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Ceausescu
on Rumania

The personality
and freedom

Ideological struggle
in Venezuela

Forms of
socialist integration

Imperialist plunder
in Latin America

Structuralism



Drawing by HERLUF BIDSTRUP



WORLD *Problems of* **MARXIST** *Peace and Socialism* **REVIEW**

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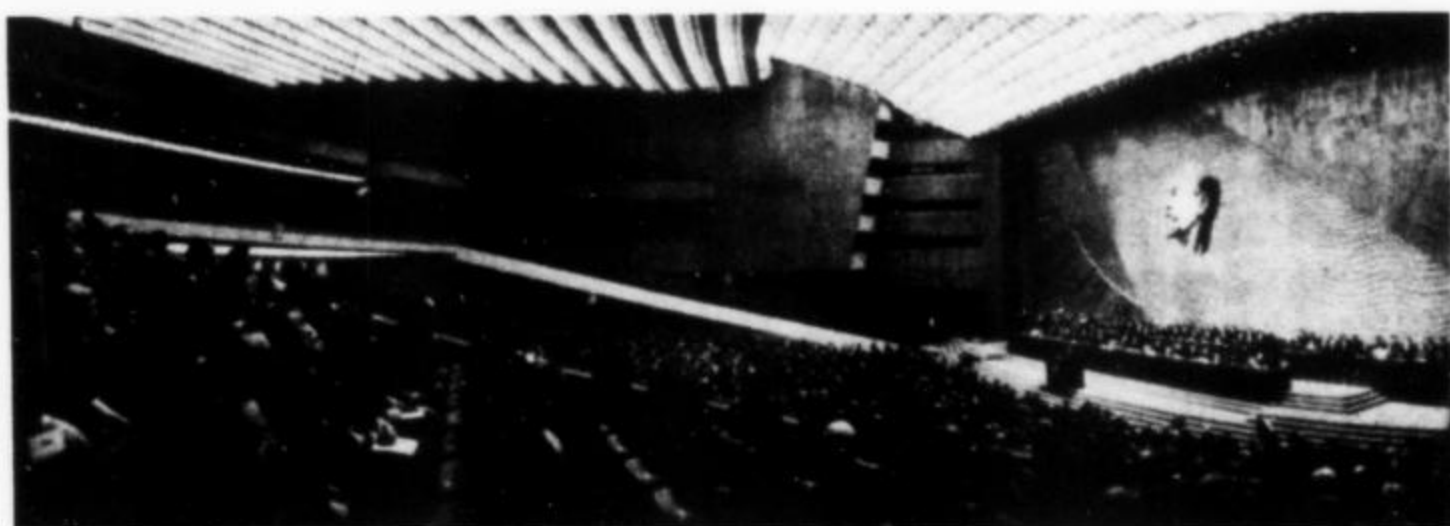
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Advancing into the future



The 24th Congress of the CPSU in session in the Kremlin Palace of Congresses, Moscow

The 24th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union has met in Moscow. It brought together nearly 5,000 delegates representing 14,450,321 Party members and also 102 delegations of Communist, national-democratic and Left Socialist parties of 91 countries.

The Congress summed up the development of Soviet society and assessed the present international situation to define the basic directions of the Soviet Union's home and foreign policy and the next tasks in the building of communism.

Soviet Communist Party congresses have always been events of first-rate historic significance. And that is understandable, for they represent the Party of Lenin, which enjoys tremendous authority and attention throughout the Communist and entire revolutionary movement. They chart the course of a country that blazed the trail to socialism and is now laying the foundations of the Communist future. They represent the policy of the strongest socialist state. The decisions adopted at these supreme Party forums determine not only the road ahead for Soviet society, but also have a powerful impact on international developments.

In depth of analysis, wealth of ideas and magnitude of the tasks

it set, in its contribution to the creative development of Marxism-Leninism, the 24th Congress will hold a prominent place in the history both of the CPSU and of the international workers' and Communist movement. It can truly be said that the Leninist Party is projected into the future and is confidently leading the Soviet people to communism.

Central to all Congress deliberations was the problem of the country's economic and social development. The Central Committee Report, delivered by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, General Secretary, CC CPSU, provided a vivid and panoramic picture of the dedicated effort of the Party and people in building communist society. Economic vitality based on the achievements of the scientific and technological revolution, the high maturity level of socialist production relations, a flourishing culture and the heightening educational and consciousness level of the people, now make it possible to set much higher targets in all areas of the country's life.

And foremost among these is a substantial rise in prosperity standards. That is the main objective of the ninth five-year plan, the general orientation of economic development over a long period and the supreme goal of the Party's economic policy. There is no over-estimating its importance. Though socialism is still young, measured by history, it has proved its indisputable superiority over capitalism: it has emancipated the man of labor, assured him decent conditions, enabled him to enjoy all the values of culture and actively to share in the administration of his state. Now Soviet socialist society possesses everything needed for a more purposive and intensive drive for fuller satisfaction of the people's material and cultural requirements.

No one who has read the Congress documents will have failed to notice how realistically and concretely this task has been formulated. There are no fanciful projects or abstract wishes. The program for raising living standards is backed by a bigger economic potential, available reserves, and also latent reserves that will be tapped to accelerate the expansion of social production. The program is underpinned by integrated measures for a fresh advance in science and more efficient methods of planning, managing and running the economy and training the necessary personnel. Now as before, heavy industry is the foundation of the Soviet Union's economic might and of the steady rise of its prosperity level. New major tasks have been set for socialist agriculture.

The Central Committee Report and the report on the Directives for the 1971-75 Five-Year Economic Development Plan delivered by Comrade A. N. Kosygin, Central Committee Political Bureau Member and Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, make provision for continued development in every branch of the national

economy and examine economic problems in their close interconnection with social problems and with the long-range aims of communist construction. Soviet economic and cultural development is closely tied to socialist economic integration and all-round co-operation of the socialist countries.

This comprehensive approach is consistently applied also in defining the ways and means of perfecting the political system of socialism. In keeping with the Party program and in pursuance of the course set by the 23rd Congress, the 24th Congress outlined concrete measures for the continued development of Soviet socialist democracy. The Soviets, those representative organs of government, trade unions, the YCL and other public organizations will play a bigger role. Much will also be done to strengthen socialist



Delegates to 24th Congress of the CPSU on way to Palace of Congresses in the Kremlin.

legality and socialist order and to intensify the struggle against diverse anti-social elements. And all of this, in the final analysis, is geared to the single aim of bringing more millions of people into more active and direct participation in managing the affairs of society and bringing the vast potential of public activity and initiative to bear in resolving economic and social problems and providing optimal social conditions for the free development of the personality.

The 24th Congress also introduced new elements in Party organization and work. The Communist Party can provide correct leadership to Soviet society precisely because at every new stage it perfects its organization and methods in adaptation

to the new tasks. Constant strengthening of the Party's contacts with the people, consistent operation of democratic centralism, combining collective with personal responsibility, full scope for criticism and self-criticism—all these Leninist principles of Party work and organization are now being carried further. Congress emphasized the need to assure, now as in the past, predominance in the Party of representatives of the working class as the leading force of socialist society.

Congress devoted much attention to educating the people in the spirit of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, to

perfecting the system of public education, the promotion of science, culture and the arts. It summed up the Party's ideological and theoretical work and set important tasks for continued research in the theory and practice of communist construction.

Emphasizing the need resolutely to rebuff the calumnious attacks of bourgeois propaganda and to expose sundry revisionist attempts to emasculate our revolutionary theory, the CPSU regards creative solution of pressing problems of socialism, communism and of the world revolutionary process as a key task.

Comrade Brezhnev gave a profound analysis of the international situation and reaffirmed the aims of Soviet foreign policy: together with other socialist countries to secure favorable international conditions for the building of socialism and communism, to strengthen the unity and cohesion of the socialist countries, their friendship and fraternity, to support the national-liberation movement and to promote all-round cooperation with the young developing states, consistently to implement the principle of peaceful coexistence of states with differing social systems, resolutely to repel the aggressive actions of imperialism, and to rid mankind of the menace of another world war.

The Soviet people will continue firmly to stand by the side of the peoples of Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia, of the Arab countries – of all who determinedly resist imperialist aggression.

Congress formulated its clear stand on all key international issues and took a number of important foreign policy initiatives.

It reaffirmed the Party's resolve to work for closer unity of the world Communist movement and for united action of all revolutionary and progressive forces in the fight against imperialism. The leaders of fraternal parties and representatives of national-democratic and Left socialist parties expressed high appreciation of the CPSU's efforts in this respect and of the Soviet Union's role as the bulwark of the liberation movement. They emphasized that the 24th Congress will give fresh impetus to the struggle of the progressive forces and will enrich the revolutionary movement with new ideas.

Lenin considered that one of the central tasks of Party congresses was to summarize practical experience, everything valuable and instructive the Party had accumulated, subject its shortcomings to criticism and find the ways and means to remove them. That fully applies to the businesslike and principled proceedings of the 24th Congress. Its decisions are expressive of the interests of the Soviet people and accord with the vital needs of the revolutionary movement and the struggle for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism.

Articles on the 24th CPSU Congress, its decisions and their significance, will appear in subsequent issues of *World Marxist Review*.



May Day and proletarian internationalism

Dominique Urbani

May 1, 1886. The streets of Chicago are covered with the blood of unarmed workers demonstrating in support of their interests. The brutal and disgraceful trial of its participants and the subsequent execution of the workers' leaders, shook hearts and minds. A wave of anger swept the world as the working class voiced its solidarity with its Chicago brothers and its resolve to close its ranks in the struggle against capitalism. The working class was asserting itself as an international force.

In 1889, the Paris congress of the Second International proclaimed May 1 a day of solidarity of the proletarians of all countries, a day of review of their militant forces. In the more than 80 years since then, millions of working people the world over have on May Day demonstrated their loyalty to the immortal principles of proletarian internationalism.

Of course, the idea of international labor solidarity originated long before the tragic Chicago events. It was born together with the labor movement and spread as the workers of the various countries became conscious of their common interests and the need for mutual support in fighting their common class enemy, the world bourgeoisie. The first half of the 19th century had already furnished many examples of solidarity with workers on the front-line of the class struggle. The most splendid example of all was the Paris Commune, the world's first proletarian revolution. Revolutionaries from practically the whole of Europe rallied around its banner. The International Battalion that fought the Versailles troops on the Paris barricades was, in a way, the forerunner of the International Brigades which, 70 years later, fought for the Spanish Republic against fascism.

Long before the shots fired at the Chicago workers, Marx and Engels proclaimed in the Communist Manifesto that the workers of all countries had a common class enemy—capital, and their

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most potent weapon against it was revolutionary proletarian solidarity. But it took a long time, and much harsh experience, for the slogan, 'Workers of all countries, unite!', to develop from an idea into the alpha and omega of the labor movement and the fundamental principle of Communist parties. And May Day became the symbol of this evolution, a historic landmark vividly and fully revealing what has already matured in social practice and has been assimilated by the progressive forces of modern society.

I.

Proletarian internationalism is one of those great ideas which, far from ageing or losing their importance as the years go by, acquire greater vitality and fresh urgency. *Today the internationalism of the working class and of its organizations is more imperative than ever before.*

One might ask: did proletarian solidarity play a lesser role in 1917 and in the subsequent years, when the workers of Britain, France, Germany, Italy, the United States and many other capitalist countries came out in the powerful 'Hands off Soviet Russia!' movement, thus making a weighty contribution to defense of the gains of the Great October Socialist Revolution? Was proletarian internationalism any less important during World War II, when the Soviet people bore the brunt of the struggle against fascism and crushed the Brown Plague, sacrificing millions of lives to free the countries enslaved by Hitlerism, for the triumph of democracy and socialism?

Obviously, it would be naive to use some abstract criterion to weigh the relative merits of proletarian solidarity at one or another stage of history. Nor is that relevant. The point is that in present-day circumstances objective factors make the principle of proletarian internationalism more imperative, more significant.

What are these factors? I do not propose to analyze the problem in detail, merely to draw attention to some of its most relevant aspects.

The objective need for united action by the world working class follows from the development of the modern revolutionary movement. Today the world revolutionary process is decisively affected by the struggle between the socialist system, the leading revolutionary force of our time, and the capitalist system. The emergence of the socialist camp headed by the Soviet Union has radically altered the correlation of world forces, pre-determined the victorious development of the national-liberation movement and the conditions for victory of socialist revolution in new links of the capitalist system. The changed strength-balance in favor of peace and socialism is primarily due to the steadily growing economic, political and

military might of the socialist states. Every detachment of the labor movement can contribute significantly to this common cause. And it goes without saying that further strengthening of this trend in favor of socialism (and thereby creating the prerequisites for socialism's victory in every country) requires coordinated action by Communist and workers' parties and the other revolutionary forces of all countries.

In the 'Inaugural Address of the International Working Men's Association' Marx wrote: 'Past experience has shown how disregard of that bond of brotherhood which ought to exist between the workingmen of different countries and incite them to stand firmly by each other in all their struggles for emancipation, will be chastised by the common discomfiture of their incoherent efforts.' Over a hundred years have passed since those words were written, yet today they are as pertinent as ever. The experience Marx referred to has been supplemented by many more lessons, positive as well as negative. The working-class movement has triumphed whenever it remained faithful to proletarian internationalism, and suffered defeats whenever it departed from it.

It might be asked: is it all that necessary to prove the importance of international proletarian solidarity? Isn't it self-evident?

In answering that question, we must first of all take into account the virulent bourgeois campaign against proletarian solidarity. Probably no other idea has been so viciously slandered, nor so vehemently opposed, by our class enemies in an attempt to halt the spread of internationalist views. The anti-Communists have learned from their setbacks and often resort to ingenious methods to persuade the workers that proletarian internationalism is outmoded and no longer so important.

The effect of such propaganda should not be underrated: it is still capable of seriously influencing some sections of the working people, even sections of the working class who lack ideological firmness. But probably even greater harm is caused by all manner of Right and 'Left' opportunists. That is why it remains imperative for us continuously to emphasize the value of proletarian solidarity and, more important, to contribute in a practical way to its strengthening and expansion.

'Under conditions where the struggle between the two world systems is becoming sharper,' the 1969 International Meeting stated, 'the capitalist powers seek, despite the growing contradictions dividing them, to unite their efforts to uphold and strengthen the system of exploitation and oppression and regain the positions they have lost.'

Hence, the problem of international working-class unity is today much more complex and manifold. For in our time the trend to-

ward internationalization of economic, scientific, technical ties and economic life in general, to which Lenin referred, has assumed truly unparalleled dimensions. Technology has reduced vast distances, 'compressing,' so to say, space and time. Radio and television instantaneously bring new ideas to all parts of the world. Mass production based on automation and diversification has given powerful impetus to integration links in the economy and greater international division of labor. Figuratively speaking, the globe has become much smaller and people and things are much closer than ever before, much more interdependent, much more reciprocally relevant.

Integration processes and the emergence of Common-Market type economic groupings, and the political and ideological consequences thereof, induce the capitalists of different countries, notwithstanding differences, to coordinate their policies. International monopolies, the predatory nature of which was thoroughly revealed in Lenin's 'Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism,' have since become tens and hundreds of times more powerful, extending their influence to whole continents. Fords, for instance, control a very substantial share of automobile production in Britain, France, West Germany and many other countries. This emphasizes the need for joint action by the working class of these countries in defense of its interests. And such action is no longer a recurring need, a necessity of the moment in response to a crisis or bitter clash, but a daily, hourly, ever-present requirement. The recent London conference of West European Communist Parties to discuss joint action against the international monopolies was not, of course, a chance development.

From all this follow a number of political conclusions of which world public opinion is by now generally aware. Take, for example, the problem of war and peace. With modern destructive weapons capable of being delivered to any point of the globe in a matter of minutes, every major international conflict is fraught with catastrophic consequences. It can safely be said that never before have the peoples had such a common stake in averting war. And it is only natural that the workers' movement, which has assumed the mission of preserving and strengthening the peace, should coordinate and unite its actions internationally.

II.

In discussing united action against the common enemy for the immediate and ultimate goals of the labor movement it is important properly to assess the diverse methods open to us, without, however simplifying matters.

Today proletarian internationalism is not just a principle, not just a slogan, but a scientific theory that poses a number of complex and difficult problems. That is why, in countering bourgeois propaganda and opportunists of all brands, we must continuously and profoundly study these problems and develop the theory of proletarian internationalism on a consistently Marxist-Leninist basis.

Of special importance are the problems relating to the establishment and development of world socialism. The emergence of socialism as a world system brought into being a new type of international relations governing economic, political and diplomatic ties between sovereign states.

The 25 years since the rise of the socialist world system have seen mistakes and shortcomings; they were inevitable in so complex an undertaking. But they in no way detract from the historic achievements of world socialism. The Communist parties in socialist countries possess a wealth of experience that enables them confidently to resolve the most complex problems of their relations on the basis of proletarian internationalism. There has developed a complex of methods to ensure the correct correlation of the interests of individual socialist states with the interests of the socialist system as a whole. Organizations for effective cooperation have been established, such as the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance and the Warsaw Treaty. Economic integration of the socialist states is making good progress, and a new stage will be reached by the five-year plans now being adopted, as indicated by the tasks of developing cooperation outlined in the draft directives for the USSR's ninth five-year plan and the five-year plans of other socialist states.

Communists working in other conditions should clearly understand the complexity of the various problems of socialist cooperation. For example, how should trade contracts be made to conform to the interests of both partners while, at the same time, meeting the requirements of socialist internationalism? It might be requirements of socialist internationalism? It might be argued that this could be done by applying the simple principle of mutual benefit. In fact, commercial relations between socialist countries rest on that principle. But there can be instances when that is not enough. There is a deep feeling of gratitude to the Soviet people, who are rendering unselfish fraternal assistance to the fighting people of Vietnam and heroic Cuba, who in times of difficulty unfailingly come to the help of other socialist countries, nations freed from the colonial yoke and revolutionary forces in different parts of the globe.

Or another example: correlation of the common interests of the socialist world system with the national sovereignty of individual

countries. Bourgeois propaganda slanderously attributes to the CPSU the notorious 'limited sovereignty' concept. This slander has been effectively rebuffed in statements by L. I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CC CPSU. Communists have always subscribed to the principles of national independence, equality and non-interference in internal affairs. It is precisely the interests of upholding the sovereignty of socialist states that impelled them to joint action to protect revolutionary gains from imperialist subversion and the menace of counter-revolution. As the 1969 International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties recorded in its document: 'The defense of socialism is an internationalist duty of Communists.'

The growing strength and influence of the socialist world system and its growing unity are primarily the result of the creative effort of the peoples of the socialist countries and of their ruling parties. But the successes of world socialism depend to a substantial degree on the support of all Communists, of all the world's revolutionary forces. For dedicated effort for our common socialist cause is an essential condition of the Communist and Workers' parties attaining their historic aims.

Communist parties are accountable for their actions and policies to the working class of their country, but they also have obligations to the world workers' movement. As Lenin emphasized, 'The interests of socialism, of world socialism, are higher than national interests, higher than the interests of the state' (Vol. 27, p. 378). Today, more than ever before, the achievements or setbacks of any party in the struggle against the class enemy depend on the achievements or setbacks of the international working class as a whole.

