working out the strategic direction of economic growth, the forms and methods of economic development, and control over the implementation of the economic policy at all levels in the different sectors, etc.

The parties, it was stressed, had to keep their attention focussed on trends and spheres crucial for the growth of the socialist economic system. High among the priorities is the consolidation and development of *socialist property relations*. "Development of socialist property relations as the core of the socialist relations of

production, the economic basis of socialist society," Comrade Honecker said, "is not reducible to the single act of depriving the exploiting classes of their power. It is something that comes up again and again in our efforts to assure an increasingly fuller use of socialism's economic laws."

One of the tasks of the Party is to solidify and improve the forms of socialist ownership, safeguard the principles on which it is based, and certainly rule out all regression. Comrade L. Pezlar of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia (Member of the Presidium and Secretary of the CC CP of Slovakia), told the symposium how Right-opportunist elements in his country campaigned in 1968 for an enterprise law that would institute enterprise ownership of the means of production. The slogans of "democratization" and calls for making the economic system more effective really masked attempts at disrupting the pillars of the socialist economy.

Referring to Lenin's views on the subject and to the experience of the CPSU, Comrade Fedoseyev said that "attempts to denigrate state ownership or replace it with group ownership amount ultimately to rejection of socialism. Public state ownership is the only possible form for large-scale socialist industry (as long as the state exists). . . . The predominance of state ownership makes property socialist in character even if it is group (cooperative) property."

The prime economic task of today in most of the socialist countries, speakers stressed, was to *make social production more effective through intensive development*. Different ways and means were enumerated, and concrete experience was described. Indicatively, economic reforms, improvements in the economic mechanism and its sub-systems and more effective material and moral incentives are being introduced under the Party's leadership in almost all socialist countries.

Comrade S. Dylbokov, Member of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian CP, outlined the measures his Party has taken in this area in recent years. The course of intensive economic development set by the Ninth Congress of the BCP, he said, has been complemented with Central Committee decisions, particularly the decision on improving the administration of the state taken by the July 1968 CC meeting, the decision on the concentration of production, technico-scientific progress and the new management system by the Septem-

ber 1969 CC meeting, and on the concentration and development of agriculture on an industrial basis by the April 1970 meeting.

The decisive element in economic growth, as Lenin pointed out, is a *struggle for the highest productivity of labor*. With the socialist world system entering a new stage of growth and the general crisis of capitalism growing sharper, speakers pointed out, labor productivity is the crucial issue in the confrontation of the two opposite systems. A rising productivity of labor and the decisive success in the historic contest of the two socio-economic systems can be assured only in the context of the *scientific and technological revolution*, which has a direct bearing on the development of socialist society.

"Integrating the developed socialist society with the scientific and technological revolution," Comrade Fedoseyev pointed out, "opens up boundless opportunities for expanding the productive forces for the benefit of our people."

Speakers agreed that *improved planning* is a basic objective in assuring better economic management. The centralization principle is assuming a new complexion with the independence and initiative of enterprises and organizations becoming more pronounced. The Leninist principles of democratic centralism remain the basis in running the economy.

The plan-or-market dilemma, speakers stressed, is non-existent. Economic development must clearly proceed under centralized guidance on a national scale, which is an incontestable advantage of socialism.

Many speakers criticized the "market socialism" concept. "The Czechoslovak revisionists," Pezlar (Czechoslovakia) pointed out, "conceived the market as the regulator of the socialist economy. State management was identified with bureaucracy and the market mechanism with democracy, and this in the economic, as well as the political context. They ascribed to the market mechanism functions that it does not perform even in highly developed capitalist economies. Meanwhile, our main problem was to adjust our economic structure to the unfolding scientific and technological revolution, which is something only centralized guidance can accomplish and the market mechanism certainly cannot. To be sure, the economic reforms in the socialist countries envisage using the commodity-money relationship, but this strictly in accordance with the main prin-

ciples of the socialist economy, primarily the principle of planned production."

Socialist economic integration is vital these days and depends on the fraternal cooperation of the Marxist-Leninist parties in the socialist countries. This subject was dealt with by Comrade H. Steeger (SUPG) and others.

A variety of problems relating to the Party's direction of the economy was raised at the symposium, with references to the need for scientific substantiation of solutions, bringing Party cadres and state and economic personnel up to date on the latest scientific advances, for learning the art of management and for improvement courses for various brackets of wage-earners.

EXTENSION AND IMPROVEMENT OF SOCIALIST DEMOCRACY

The symposium noted that *extending and improving socialist democracy* in different forms and by different methods was the main trend of the parties' leading role in relation to the state.

The extent of democracy in the socialist countries, speakers emphasized, should never be measured by the yardstick of bourgeois democracy. Socialist democracy, Comrade Fedoseyev said, could not be regarded as a projection of bourgeois democracy. This is entirely untrue, out of line with the class approach, and completely overlooks the class criteria. The proletarian revolution impels a giant advance, with society assuming a new qualitative condition entirely different from its previous state in all respects, and above all politically.

The one-party system in some socialist countries, eternally the target of anti-Communist propaganda is depicted as evidence of the absence of democracy and of the Communist parties' monopolization of power. Responding to these allegations, the symposium also analyzed the available abundance of experience, examining various aspects of the unitarian and pluralistic systems.

The multi-party system as such, speakers pointed out, is certainly no yardstick of the democracy of a political system. In many capitalist states, extolled as models of bourgeois democracy, the multi-party system has been an ideal medium which assures the rule of monopoly capital.

Where the one-party system exists in the socialist countries, it is the result of his-

torical developments, a reflection of prevailing class relationships. Take the experience of the USSR: at first the Left Socialist-Revolutionaries participated in the Soviet government; then they took the road of counter-revolution and thereby committed political suicide.

The multi-party system of many of the socialist countries secures cooperation among different parties working for socialism, with the Marxist-Leninist party playing the leading role. This shows that Communists do not seek a "monopoly" *a priori*. Everything depends on developments at home and abroad.

Participants in the symposium were afforded an excellent opportunity of acquainting themselves with the experience of multi-party cooperation in the German Democratic Republic. Comrade F. Ebert, Member of the Political Bureau, CC SUPG, pointed out that the Socialist Unity Party was, in effect, a compound of two workers' parties—the Communist and the Social-Democratic. The amalgamation, Ebert stressed, was effected on democratic lines (e.g., all the leading bodies of the new party were formed on a parity basis), which has had a beneficial effect on the subsequent activity of the SUPG. Gerald Goetting, Chairman of the Christian-Democratic Union, Manfred Gerlach, Chairman of the Liberal-Democratic Party, Ernst Goldenbaum, Chairman of the Democratic Peasant Party, and Heinrich Homan, Chairman of the National-Democratic Party, all of whom spoke at the symposium, described how members of different parties cooperated at all levels—from the People's Chamber down to the community councils. They pointed out that acceptance of the leading role of the SUPG neither limited nor inhibited their own initiative in matters related to building the socialist society.

These and other contributions revealed the mechanics whereby the ruling party in a socialist country, each with its national and historical peculiarities, determined and coordinated the social interests of the working people, of all strata.

In the socialist countries, extending democracy means *enlisting more working people for active administration of the country and society*. In this process, the Communist Party can effectively perform its revolutionary mission of moulding the people into politically-conscious builders of the new society. This was illustrated by Comrade Honecker with the example of

the 1945 democratic land reform in the GDR. The revolutionary measure was enacted by the people. Thousands of land reform committees were set up, consisting of 21,000 Communists and Social Democrats, about 1,000 members of bourgeois-democratic parties and 30,000 people of no political affiliation, chiefly working peasants, farm laborers and industrial workers, who completed the reform in the fantastically short time of two months despite the bitter resistance of the reactionary forces. In many respects, this also helped to eliminate the tendency to underestimate the working peasants as an important ally of the working class, which was widespread in the German labor movement in the past.

A vital task today, said Comrade Roman, is to extend socialist democracy as part of the progress of the new society. Active and direct participation of working people in framing and implementing policy, frank dialogue between Party and people, whereby the nation is kept informed of the key issues of home and foreign policy, and clear, bold elucidation, without any omissions, of all measures, difficulties and deficiencies—those are the essential aspects of socialist democracy. In substance, this is an important lever in mobilizing the people's inexhaustible wealth of experience, thought and creativity.

It is a sign of the times that various forms of *workers' participation in resolving production problems* are now appearing in the socialist countries. This is of the greatest importance for democracy not only because the economy is the decisive sphere of human activity involving the rock-bottom interests of the working people, but also in connection with far-reaching economic reforms and the unfolding of the scientific and technical revolution.

Speakers told how new management bodies were being set up, with the working people's participation, and described the scale of their participation. For instance, there are 147,000 standing production conferences at plants and state farms in the USSR, involving over 37 million persons. In Rumania, there are management committees to run the enterprises, and administrative councils to direct industrial associations. These are collective management bodies with a working, consultative character. In the GDR, more than 67,000 persons are worker controllers, and more than 140,000 members of standing production conferences.

Country-wide discussions, debates and polls held on key social questions in the various socialist countries are impressive evidence that socialist democracy is gaining in scope and depth, for on various occasions these involve tens of thousands, hundreds of thousands and even millions of people. Comrade D. Nemes said: "Our Party considers it important to hold discussions and exchanges of opinion on experiences and problems in socialist construction as serving the cause of socialism. We have had fruitful discussions, for instance, on the experience in economic management, its principles and practical aspects, the relationship between plan and market, the further development of the socialist planned economy and its system of management. There was also an extensively thought-out inquiry into and a discussion of the question of improving the organization and direction of scientific life, and intensifying the relations between scientific research and production. Discussions of problems in the development of our society are highly important for the country and the Party. In addition, it is generally known that this is not only an internal need for the individual parties. There is a constantly growing need throughout the socialist world and the international Communist movement for joint discussion of especially important common tasks and common problems of the Communist movement."

It was said at the symposium that fundamental importance attached, for instance, to the discussion of the GDR's socialist Constitution, in which representatives of all classes and sections had taken part, and which had led up to a nationwide poll. On the strength of 12,454 proposals from the working people, 118 changes were made in the draft Constitution.

Among the most important lines in the development of socialist democracy, speakers said, is *enhancement of the role and significance of the legislative and executive organs of power*, and continued perfection of their functioning under the Communist Party's leadership.

Comrade E. Hutira (RCP), for instance, observed that as the state evolves there is a natural growth in the role of the representative organs as a general tendency of democracy to gain in depth. An RCP National Conference approved a set of measures to improve the work of the Grand National Assembly, develop its legislative activity, enhance the role of deputies and

standing committees in discussing and passing into law important normative acts.

Speakers dealt with the question of how best to arrange relations between Party and state organs, and mass organizations, it being stressed that this required particular flexibility and tact. Comrade D. Nemes, in particular, shared the following considerations: "Our experience of two decades has convinced us that the councils tend to be weakened when the Party exercises its leadership by administrative fiat, which was widely practised before 1956, whereas Communist leadership based on principled political persuasion, with a correct understanding of the state role and social importance of the councils, helps to strengthen them as organs of power and administration, and enhances their responsibility, and readiness to display constructive initiative."

Among the many other aspects dealt with were: development and consolidation of the socialist state, the role of the working class, direction of mass organizations, the work of Communists in state organs, and training the masses in administrative skills.

IDEOLOGY AND CULTURE

Much attention was given to the problems of Party direction in the sphere of ideology and culture, where a crucial battle is now going on for man and his outlook.

Comrade Honecker said: "It has been confirmed that only a revolutionary party—a vehicle of Marxism-Leninism, the most progressive science—can consciously direct the development of socialist society and the socialist individual. Our Party has always warned against petty-bourgeois 'theories,' now once again being served up by the revisionists, that social consciousness, the socialist cast of mind and conduct spring spontaneously from socialist relations of production. Even today, the socialist class consciousness, scientific socialism, need to be brought into the midst of the working class, into the various sections of the working people through systematic Party work in touch with life."

Speakers cited many examples and facts to give a picture of man in socialist society today, something that figures alone cannot show. But there is no doubt at all that in the socialist states millions upon millions of men and women have under the leadership of the Communist parties

acquired skills in administration, and have come to realize that they are masters of their own country; they display a high sense of awareness, activity and enthusiasm in building the new life. It was noted that major changes have been taking place within the working class, the leading force of socialist society. Because of the introduction of new technology, workers' skills have been rising; they have had to do more work by brain, and to raise their educational level. There are similar changes among other sections of the working people.

The moulding of the spiritual cast of socialist society and its members demands that the Party exert a constant and active influence in the sphere of ideology, science, education, culture and propaganda. This latter sphere of activity, said Comrade T. Wrebiak (PUWP), is especially important, and we attach vast importance to it. The task of moulding the social consciousness in the spirit of socialist ideals is a very difficult one and involves a break-up of the old outlook, which has taken shape over many decades, and the ideological notions deeply established under the old class system. Its fulfilment calls for long and patient educational effort and the application of a whole system of effective measures.

In the struggle against the survivals of the past in the minds of the working people, the Communist parties have to carry on painstaking and frequently differentiated ideological educational work. Comrade B. Ligu (MPRP), for example, said: to conduct its successful ideological work among the masses, the Party has had to solve the problem of eliminating the domination of Lamaism, which relied on the wholesale practice of religion by the people in order to distract them from the struggle for the new life, and which opposed the measures taken by the Party and the government; thanks to the flexible and consistent policy and cultural work, the Lamaist clergy suffered an organizational and ideological defeat.

Another problem considered at the symposium was whether all the shortcomings and negative phenomena in the life of socialist society could and should be qualified as survivals of the past. The report by Comrade Fedoseyev expressed this view: "Our experience shows that even after the victory of socialism there remains the task of combating expressions of alien views and morals. It is frequently said that

the negative phenomena in our reality after fifty years of the Soviet power cannot be regarded as survivals of capitalism. In this connection let me say that we do not take this oversimplified view of the processes of our development. . . . We do not close our eyes to the fact that various superstitions and wrong-doings by individuals may arise from the difficulties in their lives, problems of everyday living, the grave consequences and traumatic experiences of the last war, failures and sorrows in their personal lives, and so on. But objective conditions or even the principles of socialism should not be blamed for unseemly conduct by individuals. Hostile views and morals are connected not with the principles of socialism but with their distortion."

The Communist parties' ideological work proceeds in conditions of struggle between the two socio-economic systems. Wherever imperialism does not resort to outright aggression, it seeks to influence socialism and erode it through the sphere of ideas, through society's spiritual life. Speakers at the symposium stressed the importance in this connection of defining the weapons used by our adversaries.

The bourgeoisie, said member of the Politburo of the CC, Communist Party of Ceylon, Comrade H. G. S. Ratnaweera, no longer uses the old, gross methods of ideological assault. It has been improving its methods. This change of weapons demands that we intensify our ideological struggle both within the movement and among the masses.

Ultimately, the efforts of imperialist propaganda and its accomplices among the revisionist and nationalistic elements are concentrated on undermining the Party's leading role. A full-scale characteristic of this purposeful subversive ideological activity was given by Comrade D. Nemes. From one angle, the tactics of bourgeois propaganda, he said, reflect its ideological weaknesses and also its political flexibility. Although bourgeois ideologists frequently extol the economic and technical successes of the developed capitalist countries, they nevertheless avoid taking an open stand against socialism when addressing the supporters of socialism. That is why they preach "modernization" of the socialist system, to leave no place for the dictatorship of the proletariat, socialist economic planning, the socialist countries' cohesion, and so on and so forth. One special feature of bourgeois propaganda is that it has been trying to revive the survivals of bourgeois

and petty-bourgeois views and—need one say—nationalism, especially its anti-Soviet variety. It has been seeking to revive petty-bourgeois ideas about a "socialism" without the dictatorship of the proletariat, flattering the intellectualist circles who contest the political leadership of the working class, and trying to range these circles against the Communist Party.

Representatives of the Communist party stressed that *revisionism* was one of the main dangers in the sphere of ideology. It had to be fought constantly and with high competence. Revisionism not only reflects the pressure of the bourgeoisie on the political thinking of the proletariat but also frequently gives a distorted and twisted explanation of the urgent problems of current development whenever the Communist parties are late with the answers.

Comrade T. Wrebiak (PUWP) devoted his speech to an analysis of the struggle against revisionism, which the PUWP has carried out over the last few years. Two conclusions flow from the results of this struggle, he said. The first of these may be expressed in the form of this thesis: consistent ideological struggle against any deviation from the principles of Marxist-Leninist theory is the condition for consolidating the leading role of the working-class Party in the process of socialist construction. It is necessary to overcome dogmatism, but it is especially and above all necessary to fight again revisionism, which in our conditions is the main threat in the ideological sphere and plays the part of conductor of ideological influence from the capitalism system.

However, on the other hand, there is need for creative development of Marxist theory, a continued analysis of reality and generalization of the results of this research. Without creative development of Marxist thinking and simultaneous application of its achievements to practical revolutionary activity, the fight against any deviations from Marxism-Leninism, the fight against alien or hostile views, cannot be fully successful and is bound to come up against difficulties.

The other way of imperialism's ideological subversions, it was said at the symposium, is the fanning of *nationalism*, as the most reliable means, the bourgeois ideologists believe, of subverting the unity of the socialist countries and the Communist movement.

Literature and the arts have a special

part to play in creating the spiritual prerequisites of socialism and communism, and in fostering the new man. Participants in the symposium told about their parties' stand in this sphere of ideology, and shared their parties' experience in influencing it.

Literature and art have their own specifics and there is no doubt that the approach to them must be flexible and based on a knowledge of the subject. Nevertheless, said Comrade K. Baichinsky, "the specifics of creative work in art do not invalidate the axiom that it is impossible to establish a socialist system if one of its main component parts—ideological means of influence, scientific and cultural institutions, the press and literature—are outside the Party's ideological guidance. At one time, some members of fraternal parties believed that once socialism triumphs, once the Party has the support of the working class, once it has set up the state apparatus, complete freedom and equality may be given in cultural institutions, the press and literature alike, to Marxists and non-Marxists, supporters of the socialist system and its adversaries, men who are aware of their social duty, and rabid individualists, for whom their personal opinion is the main criterion of the truth. The events in Czechoslovakia and the chaotic signs in ideological and cultural life have proved to be a harsh lesson."

Comrade Baichinsky then went on to criticize those who thought that any guidance of literature and art on the part of the Communist Party was incompetent, that any defense of definite principles in the sphere of creative art verged on dogmatism, that any criticism of abstractionism, modernism and non-Marxist theories in aesthetics was an encroachment on artistic freedom. The speaker said: "Our modest practice in guiding literature, art and culture has completely refuted these views. The BCP has always seen the Party's guidance of literature and art as ideological and political guidance, and never as administrative pressure or petty tutelage of artists and writers."

Speakers at the symposium told about the experience of the Communist parties in directing the various sectors of the ideological front, including public education, science, the press, and the dissemination of Marxist-Leninist knowledge. There was constant emphasis on the idea that ideology is a truly militant sector whose importance it is hard to overrate.

THE PARTY: NEW DEMANDS

The reports and speeches gave a detailed description of the features of the new situation in which the Communist parties now have to work. All participants in the symposium were unanimous in bringing out one condition as being absolutely necessary for success: the need for the Party itself to take timely account of the new demands, to reorganize its activity accordingly, make changes in its organizational structure, in the training of its cadres, and so on.

A specific feature of the present stage of the parties' development is the need to rely increasingly on science in working out their policy, so as to have all Party activity rest on *scientific principles*.

"We see it as a main task," said Comrade Honecker, "to have the whole process of Party guidance and direction, starting from scientific analysis, through the prognostication and adoption of decisions, to their implementation, organized as a coherent system and as a single process. In accordance with the principle of democratic centralism, the responsibility of each sphere of direction is precisely defined, so that all Party, state and economic organs are capable, with operational independence, consistency and a high level of effectiveness, of implementing the Central Committee's decisions in their sphere of responsibility. On the basis of Marxism-Leninism there is intensive application in Party work of modern methods and techniques of direction, new methods of information and analysis of public opinion, electronic processing of data, and the use of cybernetics, pedagogics, psychology and sociology."

The scientific approach to Party work increasingly determines the activity of Party organizations. This was dealt with, in particular, by Comrade M. Khaldeyev (CPSU). Diverse Party and political information, he stressed, which runs through various channels from top to bottom and from bottom to top has always played an important part in Party life. Lenin used to say that the state is strong only when the masses know everything, are able to judge everything, and do everything consciously. At the same time he emphasized that the Party had need of objective and comprehensive information, as otherwise it had "no eyes, no ears, no hands." In the last few years, the Party committees have done a great deal to improve Party information.

Participants in the symposium told how Party cadres were now being trained, what new institutes were being set up by the parties, and how scientific methods were used. For instance, a number of institutes has been set up in the Soviet Union, among them those dealing with concrete social research and information in the social sciences. Many regional, city and district Party committees have social research institutes, laboratories, and groups operating as a public service. The Bulgarian Academy of Sciences has set up an Institute for Research into Modern Social Theories, whose task is to study present-day anti-communism and bourgeois social conceptions, and to arrange for their scientific criticism in depth. An Academy has been established to train cadres in the administration of society in three main sectors—the economy, ideological and cultural life, and Party and mass organizations. In Rumania there is an Academy of Social and Political Sciences working directly under the guidance of the Party's Central Committee.

At present, the Communist parties' role and authority in the socialist countries are high, and there is a great influx into the Party. Under the impact of social changes in society and the scientific and technical revolution there is a change in the class structure of the population, and the people's moral and political unity is being further consolidated. However, none of this does away with the question of the Party's *social make-up*, which is still on the order of the day. As it absorbs into its ranks the best representatives of every section of the working people, the Party must be primarily strengthened by the working class. This should be constantly borne in mind, many speakers emphasized. Many concrete examples were given. In the CPSU, the number of workers among those admitted to candidate-members as a whole was the highest in 37 years—almost 54 per cent, and in 36 industrialized regions from 60 to 72 per cent. After the SUPG's Seventh Congress (1967), 229,000 persons were admitted as candidate-members, with 70 per cent of them workers.

As at any previous stage, it is a task of the Communist parties in the present period to keep their ranks pure, and to be sure of their strength at any complicated moment. At present, the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia is taking special measures to consolidate its ranks.

The question about the solidity of Com-

munist Party ranks was raised in his speech by Comrade Nemes, who said: "The Communist Party purges its ranks of vacillating elements and even more so of traitors. But that is not only an organizational question; it implies principled struggle not only on a local but once again on a broad scale. . . . There may be renegades in any Party. Garaudy turned out to be among them. His "boundless realism" has turned out to be "boundless slander," boundless anti-Party attacks. . . . The FCP has expelled him from its ranks. And that was not just an organizational measure accompanied by a declarative statement, but evidence of principled struggle, which the French comrades conducted with convincing argumentation against Garaudy's views and political conduct."

The Communist Parties are the militant vanguard of the working people in building the new society, in the revolutionary transformation of the world, and they will successfully fulfil the tasks they set themselves if they creatively develop Marxist-Leninist theory, make a critical evaluation of their activity, constantly taking account of the demand of the times, strengthening their links with the masses, improving the forms and methods of their work and organizational structure, and cementing the solidity of their ranks. That is the conclusion to be drawn from the reports and speeches at the international scientific symposium.

USEFUL MEETING

Representatives of 24 Communist and Workers' parties of capitalist countries took part in the work of the symposium. They told of their parties' struggle for the vanguard role in the working class and society, stressing the great importance of the successes, the experience and the example of the socialist countries. Comrade James Jackson said in his report that each success scored by the Communist parties in guiding the working people of the socialist countries which leads to fresh achievements in the economic and cultural construction of the new society increases the strength of socialism and the working class, which is in power, so that the workers in the capitalist countries are convinced of the vitality of the socialist alternative as compared with the domination of the monopolists.

The Communist parties need to pool their efforts in the fight against the ideological

drive by imperialism. Special tasks fall to the Communist parties of the socialist countries. We put a high value, said Comrade J. Posada, member of the Executive Committee of the CC, Communist Party of Colombia, on the great work being done by the ruling Communist parties in the sphere of ideology and culture, in the further development of Marxism-Leninism, in the uncompromising defense of the great principles which Lenin bequeathed to us.

Speakers at the symposium stressed the need for close and constant solidarity between all the Communist parties. Thus, the representative of the South-African Communist Party, said: "Our Party belongs to the family of the international proletariat; we have always been convinced that no Party will secure victory in the struggle if it fights alone; this is especially evident today—in face of the most acute attacks by imperialism in the international arena. In the spirit of proletarian internationalism, we feel ourselves closely linked with the struggle of our brothers in Vietnam and the struggle of other peoples against the enemies of the working class; the spirit of internationalism unites us with

the fraternal parties in the socialist countries. The spirit of internationalism helps us to understand why the unity of the Communist and Workers' parties is so vital today for all mankind."

The representatives of the Communist and Workers' parties present in Berlin noted that the symposium was useful and instructive, the atmosphere friendly, and the methods of organization and work completely democratic.

In discussing the important theoretical and practical questions of the Party's leading role, the participants in the symposium helped to bring out the new elements and to define the problems whose elaboration is especially necessary. All this creates a basis for further joint theoretical endeavor. The scientific symposium in Berlin, like other similar meetings, helps Communists to develop the creative spirit in their theoretical work, and to seek correct answers for all the complicated problems of the day.

Ts. DAVAGSUREN
J. LABORDE
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Time-tested friendship

(On signing of the new Czechoslovak-Soviet Treaty)

VASIL BILAK

May 6, 1970, when the third Czechoslovakian-Soviet Treaty was signed in the Vladislav Hall of the Prague Hrad, is a momentous day in the 50-year history of the Czechoslovakian state.

The important thing is not how many treaties are signed within a given space of time, but the stages of development and the purposes for which they are signed. It is well known that bourgeois Czechoslovakia concluded a treaty with the Soviet Union only in her 17th year. The Czechoslovakian bourgeoisie, always pro-Western, was forced to sign that treaty under the pressure of definite objective and subjective factors.

Among the former was the drive by German imperialism and its growing aggressiveness. The Western allies were gradually letting Hitler fascism take over Czechoslovakia. They had no interest in ensuring our country's security, and from the outset strove to turn Nazi Germany into a striking force against the first socialist state, the USSR, which is why they gave Hitler every support and encouraged his aggressive aspirations, in an effort to channel them eastwards. For that purpose they used the growing fascist nationalist movement in the so-called Sudetenland, headed by Henlein, and also the Ludak and Eszterhazy movement in Slovakia, and the Fencik, Brodiov and Volosin movement in the Transcarpathian Ukraine. That was how the alignment of internal and external reactionary forces was created. The truth is that these acts did not much worry the Czechoslovakian bourgeoisie, which was flirting with German Big Business, and which was hoping to have its concessions repaid by definite aid in penetrating into the world market and strengthening its positions there.

However, the crucial role was played by the subjective factor—the will of the working class and the Communist Party, which from its inception fought not only for recognition of the Soviet Union but also for rapprochement, cooperation and friendship with it.

The Communists were expressing the desire of the majority of the Czechoslovakian working people, who saw the Soviet Union as a guarantee of the security of our state, and the Soviet people as their class brothers.

In view of all this we are right in considering the conclusion of the 1935 Czechoslovakian-Soviet Treaty a major victory for the working class, led by the CPC. We say it is a major victory not only because Czechoslovakia was among the last few states to recognize the USSR and to conclude a treaty with it, but also because the threat of aggression was mounting virtually from day to day.

History has left a lasting mark of disgrace on the policy of the bourgeois government of the day. The fact is that it had made the fulfilment of the treaty, above all that vital part of it which related to the Soviet Union's military assistance in the event of an attack on the republic, contingent on France's fulfilment of her obligations, a visual illustration of the Czechoslovakian bourgeoisie's irresponsibility over the defense of the security of the state.

Despite the hypocrisy of the Czechoslovakian bourgeoisie the Soviet Union was, it will be recalled, prepared fully to do its duty when Czechoslovakia faced a direct threat in 1938, although this entailed considerable risk for itself. The Soviet people were aware that they would be fighting for security and peace in Europe, for the Czechoslovakian working class, and for all

the working people of Czechoslovakia, who throughout the existence of their republic had never abandoned the idea of establishing a state system that was fair in national and social terms. The Soviet Union was a country for which our working people had always felt the greatest trust and sympathy, above all because it was building, and had built, a just socialist society.

The Czechoslovakian bourgeoisie saw the main danger in the USSR's readiness to fulfil its obligations, for it feared socialism as a mortal threat, which is why it preferred to betray its people, and to abolish the Czechoslovakian state.

Czechoslovakia's Western allies naturally did not condemn this kind of orientation, and gave it tacit approval. The first Czechoslovakian-Soviet Treaty, which our working people saw as the guarantee of salvation for their state from Nazism, assistance in the struggle against it, and a basis for the further development of Czechoslovakian-Soviet cooperation, remained unrealized through the fault of the national bourgeoisie.

The war, the dismemberment of the Czechoslovakian Republic, the USSR's refusal to recognize Munich—all this merely intensified the working people's urge to look to the Soviet Union and to closely cooperate with it. Only the USSR's assistance gave hope of liberation from the fascist occupation. The working people's massive discontent in the protectorate and the clerical-fascist Slovakian state, especially the situation at the fronts, which showed that freedom would come from the East, made the then President Eduard Benes start negotiations with Soviet representatives and sign the second Czechoslovakian-Soviet Treaty of Friendship and Postwar Cooperation in Moscow on December 12, 1943. The logic of history is inexorable. Eight years after the signing of the first Treaty the self-same Benes was forced to sign another one. However, in contravention of this document and despite the experience of more than 20 years in alliance with the Western states, he not only harbored the idea of restoring the Western-oriented bourgeois-democratic republic, but even took concrete steps towards that end. Thus, in 1943, as in 1935, he had never had any real intention of honestly fulfilling the treaty commitments.

In contrast to Benes and the bourgeoisie, the people of Czechoslovakia once again welcomed the Czechoslovakian-Soviet trea-

ty and were fully determined to stand up for all its provisions against any attempts to violate them. At the same time, they were prepared to start building a new, socialist republic.

Although the 1943 Treaty was concluded during the decisive operations of the Second World War it provided for postwar cooperation. It already contained the conditions making for a successful struggle to turn the republic into a socialist one. The conclusion of the Treaty multiplied the forces of the internal resistance to fascism, promoted the growth of partisan groups and preparation of the Slovak national uprising and other armed action, including the Prague uprising. The Treaty ensured Czechoslovakia's security against fresh attempts at aggression on the part of Germany or other imperialist states.

Our country's liberation by the Soviet Army added to the importance and role of the Treaty, of which the working people of Czechoslovakia, led by the CPC, became the guarantor. Klement Gottwald said in his speech over Radio Moscow on December 26, 1943: "The Moscow Treaty of December 12, 1943, lays a sound and unbreakable foundation for our future national and state life. This Treaty releases our peoples from the heaviest burden they have had to bear over the centuries: fear for their very survival. This Treaty gives us a sound foundation but it is up to us to raise the edifice in which we ourselves and those who come after us will live" (Klement Gottwald, *Selected Works*, Vol. 2, pp. 42-43).

The anti-fascist struggle, in which broad sections of the Czech and Slovak peoples took part, was the guarantee that the new republic would be a people's state, relying in its foreign policy on the USSR above all.

The last 25 years have confirmed that our postwar foreign-policy orientation was right. As early as the 1947-48 period, our peoples saw evidence of the USSR's selfless assistance, as it helped us to overcome the after-effects of a crop failure and the resultant food shortages by supplying us with grain and foodstuffs, despite the fact that after the war it had its own wounds to heal. Czechoslovakian-Soviet trade links reliably guaranteed the marketing of Czechoslovakia's manufactures, thereby promoting her high rate of development. From the Soviet Union, world's largest raw material base, came a steady supply of raw materials and fuel for the Czechoslovakian economy.

The alliance with the USSR protected Czechoslovakia against political and economic upheavals through the 25 years the Treaty was in force. Relations between our countries were based on the principles of socialist internationalism, consistently applied in political, economic and military cooperation. That is the light in which we assess the assistance of the USSR and other socialist countries given us in August 1968. Despite the moves by internal and external reaction, the Czechoslovakian people are gradually coming to understand that the entry of allied troops into Czechoslovakia was right and necessary.

The third Czechoslovakian-Soviet Treaty was signed on May 6, 1970, on the eve of the festivities, as the peoples of the world were preparing to mark the 25th anniversary of the victory over fascism. That day will go down in the history of our state for all time.

Over the last quarter century vast changes have taken place in the socialist countries and throughout the world. The USSR, the main force of revolutionary development in the world, has become a factor exerting an ever more decisive influence on the course of world events. The Soviet government's peaceable policy, the internationalist principles of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, its assistance to the national liberation movement, and the Soviet Union's fine tradition of honoring its obligations command great prestige throughout the world.

Czechoslovakia is not what she was 25 years ago. Among the most important changes are above all the victorious completion in 1948 of the struggle for a socialist republic, and the working-class takeover under the leadership of the CPC. Since 1938, the country's industrial production has increased sixfold. Once-backward Slovakia has made especially great economic and cultural strides. Despite the various mistakes and friction, Czech-Slovakian cooperation has been consolidated, and the Czechoslovakian state has been further developed, culminating in the establishment of a Federal Republic, which creates conditions for fully implementing the Leninist principles in solving the nationalities question.

The emergence of the world socialist system, the decisive force in the anti-imperialist struggle, was a factor of great importance, which changed the entire international situation. The international

working-class and Communist movement has scored great successes.

It was the objective changes over the quarter century that created the need for the new Czechoslovakian-Soviet Treaty.

Preparation of the new Treaty was started late last year, after a Czechoslovakian Party and Government delegation visited the Soviet Union. Aware of the importance of stronger positions for socialism in Czechoslovakia and her closer friendship with the USSR, bourgeois propaganda launched an extensive hostile campaign, and this has now been joined by the counter-revolutionary émigrés.

The enemies of true socialism, having been defeated at home, fled to the West, there to continue heaping slanders on socialism, the Soviet Union and the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia. Many of these men have tried to forget that for long years they had themselves been members of our Party, and had held senior Party and state posts. Our people first had a taste of the counter-revolutionary emigration back in 1948. The common banner of that old emigration and of the new one of 1968 is hatred for the Soviet Union, for socialism and communism. Like the old ones, the new émigré counter-revolutionaries are well aware that they cannot win, which is why they have been trying by every means, propaganda above all, to prevent our people from leading a normal life, if they can do no more, and to sow doubt, pessimism and discontent in the minds of those who vacillate.

However, these are futile efforts. No one will ever succeed in diverting the people of Czechoslovakia from the socialist path. Nor will any one succeed in preventing our society from normalizing its economic and political life.

Looking at the specific features of the Treaty we must note that it is a specimen of international agreements entirely based on the principles of socialist internationalism and consideration for the interests of the working people in both countries. It helps to consolidate Czechoslovakia's international position and is a sound guarantee of her security and sovereignty. It opens up broad opportunities for her economic development and a further deepening of the fraternal cooperation between Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union.

Addressing the ceremonial meeting of the CPC Central Committee on May 7, 1970, to mark the 25th anniversary of Czechoslo-

vakia's liberation by the Soviet Army, Comrade Gustav Husak, First Secretary of the CPC Central Committee, said: "The Treaty which we have signed fully reflects the changes that have taken place in the world over the last quarter century; it reflects the consolidation of the positions of socialism in the world, and the higher level of Czechoslovakian-Soviet relations."

"The text of the Treaty meets the principles of proletarian internationalism, which create relations of a new type between the socialist states. Every word of this document testifies that we are aware of our great responsibility for the results of our joint effort in building, developing and defending socialism. In this Treaty we proceed from the letter and spirit of the Bratislava Declaration of August 3, 1968, which said that support, consolidation and defense of socialist gains achieved through each country's heroic effort and selfless work are the common internationalist duty of all the socialist countries."

Together with the other bilateral and multilateral agreements between the fraternal countries, together with the Warsaw Treaty, the new Treaty will help to strengthen the whole world socialist community and ensure its security.

It is no exaggeration to say that the new Czechoslovakian-Soviet Treaty is also of exceptional importance for the whole international working-class and Communist movement. For the Communist parties in the West, for broad sections of working people, it is a weapon in the fight against anti-Czechoslovakian and anti-Soviet propaganda. The Treaty provides irrefutable evidence that both partners are determined to build their relations on all-round co-operation, equality and mutual assistance.

This was well put by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev at a meeting in the Prague Hrad on May 6, 1970, when he said: "Years and

decades later our Treaty will continue to try to serve the interests of the Soviet and Czechoslovakian peoples, and the great cause of peace and socialism . . . Our Treaty is direct heir to that unwritten but real fraternal alliance which has always existed between the Soviet and Czechoslovakian Communists, between the working class of our countries."

By signing the new Treaty the CPC leadership and the Czechoslovakian Government have clearly shown that our orientation towards the Soviet Union is final. No efforts by Right-opportunist and revisionist forces can change it. We know that our class enemies will continue their attacks on the Czechoslovakian-Soviet Treaty. We do not find this surprising, for it merely shows that we have signed a really good and useful Treaty. That is why we shall do our best to have it fulfil its task.

The Treaty is of great importance for consolidating the whole system of European security. It is a reliable barrier to West German revanchism, which has been trying to realize the dreams of the West German neo-Nazi party, and annex territories belonging to the GDR, the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia and other countries, so as to re-establish the "Great Germany."

Unfortunately, even 25 years after the war there are forces which, far from accepting the results of the Second World War, are in fact actively planning and preaching a policy of revenge.

Not only Czechoslovakia, but every other peace-loving state must take the necessary measures against such a policy. Our action in this sphere, our concern for Czechoslovakian security, and the joint defense of our socialist gains are clearly expressed in the Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance between Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union, which was signed on May 6, 1970.

Twenty-first congress of Communist Party of Austria

FRANZ MUHRI

The Twenty-First Congress of the Communist Party, held in Vienna from May 28 to 30, 1970, was called ahead of schedule for two reasons: on the one hand, after the elections to the National Council on March 1, a new political situation had taken shape in the country which had to be analyzed and to which we had to determine our attitude. On the other hand—and this is the main reason—the crisis within the Party had been further aggravated last autumn. The Congress was faced with the task of discussing the situation and taking resolute measures to overcome the crisis. The course and outcome of the Congress show that both these tasks were fulfilled.

NEW INTERNAL POLITICAL SITUATION

At the March elections to the National Council, the Austrian Peoples' Party (APP), the party of the Austrian bourgeoisie, suffered a defeat when it lost its absolute majority on the Council. The Socialist Party of Austria (SPA) scored a major success and became the strongest party in parliament, although it failed to obtain an absolute majority of the seats. At present, the SPA has 81 seats, the APP, 79, and the Austrian Party of Freedom (APF, a Right-wing radical party uniting Austrians of German stock), five. The results of the election reflect the discontent among broad sections of the population with the results of the APP Government's policy over the last four years. The talks on the formation

of a coalition government of the two major parties produced no results. The outcome was the formation of a minority Socialist government, with Dr. Bruno Kreisky as Federal Chancellor. For the first time in its history the country has an SPA government. The workers welcomed the defeat of the APP, and many working people pin some hopes on the new government.

In its program the Kreisky Government promises to carry out a number of measures which we Communists have been supporting for a long time. However, on the whole it has been suggesting reforms within the framework of the existing capitalist social system, and largely also reforms which are to consolidate capitalism. Thus, for instance, it has promised in the most general terms to take measures against the high cost of living, but nothing has been done to impinge on the private capitalist economy, which keeps producing the price spiral. The government has also spoken of a tax reform, but the working people are in fact made to shoulder a growing tax burden, without the government having any intention of changing anything in the class character of the capitalist tax policy.

Economic policy is a prominent item of the government's program. The Kreisky Government has promised to pursue an active line on industry to prevent any further lag behind the other industrialized states. The government proposes to take some incentive measures to consolidate national and foreign big capital. The govern-

ment wants "equal coexistence" of the nationalized and private sectors of the economy. However, its industrial policy has not involved any strengthening of nationalized industry or elimination of the growing influence of big capital in the administration and management of the nationalized enterprises, and the latter are being increasingly subordinated to capitalist relations. Consequently, the fact that Socialists are in the government has made no difference to the capitalist character of the various forms of state intervention in the economy.

The second characteristic feature of the Kreisky Government's policy is a negative attitude to extra-parliamentary action by the working people. It is also based on the idea of social partnership, which implies rejection of reliance on the working-class forces, notably the trade unions, while the bourgeoisie, with its economic and political power, has been exerting steady pressure on the government and parliament through extra-parliamentary action.

In the foreign policy sphere the government has taken a downright crawling posture towards West German and U.S. imperialism. It has approved the idea of calling a conference of states on European security issues but has failed to give any active support or to show any initiative in helping to convene such a conference and make it a success. It has been totally silent on the danger posed by West German imperialism to Austria's neutrality and independence, and to peace. Federal Chancellor Kreisky has not even thought it necessary to have his government and parliament come out against the U.S. aggression in Indochina. This is closely connected with an increasingly anti-communist policy spearheaded against our Party and the socialist countries.

That is why the Twenty-First Congress of the CPA said that while the fact that there is now an SPA government in place of the APP government is a new element, it does not signify any transfer of power from one class to another. Its resolution on the political situation in Austria and the Party's tasks says: "The transfer of the government leadership to the SPA, which is linked in a social partnership with big capital, is no socio-political alternative to the existing system."

There are many signs that in this new internal political situation political clashes are bound to increase. Nor is an early election to the National Council impossible.

On the strength of its analysis and assessment of the political situation, the Twenty-First Congress set the Austrian Communists the following tasks:

1) To intensify the principled criticism of the SPA leadership's opportunist policy, mustering facts to show that under its line even another electoral victory for the SPA and its winning of an absolute majority in parliament would not mean any radical changes in favor of the working people.

2) Consistently to continue the struggle against the bourgeois parties, against the APP and the APF, which, acting as opposition parties, do not shun any demagogic means.

3) "To stand up as an independent force for the working people's demands and interests, to give a lead to the broadest possible sections in joint action for their demands, and to enhance their political awareness in the fight for these demands."

In this context, it is especially important to work to secure effective measures against the high cost of living, a radical reform of the income tax, a democratic reform of education, improvement and democratization of management in nationalized industry, more extensive housing construction with reasonable rent, and an active policy on wages and social security. The point is that we have linked up these demands with a drive for democratic control and participation by white and blue-collar workers in the management of the economy, politics, and building, and their right to have the use of the mass media. One of the essential tasks before our Party is to intensify public pressure on the government and parliament to make them conduct an active policy of neutrality and peace, establishing diplomatic relations with the GDR, supporting initiatives for solving the European security problem, and demanding the withdrawal of U.S. troops from Vietnam and the whole of Indochina.

4) Constantly to urge that the solution of all these problems and tasks demands a strengthening of the Communist Party, which, despite its difficult problems and weaknesses, is the only party of the Left in Austria.

FOR THE PARTY'S IDEOLOGICAL AND POLITICAL UNITY

The new political situation demands with especial insistence that the Communist Party should be active and vigorous. At the

March parliamentary elections, the CPA suffered a reverse, obtaining only 46,000 votes, that is, one per cent of the poll.

This slide-down for our Party began in 1955 and 1956, and it is, of course, due to a number of objective reasons. The SPA, which enjoys the greatest influence in the working class, has largely managed to tie the workers to the capitalist system through a policy of social partnership and anti-communism. One factor behind this was that the economic boom had made it possible, through the social partnership policy, and growing profits, to secure a tangible rise in living standards for a small section of the working people, but well below the actual possibilities.

The internal political situation is marked by an absence of class battles which would bring the working class into confrontation with the SPA's social partnership policy. Furthermore, the elections have increasingly offered an alternative between two major parties, with the electoral law being highly unfair for the small parties; through the mass media the public has been ever more blatantly conditioned in an anti-communist spirit, with some phenomena occurring in the socialist countries also being used for the purposes of political demagoguery.

However, the Twenty-First Congress of the Party did not concentrate on the objective causes of its difficulties and reverses. The main subject of congress debates and decisions was the weaknesses and shortcomings in the Party's own activity, and the question of what should be done to improve its work. The Congress came out resolutely against a passive waiting for the objective situation to improve.

An essential factor in all this was that the long lack of ideological and political unity and the deepening of contradictions on fundamental questions had been increasingly sapping the Party's fighting strength and ability. The Congress established that the Party leadership bore the main responsibility for this situation. Because of weaknesses in political and ideological work no solution had been found for a number of new problems which have faced the Party since the mid-1950s. I shall here deal briefly with only four main groups of questions.

As early as about the mid-1950s, our Party was confronted with a number of new phenomena in modern capitalism. In their struggle and competition with the socialist world the developed capitalist

states have had to apply new methods and vastly to enhance the role of state regulation. Faced with the accelerating balanced economic development of the socialist countries these capitalist states have been forced to pursue a policy of high-business activity and growth, with the highest possible level of employment. Add to this the new elements arising from the scientific and technological revolution, the marked changes in the social structure of society, and so on.

Our Party began an analysis of present-day capitalism and its specifics in Austria, but its results had no great influence on our day-to-day political and ideological work. In practice, the Party was on many occasions engaged almost exclusively in tackling pressing economic and political questions of the day, giving scant attention to offsetting the tendency of whitewashing capitalism, which is pronounced even among the workers, especially because of the SPA's strong influence. On the other hand, we have failed to give a fitting rebuff to the incorrect ideas that the revolutionary party would have a chance of success only in the event of another major economic crisis. Both tended to increase the feelings of hopelessness and passivity.

In this connection, the decisions of the Twenty-First Congress say: "However, this shortcoming above all caused uncertainty among comrades who remembered capitalism in the 1930s, with its economic crisis, widespread unemployment, poverty and despair, and to whom the Party failed to give an adequate answer to this basic question: Why is it that even in its present form capitalism is terribly out-dated, why is it extremely dangerous, and why has it become a drag on man's development—a drag which needs to be removed? Our principled criticism of the SPA, as the mainstay of capitalism, will have its effect only to the extent that we answer these questions."

The second important ideological and political problem we face is connected with the program principles of the Austrian way to socialism (a way without civil war, through an alliance of several parties, orientation towards phased goals whose achievement would limit the power of big capital, and so on). The Twenty-First Congress once again reaffirmed these program principles, which we have worked out over the last fifteen years. Our weakness today lies in the fact that these new program ideas have not been sufficiently establish-

ed throughout the Party. Although socialism in Austria is not yet on the order of the day, the main program questions still have a great part to play in any discussions with Socialists and Catholics. There is, for instance, the deeply rooted anti-communist idea that the Communists are not a democratic or an Austrian party. That is why the decisions of the Twenty-First Congress say:

"A most important ideological task which we have yet to solve consists in having this new program orientation accepted by the whole Party, because on this largely depends the Communists' power of conviction and influence. This calls for a clearcut ideological separation from revisionist and also dogmatic and sectarian views."

The Congress resolutely rejected a number of one-sided and Right-opportunist interpretations of our program principles, including denial of the role of the Marxist-Leninist Party and democratic centralism, its main organizational principle.

Closely bound up with this is the third important problem: our attitude to the SPA. Achievement of joint action with it, and simultaneous principled and business-like criticism of the social partnership policy and the anti-communism of the SPA's Right-wing leaders constitute two mutually connected aspects of our attitude to this party. Two factors above all are of decisive importance in bringing about a progressive change of the political stand taken by a sizable section of the SPA (and also of a large section of the APP, which consists mainly of workers and peasants). First, a substantial strengthening of the CPA. Without a strong Communist Party, taking a firm stand on the basis of Marxism-Leninism, there can be no profound democratic renewal, and there is no way to socialism. Second, public pressure, broad mass movements and class battles in which the working people learn from their own experience.

The Twenty-First Congress noted that the political and ideological work directed by the Party leadership, especially the Party press, involved only a half-hearted struggle against the SPA's opportunist policy, and that the need to strengthen the CPA had been urged only on the eve of the election, whereas this should be the Party's abiding concern.

Another fundamental ideological and political question has been and remains our attitude to the socialist countries, the

Soviet Union above all. In this sphere we have since 1956 faced new problems, which have not been resolved from the ideological standpoint. The exposure of the mistakes connected with Stalin's personality cult, the Hungarian counter-revolution, the distortion of socialism in China, and the Czechoslovakian crisis have shown that socialist construction is an intricate historical process which does not run without contradictions, and that the socialization of the means of production does not automatically result in economic and cultural development or an advance in socialist democracy, and does not in itself guarantee the Party, which is society's leading force, against serious mistakes.

In addition, socialist construction proceeds in acute class struggle in the world arena, with more and more evidence accumulating that imperialism has not been reconciled with the existence of the socialist countries. The enemies of socialism make use of our movement's every mistake. At the same time, the socialist countries' every stride forward in the economy and in raising living standards, every advance in the sphere of culture and socialist democracy becomes a great help in the struggle which we Communists are carrying on in Austria. The main shortcoming of the Party's political and ideological work has been that for a long time too little information was being given about the achievements of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, which calls for thorough study of the realities in the socialist countries, including their problems and contradictions. We have been giving less than enough information about the Soviet Union's importance as the international mainstay in the struggle for peace, national liberation and socialism. Too little has also been reported about the great importance of the socialist countries' existence for the working-class struggle in Austria. This has led to a spread of Right-wing opportunist tendencies in our own ranks.

The importance of the Party's Twenty-First Congress consists, apart from everything else, precisely in confirmation and strengthening of our Party's internationalism, which does not contradict the principle of its independence. The Congress resolutely brushed aside every form of anti-Sovietism, and declared its close unity with the Soviet Union, with the international working-class and liberation movement, something that has always been one

of the best traditions of the Austrian working-class movement and of the Communist Party of Austria.

The Congress resolutely opposed the splitting policy of the leadership of the Communist Party of China, which is hampering the worldwide struggle for democracy, independence, peace and socialism. In the present international situation, the achievement and consolidation of unity in the Communist movement is more necessary than ever before. The Congress expressed its acceptance of the documents issued by the Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties (June 1969), and gave a positive assessment of the course and results of the Meeting. The CPA fully backs the determination of the Communist and Workers' Parties expressed in the Document to fight imperialism in a united front, despite some differences in views.

RESTORE EFFICIENCY OF PARTY LEADERSHIP

One of the key tasks today is to intensify our political and ideological work on the basis of the Twenty-First Congress decisions. The main political document and the CC report on the political situation in Austria and the Party's tasks were approved at the Congress by 320 votes to 12, that is, almost unanimously. This has created a basis for overcoming the crisis in the Party. But this alone is not enough. Experience shows that although the roots of the crisis go back to the mid-1950s, the deep crisis of the recent period broke out in the autumn of 1968 because some of the Party leadership had been making increasingly open attacks on our Party's key principles. This has intensified the impact of the events in Czechoslovakia on our Party, together with the fact that over a period of years the Party leadership had failed adequately to carry on ideological work. This also largely hampered the struggle against dogmatic and sectarian tendencies in the Party.

Efforts to revise the fundamental decisions of the Nineteenth and Twentieth Congresses of the Party were made above all on three issues:

1. Great doubts were expressed about the CPA being able to play the role of a revolutionary party or about the strengthening of our Party being of decisive importance. Some even said that our Party should be replaced by a conglomerate of progressive and Left forces.

2. There was a departure from the principle of democratic centralism in theory and in practice; groupings were set up outside the Party whose spokesmen in the mass media at home and abroad publicly attacked the Party, and its principles and decisions.

3. These groupings concentrated a considerable part of their forces on ever sharper attacks against the Soviet Union.

Beginning with the autumn of 1968, the majority on the Central Committee intensified its struggle against these Right opportunist tendencies. Since then numerous attempts have been made to restore the unity of the Party leadership on a principled, Marxist-Leninist basis. However, these attempts failed because the Right opportunist forces stepped up their attacks on the Party, and last year almost entirely incapacitated the Party leadership. That is why the Twenty-First Congress made essential personal changes when electing the new Central Committee, and this is also a decisive prerequisite for uniting the Party and overcoming the crisis, because there can be no united Party without a united leadership.

The Twenty-First Congress mapped out a concrete program of action over the immediate period ahead: more intense efforts at the enterprises; pursuit of a policy on the municipal plane as the crucial task of Party territorial organizations; more active work among young people; and a review of the Party's organizational structure and style of work. Among the important questions is a consistent cadre policy by the leadership.

Our task today is to concentrate all our forces on a constructive effort, on a fight for the working people's interests, to make the Communist Party of Austria once again capable of meeting its responsibilities to its own working class and to the international Communist movement.

Compound of youth and revolutionary experience

KARLHEINZ KNIESTEDT

The Second Congress of the Socialist Unity Party of West Berlin, convened in the workers' quarter of Neukoelln on May 22-24, unanimously passed an action program for peace, democracy and social progress, also adopted the report of the Party Chairman, Comrade Gerhard Danelius, which sets out how West Berlin could become a factor of European peace and security. The Congress elected a new governing body, with Comrade Danelius staying on as Chairman and Comrade Erich Ziegler elected as Deputy.

The fact that 2,500 new members had joined the Party since the previous congress was visibly reflected in the line-up of delegates: participating young workers and students showed their grasp of Marxism-Leninism and their solid allegiance to our policy. Out of the nearly 500 delegates with full and consultative votes 51 per cent were under 50 years of age, 25 per cent under 30, and many of 20 and under. Forty-one delegates took part in the debate, with two-thirds of them under thirty.

The Congress gave a rousing welcome to delegations of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Polish United Workers' Party, the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, the German Communist Party and the French Communist Party. Their presence was evidence of our Party's prestige and at once a token of proletarian internationalism.

Congress provided answers to burning questions about the present and future of West Berlin, prompted by the collision of interests between the people and the monopolies, between labor and capital, in the city and in the context of the worldwide

confrontation of socialism and capitalism.

Our Action Program says: "The crucial questions over which the struggle rages in our city between different political forces, are the following: What role must West Berlin play? Will it continue to be the nerve center of world politics? Will it remain the scene of frenzied struggle against socialism or will it coexist peacefully with the workers' GDR in its third decade? Is it not high time for West Berlin to follow an independent policy, become a factor of European peace and security, establish good-neighbor relations with the GDR, with all contacts based on equality, non-interference and mutual advantage?"

Past experience in our struggle for an independent peace policy, against the city's involvement in West German monopoly capital's expansionist counter-revolutionary strategy, for friendly and neighborly relations with the GDR bears out the Moscow Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties, which said that the peace drive is anti-imperialist, with success hinging on the movement's scale, impact and organization.

Comrade Danelius indicated in his report that the working people would not succeed in ending West Berlin's involvement in Bonn policy until the way is opened for the city's economic growth, for its becoming a center of science. Only then would success be possible in the social sphere, in politics, education and culture. "The working people must put an end to big capital's drive for power," Danelius added. "They must take into their own hands the cause of peace, mutual understanding and growth of democracy and

society, and adjust relations with the outside world, especially the German Democratic Republic, along new lines. The viability of West Berlin, the solution of present and future problems, depend on the following factors:

"1. Respect by all sides of West Berlin's status as an independent political unit.

"2. Rejection of the claim that West Berlin is part of the Federal Republic; it cannot be governed from FRG territory.

"3. No sittings of the FRG cabinet, Bundestag or any of its committees or factions must ever take place in West Berlin.

"4. The citizens of West Berlin and their elective bodies must be allowed to maintain free political, economic, cultural, sports and personal contacts with the East, as well as the West.

"5. West Berlin must be given an opportunity to develop its economic and commercial relations with no restrictions."

West German imperialist groups have not given up the hope of changing the world situation. They still expect to revise the outcome of the Second World War. At first, they tried this by means of the outdated policy of "positions of strength," military pressure and intimidation. But the balance of strength in Europe and the rest of the world has changed. We owe the longest period of peace in Europe's history to the potential of socialism, its policy of peace and its capacity to protect its frontiers. This has compelled imperialism to change the approach. But its objectives are the same. The FRG is clamoring for atomic weapons, it claims sole representation of the German nation, abuses the status of West Berlin, is unwilling to recognize the existing European frontiers, especially those between the GDR and FRG and the Oder-Neisse frontier, and refuses to regard the Munich agreement as invalid from the moment it was concluded. Although this policy has been fitted out with new signboards, its substance is unchanged: disruption of peace and security in Europe and, first and foremost, refusal to extend formal recognition in international law to the GDR.

Danielius pointed out that our Party is in favor of the FRG recognizing the GDR government, and added:

"If Willy Brandt again declares that formal recognition of the GDR is out of the question, our reply is as follows: All variants that ignore this recognition are doomed to failure due to the growing signi-

ficance of the first socialist state on German territory!

"It is high time to put an end to the claims to sole representation of the German nation and to the Hallstein doctrine. This is essential for European peace and security. Besides, it would also help solve the West Berlin problem."

If all parties concerned would respect West Berlin's status as an independent political unit, its population would be the first to benefit. The ground would then be laid for a peaceful life, good-neighbor relations and coexistence with the GDR and all the other countries of the socialist community; West Berliners could then take advantage of the achievements and experience of the GDR to advance democracy in West Berlin; it would be possible to hammer out a long-term treaty-based arrangement between the West Berlin Senate and the GDR Government in relation to tourism, reunions of relatives and friends, commodity exchanges and exchanges in culture and sports; it would also be possible to assure entry and exit, and unlimited trade and other economic contacts between East and West, to extend the ways and means of exchange and cooperation in science and research with all countries, and to make secure the future of the factory and office workers, the working and student youth, and young science workers, the future of science and culture.

In sum, the Congress of the SUP of West Berlin demonstrated the connection between struggle for the interests of West Berlin workers and other wage-earners, and struggle for peaceful and friendly relations between West Berlin and the GDR. Factory workers among the delegates revealed that an increasing number of Social Democrats among the workers and the trade-union membership are gradually arriving at the same conclusion and regard the socialist GDR as a friend and ally in the fight against monopoly domination.

The West Berlin cost of living increased by DM 560 million in 1969. The 1968 increase in house-rents meant spending an additional DM 170 million against the previous year.

Spiralling prices are in no way caused by wage earners' demands for higher wages. The reason behind them is the insatiable monopoly thirst for profit. In fact, profits and prices rise more rapidly than workers' living standards. And big capital gains from it. The head of Siemens, Tacke,

portrayed matters thus in the present fiscal year:

possible wage increases for factory and office workers	DM 400 million;
possible increase in the cost of raw materials.....	DM 100 million;
Total	DM 500 million

To take the head of Siemens at his word, the concern earned DM 1,500 million, or three times as much, this year, and this apart from the additional profit accruing from rationalization and the expansion of production at present wage levels.

The workers and their unions are quite right to oppose the excessive growth of profits and prices. They must brace themselves for the coming negotiations of wage scales in the metal-working industry, commerce, public institutions and other spheres. They are quite right to demand a wage policy that would close the gaping abyss between profits and wages.

In view of the increasing concentration of capital and production in the hands of a few capitalists, our Party demands control and participation by workers, by their production councils and unions, in running the big enterprises.

By big enterprises we mean enterprises of local and foreign concerns, such as Siemens, AEG Telefunken, Deutsche Industrieanlagen GmbH, Dresdener Bank, Deutsche Bank, the big utility companies (Gasag, Bewag, BVG), the information media monopolies (the Springer concern and Radio Freies Berlin, including the TV relay and transmission station).

The workers, their production councils and unions, must control and participate at enterprise level in matters of production, price policy, setting the rate of and distributing profits, allotting dividends, reserves and sums for special and investment funds, in handling all personal matters, questions of labor safety and health, vocational training and improvement and coffee breaks. They must possess the power of veto in relation to dismissals, demotions, withdrawals of social benefits, and the removal or closure of enterprises.

The SUP-West Berlin Action Program, the Party Chairman's report and other contributions also examined Party proposals relating to West Berlin education. As we see it, education is a class problem. The city's schools still poison the minds of the younger generation with the venom of revanchism and anti-communism. Only five

per cent of West Berlin's students come from the working class. As a result, large sections of the population have joined the battle over educational issues in recent years—parents troubled by their children's future; school pupils outraged by the unscientific, obtuse and politically tendentious curriculum; students and postgraduates opposed to the spiritual impoverishment and abuse of science by the monopolies. The Senate has promised bigger allocations for school reforms, but in March 1969, after some structural reforms were carried out in the higher schools, it suddenly slashed the funds essential to extend the school system.

Cooperating with all progressives, the SUP advocates the following measures to renovate the content and structure of the educational system, bringing it abreast of the present-day needs of the younger generation: building up a unified democratic school system; educational opportunities for all, not short of university-level education, regardless of social origin and property status; reduction of the pupils-per-class ratio and increase in the number of teachers; extension of the school-building program; democratic bodies with the immediate participation of trade unions, parents, teachers and students should handle all issues related to education and science; top priority in allocation of tax revenue should go to educational development and research.

Speaking at the Congress, students and young workers confirmed that the working class is the main material and spiritual driving force behind radical social change. Speakers tore down the contention of bourgeois and Right Social-Democratic ideologists that Lenin had erred in his analysis of imperialism, that today the workers could lose more than just their chains and that, therefore, class consciousness is no more than a prejudice. The Right opportunists also aver that "modern industrial society" is not divided into classes and that class struggle is therefore unjustified. But the class battles of the workers of France, Italy and the FRG, and the strikes in AEG Turbine, OTV, DWM and other West Berlin companies make these claims look ridiculous.

The ultra-Left is attacking scientific socialism and bandying Herbert Marcuse's notion that, having integrated in the latter-day capitalist system, the working class of today is no longer the "addressee" of revo-

lution. But that claim, too, has nothing in common with reality. The role of the working class as the subject of consistently democratic and revolutionary change has been proved historically and is now also continuously in evidence.

We have defined our strategy and tactics, taking account of the increasing contradictions between socialism and imperialism, between capital and labor, between the forces of aggression and reaction and those of peace and social progress.

The crucial role of the working class in the anti-imperialist struggle is traceable to its place in social production, the organization of production, the discipline of the workers, and to the fact that the vanguard of the working class, the militant Marxist-Leninist party, heads the fight for radical social changes.

In brief

G D R

The Central Committee of the SUPG has adopted a decision to carry out a renewal of Party cards from September 1 to October 31. The decision says that the renewal of Party cards will help to intensify the activity of Party branches, and of all members and candidate members in further fulfilling the decisions of the Seventh Party Congress and the Thirteenth Plenum of the SUPG. The decision envisages that every one of the 1.9 million members and candidate members will make concrete proposals on improving Party work. This is evidence of the creative character of the Party's activity, and of the development of inner-Party democracy.

In his interview on the renewal of Party cards, First Secretary of the SUPG Central Committee, Comrade Walter Ulbricht, said:

"Comrades will be getting a new card in accordance with the Party Rules. This is quite a normal procedure in inner-Party life. . . . The Party card is a most valuable document in possession of Party members. It testifies to membership in the militant union of Marxist-Leninists, the organized vanguard of the working class and all other

Our Second Congress showed that the Party and its members have become more mature theoretically and politically.

"Young comrades and comrades with years of experience in class struggle have spoken here," said Party Chairman Daneilius. "When delegates from factory and residential Party branches spoke, we could not help asking ourselves: what university did these comrades attend? And when comrades from Party branches at schools, higher schools, universities and research centers come to the rostrum, we could not help asking who apprised them of the interests and demands of the working class and the working youth? Here is our answer to these questions: Marxism-Leninism, the world outlook of the proletariat and of all progressives—that is our university."

working people. It is a bond between each comrade and the Party and the revolutionary working-class movement, binding him to constant responsibility for his personal contribution to the struggle for peace and socialism."

COSTA RICA

The People's Vanguard Party of Costa Rica has summed up the results of a drive for new members in connection with the Lenin centenary. Within 10 weeks, 564 persons joined the Party, and over 300 more are preparing to join. At a national conference on Party building it was noted that conditions in the country now make it possible to build up the Party at a fast pace.

USSR

A Plenum of the Central Committee of the CPSU was held on July 2 and 3 to hear and discuss a report by General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, L. I. Brezhnev, on "The Party's Immediate Tasks in Agriculture."

The report and the Plenum resolution

said that in the last few years there has been a steady growth of agricultural production and with it of the living standards of Soviet working people in the countryside. Thus, from 1966 to 1969, the grain crop averaged 162 million tons, which was 32 million tons (almost 25 per cent) more than in the earlier five-year period. There has also been a marked increase in the output of other key products. State-farm and collective-farm earnings have gone up considerably. In 1969, state-farm monthly earnings were 26 per cent, and collective-farm earnings 33 per cent higher than in 1965.

At the same time, it was noted at the Plenum, the growing requirements in foodstuffs and raw materials for industry demand a further sizable boost in agricultural output. In this context, there was criticism of the shortcomings in the work of some Party, planning and agricultural organizations, and industrial ministries, responsible for the consolidation and development of the material and technical basis of agriculture. It was emphasized that in present-day conditions intensification and technical re-equipment of agricultural production were the crucial factors in increasing the rate and scale of its growth.

The Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee defined the main tasks and measures for further boosting agriculture from 1971 to 1975. Grain cropping continues to be the key problem. In the five-year period ahead, it is to be increased to an average of 195 million tons a year. It was deemed appropriate to increase the material incentives for collective and state farms in boosting the output of animal products. The purchasing prices of animal products have been raised, while retail prices for meat, milk and other produce remain unchanged.

In the new five-year period, 77.6 billion rubles is to go into agriculture—production building, hardware, housing, and cultural and every-day services, including 45.9 billion to cover the cost of building and assembly operations. This is 70 per cent more than the volume of investments in agricultural development from 1966 to 1970.

In the coming five-year period, the task is to run in new facilities for producing 40 million tons of mineral fertilizers, taking the total output of fertilizers to 90 million tons by 1975. For this purpose, in particular, 16 new plants and 110 large shops at existing enterprises are to be built. Large-scale land improvement work is also plan-

ned. For the first time in the country's history, large areas will be irrigated to grow grain.

The task has been set for the technical re-equipment of agriculture on the basis of advanced modern techniques and technologies. In this connection, in particular, 16 new tractor and farm machinery plants are to be built, and almost 100 plants remodelled in the coming five-years period.

The CC Plenum stressed the need to improve the work of agricultural research institutions, for the purpose of tackling long-range problems in developing agricultural production, breeding and rapidly introducing new high-yield varieties of crops, and highly productive animals, and also working out for the collective and state farms the most efficient and economical technological processes of production for each type of product, and developing new means of mechanization.

All the planned measures will be of fundamental importance in consolidating the alliance of workers and peasants.

The Plenum resolution says that implementation of its decisions will be another major contribution to the creation of the material and technical basis of communism.

* * *

A Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee was held on July 13. It resolved that the next, Twenty-Fourth Congress of the CPSU is to be convened in March 1971.

On the agenda of the Congress are:

1. Report of the Central Committee of the CPSU. Reporter: General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev.
2. Report of the Central Auditing Commission of the CPSU. Reporter: Chairman of the Commission, Comrade G. F. Sizov.
3. Directives of the Twenty-Fourth Congress of the CPSU for the five-year plan for the USSR's economic development from 1971 to 1975. Reporter: Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, Comrade A. N. Kosygin.
4. Election of the central Party organs.

The Plenum established the rate of representation and the procedures governing the election of delegates to the Congress.

* * *

A scientific conference on questions of proletarian internationalism, as reflected in the documents and material of the Meeting

of Communist and Workers' Parties in June 1969, was held in Kaunas (Lithuanian SSR). It was attended by scientists and Party functionaries from various Republics of the Soviet Union.

In his opening speech, member of the CPSU Central Committee, First Secretary of the CC of the Communist Party of Lithuania, Comrade A. Sneckus, stressed that proletarian internationalism is the basis of the CPSU's Leninist nationalities policy. He said: "The vigorous growth of the socialist nations in the Soviet years, and the unbreakable friendship of the peoples of the Soviet Union provide convincing evidence that the nationalities question can be successfully solved only by a Party consistently standing up for the principles of proletarian internationalism, and possessing a scientifically grounded program for the nationalities question." Comrade Sneckus said that the Communists of Lithuania had pursued the nationalities policy with great tact and sensitivity, taking care to avoid both disregard for and inflation of national peculiarities.

In his report M. Dzhususov, Dr.Sc., (Phil.), drew attention to the importance for the Communist and Workers' Parties of taking correct account of the national and international interests of the working class in their programs, and in framing their policies, tactics and forms of struggle.

Prof. G. Zimanas, Editor-in-Chief of *Tiesa*, said in his speech that loyalty to the principles of internationalism is the basis for the revolutionary upswing in the present epoch and for the unity of the three main streams of the world revolutionary process today.

FRANCE

The French Communist Party, seeking to extend its influence among the masses, has been holding discussions throughout the country with the participation of prominent Party members, with invitations sent out to all the inhabitants of the given area or district, regardless of party affiliation.

L'Humanite, organ of the French Communist Party's Central Committee, describes the interesting experience of one such discussion at Champigny-sur-Marne, a municipality of the Paris area. The Communist municipality and the Party cells of the district in advance notified all the inhabitants of the forthcoming debate, in which Georges Marchais, deputy General Secretary of the Party, was to participate.

A special committee formulated 22 items for discussion, and these were then circulated to all the houses in the district, with every inhabitant invited to put up any other items he considered necessary for discussion. The Party's district newspaper devoted a special issue to the forthcoming debate.

The debate was held with a numerous audience one day in June. The discussion was free, without any formalities. A wide range of issues were dealt with, including the problem of unity of the Left-wing forces, the development of democracy, Garaudy's expulsion from the Party, and others. A special edition of the paper, in a printing of 20,000 copies, containing a detailed report of the debate, was circulated in every neighborhood of the district.

This has also been done in other Communist municipalities of the Paris area.

* * *

Since the start of the Party card renewal this year 25,000 persons have joined the French Communist Party. The numerical strength of seven Federations of the Party increased by more than 10 per cent. By mid-April, 500 new Party branches were set up, of them 273 at enterprises, 169 in residential neighborhoods, and 58 in rural localities.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

A Plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia was held on June 25 and 26, 1970, to discuss the present political and economic situation, and to sum up the results of fulfillment of the decision taken by the May (1969) CC Plenum, whose purpose was to take the country out of the deep crisis, which had resulted from the action of Right and anti-socialist elements. The Plenum mapped out the further tasks of the Czechoslovakian Communists.

In his report on behalf of the Central Committee Presidium, First Secretary of the CPC CC, Comrade Gustav Husak, said: "Today, after a year of intensive work, we can state: we have put an end to the anarchy and disintegration. By defeating the bloc of Right opportunist and anti-socialist forces, we have created the conditions for consolidating the Party, the political system, and the national economy, and thereby also the life of society as a whole. The opportunities open to the reactionary forces over here have been impeded and

limited. This is a decisive success for our policy over the past year."

It was said at the Plenum that considerable successes have been achieved in restoring the Communist Party's unity on the basis of Marxism-Leninism, and the Leninist principles of Party building, and the Party's capability and revolutionary militancy have been enhanced. There is now a renewal of Party cards in the course of which the Party is getting rid of those who are to blame for allowing the counter-revolution to carry out its offensive in 1968.

The Plenum approved the decision of the CC Presidium to expel from the Party Alexander Dubcek, who is responsible for the deviation from the line of the Thirteenth Congress of the CPC, for the ideological and political erosion of the Party, and state and mass organizations, for the dislocation of the national economy, and for the breach of the internationalist ties with the USSR and other allied countries. All this had posed a grave threat to the position of socialism in Czechoslovakia.

The report and speeches at the Plenum stressed that the Party's ideological and organizational consolidation helped it to restore its leading role in every sphere—ideology, politics and the economy. The CPC is working hard to win over and unite all citizens loyal to socialism, and urges all honest men to cooperate in building the socialist society and to be more vigorous in their activity.

The fact that the state once again operates as an organ of the working class and all other working people is of exceptional importance in consolidating the conditions in Czechoslovakia. The threatened economic and financial catastrophe has now been averted, and the erosion of civic and labor discipline overcome; the socialist orientation of the national economy, and the authority and role of the plan are being re-established. As a result, people are regaining their social confidence and faith in the future. Since mid-1969, there has been a decided change in the develop-

ment of the economy, which has already made definite gains. The internal market is being stabilized, and some improvement has been secured in the foreign-trade balance. Work has also been started on drafting the new five-year plan for Czechoslovakia's economic development from 1971 to 1975, and measures have been taken for further implementing the economic reform.

The solution of internal tasks is closely bound up with the fact that the Communist Party has overcome its international political isolation, and has returned to the positions of proletarian internationalism, and close cooperation with the CPSU, the fraternal parties of other socialist countries, and the international Communist movement.

Czechoslovakia is once again becoming a solid link of the world socialist system, and the revolutionary forces fighting against imperialism, and for peace, freedom and independence of nations.

The Plenum's resolution gives this assessment of the results of the work that has been done: "Over the past year, the consolidation of the Party and society as a whole has been considerably advanced. In the Party there has taken shape a sound core seeking consistently to purge the Party organizations of Right-opportunist and revisionist elements, to restore the Party's unity on the basis of Marxist-Leninist principles, and its revolutionary capability.

"The working people's confidence in the Party and its policy is gradually being restored. Evidence of this was provided by the celebrations to mark the Lenin centenary, May Day, and the 25th anniversary of Czechoslovakia's liberation by the Soviet Army, and also by the positive advances in enhancing the people's labor and civic discipline, and consolidating the country's economy."

Party meetings and conferences of activists held since the June CC Plenum have endorsed its decisions.

History of Hungarian workers' movement

The 1960's have been fruitful years for Hungarian Marxist historiography, which has played a prominent part in our ideological activity centered on creatively applying the Marxist-Leninist concept of history and on promoting a socialist understanding of the country's past.

Many new studies of general and Party history have appeared. One of the outstanding is the three-volume *History of the Hungarian Revolutionary Workers' Movement*,* a valuable contribution not only to the historiography of the Hungarian labor movement, but also, in a broader sense, to our modern history.

Many significant lessons for today can be drawn from the experience of yesterday, but only if the past, with all its achievements and contradictions, is realistically assessed. This guided the team of authors in their creative and methodological approach to their subject. Their purpose was to produce a scientifically grounded objective account, permeated with the Party spirit, for the specialist and general reader, for everyone interested in labor history and the Party's heroic and complex struggle in its making.