The imperialists and the Right-wing Socialist parties and extremist groups and grouplets that follow their lead, are stepping up attempts to split the Communist parties, to impede cooperation between the socialist countries and to undermine their alliance with the forces of national liberation. Desperate attempts are made to isolate one or another revolutionary contingent from the Soviet Union, that mighty bastion of socialism. Vigorous collective resistance to all such attempts and irreconcilable struggle against all forms and manifestations of nationalism are a primary prerequisite for our continued success.

The cohesion of Communist and Workers' parties is an essential factor in uniting all the anti-imperialist forces. Bilateral meetings and regional and world conferences can do much to promote comradesly cooperation of our parties and strengthen the unity of the movement as a whole. Of special value are international meetings of Communist and Workers' parties collectively to work out strategy and coordinate action in the fight against imperialism.

III.

The spread of the proletarian solidarity slogan to all revolutionary forces is a distinguishing and splendid feature of our era.

Today not only workers, but broad sections of the masses in capitalist countries resort to such tried forms of proletarian struggle as strike action. Today not only workers of other enterprises, but farmers, white-collar workers, engineers, students, deem it their duty to help striking workers. The principle of international working-class solidarity against imperialism is being embraced by various strata in countries and areas at varying levels of socio-economic development.

Perhaps even more important is the fact that the principle of international solidarity has been embraced by the national-liberation movement. Its most progressive forces, its vanguard, have learned from their own experience that the success of their cause depends to a great degree on their solidarity, on the support of the socialist world system and the international workers' movement. That explains the powerful appeal of the slogan proclaimed by the 1969 Moscow Meeting, which represents a logical development of the famous slogan of the Communist Manifesto: *'Peoples of the socialist countries, workers, democratic forces in the capitalist countries, newly liberated peoples and those who are oppressed, unite in a common struggle against imperialism, for peace, national liberation, social progress, democracy and socialism.'*

Naturally, in putting forward this slogan, Communists by no means equate proletarian internationalism with solidarity in the broader sense — of all the revolutionary forces of our time. For whereas the proletarian vanguard is guided by Marxism-Leninism and stands for scientific socialism, different detachments of the national-liberation movement have ideological conceptions of their own, many of which are inspired by other views on the prospects of social progress and the means of its achievement.

But the important thing is that the Communists, fully aware of all these differences, put forward a slogan capable of uniting the broadest spectrum of progressive forces to fight their common foe. Two goals are thus achieved: first, common endeavor to resolve crucial issues, and, second, closer unity of different detachments of the revolutionary movement in the course of joint action and cooperation as a more solid basis for bringing them into a single powerful revolutionary stream.

The powerful worldwide solidarity movement with the heroic people of Vietnam is a striking example of the efficiency of this slogan. Not only Communists, not only revolutionaries, but everyone who wants peace and progress, is joining in the protest against

the criminal aggression of American imperialism, which can be said to have been driven into a moral blind alley. And there can be no doubt that the rising tide of protest in the United States itself is an important contribution to the common struggle of the peoples against imperialist aggression.

We do not for a moment doubt that, with the support of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries and of the international revolutionary movement, the Vietnamese people will expel the aggressor from their land. And we are equally confident that, with the solidarity of all progressive forces, the peoples of the Arab countries will restore their legitimate rights violated by the aggressor; that the cause of the patriots of Angola and Mozambique, the democrats of Greece, Spain and Portugal will triumph. However, achievement of all this will not signify that the principle of proletarian internationalism can be shelved, even if only for a time. It must continue to guide the forces of progress. It is the earnest of their further successes.

The day on which the blood of Chicago workers was shed 85 years ago became a day of international proletarian solidarity. On May 1, 1971, millions of people filled the streets of cities in all countries and continents to demonstrate their will for victory, their readiness to stand side by side with their class brothers against war, reaction and imperialism. May the international solidarity of the working class grow ever stronger, bringing fresh victories for our great revolutionary movement!



Close unity with the people — earnest of victory for Party policy

50 years Rumanian CP

Nicolae Ceausescu

The founding of the Rumanian Communist Party 50 years ago was an historic event. Its significance is reflected in the fundamental revolutionary transformations in the life of our people and in the destiny of Rumania, now a free, prospering and rapidly developing socialist country. In all its activities, the RCP has faithfully championed the interests of our working class and people. It has successfully directed the complex process of transition from capitalism to socialism, and the building of the new society that has brought to reality the people's aspirations for national and social freedom.

The founding of the Communist Party was a turning point in Rumania's history. It consummated the long process of crystallizing the labor movement's ideological positions and the maturing of its political organization begun with the establishment in 1893, as a result of the spread of the ideas of scientific socialism, of the Social-Democratic party.

Founded at a time of revolutionary upsurge, on May 8, 1921, when the inaugural congress decided to convert the Socialist into the Communist Party, the RCP elevated the struggle of the proletariat and toiling masses to a higher plane, powerfully stimulated the growth of their class consciousness and radically influenced the country's development.

The victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution, which ushered in a new era in human history, met with a powerful response in Rumania, then the scene of major social battles. And it was in these intensive political and ideological struggles that the new, revolutionary conceptions of working-class political organization and of the course it should follow, were forged. The socialist movement, the working class, the broad masses, enthusiastically welcomed the proclamation of Soviet power in Russia. They expressed their unreserved internationalist solidarity with the young

socialist state through mass demonstrations and actions and by fighting side by side with the Red Army to defeat international counter-revolution and imperialist intervention.

The entire period following the Party's formation was one of class battles by the proletariat and working people against bourgeois and landlord exploitation and oppression, against foreign capitalist domination, for democratic rights and freedoms, for a better life and for the country's independence.

For two decades our Party had to work in the difficult conditions of illegality. But it constantly enriched its revolutionary experience, overcame difficulties, increased its ability to organize and lead the struggle of the working class and all working people. The numerous miners' strike of 1929 at Lupini, the railway and oil strikes of 1933, the courageous actions against fascism, in defense of Rumania's territorial integrity and sovereignty - they all demonstrated our Party's immense mobilizing power and revolutionary consistency, its devotion to the people and its fidelity to the socialist ideals.

In the dark years of the military-fascist dictatorship the RCP was the most active and resolute champion of the country's vital interests. It united the majority of democrats and patriots, organized and led the anti-fascist Resistance, the mass struggle against war with the Soviet Union, and the fight to liberate the country from Hitler domination.

Aware of the vital need for united working-class action, in April 1944 the Party joined with the Social-Democrat Party to form the United Workers' Front, which became the rallying point for all the democratic and anti-Hitler forces.

Our Party was able to unite the most diverse socio-political elements to fight for an end to the dictatorial regime and the expulsion of German troops. It cooperated with many democratic organizations, patriotic-minded army officers and generals, contacted bourgeois parties and pro-monarchist circles and many prominent personalities in politics, culture and science, and organized patriot armed detachments. The arrest of the Antonescu government on August 23, 1944, the overthrow of the military-fascist dictatorship, with the army turning its weapons against Hitler Germany, came as the apex of this popular struggle in which the working class and its Party played the leading role. In preparing and carrying out the victorious armed rising, the Party took advantage of the favorable conditions created by the spread of the anti-Hitler resistance and the acute crisis of the Antonescu regime, the contradictions within the ruling circles and classes, the defeat of the Hitler armies, chiefly as a result of the smashing blows dealt by the Soviet Army, and the approach of the battlefield to Rumania's boundaries.

Following the overthrow of the military-fascist dictatorship, Rumania marshalled all its material and manpower resources, its entire military potential, to fight Hitler Germany. And side by side with the Soviet Army, the Rumanian Army fought heroically to liberate our country and, subsequently, also Hungary, Czechoslovakia and Austria, right up to the complete defeat of Nazi Germany. Rumanian-Soviet comradeship in arms was forged in these battles, and joint sacrifices in the anti-fascist war laid the firm foundation of friendship between Rumania and the USSR and their peoples.

Liberation from fascist oppression opened a new chapter in Rumania's history. The Communist Party, which in the years of illegality had won vast political influence, rapidly grew in strength and successfully adapted its methods to the new conditions. It mobilized the working class and built up a wide popular front resting on the worker-peasant alliance and became stronger in the struggle for the democratization of national life and agrarian reform. The Party thus rallied together all the progressive forces of the nation and organized and directed the major revolutionary battles, culminating in the defeat of the reactionary forces and proclamation of the revolutionary-democratic government on March 6, 1945. The new regime, the product of the people's will, cleared the road for far-reaching economic and social reforms. It started a revolutionary process that radically altered the alignment of forces and abolished the country's dependence on the imperialist powers. The political groups representing the exploiting classes were isolated and defeated by the mass struggle led by our Party. Political power was now in the hands of the working class allied with the peasantry and other sections of the laboring population. The conditions were thus created for transition to the building of socialism.

In elaborating its policy, strategy and tactics, the RCP has been guided by the objective laws of socialist revolution and socialist construction, and has taken into account Rumania's concrete historical conditions and economic and socio-political situation. Our experience reaffirms that the strength of the Communist Party, the earnest of successful fulfilment of its historic mission, lie in dedicated service to the working class and people, in the ability to identify itself with the noble ideals of social and national emancipation and the country's all-round development and prosperity.

And that the Party possesses this ability and has been able to direct the country's rapid advance to progress and prosperity, will be seen in the changes that have thoroughly altered Rumania's image and made possible the triumph of socialism in town and country. Socialist construction has resulted in structural changes, dynamic economic and socio-political development and higher material and cultural standards.

Successful fulfilment of the 1966-70 five-year plan was of especial importance for our socio-economic development. It accelerated expansion of the productive forces, perfected social relations and generally raised the country to a higher level. The growth of its wealth and potential over these years can be judged by the 51 per cent increase in gross national product and the 45 per cent increase in national income.

Our people's splendid achievements are inseparable from our consistent policy of industrialization, that decisive factor in consolidating national independence, accelerating economic development in all branches and socio-cultural progress, which has made the great cultural values accessible to the people. And the success of industrialization can be vividly seen in the fact that industry now contributes more than 60 per cent to the national income, compared with 49 per cent in 1965 and 30.8 in 1938. Last year we produced in 22 days the equivalent of what the entire country produced in 1938, and the figures for the various industries are: chemicals - 5 days, power - 6, engineering - 8, iron and steel - 16, light industries - 26 days. Gross output in 1966-70 was nearly equal to the total for the 15 preceding years. Our annual growth rate in the past five years averaged 11.8 per cent; Rumania ranks with countries that have an especially fast tempo of economic growth.

Agriculture is a basic sector of the economy. And the Party has taken measures to make optimal use of the advantages of large-scale socialist farming to increase output of crops and animal products. The changed material-technical basis of agriculture can be judged from these figures: our farms now have more than 107,000 tractors, 50,000 harvester combines and other machinery. This works out at one tractor per 91 hectares of ploughland, as against 121 hectares in 1965. Notwithstanding the difficulties caused by unfavorable weather conditions in the past three years, and particularly by last year's floods, the modern equipment and other means provided by the state, plus more efficient organization and management, enabled us to produce 24 per cent more farm output in 1966-70 than in the preceding five-year period, making it possible to satisfy the requirements of the population and of the economy. And experience has shown that cooperatives are the surest way to build up the material and technical basis of agriculture, increase its output, improve conditions for the farmers, eliminate the economic and social instability that is part of small-commodity production. Cooperative farming is also an essential condition for assuring the durability of the new system. The introduction of public ownership wrought deep-going changes in the Rumanian village.

The Party and government have drawn up a comprehensive investment program to stimulate dynamic development and modern-

ization of the economy and raise living standards. The material efforts of the working class and the entire people are vividly reflected in the state investment plan for 1966-70: capital construction under this plan exceeded that of the 10 preceding years. More than 1,500 new industrial units were built in the five-year period. Their rational distribution has made for harmonious socio-economic development of all regions. The Party is working on the promise that the development of all regions is a means of asserting the advantages of socialism, more fully utilizing the country's material and manpower potential and assuring genuine equality of all its people, irrespective of nationality.

The last five-year plan brought important qualitative changes in every sector of the economy, modernized its structure and improved organization and management. As a result, the economy is more fully geared to technical progress and can produce high-quality goods. Rumania is thus in a position more actively, and more competitively, to share in world economic exchange.

Higher living standards and progressively fuller satisfaction of the people's material and cultural requirements are an important result of socialist construction. A very long step in this respect was made in the past five years: a 27 per cent capital increase in the country's consumption fund. Wages and salaries were increased, particularly for the low-pay categories, with simultaneous growth of employment. This has combined to raise incomes by more than 50 per cent over the 1965 figure, with a more than 20 per cent rise in real wages. More services are now available to the population. Pensions are up more than 30 per cent, also maternity and family grants, students' stipends, and farmer incomes. Pensions have been introduced for cooperative farmers, and in the closing year of the five-year period measures were taken to assure them a guaranteed minimum income.

Solution of the housing problem holds a prominent place in our policy of raising living standards. About 660,000 flats, of which 344,000 were built by state funds or credits, were opened for occupancy in the past five years. This means that more than two million people moved into new housing.

More appropriations for education, health, cultural and other social services have contributed substantially to higher living standards. This has added 5,500 lei to family incomes in 1970, compared with 3,600 lei in 1965, over and above wages and salaries.

Our Party holds that a high educational and cultural level of every member of society is a cardinal factor of socialist development. And in the past twenty years we have covered a long and meaningful road, from the evil legacy of the past, when more than a third of the population were either illiterate or could barely read

and write, to universal 10-year schooling and rapid progress in secondary and higher education. This is one of the splendid gains of the new system. And it is highly significant that every fifth Rumanian is attending some school or higher educational institution.

We can look back also on major achievements in the fields of culture, literature, the arts and science, resulting from the favorable conditions for the use of one's talents and abilities.

Besides our successes in the economic and cultural fields, our most valuable achievement is the formation of the new man of the new society. This implies progressive spread of socialist consciousness and changes in the spiritual image of our people resulting from the Party's extensive work of political and ideological education. And these achievements, in the material and spiritual spheres as well as in public life, reaffirm that all the measures instituted by the Party and government, their work in building up the new system, are directed at promoting the well-being and happiness of man, improving the conditions of the people and enabling every citizen fully to employ and perfect his creative abilities and inclinations and make fuller use of all the gains of modern civilization.

The Rumanian people are now working to fulfil the new five-year plan, which represents an important stage in building a comprehensively developed socialist society. The 1971-75 economic development plan was framed in the course of extensive discussion by work collectives. It will now come before the Party's Central Committee plenum and will be enacted by the Grand National Assembly. Its main targets are higher than those envisaged in the Directives of the Tenth Party Congress.

And these targets are expressive of our consistent policy of continuous economic development based on a powerful industrial structure, a modern agriculture, use of all the advantages of the scientific and technological revolution and maximum expansion of the country's resources and productive potential. The aim is to achieve higher productivity of social labor as a means of progressively fuller satisfaction of the people's material and spiritual requirements.

The plan calls for an average 10-11 per cent industrial growth rate, with the accent on such new industries as electronics and electrical engineering, precision engineering, machine-building, petrochemicals, power and special steels and rolling-mill products. About 40 per cent of 1975 industrial output will be in new, modernized products. The Party is working towards higher industrial efficiency levels in order better to satisfy the requirements of the economy, improve living standards and make a bigger contribution to economic relations with socialist and all other countries.

One of the main targets is intensive development of agriculture to boost production in all of its sectors. Investment for this purpose will be double the figure for the preceding five years. The aims are: complete mechanization of farming operations by 1975, considerably wider use of chemicals, more land improvement, expansion of irrigated land and continued development in livestock farming. Our recent measures to improve agricultural organization, planning and management and introduce a more rational payment system for cooperative and state farms, will go a long way towards these goals.

The Party believes that continued allocation of a sizeable share of the national income to accumulation is vitally necessary. This is a prime condition for intensive use of our material and manpower resources, of meeting the requirements of the scientific and technological revolution, and, at the same time, an important factor in fuller satisfaction of the population's requirements and in bridging the gap with economically developed countries. Accordingly, in the coming five years about 30 per cent of national income will go into the accumulation fund. This will make possible a higher rate of expanded reproduction and a higher level of internal consumption.

In keeping with our consistent policy of improving living standards, the five-year plan envisages an approximately 20 per cent rise in real wages (compared with 1970) and also higher farmer incomes. We shall continue to raise wages, especially for low-pay categories: the minimum wage in 1965 was 570 lei, at present it is 800 lei, and in 1975 will be about 1,100 lei. Employment over the five years will increase by approximately one million. Higher incomes will mean more effective purchasing capacity, and by 1975 retail sales should increase by 31-37 per cent. As in the past, special attention will be paid to expanding the social services, so that improved living standards will result both from higher earnings and higher state expenditure on social and cultural amenities. The housing program calls for 50 per cent more flats built by state funds and credits.

The encouraging economic results of the opening months of 1971 indicate that our people have taken up the five-year plan as their own program, and this fortifies confidence in the reality of our targets and the conviction that they will be successfully attained.

The victory of socialism, abolition of exploitation, changes in the class structure and in the position of the working class, peasantry and intelligentsia, gradual progress in forming a homogeneous society—these are the foundations of our people's moral and political unity. The working class, the leading force of the nation, has grown in numbers. But there have also been qualitative changes in its composition and in its political, professional and cultural

outlook: our workers are more experienced, both in production and public life. The final victory of socialist production relations in agriculture has converted our peasantry into a new, homogeneous class with a common social ideal; a class that has securely tied its destiny to socialism and socialist large-scale production. Alliance, friendship and cooperation of the working class and cooperative farmers is a decisive political factor in the unity of our society.

The intelligentsia, now a much larger group, has an active share in public life and is a reliable support base of the Party. The strengthening unity of all classes and strata in constructive work towards the common goal of building socialism and communism firmly unites our whole people around the Communist Party. The new social system has opened wide vistas for their creative energy. It has ushered in an epoch of genuine national regeneration, providing full scope for the creative potential of socialist Rumania.

Solution of the national problem, with guaranteed equality of all citizens regardless of nationality, is a significant success of Party policy. Rumanians, Hungarians, Germans and the working people of other nationalities, now closely united, have a direct share in framing and implementing Party and government policy. They are selflessly working to build up the economy, advance science and culture and assure the flowering of their common homeland, Socialist Rumania.

Socialism and democracy are inseparable, and the new society must assure the working people the broadest rights and democratic freedoms and an active part in running the country and in every aspect of its political life. Accordingly, the Party is systematically perfecting the forms and methods of organizing and guiding society and extending socialist democracy in all spheres. The political, economic and social measures it has taken, especially after its Ninth Congress, have furthered socialist democracy and brought the masses into direct participation in framing and implementing Party policy. The Grand National Assembly and the State Council are increasing their legislative activity and are more actively discharging their function of control of economic and social development, the application of laws and the conduct of home and foreign policy. The People's Councils, which are directly responsible for the organization and supervision of socio-economic work at local level, now enjoy wider powers. The measures taken to extend economic democracy, which assert the workers' role as producers, masters of the means of production and bearers of political power, are likewise of great importance. And to this end, collective leadership bodies have been set up at all economic levels – enterprise, industrial amalgamation and ministry – composed of executives, elected representatives of workers and office person-

nel, and of Party, trade union and youth organizations. Crucial questions of the enterprise's operation are discussed at a general meeting of its personnel. This is a profoundly democratic innovation in our economic and social structure. Collective directing bodies have also been set up at higher educational institutions – University Senates and Faculty Councils – composed of teachers and students.