The authors are always conscious of the interconnection between internal and international factors. The rise of the Hungarian workers' movement, they emphasize, was influenced by the developing international movement and by class relations in Hungary.

From the very outset it acquired an internationalist orientation, one of its distinctive permanent features. While championing genuine national interests, it has paved

the way for the Hungarian people's socialist future and has played a definite part in the international movement.

* * *

Volume I covers the period from 1848, when the Hungarian working class was just taking shape, to the defeat of the Hungarian Soviet Republic in August 1919.

The twenty years 1848-68 were the pre-history of the organized labor movement. The first national organization, the General Workers' Union, was founded in 1868 on the initiative of the First International, in which some of its leaders were active and with which it maintained close ties throughout its short life (1868-72).

Then followed a long and sustained organization effort by devoted revolutionaries led by Leo Frankel. It culminated in the founding of the Hungarian General Workers' Party (HGWP) in 1880. And though its program still revealed Lasallean influence, it was basically Marxist oriented, its central idea being abolition of exploitation. The program set out the tasks of the working class, then intensifying its struggle. It emphasized — and this the authors single out as one of its outstanding features — the need to unite the struggle for political, economic and social demands.

The socialist workers' movement developed under the direct influence of the international movement. The General Workers' Union was closely associated with the First International. The authors emphasize that the close ties of its successors, the General Workers' Party and the Social-Democratic Party founded in 1890, with the Second International had a decisive impact on the growth of the revolutionary movement in Hungary.

A new dimension was added with the emergence of the Social-Democratic Party. The authors note its historical role in or-

*Published in Budapest under the Kossuth imprint. Volumes I and II appeared in 1966 and 1967 and volume III early this year. The Editorial Board appointed by the Political Bureau of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party is headed by Academician Dezső Nemes. Some of the chapters appeared in the Party history journal *Part-történeti Közlemények* and were further elaborated in the light of criticism.

ganizing the workers as a class, raising their class consciousness and popularizing socialist ideas.

In the opening years of the century, the Marxist-revisionist confrontation affected every sector of the international movement, with sharp controversies developing in most Social-Democratic parties. The most consistent defense of Marxism came, as we know, from the Bolsheviks under Lenin's leadership.

In those early days, Social-Democrat policy was strongly influenced by the reformism of the Party leadership. This was due, partly, to the leadership's scant regard for theoretical issues. At Second International congresses the Party's delegates sided with the Centrists. Its practical policy was distinctly reformist, based on the belief that this was the sure passage-way to a bourgeois-democratic republic. Accordingly, it steered clear of sharp conflict with the ruling classes and, needless to say, did not aim at revolution. Instead of supporting the mass, and often revolutionary, movements of workers, the rural proletariat and poor peasantry, it relied on parliamentary maneuvering to exploit contradictions within the ruling classes and win its main demand, universal franchise and the secret ballot.

The logic of reformism led to HSDP leaders taking a chauvinistic stand in 1914, casting an indelible stain on the Party's history. In recording these facts, the authors analyze in some detail the activity of the opposition within the party in the early 1900's, its ideological and political platform, and the party's role in the First World War, which is discussed more clearly than in earlier studies. Right up to the war, its leaders opposed military policy but later, pleading the "inexorable force of events," adopted a social-chauvinist line. It was not long, however, before the course of the war and mass pressure forced them to dilute their social-chauvinism with social-pacifism, but they stopped short of an independent proletarian policy. The Social-Democrat leaders were, in effect, co-operating with the bourgeois opposition for a compromise "democratic" peace settlement that would, if possible, keep the Austro-Hungarian monarchy alive. A detailed examination of these events is paralleled by an account of the anti-militarist, internationalist tendencies within the HSDP and, more important, of the resistance of the rank and file and many party and trade union functionaries to social-

chauvinist policy, which found expression in strike actions.

The Great October Socialist Revolution and joint action by the Left Socialists in the concluding years decisively stimulated revolutionary developments. Left influence in the trade unions and the HSDP had grown markedly, but the Right wing was still in control. This widened the gap between the party leaders, committed to a reformist policy, and the Left forces, which faithfully championed working-class interests.

Much attention is devoted to the 1918-19 revolutions and the fundamental issues they posed. The first, bourgeois-democratic revolution, the authors say, produced a "dual-power" situation (Vol. I, p. 209) marked by a series of events culminating in the Soviets taking over power and the split of the labor movement into revolutionary and reformist wings. The road to Soviet power is traced step by step, bringing out a specific feature of the Hungarian proletarian revolution that has an important international relevance: the peaceful capture of power and its rapid consolidation.

The organization of the Communist Party of Hungary on November 24, 1918, was of decisive importance. It ushered in a new stage in the history of our labor movement. The study analyzes the political coloring of the various groups that formed the new party, the Left forces in the HSDP and the trade unions, the revolutionary Socialists working in various illegal organizations, and returned prisoners-of-war who had joined the Communist Party in Soviet Russia. The authors also closely examine the Party's program and methods of work and the change-over process from bourgeois-democratic to socialist revolution.

That revolution triumphed on March 21, 1919, and the two workers' parties, the Communist and the Social-Democrat, merged. The authors point to the contradictions stemming from the very method of this merger and, contrary to earlier assessments, show that the merger was necessary, in fact an essential condition for the establishment of proletarian dictatorship in 1919. "The victory of the March 21 revolution and its peaceful character are inseparable from the re-establishment of proletarian political unity. Reformism had been defeated and the Social-Democratic Party publicly admitted this by adopting the Communist program. The proclamation of

proletarian dictatorship was a big political and moral victory for the Communist Party" (Vol. I, pp. 217-18).

But organizational merger did not imply ideological unity. There was a stronger shift towards revolutionary positions among Left Socialists and Centrist-influenced elements with both coming closer to the Communist Party. But the possibility had to be reckoned with that the Social-Democrat Right would, in the course of revolutionary battles, provoke ideological and political disunity and confusion, win over the Centrists and thus jeopardize the political and ideological cohesion of the merged party. This presented many difficulties in building up the Soviet Republic, and even more so in conducting the revolutionary patriotic war. The Communist Party leaders were aware of this and took steps to purge the Party and bolster its unity. But time was running out. The reactionary forces made common cause with the Right Social-Democrats, who persisted in their subversion, and, helped by the foreign intervention armies, overthrew the Soviet Republic.

It lasted only 130 days, but in this short period it began to put into practice the people's age-old aspirations. The Soviet Republic was a great landmark in Hungary's liberation struggle. It produced a generation of Communists, steeled in the revolution and its defense, which continued the fight for the Hungarian working class and people.

* * *

Volume II (August 1919-September 1944) covers the 25 years from the fall of the Soviet Republic to the beginning of Hungary's liberation.

The counter-revolutionary terror that followed the defeat of our first workers' state placed the Communist movement in an exceptionally difficult position. Most of its leaders were compelled to emigrate and many of those who remained were jailed and later executed. The fascist regime interned 70,000 people, and some 5,000 were put behind bars.

The position and character of the re-established Social-Democratic Party changed too. Some of its Left leaders had joined the Communists in the days of the Soviet Republic and the patriotic war. Others emigrated together with prominent figures in the Centrist camp. Now controlled by the Right wing, which had all along op-

posed the proletarian dictatorship, the Social-Democratic Party was prepared to accept any compromise with the ruling classes in order to preserve its legal status. In short, it became an ordinary parliamentary party and, with the exception of the last year of the war, operated legally under the Horthy regime.

The Communist Party had to be rebuilt in the face of ferocious terror; every year brought new losses, and the Party united only the most courageous revolutionaries prepared to endure all the hardships of the struggle.

Could the Party fulfil its historical role in these conditions? The history of our Party, the authors remark, is an organic part of the history of our people. Its place and role cannot be assessed only, or primarily, from the standpoint of its numerical strength and its direct ideological influence in the exceedingly harsh conditions of illegality, though both are doubtlessly important factors.

The authors give a more comprehensive picture of the Party's role. And that role is measurable, in particular, in the wide support it enjoyed. In 1919-45 it was the only party consistently opposed to fascism, capitalist oppression and world war; the only party working for peace and socialism. In appraising its policy, the authors do not gloss over its errors, which at times impaired its mass influence. But they adduce convincing evidence to show that throughout these 25 hard years the Communist Party never relaxed its struggle and sought answers to the pressing issues confronting the people. Undaunted by ferocious fascist terror, it organized successful mass actions and strikes, notably the huge September 1, 1930 demonstrations against the Horthy regime, in which no less than 150,000 participated in Budapest and about a quarter of a million throughout the country, and the big building workers' strikes of 1933 and 1935. The Party was a factor influencing the entire society. Small in numbers and driven into clandestinity, it grew into a mass Communist Party after liberation and became the leading force in the country.

In 1936-44, after the Seventh Comintern Congress, the Party launched its People's Front policy, urging unity of all the progressive, peace and anti-fascist forces for an independent and democratic Hungary. It worked out the theoretical foundations of people's democracy based on a correct assessment of Hungary's socio-economic

position and the alignment of forces. Despite the fascist terror and resistance by the Right-wing Social-Democrat leaders, our Party was able to contact and cooperate with its political partners, the Left Social-Democrat leaders and the patriotic forces in the National Peasant and the Smallholders parties. In the concluding period of the war this cooperation developed into a wide resistance movement which helped, albeit to a modest degree, liberate the country and assert its independence.

The second volume deals also with the Party's struggle in the context not only of the labor, but all the other popular movements, for the history of a revolutionary party can be properly understood and appraised only in association with the history of all progressive trends. The policy of the Communist Party, its work and combat-ability always largely depended on what other progressive forces and movements operated in the country and how the Communists sought to extend their aims to them. Emphasis on this is important since it shows how the Communist Party was able to influence the country's history despite difficult conditions, relatively weak organization and terrible losses.

* * *

Volume III examines the development of the workers' movement and its core, the Communist Party, in the post-liberation period (October 1944 - November 1962), a period that holds many especially important lessons for the building of socialism.

The study discusses the nature and class forces of the revolution that unfolded in the autumn of 1944 and the spring of 1945, the Communist Party's policy of alliances, the process of peaceful growing over of democratic worker-peasant dictatorship into proletarian dictatorship, and the complex work of building the foundations of socialism.

The task confronting Hungarian Communists in 1944-45, when the country was being liberated by the Soviet Army, was to lead the working people, in alliance with the forces opposed to German and Hungarian fascism, to win independence, destroy fascism, secure democratic freedoms for the working people and, at the same time, create the conditions for socialist change. This required nearly three years of dedicated working-class struggle under Communist leadership and in alliance with

the peasantry, the progressive urban petty bourgeoisie and intelligentsia. The bourgeoisie was dislodged from power, just as the land-holding class had been earlier, and major industries became the property of the people's state. The merger, in the summer of 1948, of the two workers' parties consummated the battle for workers' power. The country entered a new stage—the laying of the foundations of socialism.

In analyzing this process, the authors list our people's momentous achievements in these and in the subsequent years of persevering effort. But they also list, and investigate, the serious contradictions in Party policy after 1948. The leadership regarded the National Front as a temporary, transient development. This was at odds with the actual state of affairs, for the former coalition parties were now committed to socialism. The leadership subscribed to the theory of the "steady aggravation of the class struggle." Suppression of class-enemy resistance was far from effective and, in fact, the measures taken against enemy subversion were often misdirected. On the other hand, mass initiative was inhibited by restrictions of socialist democracy and violations of socialist law. The situation was further confounded by unnecessary haste in restructuring industry and agriculture along socialist lines.

All these errors could not, however, prevent operation of the objective laws of socialism, though they distorted their manifestation. The result was denigration of the role of the masses, though they continued to play a definite part in the life of the state and society. Notwithstanding all the difficulties created by the personality cult and dogmatism, socialist construction continued apace. Matyas Rakosi and his group were incapable of eliminating these errors which the counter-revolutionary forces at home and abroad dexterously exploited, along with Imre Nagy's revisionism and the difficulties encountered by socialism, to incite the masses against the Party leadership as a prelude to overthrowing the popular democratic system. The culminating point, as everyone remembers, came with the abortive counter-revolution of October, 1956.

After its suppression by armed force, socialist construction continued. Its success depended on the ability of the re-established party, The Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, consistently to combat Right and Left deviations and work out a policy conforming to the requirements of

the time. The Leninist forces within the Party, the authors emphasize, effectively coped with this task. With the advent of the revolutionary workers' and peasants' government, the Party entered a new stage in its development.

One of the focal tasks in operating the new policy was re-establishment of the Lenin concept of proletarian dictatorship. Specifically, this implied a correct relationship between democracy and dictatorship. The Party leadership rejected both the dogmatic views of proletarian dictatorship and its revisionist negation and applied the Leninist principle in full conformity with the country's requirements. It eliminated errors in economic policy, extended the independence of enterprises and local government bodies and devised a system of material incentives which had a beneficial impact on production. It discarded the false theory of continued aggravation of the class struggle as an inevitable concomitant of socialist construction. Henceforth, political commitment, competence, attitude to socialism and proletarian internationalism became the criteria by which people were judged.

The Party leadership worked to create conditions that would give members of the Party and mass organizations a bigger role than merely fulfilling decisions handed down from above. Their views were solicited before any important decision was taken. The Party was now guided by the principle that the fight should be directed against erroneous views, not against persons who hold such views. This made for a climate of constructive discussion.

The Party saw to it that every new measure was attended by the further extension of socialist democracy, higher constructive initiative by the masses and a bigger guiding role for the Party's ideas and policy. All this was combined with operation of the dialectical principle of unity of patriotism and internationalism, encouragement of a correct attitude to-

wards the international workers' movement and, above all, the Soviet Union, the Hungarian people's greatest friend.

This overall policy was carried further in the socialist reconstruction of agriculture in 1959-62. Faithfully adhering to the Leninist principles of voluntary membership and stage-by-stage development, the Party took special care to convince the peasants of the need and advantages of cooperative farming. Another factor of success was that the entire country had a share in solving this paramount problem of agriculture.

When the 8th Party Congress met in November 1962, it could record that the foundations of socialism had been laid and that the revolution had entered the new strategic stage of building full socialism and consolidating the socialist national unity of our people.

* * *

The history of the Party, as given in this study, shows that the Hungarian Communists have always been true to their patriotic and internationalist duty and have always drawn on the experience and support of the international workers' movement, conscious of their responsibility not only to their own people, but also to the international movement. That is one of the lessons of our Party's history.

And that history reaffirms that the elaboration and operation of a correct program must be based on combining Marxism-Leninism with a realistic appraisal of concrete conditions. The success of the Party's policy is attributable, among other things, to its ability to overcome past errors and carefully take into account the new requirements of new situations. Indeed, concrete analysis of concrete situations is not only essential to the framing of a correct policy, but is of decisive importance also in assessing the path travelled by the Party.

Henrik VASS

Institute of Marxist studies

Frankfurt-am-Main, FRG

The Institute of Marxist Studies (Institut für Marxistische Studien und Forschungen) was founded in Frankfurt-am-Main, FRG, in the beginning of 1969. Comprising a small number of staff researchers and a fairly large group of non-staff associates—researchers, publicists and students—it has tackled a variety of interesting social problems and accomplished some useful work.

The capitalist press in West Germany did not fail to notice its appearance, describing it with undisguised annoyance as a "new Marxist center," a "smithy of Communist cadres," and the like. And the **Frankfurter Allgemeine** said it was a "one-sidedly oriented league," which the Institute's associates may take as a compliment, because they do follow a definite "orientation" — the Marxist-Leninist—in their research and study of contemporary social problems.

Below is an account by our special correspondent, Professor G. Kursanov, who visited the Institute and had talks with its director, J. Schleifstein, deputy director H. Jung and associates J. H. Heiseler, K. Steinhaus, D. Schmidt and T. Müller.

The main purpose of the Institute, its associates revealed, is to examine current social processes in line with Marxist theoretical and methodological principles, this in three main directions: (a) examination of the economic and social situation, and the spiritual life of factory and office workers in the FRG, (b) study of the contemporary socialist and trade-union movements, and (c) investigation of general topical problems of Marxism.

The ultimate aim is to help work out the *scientific rudiments of a progressive anti-monopoly alternative in various social spheres*. This makes the investigations socially and politically relevant for the progressive struggle against the monopolies, reaction and revanchism.

CRITICISM OF IDEOLOGICAL OPPONENTS

The accent is on investigations related to the present situation of the working class and trade-union problems. The Marxist teaching has come to grips in this area

with bourgeois and reformist ideology. Tackling these problems from the Marxist standpoint, the Institute disproves conceptions such as "social partnership," "industrial society," various neo-syndicalist theories, the Christian social doctrines of the reactionary CDU/CSU monopoly party, and various Leftist postures.

Important in this context was the international conference that discussed and criticized the Frankfurt school of bourgeois sociology (February 1970), held under the auspices of the Institute in tribute to the centenary of Lenin's birth.

The Frankfurt school of Adorno, Horkheimer, Habermas, Marcuse, and others, claims to have made a "critical analysis" of contemporary cultural and social phenomena, to have developed its own conception of socialist problems, problems of the labor movement and imperialism, and set forth its own interpretation of Marxist philosophy and sociology. It has a certain amount of influence among intellectuals and various segments of the youth.

The results of the conference, as we have said, have been significant. The contributions of philosophers and sociologists from socialist countries,* as well as those of FRG Marxists, furnished convincing evidence that despite far-reaching revolutionary professions, the exponents of the Frankfurt school substitute "purely theoretical," that is, abstract, criticism of reality for revolutionary struggle; in place of practice as a social activity they preach the personal experience of the subject; revise the fundamental postulates of Marxist philosophy and sociology, and, in effect, reject the social nature of production, which leads naturally to denial of the class struggle in modern society and to liberal bourgeois individualism.

Not surprisingly, the conference evoked some predictable reactions in the West German press, including influential capitalist papers. This was evidence that the Institute has become an active factor in the acute ideological confrontation in the Federal Republic of Germany.

Many FRG papers presented their reports under "neutral" heads: "Marxist Institute versus Adorno," "Frankfurt School from the Marxist Standpoint," and the like. More indicative, however, were headings such as that in the *Stuttgarter Zeitung*: "Attempt to Squash Frankfurt School." The paper wanted to be sarcastic, and rejoiced that the Marxists had failed to "hammer the last nail into the coffin" of that school. But willy-nilly it betrayed its concern for its continued existence.

The *Frankfurter Allgemeine*, mouthpiece of the big bourgeoisie, used what it thought a "catchy" title for its account of the conference. It said: "The Individual on Trial." But that is pure demagoguery, for it confuses Marxist criticism of *bourgeois individualism* with "condemnation" of the individual. The paper overlooks the fact that Marxism more than any other doctrine probes true human nature and provides exhaustive substantiation for the significant role of the personality in public life.

THE MAIN OBJECT OF RESEARCH

In the very short time since its establishment, the Institute has unfolded extensive research and has some tangible and realistic results to its credit. Its main efforts are centered on the theme: "The objective and subjective premises of the anti-monopoly democratic alternative."

*See article on the conference by R. Steigerwald and J. Heiseler elsewhere in this issue.

This encompasses the following problems, now an object of study by staff and non-staff associates of the Institute:

- factory and office workers' participation in running enterprises;

- the state's economic, financial and social policy;

- socialization in the development of property and the problem of social requirements;

- wages and incomes policy.

Research in the various aspects of worker participation in management is extensive and at once concrete. A study has been made of the general Marxist conception of workers' participation in government, with a critical analysis of the posture and policy of employer groups and organizations and of various political parties. Empirical investigations are under way in the automobile, chemical and steel industries. Important aspects of the effort to extend the workers' right to participation at enterprise level have been objects of close research.

Work on this problem is linked with the immediate tasks of the class struggle of factory and office workers against their employers, and of thrashing out the scientific rudiments of the anti-monopoly alternative.

By and large, the investigations are to be completed this year.

To assure thorough elaboration the Institute has formed research groups to study:

- poverty and destitution in the Federal Republic of Germany;

- the problems of present-day imperialism and neo-colonialism (specifically in the FRG);

- the role of the press in present-day public life.

Additional groups are being formed to study the following subjects: strategy and tactics of the working-class movement, and the intelligentsia and the labor movement.

Many of these groups are active in other cities: Hamburg, Bremen, Marburg, Munich and Koeln. The Institute is thus involving local Marxist scholars in systematized research. The groups are headed not only by Institute staff members, but non-staff associates as well.

PUBLICATIONS

The results of research are recorded chiefly in publications, of which there are several.

I.

To begin with, the Institute publishes its Papers (Beitraege des IMSF). These set out the results of research related to the major problems. The first issue of the "Papers" appeared at the end of 1969, devoted to a study of the September strikes in the steel, mining, metal-working and other FRG industries. That was the first major publication, the result of strenuous work in a dynamic ten weeks. Twenty people — researchers, trade unionists and students — were involved in compiling it under an editorial board comprising Professor J. Schleifstein, Dr. H. Jung and Dr. K. Steinhaus.

The volume contains an analysis of the economic situation in the summer of 1969, examines the attitude of the trade union leadership during the strikes, the behavior of the employers' unions and that of the government and various political parties, as well as press reaction. A special study deals with the social composition of the strikers, their demands, modifications in demands during the strikes, the forms and tactics of the struggle, the role of enterprise councils and functionaries, and the work of active strikers' groups.*

The conclusions drawn from this chapter in the history of the West German working class are highly relevant for the labor movement in the FRG. They expose monopoly policy, evaluate the role and conduct of the unions and their leaderships, look into the subject of workers' participation at enterprise level, and deal with the framing and implementation of economic and social policies designed to safeguard the interests of workers and other wage groups.

This fundamental volume published by the Institute evoked an extensive response in the West German press.

Der Spiegel and *Die sozialistische Politik* acknowledged that the IMS analysis of the September strikes is scholarly and objective. The *Bulletin des Fraenkischen Kreises*, organ of the Free League of Spiritual Professions, said in its issue of December 1969 that the volume is an "interesting investigation" containing an "exhaustive analysis of the causes, development and character" of the September strikes. The Hamburg *Die Zeit* observed on April 17, 1970, that the September strikes revived the "spectre

of fear" and are a political lesson in working-class struggle.

The second issue of the "Papers" deals with factory and office workers' participation in enterprise management and related problems. It is now at the printer's.

II.

Another extremely interesting Institute publication in 1969 was the Manual for Factory and Office Workers on Production and Public Activity, containing Marxist definitions of key concepts in modern production, the trade union movement and public life. The Manual, written for the general reader, was well received; a second edition is about to be put on sale.

One of the press reactions, that by the *Holzarbeiter Zeitung* (organ of the Woodworkers' Union), complains that all concepts are seen "through Party spectacles." The reviewer is annoyed, in particular, that in defining "poverty," the Manual furnishes evidence that some 20 per cent of the FRG population earns less than the subsistence minimum. Need we say that this "reproach" only bears out the authors, for the Marxist partisan approach and impartiality in analyzing social phenomena comprise a unity.

III.

The Institute is putting out a Popular Marxist Library series, of which the following titles have been published so far:

H. Schaefer, *Wages, Prices and Profits in the Present Period*.

J. Schleifstein and J. H. Heiseler, *Lenin About Trotsky*.

J. Freyberg and K. Steinhaus, *Documents and Materials About the Vietnam Revolution* (Vol. I—"South Vietnam", Vol. II—"North Vietnam").

F. Schuster, *The September Strikes*.

These books have evoked considerable interest.

Schaefer's book examines the present-day concept of wages, prices and profits on the basis of Marxist definitions, delving into important contemporary political and social issues. For example, he asks: Is the concept of classes and class struggle a Marxian 'figment'? Or, is exploitation a "spectre of bygone days"?

That, as we know, is what bourgeois and reformist ideologists maintain. Refuting their contentions, Schaefer shows their fallacy and provides facts and figures to illustrate the scale of the class struggle

*Cf. Jung and Steinhaus, "West Germany: Strike Struggles," *World Marxist Review*, No. 7, 1970.

of today, the new forms and intensification of exploitation, and the profit drive of the West German monopolies.

In their assaults on Marxism-Leninism, bourgeois ideologists endeavor to exploit the "Trotsky trump," slinging mud at socialism and communism, the USSR and other socialist countries, and at the international revolutionary and Communist movement. To expose these distortions, the authors of *Lenin About Trotsky* compiled Lenin's principal references to and statements against Trotsky and his views. The book shows that Lenin was sharply critical of Trotsky, his centrist and adventurist conceptions, and his damaging anti-Bolshevik postures on key issues of revolution and socialist construction. The book examines the role and place of present-day Trotskyism.

IV.

Since mid-1969 the Institute has been publishing a quarterly *Information Bulletin* with accounts of symposia and conferences on FRG economic and social policy. Four issues have appeared so far:

No. 1—dealing with a conference of the West German League of German Employers' Unions.

No. 2—the 1969 Economic Conference of the CDU/CSU.

No. 3—the International Symposium on the Future of Science and Technology.

No. 4—the activity of the government commission studying factory and office workers' participation in management.

The *Bulletin* does not confine itself to factual reporting. It also examines the aims pursued by various class and party forces in economic and social policy.

V.

This year the Institute launched a *Marxist Digest* (Marxismus-Digest), carrying abridged articles and other materials from Marxist and other progressive journals published in capitalist, as well as socialist countries. The publication is for the general reader interested in Marxist problems, chiefly the young science worker, student, publicist, journalist and trade unionist. Each issue is devoted to a particular problem, dealt with in a series of articles.

The following numbers of *Marxist Digest* have appeared:

No. 1, 1970—State Monopoly Regulation: Its Content, Forms and Methods.

No. 2, 1970—Neo-colonialism.

—No. 3, 1970—Economic Reforms in the Socialist Countries (at the printer's).

The fourth issue, T. Mueller, the *Digest's* Executive Secretary, revealed, is dedicated to the 150th anniversary of the birth of Frederick Engels. Mueller also told us of the numbers on which associates of the Institute are working at present. The topics are: Condition of the scientific and technical intelligentsia in modern capitalist society; the Marxist conception of history and criticism of its "critics"; Marxist political economy and criticism of modern crisis theories; strategy and tactics of the workers' and national liberation movements.

The purpose of the *Digest* is to acquaint readers in the FRG with Marxist thinking in other countries and Marxist works on the principal social problems of our time.

The Institute of Marxist Research has made a good start, and the least we can do is wish it every success.

Frankfurt-am-Main—Prague

G. KURSANOV

Solidarity with fighting Laos

Seventy-two international, national and regional organizations met in Cairo May 19-21 last at a Conference in support of the Laotian people's fight against U.S. aggression. The Conference was held at a time when the U.S.-Saigon invasion of Cambodia had sharply aggravated the situation in Southeast Asia. This development coincided with increased Israeli-Zionist provocations against the Arab peoples, who "are living the same experience and are facing the same danger as the peoples of Asia, Africa, and Latin America," to quote President Nasser of the UAR.

The Conference received messages of greetings from numerous governments, parties, organizations and progressive leaders. It heard with keen attention a message from L. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CC CPSU, reading in part as follows:

"This important meeting of progressives of the world is an indication of growing international solidarity with the courageous Laotian people and other peoples of Indochina who are waging a just fight for independence, democracy, peace and neutrality, against interference by U.S. imperialism, which flouts all standards of international law and morality . . .

"True to the great Lenin's heritage, the Soviet people and Communist Party invariably side with the peoples of Indochina, who are waging a just struggle, and help and support them in every way. The Soviet Union emphatically condemns the U.S. aggression against the peoples of Laos, Vietnam and Cambodia. It insists on ending it immediately, withdrawing all U.S. and allied forces from all the countries of Indochina fully and unconditionally; respecting the national rights of the peoples of these countries and leaving it to them to shape their future as they see fit."

Phoumi Vongvichit, General Secretary of the Patriotic Front of Laos, was the first

to take the floor. He said U.S. military intervention in Laos was intensified with President Nixon's taking office. In line with Nixon's "Guam Doctrine," which provides for "pushing Asians to fight Asians," the United States has extended its aggression to the whole of Indochina. It is not only U.S. troops but units of America's accomplices that have been sent into Laos. The country is subjected to barbarous bomb raids. During the past few years U.S. aircraft had dropped more bombs on Laos than on Germany throughout World War II. American planes fly nearly 700 missions a day over Laos. The invaders use the most inhuman methods of warfare—they destroy villages, schools, hospitals and temples and kill old men, women and children.

Nevertheless, plans to turn Laos into a base for neo-colonialist expansion are coming to naught. In battles fought over a long period the Laotian people have built up an efficient army which gallantly defends the nation's interests. Two-thirds of the country's area is controlled by patriotic forces. The number of U.S. aircraft shot down over the liberated areas has risen to 1,153.

The Patriotic Front of Laos advanced and on March 6, 1970 published a five-point program for a political settlement in Laos. It provides for solving the problems of Laos on the basis of the 1962 Geneva agreements. It demands an end to U.S. intervention and interference in the country's domestic affairs, and genuine peace, independence and neutrality in Laos.

"The victory of our people," the head of the Laotian delegation said, "cannot be dissociated from the militant solidarity and the mutual support of the peoples of Vietnam and Cambodia, nor from the effective aid extended by the governments and peoples of socialist countries, nor from the approval and growing support of the peoples of Asia and Africa, and of the peace

and justice-loving peoples the world over, including the people of the United States of America."

Speakers stressed that the fight of Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia for freedom and independence has an enormous impact on the movement of the peoples of the world for national and social freedom, and makes for greater solidarity and cohesion of those fighting against imperialism and war. Kurt Steinhaus, a spokesman for the Anti-Imperialist Workers' Committee of the FRG, told about the growing anti-imperialist movement in West Germany.

James Forest, head of the U.S. delegation, spoke of how the struggle of the peoples of Indochina influences the progressive movement in the USA. He said the population of his country had split into two camps and the split was more serious than during the Civil War in 1861-65. Numerous students, young people, workers and intellectuals protest against the Nixon Administration's escalation of the war in Indochina. Opposition to this policy involves ruling quarters. Many Congressmen openly voice their strong disapproval of the expansion of hostilities in Indochina. The American people are coming to realize the direct connection between the sharpening of internal problems and Nixon's war policy. The fight of the peoples of Indochina exposes imperialism and its attempts to justify its aggression by the need to oppose communism.

The Conference took a resolute stand for the heroic struggle the Laotian people are carrying on under the leadership of the Patriotic Front. It fully subscribed to the Front's political program and demanded that bombings be stopped at once and the entire military personnel of the USA and its accomplices be pulled out of the country. It called on governments, democratic organizations and all progressives and peace supporters of the world to expose the U.S. imperialists' criminal activity in

Laos and to give greater material, political and moral support to the Laotian people.

The Conference resolution on Cambodia severely condemns the U.S. imperialists' aggression against that country and exposes their role in setting up a puppet regime in Phnom Penh.

"The war," says the Message to the Peoples of the USA, "was planned and is carried on by the 'military industrial complex' which, under the present leadership of President Nixon and the Pentagon generals, rules your country. Their policies are not your policies. In fact they are as much against you as they are against those who are struggling for freedom and self-determination in South East Asia and other oppressed parts of the world. We salute you and your peace movement in your splendid efforts to stop the monstrous U.S. imperialist war in Indochina."

The Conference Appeal in support of the struggle of the Arab Palestinian people and the peoples in all other Arab countries says that the Israeli aggression is part of the global strategy of imperialism. It calls on peace-loving and progressive organizations to extend full political, moral and material support to the Arab peoples and all the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America fighting against imperialism.

The Conference decided on steps to co-ordinate the anti-imperialist actions of democratic and progressive forces and national, regional and international organizations; to extend information laying bare imperialist crimes in every part of the globe; to hold demonstrations, make films, publish books and articles and prepare television and radio broadcasts telling about the heroic struggle of the peoples; to hold weeks of solidarity with the Laotian people. Agreement was reached to call an international conference in support of the fighting peoples of Indochina.

The Cairo Conference revealed growing anti-imperialist solidarity and unity.

Y.R.

Bolivia: new prospects for struggle

LUIS PADILLA

At first glance, the September 26, 1969 coup in Bolivia did not seem to fall outside the framework of the "classic" Latin American *pronunciamiento*. The overwhelming majority of this republic's presidents were ousted by military putsches, but some planks in the platform of the new military-civilian government and some of the progressive measures it has taken make it impossible to equate the "September revolution" with the earlier coups, which had never affected the status quo and imperialist dependence.

Let me say right away that there is no implication here of any change in the character of socio-production relations or any substitution of a power of the oppressed for the power of the oppressors. The working class has yet to become the leading force in the current political process. Still, this event is no ordinary one in the dramatic chronicle of Bolivia's political history.

What then is so special about the September 26 coup? How are we to assess the economic, political and social changes that have taken place in Bolivia since? What is the direction of the class struggle? What, in this context, are the main tasks of the working class and the popular movement?

1952 REVOLUTION, "RESTORATION" AND 1969 COUP

To gain a correct understanding of the present political situation in Bolivia, account must be taken of the changes in her socio-economic structure since the bourgeois-democratic revolution of 1952. Pre-revolutionary Bolivia had a bourgeois-

feudal system. Capitalist relations of production, which had taken shape at the end of the past century, were developing mainly in mining and some light industries. In every other sphere of national life, especially agriculture, feudal or semi-feudal forms of property continued to prevail.

The triumph of the popular uprising of April 9, 1952, opened the way for a number of anti-imperialist democratic measures and created the conditions for deep-going socio-economic change. A law on universal suffrage was adopted, and large-scale mining enterprises — the mainstay of the oligarchy connected with foreign finance capital — were nationalized. The announced agrarian reform, while not a radical one, paved the way for a development of commodity production in agriculture, elimination of feudal relations, and a handover of land into the ownership of the Indians, who had it on temporary tenure.

These changes were achieved through the broad mobilization of the working people and the political role played by the workers' and peasants' trade unions. Up until 1954, these organizations, united in the Bolivian Labor Center (COB), exercised some functions of grass-roots organs or popular power.

But at the time there was no truly revolutionary force capable of directing the massive struggle. The Communist Party of Bolivia, founded only two years earlier, was unable to undertake the task because of its organizational and political weakness. From the outset, the revolution was being given a lead by the Nationalist Revolutionary Movement (MNR), a petty-bourgeois party which gave the revolution

a bourgeois-nationalist complexion. Behind a screen of declarations about "joint government" (MNR and COB), which lasted for ten years, the bourgeoisie speedily built up its economic and political positions by switching the economy onto the capitalist way. It adhered to the "theory of interdependence" of the Latin American countries and the USA within the framework of the "free" world, and sought to apply in practice the idea of liberation from imperialism with the aid of imperialism itself.

Let us recall that U.S. "aid" has such strings as reorganization of the army under the supervision of the U.S. military, implementation of projects to "diversify" the economy imposed by the Inter-American Development Bank or the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, satisfaction of various claims by foreign investors, and so on. Acceptance of this "aid" led to higher salaries for foreign "advisers," and a simultaneous freeze on miners' wages, the firing of thousands of miners, establishment of a stringent regime in the mines, and elimination of workers' control at the nationalized enterprises. The limited agrarian reform failed to create the necessary prerequisites for a development of the productive forces and an increase in farm output, or to solve the country's food and raw material problem.

Consequently, the bourgeois-democratic revolution of 1952 showed that the bourgeoisie was incapable of tackling the tasks of a deep-going popular revolution, that economic development within the framework of imperialist domination was limited, and that it was impossible to set up an independent national state with the "aid" of imperialism.

On November 4, 1964, with the MNR government's policy in a deepening crisis, and mounting popular action, came the 180th coup in the country's 139-year history. Power passed into the hands of a military junta headed by General R. Barrientos.

This coup, prepared with the aid of Pentagon agents and supported by the pro-imperialist bourgeoisie, had a clearly expressed reactionary character. The military themselves called it "a revolution for the purpose of restoration." Indeed, the old repressive methods of Bolivian oligarchic government were re-introduced, residual democratic freedoms were wiped out, the miners' action was put down by force of arms and their townships occupied, per-

secution of patriots and revolutionaries was resumed, and concentration camps were set up. The penetration of foreign monopolies into the country's economy, mining and oil extracting especially, has increased. The country's sovereignty was for all practical purposes nullified by the intervention of "technical missions," military advisers, the "peace corps" and other U.S. outfits.

At the end of April 1969, Barrientos died in an air crash. Vice-President Siles Salinas was unable, even with the support of a coalition of bourgeois parties, to stem the deepening socio-economic crisis. During the "restoration" the country's external debt had gone up from \$248 million to \$371 million, to more than one-half of its gross national product. From 1966 to 1968, the trade deficit had increased from \$31 million to \$48 million, with exports running at \$150 million a year. The workers had insisted on immediate satisfaction of their demands. Anti-imperialist feelings swept the broadest sections of the population, including some circles of the clergy and the military.

Two groupings crystallized within the armed forces leadership: one nationalist, led by General Alfredo Ovando, and the other patently pro-American, consisting of supporters of former President Barrientos. Ovando made no secret of his desire to be president, and initially hoped to win in an election, but fearful that his opponents would jump the gun, he announced Salinas's deposition on September 26, 1969.

"NATIONAL REVOLUTIONARY DEVELOPMENT MODEL"

That is the name of the government's program, whose first and most important measure was to nationalize the assets of Gulf Oil, which had had control of oil and gas deposits valued at least at \$900 million. Its annual oil haul had been valued at \$18 million, of which just over 10 per cent had gone to the Bolivians. Gulf Oil had derived tremendous benefits from its sole use of the Bolivian-built pipeline running to the Pacific seaboard, and had also cast covetous eyes on the Bolivia-Argentina gas pipeline under construction. Meanwhile, the government oil company, Yacimientos Petroliferos Fiscales Bolivianos (YPFB), had been unable to meet domestic demand, and had had to buy its oil from Gulf Oil.

By issuing its oil nationalization decree,

the present government met the most cherished aspirations of all progressive sections of the population. Neither the Right-wing political forces, nor the bourgeois press dared openly criticize these measures. Resistance came only from Gulf Oil, whose interests had been hit. The company asked the U.S. Administration to invoke the Hickenlooper Amendment, which provides for a cut-off of "aid" to states nationalizing U.S. assets without "timely and due compensation." Gulf Oil unilaterally secured a halt to the delivery of pipes and other building materials for the Bolivia-Argentina gas pipeline, and threatened to arrange an embargo on the marketing of Bolivian oil. Press reports said the CIA, the U.S. Embassy in La Paz and Gulf Oil were plotting to force the Ovando Government to execute a turn-about, and if they failed to do so, to install another, more pliant one. Gulf Oil demanded a compensation of \$150 million, although its actual assets were much smaller. The Bolivian government, wishing to avoid a final break with the USA, set up a commission to determine the "amount, terms and deadlines" in compensating the company for the loss of its assets. The Communist Party of Bolivia believes that this is a serious concession to U.S. imperialism, and has been calling for a revocation of this part of the decree.

The flexibility and caution displayed by the "oil barons" in safeguarding their interests obviously shows that their acts are concerted with the strategic plans of the U.S. State Department. Their main purpose is to win time to prepare a counter-revolutionary offensive, to refrain from stepping up the pace of events, and to keep intact the machinery of imperialist domination, which is geared to the bourgeois state machine.

A highly important step in protecting the country's natural resources and restoring its financial independence was the passage of new laws providing for a state monopoly on the export and marketing of mineral raw materials, and compulsory surrender of foreign exchange by exporters to the Central Bank of Bolivia. Despite their limited nature, these measures will undoubtedly play a positive part in consolidating national sovereignty.

The extension of democratic rights and freedoms has been promoted by the lifting of the state security law and the cancellation of trade union regulations. The troops were pulled out of the miners' townships.

The agents of the Inter-American Regional Organization of Working People and of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions were weeded out in the labor and trade union movement, and this promoted its reorganization. The miners fired for their political and trade union activity under Barrientos were re-instated. However, the government refused to meet the public demand for an amnesty of political prisoners, among whom are members of the CPB Central Committee Mario Monje and Aldo Flores.

The establishment of diplomatic and trade relations with the Soviet Union, Rumania, Poland and Czechoslovakia gives Bolivia an opportunity to pursue an independent foreign policy and tackle some of the acute economic, technical and financial problems at home.

Under the "national revolutionary development" policy, a start has been made on a program to wipe out illiteracy and develop education. Without belittling the importance of this program for the country, where 67 per cent of the population over the age of 15 cannot read or write, let us note that its main purpose is to "Hispaniolize the country," that is, to teach people to read and write in Spanish. With this kind of approach, there is no concrete backing to the decree's assurances that the Indians' "native languages will be preserved and developed," and it is clear that they are assigned a minor role in the "national integration" of the multi-national Bolivian state.

The main purpose of the administrative and fiscal reforms is to modernize the facade of an archaic bourgeois state machine, which has been essentially left intact.

Parliament alone has ceased to function. However, this is of no importance, because this institution of "representative democracy" had always played a minor role in any important decisions. Laws and decrees are now approved by the government with the preliminary sanction of the army's top brass.

None of the existing political parties or mass organizations is represented in any of the other organs of power. All this is an indication that the Ovando regime lacks a broad social base.

Bolivia, like many other Latin American countries, has long been a target of intensified imperialist penetration. Its economy and government institutions, the army and the police, have been infested by diverse foreign "missions," international banks and

"aid" outfits, which also penetrated into the sphere of culture, education, and so on.

The present regime has undoubtedly put some curbs on the unhindered intervention by imperialism in the country's internal affairs.

DIFFERENTIATION OF POLITICAL FORCES. TASKS AND PROSPECTS OF THE POPULAR MOVEMENT

Political life in modern Bolivia is marked by growing activity on the part of the most diverse social groups and mass organizations. Various parties, trade unions, the army, the church, students, peasants, the intelligentsia and white collar workers have been drawn into the political vortex. Under the impact of complex processes in the innermost recesses of society there is a definite tendency towards a differentiation of these forces.

The key posts in the country's leadership are held by members of the middle and petty bourgeoisie, who have to some extent driven back the old henchmen of the big oligarchy. However, there is no clear line of distinction between the two. The "independent" ministers, constituting the civilian wing of the cabinet, enjoy some support from the students and a section of the working people. Their inclusion in the government by the nationalist-minded military leaders should be seen as the regime's urge to damp down the widespread public discontent over the earlier bloodshed in the drive against the workers.

The armed forces, where men of petty-bourgeois origin maintain some nationalistic traditions, are in a state of political ferment. The reactionary wing of the militarists, which still has a strong influence in the repressive apparatus, strives to regain its lost initiative, and looks for help to imperialism and the local oligarchy in the fight for power. This group of military, at one time enjoying considerable privileges, secured the resignation of Minister Marcello Quiroga Santa Cruz, who represented the radical-minded intelligentsia and who had initiated the nationalization of Gulf Oil. The discord among the Bolivian top brass led to the emergence of a third officer group favoring neutralization of the armed forces.

The need to nationalize the banks, foreign trade, and the mining industry logically follows from the proclaimed "national revolutionary development" model. But the government has ignored the demands

of the masses and has been talking about "cooperation between the public, private and cooperative sectors" on the basis of "coordinated planning."

This government stand is a reflection of the urge of the middle national bourgeoisie to secure control of the country's economy by ousting the big monopolies through reforms, while preserving the existing relations of production.

Objectively this urge *partially* coincides with the interests of the oppressed social sections, who want the imperialist dependence to be done away with as a first stage in the revolutionary transformation of society. However, this partial identity is not tantamount to a subordination of the interests of the working class and the other working people to those of the bourgeoisie. The proletariat must not confine its struggle to a framework of democratic and anti-imperialist goals, losing sight of its strategic task—socialism.

The Communists of Bolivia have been actively working to bring together in a united popular front the working class, the peasantry, the petty bourgeoisie, the progressive intelligentsia and the progressive section of the national bourgeoisie. We reject the concept of the popular front without the participation of the proletariat; we are equally opposed to the bourgeoisie commanding the proletariat in such a front. The tasks of the anti-imperialist, democratic revolution can be consistently fulfilled only if the proletariat and the Communist Party secure the *leading* role in this front and overcome the inconsistency and conciliation of the bourgeoisie.

The experience of the 1952 bourgeois-democratic revolution is evidence that the hegemony of the bourgeoisie leads to a restoration of imperialist domination. It is the strategic task of the Communists and all other consistently revolutionary forces to prevent a repetition of the bourgeois-democratic "étude," which is fraught with much greater hazard today than it was in 1952.

The CPB's policy has taken account of this hazard. It *supports* all the government's progressive measures, and *criticizes* its vacillations and concessions to the reactionary forces.

Although the government has yet officially to lift the ban on the CPB, its members have actually engaged in public activity unhampered. This has enabled the CPB to extend its influence in the key working-class centers and to help shape the re-

organization of the working-class and popular movement, which is now spreading successfully.

Past experience urges the need to base such a movement on the principles of class independence and to equip it with a truly revolutionary theory. These principles have been largely reflected in the decisions of the congresses of the Miners' Federation, the leading force of the Bolivian proletariat, and the Bolivian Labor Center, among whose members are workers' and peasants' organizations and cooperatives, petty bourgeois associations (white-collar workers, students, intellectuals, small merchants, and so on). Their statements reflect the growing political radicalization of the masses.

At the same time, not all the social forces which could enter a popular front have risen to the level of the proletariat's revolutionary positions. For the time being the peasant movement remains fragmented. In these conditions, the fight for popular power must pass through the necessary

stage of consolidation of the revolutionary forces.

The present government's reformist course should be seen as an attempt to contain the struggle of the Bolivian working class and all other working people. This government's political aims are not identical with those of the working people. With the continued reactionary moves to prevent the cohesion of the Left forces by any means, and the splitting activity of the ultra-Leftist elements, the Communist Party of Bolivia has firmly taken the line of creating a powerful anti-imperialist popular front. The further build-up of mass organizations of the working class, the peasantry, the petty bourgeoisie and the intelligentsia, the continued and deepening struggle for democracy, correct tactics with respect to the government's policy, the winning over of the patriotic-minded section of the army for the popular forces—these are the immediate tasks whose solution will bring closer the attainment of the desired goal.

Fate of U.S. civilization

A political commentary

The past decade has witnessed a tumultuous accumulation and interlacement of acute problems and conflicts the likes of which U.S. history has never known. Inflation and a soaring cost of living, monetary and payments difficulties, the urban crisis and the growth of crime, neglected social services, a swelling national debt and tax "mutinies," the impasse in Indochina and the resultant isolation of the country in foreign affairs, the explosions of wrath and protest among the national minorities, the student revolt, sharpening social antagonisms and the massive anti-war, anti-imperialist and anti-government sentiment. . . . Even the mere enumeration is likely to fatigue the reader. But far greater is the fatigue of millions of Americans from crises and impasses, and the assortment of "No. 1 problems" that suc-

ceeded each other kaleidoscopically in recent years.

The present generations have looked upon Kennedy's "new frontiers" and Johnson's "great society" and "war on poverty." Nixon's resounding promises of "new beginnings," "the great age of reform" and "break with tradition" still ring in their ears. But the advertisement-conscious American is not sold on the blandishments of the current political platforms. A snowballing number of Americans is dissatisfied with the way the Administration says it will combat the nation's troubles. They know from past failures that platforms devised to iron out social snags are illusory. They react to the political maneuvering by staying away from the polls. In the presidential election 30 out of the 90 million registered voters did not turn out.

Despondency reigns in the nation, born of a lack of confidence in the ability of the ruling element to resolve the problems. Against the setting of mass actions by workers, youth and the national minorities, a languid depression has settled over the "silent majority" that President Nixon addressed in setting out his home and foreign-policy doctrines. Some U.S. observers call it the "revolt of the middle class." It is a creeping nihilism, spreading across America alongside a radical reactionary extremism. "Middle-class America," writes *U.S. News and World Report*, "shows a rapid loss of confidence in teachers and ministers, judges and civil officials, in once-respected professional people. . . . Over all is a growing disrespect for all authority, the institution of marriage and the family as the basic unit of society. . . . Patriotism is scoffed at as an old-fashioned virtue."

The man-in-the-street has become accustomed to the rapid change of the Administration's "fundamental guidelines." He has grown used to the problems piling up despite agonizing reassessments. The upswing of the sixties, stimulated by government devices, though it somewhat mitigated the mass unemployment, steeply pushed up prices and the cost of living. A "change of course" followed, with the Administration mounting a "massive offensive" on inflation. Though it is still too early to pronounce final judgments, it is clear that prices are still going up, while unemployment is officially estimated at five per cent of the nation's work force. Meanwhile, yearning to end the impasse in Vietnam, the Administration first announced "de-Americanization" of the war and a partial pull-out, only to fling new forces into the fray "to win in Indochina," with the result that it has sunk still deeper into the mire and at the same time augmented the tensions at home.

The contradictions on the present-day U.S. scene cannot be removed by government intervention. They differ in sharpness at different times, changing their form and sphere, and moving in what looks like a vicious circle but is more like a climbing spiral, because in the final reckoning they only tend to become more acute.

The average American is perturbed and frightened by the vast variety of difficulties, conflicts and blind alleys. Hence his lack of confidence, sense of frustration and disappointment. Hence, too, as U.S. news

analyst H. Johnson puts it, his "nostalgia for the immediate past."

"No matter how intense or far-reaching the problems, the Stock Market crash, the Depression, even the Great War," he writes, "they did not seem insurmountable. The Sixties created another impression . . . as if America had lost its moorings. Nothing seemed secure."

Snag by snag, the problems seem to be resolvable. But their eternal multitude, producing an explosive social atmosphere, creates the impression of a general *cul de sac*. Pressing to the fore are questions relating to the value of the civilization forged in the United States and to the potentialities of modern American society. More Americans cannot help wondering about the causes behind the rapid accumulation of unsolved or insoluble problems in the world's richest capitalist country. They wonder what lies in store for them in the seventies and eighties, and what the U.S. will be like in 2000. They ask themselves whether, perhaps, the difficulties and contradictions of the present day are the inescapable (and, moreover, continuously growing) price of civilization American style.

The wholesale search for answers and the urgency of the issues raised cannot but reflect on capitalist literature and propaganda. Pessimism and negative overtones predominate in the diverse press elucidations of the present state of U.S. society and the turn events are likely to take in the future. The sense of disappointment is probably so overwhelming that it has infected many of the capitalist propaganda-makers. Their deliberate dejection is aimed at responding to the mass "consumer" demand. Besides, attempts at portraying the future American scene are naturally boxed in by the existing social relationships, which just as naturally circumscribe the vision of the bourgeois futurologists. Shying from anything outside that framework, they willy-nilly subscribe to the general negativism and sense of futility.

The advocates of Keynesian and neo-Keynesian formulas for salvaging capitalism are still numerous. So are various growth theories and "industrial society" concepts, each claiming that it has found the key to the workings of the capitalist economy and its mechanics. The findings of men like J. Keynes, E. Domar, W. Rostow and J. Galbraith, all leading theorists of the present-day monopoly capital-

ism, have helped partially resolve the problems of economic growth and somewhat mitigate the cyclical oscillations. Many hoped that this would transform the "exclusive" U.S. capitalism into a society sans conflicts and antagonisms. Now they are learning the reverse: the theories in question do not provide a clear picture of the social relationships, let alone a prescription for surmounting the social contradictions. While promising the individual wealth and prosperity, they give him no guarantees as to his moral satisfaction and social security. And the usefulness of economic growth is placed in question. It is a commonplace of late, *US News and World Report* reveals, that "most people are making more and enjoying it less because, very often, they have less to enjoy."

Theorists, statesmen and people of the business world are casting about for a formula to bring about social pacification. Under this head come many of the government measures, like the national manpower program for the retraining of workers forced out of jobs by automation and of the young people who are intensively inflating the labor force, and so do the joint efforts of Business and Administration to clean up the slums, build cheap housing, combat air and water pollution, and the like. However, the half-hearted approach and relatively meagre allocations reveal that the purpose borders on social demagoguery and is far removed from any charitable motives.

The Triple Revolution Manifesto issued by a group of U.S. scientists and public leaders in 1964 blames America's troubles on three interlacing revolutions—the technological, the revolution in armaments, and in civil rights. The technological or cybernetic revolution, the most important of the three, is said to have caused a "paradox of abundance": the assimilation of the fruits of scientific and technical progress creates all but limitless production opportunities, whereas the capitalist system lacks the necessary mechanism to avail itself of these opportunities. The first conclusion drawn is that society can be saved only by a fundamentally new approach to the distribution of the social product. In their next conclusion, however, the manifesto writers fall prey to Utopia: the foundation for this new approach, they hold, should be a new system of social security that would feed and clothe all those elbowed out of the production process by the cybernetic revolution. And this

system, as they see it, is to be devised by the bourgeois state.

Richard Neville, too, the newly-fledged ideologue of the *avant garde*, looks with hope into the "automated world in which people are paid not to work." His creed: escape from politics and opposition to the existing authority not on the basis of a political program, but as an "alternative way of life": play or free endeavor affording pleasure. Jean-Paul Sartre once wrote that "as soon as man apprehends himself as free and wishes to use his freedom . . . then his activity in play." Neville, for his part, defines play as the "international survival strategy for the future." He rejects the traditional values and suggests four objects of faith: drugs, pop music, free love and the "politics of play." These, he says, will help man apprehend his potential. The profundity, one might say, is staggering. But that is precisely the trouble today: the "industrial society" is bound to engender this sense of futility and poverty of spirit. Western sociologists cannot but agree that "hippyism" will go on spreading. Neville's "philosophy" is merely an extreme expression of the craving to escape the gloomy realities.

It is increasingly difficult these days to produce a favorable prognosis for American civilization on the basis of the traditional bourgeois social science. That is why more than astounding forecasts of the world to come find a willing buyer in the propaganda market. Matters have come to a point where *Time* opens its article on the coming decade with the following elaborate discourse:

"On January 4, 1970, the planet Neptune, which has been under the influence of Scorpio since the mid-50's, will move into the sphere of Sagittarius, the sign of idealism and spiritual values. The result, predict astrologers, should be a profound change in the way people think and act . . . In the short run, the clash between new values and old probably will produce uncertainty, confusion, frustration and dismay. In the long run, this decade and the next may well constitute an historical era of transition, like that which followed the Middle Ages and preceded the Renaissance."

Speaking diagrammatically, we may single out two distinct trends in American futurology: the pragmatic and the metaphysical. The exponents of the former accentuate the evil consequences-to-come of already operative tendencies, whereas the

latter, noting the incredibility and futility of the former, preach a philosophy of "the Deluge" and "the end of the world."

The bourgeois futurologists of the pragmatic school harp on the precipitous technological progress. Predicting a stormy accumulation of scientific knowledge and its use in production, economists, sociologists and psychologists express alarm over its social effects.

Anthony J. Wiener in a book on the year 2000 presumes that in the coming decades there will be at least a hundred scientific or technical discoveries, each creating a grave social problem. His co-author, Herman Kahn, told a futurologists' symposium in Sweden that by 1985 a technological crisis would be precipitated by environmental pollution and that the traditional social values would be totally emasculated, with people searching anew for the purpose of life. It is indeed easily seen how sharp many of the social problems of today will become by then.

Many Western writers hold that the gravest potential difficulties will arise outside the disproportions and contradictions witnessed in the capitalist society of today. Peter Jay, the *Times* economic correspondent, infers the peril for the capitalist system from the new contradiction between the increasingly massive demand for highly skilled labor and society's obvious inability to satisfy the moral and psychological requirements of a population educated to participate in shaping the economic and political realities. The contradiction is still to unfold. Yet even now extensive retraining and the spread of education are giving rise to disturbing symptoms. Dr. John Merk of Rand Corporation predicts, for example, that in the coming ten years the number of mathematicians and statisticians will exceed employment opportunities tenfold, although the demand will double. By 1980 only half the graduated specialists will find jobs in their specific field.

Gloomy forecasts are not confined to the consequences of the scientific and technological revolution. The U.S. reader encounters frequent metaphysical generalizations and broad historical analogies. "America," says the *International Herald Tribune*, "is in danger of following the example of other great powers and finally falling. We have become too rich, too fat, too corrupt, too contented to survive."

Asked by an interviewer to what present or past civilizations he would compare

contemporary America, Arnold Toynbee, British historian, philosopher and author of a 12-volume investigation of world history, said:

"What comes into my mind are the last days of the Roman Republic, Cicero's time. Why? Well, tremendous power in the world, used in a rather fearful way to the great distress and suffering of the people . . . and tremendous disorder at home, and a constitution which was an admirable one, judged by its working for a century or so, but is now no longer working properly, and, above all, violence."

The analogy is, indeed, literally self-evident. All that remains is to fill in the facts: aggression in Southeast Asia and socio-political crisis at home, spread of violence in home affairs and in actions abroad, and, last but not least, irreversible erosion of the ideals of the U.S. Constitution, which, to quote Rexford Tugwell, the "new deal" theorist, "has ceased to be an instrument and has become an impediment," for the improvement of which the Santa Barbara center studying democratic institutions has submitted the 35th variant.

As recently as June 1970, the U.S. press focussed attention on four books dealing with the future America—books that a mere decade ago would hardly have found a publisher. Three of them say that American civilization has come to the end of the road, while the fourth avers that the probability of the end is very great.

In *The Age of Aquarius*, journalist William Braden associates the social impasse with the effects of the technical advance. Americans, he writes, have become producers and consumers first, people second. "The instrumentalization of things" has led to "the instrumentalization of man." Man has become the ultimate object of his own manipulation. "We have met the enemy," says Braden, "and he is us." Seeing no way out of the predicament, he contends that "nothing short of a religious conversion can save America."

The subject of sociologist Phillips Slater's "The Pursuit of Loneliness" is the emotional impoverishment of American living. As he sees it, "mindless and unremitting production" engenders an "individualism American-style," which means "killing and competing." He amplifies: "Americans buy and sell instead of making love." The solution he suggests is to find a new set of moral values, to be less self-contented and to get down to pleasure-seeking.

Cornell University Professor Andrew Hacker entitled his book *The End of the American Era*. Here is what he says: "The United States has been embarked on its decline since the closing days of the Second World War . . . What was once a nation has become simply an agglomeration of self-conceited individuals — 200 million egos . . . We are no longer capable of being a great power . . . We lack the will." Hacker has nothing to offer by way of prescription for saving society. His attitude is one of passive waiting for the inevitable fall.

G. Gardner, once Health, Education and Welfare Secretary and now President of the National Urban League, has long been preoccupied with the topic of U.S. social development. He has written books on this topic, and it is highly indicative how his views evolved over the past decade, sinking from what were originally fairly optimistic views to the following (in his latest, *The Recovery of Confidence*): America is no longer the dynamic country that it was; people have lost confidence; now the only hope rests in moral values.

Unlike the other three writers, Gardner thinks the situation is not entirely hopeless. But what identifies all four, and many others, is their lack of confidence in the ability to treat the symptoms of the sick society by economic and social reconstruction, their endeavor to evade the acute rockbottom problems of our time and escape into the domain of individual self-analysis, private emotionalizing and illusory dreams. Yet that is the general sentiment reigning in present-day capitalist America, the core of the postures assumed by more and more of the U.S. social scient-

ists in sounding the future of American civilization.

So far only a few have come forward with an alternative to the utopian and impassive prescriptions for the ills of that conflict-ridden civilization. In the forefront stand the Marxists, who take a rational view of the crisis of the moribund social system and of the ways and means of its revolutionary reorganization. Speaking in June at an international symposium in Berlin, James Jackson, member of the Political Committee of the National Committee of the Communist Party USA, called attention to the "extreme sharpness of the general crisis of capitalism, which cannot be reversed either by moderation or half-measures. The crisis is steadily proliferating new, explosive factors and can only be resolved by radical and fundamental change."

The crisis, which has brought into motion large segments of the people, shows that progressives, who see through the projects of the *avant garde* and the astrologists and will not reduce the national values and traditions to pure morality and religion, are poised for action. The nation has far more tangible and precious values, and these progressive America will rise to uphold. The Declaration of Independence, of 1776, says "that all men are created equal . . . that they are endowed . . . with . . . inalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness. That to secure these rights, Governments are instituted among Men . . . That whenever any form of Government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the Right of the People to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new Government."

Jan PRAZSKY

Objective: socialist integration

The 24th Session of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance, held at heads-of-government level in Warsaw in May 1970, summed up the results of the past year's work and settled concrete matters related to the further extension of international socialist economic integration.

Below are the answers of CMEA Secretary N. Faddeyev to our questions about the Session and its decisions.

QUESTION 1: *What has the 24th CMEA Session Accomplished to Advance Socialist Integration?*

What the 24th Session has accomplished is closely linked with the decisions of the 23rd (Special) Session in April last year, which set the course on drafting a comprehensive long-term program for a further extension and improvement of cooperation among CMEA member-countries with the objective of promoting socialist economic integration.

The 24th Session discussed the Executive Committee report on the implementation of the previous session's decisions and studied the results so far in the drafting of the integration program. Member-countries, special working groups and other Council bodies, the Session noted, have done some useful work, with many of the concrete drafting assignments already completed.

However, due to the novelty and complexity of many of the problems, there have been snags and difficulties. Drafting an integration program in this qualitatively new stage of multi-lateral economic, scientific and technological cooperation entails deep study of all problems and thrashing out solutions acceptable to all parties concerned.

The latest Session registered CMEA members' coinciding views on a wide range of fundamental problems and adopted concrete measures facilitating successful completion of the comprehensive program draft.

The Session approved recommendations

relating to closer cooperation in planning: to consult each other on fundamental points of economic policy; to exchange experience and cooperate in forecasting for key areas in economics, science and technology, and to coordinate long-term planning in the key economic sectors.

The Session instructed the Executive to frame measures enhancing the role of planning bodies in multilateral CMEA cooperation.

Great importance in the setting of socialist integration attaches to direct contacts between ministries, administrations, economic and other bodies and organizations of the fraternal countries on a contractual basis. Also more important is the role of the various international bodies set up under CMEA auspices. The Session approved the principles and procedures, and the organizational, economic and juridical premises for direct contractual contacts, and the possible structure and functions of international bodies, recommending that member-countries provide favorable facilities for broader direct contacts and the constitution and activity of international economic organizations.

QUESTION 2: *What major problems tend to arise in the cooperation of CMEA members and how, in your opinion, can they be resolved?*

The rapid and sustained economic growth in the CMEA countries creates the problem of closer cooperation in fuel, power and raw materials.

Cooperation implies fuel, power and raw material deliveries from the Soviet Union

and mutual deliveries by the other CMEA countries. Joint efforts in expanding certain areas of production, increasing credits for mine building and other projects, and for enterprises fitting into the scheme of specialization and cooperation in production, as well as the mutual supplying of up-to-date machinery and equipment for the extraction of fuel and raw materials, are, cumulatively, an extremely important aspect of cooperation. The CMEA countries must forge scientific, technical, production and organizational facilities for a still speedier growth of atomic energetics.

Another crucial problem is to fashion diverse mutually advantageous forms of international specialization of production. Member-countries and Council are now framing recommendations and proposals to broaden and stabilize specialization and cooperation in engineering and chemicals along agreed long-term, fundamental lines, and also in other areas decisive for greater economic efficiency of production and for the attainment of the highest possible scientific and technological level. International specialization and cooperation in production will proceed on the basis of long-term treaties and agreements.

We expect to cope with these problems with the help of the new CMEA-sponsored international bodies the possible structure and functions of which were approved by our latest Session. That will enable us to concentrate the greatest possible material and financial resources, as well as those of personnel.

Naturally, there are many other important issues involving an increasing amount of joint effort. This applies, among other things, to improving the CMEA countries' international transport network, coordinating the growth of the material and technical basis of our agriculture, etc.

To secure the fullest and most effective use of the achievements of the scientific and technical revolution, we are encouraging cooperation in science and technology, and centering it on the main trends in the current progress. With this end in view, we are planning to set up a number of international research centers.

QUESTION 3: *A delegation of the Socialist Federative Republic of Yugoslavia was present at the 24th CMEA Session and we should like to know how Yugoslavia participates in CMEA work.*

Yugoslav representatives attend sittings of CMEA bodies under an agreement of

September 17, 1964, which envisages Yugoslav cooperation with CMEA in many fields, such as foreign trade, monetary relationships, iron-and-steel and non-ferrous metals, engineering, chemicals, and scientific and technological research. The SFRY delegation, headed by Comrade A. Grlichkov, Deputy Chairman of the Executive Council of the CFRY, attended the 24th CMEA Session on the occasion of the centenary of the birth of V. I. Lenin.

Our cooperation with Yugoslavia, chiefly in the framework of the respective CMEA standing commissions, has been expanding steadily. From 1965 to 1969, for example, Yugoslav cooperation has spread to electronics, electric power, petroleum and gas.

In matters of mutual interest Yugoslav representatives participate in our sittings on an equal footing with CMEA member-countries. Besides, they may be, and usually are, invited to sittings of standing commissions and, in some cases, to CMEA sessions and sittings of the Executive Committee, so that they may keep abreast of other issues examined by our various bodies.

CMEA cooperation with Yugoslavia, based on the principles of complete equality, respect for sovereignty, national interest and mutual advantage, promotes the further extension of economic links and solutions of common benefit.

QUESTION 4: *What are the functions and main statutory purposes of the International Investment Bank?*

Establishment of the International Investment Bank was decided on by the 23rd (Special) CMEA Session. In line with this decision, CMEA members—Bulgaria, Hungary, the GDR, Mongolia, Poland, the USSR and Czechoslovakia — endorsed at the 24th Session the drafts of an Agreement on the establishment in Moscow of the International Investment Bank.

The new Bank's main purpose is to provide medium- and long-term credits, principally for joint economic projects promoting the socialist international division of labor, and specialization and cooperation in production; for extending in the common interest production of fuel and raw materials; for projects with a bearing on the economic growth of the countries that are members of the Bank, and for projects promoting growth of the national economies.

Projects financed by the Bank must meet the top scientific and technical stand-

ards and assure production of the highest quality at the lowest possible cost, with sales assured at prices equalling those on the world market. In granting loans, the Bank will act on CMEA recommendations based on the coordinated economic plans of the CMEA countries.

The Bank's resources will consist of members' contributions to its statutory assets (1,000 million convertible rubles, comprising freely convertible currencies and gold, as well as convertible rubles) contributions to special funds by interested countries, members' deposits, funds raised in the international monetary markets, and part of the Bank's profit earmarked as reserve capital or channelled into its various special funds.

Entitled to IIB loans are banks, economic bodies and enterprises of member-countries officially empowered to receive loans, CMEA-sponsored international bodies and joint enterprises and banks and economic bodies of other countries.

The Bank's supreme governing body is a Council on which all member-countries are represented with one vote, regardless of the size of their contribution to the statutory assets. Decisions on fundamental issues enumerated in the Statutes will be unanimous, while a qualified majority of not less than three-quarters of the votes will suffice in the case of other decisions. To be valid, Council decisions must be adopted in the presence of not less than three-quarters of the Bank's members. A Board comprising a chairman and three deputies, will handle all current activity.

Any country accepting the Bank's aims

and principles and prepared to assume the obligations implicit in the Agreement and Statutes, may be a member of the Bank, the establishment of which is an important act promoting further growth of the economic integration of CMEA member-countries.

QUESTION 5: *Please tell us about the International Institute of Economic Problems of the Socialist World System.*

The 24th CMEA session has indeed decided to establish such an Institute, in which all CMEA members will participate. Its object is to assure speedier solution of problems arising in the economic cooperation of the fraternal countries and in the practice of their economic development.

The Institute will be an economic research centre of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance and will be subordinate directly to the CMEA Executive Committee, working in close contact with other Council bodies. It will coordinate research of the fraternal countries, strengthen the theoretical foundations of socialist integration and help work out concrete problems of cooperation related chiefly to the comprehensive integration program.

The Institute will also extend aid to national research bodies of CMEA members and help coordinate research in selected economic areas, promote direct ties and cooperation of various science bodies in CMEA countries, and facilitate communication of scientific economic information. Also, it will sponsor international theoretical conferences, symposia and panels on key problems of economic cooperation.

Problem of economic incentives in CMEA countries

BORIS SUKHAREVSKY

The Council for Mutual Economic Assistance aims at closer cooperation in economic management as well as in production. There have been several constructive meetings recently and symposia on such matters as planning, price formation, finances and economic production incentives. Regular conferences on wages and labor power were begun last year, the first being held in Budapest in April 1969 and the second a year later in Berlin. Generalization of their materials will help each country find optimal solutions.

This article discusses some of the pressing problems of material incentives in the CMEA member-countries.

COMMON MANAGEMENT PROBLEMS

New economic targets and the scientific and technological revolution raise economic problems common to all CMEA countries. The most important of these is how to make production more effective and accelerate technological advance so as more fully to satisfy the rapidly rising material and cultural requirements of the people. More efficient management based on a fuller use of the objective advantages of socialism presupposes a higher scientific level of central planning, more economic independence at enterprise level and a more effective system of economic incentives.

That, in fact, is the purpose of the economic reforms now under way in the CMEA countries. Planning now relies more on such economic levers as price, profit, wage and credit. More extensively used these days are the principles of enterprise

accountability. Workers are more broadly enlisted in running enterprises.

The uniform aim of the economic reforms in the socialist countries determines the identity of the principal trends in improving planning and the incentives system. It is based on the Leninist principles of economic management, primarily that of democratic centralism, combining central planning with accountability of the enterprises, direct plan assignments with indirect regulation, and material incentives with moral.

In all the CMEA countries the new incentives are geared to take into account practical experience and are based on research in the fundamental problems of the political economy of socialism.

A distinguishing feature of the new forms and methods of labor stimulation employed under the economic reforms is their comprehensive approach. The purpose is to hammer out a universal system based on a conscious utilization of the objective economic laws of socialism. In other words, all the means at the command of the socialist state are being employed to make production more effective and to accelerate scientific and technological progress. Success depends largely on the ability to integrate planning, price formation, finance, credit, and other management instruments in an interacting system, while at the same time improving the labor incomes scheme.

The job is not an easy one. It requires close study and practical testing of the newly devised forms and methods of management. None of the CMEA countries has yet completed the reorganization of the

planning and incentives system, though many of its elements have, to one or another degree, begun operating.

What are these elements?

The new incentives system aims at an optimum combination of the interests of society, the production collective and each producer. This is being achieved by more emphasis on scientific planning, its closer alignment with the public requirements and by a better use of available reserves for more efficient operation. At the same time, fuller application of the accountability principle enables us to tie in the material interest of the worker with economic incentives at the enterprise level. A key element in this is the profit-based enterprise and amalgamation incentives fund, with part of the workers' emoluments depending on its size.

More rational quantity, quality and performance criteria have been introduced for enterprises and their workers. The importance of these new criteria lies in the fact that they are expressive of the demands socialist society makes on each worker and each enterprise. In other words, we can determine to what extent labor expenditure was socially necessary and the results it produced socially useful. The accent is on indicators and incentives that assure intensification of the production process, higher efficiency and higher quantitative growth, and, particularly, higher qualitative standards.

For this reason, the immediate sources of wages and the ways of increasing them are changing.

To a far greater extent than before, the worker's performance is measured not only by his own contribution, but by that of the entire collective. In all CMEA countries, apart from wage raises out of the central wage fund, a source guaranteed by the state, there are raises deriving from part of the profit, which are the greater, the greater the common labor outlay.

The incentive role of wages necessitates a new basic payroll planning. CMEA countries are therefore improving wage scales and work norms, with enterprises given wider powers in matters relating to material incentives. This means that direct computation of wages according to wage scales and work norms is complemented by indirect regulation through distribution of enterprise profits by means of economic levers such as price, profit, credit, and the like. This calls for a scientifically

grounded system of profit distribution among individual workers, enterprises and society as a whole. This combination of the interests of society, the collective and the individual worker strengthens the economic basis of the moral incentives of socialism and encourages wider participation of the workers and their trade unions in management.

Though the new incentives systems are based on common principles, there are certain differences in the forms applied in the various countries. These concern primarily regulation of wages, wage scales, incentive funds and the rules governing bonuses. Accumulated experience shows that the new system still requires much work to overcome difficulties and to find constructive solutions. The reform mechanism is being continuously improved. What, then, are the chief questions posed by practice?

PRODUCTION EFFECTIVENESS

Technological progress has immeasurably extended the sources and levers of more effective social production. But they can be applied to advantage only given carefully elaborated integrated measures assuring optimal use of each contributing factor.

Hence the need for methods of comparative assessment of the different factors securing higher standards of social production. Apparently we shall have to work out a better-grounded system of effectiveness indicators, assuring optimal results.

Some economy factors, as we know, tend to pull in different directions. For instance, cutting down on current expenditure sometimes conflicts with the drive for higher quality. Economy in cost often leads to more labor-consuming processes. Similarly, economy in labor and higher productivity necessitate modernization and expansion. While concentrating on some single factor, an enterprise would disregard all others and thereby depress the results of economizing.

It is not easy to work out a comprehensive approach. Practice has shown that apart from advantages, use of profit as the master indicator has disadvantages too, especially in relation to outlays of labor.

It should be borne in mind that under socialism society's necessary spending on the reproduction of labor power is not confined to wages. An increasingly substantial part of the worker's requirements

is met from public consumption funds.

Once a factory is operating on a cost-accounting basis, it measures investment in new plant against the saving this yields in terms of the payroll—the release of part of the work force for organized transfer to other enterprises. This approach inevitably reduces the benefit of new technology for society as a whole. Consequently, we shall have to find additional levers to make every step improving the use of labor easier and more advantageous for the enterprise collectives.

The need for additional efficiency incentives is especially great due to acute labor shortages in some CMEA countries. And the expansion of material production and of community services adds to the importance of higher productivity and effective economic incentives.

Practice and research show that payroll saving does not necessarily provide sufficiently large additional funds for incentives, and consequently does not stimulate productivity to the desired extent. This applies in particular to industries where the payroll is a relatively unsubstantial item in the cost of production—chemicals, oil refining, some branches of the food industry, etc.

Lastly, it should be stressed that in the new conditions, the effect of material incentives largely depends on stringent government and public control of prices, assortment and quality. In the absence of such control, heads of enterprises are sometimes tempted to take the “easy” way, boosting profit by unjustifiable price increases, violating the fixed assortment, and the like. Strict state and labor discipline is therefore essential to assure the efficiency of the new economic incentives systems.