As part of its work in promoting democracy, the RCP attaches special importance to enhancing the role of mass public, trade union, youth, women's and cooperative organizations, and the unions and associations of artists and scientific workers. Their representation in central and local administrative, educational and cultural organs and in industrial management helps more closely to relate our decisions to the needs and requirements of diverse sections of the people and encourages more responsible and active participation in perfecting the pattern of public life. That, too, is the purpose of the recent decision giving the trade unions a bigger part in building the new society. At the same time, more people directly engaged in material production and in the cultural field are being brought into the leadership of Party and public organizations at all levels. Besides, we shall extend the procedure, used in preparing the 10th Party Congress, of Party branches and Party conferences nominating candidates for local and central Party organs. That procedure is also being applied in mass organizations.

The Party's initiative in broadening socialist democracy goes hand in hand with continuous perfection of its style and methods of work and the steady enhancement of its role in ideology and politics. Party leadership of society is based on study and deep knowledge of social realities, on constant consultation and dialogue with the people, careful account of their views and needs, and on solution of all problems in close cooperation with the masses. That, in fact, is at the very root of the Party's great mobilizing ability, of its skill in projecting new elements into public life and finding effective solutions of the complex problems involved in Rumania's advance on the path of socialism and communism.

There is, of course, international experience to show that the complex and often contradictory problems of the revolutionary re-fashioning of society are not solved automatically, simply by virtue of the fact that the Communists are the government party and that the working class is in power and stands at the head of the people. If the Party's leading role and its link with the masses are weakened, there are bound to accumulate negative elements, anomalies and shortcomings that might lead to sharp contradictions, with solutions often sought outside the framework of socialism. This can lead to crisis situations, even to social conflicts. If things are

allowed to develop to such a point, the situation can be resolved in the interests of socialism only if the methods employed accord with the democratic nature of socialism. Our Party believes that bold disclosure of shortcomings and proper reaction to constructive criticism from the people are a must if socialist society is to develop. Furthermore, they are a stimulating factor in perfecting and consolidating the new system. Lenin pointed out that a Party, whether in power or not, can prove that it is serious and responsible only by sincerely and openly revealing its shortcomings to the people it represents, only through self-criticism of its errors and the ability to rectify them by its own forces, by the forces of the working class and the masses. That Lenin postulate retains all its validity today.

The difficult situations that might arise from mistakes in socialist construction cannot be attributed to the work of external hostile forces or internal anti-social elements. We would not only be shutting our eyes to the real causes and failing to disclose them, but would also be shutting out the most expedient ways of eliminating defects and assuring the continued progress of socialist construction. Naturally, we are not oblivious of the fact that imperialism still exists and that there are still remnants of the former exploiter classes and hostile elements who abhor socialism and are anxious to exploit every opportunity to undermine it. They will use the difficulties that sometimes confront the new system and, even more, the mistakes we make. All such attempts are doomed to failure in conditions where the people are the arbiters of the country's destinies and possess all the means needed to defend it. They are doomed to failure if the Party in power pursues a firm policy in the interests of the working people and if socialism has sunk firm root and has become the way of life for the overwhelming majority of the nation. Profound analysis of new phenomena, including negative aspects of our work, far from belittling our impressive achievements, brings them out in more vivid light and helps to find the most effective solutions for socialism's continued and harmonious advance. That is why, while carefully and objectively reviewing the path we have travelled, our Party has criticized mistakes made in the past, abuses and lawlessness, and has taken decisive steps to prevent their repetition in future.

In concentrating on socialist construction, the Party is acting on the conviction that it is thereby discharging the historic mission entrusted to it by the Rumanian people, and also its duty to the cause of socialism and world peace. A Communist Party in power is, of course, concerned with the progress and economic, social and cultural flowering of its country. This follows naturally from its fundamental duty to the people. But, at the same time,

the achievements of each socialist country represent its most valuable contribution to strengthening the world force of socialism and proletarian internationalism. And only to the degree that each Communist Party identifies itself with the aspirations of its people and successfully leads them in building socialism and communism, does it fulfil its national and international role.

We have inherited from the workers' and socialist movement that preceded the organization of our Party a rich tradition of international solidarity. Throughout its half-century the RCP has actively promoted and extended international ties with fraternal parties of other countries and with the working class and revolutionary and democratic forces throughout the world. The Rumanian Communists and democrats who fought in defense of the Spanish Republic, in the partisan detachments of the Soviet Union, in the Resistance in France, Czechoslovakia and Belgium during the Second World War, have given us sterling examples of heroism and proletarian solidarity. Now that socialism has triumphed in Rumania, the Party's internationalism, which follows from the very nature of the new system, has become government policy, determining every aspect of Rumania's international activity.

The RCP has always made friendship, alliance and all-round cooperation with all socialist countries the focal point of its foreign policy. It has unfailingly worked to strengthen the unity of the socialist countries as an essential factor of the worldwide revolutionary struggle. The RCP is animated by the basic idea that differences in views among the Communist parties of the socialist countries should not affect their state relations. Our Party has persistently worked to overcome difficulties in the Communist movement and to re-establish its unity. That is why it welcomes the trend towards normalizing relations between socialist states manifested in the recent period.

If unity of the socialist countries is to be really durable, there must be unswerving observance of the norms and principles that express the very essence of their new type of relations; the interests of each country must be tied in with the common interests of socialism. Life itself has shown that national independence, sovereignty and the principles of proletarian internationalism, far from contradicting each other, comprise an integral whole. Cooperation and joint effort of the socialist countries should help the rapid progress of each and strengthen its independence and sovereignty. The more their cooperation assists the development of each people in accordance with its basic interests and the all-round flowering of each sovereign socialist country, the greater is that country's contribution to strengthening the socialist world system as a whole. And such cooperation brings out more saliently

the constructive character of relations between socialist countries and strengthens the world influence of socialism and of the socialist ideas. It is in this spirit that Rumania will continue to work for broader and closer economic, political and cultural relations with member-countries of CMEA and the Warsaw Treaty, with all socialist countries.

At the same time, Rumania's foreign policy aims at cooperation and joint effort with all countries, irrespective of their social system, on a basis of respect for national independence and sovereignty, non-interference in internal affairs, equality and mutual advantage. In our time of deep-going social change and expanded international exchange of material and spiritual values, it is objectively necessary that each country share in international cooperation, in the benefits of world achievements, thereby contributing to mankind's progress and to the settlement of international issues.

Ours is an age of activization of broad socio-political forces – the working class, peasantry, intelligentsia, youth and other social strata, also the newly independent states and political leaders and diverse philosophical and religious organizations. They all favor a climate of peace, security and cooperation. International issues can no longer be resolved without the participation of all states. Every country – big, small or medium – must actively contribute to the framing and operation of measures for universal peace and security. It is now perfectly clear that solution of the pressing international problems that are agitating people's minds everywhere – eliminating tension centers, ending imperialist aggression in various parts of the world, halting all military conflicts and achieving international security – is inseparable from respect for the interests, independence, freedom and individuality of every nation. The imperialist concept that negates the role of small and medium countries amounts, in effect, to underestimation of the role of the masses in the making of history, in shaping their destiny and social development. Such concepts, and the practice that follows from them, are anachronistic and wholly contradict the present stage of mankind's development and the vital demand of the peoples to be masters of their future and jointly to build a world of peace and cooperation.

All this highlights the need for each socialist country to take an active part in international life, to take initiatives in promoting relations with all countries, whatever their social system. Failure to understand that betokens not only ignorance of the new reality, but also lack of faith in the strength and durability of the socialist system, underestimation of the responsibility the evolution of international life imposes on each state, irrespective of its size and

potential, for resolving the urgent problems of our times and for fostering a world climate of peace, security and cooperation.

Its responsibility as a socialist country makes it incumbent on Rumania actively to contribute to solution of international problems, indefatigably to work for better international relations, the elimination of tension centers, an end to wars in Indochina and the Middle East, peaceful settlement of controversial problems and the strengthening of European and world peace and security.

The RCP has always vigorously combated imperialist domination, the seizure of national wealth by foreign monopolies; has always stood up for national independence. The Rumanian Communists and people, who for a long time suffered from foreign oppression, have good reason to cherish freedom and independence. That is why they support the struggle against imperialism, the policy of diktat, aggression and subjection. From this follows our militant solidarity with the struggle of the heroic Vietnamese, Laotian and Khmer peoples against the American aggression, and our determination to continue to give them extensive political, material and moral support right up to the victory of their just cause. And from this, too, follows our active solidarity with all peoples battling for liberation and neo-colonialism, against every form of chauvinism, racialism and racial discrimination. From this follows also our support of the newly liberated countries in protecting and consolidating their national independence and independent development, and our policy of broad cooperation and joint efforts with them.

As an active contingent of the international Communist and workers' movement, the RCP is developing relations with the Communist parties, extending its contacts with the workers', democratic and progressive parties and organizations, national-liberation movements and the anti-imperialist forces the world over. In doing so, we are deeply convinced that unity of the Communist and Workers' parties is of tremendous importance for the destinies of the revolutionary struggle and for bringing the vast democratic and progressive forces into a common front; of tremendous importance for the triumph of peace and socialism. And we are convinced that the durability and strength of this unity rest on respect for the right of each Communist Party – whether in power or working to gain power – independently to shape its policy, revolutionary strategy and tactics and adopt decisions on all the problems of its country. This follows from the very essence of social reality and world experience, which shows that the revolutionary struggle is conducted in widely differing economic and socio-political conditions that cannot be the same in every country and at every stage.

It stands to reason that differing views can arise among the Communist and Workers' parties on one or another phenomenon, on the approach to resolving one or another problem of the revolutionary process or the building of socialism. But, in our opinion, problems arising in relations between fraternal parties should be resolved not by pinning labels on each other, and not by resorting to insinuation, but through comradely discussion between parties and their leading bodies in an atmosphere of friendship and comradely mutual understanding and with observance of the principles of equality and non-interference in internal affairs. For this is the only correct and life-tested way of normalizing relations in the Communist and Workers' movement.

The RCP will continue to promote cooperation and solidarity with all Communist and Workers' parties, with all anti-imperialist forces, in the belief that in doing so it will be fulfilling its sacred duty both to the Rumanian working class and people and to the international cause of socialism and communism.

In celebrating its 50th anniversary, the Rumanian Communist Party is unswervingly discharging the mission and obligations imposed on it by the people. It is mobilizing the working class, the peasantry, intellectuals, all our people, to translate into reality the program adopted by the 10th Congress for Rumania's all-round development in socialism, progress and prosperity. In this way we shall be making a bigger contribution to world peace and cooperation.



Fifty years of struggle

Milos Jakes

The Communist Party of Czechoslovakia will celebrate its jubilee in May 1971. Half a century is not a very long span in the life of a country. In Czechoslovakia, however, the past 50 years have seen some of the most momentous changes in the history of our peoples. They have been years of great class battles and vigorous political and organizing activity by the Party. Reverses alternated with gains but in the end the working class fought its way to power and socialism triumphed in Czechoslovakia.

Founding of the Party

The Great October Socialist Revolution 'shook the world,' as John Reed put it. It also shook the Austro-Hungarian monarchy, which until 1918 included Bohemia and Slovakia. The bourgeoisie tried in vain to conceal the truth or minimize the significance of the proletariat's victory in Russia. The truth ignores state boundaries, and it soon reached our country.

A powerful labor movement against imperialist plunder and national oppression developed in Austria-Hungary during World War I. The mobilizing effect of the Russian revolution led to mass action by the working people in Prague and elsewhere on October 13, 1918. As a result, monarchical rule was abolished even before national independence was proclaimed. The meaning of these events expressed itself in the demand for a socialist republic.

The revolutionary movement surged high and in 1919 Soviet republics came into being in Bavaria and Hungary. A Soviet republic was also proclaimed in East Slovakia. Subsequently counter-revolutionary forces succeeded in suppressing these Soviets.

In Czechoslovakia, the power of the bourgeoisie was in the balance. The bourgeoisie maneuvered to gain time and to bolster its rule. Giving in to popular pressure, it promised a land reform and unemployment relief and introduced an eight-hour working

day and sick benefits. On the other hand, it used armed force, the courts and prisons. However, it was on Right-wing Social Democratic leaders that the bourgeoisie counted most of all. These leaders had repeatedly sold out the interests of the working class in various countries of Europe for ministerial posts in bourgeois cabinets. Opportunism, which early in the war led to the collapse of the Second International, prompted most of the members parties of the International to desert to 'their' bourgeoisie. Nor were the leaders of the Social-Democratic Party (SDP) of Czechoslovakia an exception in this respect.

The victory of the Russian proletariat had a strong effect on the evolution of the Czechoslovak SDP, most of whose members were workers. Discussions and polemics in 1918 led to a wide-open division – there arose a Left and a Right wing. 'The adherents of our Party,' the journal *Socialni Demokrat* commented in October 1919, 'are in the offices of the Hrad and the prison cells of Pankrac.'

In 1919 the Left-wing of the SDP held its first conference, separately from the opportunists.

As the influence of consistent Marxists grew those in power feared for their rule and the Right-wing SDP leaders for their cushy jobs. Since the Left was becoming a formidable political force, the bourgeoisie, backed by renegades from socialism, acted to stop it. The resignation of the government in 1920 enabled it to form a caretaker cabinet and to take the offensive against the revolutionary workers.

Developments from the founding of the republic in 1918 to the opportunists' betrayal in 1920 showed that the workers and peasants could not win without a close-knit revolutionary party guided by scientific theory.

On May 14-16, 1921 the Marxist Left held the Founding Congress of the Communist Party in Prague. The Party initially comprised Czech, Slovak, Hungarian and Ukrainian members of the proletariat. It accepted the 21 conditions for admission to the Communist International and joined it. 'We are something more than a political party,' B. Smeral said in his main report to Congress. 'We are the vanguard of a new life. By shaping new relations, we want to shape new people.'

Lenin, who led the Third Congress of the Comintern (summer 1921), discussed all important problems with our delegation. The Comintern helped the Czechoslovak Communists to evolve their policy line and Party Rules. Thus, ever since its inception, our Party has been linked with the world Communist movement. Its formation was completed in October 1921, when it held its Unity Congress in Prague. The Party was joined by the German and Polish Communist groups. There arose a united multinational Communist Party which adopted the teachings of Marx, Engels and Lenin.

The founding of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia was a logical result of social development and of stubborn ideological and class struggle. It concluded the first stage of the working-class movement, which began in the 1870s.

For a revolutionary party

The CPC fought from the outset against the bourgeoisie, for the social demands of the working class, close friendship between the Czechoslovak Republic and Soviet Russia, the first socialist state that at the time was also the only one, and a stronger world Communist movement. As for the policy of the country's bourgeois governments, it was linked with imperialist interests and looked to the West. It laid Czechoslovak industry open to foreign capital. What our country should produce and who should benefit by the fruits of the people's labor was decided in Paris, London, Berlin, Vienna or Amsterdam. The working class was exploited by both the Czech and the international bourgeoisie.

The early years were not easy for the Communists. Among the former Social-Democrats who had joined the CPC there were both staunch revolutionaries and vacillating functionaries who were unprepared for the impending class battles even though they were influenced by the Marxist Left. The opportunists were stirring to activity – the illusions born of the temporary stabilization of capitalism made for an increasing lack of faith in the working class.

Members of the staunch Marxist-Leninist cadre and the foremost proletarians worked hard to make the CPC a genuinely revolutionary party that could unite the working people and lead them in decisive battles. Objective factors fostered the revolutionary militancy of the masses. The economic crisis that hit Europe in the years 1921-1923 did not spare Czechoslovakia. Unemployment was on the rise. The peasants disappointed with the land reform were in a state of growing ferment. These developments made it possible to urge the working people to take revolutionary action against the bourgeoisie.

However, the working class of the newly founded republic was still disunited politically. The Communist Party had unsolved problems of its own and, moreover, lacked ideological and organizational unity although it was a mass party and included progressive intellectuals along with the more class-conscious workers and peasants. It must also be noted that our Party, like the SDP, was organized on the territorial and not the production principle. This structure was suitable for election campaigning but it restricted the Party's influence in the factories and prevented it from leading the workers' revolutionary activity effectively.

The Communist International helped us greatly in eliminating our shortcomings. Its Sixth Congress (summer 1928) set up a Czechoslovak Commission. The results of the work of the Commission, which approved the assessment of the situation given by Klement Gottwald, were set forth in the 'Open Letter' of the ECCI to all members of the CPC. The 'Letter' formulated the main tasks as follows: restoring contact with the masses at once and rectifying mistakes, failing which the Party could not lead the working people in coming revolutionary struggles. The ideas of the 'Letter' provided the basis for a discussion in the Party which was summed up by the Fifth Congress (1929). This Congress was of historic importance to the Czechoslovak workers and peasants, for it ended the domination of Right-wing opportunists in the leadership, laid a solid ground work for Bolshevizing the Party, declared unanimously for the policy followed by the Marxist-Leninist wing and elected a new Central Committee with Klement Gottwald at its head.

Organizer and leader of the people

The Fifth Party Congress was an illustration of how important it is to apply the experience of the CPSU correctly and respect the principles of Party organization. The policy evolved by Congress directed the membership's effort towards struggle to overthrow the big bourgeoisie and establish the dictatorship of the proletariat. It was necessary to strengthen the alliance of the workers, peasants and petty bourgeoisie, heighten the Party's leading role in improving the economic condition of the working people and promote the movement in defense of the Soviet Union. Congress insisted on fully discarding Social-Democratic illusions, on which opportunism thrived, on implementing democratic centralism and ruling out all infringements of inner-Party democracy.

The economic crisis of the thirties showed that the Fifth Congress was right in describing the stabilization of capitalism before 1929 as temporary. Industrial output in Czechoslovakia in 1932 was 39.6 per cent lower than in 1929. Almost 2.5 million people were totally or partially unemployed.

The Party led the fight against unemployment. It formed and built up branch organizations in industry. The reformists argued that mass layoffs were necessary to 'normalize' the economy, and opposed CPC proposals for unemployment relief and lower food prices. The Communists, however, advanced the slogan 'No dismissals. No wage cuts.'

The Party's watchwords raised the strikers' revolutionary morale. The most powerful strike was called by the Most miners (1932).

It became a model of militant action of the proletariat and was described by the Comintern as the most noteworthy action by the European working class of the period. Peasants from far and near brought food supplies to the strikers. Solidarity strikes took place in other mines of Bohemia and Slovakia. The movement in support of the miners spread beyond the frontiers. The bourgeois government was concerned. The miners won. The united front led by the Party grew stronger and the Party gained greater prestige among the masses.