HOW TO STIMULATE ECONOMY OF LABOR POWER?

The search for ways and means of reducing labor outlays follows two lines: first, perfecting the forms and methods of utilizing savings of basic wages, an element of production cost, and, second by tying the size of the incentive fund more closely to growth of productivity.

In the USSR and most other CMEA countries the basic wage accounts for 85-90 per cent of a worker's earnings. Consequently, the way to maximize the role of wages in raising productivity is to improve the planning of the basic payroll.

Obviously, if the payroll is fixed yearly on the basis of the previous level, the enterprise is not particularly interested in opening up its potential capacities. In the past, any saving achieved was channelled almost completely into the state treasury. Now, the basic wage fund is set for several years ahead on the basis of scientifically grounded indicators—the necessary number of workers, wage outlay per unit of output, etc. This method of planning presupposes wider authority for enterprises in utilizing payroll savings; they can now pay bonuses to workers not only for combining several operations, but also for good performance.

The formation of incentives funds is being improved. For instance, in a number of Soviet enterprises the fund is dependent on the growth of sales of the product as the result of higher productivity. A similar approach is also being introduced in Poland.

It stands to reason that there are other likely approaches. In Bulgaria, Hungary and Czechoslovakia, for example, part of the profit or payroll goes into the national budget. Hungary's experience has shown that if contributions to the budget depended only on the overall growth of wages, enterprises would be inclined to plan a lower wage growth rate, or even lower the average wage by increasing staff. To obviate this, in Hungary profit contributions to the budget now depend on the increase of staff. These methods, too, encourage savings of living labor.

The role of basic wages in spurring productivity is largely conditioned by wage-scale and work-norm patterns. Wage scales tend to become obsolete. This hampers the introduction of new, technology-based work norms; therefore, the wage scales have to be periodically revised. This was done in the USSR in 1956-65 and a new adjustment was begun last year. A similar adjustment was recently carried out in Rumania and is now under way in the GDR, where they are experimenting with differentiated wage scales, adjusted to the technical level of production. The new wage schemes are more fully adjusted to the individual faculties and skills of workers, engineers, technicians and clerical workers.

In the setting of the economic reforms, we must bear in mind the need for a correct ratio between rising productivity and wages. One effective way of regulating this ratio is by fixing an indicator of pay-

roll expenditure per unit of gross or net output. The size of that indicator depends on the relation of productivity to wages and on the share of higher productivity in the increased output. This is a valuable economic lever; it is used in Bulgaria, where the payroll indicator is pegged to net output per 100 leva.

At present, measuring productivity in terms of gross output is often inaccurate, for, among other things, it does not take fully into account the real savings in cost of production. Several countries (GDR, Bulgaria, Hungary) are beginning to measure productivity in terms of net or conventionally net output. The same experiment is also being tried by some enterprises in the USSR.

Accelerating scientific and technological progress is one of the main targets of the new incentives system. This should not be seen in isolation, as applying only to some factories. The task is, so to say, integral, encompassing all areas of technical progress, from the initial idea through designing and production planning to the shopfloor preparations, launching of production and, lastly, introduction of the new device in industry. Hence, incentives of technological progress can produce the desired result only if they encompass everyone involved—scientists, constructors, designers, engineers, workers and office staff not only of individual enterprises, but of enterprise amalgamations and ministries—depending on the end result, the economic benefits of the new device.

* * *

Socialism's vast superiority lies in liberating the productive forces from the bonds of private ownership and man from exploitation, thus providing new stimuli for the growth of social production. But if these objective advantages of socialism are to be used to maximum effect, we must constantly perfect the forms and methods of material incentives. This entails solving a multitude of complex practical problems, but also thorough understanding of the way the economic laws of socialism operate. That is why the experience of CMEA countries in implementing new systems of planning and labor organization is of great importance from the theoretical and practical standpoints.

The wealth of experience accumulated in their economic reforms effectively refutes the views of Right and "Left" revisionists.

Exaggeration of the role of the market, contrasting it to the economic plan; making material incentives the sole means of stimulating production, a kind of automatic regulator; giving priority to group interests over the interests of society—these and other features of the now fashionable "theories" peddled by Right opportunists and revisionists are tantamount to reducing economic planning to meaningless recommendations, undermining planned direction in the socialist countries.

Centralized economic planning is one of socialism's principal advantages over capitalism. The key to its effectiveness lies in a continuous improvement of planning methods, adding to the scientific, technical and economic effectiveness of current and long-term plans. The Communist and Workers' parties of the CMEA countries conduct widespread organizational work in this area, designed to secure rapid economic growth.

The results of the economic reforms have also refuted the Leftist attacks on the economic policy of the Communist and Workers' parties. The "Left" revisionists disregard the people's vital interests, negate the objective necessity of material incentives under socialism and contrast moral to material stimuli, thus substituting for the Leninist principle of democratic centralism a bureaucratic centralism that hamstring worker initiative.

"Living, creative socialism," Lenin said, "is the product of the masses themselves" (Vol. 26, p. 288). The Communist and Workers' parties in the CMEA countries observe this principle faithfully. Tackling the new problems of socialist development, they secure broader worker participation in enterprise management. More massive in the economic reform setting, the socialist emulation movement has become a countrywide drive for better use of all production potentialities, for greater savings, for effective production and a higher productivity of labor. This is a striking token of the new attitude to work engendered by the socialist system.

Many difficulties and unsolved problems lie ahead. But the positive results of the economic reforms and closer cooperation of CMEA countries is the guarantee that all these problems will be successfully solved. A prominent part in this is played by mutual exchanges of experience, which accelerate introduction of the most effective forms and methods of economic stimulation in socialist production.

Scientific and technical revolution and society

- SHARPENING SOCIAL CONTRADICTIONS OF CAPITALISM
- POLARIZATION OF SOCIAL FORCES
- CHANGES IN STRUCTURE OF CAPITAL AND WAGE LABOR ARMY
- THE INTELLIGENTSIA AND THE WORKING CLASS
- NEW DEMANDS OF THE STRIKE MOVEMENT
- POLITICAL CONTENT OF ECONOMIC STRUGGLE
- SCIENTIFIC AND TECHNICAL REVOLUTION AND SOCIAL REVOLUTION

Thousands of books and articles have been written about the impact of the scientific and technical revolution (STR), a problem that has been focal with the international Communist movement over a number of years and that is an important line in the fraternal Parties' theoretical work.

The 1969 Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties in Moscow summed up the agreed views of Marxist-Leninists from various countries on the role and importance of the STR in the modern world, and the relation between scientific and technical progress and the social revolution in the capitalist countries. The concise formulations of the Meeting's documents provide the guidelines for further inquiry, for fresh theoretical conclusions, which are arrived at in creative discussions between representatives of Marxist thinking.

The STR and its social impact is a subject repeatedly dealt with in **World Marxist Review**. At the end of 1969, a number of articles from the journal for 1968 and 1969 and the documents of several Communist and Workers' Parties were published in a collection entitled "The Working Class of the Capitalist Countries and the Scientific and Technical Revolution." More articles on this subject were published in the first half of 1970.

This issue carries three articles under the general head "The Scientific and Technical Revolution and Society."

An article by the Soviet economist Sergei Novoselov contains a generalized analysis of the sharpening social contradictions of capitalism and the new problems confronting the working-class movement under the STR. The rapid change in the structure of the working class and of the whole army of wage labor is one of the main consequences of accelerated scientific and technical progress. The French publicist Serge Laurent and the Australian economist Brian T. Carey look at this process in France and Australia, providing an opportunity of comparing the state of affairs in two countries which exemplify capitalism "old" and "young." These two countries differ greatly in economic structure and socio-political institutions, and the authors fully take account of their national specifics, but both arrive at this conclusion: the working class is growing and gaining in strength, and remains the main force in the fight for a revolutionary transformation of society.

We hope that these articles will help to advance the creative discussion and in-depth elaboration of the STR problem and its social consequences. We intend to follow up with more articles on the subject, including some on the problem in the socialist countries.

Sharpening social contradiction of capitalism and new problems of working-class movement

SERGEI NOVOSELOV

I.

The purpose of this article is to look at some aspects of the STR in the capitalist countries which are of great importance for the struggle of the international working class.

The ideologists of capitalism, most of whom are inclined to overrate the effects of the steep acceleration of scientific and technical progress, characteristically go to extremes in their prognostications. Some of them try to scare mankind with the growth of technocracy and totalitarianism, the ever greater alienation of the individual, who, they claim, inevitably falls victim to automatons and bureaucratic manipulation, and the horrors of the arms race and devastating wars. Others, by contrast, present idyllic pictures of a consumer paradise, without social and ideological conflicts, or classes, and with men all turned into hunting and art-loving gentlemen farmers.

Both views imply a detachment of the STR from socio-economic conditions. Diverse Right and Left-opportunist deviations within the international revolutionary movement also spring from a faulty understanding of the essence and consequences of scientific and technical progress.

All this argues the importance of having a clear-cut definition of the STR and its relation to the social revolution and changes in socio-economic relations in general. These problems are being tackled jointly by Marxists in various countries.

At the present level of inquiry, the STR could be defined as a qualitative leap in man's knowledge of the laws of nature and their use in social production. We think that the current STR has these distinctive features:

1. Sharp qualitative shifts are taking place in almost every branch of science. The greatest importance attaches to the study of the innermost structure of matter, and the achievements of nuclear physics, the discovery of new laws governing chemical processes, the emergence of cybernetics, which is revolutionizing many spheres of production and control, the achievements of biology in the study of every aspect of the vital activity of organisms, the exploration of space, and so on. The scientific cognition of the world in depth is a cumulative process: a revolution in one field of science causes a chain reaction of discovery in other fields. There is intensified interpenetration of the methodologies from different fields. Major revolutionary discoveries are being made along the frontiers of the sciences, producing new lines of scientific research.

2. A qualitatively new stage has been reached in the interaction between science and technology. In contrast to earlier technological revolutions, scientific discoveries and restructuring of production are not separated by long periods: there has been a sharp reduction in the time it takes to apply technological innovations. Science is becoming an immediate factor of production, and workers at research laboratories are transformed into an inte-

gral part of the "collective worker." On the other hand, research and development are saturated with technical devices which turn the laboratories and institutes into highly mechanized industrial complexes.

3. Radical changes are taking place in the composition of all the main elements of production: the implements of labor, the object of labor, the sources of energy, and labor itself. Man's place in production is changing: he finds himself *alongside* the technological processing of primary products, taking part in it not directly but as designer, operator, and adjuster of automated tools and lines. There is extensive mechanization of data processing, with electronic computers multiplying the productivity of man's mental labor.

The STR creates the material possibilities for bringing about a sharp leap in the productivity of social labor, but their realization depends on the nature and specific features of the socio-economic system.

Let us recall that as a social system, capitalism was ripe for socialist revolution long before the start of the current STR, which means a gigantic stride forward in the development of the productive forces. The corollary of this is a growing need for a change in the relations of production. However, the connection between the STR and social revolution under modern capitalism is not such a simple one.

In the West, the STR is inextricably connected with modern state-monopoly capitalism, which to a great extent determines its scale, nature and direction, as it regulates the volume of appropriations for science, the number of scientists and research institutions, and the framework of their activity. Capitalism sponsors the application of scientific and technical achievements in production and up to a point encourages the growth of scientific research, insofar as this helps to increase surplus value, and meets the needs of various concerns and the ruling class as a whole. At the same time, with the level of productive forces attained in the capitalist countries, scientific and technical progress could clearly have been much faster but for the drag created by the narrow interests of the monopolies and the imperialist state.

While science and technology do originate within the entrails of capitalist society they become relatively independent and make their own claims on the capital-

ist system. Scientific and technical progress create potential possibilities for social development which are in line with the interests of broad masses of working people, but do not fit into the constricted framework of monopoly profits and imperialist policies. The contradiction between the unprecedented possibilities for transforming nature, creating vast material wealth, and the multiplication of man's constructive capacities, and the obstacles thrown up by monopoly capital in the way of their realization is becoming one of the most important expressions of the main contradiction of capitalism at the present stage.

To some extent, imperialism adapts itself to STR conditions. The state-monopoly regulation of the economy, the growth of the bourgeois state's property, economic programming at every level, state-wide plans for scientific research, and diverse incentives for technical progress in the interests of the monopolies make possible some acceleration of economic growth, greater efficiency of production, and modification of the forms of the economic cycle. But the experience of the last few years shows that the general crisis of capitalism continues to deepen even when business activity is high.

The sharpening of social contradictions under capitalism because of the accelerated development of the productive forces is most clearly evident from a comparison of scientific and technical progress in the capitalist and in the socialist countries. Even in the socialist countries, the STR produces a number of complex socio-economic problems. Socialism has been in existence for a short historical period and has not yet had the time fully to display its latent possibilities for boosting the productivity of social labor on the basis of scientific and technical achievements. With the growth of the national economy there has also arisen the need to improve the system of economic planning and management so as to produce more powerful incentives for applying the new technology.

Even so, the available historical experience warrants the assertion that in contrast to capitalism, socialism is not faced with sharpening social contradictions as it tackles the problems arising from the STR. The socialist countries have succeeded in achieving high growth rates and in catching up on the most economically advanced capitalist countries because of

their democratic system of public education, planned training of scientific and technical personnel, specialization and co-operation of research institutions, exchange of scientific information unfettered by any considerations of "trade secrets" between individual countries and within the framework of the socialist community as a whole, and purposeful application of scientific achievements throughout the national economy.

Relying on the powerful industrial base they have already created, the socialist countries are carrying through an economic reform which will make possible fuller use of the scientific and technical potential of socialist society. The task brought to the fore is to increase the efficiency of the national economy, and make rational use of qualitative and intensive growth factors, one of the most important of which is to accelerate scientific and technical progress and extensively to apply its results in production. The reform will also make possible a more rapid solution of the task of economic competition with capitalism.

II.

Lenin saw technical progress under capitalism as a most important part of the socialization of production. As a key element in the preparation of the material and technical basis of socialism, capitalist socialization is simultaneously a process reproducing contradictions at new and higher stages of the development of the productive forces. In the new conditions, there is a change above all in the structure of the two main social forces of capitalist society: capital and wage labor.

The STR helps to intensify the concentration and centralization of production and capital. The high cost of research and development and automated production and control systems, the ever faster moral obsolescence of equipment provide additional incentives for concentrating production at the largest enterprises. However, the growth of STR-induced concentration does not relax the competition. On the contrary, the scramble over technical innovations becomes one of the main forms of modern monopoly competition, itself promoting the further acceleration of scientific and technical progress along lines the big concerns find profitable. The rivalry spills over the national boundaries, increases the export of capital from some developed capitalist coun-

tries to others, and promotes international mergers and international interlacing of monopoly capital. The demands of the STR and modern mass production are the motive force behind the capitalist countries' economic integration.

While giving an impetus to concentration and centralization, the STR also creates the possibilities for the emergence of small companies as production processes are fragmented and specialized, and absolutely new lines of production and product markets appear. Statistical research shows that there is no reduction in the number of small companies in the developed capitalist countries, but that there is more intense competition between them, that they are more dependent on monopoly capital, and that small-scale enterprise generally lacks stability, as the growing number of bankruptcies indicate.

The STR produces incentives for even more extensive economic operations by the state, whose laboratories handle a sizable part of fundamental and applied research. Its results in this or that form are made available to the monopolies. The training of more research personnel is financed from the government budget. Through its tax policies and subsidies the state regulates the volume and lines of research in the private capitalist sector, displaying concern for the economic, political and military interests of the monopoly bourgeoisie as a whole.

Under the STR, the growth of state-monopoly capital, the highest form of capitalist socialization, goes hand in hand with a deepening and sharpening of the class antagonism between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, between the monopoly elite and broad sections of the working people.

When studying the impact of scientific and technical progress on the condition of the working class under capitalism at its imperialist stage, Lenin, like Marx, always made a distinction between the capitalist use of technology and its true social purpose. He wrote: "Improvement in technology, signifying increased labor productivity and greater social wealth, becomes in bourgeois society the cause of greater social inequality, of widening gulfs between the rich and poor, of greater insecurity, unemployment, and various hardships of the mass of the working people" (*Collected Works*, Vol. 24, p. 467).

The working class has been carrying on a tireless struggle to turn the results of the

new technology, the higher productivity of labor and the growing social wealth to the benefit of the working people, and it has had some success in this struggle. In face of the growing influence of world socialism and the working-class and national-liberation movements, the imperialists are forced to increase their social maneuvering and to make concessions to the working class, which are now and again considerable.

However, the Leninist conclusion that technical improvements lead to growing social inequality is still fully valid. For sizable sections of the working people, the new technologies still mean greater insecurity, unemployment and other privations, even if the forms of these phenomena and processes have changed. Take the growing intensification of labor, one of the consequences of automation and an especially hard burden falling on the working class. In principle, automation releases the worker from arduous muscular exertion, which used to plague the machine operator in the past. But it may well simultaneously increase the load on the nervous system, which is an even heavier drain. According to a number of concrete studies in the capitalist countries, the switch to automated production as a rule increases the intensity of labor in terms of combined muscular and nervous tension.

At automated enterprises, the main elements in the intensification of labor are unflagging, concentrated attention, swift responses, responsibility for intricate mechanisms, and working conditions frequently presenting a health hazard. There is a corresponding change in the wages system, which becomes more complicated and less accessible to control by workers and trade unions. In particular, instead of operations being split up into their "micro-elements," on which wage rates are usually based in un-automated sectors, there is an "analytical evaluation of the work place."

Greater intensification of labor is connected not only with technical progress proper but also with its unevenness. Even where automated processes have been introduced many sections continue to employ the old methods of production and unskilled and semi-skilled labor. But because the overall pace of production depends on the automated sections, the sections using manual labor have to force their pace, and not only in nervous and

mental but also in physical terms.

The problem of employment also acquires specific features in connection with scientific and technical progress. The growing productivity of labor at the automated enterprises leads to a sharp reduction in labor requirements. But in the capitalist economy as a whole there is no absolute decline in the number of jobs. On the contrary, there is an increase in the numerical strength of the working class and other wage workers. The reasons are that, first, there is an overall growth of production in the capitalist countries; second, many new industries emerge and are developed; third, there is a rapid growth of the scientific-production sphere and the numerical strength of the scientific-technical intelligentsia; and fourth, there is an extension of the services. That is why there is great demand for manpower, mainly in the new industries.

Nevertheless, massive unemployment and its attendant calamities have not at all been eliminated, with "technological unemployment," involving the retraining of manpower, being especially acute. Hundreds of thousands of workers made redundant in the old industries and trades find themselves in dire straits. There is a high level of unemployment among the young graduates, and in some countries, among the oppressed national minorities. The contrast between pockets of chronic poverty and the growing opulence brought about by ever faster scientific and technical progress has become one of the most acute problems of modern capitalism.

Bourgeois ideologists frequently seek to create the impression that the intensification of labor, and the personal tragedies when the STR wipes out some trades are a necessary evil because they are built into the technological revolution itself, instead of resulting from its capitalist application. There is no denying that the need for retraining and territorial shifts of manpower likewise arises in the socialist countries, but the way these problems are tackled shows the radical difference between the system whose cornerstone is capitalist profit, and the system oriented on man's interests and those of society as a whole. Under socialism, the social problems arising from scientific and technical progress are solved through the humanistic means of economic planning, the state system of occupational training and retraining, and the operation of an

extensive network of mass organizations. The task is facilitated by the high rates of economic growth inherent in the socialist economy, which ensure a steady extension of job opportunities. However, the concrete aspects of this problem call for a special examination which lies outside the framework of this article.

III.

The STR-induced changes in the structure of the working class have done nothing to change its character and role in social production, in the capitalist system, or in the revolutionary struggle. In terms of the basic indicators of class membership there has been no substantial change for the modern worker, whether the old or the new sections are considered. At the same time, it has become axiomatic that in view of the STR the role and importance of the alliance between the working class and the masses of working intellectuals and students have been growing. This confronts the working-class movement with new problems and makes greater demands on leadership in the class struggle of the working class in the capitalist countries by the Marxist-Leninist Parties.

Scientific and technical progress is in itself a powerful argument in favor of changing the social system, and of going over from capitalism to socialism. The rule of the monopolies and the policies of the imperialist states result in a squandering of man's scientific and technical genius. These words of Lenin's have never had more meaning than they have today: "Capitalist technology is increasingly, day by day, *outgrowing* the social conditions which condemn the working people to wage-slavery" (Vol. 19, p. 62).

But this truth is still obscured from the majority of the working people in the capitalist countries by the thick smoke-screen of misinformation, social demagoguery, and the illusions being deliberately spread by the ruling classes about the "unlimited opportunities" offered by capitalism. On the other hand, many in the capitalist countries have been terrified by the atomic hysteria and infected with technophobia and believe the evil to be latent in technology itself, in atomic energy, and so on. If the idea of a fight against capitalism is to take hold of the minds of the masses, there is need in the present conditions to put forward a program of current demands, and to fight for their realization.

The role of such demands and their level have been increasing. Many old lines of struggle—for higher wages, shorter working hours, and better working conditions—acquire a new content and a sharper edge. Once demands in the economic struggle, they are essentially becoming political, because they bear on the basic principles of state economic policy, which is closely connected with the interests of the monopolies. In various countries, these demands have their national specifics, but they are similar in basic content because they spring from the same objective processes.

First, a whole set of demands is connected with the problem of unemployment and the worker's redundancy through the use of new technologies. The struggle is over lay-offs, and for guaranteed jobs for all those made redundant by automation, and also for extension and basic improvement of the unemployment benefits system.

Special importance attaches to the demand for a shorter working day or week, with guaranteed wages in order to secure jobs for the greatest possible number of workers in production and lighten their labor, on the one hand, and to create conditions for raising the workers' educational and cultural standards, on the other. The fight for guaranteed wages is also important because with the introduction of automated machinery skilled machine-operators are frequently downgraded to lower-paid jobs. This struggle for wages increasingly involves a sharper formulation of the problem of social inequality.

Second, there is a rise in the level and complexity of the fight against the intensification of labor resulting from the use of new technology, which in the present conditions is less easily separated from the growth of productivity. That is why the fight against intensification and overstrain, and for a spacing out of working time takes on concrete forms at the various enterprises. But everywhere it is linked with the demands for higher wages in accordance with greater output. In some countries, there is a nationwide struggle for sliding-scale wage rates tied to growing productivity.

Third, there is a fight for better working conditions. The demands in this sphere are also highly concrete, but the general principle is that only a consideration of all the factors determining the arduousness of labor can help to set clear-

cut standards in collective agreements. Labor protection with the use of new technology, the rating of labor operations, and so on, has the constant attention of the trade unions.

Fourth, the problem of education is ever more pronounced in the class struggle. Scientific and technical progress makes fresh demands both on the workers' occupational training and on their general education. On the whole the general educational and occupation levels of the workers have been rising, but the existing education system as a rule falls short of the modern levels of science and technology, and is undemocratic. The demand for a democratic reform of education is now being put forward as one of the common goals in the struggle of the working class, the working intelligentsia, the students and all other working people.

Fifth, there are new aspects to the fight against rising consumer prices. Coming up against mounting trade-union activity at individual enterprises, the monopoly bourgeoisie has used price hikes as a means of intensifying the exploitation of the working people on a national scale. The working-class movement has been fighting to halt the monopoly price spiral, a task that transcends the framework of the economic struggle and calls for political pressure on the governments and the employers.

Sixth, a whole system of demands arises from the new character of management in production and the economy as a whole. Today, these demands run along these main lines: democratic nationalization and democratic control at every level, from the enterprises to the government economic agencies. There is a fight in defense of and for an extension of trade-union rights at the enterprises, and for the establishment and consolidation of workers' representative organs. The specific point about it is that it springs from the need to secure recognition for the social nature of modern productive forces and scientific and technical progress, and to establish a corresponding system of social control of production.

Of course, these demands cannot be viewed in isolation from each other or from the more general problem of curbing and subsequently eliminating the power of the monopolies. Take the demand for democratic control. This most frequently takes the form of struggle for working-class participation in running the economy. However, the term "participation" does not reveal the class content of the problem. Let us recall that in some countries government and business likewise favor "participation" by the working people in running the enterprises, regarding this as an effective means of integrating the working class with the capitalist system and damping down the class struggle. If participation is taken to mean only the working people's representation on management bodies, it may well assume some form of class collaboration.

Of considerable interest in this connection is the historical experience in the struggle for workers' control in Russia, as summed up in Lenin's works. Exposing the tactics of Russia's bourgeoisie in the period between February and October 1917, he said that the bourgeoisie wanted to shift on to the workers the responsibility for its economic failures, without giving them any power or opportunity actually to have a say in production. In order to establish genuine democratic control over the economy there was need above all to extend it to the "whole complex of capitalist domination" (Vol. 24, p. 428).

Consequently, the main meaning of participation in management is not so much, or only, to secure partial concessions from monopoly capital. Real participation in management and democratic control must go to the very root of monopoly capital domination. They enable the international working class and its organizations to expose the anti-popular essence of the ruling circles' economic policy, to counter it with their own demands, and to shape the working people's political forces ultimately capable of exerting a decisive influence on the whole system of state-monopoly capitalism.

Changes in social strata and classes in developed capitalist countries

SERGE LAURENT

It was not Marx or Engels who discovered that society is divided into classes and that the classes are locked in struggle. These objective facts came into evidence very clearly during the 19th-century industrial revolution. "Long before me," Marx wrote in a letter to Weydemeyer (March 5, 1852), "bourgeois historians had described the historical development of this struggle of the classes, and bourgeois economists the economic anatomy of the classes."

What Marx and Engels proved was that society's structure cannot be apprehended, unless the economic relationships among people are properly analyzed.

"The population," Marx pointed out, "is an abstraction if, for example, I should leave aside the classes of which it is composed. Furthermore, these classes are a hollow concept if I do not know the foundations on which they rest, e.g., wage labor, capital, etc., which presuppose exchange, division of labor, prices, etc." (Marx, *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*). It follows that the laws governing the existence and movement of social classes cannot be correctly apprehended in isolation from the entire process of social development.

We can see this better these days, for the expanding productive forces are causing deep-going changes in social relationships. Though they remain capitalistic, we cannot afford to ignore the modifications. Marx, too, called attention to this.

"In acquiring new productive forces men change their mode of production; and in changing their mode of production, in changing the way of earning their living, they change all their social relations . . . There is a continual movement of growth

in productive forces, of destruction in social relations, of formation in ideas; the only immutable thing is the abstraction of movement—*mors immortalis*" (Marx, *The Poverty of Philosophy*).

The current scientific and technological progress and the growth of state-monopoly capitalism have spurred changes in capitalist relations of production. As we see it, speaking diagrammatically, in the developed capitalist states, they give impulse to three main effects:

- a) a rapid growth in the importance of the intermediate strata of wage labor;
- b) an internal differentiation in the main classes (the working class and the bourgeoisie);
- c) a marked polarization in social relations.

I.

The growth of the intermediate strata of wage workers is a distinctive feature of state-monopoly capitalism, which considerably invigorates capital's natural tendency to turn all labor into wage labor.

How does this process unfold?

In the specific French context (with similar phenomena observed in all the big capitalist countries) the growth of the productive forces, stimulated by scientific and technical progress and the intensification of monopoly concentration and centralization, serve as the mainspring of a substantially greater rate of capital accumulation. This occurs through the mobilization and investment in industry of funds procured from the population through the system of credits, and, consequently, to a certain extent by restricting consumption, on the one hand, and by extending mono-

poly capital operations to new fields, on the other.

These new fields, especially the services, traditionally contained a large number of independent operators. But monopoly capital tends to accelerate the decline in the number of family enterprises, stimulating absorption of medium-sized enterprises by large capitalist amalgamations in agriculture, industry and banking, of which the following facts provide graphic evidence.

More than 1,500,000 handicraft enterprises and several hundred thousand farms have vanished from the French scene in the past 60 years. Meanwhile, we witnessed the growth of a system of subcontracting, and this in different degrees not only in agriculture, the crafts and commerce, but also in other spheres. Nearly half the physicians and lawyers in the United States, Victor Perlo notes, are employees of large enterprises, legal firms, hospitals, clinics, and the like. They draw salaries, and these are their sole means of subsistence. In France, too, 30 per cent of the doctors are full-time, and 20 per cent part-time employees. So are nearly a third of the lawyers. Furthermore, members of other free professions are also gradually becoming salaried men.

The growth of the productive forces and the scientific and technical progress add greatly to the role of education and scientific research. The complexity of modern production and the growing role of science in developing the productive forces create an ever increasing demand in technicians, engineers and researchers and, consequently, in teachers and instructors to train them. The same applies to the growth in the number of science workers—a growth, however, that proceeds sporadically.

The extension of the political and economic functions of the state, too, sparks a considerable increase in the number of wage workers. Apart from the function of suppression, and to a much greater extent, this stems from the state's more extensive intervention in economic affairs. In France, for example, employment in state institutions has doubled in 40 years, accounted for exclusively by a boost in clerical workers. And if we also count the employees of local administrations, the many partly-governmental organizations and the enterprises of the nationalized sector, state employment approaches the two million mark or triple the figure of 40 years ago.

The growth of state-monopoly capitalism is accompanied by a considerable expansion in commercial activity. This is the effect of the increasing complexity of the sales process in most of the developed societies, on the one hand, and—more essentially—the effect of state-monopoly measures to alleviate sales difficulties, on the other. Sales difficulties have increased greatly of late, for the rapidly rising productivity of social labor is coming into collision with the limited consumption capacity of the working masses, which compels the monopoly state to adjust the demand to the supply, producing an exaggerated growth of the commercial services.

Advertising is the chief, but not the sole, means of conditioning the consumer. "Modern trading methods" and consumer credit are beginning to play an ever greater role. And it is hard to estimate with any degree of accuracy the increase in wage labor deriving from this. We know for a fact, however, that in France the number of workers in commerce (exclusive of "middlemen," brokers and agents) has risen from 1,000,000 in 1950 to 1,700,000. There is also a rapid growth in other spheres, particularly finance, adding to the power of the monopolies, though not in any way impelled by visible social requirements.

The thus stimulated precipitous growth of the intermediate strata of wage labor is accompanied by a considerable decline in the number of independent operators. According to the 1968 French census, hired labor (exclusive of workers) comprises more than 30 per cent of the active population, while the preceding 1962 census placed the figure at 26 per cent and that of 1954 at only 23 per cent. Today, workers and other employees comprise more than three-quarters of the able-bodied population, as against 60 per cent fifteen years ago. The political and social implications of this are tremendous.

The social strata are naturally heterogeneous. But they have a common feature, which, in the final analysis, is determinative: all of them are *exploited*. Their main sources of income are wages or salaries, and their identity of interest is accentuated by the fact that the monopolies and state are trying to restrict or freeze their income by an identical procedure. Lastly, state-monopoly capitalism tends to level their working conditions. Stimulating monopolization of every economic activ-

ity, it projects the social division of labor beyond the sphere of material production—to distributive functions, administrative activity, even scientific research. As a result, the emoluments of an increasing portion of the intermediate strata, particularly the clerical workers and technicians, approach the wage levels of the working class.

II.

The differentiation within the working class and bourgeoisie is the second distinctive feature of the changing social relationships in capitalist countries.

In most, the structure of the working class changes along much the same lines. The number of unskilled workers shrinks—but never below 10 per cent of the total (in France, 20 per cent), while the number of so-called “specialized” workers of low skill increases, touching on approximately 40 per cent of the work force. The number of skilled workers gains stability, while that of clerical workers, technicians and engineers directly in production, increases. Two simultaneous and conflicting tendencies—a drop and a rise in skills—are observed in the altering structure of the working class.

These are traceable to the rapid growth of the productive forces and the increasing complexity of production, and indicative of the expanding sphere of exploitation under state-monopoly capitalism. Marx, who anticipated the flux in the structure of the working class, noted in *Capital* that alongside machine operators and unskilled workers we should allow for the “numerically unimportant (which it at that time was—S.L.) class of persons whose occupation it is to look after the whole of the machinery and repair it from time to time; such as engineers, mechanics, joiners, etc.” He amplified: “This is a superior class of workmen, some of them scientifically educated, others brought up to a trade; it is distinct from the factory operative class and merely aggregated to it” (*Capital*, Vol. I.).

Marx’s observation is now especially relevant by virtue of the intricate work processes in industry and the growing number of people engaged in mental labor. Research is increasingly becoming an element of the production process, and is contiguous to productive labor. As a result, the composition of the working class is changing visibly. As we see it, not only

the proletarians on the farms, in factories, mines and building sites, who comprise its core, but also those who help prepare for industrial labor (technicians, draughtsmen, planners, and computing center employees) or those who round out the manufacturing process (transport and communications workers, finishers, packers, and the like), should be regarded inseparably a part of the working class.

To be sure, engineers, foremen and some technicians still perform the function of supervision and thereby participate, in a way, in capitalist exploitation. As before, they are producers and collectors of surplus value, though this role is changing under the impact of automation and labor regulation. The pace of work is set by the pace of machines and conveyors. Persons supervising production are no longer involved in programming the organization of labor in factories. This is done by electronic computers. Furthermore, engineers and technicians are, in effect, denied the decision-making function related to production policy (at least in the big enterprises). Guidance comes from a restricted headquarters comprising the proprietors and a handful of expert “advisers.”

Thus, despite their considerable numerical growth, engineers and technicians play a lesser social role in capitalist enterprises than they once did. Their working conditions have changed. Professional specialization has increased. The engineer and technician on the shop floor, as well as in the research laboratory, performs no more than a few frequently repeated operations. Promotion opportunities are increasingly depressed by the high degree of specialization. Mental workers are subjected to increasingly intensive capitalist exploitation, though from the standpoint of their way of life, let alone their class consciousness, they have not yet integrated in the working class. What we are witnessing is the inception of a process, the consequences of which are a thing of the future.

The signs of differentiation in the working class are incontestable. But we shall never get a full picture of the changes in its structure, until we reckon with its intrinsic, deep-seated unity. The process is dual (and contradictory). It is a process of the diversification as well as the unification of the working class. The duality is reflected in the “collective worker” concept, the meaning of which has been duly registered by Marx.

"With the development of the specifically capitalist mode of production, in which a considerable number of workers jointly produces one and the same commodity," he wrote, "the direct relationship between the labor of some of the workers and the subject of production is naturally and inevitably highly diverse . . . Unskilled factory workers have no direct relation to the processing of raw materials. The workers acting as overseers over those directly engaged in this processing, are even somewhat more remote. The relationship of the engineer is different again, and he works chiefly with his head, etc. But the *aggregate of all these workers* possessing labor power of different values (although the mass of the labor applied is approximately of the same level) produce a result which—if we regard the *result* of the process of labor taken simply as the process of labor—is expressed through a *commodity*, through some *material product*. All these workers together, as a production collective, are a living machine manufacturing these *products*, just as—with the production process seen as a whole—they exchange their labor for capital and reproduce the capitalist's money as capital, that is, as a self-increasing, growing value . . .

"The relation of each of these persons to capital is always the relation of a hired worker, the relation of a *productive worker* in that specific sense" (*Theories of Surplus Value*. Part One).

Thus, Marx sees manual and mental labor in the production process as "a social product, produced in common by a collective laborer, i.e., by a combination of workmen, each of whom takes only a part, greater or less, in the manipulation of the subject of their labor. As the cooperative character of the labor-process becomes more and more marked, so, as a necessary consequence, does our notion of productive labor, and of its agent the productive laborer, become extended. In order to labor productively, it is no longer necessary for you to do manual work yourself; enough, if you are an organ of the collective laborer, and perform one of its subordinate functions" (*Capital*, Vol. I.).

Let us see what the concept "collective worker" stands for in precise terms in keeping with Marx's ideas and an analysis of the facts. The term embraces all workers employed in a homogeneous production process. Not all parts of the collective worker are necessarily part of the work-

ing class, and, conversely, the collective worker is composed not only of members of the working class.

The dual process of diversification and unification under way in the working class tends, in substance, to consolidate the workers' position among the able-bodied population. New strata of wage workers are becoming part of the working class. Some occupations, previously not included in the sphere of material production, are now acquiring productive characteristics. This applies to some types of services—municipal heating, public catering, automatic laundries, repair shops, with more operations in the sphere of circulation also acquiring productive features. Hence, the working class is growing numerically, although its growth is slower than that of the intermediate strata.

In 1954 the working class of France comprised somewhat more than 40 per cent of the active population. In eight years the percentage went up to 43 and by 1968 to almost 45. It does not follow, however, that the ascent will necessarily continue. Possibly, with automation in full swing, the organic structure of capital will depress the demand in additional productive labor. The working class would then become numerically stable. This seems to be the case in the United States, but is still not so in France. In any case, it cannot in any way detract from the leading role of the working class.

There is diversification and unification also in the bourgeoisie, but the process there is entirely different. If we regard the bourgeoisie as an aggregate of individual and collective proprietors of the means of production, then heads of industrial, commercial and financial enterprises, large landed proprietors and big stock-holders are not the only ones to come under that head; the political personnel comprising the upper stratum of the state apparatus are then also of the bourgeoisie, for under state-monopoly capitalism they, too, become involved in the collective form of ownership of the means of production and, in the most direct fashion, encourage greater capitalist exploitation.

As we see it, this provides sufficient grounds for introducing the concept of "collective exploiter," which facilitates the examination of changes sparked by state-monopoly capitalism in the upper strata of the bourgeoisie.

Furthermore, while the integration of a restricted segment of top-ranking officials

into the bourgeoisie (from which, to be sure, they mostly originate) proceeds apace, an increasingly deeper gulf appears between the financial oligarchy and the petty and middle bourgeoisie. Extending its sphere of activity and monopolizing the main branches of the economy, the financial oligarchy comes into collision with the owners of small and medium-sized capitalist enterprises. It strives to draw them into its sphere of influence, employing diverse means for this end, and notably by developing a multitude of sub-contractor enterprises. As a result, these strata gradually disappear, the upper segment of the bourgeoisie becomes isolated, and the intricate hierarchy that once embraced broad social strata—from independent operators to the large bourgeoisie—is disrupted.

III.

The polarization of social relationships is accompanied by an approximation of the class standing of the workers and other employees. In general terms, we see the spread of exploitative relationships right across society.

At a time when the polarization in the context of the two main classes was less marked, Sismondi wrote: "There is no longer any place in society for anyone except the big capitalists and the hired persons; we can observe a staggering growth of a formerly almost unnoticeable class of people who possess no property." This polarization is often denied. Widespread, for example, is the notion of a gradual dissolution of classes, especially the working class, in a single intermediate stratum with extremely vague limits.

If we acknowledge the progressive eradication of the difference in the living and working conditions of all hired labor, we should also recognize that this levelling basically amounts to an approximation of the living and working conditions of the intermediate strata and of the workers. Facts witnessed in France are also in evidence in the Federal Republic of Germany and in the United States.

The case of the clerical workers is especially relevant in France. A comparative study of the living and working conditions of industrial and clerical workers shows that the gap between their average incomes is no more than 10 per cent. For males employed in private enterprises the wage gap was 13 per cent in 1954 and only 7.9 per cent in 1963. The same ap-

plied to employees in general, with the sole difference that the gap was relatively greater—29 per cent in 1954 and 25 in 1963.

The levelling applies also to working conditions. Investigators reveal that the "segmentation of functions has also spread to office work. In most cases the clerical worker is chained to two or three functions which he performs all his life as a specialist. The technology of office work (typing, stenography, operating computers) . . . is so patterned as to make the job simple, requiring skill only in operating standardized equipment. This narrow range of duties reduces the chances of promotion and confines the clerical worker to a career that is increasingly limited."

Similar developments are seen in West Germany and the United States, as attested by sociologists, M. P. Bahrdt (FRG) and C. Wright Mills (USA), who have made a study of the social composition of clerical workers.

Bahrdt, for example, writes that more frequently than a few decades ago features appear in the situation of employees that resemble the situation of the proletariat. It has become more difficult for employees to consider themselves members of the business world in which they work and thus identify themselves with the economic system of the Western industrial society. More than ever they are forced to regard their work as pre-ordained and themselves as a particle in a world, the mechanics of which are incomprehensible.

Wright Mills arrives at similar conclusions. From the point of view of the white-collar workers' (employees and mental workers) relation to property, he writes, they are not in-between capital and labor, but in exactly the same position as the workers. They have no financial connection with the means of production and no title to the products of property . . . Their incomes are somewhat higher than those of the workers. But the curves of the two often cross, and the disparities tend to diminish . . . No matter what angle we view them from, it should be borne in mind that white-collar workers are not a compact category. They perform no single function that would enable us to define them . . . They manipulate symbols or other people, they coordinate, register and distribute, but do so as dependent employees, and the faculties required of them . . . resemble those of the workers.

The two sociologists note that the sense

of belonging to a special stratum with a certain prestige, still residual among clerical workers, tends to change under the impact of industrial development.

The expanding sphere of monopoly capital rule builds up pressures on the standard of living of all non-monopoly strata by means of state-monopoly policy levers: chronic inflation, continuously rising taxes, spread and higher cost of consumer credits, reduced allocations for vitally important public needs, and spiralling prices.

By differentiating wages and salaries and creating seeming differences between social strata, encouraging overtime work and whipping up demand by means of advertising, state-monopoly capitalism encourages rivalry, reducing individual aspirations to unvarnished individualism. To understand some of the distinctive features of the modern capitalist society—escapism, a mounting sense of social imbalance and

a definite intellectual impoverishment—we must take into account the actual continuous insecurity created by international tensions and the instability of the labor market.

* * *

To sum up, state-monopoly capitalism increasingly isolates the financial oligarchy from the rest of the population. At the same time, the scene is set for unification around the working class of social strata that in France comprise the vast majority. However, the necessity for such unification, imposed by the realities, has not yet been fully apprehended. This speaks of the importance of ideological struggle against conceptions distorting the processes of social development. That struggle is the decisive element in the political progress of the developed capitalist countries.

Changes in Australian working class

BRIAN T. CAREY

In Australia the beginnings of a far-reaching scientific and technological revolution are unfolding against the setting of a relatively young and rapid-growing country. In the past two decades, the Gross National Product (deflated to allow for price inflation) has doubled in the context of extensive development and a vast spread of activity in new areas, and industries new to Australia, coupled with considerable investment in new technology, intensive development and structural change in the main industrial centers, increased complexity, sophistication and parasitism typical of capitalism's monopoly stage.

The high rate of economic growth and the absence of any significant crisis of

over-production in postwar Australia poses a number of important theoretical questions and is a challenge to our Marxists. The rate of economic expansion in Australia has provided the foundation for many illusions among the workers, stimulated by a propaganda onslaught about the "lucky country" and the "affluent society." However, facts show that the local and foreign monopolies were the main beneficiaries of the rapid rate of economic expansion, while a number of minority sections (e.g., aborigines, pensioners, deserted wives, and so on) are forced to live in poverty (one estimate is a total of a million people out of Australia's 12 million). The comparatively high living standard of

a considerable majority of the working people won in postwar industrial struggles has not changed visibly. The monopoly squeeze on the standard of living affects different groups at different times over different issues and in different degrees.

However, in the conditions of a prolonged industrial boom the monopolies managed to impose a rate of exploitation one and a half times higher than its level of the early fifties (perhaps from around 135 per cent to around 197 per cent).

The main source of increased monopoly exploitation has been the total expropriation of the enormous new wealth created by growth of the productivity of public labor. The industrial expansion enabled the monopolies to compensate the greater purchasing power necessary for normal reproduction by means that led to an intensification of exploitation. Especially widespread were:

—overtime (74 per cent of factories and 37 per cent of employees work overtime, averaging over eight hours per week throughout the country);

—dual job holding (at least 150,000);

—a second family breadwinner (the number of married women workers has increased almost sevenfold in the two decades);

—proliferation of credit and hire-purchase schemes (current outstanding debt is over \$1.5 thousand million, almost a tenfold increase in two decades).

This situation has colored the development of the working class movement, but sporadically although increasingly it has led to confrontations with the capitalist class in industrial struggles on immediate and sectional issues, without, as yet, developing into any all-embracing challenge to the system.

However, the contrast between the failure to rise of the living standard, on the one hand, and the acceleration of industrial expansion, the potential of the new technological revolution and the shameless expropriation of the fruits of greater efficiency, on the other, generates social tensions that presage a sharpening of class conflicts.

SOURCES OF WORKING CLASS EXPANSION

By 1966 the Australian population stood at half as much again as its 1947 figure, partly as a result of the postwar rise in the birthrate and partly of the massive immigration from Europe.

This very rapid population increase provides the main basis for the great absolute expansion of the Australian working class.

TABLE 1

Increase in the Size of the Working Class*
(including pensioners, excluding aborigines)

Census year	1947	1954	1961	1966
Absolute size (thousands)	2,833	3,417	4,099	4,757
Index	100	121	145	168
Percentage of population (excluding dependents)	79%	80%	83%	84%

*For our purpose "working class" is defined as all those who basically neither own nor control means of production and who live by selling their labor power. It consists of all those classified by the Census as employees, with the exclusion of managerial-executive-administrative groupings, and a number of other adjustments. This broad definition would seem theoretically justified and particularly useful in discussing some of the structural changes appearing in modern capitalist society. Any narrower definition, while perhaps permissible in less developed economies, would seem to have the sectarian implication of excluding groups of significant and growing size, whose objective position in relation to the means of production undeniably accords with the Marxist definition of the working class, but whose type of work differs from the older-style production worker and whose ideology frequently lags behind the older elements of the working class.

These figures establish clearly that the working class constitutes the overwhelming majority of the Australian population. The working class is increasing both absolutely and relatively.

There is no basis whatsoever for any theory of the "disappearance" of the working class and its dissolving in a dominant "middle class." Nor is there any basis for a strategy of revolution that is not fundamentally centered on the working class.

Apart from the absolute growth of the Australian population, the interrelation of four main factors has accelerated the supply of labor which capital has required as the basis for industrial expansion: increase in the proportion of young workers, evolution of the educational system, influx of European migrants and considerable increase of women workers.

1. The number of young workers is growing at a rate surpassing the general rate of working class growth, particularly in those industries expanding most rapidly. As a result close to half (1.8 million out of 4.8 million in 1966) of the workers are under 30 years of age. The proportion is slightly less on average for manufacturing

industries, but amounts to more than two-thirds of the workers in finance and property industries and is also well over half in community services and professional business. This process is based on the "rejuvenation" of the population as a whole. The proportion of the population in the 15-29 age group has risen from 20.6 per cent in 1966, with 25.1 per cent estimated for 1971.

In the main, the illusions of capitalism are most strongly entrenched in the younger workers not directly affected by war or depression and growing up in the midst of great expansion. Lack of youth participation is a serious problem for trade unions and all political parties in Australia and has been obtained only by a few militant unions. However, important sections of youth and students have been mobilized for the anti-Vietnam war struggle and advance radical demands on other socio-political issues.

2. The extension of education and the lengthening of its duration led to the rapid growth in the number of students. In 1947, 12 per cent of males and 10 per cent of females in the 15-19 age group were in full-time education. The figures for 1961 were 28 per cent and 24 per cent and the estimates for 1975 are 42 per cent and 33 per cent, respectively.

The extension of education, which formerly had a retarding effect on the size of the working class and partly counterbalanced the effects of the postwar birth-rate, now has the converse effect of reinforcing it. In the mid-sixties we are seeing the beginning of great numbers of young people joining the working class with a better education than that of their parents.

A greater proportion of students are going into industry as higher-trained working class employees, not as independent or managerial intermediary groups. (In 1961, 89 per cent of those in the "work force" listed in professional-technical occupations belonged to the working class.) It can be said of the most of the present tertiary students that they are trainee-workers who, unlike apprentices, receive their instruction before they directly enter employment, but whose class position (although not always their ideological position) is on the door-step of the working class. Scientifically and professionally trained workers have a qualitatively new and more strategic function in expanding industries.

3. The influx of European migrants has brought about profound changes in Australian society and has made the greatest contribution to the growth of the postwar working class. It must be said that neither the trade unions nor the CP of Australia have, in the past, recognized the extent of this change nor paid due attention to the special problems of the migrant workers.

Unfortunately, adequate figures of migrant workers on a class basis, are not available. However, the "work force" figures, while too low, give an indication of the importance of this new section of the Australian working class.

From 1947 to 1954, 80 per cent of the increase in the male "work force" and 60 per cent to 70 per cent of the increase in the female "work force" consisted of migrants. Not only have migrants accounted for the entire increase in those numbers of the "work force" aged from 15 to 29, but they have also to a considerable extent replaced Australian-born workers of those ages. The number of Australian-born workers in these age groups has declined by 66 thousand due to the extension of education. Even in the sixties, when migration slowed down, over one-third of the 1961-1966 population increase resulted from migration.

Thus migrants rather than Australian-born school-leavers have to date provided the main replenishment of young workers. This is particularly true of the manual occupations where the workers suffer the brunt of exploitation at the point of production and in most cases are organized in weak unions led by reformist or Right extremist officials. In 1961, 55.4 per cent of the migrant "work force" was in manual operations as against only 40.5 per cent of the Australian-born "work force."

4. The number of women employees doubled from 1947 to 1966, trebling in some groups (finance and property, community services and rural). The greater part of these increases in the female component of the working class occurred in professional, semi-professional and clerical occupations, and in sales and services.

There are now nearly 1.5 million women at work—almost equalling the number at home. One-quarter of the working women are migrants. Two-thirds of the married women have children, 1/8 of pre-school age. This creates new problems for the trade unions, particularly regarding equal pay, time off, child-care facilities, etc.

CHANGES IN THE INDUSTRIAL STRUCTURE OF THE WORKING CLASS*

Rural Industries

As in other countries, mechanization in Australia's rural industries has caused the working class in those areas to decline continuously—in 1966 being 14 per cent lower than in 1947 in contrast to manufacturing (54 per cent higher than 1947).

The working class in rural industries is among the smallest relative to any industrial group (four per cent of total working class). Professional/technical workers in industry as a whole equal the total labor forces in the rural industries, while clerical workers exceed it 156 per cent. Thus, while the task of organizing rural workers (as well as winning the greater number of middle class elements in rural industries to our side) is still of importance, for the industrial workers modern developments have posed new questions of alliance with professional and clerical workers which were not of such major importance several decades ago.

In the rural industries the strata of independent workers, who do not use hired labor, is steadily disintegrating. From the end of the war to the beginning of the sixties this stratum fell by some ten thousand. During the sixties a reduction of 40,000 independent workers took place — almost evenly passing into the ranks of small employers and employees.

For workers, particularly teenagers and women, there are chronic unemployment problems in Australia's rural areas.

MANUFACTURING AND SECONDARY INDUSTRIES

Manufacturing industries account for 26.1 per cent of the working class and secondary industries for an additional 10.6 per cent. It may be thought that the numbers of workers in these spheres are declining and that a proportion of the class

*To analyze the industrial structure of the working class we have divided the entire Australian economy into four spheres:

- rural industries;
- "secondary industries": all manufacturing plus mining and quarrying, building and construction and utilities, e.g., electricity, water and gas. "Heavy industries" are dealt with separately: metal, shipbuilding, transport and electrical machine-building;
- industries ancillary to direct production of material commodities covering transport and storage, communications, sales and commerce, and finance and property;
- "tertiary industries": community services, professional business, hotels, amusements, etc. and government, n.e.i.

is being diverted into other spheres. This is not so. The number of workers in both sections are increasing absolutely, though there is some unevenness in the relative position in different sectors of secondary industry. For example, the proportion of the working class in the heaviest sectors of manufacturing is increasing both relatively and absolutely; that for the rest of manufacturing has shown a steady relative decline and that for other secondary industries rose relatively until the sixties, but is now relatively declining.

TABLE 2

Proportion of the Working Class in the Secondary Industries

Census year	1949	1961	1966
Heaviest			
manufacturing	9.0%	10.9%	11.4%
Other			
manufacturing	17.8%	15.2%	14.7%
All manufacturing	26.8%	26.1%	26.1%
Other secondary	9.5%	11.0%	10.6%
All secondary	36.3%	37.1%	36.7%

Over one-third of all male workers in Australia are employed in the manufacturing industries, and almost one-quarter of all female workers. Moreover, the increase in male manufacturing workers (by 62 per cent) in 1947-1966 was bigger than the overall increase in male employees (by 53 per cent).

However, it seems that the growth of the working class in manufacturing industries does not fully correspond to the great postwar expansion of production and of new capital investment. There is reason to think that there has been an intensification in the use of both capital and labor.

CONCENTRATION IN HEAVY INDUSTRIES

These groups account for 44 per cent of all manufacturing employees and just over half of all manufacturing male employees. In these sectors the working class has more than doubled since 1947 and for both male and female workers continues to increase both absolutely and relatively.

We see here a trend of industrial expansion, of continuing conversion from a mainly primary-producing nation to an industrial nation, alongside of new industrial development in the north and alongside the growth of intensive developments and technological change. Thus we get trends

of a growing industrial working class which in the main seem no longer to be true of the leading capitalist country, the USA.

In fact, this section has absorbed a large part of the migrant labor force and also appears to have provided some internal absorption for the latent surplus work force arising in the secondary industries.

The growing concentration of the working class at large and at the largest enterprises, is also noteworthy. Since 1947 the average number of workers per employer has doubled from 20.3 to 39.6, while in the "heavy" subgroups it has risen from 24.9 to 60.2. However, 85 per cent of the factories have less than the average number of employees and only four per cent have more than 100 workers. The average size of the largest enterprises has risen rapidly, absorbing more than half of all factory workers and the proportion is growing and accelerated in the sixties.

QUALITATIVE CHANGES WITHIN SECONDARY INDUSTRY

Growth of production and technical innovation in the processing and other industries of the "secondary sphere" have wrought substantial qualitative and quantitative changes in the Australian working class.

Many of the long-existing industries, occupations and trades are changing in nature and significance. The borderlines between the various types of work shift or disappear.

New types of skilled labor approaching that of engineers and technicians, appear in the secondary industries. Alongside the time-honored elite of highly-paid mental workers there is arising a large number of highly-skilled specialists of a lower social standing, with lower wages, poorer working conditions and closer bonds with the manual worker than was the case with mental workers in the past. There is evidence of more intense exploitation of clerical and mental workers, who were once in a privileged position as compared with unskilled labor.

Inasmuch as the process concerns quality more than quantity, its scale cannot be accurately assessed. But rough estimates of the mental workers' structure in the secondary industries reveal that these groups of the gainfully employed are visibly growing in relative, as well as absolute terms.

TABLE 3

Increase of Non-Manual Occupations in Secondary Industry

	(Estimated)		
Census year	1947	1961	1966
Total, thousands	26	63	74-77
Index	100	242	285-296
Percentage of nation's total work force	2.2	3.3	4

ANCILLARY INDUSTRIES

Many of the functions of the industries ancillary to direct production of material commodities grew out of the operations of auxiliary workers within manufacturing industries. Their growth, both absolutely and relatively, represents one of the main long-term trends of the century. These industries employ almost half the total clerical workers in the work force, and it is their industrial expansion which has accounted for much of the overall increase in the number of clerical workers.

However, the relative expansion of employees in ancillary industries appears to have now ceased. Transport employees have relatively fallen through the whole postwar period, while from the sixties communications workers have begun to fall relatively and sales, commerce, finance and property workers have almost ceased their relative rise.

It is precisely in communications, finance and property (along with utilities and to some extent in transport) that the greatest impact of revolutionary technological change, particularly computerization, is now being felt. That is to say that with changes in the organic composition of the capital, these industries may now become transformed from areas of absorption to areas of generation of a relative surplus army of unemployed. This situation throws great responsibility on what we have called the tertiary industries proper, together with the continuation of extensive manufacturing growth, to maintain a high level of employment in Australia.

TERTIARY INDUSTRIES

Unlike a number of other developed capitalist countries and first of all the USA the number of catering workers in Australia is relatively falling in the postwar years and today, as the official statistics show, they constitute a lesser percentage of the "work force" than at any time this century.

However, in the two largest sub-groups of community services, health and education, there have been important absolute and relative increases of the work force and expansion of their working-class content. Their 1966 "work forces" stood at approximately 2.5 times and 3 times those of 1947. Both show an accelerated increase.

Despite a tendency to regard these groups as "middle class," the facts are quite contrary. In both groups most of the work force consists of employees, many of them young and an overwhelming majority of them women.

TABLE 4

Employees as Percentage of Respective Work Forces

Census year	1947	1961	1966
Health workers:			
Males	67%	72%	74%
Females	92%	95%	96%
Education workers:			
Males	96%	98%	98%
Females	93%	97%	95%

OCCUPATIONS WITHIN THE WORKING CLASS

Unfortunately Australian data do not permit a clear occupational division of the working class. However, we have made estimates for both 1961 and 1966.

TABLE 5

Estimated Occupations of Working Class 1961 and 1966

	1961		1966	
	000s	%	000s	%
Total working class (including pensioners)	4,099	100.0	4,757	100.0
Manual, mining, transport, communication and rural	1,998	48.7	2,197	46.2
Professional technical	315	7.7	413	8.7
Clerical	547	13.3	697	14.7
Sales	272	6.6	299	6.3
Personal services, etc.	285	7.0	335	7.0
Pensioners	690	16.8	758	15.9

*The 1961 figures include eight thousand persons not belonging to the working class, and the 1966 figures exclude 58 thousand persons who belong to the working class. The summary results do not coincide, because the estimates are approximate.

We can also obtain another approximate view of the postwar changes in the occupational structure of the working class by examining changes in the occupations of the whole "work force" minus administrative occupations and the enlisted armed services. The figures obtained by this method in the main confirm the existence of tendencies seen from Table 5. For the whole economy the total number of manual workers is more than three times the total number of clerical workers and roughly five times the number of professional workers.

The number of manual workers is *not declining*. They are expanding rapidly and appear to have expanded by 200 thousand from 1961 to 1966. In relative terms, however, they show a decline (possibly by 2.5 per cent for the same period). These figures evoke scepticism in regard to the theories claiming that the proportion of manual labor in the entire work force is declining and that the professional/technical and clerical type occupations are replacing the working class. Manual workers still retain their dominant position as just under half of the whole working class.

The character of the clerical group has also been changing. For example, in 1947 something like three thousand out of 148 thousand clerical workers operated office machinery. By 1966 that figure was at least 15 to 20 thousand out of about 330 thousand, while the total engaged in clerical-type occupations now appears to be about 700 thousand.

The first computer was installed in Australia in 1959 in an insurance office. Today there are about 650 to 700 computers operating and another 200 on order. A large number of these are in finance, property and communication.

Significantly, during the last few years there has been increased industrial unrest in these fields, which employ the bulk of the clerical group. Postal workers, transport workers, bank officers and others have gone on strike, in some cases for the first time in their history. Generally, workers in these areas, who in the past constituted the electoral base for the main capitalist political parties, are becoming more militant and conscious of their ties with the working class, at least in relation to economic issues.

However, technological change has also brought about some reverse trends and difficulties. The large-scale changes and impending disappearance of some sectors

of industry affect the morale, particularly of older workers. The importance of some sections of workers, on the waterfront, for example, has declined.

The number of working class members of professional-technical occupations is expanding substantially. The working class element in these groups appears to have

trebled since 1947 and passed from something over 300 thousand to something over 400 thousand in the five years from 1961 to 1966. The figure could now be moving towards half a million.

We have been able to estimate the industrial distribution of professional-technical occupations in the "work force."

TABLE 6

Increase of Professional-Technical Occupations in the Main Industrial Groups (Thousands)

	1947	1966	Increase	% of total increase
Total professional/technical occupations	193	451	258	100.0
Manufacturing	22	53	31	12
Mining	1	3	2	0.4
Construction	2	9	7	2.7
Community services	1	10	9	3.5
Transport & storage	2	4	2	0.8
Communications	1.5	5	3.5	1.4
Wholesale & retail trade	8	18.5	10.5	4.1
Finance and property	2	3.5	1.5	0.7
Professional business	6	20	14	5.5
Rural	0.5	1.5	1	0.4
Hotels & entertainment	6	12	6	2.3
Education, health & government	135	310	175	67.8
Others	6	1.5	-4.5	-1.5

By far the greatest increase (67.8 per cent of the total increase of 1947 to 1966) is observed under the health-education-government head. This is partially due to increase in (middle class) doctors, lawyers, etc., but for the most part represents increases in teachers, hospital workers and other technically trained workers.

The next largest increase of professional-technical occupations (12 per cent of the total increase) was in the manufacturing industries. The bulk of this would be the employee increase reflecting technological changes in production and the new role of the "pre-production" worker.

The third largest increase is in "professional business": architects, surveyors, engineers, etc. The increase in this group is likely to include a fair proportion of middle-class elements, but also technical employees.

One of the most rapid overall increases of any sector of the working class or work force has occurred in the sub-group containing draftsmen, technicians and other technical workers not elsewhere listed, which, although small, emerged in 1966 with than five times its 1947 number.

The high rates of growth for particular segments of the working class reflect the mounting impact of technological development, innovation, intensification and diversification within the rapid industrial expansion of the postwar period.

In general, it may be said that the Australian working class is expanding rapidly. Contrary to the opinion of bourgeois theorists, workers in manufacturing industries, principally manual workers, are still the decisive section. However, considerable internal change and development is under way within the working class. And the Australian Communists are trying to take these new phenomena into account in charting the way to a socialist society.

Recent events revealed that class antagonisms have grown sharper, that the anti-imperialist struggle in Australia has gained in intensity and that the revolutionary potential of the workers has gone up. May 1969 saw a mass movement against the undemocratic anti-trade-union legislation. Over half the industrial proletariat participated in stoppages of a clearly political complexion, the largest in the last 80 years.

No "class peace" in Sweden

FRITJOF LAGER

Most Westerners think Sweden is a country of "class peace," "peace and order" reigning there in the realm of labor-capital relations. The reasons listed for this are the relatively high standard of living, the so-called economic levelling, full employment, and the Social-Democratic Labor Party's uninterrupted stay in power since 1932, its close cooperation with the country's trade union center, and, last but not least, that strikes are rare in the country.

Few people seem to know, however, that three legislative acts that may outlaw strikes are operative in the country. The 1928 collective labor-capital agreements law, for one, bans strike within the term the agreements are in force—previously a year, and postwar usually two or three years—and extends to practically all wage-earners, since all are organized (about 2,200,000 trade union members in a total population of 8,000,000).

Another law, adopted in 1935, requires a strike warning of at least seven days, and, lastly, the law on the court of mediation stipulates large fines for unions found guilty of inciting "wildcat" strikes, with the alternative of initiating proceedings against strikers.

The legal roadblocks impede the use of strikes, the workers' most effective weapon, which, among other things, explains the frequency of "wildcat" strikes in the postwar. As a rule, the trade union disclaims association with them, calling on the strikers to return to work and thus relieving itself of legal responsibility.

Employers take advantage of the legislation to slow down wage growth and to intensify labor.

Although enterprises have so-called production committees which include workers' representatives, the latter have little or no

influence on the process and organization of production. Chaired by the employer, the committees function as merely consultative bodies. Besides, nearly all collective labor-capital agreements contain the reservation (conforming with the statutes of the Swedish Employers' Union) that heads of enterprises reserve the right of distributing work and of hiring and firing.

The country's social climate has shown of late that the legal roadblocks will not curb workers' action. Despite professions of "class peace" in a "welfare society," the strike wave is building up.

Goeteborg, Sweden's biggest port, has nearly a thousand dockers. When two of them were unfairly dismissed, the entire body downed tools. The strikers demanded instant reinstatement of the fired dockers without reprisals of any kind. The strike ran on for several weeks, with the port completely paralyzed, finally compelling the administration to relent.

The biggest "wildcat" strike so far erupted in the LKAB iron ore mines, the world's third-ranking ore producer and first-ranking exporter. Until 1956 a mixed firm, it has since belonged completely to the state, ore extraction rising from 13 to 25.5 million tons and the work force shrinking by 17 per cent. The company's profits in the sixties amounted to an annual average of 400 million crowns, that is, approximately 57,000 crowns per mine employee. Considering that the miner's average annual income was 25,000 crowns, the advantage accruing to the state has been quite considerable.

Mining is considered one of the most difficult occupations and has, therefore, always been somewhat better paid than other jobs. In recent years, however, the difference in miners' and factory workers'

wages diminished visibly, with the relatively low wages and steep intensification of labor ranking high among the causes of workers' unrest.

Another cause for discontent is the obsequious attitude of the leadership of the 12,000-strong miners' union. Some of the top union leaders are members of the government-appointed LKAB board. The LKAB local, however, is not represented in the national trade union leadership.

The miners' strike broke out on December 9 in the Svappavaara mine, employing 350. Two days later all workers in Svappavaara and Kiruna, totalling 3,000, went on a sit-down strike, subsequently joined by another 1,500 in Malmberget, Lulea and Narvik. The following day none of the LKAB workers came to work, and a 27-man central strike committee was formed to deal with LKAB and the Miners' Union Board.

The strikers showed admirable cohesion. Despite their outdated traditions, the hundreds of members of syndicalist unions displayed complete solidarity. Communication between the strike committee and the strikers was splendidly organized, with meetings held almost daily, at which the former reported on developments.

The miners' strike being qualified as "wildcat", no strike relief was paid. However, a countrywide solidarity drive began instantly, yielding nearly two million crowns for the miners in the first three weeks, and almost six million before the end of the strike. Not only working-class organizations, but intellectuals, too, joined the solidarity movement, initiating a permanent strikers' aid fund. Even the church participated in volunteer collections. One Sunday, for example, the church in Kiruna collected more than 7,000 crowns for the strikers' coffers. Wage-earners in the neighboring northern countries also volunteered their solidarity. Considerable sums arrived from Denmark, Norway and Finland, apart from nearly 2,000 solidarity messages.

The Social-Democratic and part of the capitalist press portrayed the first phase of the strike as a "communist plot," though the central strike committee contained

Social-Democrats, people of no political affiliation, even a member of the bourgeois People's Party, as well as Communists.

The demands covered wages, working conditions, equal rights for miners and clerical workers, LKAB's withdrawal from the Employers' Union, shorter hours and a reduction of the retirement age to 60. Besides, the strikers demanded guarantees that all negotiated items should be meticulously observed.

The outcome of the bargaining showed that strikes are still an effective weapon and that the class struggle in Sweden continues unabated. The company conceded a fixed monthly rate for all workers, with wages raised an average 16 per cent (the lowest paid getting the biggest increase). Special vacation benefits have been instituted for employees in the Polar Circle. Workers' wages and working conditions will be improved and brought on a par with those of office employees. Furthermore, Prime Minister Palme, who visited the mines after the strike, said LKAB would withdraw from the Employers' Union as of July 1, 1971.

The strike was no local event, exercising an influence on the behavior of workers in Central and Southern Sweden and introducing a new element into the Swedish labor movement: struggle for the manual workers' human dignity.

What will be the legal consequences of the "wildcat" strikes in which more than 20,000 people were involved last winter? Formally, the employers may initiate proceedings in the court of mediation in order that the workers pay a fine. But this is unlikely. Neither the Goeteborg dockers nor the miners of Northern Sweden will be hauled before the court. If this were done, mass demonstrations would sweep the country against legislation blocking or banning strikes.

The strikes have had a beneficial effect. The illusion of a class levelling and a tranquil passage to socialism has been substantially shaken. The class struggle, surfacing in new forms, is becoming more acute. The battles concern not only wages. Increasingly, working people insist on participation in handling public affairs.

Leninism and the African revolution

TUNJI OTEGBEYE

In every country in the whole world, people, in search of the road to peace, happiness and plenty are becoming acquainted with socialist doctrine. This is an inevitable social trend.

The name, Lenin, might have been less known by the masses of ordinary people in Africa some twenty to thirty years ago. But the time has changed and keeps changing. Today Lenin and Leninism are synonymous with the birth and breath-taking growth of the Soviet Union, the birth and growing influence of the world socialist system which acts as a dependable ally of the world national liberation movements, of the struggle against colonialism and neo-colonialism.

Quite a few of our intellectuals still regard the teachings and examples of Lenin as "native" to Russia and applicable only in the Russian prototype of society. They would distort the essence of Leninism and give it a localized interpretation.

If our countrymen had applied this tenet at the crucial stage of the crisis — before and during the war—perhaps the common people of Nigeria would not have been sacrificial lambs on the altar of the contending forces of feudal and bourgeois reaction both of which thrive by exploiting the masses — the working people. Experience of fellow Nigerians held up in the secessionist enclave showed that Ojukwu and his clique erected a bourgeois fascist machinery whereby a few elites started to accumulate wealth at a terrific rate at the expense of the suffering masses. The exposure of the reality of this position led to the loss of mass support and the conse-

quent collapse of the regime. Many people now say—"Nigeria will never be the same." How very true.

LENIN AND THE NATIONAL LIBERATION MOVEMENT

Lenin's theory on the right of nations to self-determination was the basis of consolidating the Soviet power and conducting the consistent struggle for the total liberation of nations, of man from all forms of exploitation. Lenin's theory of the need for close cooperation among the forces of national liberation movements and the victorious country of socialism has been proved correct by history.

The Suez Canal crisis of 1956-57, the Cuban revolution, imperialist aggression in the Middle East, the Algerian struggle for independence—in all of these, to mention only a few, the Soviet Union and other socialist countries played a most positive role.

Today in Nigeria, the support of the Soviet Union has been decisive in foiling imperialist conspiracy against the movement for the just solution of the national question in Africa.

In Vietnam, the aggressive war by the United States of America and her allies to destroy an outpost of socialism in Asia, to block the way for the peoples of Southeast Asia to freedom and progress, to strike a blow at the national liberation movements, has become, in our epoch, a vital test of the strength of proletarian solidarity of the socialist countries and the anti-imperialist contingents of the whole world.

Despite the huge quantities of armaments which the U.S. imperialists brought into play, despite the involvement of over half a million American soldiers with the most sophisticated weapons of destruction, the United States imperialists have not been able to attain victory. This has been brought about by the unparalleled heroism of the Vietnamese people, the farsighted policy of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam, the many forms of assistances rendered to the Vietnamese by the socialist countries, by the Soviet Union in particular, and the militant and ever growing international solidarity throughout the world, including the United States itself. Indeed, the success of the heroic Vietnamese people is convincing proof that in our day it is becoming increasingly possible for peoples resolutely using all means to defend their independence, sovereignty and freedom, and enjoying broad international support, to defeat imperialist aggression.

The Vietnam lesson is of great significance to the national liberation movements and particularly to our comrades-in-arms in South Africa who are now engaged in armed struggle against Portuguese colonialism and the white racist regime in South Africa and Zimbabwe.

In the Soviet Union and the socialist camp they will find reliable allies and indispensable support. The world socialist system is the decisive force in the anti-imperialist struggle today and a guarantee of further victories for the national liberation movement. This is why safeguarding the unity of the socialist system and creating favorable conditions for its technical, cultural and economic progress meet the interests of all contingents of the national liberation movements. These are patent facts which must now be reflected in the foreign policy of the new, emerging nations.

In the light of the above experience in the struggle against imperialism, it is necessary for the newly independent states to reassess their stand. The slogan of "not imperialism, not communism" is a help to imperialism. What the lesson of history teaches us is: "Full cooperation with the socialist countries for victory over imperialism."

THE AFRICAN SCENE

First we must start from the fact that under colonialism Africa south of the Sahara was cut off from the political and

philosophical debates in Europe and its peoples were prevented from reading "dangerous literatures" from the socialist countries. In Nigeria up to about 1950 it was a criminal offence to be found in possession of what can be termed communist literature.

Furthermore, the imperialist forces painted the communist and Marxist-Leninist ideology in a monster color. Effective ideological orientation was carried out through the church, the mosque and the school. The new African elites under colonialism were more British than the British. They were taught to look down on the national cultural heritage and to admire and uphold all that was kept in the conservative traditions of Britain and France.

But great changes occurred after the Second World War. The victory of the heroic Soviet Army over fascism, the establishment of the socialist world system and the return of African students and servicemen who fought in the Second World War, the awakening of the students and the working class to the nature of colonialism, all created the conditions for mass struggle for national liberation. Popular parties, which were the alliances of workers, peasants, students, intellectuals, national bourgeoisie, petty bourgeoisie and even feudalists, sprang up to lead the mass struggle for political independence. By 1962, the majority of African states were liberated.

In this epoch the world socialist system which ensured the possibilities for rapid national liberation of the colonies and created all necessary external conditions for conducting a successful struggle for economic emancipation also ensured them of the opportunity freely to choose the path of further development and created prerequisites for real advance along the non-capitalist way of development. Experience in Mongolia and the Soviet Asiatic Republics confirms that the leading role of the proletariat in the world is particularly manifested in the fact that under the influence of its ideology the transition to the anti-capitalist changes in one or another developing country may take place despite the absence of a proletariat, and all the more so if the role of revolutionary democracy and the foremost segments of the working class gradually increases. Experience also showed that this must be done under the leadership of progressive

forces which gradually switch over to the positions of scientific socialism.

There are two conditions which favor the transition to the socialist orientation. The proximity of the countries to the world socialist camp, to the great Soviet state and the penetration of the areas by the ideology of Marxism-Leninism leading to the formation of Communist and workers' groups, organizations and parties.

The victory of the Cuban revolution shows that the transition to socialism is possible even at a stone's throw from the citadel of imperialist reaction—the United States of America—without the first factor of proximity. Clearly, however, an outstanding role was played in this case, too, by the socialist system, the Soviet Union, which shielded Cuba against counter-revolution from outside, by the Marxist-Leninist party and the proletarian internationalist approach of full, all-round cooperation with the socialist countries, with the Soviet Union in particular.

THE NON-CAPITALIST ROAD OF DEVELOPMENT

Ghana, Guinea, Mali, Algeria and the Congo (Brazzaville) were examples of countries which chose the non-capitalist road of development.

Let us take Ghana as our example. The Convention People's Party under the leadership of Dr. Kwame Nkruma wrested political power from the British colonialists and in 1958 spoke of building "African socialism." In 1962, at the Party Congress in Kumasi it was resolved that, "taking into account the heritage left behind by colonialism, socialism is the system which will enable Ghana to develop." The Convention People's Party embarked on economic reconstruction and development. In July 1963 Ghana launched its seven-year development plan. Since then the state sector has been the leading factor in the economy of the country. More than 30 state corporations were formed to guide the economy of the country. The state assumed control of the bank, foreign trade, part of the retail trade, transport, the power industry and building organization. Government employed foreign capital (under strict control) in order to accelerate economic development. Joint enterprises between Government and foreign firms were set up. All foreign firms invested 60 per cent

of their profit in Ghana. Private capital was given only a limited scope. Even then the Government made it clear that all the basic means of production, distribution and exchange will ultimately be placed under the control of the state and made the property of the state.