With Hitler in power, pro-fascist groups became more active in Czechoslovakia as well, especially in its border area. The German political organization, a branch of the National Socialist Party on our soil, won decisive influence in the Sudeten area. The Slovak fascists were active too. The republic's integrity and independence were threatened by a fifth column. Besides, the authorities stepped up terrorism against the Communists, the only uncompromising fighters against the brown plague.

As the threat from Hitler Germany grew the activity of the CPC logically assumed the character of a struggle to defend the republic. However, that was in no way reminiscent of the attitude of the parties in the Second International towards World War I. At that time the opportunists advocating 'defense of the country' adopted a nationalist position. They betrayed internationalism and the interests of the working class and helped the bourgeoisie to unleash and wage a war of conquest for markets and spheres of influence. The Czechoslovak Communists, however, rose to defend the republic against a government of fascist terrorism, against preparations for an aggression designed to subjugate the peoples of Europe and to put the catchword 'Drang nach Osten' into practice so as to destroy the Soviet Union, the world's first socialist state and the beacon of world socialism.

The fight of the CPC as the leader of all patriots against fascism is one of the most glorious chapters of its history. Loyal to the principles of the Comintern, the Party revealed the nature and aims of fascism to the masses and called on them to rise and defend the country. Since resistance to fascism was also a struggle for the national interests of the Czech and Slovak peoples, the Party won over large sections of the intelligentsia and petty bourgeoisie. Thus a broad popular alliance, the basis of the future National Front of Czechs and Slovaks, came into existence. Our Party, the organizer and leader of the anti-fascist movement, was steeled in this fight and became the leading political force. The Party's prestige rose higher still when, in 1935, the Czechoslovak government signed a treaty of alliance with the Soviet Union.

The political maturity and internationalist spirit of the CPC

found vivid expression in the Party's attitude to the civil war in Spain. The Party advanced the motto 'The Battle of Madrid is a battle for Prague.' The Communists led the mass movement of solidarity with the Spanish people. Spanish relief committees collected foodstuffs, medicines and funds. The International Brigades operating in Spain included 3,000 Czechoslovak volunteers, many of whom fell in battle.

By making a deal against their own country that sealed the people's fate behind their backs, the bourgeoisie and its allies unmasked themselves as traitors. Although the Soviet Union offered Czechoslovakia military aid and our country had a strong army, the government could not bring itself to reject the Munich diktat, which meant a betrayal of our republic by its Western allies and the annexation of part of its border area at the early stage. The Party and the people were determined to resist, they refused to surrender the republic to the enemy. The people voiced their demands during mass demonstrations: 'Give us arms, we have paid for them,' 'Don't give up the Sudeten, call the Soviets.' But the bourgeoisie clinched its treason.

Early in 1939 the Slovak clerical fascist clique proclaimed an 'independent' Slovakia to please the Nazis, and Slovakia found itself under German control. Thereupon, on March 15, 1939, the remnants of the one-time republic occupied by Nazi troops were proclaimed the 'protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia.' Hitler announced that he was assuming the 'protection' of our country and sent his 'protector' – virtually an absolute dictator – to Prague. Having seized Czechoslovakia, Germany increased the economic power that was to serve it for further invasions.

Forced underground even before the country was overrun, our Party led the fight for national liberation in the new conditions. Over 25,000 Communists were tortured to death and killed under the fascist tyranny. Nevertheless, the Party did not lay down its arms. Its activity was guided by the underground Central Committee inside the country and by the leadership under Klement Gottwald with headquarters in Moscow.

The Slovak National Rising in 1944 and the Prague rising in May 1945 merged with the victorious offensive of the glorious Soviet Army, which brought us freedom. Our troop units under General Ludvik Svoboda, now President of the Republic, fought shoulder to shoulder with the Soviet Army.

It was during the war that Czechoslovakia adopted a new foreign policy by signing, in 1943, a treaty of friendship, mutual assistance and postwar cooperation with the Soviet Union. This treaty determined relations between the two countries until a new treaty was signed on the 25th anniversary of liberation.

The liberation of Czechoslovakia by the Soviet Army was a decisive factor in promoting friendship and alliance with the Soviet people and in the subsequent socialist development of our country.

The fight against the invaders for the restoration of the Czechoslovak state raised the prestige of the CPC as the leader of the working people and the champion of their interests. A powerful National Front of Czechs and Slovaks was formed under the Party's leadership – not a coalition of political parties but an alliance of the workers, peasants, small producers and intellectuals. The Front played an important role in effecting postwar economic and political changes, winning power in the years 1946-1948 and consolidating it, and it holds a prominent place in society to this day.

The Kosice Government Program, drawn up in 1944 on the initiative and under the leadership of the CPC, proved of tremendous importance to the fortunes of the country. It was a program of people's democratic revolution. Some anti-fascist groups of the bourgeoisie took part in the liberation fight and laid claim on that ground to a definite role in the postwar settlement in Czechoslovakia. Spokesmen of the bourgeoisie signed the Kosice Program, hoping that it would never materialize, but the CPC fought steadfastly for its implementation, exposing the duplicity of the bourgeoisie. It was essential to lay bare the real intentions of those who posed as friends of the people. The masses had to see for themselves that the bourgeoisie had not changed and was opposed to the implementation of the Kosice Program, which met the interests of the working people.

The leaders of the bourgeois parties feared that the Communists might win the coming elections and in February 1948, prior to the elections, they prepared a reactionary coup to repeat the year 1920 and form a government that would crush the revolution. But the CPC, linked with the working class by close bonds, was prepared to foil the attempt. The Party leadership made masterly use of constitutional opportunities to solve the political crisis. Backed by the masses, it secured the formation, not of a caretaker cabinet, but of a government of the re-established National Front under Klement Gottwald. The Communists held decisive positions in the government.

The February victory was a logical result of the Party's consistent policy and revolutionary activity. It revealed the political maturity of the Party leadership and the strength of the Party, which proved equal to winning the support of the majority of the working people and rousing them to defense of the people's democratic revolution, to the struggle for socialist progress.

The Party did not let events drift, for it was well aware of the

need to defend the revolution, a need stressed by Lenin. Guarding against the eventuality of armed resistance by the bourgeoisie, the Party formed the People's Militia – armed units of worker Communists prepared to defend the people's gains. The CPC wielded decisive influence in the security agencies and the armed forces. But it was above all on the workers and peasants that the Party leaned for support. Confidence in the Communists in the factories was so great that in response to the call of the CPC in February 1948 thousands upon thousands of workers came out into the streets. Through this peaceful but resolute action the workers gained control of Prague and other cities, leaving no room for doubt that the bourgeoisie was defeated.

The establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat in the wake of the February action meant that the CPC had attained its first program objective and created the prerequisites for building a socialist society.

On the socialist path

The Ninth Party Congress (1949) decided on building socialism. The world situation was tense. The imperialists had begun a cold war. They tried to complicate the changeover to a new life in Czechoslovakia and other countries and to put down the working-class movement and the liberation struggle of dependent and colonial peoples. However, the Communists and the working people of the republic knew that in implementing the general line – building socialism – they could count on Soviet assistance.

Faith in success was strengthened by the coordinated action of the working class. The Party did much to foster unity of the revolutionary trade unions, which carried out important tasks under its leadership to prevent a counter-revolutionary coup in February 1948. After the defeat of the bourgeoisie they helped to further the socialist revolution. Of special importance was the demand put by trade union committees on behalf of the workers, that the nationalization of industry be carried forward. The united youth organization, for its part, played a notable role.

In setting out to build a new society, we realized that we would have to overcome considerable difficulties. The Party regarded it as an important requisite of advance along the chosen path to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat, promote socialist democracy and enlist the working people's active participation in government. This is why in the very first days after the winning of power, action committees of the National Front were set up on the Party's initiative to screen government and economic agencies. The expulsion of bourgeois agents met the Marxist-Leninist require-

ment of demolishing the old machinery and replacing it with a new one.

The Party assigned some of the ablest workers and peasants to the vacated posts. It helped them to master methods of leadership and improve their knowledge. By far most of those promoted by the Revolution proved equal to their jobs. Reality refuted the Right-wing opportunists' contention that the working class must first learn to govern and then proceed to take power.

The Party saw it as a decisive task to build the material and technical base of socialism. This meant gradually transferring the principal means of production to the working people, developing a socialist industry and planning economic growth. And we began that process.

The factories were nationalized one by one. Community enterprises and cooperatives were set up in the sphere of medium and small-scale production and in some branches of transport and the service industry. All that was left in private hands was a small proportion of the handicrafts. This paved the way for new, socialist relations of production and undermined the exploitation of man by man. Czechoslovakia, once an industrial-agrarian appendage of West European capitalist countries, embarked on independent economic development in close alliance with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries.

A challenging task was to win the peasants for socialism and reorganize their life by setting up cooperatives. We achieved this on a voluntary basis, without nationalizing the land, relying on our industrial potential and help from the working class. The Party won over the small peasants and succeeded in restricting and gradually isolating the rural bourgeoisie. By 1960 collectivization was virtually completed. The new socialist class – the cooperative peasants – had become a reliable ally of the working class.

Collectivization made it possible to mechanize agriculture and improve the food supply of the towns. Hundreds of thousands of people were released for work in industry. In spite of difficulties and shortcomings, the triumph of socialist relations of production in the countryside, where a hard battle had to be fought against the enemies of socialism, was a big victory for the Party's policy based on Lenin's theory of cooperation in agriculture.

Economic changes led to deep-going changes in the class composition of society, to higher labor productivity, a bigger national income and higher living and cultural standards. The political, social and economic achievements of our republic were formalized in its socialist Constitution in 1960.

These achievements are beyond question. Industrial output in 1970 was six times and in Slovakia – once an agrarian region but

now an industrially developed country producing more than the whole of prewar Czechoslovakia – ten times greater than before the war. National income and per capita consumption have trebled. All citizens are guaranteed the right to work and rest. A five-day working week has been introduced. Families with children receive material aid from the state in various forms. Much is being done to solve the housing problem. Low rents, inexpensive meals in the factories and schools, reduced fares for travel to school and place of work, cheap tickets to the cinema and theatre all have a beneficial effect on the standard of life. An indication of the fact that the working people now eat better is that meat consumption per capita increased from 36 kilograms in 1936 to 75 kilograms in 1970.

The Party pays constant attention to secondary and higher education. Instruction, visual aids and the use of laboratories are free and students are paid government allowances. In postwar years the proportion of secondary school leavers has trebled and that of university graduates has increased fivefold. The policy on education has done away with the class barriers in force in bourgeois Czechoslovakia and made for a marked increase in the proportion of intellectuals. Universal education, a democratic culture within reach of all and the emergence of a new intelligentsia closely linked with the working class have created vast opportunities for progress in science, the arts and letters. In other words, the cultural revolution has produced noteworthy results.

One of the greatest gains of socialism in our country is medical care and social maintenance, which rank among the best in the world. All citizens receive free medical aid, including treatment in hospitals and care at health resorts. We now have one doctor for every 442 inhabitants. Child mortality has declined sharply. In 1937 the death rate among children under one year of age was 117 per thousand and in 1968, less than 7. Old age and disability pensions are paid to all working people, including the cooperative peasants.

The nationalities problem, too, was settled in the years of socialist building. Our peoples have equal rights and relations between them within their common state – the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic – were settled in 1970 on federative lines.

The progress made by socialist Czechoslovakia is evidence of the correctness of Marxism-Leninism and its validity in all countries, backward and developed alike. We owe this progress to the devoted effort of the Party and the people, who are advancing together with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. Neither economic blockade, sabotage, nor acts of terrorism by imperialism could stop the formation of new Czechoslovakia.

The road along which the Party has been leading the people

could not possibly have been travelled without mistakes and shortcomings due to the complexity of the tasks facing the country. Other reasons for them were subjectivism and violations of the laws of socialist building and the Leninist principles of Party life and social leadership. However, it is not mistakes that determined our development as a whole, even though they often prevented us from making full use of the potentialities of socialism.

In 1968 the remnants of home reaction, which was defeated in February 1948, tried in alliance with imperialist quarters and their anti-Communist centers to carry out a counter-revolutionary coup, taking advantage of our difficulties, the mistakes made by the Party and the fact that there were Right-wing opportunists and revisionists in the Party leadership. Our enemies denied the general laws of socialist development, first of all the leading role of the Communist Party, economic development according to plan, and the principles of proletarian internationalism. They slandered the Soviet Union and misrepresented our country's friendship and cooperation with it. Knowing that the working people are for socialism, they dissembled their objectives with talk about 'liberalization' and 'socialism with a human face,' never advocating capitalist restoration explicitly. There developed a situation in which the decisive echelons of executive and legislative power gradually stopped performing their class function in the political system of the socialist state. It was a case of outright surrender to bourgeois ideology. The battle of ideas developed into a direct power struggle. The Rightists made maximum use of the mass media.

The Czechoslovak events show that under no circumstances should we yield to bourgeois ideology. They also teach us that the Party must never yield to pragmatism. Ideological work has always been and must be a component of the Party's political activity. Ideological adversaries seize on every infringement of the theoretical, class and internationalist principles of the Party to substitute nationalism for internationalism, advocate the ideals of a 'consumer' society and deny scientific socialism.

The Communist Party and socialist state must use every opportunity to achieve their political, class and ideological objectives. The mass media – the press, radio, television and the cinema – are exceptionally powerful means of exerting ideological influence and the Party must control them or socialism will be in danger.

The Rightists' foreign policy orientation resulted in disrupting the internal stability and security of the state as well as in weakening the Western boundary of the socialist community, for its strength was shaken in Czechoslovakia. The defense of socialism in the CSSR was not a matter only for the Czechoslovak Communist Party and working people; it was bound to become the common

task of the socialist countries and their parties, of the entire Communist movement.

Discussion and disclosure of the causes and inter-connected factors of the deep crisis of our Party and society made it all too clear that, paralyzed by the Rightists in the Party leadership, our own forces could not halt the all-out counter-revolutionary offensive. The arrival of troops from five allied socialist countries, at the request of thousands of Czechoslovak Communists and other citizens and Party and government leaders, was an act of international solidarity.

The sound Marxist-Leninist core of the CPC assumed the leadership of politically conscious working people and staved off a grave menace to socialism in Czechoslovakia with the internationalist aid of fraternal allied countries. It won the fight against the Rightists for the re-establishment of the leading position of the Party, its return to the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, and our country's further advance along the socialist path.

The lessons of the great trials and hard battles they have gone through commit the Party, every Communist and every honest citizen to preserve and multiply the gains of socialism and see to it that socialism is not endangered ever again. Enlightened by a bitter experience, we will safeguard the gains of socialism and strengthen fraternal friendship and cooperation with the Soviet Union, the guarantee of the security of our nations, our society and state.

The fifty years' record of work and struggle by the CPC is proof of the fruitfulness of the ideas of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. Life teaches us that even after winning power, socialist development is guaranteed only if the Communist Party is loyal to the principles of Marxism-Leninism and has been steeled in class battles, and if it has rid itself of opportunist and revisionist influences. We well remember Lenin's statement that the Party's strength lies in its links with the people.

The wealth of experience acquired by the Party in fifty years and the experiences of the world Communist movement will have a notable impact on the work of the 14th Congress of the CPC, which is being held this May. Congress will carry forward the revolutionary traditions of our Party and decide on the further socialist development of our society.

Our Party's objective is to promote the good of the country, the happiness of its people, the victory of socialism throughout the world. The Communist Party of Czechoslovakia is marching on along the Leninist path, towards greater prosperity for our socialist country.



Failure of a conspiracy

*Fourth Congress of
CP of Venezuela*

Jesus Faria

To write about the Fourth Congress of the Communist Party of Venezuela means giving an account of a long and grim ideological battle. Congress closed a period in which forces hostile to Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism came out in their true colors. Their defeat was a most important achievement and the brother parties' interest in the antecedents of Congress is only natural.

Those who read our press know that the situation was difficult. However, we largely withheld public comment so as not to aggravate our internal difficulties, and also because we expected to overcome them at the Congress.

The armed struggle issue

In April 1967 the Central Committee of the Communist Party resolved to suspend the armed struggle in favor of work among the masses and preparations for the 1968 elections. However, evolving a policy is a far cry from putting it into practice. We were faced with the problem of remoulding the consciousness of those who had been in the guerrilla movement for years. It was anything but easy to dismantle the military organization at all levels and to re-establish a Party apparatus that had been disrupted and bled white by reverses. Nor was it an easy task to bring it home to people who had been fighting arms in hand shortly before that they must turn to new means, for it is easier for people to take up arms than to persuade them to put them aside.

On the other hand, one result of the armed struggle was the rise of group interests and personal ambitions, as in the case of Douglas Bravo and other leaders. This was only to be expected, since these men had for years wielded considerable power and

used fairly large manpower and material resources at will. Besides, there were instances of plainly arbitrary conduct, nor did the guilty ever account for them to the higher Party bodies.

The armed struggle covered the period from 1962 to 1966, when Venezuela's Communists took up arms along with other revolutionary forces and fought courageously against the Betancourt and Leoni governments. Our Party contributed effectively to the formation of the Armed Forces of National Liberation (FALN), which comprised urban units and guerrillas operating in the mountains, except that there was no proper social selection. Varied and often overhasty military measures led to a series of armed actions, including the revolts of the garrisons of Carupano and Puerto Cabello in May and June 1962.

The armed struggle was prompted by subjective and objective causes – a deteriorating standard of life, unemployment and poverty, a deep social, economic and political crisis, and the existence of a popular movement encouraged by the gains of 1958, when the masses repeatedly took up arms to defend democratic liberties.

Was armed action well timed and really called for in every case? And was it right to desist from it after the first setbacks in favor of political struggle?

The appearance of factional groups in the Party prevented a study of this interesting period of our activity. Yet we should revise the assessment of that stage of the armed struggle made by the Eighth Plenum of the Central Committee (April 1967), which describe it as the most eventful period in the Party's history. It was exploited afterwards by those who renounced the Party and its past and ended by deserting.

We made some mistakes in underground work that could have been avoided. But to fight underground for seven years was an uncommon feat. The enemy tried to seize Communists dead or alive, and mostly he preferred them dead. Throughout that time, however, the repressive agencies could not take a single Party meeting by surprise.

The Central Committee Report to the Fourth Congress says: 'Among the mistakes made during the armed struggle, we must note, first of all, the guerrillaist, militarist, putschist and tailist deviations of Leftists and sectarians. . . . The role of the working class as the vanguard and main force of the revolution was virtually denied while the role of other social strata was extolled as a leading force. This negation led to isolation from the masses, to the loss of Party links with the working people.'

A much-publicized idea was that select groups can accomplish the revolution by themselves. The spread of this erroneous idea among Communists had grave consequences. Organizing work

among the masses and steps to prepare them for large-scale revolutionary action were neglected, Leninist organizational principles were ignored and so was educational work as the pivot of Party activity. There came self-seeking and adulation. The idea of taking power 'by assault' gained currency, though no preparations had been made for this crowning action.

The Party membership's ideological standard showed a serious decline. Some new comrades joining the Party were hardly familiar with Marxism-Leninism. This made for the spread of alien or even hostile ideas, especially among members of the ruined petty bourgeoisie who were consumed with impatience and made fantastic plans of winning power in record time.

The Fourth Party Congress has provided opportunities for a serious examination of mistakes. We must carry it out not in order to renounce armed struggle but to sum up our experience, improve our work, avoid a recurrence of the Party's isolation and find ways and means of building up the Party as the party of the working class.

Discussion begins

The Eighth Plenum called on the branch organizations to begin preparations for the Fourth Congress. It announced the beginning of a discussion on all issues without, however, making any material available. This led to disorderly polemics and a waste of time on interminable arguments.

Public discussion of internal matters brought out latent frictions, heated the atmosphere and gave rise to warring groups. Differences over the evaluation of the period after the Third Congress (1961) prevented us from working out program theses and other material indispensable to preparations for the Fourth Congress. The situation in the Party was becoming critical and cc members realized this. But whenever it came to putting things right agreement turned out to be impossible.

The 10th Plenum of the Central Committee (August 1968) expressed approval of the Warsaw Treaty countries' aid to the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic.

Another important item discussed by the plenum was reorganization of the Political Bureau and commissions of the Central Committee, as many cc members, including the General Secretary, had been released from prison or were back from exile. They were reinstated and their return to the cc seemingly caused no complications. But judging by the stand of the factionalists, they were by no means happy about the reassignment to Party posts of comrades who had long been in prison.

In 1968 the Party leadership was almost entirely in the hands of Marquez, Petkoff, Lairer, Urbina and Torres. The return of Gustavo and Eduardo Machado, Antonio Garcia Ponce, Jesus Faria and other comrades to the Central Committee, or to its Political Bureau to be precise, was seen by some 'renovators' as an attempt at a coup and an encroachment on Petkoff's and Lairer's standing. Along with their posts these men lost their peace of mind, and set out to whip up fierce opposition to whatever the Party leadership did. Subsequently they were joined by Munoz, Torres and Marquez.

It is noteworthy that today almost half of the cc members elected by the Third Congress find themselves outside the Party because they tried to divert the Party membership from the Marxist-Leninist path. These people made no secret of their bid for power, nor were they overscrupulous about the choice of means of attaining their objectives, either in the years of armed struggle or later on. Their activity culminated in defection from the Party in December 1970 and in a conspiracy against the very existence of the Party.

Today, after the split, which was followed by Marquez and Co.'s theft of property owned by the Party, we have a really clear idea of the conduct of these people, which earlier seemed inexplicable owing to their hypocrisy. On the plea of an 'ideological dichotomy,' the deserters no longer made any pretence of allegiance to Leninist ideas.

The factionalists at work

Opportunities of normalizing the Central Committee's work first presented themselves in 1968. The cc met at regular intervals, according to the Rules, to discuss the structure and working methods of the Party, the activity of its individual members, and so on. However, the opportunist group, having forfeited its positions and majority on the Political Bureau, questioned every step taken by Party leaders, and described the Central Committee as 'unlawful,' alleging that it had usurped its powers and blocked free discussion. cc meetings dragged, with the result that the Central Committee tended to become a talking club of ill-mannered individuals.

Heated arguments revealed only too clearly the positions of those who resented criticism of their mistakes and shortcomings. They were incensed at criticism of their deviations or inconsistencies. To these people's way of thinking, it was the Party that was wrong and not they.

One result of Petkoff's dirty work as a writer was that the

Venezuelan government and the U.S. Embassy bought batches of his books to distribute them free among journalists and in Latin American universities. These books viciously slander the Communist Party of Venezuela, the world Communist movement and the socialist countries.

Party organizations were swamped with documents stating the views of the factionalists, who toured the country fomenting a violent campaign against Leninist principles of Party leadership and organization. With a zeal worthy of a better cause, they claimed that the Communist Party of Venezuela submitted to other Communist parties, and insisted on freedom for various trends, which would have enabled Petkoff and his followers to spread and impose their anti-Leninist concepts.

The 'renovators' peddled their own versions of Marxism, claiming that they had discovered new and easier ways of winning power, as well as new classes and new allies who could win power to hand it to a 'bourgeoisified' proletariat.

Convening the Fourth Congress

The Fourth Congress was not held in 1967 nor in the next two years. But from the very beginning of 1970 convening it became a task of prime importance. The Central Committee met as many as twelve times last year. Discussion in a 'backward party which never discusses anything,' as the factionalists put it, took about two months. At CC meetings the 'renovators' demanded to be allowed unlimited time for stating their views. On coming up against reasonable objections, they would settle for two hours, and often were granted extra time for their twaddle. Nevertheless, they accused the CC of 'autocracy' and of being afraid of free discussion.

The Communist Party was passing through a deep crisis. In February 1970 the Political Bureau was unable to reach agreement on the report to be submitted to the Central Committee. The General Secretary stressed in one of his speeches that the situation in the Party was complicated and fraught with explosion. He called on all who could do something to preserve Communist unity to do so at once. He was accused of 'panicking,' and his statement was barred from the press and never reached branch organizations.

The biggest factional groups were led by Petkoff, Urbina, Maneiro and Rodriguez Bauza. There was also a 'Centrist' group, as Marquez called his unit. Five factional groups joined forces to prevent measures for the unity and integrity of the Party. Marquez and his group strove to seize control of the Party and, in fact, played into the hands of anti-Party groups for a long time. He and other men in high positions contrived to mislead numerous Party

members. Hardly anyone believed that Marquez would go as far as to betray a party in whose leadership he had been active for years.

The majority of the Central Committee tried to stave off a split. There was a moment during the November meeting of the cc when the General Secretary withdrew his proposals, backed by 60 per cent of the votes, to preserve Party unity.

The fight for Party unity connoted struggle to retain valuable leaders misled by the policy of the 'Centrist' group playing up to other factionalists. Not everyone saw clearly in the situation in a clear light. The number of Party members loyal to Marxism-Leninism grew as the ideological struggle went on, although the situation occasionally became so tangled and confusion so great that even genuine Communists were mistaken for conciliators and opportunists.

The factional groups were active on the following lines: open struggle against some members of the Political Bureau, threats, criticism and veiled blackmail in regard to other comrades, a search for political compromise with still others, along with praise, promises and flattery.

It would be wrong to imagine that our struggle was easy. The factionalists were, and still are, dangerous enemies of the Party. Numerous people outside the Party but sympathetic to it were at a loss. During the crisis some of them thought the deserters were telling the truth when they said they were genuine Communists.

The Central Committee did all it could to save the Party. It did not allow the factionalists and reformists to bring the Party under their sway. The exposure of the electoral frauds committed by them in a number of Party organizations was a telling blow to the factionalists. One hundred and seventy mandates to the Caracas conference were declared null and void.

Allegations of the anti-party groups

The factionalists asserted that they had a majority in the Party. But then a majority never breaks away from a party. Of the 51 members of the Central Committee, 34, or two-thirds, remained loyal to the Party, as did twelve of the 17 alternate members, or 70 per cent of the total. The factionalists misled up to 24 per cent of the members into withdrawing from the Party. After the Fourth Congress some of those who had stepped aside for a while came back, nor is this process over. We suffered the biggest loss in the Young Communist League (YCL) leadership and the universities. The factionalists could win over none of the peasants and hardly any workers.

The factionalists alleged that the majority of the cc was against

holding the Fourth Congress. That is not true, either. The November Plenum closed on December 4, the day the Congress was to have opened. We had yet to hold three large regional conferences, specifically in the states of Miranda and Zulia. Congress could not be opened on the appointed day for technical reasons and the proposal for putting it off to January 23, 1971 was unanimously approved by the meeting, Marquez and other 'renovators' included.

Just as unanimously the Central Committee resolved to hold its next plenum in ten days – December 14, 1970 – with a view to reaching a political agreement on preserving Party unity at the Congress and to holding the last regional conferences on December 19 and 20.

By then the factionalists had realized that their chances of victory at the Congress had diminished, due in particular to the voiding of the mandates secured by fraudulent means. They had realized that they would be unable either to remove veteran worker-peasant leaders or prevent the election of new spokesmen of the working class to the cc. The splitters stayed away from the plenum on December 14. They defected from the Party on the pretext of an 'ideological dichotomy,' alleging, furthermore, that 'no free discussion is allowed' in the Party.

The oil monopolies' television network described these people as 'anti-Soviet Communists.' To think that they paraded as a majority, as genuine Venezuelan Communists! From what they say, there is nothing difficult about a Communist's repudiating proletarian internationalism and the Leninist principles of democratic centralism. They held an 'assembly' which they called 'Congress of the CPV.' They constituted their own organization which 'refuses to be like the Communist parties in any way.'

The Fourth Congress and its decisions

The Fourth Congress opened on January 23, 1971, in an atmosphere of factionalist pressures and threats. Our old and new enemies prophesied that it would fail organizationally, politically, nationally and internationally. Yet its work was fruitful.

Congress received messages of solidarity from forty brother parties. It was attended by representatives of the Communists of the Soviet Union, GDR, Bulgaria, Chile, USA, Guyana, Colombia, Ecuador, Peru, Costa Rica, France, Uruguay, Argentina, Spain and Panama. The Mongolian representatives could not attend because they were refused entry visas.

That powerful and timely demonstration of proletarian internationalism was of tremendous help to us in surmounting a deep-rooted crisis. It behooves us always to remember our duty of solidarity towards other fraternal parties.

The success of the Fourth Congress helped many comrades bewildered by enemy propaganda to discard wrong ideas and rejoin the Party. It dispelled the doubts of friend and foe alike.

The program approved by Congress expresses the innermost aspirations of our working people. Of course, it does not list all the tasks facing us. Experience shows that the masses advance new demands as the struggle goes on.

Congress adopted a well-founded document on the agrarian question giving an answer to Petkoff and others. It rebutted the contention that the rural poor 'lack a revolutionary potential' and are of no importance as an ally of the working class at even the first stage of the revolution.

I have said that peasant Communists were unaffected by factional activity. The peasants as a class carry great weight in branch organizations and have numerous representatives on the new Central Committee elected by the Fourth Congress.

Congress also adopted a declaration on Party work in the trade unions. The important thing for the Communist Party today, the declaration stresses, is to regain positions in the trade union movement through devoted and vigorous effort for the satisfaction of the working people's legitimate demands and for a better life for them. The fact is that in the years of armed struggle we neglected work in the unions, and bourgeois parties took advantage of this. At present we can only achieve success by working patiently among the workers. There is no better way of establishing durable links with the mass of the proletariat. The Party has numerous enterprise cells and this is very encouraging. One of our primary tasks is to strengthen these cells and transform them into militant outposts.

To overcome the split among the working people is not an easy task, one that can be carried out overnight. In recent years we have been working little and poorly in this field. We are going to work more and better—in keeping with Congress guidelines. The struggle to organize and unite the working class is another important task of the Communists.

Congress approved a political declaration disclosing the class nature of the government, which represents the interests of the national oligarchy and is dependent on U.S. monopolies. Here is a fact to illustrate: the profit of Rockefeller's Standard Oil in our country makes up 47 per cent of its total world profits. According to official data, which invariably understate facts of this nature, Venezuela has lost 20 billion bolivars, or almost five billion dollars, over the past decade through unequal trade with its imperialist northern 'partner.'

Yet paying this enormous tribute to U.S. monopoly, and the work-

ing people's endless suffering due to unemployment, ignorance and poverty and to oppression by governments at the beck and call of world imperialism are by no means fatally inevitable. The Communist Party urges the workers and peasants to close ranks and fight for full national independence. From the rostrum of its Congress it called on all progressive organizations to establish a powerful popular front that would succeed a regime based on servile submission to the oligarchy and imperialism and pave the way for building socialism and communism. We consider that to form a broad union of all progressive and popular forces on the basis of a common program is a feasible task.

Congress decided on a clear-cut policy of united action with its allies. We believe the important thing, at least now, is to awaken the masses, especially the working class, to the need for unity. The attainment of this goal will help to work out a program of far-reaching achievements which, in turn, will stimulate the growth of the mass movement and popular unity.

Congress expelled from the Party the cc members leading factional groups. It adopted a document assessing the splitters' group from the political point of view and laying bare its falseness and Right opportunist character. The factionalists' mouthings about 'freedom of discussion and trends, respect for the opinion of the minority,' and so on, are nothing but manifestations of petty-bourgeois concepts.

I must say that we made concessions to avoid division, but our efforts bore no fruit. Only now does everyone see that coexistence with that group within the Party would have been utopian, for the group proposed to turn the Party into an organization having nothing in common with Leninism and guided by absurd eclectic theories. Petkoff and his followers did not conceal that they planned to turn the Party into a reformist organization representing many social classes.

As for Pompeyo Marquez, who lost the backing of the majority on the Political Bureau and cc, he took the miscarriage of his plans as a personal affront and posed as a victim of his 'enemies' in the Party. Actually Marquez, once greatly esteemed as a leader, gave his overt or covert support to Petkoff, who was girding himself for mortal combat with the Party. It is not surprising, therefore, that we, who in the past were at one with Marquez on many points, took action against his plans and designs. He was faced with choosing between the Party and Petkoff and he chose the latter.

The factionalists had hoped that their group would grow – a vain hope entertained by vain and conceited people. Their strength is ebbing and they have no future. All that is in store for them is defeat and disillusionment. They have done great harm to the

Party and they now deserve to be despised by even those who benefited most of all from their factional activity in the Party. Theirs is the fate of traitors.

The Fourth Congress resolved fully to reorganize the YCL, since factional activity had caused considerable damage to its leading cadre. Most of the members of the latter were students with poor knowledge of Leninism and fascinated by the idea of 'renovation,' which has lately become fashionable among students. As regards branch organizations of the YCL, most of them remain loyal to the Party.

Why is it that in the course of the inner-Party struggle most of the youth leaders took a stand hostile to the Party? We made many mistakes in this field. Occasionally we even substituted praise and flattery for Communist education, for proper ideological training. Many young people were promoted to leading posts prematurely. Excessive tolerance towards those whose behavior was incompatible with Communist ethics had negative consequences and injured our cause. A big mistake in our work among youth was that we did not bring a sufficient number of workers and peasants into the YCL. The Party has learned the lesson and must now start from the beginning.

We have many young people who have retained a splendid purity of convictions. Today it is young people who call for an organization devoted to the cause of the Party and the revolution. The requisites for this are at hand.

Congress elected by ballot a Central Committee of 47 full and 16 alternate members. The Political Bureau has 13 members. The new cc reflects changes in the social and class composition of the Party — 82 per cent of the Congress delegates and 60 per cent of the cc members are workers and peasants.

The previous cc included leaders who were out to rid the Party of comrades of worker and, above all, peasant origin. Suggestions for increasing the proportion of workers on the cc were fiercely attacked by the factionalists, who described them as 'demagogy.' The reinforcement of the cc by electing more workers and peasants was a notable achievement of Congress, which stressed the need to take account of the social composition of the Party's leading committees.

Thus the Party carried out fruitful organizing, ideological and political work. Its Rules were amended. The new Central Committee was directed to prepare policy theses and other political materials in preparation for the next congress, due to meet in two years.

Our Party has cleansed its ranks. The corrupt elements that could no longer be tolerated in the Party have deserted. They tried to do us harm but achieved largely the reverse.

The cc receives reports from everywhere about the normalization of Party activity in every field. An indicative fact is the growing number of subscribers to *Tribuna Popular*, the main newspaper of the cc. For the first time since 1958, Party meetings are well attended.

It would be wrong to believe, however, that all will be smooth sailing from now on. The life of a Communist party is one of struggle. After the recent events Communists must be vigilant if the past mistakes are to be avoided.

The people of Venezuela, its working class and other progressive classes and social strata, our brothers and comrades throughout the world, may rest assured that the Communist Party of Venezuela is alive, that it remains loyal to proletarian internationalism and bases its effort on the immortal ideas of Marxism-Leninism.

Our contributors

<i>Nicolae Ceausescu</i>	General Secretary, Rumanian CP; Chairman, State Council, Socialist Republic of Rumania
<i>Dominique Urbani</i>	Chairman, CP of Luxembourg
<i>Jesus Faria</i>	General Secretary, CP of Venezuela
<i>Ezekias Papaioannou</i>	General Secretary, Progressive Party of the Working People of Cyprus (AKEL)
<i>Herbert Mies</i>	Deputy Chairman, German CP
<i>Todor Pavlov</i>	Member of Political Bureau, Central Committee, Bulgarian CP; Academician
<i>David Burstein</i>	Member Political Bureau, Secretary of Central Committee, CP of Israel
<i>Milos Jakes</i>	Chairman of Central Control and Auditing Commission, CP of Czechoslovakia
<i>Lucien Sève</i>	Member CC, French CP; Director of Editions Sociales
<i>Mirjam Vire-Tuominen</i>	General Secretary, Peace Champions of Finland Organization
<i>Teodosio Varela</i>	Colombian economist



German Communist Party: third year of struggle

Herbert Mies

The German Communist Party (GCP) came into being more than two years ago. It is now preparing for its Second Congress, due to meet in Duesseldorf in November.

The GCP was founded at the end of 1968, in a controversial situation. The Communist Party of Germany (CPG) was banned and Right-wing policies were gaining ground in the Federal Republic. However, there was a growing movement at home and abroad for an end to the ban, with mass actions against Right-wing extremists, for democratic rights. The authorities could not but take this into account. At the same time the 'Grand Coalition' government had a vague feeling that to permit Communist activity might prove useful in foreign policy terms. Nevertheless, the prohibition of the CPG is still in force and the GCP's development should be seen as part of the sustained struggle to end it.

'The founding in the Federal Republic, after a long interval, of a legal Communist Party approaching the fundamental issues of a democratic and socialist working-class policy from Marxist positions was a significant event,' Max Reimann wrote in a message to the Essen Congress of the GCP. This event – seen as a challenge to the rulers of the FRG – was important to both the West German working class and the world Communist and working-class movement.

In setting out to found the GCP, the Communists were taking a certain risk, of course. Now, more than two years later, there is every reason to say that they have accomplished much. They have strengthened their positions and built up a more favorable climate for democratic resistance to the extreme Right, and are now in a position to take a more effective part in social and political struggles, in the fight to change the political balance in favor of peace, democratic progress and socialism.

Revolutionary workers' party

Numerous questions arose after the founding of the GCP as to the nature, objectives and program of the Party. The ruling class and ruling parties called the Communists 'Left-wing radicals' while ultra-Left opportunists described them as 'revisionists.' The former read into the GCP program a 'call for revolution' and the latter, 'renunciation of the revolutionary struggle.'

But the German Communist Party is neither Left radical, nor revisionist. It is the revolutionary party of the working class taking guidance from the teachings of Marx, Engels and Lenin. The GCP is fighting for socialism, for the working people's leading role in state and society. Its activity is based on loyalty to the revolutionary traditions of the working class. Being a contingent of the world Communist movement, it adheres to the principles of proletarian internationalism and proceeds accordingly.