In 1966 a counter-revolutionary coup cut short Ghana's development along the non-capitalist road.

What went wrong?

The Convention People's Party was led by petty-bourgeois reformists who were influenced by the ideas of Marxism-Leninism and the Social-Democratic policy of the British Labor Party. In the main Nkruma was the only minister in the Cabinet who had any knowledge of Marxism-Leninism. Although great efforts were made to train new cadres in Nkrumaism (which I understand is Marxism applied to African conditions), the trend in the Party was not towards democratic centralism. It was personal rule that emerged.

The militant trade union movement with trained cadres was regarded by the leadership of the Party as a threat rather than a support. It was true that the trade union movement was better oriented and better organized than the Party, but one would have thought that this would give joy to genuine socialists. But the contrary was the case in Ghana. The leadership of the Party removed the militant leaders of the trade unions, disgraced some of them and honored some with managerial work in the new corporations. A new weak leadership, which would toe the Party line, was established. Thus the Convention People's Party weakened the workers' movement and unconsciously removed the pillar on which the future fabric of the new Ghana could be built.

The clear lesson from Ghana can be summed up as follows:

1. That in the present epoch, the non-capitalist road of development must be seen clearly as a transition from capitalism to socialism and not as an entity by itself.

2. That bourgeois elements, and still more so the national bourgeoisie (and those who share the hope of retaining private property) cannot be relied upon to lead a revolution whose ultimate aim, socialism, is clearly stated.

3. That there can be no revolution without a tried revolutionary theory. That not only is a Marxist-Leninist orientation

necessary, but the Party leadership must accept and practice the tenets of Marxism-Leninism.

4. That it is practically impossible to convert a mass political party uniting all patriots in the process of anti-colonial struggle into a Marxist-Leninist Party.

5. With anti-working class manifestation in the leadership of the CPP, the only class with its staunchness, absence of private ownership leanings, with its proletarian internationalism, which can ensure a sound basis for the non-capitalist development, and become the decisive force that will win economic independence and abolish all survivals of capitalism and feudalism, was curbed and retarded in its revolutionary role.

6. That in the new epoch, while the national bourgeoisie can be admitted into the national democratic front for economic independence, the leadership of the front must be in the hands of the worker-peasant alliance. That where the effective working-class strength is lacking such a transition along the non-capitalist road can only meet with success if it is led by democratic intellectuals who will accept the ideas of Marxism-Leninism with all their deep implications and create suitable conditions for the birth of a Marxist-Leninist party.

What applies to Ghana also applies to Mali, Guinea and Algeria. There, too, we hold, a certain incomprehension exists as to the role of scientific socialism, and that of the Marxist-Leninist working-class party, this acting as a hindrance to the revolutionary movement of these countries.

Nkruma and the CPP attempted to build socialism without taking the working class into their confidence, without involving the masses in an understanding of the new venture. Surely any philanthropic effort to build socialism for the workers and not with the workers is doomed to failure.

The UAR experiment has been sustained by the unity of action which is a necessity to the Arab people in the face of open aggression by the forces of imperialism. Experience of the Arab peoples and countries in the struggle against imperialism has marked out the socialist countries as the dependable ally of their national liberation revolution. The socialist countries have guaranteed their possibility to deal with internal reaction after the 1967 Israeli June war. The quali-

tative changes in the leadership of the Arab Socialist Union, the improved relation internally to UAR Communists give great hope for the success of the experiment. But would Marxism-Leninism be accepted in the UAR as the guide to the building of the new society? Would the role of the working class be enhanced, so that there is a guarantee for the struggle for socialism? A conscious working class in alliance with the peasantry and progressive intellectuals are the only guarantee for repulsing the offensive of capitalism and imperialism.

Serious problems arise in analyzing the work of the All-Africa Peoples Conference.* Why did it collapse when the Organization of African Unity appeared on the African scene?

The truth must be accepted that by calling for a struggle against neo-colonialism the AAPC class forces must change from the broad front against colonialism to one that could effectively fight against neo-colonialism, for economic independence. The AAPC machinery loaded with the sentiments of the bourgeoisie felt incapable of adjusting itself to the demand of the epoch and folded up without giving any notice to its member organizations.

Some bourgeois groups who regarded political independence and a vague assertion for socialism as an end in itself felt that the revolutionary role of the AAPC had been fulfilled and feared that from this last position against neo-colonialism it would actually act against their own bourgeois state apparatus.

But today Africa needs a new organization for summarizing the revolutionary experiences of the people and working out a concerted program for the total liberation of our continent from colonialism and neo-colonialism.

Such a struggle against neo-colonialism is part and parcel of the struggle for economic independence, for the choice of the non-capitalist road. Such a struggle must by its content have a core of the working class-peasant alliance and the progressive intellectuals. Such a new front heralding a new trend to a socialist future must have the Marxist-Leninist

*The First Conference of the AAPC met in December 1958 and was attended by delegations from 27 African countries. The Conference set the aim of uniting all the anti-imperialist forces of the continent in the fight against imperialism and colonialism, thereby contributing to the further development of the national liberation movement in Africa. The third, and last, Conference was held in March 1961.—Ed.

vanguard in order to ensure correct tactics and the success of the revolution.

NIGERIA—A WEAK LINK IN THE IMPERIALIST CHAIN

Nigeria is a classical example of a newly independent country that chose the capitalist road of development.

Under the pressure of the national liberation movements in Nigeria, the British, using their past experience, quickly gave way and handed over power to a feudal-compradore bourgeoisie coalition which ruled the federation for the first six years of independence. As a neo-colonialist regime, the Federal Government of Nigeria under Tafawa Balewa opened the gate to the forces of foreign monopoly capital. The Government signed an Anglo-Nigerian Defense Pact which brought Nigeria into the orbit of NATO.

The experience in Nigeria has confirmed that the capitalist way cannot lead to a rapid and effective solution of outstanding national problems of the young state. The masses saw the ruling upper stratum enriching themselves at the expense of the working people.

The working class and the students under the leadership of the Nigerian Youth Congress—a militant youth organization that accepts the ideology of Marxism-Leninism—forced the hand of the Government to abrogate the Anglo-Nigerian Defense Pact and raised the banner of the struggle against neo-colonialism and feudalism, for economic independence as a transition to socialism. The slogan of the Nigerian Youth Congress expressed the deep desire of the working people of Nigeria.

The reactionary neo-colonialist state apparatus became more repressive against the progressive forces instead of yielding to the democratic reforms. The situation deteriorated and the need for a political directive for the new phase of the revolution became an objective demand.

Thus the Socialist Workers' and Farmers' Party of Nigeria was born as the Marxist-Leninist Party vanguard of the fight against neo-colonialism and local reaction in 1963.

Rooted among the working class and the intellectuals and gradually penetrating the ranks of the peasants, the Socialist Workers' and Farmers' Party carried aloft the banner of Marxism-Leninism.

In January 1966, a military coup took

place. The front-line of the feudal-compradore alliance was smashed and a new epoch for social progress began. But, unfortunately, the military leaders of the first coup fell victim to tribal national chauvinism. This gave the British a good opportunity to stimulate the Northern Hausa/Fulani national chauvinism and to attempt to split Nigeria into North and South. This attempt failed as the second coup leadership fell into the hands of a democratic section of the Army who upheld the unity of Nigeria and the enlargement of the democratic rights of the masses.

But before the leadership of the second coup could settle down to constructive work, the combined forces of the Central Intelligence Agency of America and the British Intelligence Services, working on forces of local reaction in the Northern part of Nigeria, precipitated a pogrom and thus paved the way to further accentuation of the national question and the secessionist move in so-called Biafra.

Ojukwu and his secessionist group became a tool of imperialist reaction. Today, it is crystal clear that the forces of imperialism—USA, France, Britain, West Germany, Portugal, Israel, South Africa, the Vatican and four independent African states—were the supporters of secession in Nigeria.

Nigeria has been able to contain this imperialist conspiracy by the timely aid of the Soviet people. Thus in our experience Nigeria has come to realize that the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries are the great friends of the oppressed peoples of Africa who are struggling against imperialism. This great aid of the Soviet people has kindled the fire of Nigerian-Soviet friendship and has created a more favorable atmosphere for the spread of socialist ideas.

The Nigerian experience has exposed the role of the compradore bourgeoisie and feudal reaction as agents of neo-colonialism. We have witnessed the emergence of representatives of the bureaucratic bourgeoisie—important government officials, parliamentarians, leading political figures and technocrats—who collaborated with forces of foreign capital and who have enriched themselves at the expense of the working people. We noted the dual role of the national bourgeoisie and the treacherous role of the compradore bourgeoisie, all of whom were lumped together in some of the old

parties operating in Nigeria before the coup.

Indeed, the existing situation demands unity of all Nigerian Socialists and all other anti-imperialist forces, so that maximum use may be made of the mounting possibilities for a broader offensive against imperialism, against the forces of reaction and war inside Nigeria. The Marxist-Leninists in Nigeria and the other democratic and anti-imperialist forces are working for the formation of a National Patriotic United Front against neo-colonialism and feudalism, for full national independence and democracy.

Bearing the experiences of the African revolution in mind, we shall create an effective united front embracing workers, peasants, progressive intellectuals and patriotic bourgeoisie and in which the working class and the peasants will play the leading role. In accordance with the decision of the Moscow conference, the Marxist-Leninists in Nigeria hold that "the way to carry out the tasks of national development and social progress and effectively rebuff neo-colonialist intrigues is to raise the activity of the people, enhance the role of the proletariat and the peasants, rally the working youth, students, intellectuals, urban middle str-

ta and democratic army circles—all patriotic and progressive forces."

In the light of past experiences in the African struggle, it would be correct to assert that the present situation creates a genuine opportunity for the victory of the African democratic revolution in several or even in one state. This opportunity is real in Nigeria's case. What is lacking is the subjective factor. But the progressive forces are growing stronger and priming for historic changes.

Nigeria, after the crisis, has emerged victorious over the conspiracies of the imperialist world and now remains the weakest link in the imperialist chain in Africa. To make permanent the gains of the Nigerian people in the struggle against imperialism, it is imperative that a National Democratic United Front of workers, peasants, soldiers, youths and students, intellectuals and other patriotic sections of our country be formed in order to consolidate the gains of the revolution and to lead the Nigerian people along the non-capitalist road of development to socialism. Such a victorious struggle can only be successfully waged under the banner of a dynamic and inspiring ideology. Such an ideology is Marxism-Leninism.

Lenin and French communists' struggle on two fronts

FRANCIS COHEN

I.

The French Communist Party was formed against a background of sharp ideological struggle. The revolutionary elements had to rid the Socialist Party of opportunist and anarchist tendencies. The attractive power of the October Revolution and the hope engendered by the new International played a big part in this.

Lenin's voice was always listened to with rapt attention. And, time and again, that voice denounced the opportunism of the French Socialist leaders. Lenin fought Millerandism and criticized Jaures (whom he greatly respected) for his mistake in supporting bourgeois democracy on the plea of saving the republic. Lenin was implacably opposed to social-chauvinism and immediately after the First World War urged the French revolutionaries to break with opportunism.

However, Lenin repeatedly drew attention to the harm "revolutionary phraseology" was causing the French movement. The appearance of a French translation of *"Left-Wing" Communism—an Infantile Disorder* a few days before the Socialist Congress at Tours, which was to vote on affiliation with the Communist International, strongly influenced the attitude of party activists.

Two years after that, in 1922, the Party was still not united and the reformists were still in control of commanding positions. Right opportunism had to be defeated. And here, too, Lenin helped us, pointing out that the Rightists were factually supporting the ultra-Left anarchists (notably in the trade unions) in an attempt

to disorient the workers and impede their class struggle. He urged revolutionary workers influenced by anarcho-syndicalism to join the Party and help convert it into a genuine revolutionary organization. Soon thereafter the Party had to fight its first serious battle, over the International's call for a united labor front. This was a crucial test of its ability to fight on two fronts for a revolutionary policy adapted to concrete circumstances.

And so, at the dawn of its activity, learning from Lenin and from its own political experience, the French Communist Party became fully aware of the link between Right and "Left" opportunism, of the need to combat both and of the importance of this political and ideological struggle for training new members and bringing them into practical activity.

II.

Lenin consistently and indefatigably fought Right revisionism and "Leftism," always treating them as interconnected.

In October 1914, commenting on the collapse of the Second International, he wrote in *The War and Russian Social Democracy*: "The opportunists have long been preparing the ground for this collapse by denying the socialist revolution and substituting bourgeois reformism in its stead," adding: "The natural 'appendage' to opportunism—one that is just as bourgeois and hostile to the proletarian, i.e., the Marxist, point of view, namely the anarcho-syndicalist trend, has been marked by a no less shamefully smug reiteration of the slogan of chauvinism . . ." (Vol. 21, pp. 31-32).

In another work, "*Left-Wing*" Communism, he urged sustained struggle against opportunism and "Left" doctrinairism, wherever one or the other appears on the scene.

The vital need for such a struggle is underscored by all the experience of the international Communist movement. And it might be remarked, parenthetically, that it is not a matter of following an arrow-straight path, avoiding dangerous turnings to right and left. For "Leftism" might, at a certain juncture, appear from the Right, as evidenced by the Socialist-Revolutionaries' terror in Lenin's own time. Similarly, Right opportunism might well be clothed in "Left" dogmatism with its slogan "everything or nothing," and since "everything" proves unachievable, the "Left" are prepared to settle for "nothing."

The two forms of opportunism nurture each other. Unprincipled and uncritical acceptance of new-fangled bourgeois ideas leads to sectarian retreat to the equally dangerous positions of dogmatism which often enough ends in compromise. There is no vanquishing one by yielding to the other.

The history of the French movement provides any number of examples of individuals and groups shifting from one variety of opportunism to another. In all cases this was due to lack of trust in the masses, or to the illusion that victory can be won either by playing up to the enemy or by the violence of a sectarian minority.

We therefore have every reason to say that, essentially, we are dealing with one and the same opportunism, whether Right or "Left" in form.

III.

The Lenin strategy rests on bringing the masses into revolutionary action.

Lenin's purpose in fighting opportunism was not only to preserve the purity of Marxism, but to preserve and strengthen the combat ability of the working class and, consequently, its ability to form alliances with other sections of the working people in the fight against capitalism.

The French Communist Party has always been guided by that principle. One example of its application was the Popular Front, formed at a time when French capitalism, impelled by economic crisis and imperialist competition, hardened its onslaught on the workers and the middle strata. Pro-fascist groups were growing,

and there was intensified preparation for war. This, logically, presented an opportunity for a broad democratic alliance for peace, freedom and the working people's social demands.

But to translate that opportunity into reality and build up such an alliance, the Party had to overcome the restrictive interpretation of the "class against class" slogan, which could only isolate the working class. On the other hand, it had to overcome the tendency to forsake independent working-class and Communist action.

IV.

One thing that amazes in Lenin's political activity is the precision with which he analyzed concrete situations before determining Party policy and action. In dealing with one or another political or ideological trend he first made a close study of the concrete historical and social conditions of its origin and development.

Lenin repeatedly showed that "Left" and Right opportunism are especially active at abrupt changes in the situation, when Party members with inadequate theoretical grounding do not immediately find their bearings. But there is also this factor: the revolutionary movement attracts not only workers, but also diverse petty-bourgeois elements, which, in fact, are to be found within the working class itself.

Lenin wrote in 1910 (in an article for *Zvezda*): "One of the most profound causes that give rise to differences over tactics is the very growth of the labor movement . . . The enlistment of larger and larger numbers of new 'recruits', the attraction of new sections of the working people must inevitably be accompanied by waverings in the sphere of theory and tactics . . ." (Vol. 16, pp. 347-48). Earlier Lenin analyzed this in his *Marxism and Revolution* written in 1908. Remarkable as it may seem, we French Communists came to the same conclusion 60 years later, during the May-June 1968 movement against state-monopoly capitalism. But this is only added confirmation of the depth of Lenin's analysis and prognostication.

Though defeated, pre-Marxian socialism is continuing the struggle, Lenin writes in this article, no longer on its own independent ground, "but on the general ground of Marxism, as revisionism" (Vol.

15, p. 33). Much the same is true today: with Marxism-Leninism enjoying immense influence, numerous revisionist theories are being palmed off as Marxist.

Lenin noted that the revisionists tried to influence the public by "new data on economic development," maintaining that the tendency was for "class antagonisms to become milder and less acute" (ibid., p. 34). That is exactly the revisionist line of argument today.

Also valid is Lenin's proposition that "every more or less 'new' question, every more or less unexpected and unforeseen turn of events, even though it changes the basic line of development only to an insignificant degree and only for the briefest period, will always inevitably give rise to one or another variety of revisionism" (ibid., p. 38).

Today, too, we find revisionism exploiting some of the features of the "second industrial revolution," cybernetics, the difficulties involved in building socialism, etc.

An analysis of the position in so highly an industrialized country as France will reveal rapid expansion of the productive forces and capitalist concentration, which wipes out the small farmer and artisan and sharply increases the army of blue-collar and white-collar workers. The technological revolution is bringing more technical intellectuals into the production process, thereby changing ingrained views and concepts.

One corollary of this is the growing absolute and relative role of the working class. Its new recruits are drawn partly from the bourgeoisie. Its forms of organization — trade unions, its strike struggles, its theory — scientific socialism — are increasingly accepted and supported by the new intellectuals. This and the May-June 1968 movement and more recent developments, plus the growing influence and authority of the proletarian class organization — the General Confederation of Labor and the Communist Party — are cogent proof of the working class's increasing leading role.

The new problems posed by state-monopoly capitalism and the expanding army of wage labor, students and intellectuals "inevitably give rise" (to use Lenin's expression) to opportunist advocacy of class collaboration and, at the same time, Leftist neo-anarchist sentiments.

Similarly, the social roots of Right and "Left" opportunism should be sought also

in the growth of the international Communist and workers' movement and the present upsurge of the national liberation struggle. The influx into the revolutionary movement of China's teeming peasant masses, for instance, or alliances with politically active non-proletarian strata in countries set on the socialist path, or where the socialist movement has acquired significant scope, are bound to have complex political and ideological consequences; are bound to foster Leftist impatience and Right-opportunist advocacy of class reconciliation.

V.

These and many other facts point to the need for sustained and sharp ideological struggle. And Lenin conducted such an ideological struggle, devoting much of his strength and time to theory and to polemics with Marxism's opponents.

Lenin was a political leader, a revolutionary dedicated to the achievement of immediate and ultimate political goals, for he was fully convinced that men are the makers of history. And whenever the struggle brought to the surface theoretical, philosophical and ideological problems, he was quick to take up their solution. That is the point and purpose of *Materialism and Empirio-Criticism*, and of *The State and Revolution*, to mention but two of his works.

Though often dealing with current issues, he made an in-depth study of every problem he tackled, disclosing the nature of the objective phenomena and of the development laws involved. This is basic to scientific socialism.

No dogmatist can "rightfully" invoke Lenin by manipulating one or another formula or proposition out of context. For all Lenin's propositions organically follow from an analysis of definite historical conditions and phenomena and cannot be treated abstractly, torn out of time and place.

Similarly, no relativist can find in Lenin arguments in favor of the "relativity" of one or another proposition following from a conjuncture of concrete circumstances.

For in Lenin's works ideas are never divorced from practice, and his fight to uphold revolutionary ideas was, in all cases, a fight for revolutionary action. That is why he was so implacable towards deviations which he regarded not simply as "heresy," but as serious and harmful mis-

takes. Nor is this a utilitarian view, still less is it a disparagement of theoretical thought; on the contrary, it elevates theory to a higher plane. By constantly linking creative thought with social practice, which Lenin saw both as a source and an aim, he gave theory its humane value and showed how it could be applied in solving vital problems.

As a Marxist, Lenin regarded ideas as a force capable of bringing the masses into motion. But he did not confuse ideological struggle with violence. His purpose was to convince, where possible, those whose ideas he opposed, and, in any event, his comrades and allies, of the fallacy of these ideas.

VI.

The social structure of capitalist society has become a pivotal ideological issue. Bourgeois ideologists have seized upon expansion of the productive forces and accelerated technical progress to question the Marxist theory of class struggle. And they are invoking Marx, claiming that they are using his method, his dialectics, and so on. Lenin exposed that technique away back in 1913: "The dialectics of history were such that the theoretical victory of Marxism compelled its enemies to *disguise themselves* as Marxists. Liberalism, rotten within, tried to revive itself in the form of *socialist opportunism*" (Vol. 18, p. 584). Latter-day bourgeois ideologists have borrowed that technique.

For instance, the old bourgeois myth of "coinciding interests" of exploiter and exploited is being refurbished and now appears in the now-in-vogue theory of the workers integration in capitalist society. The dialectics of class struggle within the mode of production are being replaced by a search for revolutionary elements outside the production process. That theory, sedulously cultivated by Herbert Marcuse and his followers, maintains that the leading role has passed from the proletariat to declassed elements, youth, and especially the young intellectuals.

Even more widespread are the many variants of the technocracy theory. It starts from a very simple idea, but is buttressed by very fallacious analyses: in industrial countries, productive labor is giving way to organizational labor connected with information, its interpretation and decision-making. That analysis is fallacious for the simple reason that all three

elements — information, organization and decision-making — are not self-contained, but depend on material production, without which there would be no scientific and technological revolution, no new organizational methods, no modern information systems, and so on.

It should be observed that one variety of this technocracy theory is avowedly anti-socialist. It regards all developed countries as belonging to the "industrial" and in some cases the "post-industrial" society. From this it is deduced that there is no point in fighting for socialism: either it is a "passed stage," or will come automatically when the two systems converge.

Another variant of the technocracy theory accepts the class struggle, but shifts it to another soil. Sociologist Alain Touraine writes, for example: "In a society based chiefly on productive labor the main antagonist of the capitalists is the skilled worker . . . In present-day dynamic society it is the intellectual and the student who stand directly opposed to the technocracy" (*Post-Industrial Society*, Paris, 1969, p. 17).

There is also the theory (held by the United Socialist Party, for instance) of capitalist state power being divided into several powers — worker power, peasant power, campus power, etc., with administration of these various spheres of public life entrusted to these groups, while the capitalists retain ownership of the main means of production.

Similar views will be found in the writings of Ernst Fischer, Roger Garaudy and other revisionists.

There is, for instance, the revisionist contention that the technological revolution has so radically changed production that white-collar labor now predominates over manual. This, of course, negates the role of industrial production which, as the facts will show, is steadily increasing. According to this theory, the working class is being assimilated, merged with other segments of the labor force. That has as little relation to reality as the contention that the working class is being diluted in a vast labor force. Youth is being held up as a privileged group, as practically the only vehicle of change, with the result that the technical intelligentsia and students are proclaimed the leading force of the movement.

All this has absolutely nothing in common with dialectical and historical ma-

terialism. Politically, it leads to two very typical opportunist conclusions. First, that class contradictions can and should be composed; this implies negation of the leading role of the working class and of the proletarian character of the revolutionary party. That is reformism pure and simple. Second, that popular movements and their proletarian core have no part to

play, and the movement must rely entirely on the adventurism of anarchistic groups. That is Leftism of the worst kind.

Only a two-front struggle for an independent revolutionary working-class policy as the sole means of involving non-capitalist strata, is, as Lenin foresaw and history has confirmed, a genuine struggle against opportunism.

Marxist spotlight on "Frankfurt School"

This was the subject of a theoretical conference arranged by the Institute of Marxist Studies at Frankfurt-am-Main to mark the Lenin centenary. In this school of "cultural and social criticism" are such well-known bourgeois philosophers as Theodor V. Adorno, Marx Horkheimer, Friedrich Pollock, Erich Fromm, Herbert Marcuse, and their pupils Jurgen Habermas, Alfred Schmidt and Oskar Negt. It is influential mainly in the FRG and to some extent in the USA as well.

Although the views propounded by members of this school are not identical, with essential distinctions between them, they do see eye to eye on the basic questions, above all philosophy, materialism, and dialectics, and the attitude towards Marxism, the working-class movement, and imperialism and socialism. This similarity gives ground to say that it is a coherent trend, and to make a critical analysis of its principles.

The "Frankfurt School" came to command some influence because for various

objective and subjective reasons its ideology, worked out over many decades, became the herald, and ultimately the expression of the ideological processes taking place among broad sections of modern capitalist society. It is the ideology of groups of intellectuals who are "on leave of absence" in social terms, and in ideological-political terms have "yet to be" or "have not been integrated" with the capitalist system. It is the white-collar workers that are increasingly becoming the social basis for the vehicles of the petty-bourgeois spiritual-political traditions.

The transition from capitalism to socialism, which is going forward throughout the world, the technological revolution-induced changes in the conditions of education, working and living among ever larger sections of the intelligentsia, the growth of state-monopoly regulation and the suppression of the individual's freedom, and the crisis of bourgeois individualism all tend to radicalize the intelligentsia and intensify its protest against the existing system. The strong point of this protest is the frequently sharp rejection of the system; its weak point is that it offers no positive alternative. These sections of the intelligentsia are not, or not yet, prepared to join the socialist working-class movement, or to accept its strategy and tactics, its organization and discipline. They consider themselves socialists but deliberately set themselves apart from real socialism, and on the whole urge orienta-

*The Frankfurt School was so named because its leading spokesmen started out in the interwar period at the Social Research Institute in Frankfurt-am-Main. They concentrated on working out theories centered on the problem of man. A characteristic feature of these theories, which express the views of the petty-bourgeois Left-wing intelligentsia, is that they have borrowed some Marxist propositions and given them a Left-Hegelian twist, that they take a negative attitude to the organized working-class movement and actually existing socialism, and recognize nothing but social dialectics. The school has made some contribution to the criticism of capitalist society, but its main feature is "Left-wing" criticism of the Marxist-Leninist theory of the socialist revolution from the standpoint of individualism and subjectivism.—Ed.

tion towards a "third" goal, a "third" way, a "third" force. They suggest the strategy and tactics of petty-bourgeois and ultra-Leftist radicalism, and on such key issues of the class struggle as attitude to political power and organization they seek to cover up their close kinship with the Right opportunists by means of "Leftist" catchwords.

Consistent ideological struggle against petty-bourgeois revolutionism is a necessary condition for developing the theory and practice of the Communist movement. But while criticizing the "Frankfurt School" as the ideological expression of this trend we must not lose sight of the task of pooling the efforts of all the forces prepared to fight against neo-fascism, reaction and monopoly oppression. In FRG conditions this is a task of paramount importance, and its solution, far from ruling out, in fact implies polemics in the sphere of ideology.

In the postwar period, the "Frankfurt School," or "critical theory," as it styles itself, has done something to develop a critical attitude to present-day capitalist society among the student youth under its influence. But as time went on it has increasingly hampered the radicalized section of the young intellectuals in its efforts to step up the approach towards the working-class movement. This has produced the need to tie in the ideological polemic against this school with the over-all anti-imperialist struggle, and this was the task set by the organizers of the conference at Frankfurt-am-Main, which drew much attention.

The opening remarks were delivered by Dr. J. Schleifstein, Director of the Institute.

W. Beyer (Salzburg) said in his report, "A Philosophy Close to and Remote from Practice," that true materialist criticism started from practice and sought to attain practice. The "Frankfurt School" reversed this relationship and reduced practice to criticism. Adorno, Marcuse and others propose a theory of total criticism of the existing system, within which they fail to see any negating, liberating force. They hold that liberation will come from outside, from external forces. Beyer opposed this conception and said that any effective criticism of reality must proceed from activity and struggle between various groups within the system, if the prospects for the further development of the whole are to be defined. To hope for intervention from

"outside" is in fact to expect a miracle. In conclusion, Beyer stressed the need for the truly critical, that is, socialist, revolutionary forces to have a political organization.

W. Jopke began his report, "Adorno and Horkheimer's Principles of the Theory of Knowledge and Society," by drawing attention to the fact that "critical theory" substituted for the dialectics of the productive forces and relations of production a mechanistic interaction between man and nature. That is the point at which it abandons the historico-materialist method of analyzing social phenomena, which leads it to a denial of the historical role of the proletariat. According to Adorno and Horkheimer's theory of society men are held in bondage by the social laws produced by social life both under capitalism and under socialism, a state of affairs determined by the productive forces, with relations of production playing no essential role. In their absolutely utopian program of "revolutionary change," real revolution gives way to purely theoretical criticism. Since this kind of "practice," says Jopke, fails to produce any results to back up the theory on which it rests, there is disillusion and eventually (as Horkheimer's case especially shows) escape into the realm of religion.

V. Zamkovoy (Moscow) delivered a report, "Lenin's Idea of Practice," in which he criticized the subjectivist, existentialist interpretation of this conception, which sees such human emotions as joy, hatred, love, fear, and so on, as being a part of practice. He observed that a reduction of practice to scientific experiment did not accord with the Marxist view either. Practice, he said, is the active attitude of men and society to the world, the main motive force of knowledge, and the basic criterion of its truth.

E. Hahn's report, "The Theoretical Principles of Habermas's Sociology," contained a comprehensive critique of the philosophico-sociological conception laying claim to a "critical" reworking of historical materialism. However, what Habermas calls Marxism is in fact an arbitrary construction of his own designing. He distorts the Marxist conception of labor, substituting for it the formal notion of "interaction," by which he means the technico-instrumental interaction of men in any social system. This abstraction from the relations of production leads Habermas to a denial of the class struggle. Hahn showed that Habermas's conception of class recon-

ciliation, which he develops with the aid of psychoanalysis, was theoretically untenable, while his practical alternative was quite close in some respects to the traditional, and in others to "modern" reformist views among Social Democrats.

In his report "How Critical Is Marcuse's 'Critical Theory,'" R. Steigerwald criticized Marcuse, concentrating on the problem of the rupture of the links between the old and the new in revolution. He observed that the "Frankfurt School" holds this rupture to be a total one, and denies that together with the rupture of the old links there always remains an important historical connection: the revolution does not destroy the productive forces created by man over thousands of years. "Critical theory" rebukes real socialism for having retained this link, thereby allegedly failing to make a resolute break with capitalism. Accordingly, it demands a review of Marxist dialectics and historical materialism. Dialectics, it says, should be seen as a universal negation which leaves or preserves nothing from earlier development. Steigerwald showed that this conception of dialectics could not be substantiated. At the same time, he refuted the efforts to revise historical materialism in the light of mythology and the "theory of instincts," and pointed to the actual origins of exploitation, oppression and domination, which clash with the legends of Freud and Marcuse.

In his report, "Negt's Criticism of Lenin's Theory of Reflection," J. Schleifstein dealt with a conception which essentially expresses the views of the "Frankfurt School" as a whole. Negt distorts Lenin's theory by reducing it to a mechanical reflection of reality. The reporter pointed to Lenin's dialectical interpretation of the process of reflection in his *Materialism and Empirio-criticism*, and *Philosophical Notebooks*, and stressed that there was ultimately one purpose behind the attacks on the theory of reflection: it was to turn into an absolute the freedom and independence of the individual in face of objective reality. This subjectivist approach is refuted by the scientific answers to such questions as: did nature exist before man, does it exist independently of him, is man's origin a natural process which can be given an explanation in the light of the natural and social sciences? Lenin said that for subjectivist philosophy these were "poisonous" questions. The latest scientific achievements and social practice have confirmed

that a positive answer to them was correct, and this showed the conception denying the objective dialectics of nature and reflection to be untenable.

At the conference there was a very lively and interesting discussion, in which Dr. A. Schmidt, Dr. O. Negt and Ernst Theodor Moll of the "Frankfurt School" also took part.

Some speeches in the debate, notably those of Dr. A. Gedo (Hungary) and Dr. Filipec (Czechoslovakia), turned out to be in the nature of valuable reports which supplemented the main ones.

Let us note that none of the supporters of the "Frankfurt School" present at the conference come out in defense of Adorno, Horkheimer and Marcuse.

In the course of the discussion, Schmidt, and Negt to an even greater extent, admitted the existence of objective reality and the genetically definitive role of natural history, making an obvious departure from Adorno's views. But both continued to deny the existence of any objective dialectics of nature.

J. Heiseler criticized the conceptions held by the followers of this school which merely gave a formal recognition to historical regularity, while bringing to the fore the individual and subjective element, thus being a variety of voluntarism. The "Frankfurt School," Heiseler said, has never abandoned, and does not ultimately abandon, the idea of bourgeois individualism, and that is the real reason for its attacks on the Party and organizational principle, which are covered up with radical arguments.

G. Matthiessen pointed to the efforts of the "Frankfurt School" to contrast Engels and Lenin, on the one hand, and Marx on the other. These attempts are just as futile as those of reactionary philosophers to use similar methods to influence the Left-wing circles. He also dealt with the connection between the politics and the theoretical-cognitive approach of the "Frankfurt School."

During the discussion, Schleifstein said that the aloofness from practice and the watch-and-wait attitude were the School's response to the defeat of the German labor movement in 1933. The true revolutionary could and in fact should have responded to that defeat self-critically, as the representatives of the Comintern did at their Seventh Congress, and the CPG at its Brussels Conference. The exponents of the "critical theory" preferred to side-step the

duty of analyzing the causes and the consequences of the defeat.

The conference held by the Institute of Marxist Studies was only the start of a discussion with such an influential philosophical school as the "Frankfurt School." Considering that in present-day conditions a growing objective role and importance attach to the intelligentsia, and that anti-capitalist tendencies in its midst are ever more pronounced, Left and petty-bourgeois

versions of the "third" way may perhaps acquire even greater ideological and political influence. That is why we Marxists must give our closest attention to the ideological struggle along this line, while doing our utmost to get all the progressive forces to act together in the fight against the power of the monopolies.

Robert STEIGERWALD

Johannes Heinrich VON HEISELER

"El Mercurio" and "Punto Final": case of ideological convergence

A Presidential election is scheduled in Chile for September. On the initiative of the Chilean Communists, the democratic and anti-imperialist forces have adopted a common program as a basis for "Popular Unity," an electoral coalition, which has nominated Salvador Allende for the presidency.

At once there was an outcry from the various Rightist parties and groupings, and the reactionary press launched a lie and slander campaign directed mainly at the Communist Party of Chile. As the elections draw near, this campaign gains in viciousness, its main aim being to split Popular Unity and to prevent its candidate from winning.

There is nothing strange in the reactionary Rightist press making malicious attacks against the country's progressive forces. *El Mercurio*, for instance, fired the opening round against the Left coalition, but it is a mouthpiece for one of the most powerful financial groups in the country. It is not surprising, therefore, that it should provide the heavy guns in the ideological battle against the Communists and other participants in Popular Unity.

The remarkable thing is that *Punto Final*, a journal claiming to voice "the most revolutionary" views, has also essentially joined in the anti-Communist campaign. Its articles abound in all manner of insinuations about the Popular Unity candidate, and fierce attacks against the Chilean

Communists, their leaders especially. The authors of the journal accuse the Communists of "conservatism" and "loss of revolutionary spirit," insisting that elections are of no use in political struggle. Hence their slogan: "Away with the Elections! The Only Way is Armed Struggle!"

From the pages of *Punto Final* torrents of dirt and slander are being poured on the international Communist movement, the Soviet Union, and its Communist Party, which have allegedly distorted the Marxist-Leninist doctrine. Need we say that their theoretical essays are at once advertised by reactionary propaganda, above all by *El Mercurio*, which will use any method to twist the ideas of freedom and progress.

Thus, in its attacks on the Communists, *Punto Final* has virtually coalesced with *El Mercurio* in a kind of ideological convergence. Why have the editors of *Punto Final*, who claim to support the most progressive views and to be the most consistent advocates of the people's interests, found themselves helping imperialist propaganda? Could this be accidental?

Unfortunately, the facts show that this is no accident at all. A military coup led by General Viaux was staged in Chile in October 1969, and it was resolutely opposed by the Communist and the Socialist Parties, Chile's United Labor Center, the three national peasant organizations, and other Left-wing forces. The country was

paralyzed by a general strike. The Christian-Democratic Frei Government also took some measures against the plotters; in addition, it issued a public condemnation of newspapers like *El Mercurio* and *El Diaro Ilustrado*, which supported the putschists. In these conditions, the best thing *Punto Final* could think of was to join the Rightist press in standing up for "freedom of the press." Moreover, it accused the Communist Party of Chile and its newspaper, *El Siglo*, of having "so acted as to give support to the existing regime." It said the "Left-wing forces should have no reason to oppose an alliance of conscious military men in the fight for Chile's freedom."

This question inevitably arises: Which parties and organizations does *Punto Final* classify among the "Left-wing forces"? The lay reader may think that they are above all the Communist and the Socialist Parties. Not at all. What the journal had in mind was the "new Left," among whom the most extremist views are being propounded by the Left Revolutionary Movement (MIR), a group of terrorists, adventurers, renegades, and declassed elements, armed with hand grenades and pistols, whose robbery raids are euphemistically

called "expropriations." These pseudo-revolutionaries oppose the elections, while seeking to set up a "revolutionary front" to range it against Popular Unity, and ultimately to split the Left-wing coalition. Let us note that *El Mercurio*, which supports pro-fascist and subversive elements connected with the CIA, has given almost paternal treatment to the MIR extremists, designating them by the toned down name of "violence groups" and giving wide coverage to their activity.