The Party's adoption of a clear political and ideological position and meaningful strategy and tactics were prompted from the outset by considerations of principle and pressing requirements of the political struggle. The Party was brought into being in a period of mounting worldwide conflict between socialism and imperialism. The social contradictions of state monopoly capitalism, the class contradictions between labor and capital, became more pronounced in West Germany too. There began a mass movement against the 'emergency laws.' Students and young workers refused to put up with the authoritarian rule of big capital any longer. They demanded changes in the prevailing property relations and the power relations corresponding to them.

The ideological struggle intensified in step with the growth of political and social struggles. Part of the working-class and student youth began to cast about for a 'model' of a new and better society, to ponder and discuss strategic and tactical concepts that could ensure success in the fight against the Establishment and the policies of the ruling parties. It was in these conditions that the FRG was flooded, as it still is, with reformist ideas and pseudo-socialist and 'neo-Marxist' theories. The advocates of the ruling class talk a lot about 'necessary social reforms at home,' meaning measures to stabilize the state-monopoly system. Right Social-Democratic leaders are dusting off the long-discredited theory of 'democratic socialism' in an effort to counterbalance the political influence of the socialist countries and their achievements. The ultra-Left opportunists, who have nothing to do with the Communist movement, proclaim the seemingly revolutionary but actually anarchist slogan of immediate struggle for 'Soviet power.' They want to defame the ideas of socialism and steadfast anti-imperialist

and democratic struggle, to make united action by worker Communists and Social Democrats difficult and prevent the workers, first of all young workers, from following Communist leadership.

For democratic progress against monopoly capital

In deciding on its program, strategy and tactics, the Party refused to be deterred by the threat of prohibition or to heed the advice of Right- and 'Left'-wing opportunists. It proceeded from Marxist strategic and tactical principles, documents of the world Communist and workers' movement, the historical experience of the GCP and the specific conditions and prospects of the West German working-class movement.

The Essen Congress in spring 1969 approved the Program Declaration. The adoption of that important document was the upshot of discussion in newly formed Party groups in enterprises, residential neighborhoods and universities, as well as at public meetings. The discussion produced 1,086 suggestions for amendments. The Party evolved a program which consistently applies the teachings of Marx, Engels and Lenin to the requirements of the workers' struggle and combines a socialist perspective with the strategy of democratic struggle against monopoly.

A number of important documents were worked out on the basis of the Program Declaration following widespread discussion at special conferences and congresses. Among them were 'On the Threshold of the Seventies: For a Policy of Democratic Progress,' 'Democratic Progress Against Monopoly Capital,' policy documents on the struggle for the working people's right to co-management, against higher prices and rents, the 'Proposals for a Democratic System of Education,' 'GCP Program for Work Among Youth' and 'Agrarian Program.'

These documents show the Party to be the spokesman of the working people. They contribute to the effort for unity of action and for a democratic alliance of all anti-monopoly forces. They rouse the people to the fight for political demands of the day and for the transformation of the FRG into a state of peace and democratic progress. The GCP has so far been unable to achieve a proper combination of everyday political and social struggles with the struggle for progressive, democratic, anti-monopoly demands. This is one of the weak points of its activity.

The strategy and tactics of West German imperialism and the policy of bourgeois parties and the SPD show a growing trend towards adjustment to the changing balance of forces. Key problems of socio-political development and its prospects are coming to play a decisive part in discussions on the present and future of

the FRG. Big capital, backed by the parties of Bonn, stints no effort to prevent the expansion of class battles, run quests for new solutions to social problems into a blind alley and foil cooperation with the GCP by forces critical of the Establishment. These new political phenomena and the objective requirements of an intensifying class struggle plus the still inadequate political, ideological and organizational preparedness of our Party, prompted the Eighth plenary meeting of the GCP Executive, in line with the Essen Congress decisions, to lay emphasis in preparations for the coming Duesseldorf congress on certain new developments. Proposing democratic progress and the socialist perspective as the alternative to the state-monopoly system and pursuing the polemic with all Bonn parties, we will act still more confidently and critically, in a still more dynamic and militant spirit.

The recent period has undoubtedly seen changes in the FRG. Developments here have been affected by the changing balance of forces in the world and in Europe, as well as between the two German states, by the dynamic policy of the Soviet Union, the GDR and other socialist countries for peace and détente, and by the vast scale of the national liberation movement. All this makes for more active political and social struggle in the country. It influences the policies and tactics of the ruling class and ruling parties and manifests itself primarily in the campaign for the ratification and implementation of the Soviet-West German Treaty, which may produce a reorientation of the FRG in home and foreign policy. This is also seen in the democratic actions for normal relations between the FRG and Poland and other socialist countries. Lastly, it expresses itself in the campaign for recognition of the GDR under international law and for a European security system.

A strategic goal of West German imperialism is to intensify the exploitation of the working people and use the fruits of the technological revolution for strengthening the state-monopoly system and for building up its economic and military power. The slogan of 'integrating' political organizations and the trade unions into the capitalist system serves these objectives.

These efforts stem from the West German imperialists' desire to extend their economic and political influence to countries in East and West. They have no intention of giving up attempts to change the status quo in Europe in the long run if not very soon, to 'roll back' socialism and prevent the growth of the national liberation movement. Their plans are no less dangerous for the fact that a section of big capital resorts under the impact of a changing alignment of forces to new strategic concepts and that the SDP-led government, for its part, is turning to more flexible tactics. This situation calls for the greatest vigilance, for it would

be a fatal delusion to imagine that West German imperialism has become less aggressive as a result of these changes.

The GCP counters the reactionary, aggressive strategy of the ruling class by fighting for a democratic renovation of state and society and for the socialist perspective. Renovation will be initiated by eliminating neo-Nazism and its roots, increasing the influence of the peace-loving and democratic forces in state and society and defeating the militarists' great-power policy. It implies curbing and, in the final analysis, ending the power of monopoly capital and militarism, extending the political rights of the working people, ensuring that they have a say in management and control, socializing the big corporations, putting the economy on a democratically planned basis and effecting progressive reforms in social security, education and culture.

Popular movement against the 'Right-extremist cartel'

The fight for democratic progress and renovation has revolutionary democratic objectives and is expected to take long. To achieve these objectives, it is necessary to change the political balance in favor of the working class and the democratic sections of the people. This calls for a strong Communist Party, unity of action of the working class, cooperation between the Communists and Social Democrats, and an alliance of all anti-monopoly forces. These are the principal conditions for changing the composition of parliament and forming a government that would defend the interests of the people and could strike out in a fresh direction in home and foreign policy.

The SDP/FDP coalition does not meet these conditions. The replacement of the CDU in the government leadership by the SDP is indicative of important political changes in West Germany. However, it is neither a swing to the left, nor a 'change of power.' There is no change in big capital's control of the economy, the state and society. Like earlier governments, the Brandt-Scheel government represents the interests of West German and U.S. imperialism. We have no right to forget this even though we do not identify the coalition headed by the Social Democrats with the CDU-led government and follow a differentiated policy. It is not immaterial to us Communists who is at the helm in the FRG. A government influenced in decisive measure by the more aggressive and outspoken revanchist wing of monopoly capital differs from a government in which the tone is set by capitalists taking a reasonably realistic view of things. A government headed by a party frankly upholding monopoly interests and largely exempt from pressure from below owing to the character of its social basis is unlike a coalition headed by a

party which also respects the interests of big capital but is compelled to take into account pressure from the workers and their unions and from other anti-monopoly forces.

The SDP/FDP government is evidently more representative of those sections of big capital that take a fairly sober view of realities, in particular of the changed balance of political and military forces in the world and between the two German states. These sections would like to stave off sharper political and economic contradictions and avoid social conflicts. They are searching for new ways and means of stabilizing the capitalist system in view of the technological revolution, with part of the workers, peasants, intellectuals and, above all, young people protesting more and more strongly against this system.

The CDU and CSU, as well as the NDP and the whole 'Right-extremist cartel,' called the 'Harzburg Front'* in alluding to events in the closing period of the Weimar Republic, are attacking, under the direction of Strauss and Barzel, the government led by the Social Democrats. They use nationalist and social demagoguery to speed the rightward swing of the FRG and to prevent the present coalition's more realistic views from becoming a permanent basis for a new policy.

These attacks from the right should be taken seriously, for nationalist and social demagoguery finds a willing audience among some of those working people who are disappointed with the government's economic and social policies. This came out during the recent Laender elections in Hessen, Bavaria and elsewhere, which revealed that some of the discontented workers were supporting Right rather than Left slogans. The GCP has not yet become a force to which a substantial proportion of the workers and other working people looks for guidance. One of our key tasks today and in the near future is to change this situation. Our Party must remain an alternative to the Right and the SDP/FDP government coalition.

Attacks from the extreme right are made easier by the fact that the Brandt-Scheel government gives in to it, makes concessions and is inconsistent. To win praise from the CDU/CSU, the government persists in opposing international recognition of the GDR and the convening of a European security conference. It refuses to ban the NDP, subtly foments anti-communism and maintains the ban on the CPG, whereas the main task now is to organize joint struggle by the democratic forces.

The SDP and FDP leadership resists demands of the working class, the membership and the trade unions, using the attacks from the

*Alliance concluded by the Nazi Party with the reactionary military, big capitalists and junkers at Bad Harzburg in October 1931 to overthrow the Weimar Republic and establish an open dictatorship of the most reactionary section of finance capital. - Ed.

extreme right as an excuse. It tries to restrain the democratic forces and curb their activity. Behind its effort is a desire to 'integrate' the working class and its unions into the Establishment. Nor is this effort entirely fruitless. The GCP considers it as indispensable as ever resolutely to fight the aggressive wing of big capital and its strike forces – the CDU, CSU and NDP – for they present the main danger. It would be wrong, however, to refrain from criticizing the government led by the SPD.

This is the only way in which the people's democratic movement in the FRG can progress. Thus alone can the republic's future advance on democratic and peaceful lines be guaranteed. This objective was set in the decisions and appeals of the Sixth, Seventh and Eighth plenary meetings of the GCP Executive. It also prompted numerous initiatives by the West German Communists, who advocate democratic alliances against the Right-wing forces and call for ratification and implementation of the Moscow and Warsaw treaties, a European security conference and recognition of the GDR under international law.

The 'Right-extremist cartel' sees its chief task in resisting ratification and implementation of the Soviet-West German Treaty.* Using nationalistic arguments, it anathematizes the Treaty. On the other hand, it uses a stalling tactic to gain time so as to neutralize the population's favorable attitude to the Treaty and set it against the Treaty through a nationalist campaign. The only way to foil these intrigues is action by the democratic forces.

Democratic alliance and united action

The aims of the GCP at this stage are to foil the dangerous designs of the 'Right-extremist cartel,' force back and defeat militarism and neo-Nazism, bring about the adoption of a policy of peaceful coexistence, help to establish a security system in Europe through an all-Europe conference and win recognition of the GDR under international law.

The Communists' pursuit of democratic aims in home and foreign policy does not mean putting forward 'maximum demands' under the motto 'All or nothing,' as some Right Social-Democratic leaders allege. These are realistic objectives corresponding to the alignment of political forces. They are not 'reformist,' let alone 'revisionist,' and are intended to promote the growth of the progressive movement and form an alliance of all democrats and socialists, which must be set against the fast-developing Rightist bloc.

The effort to form democratic alliances with diverse political and social forces with a view to winning common partial demands,

*See Kurt Bachmann's article in the March issue of this journal for details. – Ed.

or evolving a common democratic program on a broad basis, is neither a tactical nor a passing move but a principle of our policy, as was said explicitly at a meeting of the Party Executive. We abide by this principle and apply it more or less successfully in the Committees Against Neo-Nazism and in actions against the U.S. aggression in Vietnam, for European security and recognition of the democratic and social rights of the people. The difficulty lies in establishing a proper balance between the need for extending the Party's direct influence, for its self-assertion, on the one hand, and the effort for united action with the Social Democrats, for cooperation with them in a broad democratic alliance, on the other. This is no easy task for a newly founded party which must be careful neither to lose its autonomy within a democratic alliance, nor lapse into sectarianism and isolation.

The GCP has sought working-class unity of action from the first. A correct united-action policy implies seeking interests common to the Communists and Social Democrats. But we should act independently, for this policy also presupposes criticizing from ideological and political positions of principle moves by SDP leaders that run counter to working-class interests.

As soon as it was founded, the GCP addressed to the Social Democrats an Open Letter proposing joint action against neo-Nazism, for the recognition of European reality, for co-management by the working people and satisfaction of their social demands. The SDP Executive replied that it saw no common ground between the Communists and Social Democrats and could offer the GCP nothing but grim political struggle. Nevertheless, the GCP continued to propose joint action. It did so, for instance, during the 1969 Presidential elections, proposing to the SDP a joint campaign against the CDU/CSU. Another example was our Party's appeal for joint resistance to Rightist activity.

The reasons for the emphatic rejection of joint action with the Communists by the SDP Executive, Council and Control Commission in Munich (November 1970) and Bonn (February 1971), are not merely tactical. Their reaction is indicative of the Social-Democratic leadership's function in the state-monopoly system. The SDP leaders have repudiated socialism. They would like to do away with socialism, update and stabilize the state-monopoly system in West Germany, 'integrate' labor and the working-class movement into it and avert the growth of GCP influence over the working class and the younger generation.

One would think that the dangerous plots of the extreme Right should have induced the SDP leadership to discuss at the Munich and Bonn meetings the problem of fighting the 'Right-extremist cartel' and pass appropriate decisions in the interest of the working

people and, last but not least, of its own party. What it did instead was to direct the SDP towards a new anti-Communist campaign. Yet it is known that anti-communism suits the reactionaries, who try to frustrate every step towards easing tensions. The SDP is encouraging the reactionaries by campaigning against the Communists.

In a document entitled 'Social Democracy and Communism,' the leading bodies of the SDP slanderously describe the social system in the socialist countries as 'totalitarian.' They resort to an old bogey which the CDU/CSU and the Rightists generally have been using over the past twenty years to foment hatred for the socialist countries. The SDP leadership speaks in no uncertain terms of its allegiance to the aggressive NATO bloc and its 'policy of deterrents.' The authors of that anti-Communist lampoon make clear that they would like to see the concepts of the much-publicized 'democratic socialism' become reality in the socialist countries. Their document suggests that while carrying on its 'new Eastern policy,' the SDP leadership has not given up attempts to turn back the development of socialism for the benefit of big capital.

The SDP leadership forbids cooperation with the Communists. Yet the policy of united action is not a Communist fantasy that can be easily ignored. Sharpening socio-political contradictions emphasize time and again the need for cooperation. The idea of united action has gained real strength in social and political struggles, in action against neo-Nazism.

West Germany's Communists will not allow decisions by leading SDP bodies to turn them away from building up the GCP and its influence. They will continue their policy of cooperation with the Social Democrats against the CDU/CSU, the common enemy.

The GCP does not propose to tone down ideological contradictions between the Communists and Social Democrats. It wants an earnest and democratic discussion of issues on which the two parties are poles apart. However, discussion should not rule out either joint action against the Right-wing forces and the spread of jingoist nationalism, or cooperation on issues over which there is no disagreement. We put common positions first and seek a minimum of understanding with the Social Democrats on all issues, as reports to the Sixth, Seventh and Eighth plenary meetings of the GCP Executive emphasized. The principles of our Party call for a patient and amicable discussion of problems with the Social-Democratic comrades. In line with the same principles, however, we maintain our independence as the revolutionary party of the working class, nor do we ever forgo it.

GCP progress

In more than two years of activity the GCP has repeatedly pierced

the wall of silence put up against it by the bourgeoisie and the Social Democrats through the mass media. Early in 1970, only about ten in every hundred inhabitants of North Rhine-Westphalia had heard about the GCP. Today there are many enterprises, communes and town in which the Party has become a real force.

Our demonstrators administered a fitting rebuff to the Right-extremist forces during the Kassel talks between Premier Willi Stoph of the GDR and Chancellor Willy Brandt of the FRG. The Communists insisted on recognizing the GDR under international law. Their action benefited our country and European peace and security and constituted an act of solidarity with the socialist GDR.

The GCP goes on initiating numerous solidarity actions against the U.S. aggression in Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos. These demonstrations and numerous meetings between the GCP and brother parties show that our Party regards itself as a component of the world Communist and working-class movement and fully subscribes to the documents of the Moscow Meeting. The GCP identifies itself with all peoples fighting against imperialist oppression, colonial dependence and fascist regimes, for democracy and socialism.

In the past two years the GCP has taken part in many communal and Laender elections. While it has succeeded in clearing the five percent barrier* and winning seats in the legislatures of some towns and communes, its electorate is still small. The most important result of GCP participation in the elections was that the Party went through what may be called schooling. It proved its worth as an independent force. It joined in the political struggle, carried out considerable work among the public and helped the population to know it better. It has been conducting an offensive against anti-communism. Its membership has increased. A component of the extra-parliamentary movement for peace, democracy and social progress, the GCP has launched a fight, made difficult by reactionary electoral legislation, for the people's interests to be represented in parliament.

Our Party took a notable part in the successful strikes of September 1969 and in the strikes of autumn 1970. In 1969, for the first time in many years, West Germany was swept by powerful strikes involving over 140,000 workers in the iron and steel industry and in mining. As many as 358,000 metalworkers walked out in September 1970.

The activity of the GCP did not go unnoticed. It was indicative of the Communists' understanding of the social situation in the enterprises and of their ability to express the workers' demands better than anyone else. This enabled the Party to win support among the

*No West German party can win a seat in parliament if it has polled less than five per cent of the votes. - Ed.

working people. To be sure, the Communists' successful social struggle and the credit given them for their role in upholding the people's interests will not automatically develop into political confidence in the Communist Party. However, the Party's effort, above all the activity in the enterprises and the 220 factory newspapers published by the Party, is earning it the reputation of a consistent champion of working-class interests. The Party is striving to win the confidence and political support of the working class. It will draw nearer to this objective as it reveals to the workers the contradictions between their interests and those of big capital and helps the workers to a keener class awareness. It must reveal to the workers the connection between their social position, the balance of economic and political forces and the government's policy.

The Party has been carrying on ideological work along with practical activities. It commemorated the Lenin centenary through 134 public functions, including several large meetings, and shared in numerous theoretical conferences in the FRG. Among these were 'Lenin and the Trade Union Movement of Today,' 'Lenin and the Fight Against Bourgeois Philosophy,' 'Lenin and the Younger Generation,' 'Lenin and the Students.' The Party also observed the 150th anniversary of Engels' birth and the centenary of the birth of Rosa Luxemburg. The GCP continues to engage in discussions with spokesmen of critical-minded students and young workers at numerous meetings and forums as a force moulding the social consciousness of the working class and the younger generation.

The GCP is developing in social, political and ideological struggles as a consistent and staunch party of the working class. It has nearly 30,000 members, which is not much, but neither is it little if account is taken of the influence exerted by its militant core. In fact, 847 of the 997 delegates to the Essen Congress were trade unionists, including 157 people active in enterprises and 577 union functionaries. We take a sober view of the strength and influence of our Party. The membership we already have has enabled us to win favorable initial positions from which to extend our influence and reinforce our ranks.

The Party has made progress in a short time because from the outset it has been a Marxist party of the working class and has focussed attention on the youth. Out of the 997 delegates to the Essen Congress, 587 were blue-collar and 180 white-collar workers. The delegates' age averaged 37.6 years and the age of the delegates to the ensuing Laender and district conferences of the Party, 40.6 years. A survey of 1,000 new Party members showed that slightly more than 40 per cent were below 30 years of age; 57.5 per cent were industrial and office workers.

The GCP has gone through two stages. The first consisted in

founding the Party, forming its leadership, organizing Party groups, working out the Party's political, ideological and organizational foundations and holding public meetings on 'Who Are the Communists? What Do They Stand For?' That stage culminated in the Essen Congress. At the second, post-Congress stage, attention centered on the elaboration of specific program proposals relating to the most diverse aspects of the class struggle in the economic, political and ideological fields, the transition to social struggles and political campaigns, in which the GCP showed itself to be a workers' party.

The preparation and convening of the next Party congress this year will open a new period. Congress will take stock of the strong and weak points of the Party's activity and chart the next steps in the struggle of the working class and in the effort to strengthen the Party politically, ideologically and organizationally. Preparations for it are going on under the slogan 'Build the GCP. Fight in common with the GCP and in its ranks against big capital, for peace, democratic progress and socialism.' From now on the GCP will carry on systematic, specific and long-range work among the working class and other working people and the younger generation. Its object will be to win recognition by the masses as the force upholding the everyday social and political interests of the working people and, on the other hand, showing the way to social change. The German Communist Party knows that now, after two years' work, it will be judged, both at home and abroad, by how it is trying to extend its influence among the masses and by the results of this effort.



Economic integration — new stage in CMEA cooperation

Willi Kunz

The German Democratic Republic and the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, the country's leading force, actively support political and economic unity of the socialist community. The SUPG Program contains this passage: 'Maximum use of the vast advantages of the world socialist system through international economic cooperation is of exceptional importance for socialism's world victory, the further development of the socialist countries, and for continuously raising their prosperity standards.'

Emphasizing the objective necessity of economic integration of CMEA countries, Walter Ulbricht described it as a cardinal factor in accelerating their economic progress and in the economic competition of socialism and capitalism.

I.

The essential political and economic preconditions for integration are now at hand in all CMEA countries.

Socialism has already demonstrated its superiority over capitalism in crucial social areas. Notwithstanding the relatively high industrial growth in the capitalist world, the CMEA countries have in the past five years increased their share of world industrial output from 31 to 33 per cent. This is evidence that socialism maintains its higher dynamism and is steadily expanding its positions in leading branches of the economy.

It should be especially noted that in 1966-70 the CMEA countries have been advancing at a higher rate than in 1961-65 in terms of national income and industrial and agricultural output, as will be seen from the following figures (percentages).

An article by Soviet economist Oleg Bogomolov, 'Economic Integration of the Socialist Countries,' appeared in *World Marxist Review*, No. 11, 1970. Two more articles on the subject appear in this issue: by Willi Kunz, a GDR economist, and K. Zarev, Chairman of the Bulgarian National Bank.

	1961-1965	1966-1970 ¹
National income	6.1	7.2
Industry	8.2	8.5
Agriculture	2.2	2.8 ²

1) Preliminary data for 1970.

2) 1966-1969.

Preliminary CMEA industrial output returns for 1970 reveal an approximately 8 per cent increase on 1969, with the GDR figure up 6.4 per cent, Hungary 7, Czechoslovakia 8.2, the USSR and Poland 8.3, Bulgaria 9.3 and Rumania 11.7 per cent. Moreover, a progressively bigger share of the industrial output gain comes from higher productivity – last year it amounted to 80-90 per cent for the CMEA, whereas in 1961-65 (with the exception of the GDR and Czechoslovakia) it was 50-60 per cent.

In recent years, the CMEA countries have been making fuller use of available opportunities to extend the international division of labor and to pave the way for economic integration. To this end, they have coordinated their long-range plans for 1966-70, introduced new measures in production specialization and cooperation, enlarged their scientific and technological cooperation and set up joint international organizations. Closer economic contacts found expression also in a substantially bigger volume of foreign trade.

The close ties formed in the more than 20 CMEA years in industry, science, technology and other areas of economic endeavor can rightly be regarded as important elements of integration. The achievements of the USSR and other CMEA members in the economic and technico-scientific fields, economic planning and management, furnish the necessary conditions for more intensive cooperation and, consequently, for economic integration.

'The socialist world,' the 1969 International Meeting declared, 'has now entered a stage of its development when the possibility arises of utilizing on a scale far greater than ever before the tremendous potentialities inherent in the new system. This is furthered by evolving and applying better economic and political forms corresponding to the requirements of a mature socialist society, which already rests on the new social structure.' Socialist principles, notably the principle of socialist internationalism, have been steadily strengthened in joint ideological struggle against imperialism and opportunism and in practical cooperation in foreign policy and defense.

It is with this essential task accomplished that the CMEA countries are starting integration, which they regard as one of their principal aims. As L. I. Brezhnev has pointed out, economic integration of

our fraternal countries is a 'key question, towards the solution of which our active and joint efforts are now directed.'

Socialist economic integration is unfolding as a process of assimilating the economic laws of socialism in their comprehensive and harmonious interaction on an international scale through plan-controlled coordinated activity of the socialist countries.

The strength of CMEA countries lies in pooling their forces in all major fields of politics, economics and defense, in close unity around the USSR, with its rich experience and vast material resources. 'The growing role of the USSR as the core of the system of all-round socialist economic integration is determined by objective laws,' Walter Ulbricht has said.

Compared with earlier forms of international cooperation and commodity exchange, the new element in socialist integration is more reliance on multiform economic projects. And this requires systematic transition from collective solution of specific problems, specific specialization and cooperation measures, specific scientific and technological agreements, to harmonious interaction of the national economies and close long-term bilateral and multilateral cooperation in devising solutions for cardinal problems in science, technology and production.

Primarily, this applies to coordination in the economic and social fields, higher effectiveness levels and planned development of the economy of the CMEA countries. In this way, the motive forces and economic laws of socialism will be employed with greater effect internationally as a single economic factor. Indeed, that is the only basis on which the socialist countries can simultaneously and more fully meet the requirements of the technological revolution.

II.

CMEA economic integration differs fundamentally from capitalist in socio-economic substance, aims, forms, methods and results. For *socialist integration is a progressive and plan-controlled process* offering ample scope for further development of the productive forces. It is, furthermore, a process based on the socialist countries' community of national and international interests, ideological and political unity and their common Marxist-Leninist world outlook. For the CMEA countries, socialist integration is a *new, sharp weapon in the class struggle against imperialism*. And the more purposefully these countries pursue the integration policy, the faster will be their economic growth and the more effective their policy of peaceful coexistence.

Imperialism's policy, now that the strength-relation is against it, is to exploit every opportunity for ideological penetration and sub-

version of the socialist countries. This applies in particular to the Right-wing element in the FRG, which persists in its attempts to prevent peaceful coexistence and a European détente. Franz Josef Strauss, the most articulate spokesman of West German imperialism, has candidly set out his views on future economic relations with CMEA countries. In his 'Project for Europe,' Strauss urges 'all-European integration' – without the USSR – to form an 'Intereurope' stretching from 'the Atlantic to the River Bug and the Black Sea.' In another book, 'Challenge and Answer (Program for Europe),' Strauss says that in relations with the socialist countries, the West must employ new means and methods that will make these countries dependent. The West 'should support only such plans as are likely to promote inner unity of Europe's divided parts, rather than the economic strengthening of the East European regimes. . . . We should bring our eastern neighbors closer to Europe. . . .'

In short, Strauss has spelled out the aggressive policy of West German imperialism towards the socialist community. What he wants is West German dominance in the European Economic Community and its subsequent extension to a number of socialist countries.

The 14th SUPG Central Committee plenum stressed that relentless struggle against bourgeois ideology in all its manifestations, and against Social-Democrat ideology is an essential condition for an active peaceful coexistence policy. And the Party's secretary, Erich Honecker, told the plenum: 'The German Democratic Republic's consistent integration in the socialist community, fraternal alliance with the Soviet Union and all socialist countries, their coordinated policy, provide a good basis for such an active policy of peaceful coexistence of states with differing social systems.'

Common socialist interests require a collective, coordinated strategy towards imperialist policies and, in particular, early solution of the CMEA countries' economic problems. And the road to such a solution lies through building a highly productive economy, one on a par with the best achievements of science and technology, coupled with wide utilization of all the advantages of planned socialist integration.

Actions to counter imperialist economic expansion and attempts at infiltrating the socialist countries do not, of course, imply curtailing multiform economic, and more especially commercial, ties with non-socialist countries, which, incidentally, account for 25 to 35 per cent of the CMEA's foreign trade. That trade, based on equality, mutual benefit and non-interference in each other's internal affairs, is not only economically advantageous, but also serves international peace and understanding.

III.

The qualitatively new pattern of socialist international cooperation, initiated by the 23rd CMEA session, is already being embodied in long-term plans. For instance, coordinated commodity exchanges are on a much bigger scale – trade between the GDR and USSR will exceed 100 billion marks in 1971-1975; GDR trade with Poland has been fixed at 20 billion marks, etc.

The GDR is systematically carrying out a wide range of international agreements on scientific and economic cooperation with the USSR and other CMEA countries, and work is now in hand in planning joint production of certain types of goods.

The 23rd and 24th CMEA sessions singled out as priority tasks *closer coordination of economic ties between member-countries and gradual integration of the production sphere. Long-range plan coordination is the main method of cooperation* and extended international socialist division of labor. This facilitates the emergence of a modern, highly effective national economic structure and higher levels in science and technology.

International plan coordination stimulates joint CMEA efforts in solving fundamental problems of structural policy; achievement of optimal results in technology; closer dovetailing of investments in leading industries, including joint designing of major enterprises; conclusion of government agreements on research and cooperation on important economic complexes. Plan coordination is increasingly becoming a continuous process with stage-by-stage implementation in the economy and its main segments.

At the present stage, long-range plan coordination implies, above all, agreement on cardinal sectors of national production, continuous and regular cooperation in industries that determine growth rates, beginning with research and production and ending with reciprocal contractual deliveries of the finished product. The problem now is to find the most effective forms of such coordination that take into account both the common interests of the community and the benefits accruing to each of its members.

CMEA countries are especially interested in boosting production of the two crucial elements that go into the social product. First, modern technology (integrated machine systems, electronic and scientific instrumentation, automated conveyer control, measurement and control apparatus, petrochemicals) and, second, the main items essential to all material production (fuel, raw materials, power).

National development programs in these various fields will be tightly coordinated with the overall conception of CMEA integration, providing a sound basis for socialism's uninterrupted progress.

Scientific prognostication is still another new element of CMEA cooperation. And here we can speak of exchange of experience and of jointly elaborating scientific, technical and economic forecasts. International coordination of central lines in research and production should start with prognostication. The qualitatively new character this imparts to economic ties between CMEA countries is bound increasingly to benefit each of them.

To take one example. Scientific forecasts of potential raw material resources enable us to work out long-range plans for their development and exploitation. And, in this context, we can plan joint investment and draw on the funds of the International Investment Bank and similar sources. Besides, this will allow for exchange of know-how and elaboration of joint forecasts in such fields as electronics, raw and semi-finished materials, chemicalization, use of computer technology, design of high-operation machinery, even personnel training. Industry-wide prognostication is still another factor in extending international division of labor.

Cooperation in research and production is acquiring much greater importance. It should be systematically stimulated in branches accelerating technical progress and the resultant higher productivity and should be regarded as an integral whole, but also as a component of plan coordination. Systematic and rational use of such a productive force as science is becoming a decisive factor.

The idea is to pass from specialization on a wide range of items of relatively low-efficiency standards to concerted effort to produce complete machine systems of superior design and performance. This will also help to introduce unified technology, and give CMEA countries more and better mechanized and automated plant to help solve important economic problems and raise productivity.

Soviet economist Oleg Bogomolov questions the theory, held by some economists, that perfection of the market mechanism, primarily such of its categories as commodity, price, currency and credit, is decisive for the integration process. Most CMEA economists consider the state plan the most effective socialist integration lever.

It stands to reason that *perfection of commodity-money relations between CMEA countries* is an objective and necessary element of socialist integration, but perfection can be achieved only through coordination of state plans. The 23rd and 24th CMEA sessions outlined measures for fuller and plan-controlled employment of the financial mechanism to promote integration and stimulate cooperation through the machinery of distribution. And needless to say, strengthening the transfer rouble as the collective currency of CMEA countries is a component of integration. Another essential element in perfecting commodity-money relations is extension of the sphere of operation of the International Bank for Economic

Cooperation and the establishment of the International Investment Bank. The system of CMEA agreed prices will be perfected to meet changes in the world market resultant on changes in productivity and production costs. All these measures will doubtlessly be reflected in the overall CMEA integration program.

IV.

For the GDR as for other CMEA countries, socialist economic integration is a high-priority task, for it will strengthen the country economically. And though the GDR is making good use of its own potentialities, it relies also on the vast productive potential of the USSR and other fraternal countries and on their scientific and technological achievements.

Close ties with the USSR and other CMEA countries enable us to receive needed raw materials on a contractual basis. In particular, the Soviet Union supplies 90 per cent of our oil and raw cotton, 95 per cent of iron ore, 45 per cent of coke, etc. These imports are the basis of the rapid and effective development of our manufacturing industries.

Our agreement with the USSR on reciprocal deliveries of computer technology is a practical example of effective technico-scientific and economic cooperation. This is the biggest agreement of this kind we have concluded so far. It sets out in detail the various cooperation stages, from basic research through design and production to reciprocal delivery of specific items. Furthermore, the agreement is based on a uniform CMEA system of computer technology and has proved beneficial to both countries in strengthening their technico-scientific and economic position in the world economy.

And as socialist integration progresses, there will be more instances of such effective international cooperation with other CMEA countries, extending to new areas in research and production. For instance, the GDR and USSR have more than 30 government agreements and treaties relating to key branches of the economy and highly advantageous to both parties. The list includes agreements on cooperation in prognostication and use of economico-mathematical models and computers in planning; exchange of experience in management techniques; design of uniform automated systems; design and production of automated machinery. The GDR's close cooperation with other fraternal countries in different areas of the scientific and technological revolution is a concrete expression of the steadily expanding process of CMEA socialist economic integration.

By bringing all the advantages of socialism to bear on the integra-

tion process, by achieving optimal results in key segments of the economy, the CMEA countries can advance to the highest level in production and, eventually, absolute material superiority over capitalism. That is the decisive precondition for a further rise of their prosperity standards, for socialism's victory in every field of scientific-technological and economic competition. 'Once we solve this problem,' Lenin said, in reference to socialist economic development, 'we shall have certainly and finally won on an international scale' (Vol. 32, p. 437).

Forms of socialist integration

Kiril Zarev

Socialist integration is the main factor enabling the socialist countries to strengthen their positions in the technological revolution and in the contest between the two socio-economic systems. It plays a decisive part in helping our countries to maintain and build up their advantages in economic growth rate and in the pace of improving the standard of life.

Need for integration

In keeping with the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, the Bulgarian Communist Party attaches vast importance in both theory and practice to closer economic cooperation with other socialist countries, first of all the Soviet Union. Bearing in the mind the socialist progress of our country and the benefits of cooperation with brother countries, the Party regards socialist economic integration as an objective necessity meeting the present exigencies of social development and the technological revolution.

To build the material and technical base of socialism and raise the efficiency of our economy, the 10th Party Congress stressed in its directives for the sixth five-year plan, it is indispensable to extend foreign economic relations and intensify economic, scientific and technological cooperation with socialist countries. Active

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participation in socialist economic integration, which the Party Program defines as the main line of the country's economic policy, will be the principal task of Bulgaria in this respect.

What are our Party's primary reasons for promoting socialist integration? I will attempt a survey of the more important objective conditions that imperatively demand effective steps towards carrying integration processes deeper.

Material production today is characterized by a wide and fast-extending range of products as science and technology open up new fields. Even a small country like ours is compelled every year to manufacture dozens of new articles. Besides, some industries replace numerous items on their list every year. One country cannot manufacture all the items it needs. Hence the obvious need to move to planned distribution of the manufacture of certain products among countries, so that they may be produced in time and at low cost.

One of the important requisites for increasing production efficiency is greater emphasis on serial production. This, however, is a task which one country can hardly accomplish in every field. It follows that international specialization to achieve optimal standards of serial production is another factor for economic integration.

Modern production needs a fast-improving scientific basis. The various spheres of production and research are interconnected, of course, and to make tangible progress in any economic field, appropriate advances are needed in related fields. If each country, working on its own, tried to accomplish all the tasks involved, its material and manpower resources would hardly suffice. The very magnitude of scientific and technological problems today demands joint effort by the socialist countries if they are to achieve maximum results in material production.

It is essential for the socialist countries to join efforts in making optimal use of natural resources, which admittedly vary from country to country, in order both to raise production efficiency and achieve a high and steady rate of economic growth. Joint exploitation of natural resources is becoming ever more imperative in terms of the economic progress of each country and the socialist system as a whole.

The scope of marketing problems is growing as purchasing and selling conditions become more complicated. It is becoming less and less profitable for any country to solve the problems by itself. There is a need for the socialist countries to coordinate and combine their efforts in this field as well.

Efficient economic management today is impossible without a comprehensive approach to economic problems, from research through technology to production and marketing. But then each

country is finding this approach increasingly difficult within its national bounds. Socialist integration makes it possible to solve these problems as a complex.

Thus to join efforts and cooperate means for the socialist countries providing new incentives of economic, scientific and technological progress in each socialist country and the system as a whole.

Objects and new forms of cooperation

At this stage of socialist building, with the technological revolution advancing, it is essential continuously to improve the forms and methods of cooperation and evolve new, more effective ones.

The experience gained by the socialist system to date enables it to make a realistic assessment of the diverse forms of international relations of a new type. We can already pinpoint the economic methods and organizational and legal forms that have proved their worth and should be retained and those that have outlived their usefulness and must be replaced. Of course, not all forms of cooperation between socialist countries now employed have outlived their usefulness. Many of them will continue to play a notable part in promoting integration, except that they will probably have to be improved to meet present-day requirements.

New forms of economic relations have developed between socialist countries in recent years, due in particular to progress in science and technology. The pace of this progress calls for cooperation of a kind making it possible to solve problems effectively and in time and to ensure the comprehensive elaboration of long-range problems. The common interests of the countries now building a developed socialist society demand that economic integration should take new, more effective forms and that relations between socialist countries should be carried further.

Which forms of integration should receive priority at this stage? Opinions vary but experience points to the merits of certain forms.

To begin with, strategic problems of material production today evidently cannot be specified without preparing long-term forecasts on a scientific basis, that is, both national forecasts and joint international forecasts concerning major long-range problems. The latter will make for better planning, proper orientation of research, and concentration on key tasks.

Coordinating long-range national economic plans is a topical problem of economic integration. This applies above all to planning economic development more effectively. Better planning will contribute in large measure to rapid economic growth and help every country towards a more effective economic structure. Coordinating

forecasts and long-range plans should also play a big role in specialization and coordination of production.