As for the "conscious military men," their true faces were revealed by another anti-government plot discovered last March. The plotters were headed by retired General Horacio Gamboa Nunez, who is well known for his pro-fascist leanings, and who had organized the massacre of workers. The documents seized show that they had planned right after the take-over to outlaw the Communist and the Socialist Parties, disband the United Labor Center, shoot its chairman, Luis Figueroa, who is a member of the Communist Party's Central Committee, and amnesty all the MIR men in detention.

The editors of a "revolutionary journal" seem to have very strange bedfellows.

J.D.

End persecution of communists in Iraq

The repressions unleashed against thousands of Communists, democrats and progressives in Iraq in mid-March continue unabated. Arrests are being made despite repeated promises to release all detainees.

Many are incarcerated in Qaser al-Nihaja, the prison with a reputation for brutality earned since the reactionary February 1963 coup. Many Communists, democrats and left nationalists have been killed in it in the past two years.

Reports filtering out of the country reveal that the arrests are made by special service agents with no constitutional authority, usually in the deep of night, in the absence of local authorities, without witnesses and without a warrant. The detainees are not officially charged and are not put on trial. Torture is employed to make them disavow the Communist Party, consent to work under cover for the secret police and give evidence against their comrades. Human rights are disregarded and the laws guaranteeing a fair trial ignored.

Beating, kidnapping and outright murder have become more frequent since the present regime came to power. Among the assassinated are Sattar Khedair, member of the Iraqi CP Central Committee (whose assassins, though identified, have not been apprehended) and Communist Mouhammed Ahmed al-Chidari (whose murder was not even investigated). Communist Abdel Amir Saaid was kidnapped and nothing has been heard of him since.

The terror was unleashed at a time when the Communist Party came out in support of the regime's various positive actions, especially the March 11, 1970 agreement

designed to resolve the Kurd problem peacefully. The terror was stepped up after that agreement, welcomed by most of the people, who hoped it would bring about a relaxation of political tensions at home and the introduction of democratic freedoms and the right of unhindered activity for the nation's political parties.

The general anxiety and outrage caused by the terroristic campaign has burst to the surface in many letters and public inquiries addressed to the Baath leadership and in protests by Iraqi national parties and organizations, Arab progressives and public opinion elsewhere. Promises lavished by the responsible authorities have not soothed the discontent.

The Communist Party has declared more than once that the only way to allay the public indignation is to meet the demands of the parties and other national forces, end the political terror, amnesty all political detainees, guarantee human rights and assure democratic freedoms for the people and the progressive parties and organizations.

The persecutions hinder cooperation among progressives, obstruct the emergence of a national front and impede the all-Arab struggle against the aggressive acts of U.S. imperialism and its puppet, Israel, thus only grinding the axe of the imperialists, Zionists and other enemies of the Arab liberation movement.

All Arab Communists, democrats and patriots are incensed and demand an end to the persecution of Communists and other progressives in Iraq.

Georges BATAL, Larbi BOUHALI,
Mohamed HARMEL

Ideas that are still valid

(on 50th anniversary of Second Congress of Comintern)

The impact of some of the events in the history of the Communist movement has not diminished with the fleeting years. On the contrary, time has added to their relevance. Communists observe red-letter days for two reasons: firstly, to pay tribute to their heroes or to recall the highlights in the history of their movement, and, secondly, to look back and draw lessons from past experience, to gain a deeper knowledge of the laws of their struggle and to make use of what is still relevant.

Every word of this applies to the Second Congress of the Communist International, for it made an invaluable contribution to the theoretical principles shaping the strategy and tactics of the Communist and workers' movement. The Congress, which summed up the live political practice of the socialist revolution in Russia and of class battles in other countries, provided the parties with an object lesson of how to determine their political line.

V. I. Lenin was highly prominent in preparing the Congress and in its proceedings. It was he who delivered the main report and he who drew up theses on nearly all the important items on the agenda. He worked on three out of the ten Congress commissions, and spoke with many of the delegates. The ideas which he expressed in the debate or that were incorporated in the Congress decisions are as relevant as ever in the world of today.

The Congress defined the ideological and organizational principles of the parties of the new type, affiliated to the Comintern, and finalized its organizational structure. These principles, as Lenin put it, had the support not only of "the heralds of proletarian revolution . . . but delegates from strong and powerful organizations linked

with the proletarian masses" (Vol. 31, p. 270).

Not all points in the Congress decisions are relevant for the practice of our time, but its approach to the problems of the revolutionary process to this day remains a scientific model of how to substantiate the policy of the Communist parties, an example of how to champion the interests of the working class, of all working people.

* * *

The significance of the Second Comintern Congress may be examined from different angles — the historic aspect, its impact on the growth of various Communist parties, etc. Here, however, we intend to draw attention to its role in raising and resolving a number of most important theoretical problems.

The situation in the world and the labor movement at the time of the Congress laid the main stress on the ideological and organizational consolidation of the revolutionary Marxist parties, on hammering out strategy based on a scientific analysis of the available experience of class struggle. The theoretical reply to the main questions arising in this process was provided in Lenin's "Left-Wing Communism" — an Infantile Disorder."

The book appeared in June 1920 in three languages and was distributed to the Congress delegates. It showed that revolutionary strategy is a science with clearly defined principles and laws, based on a thorough study and generalization of the realities. The concrete, dialectical analysis of history pinpoints the main, basic and universal in the experience of each party, while helping to avoid over-generalizing and exaggerating national peculiarities detrimental to the universal regularities of

growth. Lenin's book accentuated the international, "not local, or peculiarly national, or Russian alone" significance of the Russian experience.

Yet the leader of the world's Communists called attention to the fact that the common laws of socialist revolution and the building of socialism studied by Marxist science, operate in concrete historical conditions and that general theory can hardly account for them in advance. Hence, Lenin wrote, Communists must learn the art of applying "the general and basic principles of Communism to the *specific relations* between classes and parties . . . which are different in each country" (Vol. 31, p. 89), learn the art of political maneuver, including skillful use of the clashes of interest between their enemies, never rejecting compromises and agreements in advance and picking a massive, albeit temporary and undependable, ally. "Those who do not understand this," Lenin wrote, "reveal a failure to understand even the smallest grain of Marxism, of modern scientific socialism in general" (Vol. 31, p. 71).

Bolshevik experience, Lenin pointed out, proves that to win the masses is the key to success. He strongly criticized "Left" mistakes which fence Communists off from the masses and urged the parties to work methodically and perseveringly in all "institutions, societies and associations — even the most reactionary—in which proletarian or semi-proletarian masses are to be found" (Vol. 31, p. 53).

For the newly-constituted Communist parties Lenin's book was a textbook in the theory and method of revolutionary strategy and tactics. Its most relevant points and conclusions were accepted by the delegates to the Congress and served as a basis for its decisions.

The Congress opened in Petrograd on July 19, 1920, then moved to Moscow, where it was in session from July 23 to August 7, attended by 217 delegates of 67 organizations from 37 countries.

In his analysis of the international situation, Lenin pointed out in the main report that although the ruling classes in the capitalist states were in a crisis, the workers in most of them were unprepared and incapable yet of setting up their dictatorship. It follows, Lenin said, that "the Communist parties' current task consists... in intensifying the preparation of the proletariat" (Vol. 31, p. 189).

This underscored the subjective factor in revolution. Communist parties are the main instrument in preparing the workers and

the masses for revolutionary action; therefore, Lenin pointed out, forming and consolidating them is a crucial issue of communist strategy. "From the standpoint of the international proletarian movement," says the Congress Resolution, adopting Lenin's approach, "the main task of the Communist parties at this time is to unite the dispersed Communist forces, to form a single Communist Party (or strengthen and renew the already existing party) in each country in order to step up the work of preparing the proletariat for the seizure of power in the form of the dictatorship of the proletariat."

It was stressed that the struggle against Right opportunism, against reformist and centrist ideas, as well as the "Left" trend, should be carried to completion, being most important for the unity and consolidation of the Party and its work of winning the masses.

Needless to say, this retains validity today. The growth of the Communist parties, their consolidation as the revolutionary vanguard of the working class and elaboration of correct strategy and tactics, has always been accompanied by a sharp uncompromising struggle against Right and "Left" opportunism.

In the 50 years since the Second Congress opportunism has changed its forms and methods. But its social substance and its aims are the same. The newest formulas of the newest opportunists, parading the most "fashionable" of terminologies, unfailingly reveal the old errors, the old theoretical departures. That is why the concrete, as well as the essential criticism of the Right and "Left" trends produced by the Second Congress is still topical.

In the course of the debate some attempted to question the existence of common laws in socialist revolution and the building of socialism, to question the international significance of the Soviet experience, the dictatorship of the proletariat, the role of the Party, and the like. And today, too, the right opportunists, carrying on from where their forerunners had left off, also deny the common content of socialist principles and treat as an absolute the specifics of developed capitalist countries, thus, in effect, emasculating the revolutionary sense of Marxist theory.

By stressing the international significance of the Russian experience, the Second Congress resolved in principle the question of the dialectics of the general and particular, the national and international, in the socialist revolution and the building of

socialism. The Communist parties firmly supported Lenin's concept of the dictatorship of the proletariat as a qualitatively new form of democracy—a democracy for the majority, for all working people, a democracy immeasurably broader and fuller than the bourgeois variety. The debate on parliamentarism, too, established that use of democratic rights and institutions in capitalist society should be centered on the ultimate aim of the Communist movement — the building of socialism — which inevitably implies transfer of power to the working class and the leading role of its party in society at a definite stage of the revolutionary process.

No less relevant was the criticism at the Congress of "Left-Wing" mistakes. Congress warned against revolutionary impatience, against actions unfortified by painstaking work with the masses. Its decisions are imbued with Lenin's idea of the socialist revolution being the result of the coincidence or combination of the objective and subjective factors. That is the essence of revolutionary dialectics, and it was for failing to understand it that Lenin criticized the "Left wing" at the Congress.

At present, with the protest against capitalism spreading to increasingly large sections unversed in struggle, "Left" opportunism is falling on fertile soil. The gaudy variety of "Leftist" groups, the variety of their spiritual leaders and prophets, all display a quasi-revolutionary impatience, all are inclined to make the wish father to the thought, all are incapable of seeing the connection between struggle for democracy and struggle for socialism, scorning daily and persevering work with the masses and underrating, even denying, the revolutionary quality of the working class and its leading role. And at times, the "Left" or the Right trends may by their adventurist slogans and actions jeopardize the existence of the Communist Party.

Lenin's intolerance of basic errors combines in his "'Left-Wing Communism' — an Infantile Disorder" and in his speeches and interventions at the Congress with a desire to persuade those who make them. He drew a line of distinction between the "Left" views which by their socio-psychological nature expressed the revolutionary impatience of the broad (chiefly non-proletarian) segments of people and the concepts of ultra-Left groups that are merely theoretical and political variants of the petty-bourgeois outlook and depart in all the essential areas from the tasks of the

revolutionary working-class struggle, doing the latter untold harm.

Lenin's approach is serving the Communist parties in good stead in working out their attitude to various "Left" trends currently widespread among the youth. Communists are working hard to win the youth to their side for truly revolutionary struggle. "Experience has shown," Comrade Waldeck Rochet said at the 1969 International Meeting in Moscow, "that through persistent explanatory work based at once on a profound understanding of the needs of young people, and resolute exposure of the erroneous concepts of the Leftist groups the militancy of young workers and students can be directed along a correct path, drawing them into the real revolutionary struggle alongside the working class and its Communist vanguard." He stressed that this entailed all-out struggle against Maoist and Trotskyite groups "which exploit the spontaneous militancy and revolutionary aspirations of the youth for purposes of provocation."

One of the main issues discussed at the Second Congress was the question of winning the masses. The Congress expressed itself in favor of rallying various segments of working people around the working class and urged the parties to seek broad class alliances. It also stressed the advantages of working in parliaments, trade unions and other mass and representative organizations, using legal and illegal methods, in order to maintain continuous contact with the working class.

The agrarian question was tied in with the task of working among the masses. Lenin's provisional theses, supported by the majority, channelled the discussion in the right direction. The Congress resolution noted that only the urban and industrial proletariat could under Communist Party guidance deliver the masses from the oppression of capital and the landlords. Yet it could fulfil its mission only if it acted as the vanguard of all working people, all exploited, which was "impossible without extending the class struggle to the countryside, without uniting the rural masses round the Communist Party of the urban proletariat." The worker-peasant alliance is no less relevant at present. "Strengthening the alliance of workers and peasants," says the Document of the 1969 Meeting, "is one of the main conditions of success in the fight against the monopolies and their power."

The Congress decisions and delegates'

interventions contained a concrete study of the forms and methods of maintaining bonds with the masses, elaborating on the already available experience of work with the people. It will be no exaggeration to say that the Second Congress outlined an exhaustive action program for Communists in mass organizations.

In the past half-century the Communist movement has made impressive progress. It has acquired immense political experience and enriched Marxist-Leninist theory. Dozens of countries have mass Communist parties, including ruling parties, parties that direct socialist and communist construction. Some parties have become a political force on a national scale, many have seats in parliament, strong positions in the youth movement and much influence in the trade unions.

That the Second Congress orientation has been correct is best seen against this background. Much of what it threshed out in relation to work among the masses is still valuable and instructive for Communists in capitalist countries.

The Congress dealt at length with the role the Communist Party plays before and after the workers take power. Its Resolution pointed out that the proletariat could not perform the revolution without an independent political party and that the workers needed a militant organization also after coming to power. Far from diminishing, the role of the Party increases after the workers come to power.

In those days this judgment was backed up by the experience of Soviet Russia alone. With the existing system of socialist states today, it is also backed up by international experience. Only a party cognizant of the laws of social development can resolve the many complex problems of building the new society. The economic, social and cultural achievements of the socialist countries bear this out completely. On the other hand, wherever the gains of socialism have been in jeopardy, this was due to departures from the principle of the leading role of the Party or to a distortion, be it Right or "Left," of that principle.

The class instinct of the bourgeoisie tells it that the leading role of the Party is socialism's main source of strength. Just as 50 years ago, it aims its attacks chiefly against Lenin's teaching on the Party. Among the attackers are bourgeois theorists and revisionists like Marek, Fischer, Garaudy, and their like. They harp essentially on ideas which Lenin and his associ-

ates criticized at the Second Comintern Congress. The fiction is spread that a system of party dictatorship standing above the working class has evolved in the socialist countries. It is said that at present society needs a party organized along "dynamic" lines (read: without a definitive organizational structure) rather than a Lenin type party of democratic centralism. So the fundamental judgments of the Second Congress are as effective as ever in combating these views.

The Congress document usually known as the 21 Conditions for Admission to the Communist International was highly important, defining the ideological, political and organizational pillars of the proletarian party of the new type. The 21 Conditions shut the door to elements and groups that still clung to the ideology of the Second International or anarcho-syndicalism, thus strengthening the Comintern ideologically and organizationally. The 21 Conditions pointed out that Right opportunism presented a great danger to the Communist movement, and that it was necessary to "break completely and absolutely with reformism and 'centrist' policy . . . Failing this no consistently communist policy is possible." This gave impetus to the "Bolshevization" of the parties, which was a matter of cardinal importance in the mid-twenties, when the revolutionary wave had receded.

Cementing the ideological unity of the Communist parties is also a central issue today. The parties expel people and groups that depart from the Marxist-Leninist standpoint.

The Congress helped greatly in resolving the national-colonial question, linking it with the struggle against imperialism. There was no socialist world system at the time, and the national liberation movement had not yet become the powerful anti-imperialist force of today. It is all the more remarkable, therefore, that Lenin's thesis and his report on the national-colonial question, delegates' interventions and the Congress decisions could lay the foundation for the present-day concept of the main streams of the world revolutionary process. The world alignment of class forces was closely analyzed, the nature of the contemporary epoch assessed, with the conclusion that the national liberation movement is a component of the world revolutionary process.

Addressing the plenary meeting, Lenin stressed that the analysis of the national-

colonial problem in the theses of the Commission rested on the fact that the contradiction between imperialism and socialism was the basic content of the epoch. He said "Reciprocal relations between peoples and the world political system as a whole are determined by the struggle waged by a small group of imperialist nations against the Soviet movement and the Soviet states headed by Soviet Russia" (Vol. 31, p. 241).

He also pointed out that objectively the national liberation movements were bourgeois-democratic in complexion. Hence, the Comintern would support them "only when they are genuinely revolutionary, and when their exponents do not hinder our work of educating and organizing in a revolutionary spirit the peasantry and the masses of the exploited." (Vol. 31, p. 242). Communists, the Congress Resolution stressed, should seek rapport between the working class and the working people of all nations and countries for joint struggle against imperialism.

The Congress also examined the possibilities of the non-capitalist way for backward countries. Since then, many new elements have been added to this problem by Marxist-Leninist theorists and practitioners. It is useful to recall, therefore, that the matter was raised first by Lenin and

other Marxists, who worked out a fundamentally correct approach back in the days when the colonial system was only beginning to experience the initial pressures of the national liberation revolutions. If this does not prove the scientific foresight implicit in Marxism-Leninism, then nothing does!

The Congress decisions and its procedures are a model of collective discussion, marked by a creative search, a strictly objective scholarly approach to economic and political factors and comradely democratic exchanges of experience and views. Cumulatively, this helped forge Communist unity on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

The Communist movement active in present conditions without a guiding centre, strives to retain and extend Lenin's revolutionary legacy. Expanding contacts between fraternal parties, bilateral and multilateral meetings, international conferences and theoretical discussions promote cohesion and produce scientific solutions for the topical problems of our time. Just as 50 years ago, Communist unity is the crucial condition of success in fighting imperialism and gaining new victories for socialism.

Y. SOLODUKHIN

Polish reminiscences of Lenin

To mark the Lenin centenary the Institute of Party History under the PUWP Central Committee has put out a collection* of articles by Party functionaries, workers, soldiers, scientists, and artists—altogether 75 contributors. Many of them were active in the Polish working-class movement. Some had worked with Lenin. Among the authors are persons who had nothing to do with the working-class movement but who had seen and talked with Lenin, among them a Catholic priest, an industrialist, and a police official.

The articles in this collection reflect Lenin's meetings with Poles over a period of almost three decades: from the start of his Siberian exile in 1897 to his last days.

The first part of the book—"In Exile, in St. Petersburg, in Emigration"—covers the period up to 1912; the second—"In Cracow and Podhale"—tells of Lenin's stay in Poland from 1912 to 1914; the third covers the period of the First World War and Lenin's return to Russia in April 1917; and the fourth contains reminiscences of meetings with Lenin after the Great October Socialist Revolution.

Among the many illustrations are authors' photographs and over 80 documentary photographs showing Lenin and his Polish associates and friends, and also various places connected with the activity of the leader of the international working class. The collection contains an extensive name and place index, short biographical

notices about the authors, and so on.

The greatest number of articles deal with Lenin's stay in Poland, and the post-October period. Over 20 reminiscences recall his "Polish" period, with many everyday scenes from Lenin's life and work in Cracow and Poronin, reminiscences of his speeches in Cracow, notably those on the nationalities question in March 1914, descriptions of walks in the mountains, and of fleeting but memorable meetings and talks with him.

Among the materials relating to the subsequent periods most are by men from the working-class movement and Red Army fighters. Most of these are written with deep feeling and expressiveness, and show Lenin as the leader of the victorious socialist revolution and head of the world's first workers' and peasants' state.

Among the problems dealt with are some bearing on the international working-class movement, above all the working-class movement in Russia, Lenin's fight against Menshevism, against opportunism and the betrayal of the Second International leaders. Of considerable interest are Polish reminiscences of meetings with Lenin at Comintern congresses.

The collection contains many new facts about Lenin's stay in Poland, and also provides fresh, documented evidence of how Lenin's thinking and practical activity promoted Poland's social emancipation and national liberation. These reminiscences could serve as a starting point for further scientific inquiry.

A. DUBACKI

**Polacy o Leninie. Wspomnienia.* Warszawa. KiW, 1970 537pp.

Fight for Leninism in Canada

It is hardly necessary to introduce to our readers the author of the book, *Lenin and Canada*.* Tim Buck is well known both

to veterans of the Comintern and to those who are now taking part in the international Communist and working-class movement: he took part in the initial struggle to set up a new, Leninist-type Party in

*Tim Buck, *Lenin and Canada.* His influence on Canadian political life. Toronto, Progress Books, 1970. 133 pp.

Canada, was General Secretary of the Party's National Committee from 1929 to 1962, and has been its Chairman since then.

His book deals with the influence of Lenin's ideas on the political struggle of the Canadian working class, mainly in the 1920s. That was the period in which the Communist Party emerged in Canada and began its struggle to establish Leninism in the working-class movement. Tim Buck took a direct and active part in these events, and gives a picture of the actual spread of Lenin's ideas with details that only an eye-witness can command.

At the same time, the book is a Marxist study based on extensive factual material on the tendencies of development of the Canadian Communist movement, a summary of its experience, and a critical study of the lessons in the fight for Leninism. Right through his book runs the idea that "the teachings of Lenin and the experiences of Lenin's party have been powerful influences in the development of the Communist Party of Canada . . . The teachings of Lenin and the example of the Bolshevik Party have been always both the main inspiration and the guiding light for the members of it who fought for Leninism" (p. 7).

The ideological situation in Canada's working-class movement on the eve of the October Socialist Revolution in Russia was marked by a sway of opportunism, domination of Kautskyan distortions of Marxism, and lack of experience and tradition of scientifically grounded struggle. All this went to complicate and draw out the process of setting up the new type of Party, and called for persistent and systematic effort by the revolutionary workers. A cardinal change in the proletariat's political thinking started under the immediate impact of the October Revolution and especially after 1920, when Lenin's works in an English translation became available in Canada. Lenin, says Buck, "was a teacher who removed the scales from our eyes and taught us to see the realities of the struggle for socialism" (p. 23). The study of Lenin's works helped to establish among the Canadian proletariat a sense of the need to set up the new type of Party.

There is much instruction in the pages of his book which tell of the ideological struggle of the young Communist Party. The author reveals the causes which led to the emergence of a Trotskyite opposition,

and then to outright opportunist attempts to get the Party to break with the Leninist teaching. One of these was that far from all members of the Party realized the need for constant and uncompromising struggle to strengthen the revolutionary spirit, and to keep Marxism-Leninism pure (pp. 35-36). As the reader delves into the details of the struggle of the revolutionary wing of the Canadian Communist Party against the Trotskyites, he gains a conviction that Lenin's criticism of Trotskyism, and Right and "Left" opportunism is of abiding importance. The main lesson of the history of the Communist Party of Canada is formulated by Tim Buck as follows: "The fight for Leninism should never be relaxed; its edge must never be diverted. Whether the danger appears to be Right opportunism or Left demagoguery the interest of the party, its members, and the working class as a whole, requires prompt and unequivocal championship of Marxism-Leninism as the sole ideological guarantee of the party's integrity" (pp. 65-66).

An important aspect of this book is that it shows the creative character of Leninism as the methodology of revolutionary thinking. The author shows that by applying Lenin's theory of imperialism to their country's concrete conditions, and an analysis of its economy and state system, the Canadian Marxists have drawn a number of important theoretical conclusions, which helped to work out the correct political line. In particular, the conclusion on the eve of the 1930s crisis that Canada's monopoly capitalism had become state-monopoly capitalism helped to overcome the incorrect tactical propositions about Canada's way to socialism. Another theoretical conclusion, which Tim Buck analyzes in detail, bears on the line to be taken in the fight for Canada's independence. If Canada's independence is to be safeguarded from the United States, he stresses, there is need to oust from power the state-monopoly oligarchy and to assure the people of a democratic expression of will. The country's independence, once a bourgeois-democratic task, will now be ensured only through the political elevation of the working class (p. 85).

Canadian experience, the book shows, confirms the value of Lenin's teaching in solving new problems which arise in capitalist countries.

As a whole, Tim Buck's study enriches the Marxist view of the development of the

revolutionary working-class movement. It is a substantial contribution to a scientific history of the Communist Party of Canada,

on which the author is known to be working.

E. YORGEN

The Party and technical progress

Much has been written about the development of the productive forces and technical progress in the USSR and the other socialist countries, but few readers, especially in the bourgeois world, will know how these problems were tackled in the early years after the October Revolution, and how the basic principles of the complex development of the country's productive forces under a single state plan were worked out. That is the subject of a book by the Soviet historian, A. D. Pedosov, *The Bolshevik Party and Technical Progress* (Moscow Mysl, 1969, 462 pp.).

It is based on solid bibliographical and archive material, and gives a systematic exposition of the relevant propositions of the founders of scientific communism, who believed technical progress to be one of the cardinal factors in the socialist transformation of society. The book shows how the Communists of Russia, led by Lenin, once they had established the proletarian dictatorship, set about implementing a grand program of scientific and technical works. The author analyzes numerous Party documents and state acts, and quotes prominent Party leaders, statesmen and scientists who took an active part in working out and putting through Lenin's plan for building the material and technical basis of socialism.

Right opportunists carried to an absurd-

ity the proposition of historical materialism about 'the dependence of the relations of production on the level of the productive forces, and claimed that in a technically backward country like Russia it was altogether impossible to go on to socialism. By contrast, the "Left" ignored the regularities of social development, including the laws underlying economic movement, and insisted on the "introduction" of instant socialism, without regard for the level of the productive forces.

The Party rejected the capitulationist and adventurist conceptions, and started on the highly complicated and difficult task of restructuring the economy on a modern technical basis. Now that mankind has entered the phase of the scientific and technical revolution, which has become one of the main sectors of the historic competition between socialism and capitalism, and the fraternal socialist countries have created powerful productive forces and have scored major successes in developing science and technology, special importance attaches to the propositions worked out by Lenin about the role of technical progress in communist construction.

In this book readers will find many useful ideas about the socio-economic problems of technical progress.

V.F.

Notes

DAMODARAN, K. *Man and Society in Indian Philosophy*, People's Publishing House. New Delhi, 1970, 94 p.

This book, by an Indian Marxist scientist and publicist, looks at the main aspects of virtually all the main schools in Indian philosophy throughout its history: Vedanta,

Brahmanism, Sankhya, Yoga, Lokayata, Buddhism, Jainism, Mimansa, Nyaya, Vaisesika, and others. The author stresses that the views of man in any of these philosophical schools may be fully understood only if they are analyzed not in the abstract or as an expression of the "Oriental" mind's primeval urge for spiritualism, but,

first, within the context of the socio-economic conditions from which they spring and which they influence, and second, within the context of the struggle between materialism and idealism.

The author says it is wrong to assume that idealism has been the main trend in Indian philosophy, because most of its classical systems were materialist, and only a few idealist.

The second point made by the author, and it is important for an understanding of the specific ways of Indian philosophy, is the interrelation between religion and philosophy and the role of religion in the history of Indian society. The great influence of religion on the country's spiritual life, due to the specific features of its socio-economic structure, lent philosophical thinking in India a special tenor.

The author describes the approach to the problem of man at every period of Indian philosophy—ancient, medieval and modern—and observes the changes in the content of the conception, which were ultimately determined by the changes in the country's economic and social life. In ancient times, Indian thinkers regarded man as an abstract being, isolated from history and society; in the medieval period, all the philosophical systems were for all practical purposes integrated with religion, so that the content of the theory of man was determined by the sway of religion; in the modern period freedom, democracy and humanism have been brought to the fore as the main values. The theories of man are filled with new content, and traditional ideas and notions acquire a social meaning. The author illustrates and analyzes this process as he sets out the views of such outstanding thinkers and leaders as Rabindranath Tagore, Mahatma Gandhi, and Jawaharlal Nehru, among others.

There is no special chapter on the Marxist conception of man and society, but it is set out in several sections, with the author's own ideas on some points. He criticizes the inhumanity of capitalism, which degrades man and fragments his personality. The fight for socialism, he says, is a struggle for the development of the human personality through a transformation of the social and political conditions to realize the human need to be a full man.

GAUMENT, E. *Le Mythe Americain*. Paris. Editions sociales, 1970, 272 pp.

In France there is an "American myth"

which is being assiduously groomed by the bourgeoisie. Servan-Schreiber, Claude Roy, and the pseudo-intellectuals from *Le Monde*, among others, daily spread the idea of an American "challenge," of American "prosperity," and an American cornucopia.

In actual fact, U.S. society is very sick, its very heart being affected by an incurable ailment, which Marx described a century ago.

An exposé of the myth is given by the French economist, Eric Gaument, who spent several years in the United States. His book gives an analysis of the "American myth"—the concentration of capital, the structure of the ruling class, the polarization of wealth and poverty, the relations between U.S. business and the Administration over the last hundred years, living standards, the internal contradictions of capitalism and its general crisis, and the internationalization of U.S. capital. The author adduces a wealth of facts and figures from official U.S. sources. He discards the idea that U.S. capitalism is in any sense "exceptional" and shows that U.S. development has been running in accordance with the economic laws of capitalism, set out by Marx in *Capital*, and that it is bound to lead to sharper class struggles and grave upheavals at the very foundations of U.S. society.

PASO, L. *Los caudillos historia o folclore*. Ediciones Silaba, 1969, 196 pp.

The well-known Argentinian Marxist historian Leonardo Paso has put out another book, *Leaders: History and Folklore*, impelled by the need for the Communists to take an active part in the ideological struggle which has been going on in the country in the last few years over the subject of folklore, which the people use as a means of self-defense against cosmopolitanism in culture, a component part of the ruling oligarchy's policy.

As they fight the people produce verse and songs reflecting the national reality and history, of which the history of their leaders is a vivid page.

However, folklore is frequently identified with history, some historical personalities are exalted, while others for various reasons are downgraded, although their ideas continue to hold the minds of men across the centuries. What are the roots of this phenomenon? Why is it that the same historical events are interpreted differently, and who stands to gain from this?

Paso polemicizes with the liberal and revisionist historians, and takes a Marxist view of the important question of seeing history as a science with a class content. He shows that the interpretation of historical events is determined by the class stand of the historian or historical trend.

Analyzing the interconnection between the "history-leaders-folklore" conceptions, the author examines the role of the people and of individuals in history, questions of social progress, "national consciousness and the past," politics and folklore, and "narrow nationalism and the really national."

Among the personalities he deals with are progressive Latin American thinkers of the 19th and 20th centuries, among them Esteban Echeverria, who was the first in Latin America to stand up for the interests of the proletariat in his book, *The Socialist Doctrine of the May Association* (1837); his follower Domingo Faustino Sarmiento, whose activity the author describes metaphorically as "an ornament of the history of the national consciousness"; the prominent representative of natural-science materialism, Jose Ingenieros, who came out in defense of the first socialist country and who sought to bring to the broad masses the basic principles of the October Revolution, "which are destined to become the basis of the future socialist order."

This book, dealing with history and its psychological apprehension by the people, springs from the needs of the ideological struggle, and the effort to rebuff the falsifiers who seek to divert the people from a correct understanding of the antagonistic contradictions of bourgeois society, so as eventually to distract them from the struggle for social emancipation.

RODRIGUEZ, C. R. *Lenin y la cuestion colonial*. Sobretiro de la revista "Casa de las Americas." La Habana, 1970.

The author is a member of the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the Communist Party and a Minister of the Revolutionary Government of Cuba, and his book was published on the eve of the Lenin centenary. He stresses that Lenin was the first revolutionary to see the importance of the link between the liberation movement of the oppressed people in the colonial countries, and the proletariat's struggle in the imperialist metropolitan countries.

He looks in detail at the formulation of

the colonial question in the works of Marx and Engels, and brings out the importance of Lenin's contribution to formulating the problems of national liberation of the colonial and dependent countries in the imperialist epoch. He points to the common tasks facing the present-day anti-imperialist movement in the Latin American countries, but emphasizes the specific conditions in which it is going forward.

Historical experience shows that the ways to overcoming the age-old backwardness of the colonial and dependent countries runs through socialism. But that does not mean, he adds, that the liberation movement can win by side-stepping the virtually inevitable stage of the anti-imperialist revolution. Today, as at the turn of the century, Lenin's proposition remains valid that the proletariat must head the struggle of the peasant masses, the urban petty bourgeoisie, and the progressive sections of the intelligentsia to eliminate the political and economic power of imperialism and suppress the social sections which serve as its tools. Once the tasks of the bourgeois-democratic stage are solved, says the author, the working class, winning over the petty bourgeoisie and neutralizing the conciliatory attitudes and vacillations of the middle bourgeoisie, carries out a victorious socialist revolution.

Important Line of Class Struggle. Working-People's Movement in the Capitalist Countries of Western Europe for Democratic Control over Production. Edited by V. A. Vinogradov. Moscow, Nauka, 1970. 390 pp.

This book was prepared by a group of researchers at the Institute of World Economy and International Relations of the USSR Academy of Sciences, to help enrich the experience of proletarian struggle in Western Europe for democratization of the economy. Taking France, Italy, Britain, the FRG, Austria and Sweden as examples, the authors show how the working class of the developed capitalist countries is ever more purposefully working to secure the right of control over the private capitalist and government enterprises, and economic development as a whole.

Emphasizing the specific conditions of the working people's struggle in each of these countries, the authors analyze the new problems and possibilities of development in one of the important lines of the anti-monopoly struggle. Several chapters devote considerable attention to exposing the bourgeois-reformist theories and prac-

tices of social partnership, and methods of camouflaging anti-labor policies. Extensive factual material is used to examine the regularities in the fight for economic democracy, analyze the activity of the working people's elected bodies at enterprises, the role of the collective bargaining system, and so on.

The book sets out the stand of Communist and Workers' parties on these questions. Characterizing the importance of the working-class struggle for industrial control, the authors emphasize that only a social revolution can ultimately ensure full and real control for the working people over the economy.

Forța Creatoare a ideilor leniniste. București. Editura politica, 1970, 431 pp.

This collection — *The Creative Power of Leninist Ideas* — has been published by the Rumanian publishers, Editura politica, together with the Institute of Historical and Socio-Political Studies under the RCP Central Committee. The authors of the articles in the collection give an exposition of the Leninist ideas of revolution and socialist construction, and shed light on the experience of the RCP in leading the revolution and socialist construction (Ilie Radulescu); the establishment of a diversified socialist economy (Ervin Hutira, and Ion Popescu-Puturi); the development of the socialist state and the deepening of socialist democracy in Rumania (Ioan Ceterchi); the implementation of Lenin's ideas about international cooperation (Costin Murgescu and Roman Moldovan); and the development of the new type of relations between the socialist countries (Constantin Vlad).

Figuring prominently in the collection are articles on Lenin's theoretical activity,

the growing influence of Marxist-Leninist ideology on present-day socio-political thinking, scientific and technical progress, the relation between ideology and science, Lenin's contribution to the development of Marxist philosophy, the Marxist-Leninist principle of philosophical inquiry in Rumania, and the development of socialist culture (Miron Constantinescu, Stefan Voicu, Valter Roman, Athanase Joja, Calina Mare, Radu Pantazi, C. J. Gulian, and Alexandru Tanase).

U.S.A.: From "Great" to Sick. Edited by A. N. Yakovlev. Moscow. Politizdat, 1969, 447 pp.

This work, collectively prepared by a group of researchers, is of interest to the general reader in various countries.

It would appear that the Johnson Administration's socio-political line is a thing of the past. The Johnson Doctrine is a complete flop, and such of its catchwords as the "Great Society" and "War on Poverty" are no longer to be found even in the most tiresome Western periodicals. However, the whole point of this book is that in that short-lived attempt to reform some aspects of U.S. society the authors discern a tendency characteristic of present-day capitalism as a whole. The government's interference in the sphere of production, distribution and social relations is dictated by the need for capitalism to seek a new lease on life.

The book deals with the new stage of bourgeois reformism, the militarized society, the true price of the "affluent society," the crisis of morality, the roots of crime and youth problems in modern America. There is an interesting annex, "Documents Only," containing many fresh and well selected facts.

OUR MAILBAG

Medellin, Colombia, July 2, 1970

Dear Comrades,

It is hard to explain in a few words the influence your journal has on the development of revolutionary thinking and revolutionary activity in our country. The number of your readers is growing from day to day, because for political activists, economists, writers, students and especially workers, your journal is an important source of information and an invaluable aid in their political work.

The publication of the journal *Problems of Peace and Socialism* was started in Bogota in 1960. Since then the journal has gone through many trials—its issues were burned, all manner of obstacles were raised to its circulation, and those who read and circulated it were harassed. At

first it had a small circulation, but this increased gradually, and today there is a steadily growing demand for the journal. Today, it is available not only in the bookshops, but also at newsstands and tobacconists. Besides, the publishers offer subscriptions to political, trade-union, student and peasant organizations.

On behalf of your readers we wish your journal continued success, and at the same time request the Editorial Board that articles on the most burning issues of the day should appear without delay, and in every issue. We should also like to see the articles shorter, and written in a more popular style.

With Communist greetings!

Bonifacio Villamizar
(on behalf of a group of comrades)

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