Joint exploitation of the main raw material and power resources, which requires large investments, is becoming an important motor of economic integration. It is likely to be of great benefit to every country. Joint investments in the exploitation of these resources will help to set up new capacities in a short time.

The current technological revolution necessitates joint research by the socialist countries in decisive economic fields. Integration is the only way of introducing the most effective techniques of integrated automation of labor and control systems. This will help to win advanced positions in the technological revolution and will be an added stimulus for the socialist countries moving into first place in every sphere of social progress.

The growth requirements of many industrial branches create a range of problems that cannot be solved simply by coordinating plans or with the help of trade agreements. What is needed are new forms of economic integration: international production complexes that would secure effective priority manufacture of computer technology, metal-cutting machine tools, automobiles, tractors, ships, iron and steel, synthetic chemistry, etc. Why the emphasis on these industries? The reasons are many. In the first place, they are largely determinative in technological progress. Rapid progress to the forward line in these industries, coupled with a high technico-economic standard of output, will make for further progress in all other branches of the economy.

These industries are more complex than most others, requiring specialization and cooperation in production and large-scale joint scientific research and designing involving large amounts of energy and resources. The international socialist complexes could coordinate this effort, promote automation and mechanization on the shop floor and ensure specialization and cooperation. Evidently, they could also undertake marketing of finished products and secure steady supplies of high-grade raw and other materials. As we see it, these complexes are alone capable of supervising the most desirable geographic distribution of the productive forces. That is the basis for maintaining production at the highest possible level, avoiding parallelism and duplication.

Long-term trade agreements are important for spurring industrialization and keeping up a high rate of economic growth, and for preventing disproportions in the development of the individual socialist countries. As the basis of the socialist market, they promote the economic growth of the socialist countries and push up the living standard of our peoples.

The progress of the socialist countries requires new and more effective forms of economic coordination in dealing with the

capitalist and developing countries. Joint marketing of the products of some industries is a promising means of expanding output and boosting the efficiency of production in the socialist countries, also creating favorable conditions to overcome the difficulties encountered in trade on a bilateral basis.

Financial and credit problems

Experience also suggests the need for integration in the field of finances, currencies and credits. The solution of the problems in this sphere would go a long way towards greater economic co-operation between the socialist countries.

To promote socialist integration in material production, it is necessary to enhance the role of the transfer rouble as a collective currency in transactions between socialist countries. In turn, fuller use of the functions of the transfer rouble is important for production integration. The economic growth of the socialist countries and increasing integration make it possible to introduce higher forms of convertibility of both the transfer rouble and national currencies.

Socialist integration in the sphere of material production and the existence of a collective currency call for an expansion of international crediting. The agreement to establish the International Investment Bank, which started operation this year, will play an important part in solving numerous problems of economic cooperation. Together with the International Bank for Economic Cooperation (IBEC), founded in 1963, the International Investment Bank will further the consolidation of currencies in the socialist system.

Initially economic links within the socialist community were expanded mainly through bilateral credits and joint financing of construction projects by several countries. The IBEC and the collective currency created conditions for multilateral trade settlements, enabling each socialist state to use its resources more flexibly and effectively and improve the pattern of trade within the community. Today economic cooperation between the CMEA countries necessitates a further expansion of multilateral credit relations, the concentration and more effective utilization of joint material and monetary resources.

The 24th Session of the CMEA adopted recommendations to improve and extend the activity of the IBEC, perfect the procedure of settling multilateral accounts in transfer roubles and increase the role of short-term credits in expanding foreign trade and in meeting reciprocal commitments. Accordingly, a protocol was signed in December 1970 amending the agreement on settling multilateral accounts in transfer roubles.

The proposed improvements in crediting through the IBEC are an important step. Better credit planning, a simpler system of

crediting, the introduction of credits for a term of up to three years and a more rational differentiation of interest rates will all help to expand foreign trade, ensure that member countries meet their commitments more promptly, and make international crediting more effective.

Mobilizing financial resources and making them available in the form of long or medium-term credits on mutually beneficial terms is one of the measures envisaged by the integration program. This makes the functions of the International Investment Bank particularly important since it will provide credits to promote the international division of labor, specialization and cooperation of production. An important function of the bank is to grant credits for expanding the raw-material and fuel base in the common interest and for building projects in other economic branches of interest to the bank's member states. The bank will also finance projects of importance to national economies.

As a credit organization of a socialist type differing entirely from capitalist organizations of the same name, the International Investment Bank does not seek profit as an immediate goal and is designed to finance measures and projects of interest to all or several member states. In selecting projects to be financed, the bank will take into account recommendations on the coordination of national economic plans.

In granting credits, special attention will be given to ensuring a high economic effect by achieving the highest technico-economic standards, optimum specialization and volume of output, production meeting world standards, etc. Thus, improving the currency and financial system of the socialist countries will help to accelerate economic integration, make fuller use of the advantages of planning and promote the progress of each fraternal country and the socialist community as a whole.

Socialist integration creates the prerequisites for optimizing production with due regard to the international division of labor and extends the possibilities of satisfying the people's needs ever more fully.

Socialist integration is becoming an increasingly attractive example of international cooperation as compared with systems like the Common Market, Free Trade Zone and other capitalist alignments. It is still in the making, many of its aspects are still being discussed, and search is going on for the most fruitful ways and means of carrying it forward. For all that, it is certain already that economic integration will raise the socialist system to a higher place and enable it to scale new heights in the field of scientific and technological progress in order effectively to solve the problems of building socialism and communism.



Soviet parliament, a working body

*A few remarks about the
Supreme Soviet of the USSR*

'Parliamentarians themselves have to work, have to execute their own laws, have themselves to test the results achieved in reality, and to account directly to their constituents.'

V. I. Lenin, *The State and Revolution*

'The Commune was to be a working, not a parliamentary, body.' Karl Marx drew this conclusion from the experience of the Paris Commune. In 1917, Lenin referred to it in his examination of the proletarian state. He said in so many words: what we need are not parliamentary institutions, but working bodies. He did not mean that we are against representative democracy, but that we are against a parliamentary talking shop retaining the appearance of democracy but destroying its substance. *'We cannot imagine democracy, even proletarian democracy, without representative institutions, but we can and must imagine democracy without parliamentarism,'* wrote Lenin in *The State and Revolution*.

The book was never finished. The 1917 October events intervened when Lenin had already drawn up the plan for the next chapter, *'The Experience of the Russian Revolutions of 1905 and 1917.'* *The State and Revolution* appeared with the following postscript, *'It is more pleasant and useful to go through the "experience of the revolution" than to write about it.'*

For more than half a century the experience of the Revolution has, indeed, projected Lenin's labors. Enduring traditions have taken shape. A wealth of experience has been amassed in developing Soviet statehood, used extensively by other socialist countries and closely studied by scholars.

My task is simpler. In remarks that make no claim to being exhaustive, I have set out to convey the immediate impressions of a journalist, to portray the practices of the supreme organ of Soviet power, a democratic Soviet representative working institution.

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How a law is made

In the Soviet Union, as we know, laws are made by the Supreme Soviet. The way it is done, always in a festive atmosphere, has been described many times. A forest of raised hands: adopted unanimously, a bill becomes an act, a law by which people will live for years to come. Yet the bill had to be drawn up. Where? How long did it take? What was the procedure?

Take the Land Law. Here is what they told me about it in the Secretariat of the Supreme Soviet Presidium: 'We worked on it for several years. But when it was first put before the standing commissions of our two chambers and the Presidium, they said it still required touching up. Years of hard work and heated argument preceded the aforementioned "always festive" minute. All recent legislation—on health, labor, marriage and family, and natural wealth protection (now being drawn up) took years to prepare.'

But back to the unanimity with which bills are adopted. We are usually taken to task for it by capitalist writers, who complain about the lack of debate. It is, indeed, a fact that the Supreme Soviet adopts laws unanimously. However, unanimity is not the point of departure but the effect of assiduous and, as we have just learned, drawn-out effort.

Take a sitting of the Sub-Commission drafting the fundamentals of the Public Health Law. Its Chairman, N. N. Blokhin, is a prominent surgeon and scholar, and no newcomer to the Supreme Soviet, having been a Deputy in its two previous terms. Invited to its sitting by the commission were economists, trade unionists, jurists, financial experts and medical men. Every line of the projected law was closely scrutinized. Purely stylistic alterations were made, then a few substantive ones. An argument broke out: may a patient be operated on without his consent or that of his close relatives?

'How are we to get the required consent if, say, the patient is in a state of shock? The relatives may be away or their whereabouts unknown. The doctor simply has no time.'

'I know of no country where legislation allows for forcible operations.'

'Take an intestinal perforation. You may not get the patient's consent until it's too late. To save life the surgeon should be allowed to operate. . . .'

'I disagree. During the war some wounded refused to be amputated. And though not all, many did get well. Don't you understand that I cannot saw off a man's leg without his consent?'

'There are all kinds of cases. You cannot prescribe for all of them.'

'That should be legislatively formalized, lest we tie the hands

of our doctors in emergencies. When an operation is urgent, the surgeon should not have to search for relatives or guardians.'

They put that down: a doctor may, is obligated even, to decide for himself, but this in 'exceptional cases' only, when delay 'imperils the patient's life' and when 'obtaining consent appears impossible.' This, eventually, was the formula that became law. And needless to say, many people's lives depend on it.

Argument, as we see, is unavoidable. The final text of the Land Law contains a reference to cadastral surveying, giving the quantity of land, its quality, value, and the like. The idea behind it is that collective farmers in the northern regions should not be at a disadvantage due to the quality of their land as compared with, say, the farmers of the *chernozem* belt in the Kuban area. That reference caused a bitter controversy before being adopted, because many economists maintained that cadastral surveying is a product of private landownership and hence unnecessary in the Soviet Union. You can imagine how heated and incisive the argument had been.

I asked: Are many worthwhile amendments made in the course of the discussion? Very many in the working stage. Out of the 55 articles of the Health Law, for example, as many as 46 were substantially changed. But that is not all. The main stage of the battle was still ahead, for, as the poet said, the law had not hardened.

We followed the arduous labor of state phase by phase. It will be remembered that, historically speaking, the workers' power is still young. Very young, in fact, considering that bourgeois parliamentarism took several centuries to evolve into what it is today. The Soviet machinery of state is being improved at every step. Suffice it to say that in the past laws were prepared by 62-man two-chamber commissions for legislative projecting. Now we have standing commissions in both chambers dealing with the basic issues in industry, agriculture, building, trade, education, science, culture, health and social security. All participate in drafting legislation. And as their name implies, they work not only before and during Supreme Soviet sessions, but also between them. All in all, they consist of 912 Deputies, comprising more than half of the Supreme Soviet.

That, in substance, is one of the practical ways of extending Lenin's principles of socialist democracy. Of late, the Supreme Soviet has been making fuller use of the broad powers which it is afforded by the Constitution. The times change, new tasks arise, and the supreme organ forms new working bodies. Not fortuitously at all, it seems, did the institution of the standing commissions coincide in time with the reorganization of planning, the improvements in management, and the economic reform.

Take a piece of legislation that is ready, weighed and discussed by the pertinent commissions. What next? The legislator wishes

to be criticized. He thirsts for objections, for that is the only way to spot the weaknesses, the loopholes, to learn of the probable reaction, to gauge all the variants.

The state has a stake in people observing the law. Hence, people must know it. Hence, laws should have a long life, and should not bristle with amendments no sooner than born. I want to be sure that the basic laws I live by will also be valid for my children and, best of all, for my grandchildren too. Then I could bring them up with respect for law (it is much harder teaching them to respect amendments). I shall probably be told that laws cannot be immutable, for the productive forces grow and social relations change. Quite true, but the fundamental changes do not occur in just a few years, sometimes not even in a few decades.

The long life of a law depends largely on how well it is drawn up. The best way to avoid amendments is to put them in before the law is adopted. That is why a ready draft, which, presumably, its makers consider faultless (why else would they let it out of their hands?) is sent out for verification to all concerned: research institutions, and the like, the list of which is a long one. In the case of the Fundamentals of the Water Law it contained 130 addresses.

One ministry is responsible for the purity of water reservoirs. Another does its worst polluting them. One occupies itself with afforestation. Another with felling timber. A controversy erupts suddenly over timber floating. Ichthyologists protest: the rivers are congested, and fish die. The timbermen retort heatedly: for the present they cannot give up floating. The State Planning Committee, the Central Council of Trade Unions, the Academy of Sciences, the Health and Finance ministries, are all consulted. Volumes of conclusions are drawn and many columns of figures put down.

When attitudes are irreconcilable, conferences are called, as in the case of the cadastral surveying. Or else a ministerial conference, with ministers arguing their respective points, as in the case of the timber-floating. Ultimately, it was found that floating could not be completely eliminated, for no other way was yet available for getting the timber out of remote places like the taiga, where roads are non-existent. But provisions were made protecting spawning grounds, recreation areas and navigable rivers, where the ban would be unconditional.

Again notes and objections are collated, studied by the deputies, and stencilled: seventeen amendments to Article 1, fourteen to Article 2, twenty-five to Article 3, etc. Following fresh debate, a new variant of the bill emerges and is sent to different parts of the country – the Presidiums of the Supreme Soviets of all fifteen of the constituent republics, because the future law must be measured against the traditions, climate and development of each. The

people in the Baltic states, for example, think that the marriage age should be raised to 21, whereas some of the southern republics think 18 is too high. Generally speaking, the matter of competence arises again and again. One issue is best settled on a Union-wide scale, while others, it seems, are best referred to the various republics.

As you see, from the moment a bill is conceived and all along the line debates keep flaring up. All kinds of things have to be taken into account; not just the subjective wishes of executives, but the objective needs of industries, economic areas, whole republics. In legislation, to evade a problem is worse. For it is bound to crop up in real life. So the future law must be gauged against the conditions of a vast multinational country. Departmental interests must concede priority to those of the national economy. Local interests must be harmonized with those of the entire state. The transient interests of the hour must retreat before those of the entire development period.

Deputies and ministers

Apart from issuing laws and endorsing the Plan and Budget, the supreme organ also supervises their observance across the country. The new standing commissions were formed, in fact, largely to perform that part of the function. They summon ministers to testify, and among them, on one occasion, V. N. Doyenin, Minister of Engineering for the Light and Food Industries and Domestic Appliances.

'What did you feel when summoned,' I asked.

'Sure, I did not expect an easy time. If you're summoned it is clearly to account for faults. . . . It depends from what angle you're criticized. If the criticism is justified, there is nothing you can do but put it in your pipe and smoke it. We knew beforehand we would be called to testify and prepared for the day of reckoning. Naturally, we could not know what the conclusions would be.'

The interview was opened by Deputies who had made a special study of the matter. They noted that some of the equipment in the light and food industries was outmoded, while replacements were behind schedule. The facts were put bluntly, and the judgments were sober.

'We were told here about the mechanization of bakeries,' a Urals Deputy said. 'Well, before coming here I visited the bakeries in our region and saw for myself . . .'

He simply went and saw. It stands to reason that all pertinent papers were made available to the commission; it had consulted the leading experts. But to top this, its members made on-the-spot investigations – in Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan, Latvia, the Ukraine and a number of regions of the Russian Federation.

During the first half of the sitting they compared and analyzed the facts. They discussed and weighed all points, then outlined a solution.

'What were the practical results?' I asked.

'We received a dressing down,' the Minister replied. 'But the conclusion was that we needed help. The commission sent its recommendation to the Council of Ministers, which concurred and began drawing up a decision. In the meantime, our investment allocations were steeply raised, so we have something to look forward to.'

There is very little to add. As time went on, the Deputies' conclusions proved perfectly justified. The 24th CPSU Congress Directives for the ninth five-year economic development plan envisage a higher rate of growth for consumer industries than for producer goods. Moreover, special accent is put on those heavy industries that service the light and food industries directly.

As you see, the work of running the material sphere, performed under capitalism chiefly by private enterprise ('programming' and 'regulation' alter nothing) is carried forward in the Soviet Union under the immediate control of the representative bodies.

Its standards to reason, too, that the Supreme Soviet directs the country's home and foreign policy, exercising overall control. The chambers, for example, have 32-man foreign affairs commissions, comprising not only diplomats and political experts, but also workers, collective farmers and intellectuals. They examine international treaties, pass judgments and report their standpoint to the Supreme Soviet Presidium. This means, for one thing, that the ratification of an international treaty is preceded by serious and thorough study.

But, as we have said, the supreme organ also controls the work of ministers heading economic administrations or branches of industry, of whom there are at least fifty. And it would be a travesty of democracy to follow the classic parliamentary procedure and debate all issues at the full sessions of the Supreme Soviet, delving with the various ministers into their specific problems. The sessions could then work round the clock all the 365 days of the year and still not get things done. Hence the ramified system of working bodies – standing commissions, sub-commissions and Deputy groups.

A Deputy may make direct inquiries, or approach a minister or his administration through the mail. Whatever the quarter, it is obliged to reply. And at sessions, when necessary, sharp criticism is levelled (as published transcripts show) against ministries over various problems.

Once more about unanimity

Unity and sameness are different things. The Deputies are united

as concerns their ultimate aspirations. But they represent different standpoints and shades of opinion. This is as it should be. They are different people – different in age, occupation, education and experience. Performing their duty as deputies, they work on where they had worked before. An academician is still an academician, a minister still a minister, and a worker still a worker.

Now picture them at a sitting of the Health Commission – the academician, the minister and the worker. The academician of medicine knows more about health, the minister is better briefed on the state of hospitals. Deputy G. B. Sayetgarayev, a Tatarian oilworker, took the floor after they had spoken.

'Comrades, we have been told what things are like in the country. Now, let's see the situation in my town. I come from Karabash, population 12,000. Our medical institutions are housed in light prefabricated buildings, whose condition has deteriorated. We have some good doctors, but citizens complain about the emergency service. I could tell you of one case. It happened shortly before I came here. . . .'

His story, a 'particular' one, follows, it is backed up with figures, 'local' ones, for his scope of vision is local. This may be a weakness, but it also has its strong point, for it goes down to the grass roots. That is precisely why people from all walks of life, all nationalities, all social groups, are represented in the supreme body of power. For the Supreme Soviet to know the situation in a workers' town is no less essential than knowing the situation in the country as a whole. Sayetgarayev never studied medicine. He had been a farmer first, then a soldier, and subsequently he became a worker. But he is a central figure in public health, for should he fall ill, he becomes a patient. His opinion does not count more than the minister's. But not less either.

At this point it should be mentioned (though it transcends my subject) that the Deputy's work is not confined to sitting on commissions or attending Supreme Soviet sessions. There are standing commissions in all the Union and Autonomous republics and in the local Soviets, down to the smallest and remotest village Soviet. All told, there are over 324,000 commissions, involving 1,700,000 out of the total of 2,100,000 Deputies.

Apart from this, there are the growth trends. A recent CC CPSU decision set out measures designed to improve the work of local Soviets. This was followed by a Supreme Soviet Presidium decree, setting out the references, the rights and duties of town and district Soviets of working people's deputies. Apart from housing matters, town improvement, public health, education and everyday affairs, the Soviets, it pointed out, are also concerned with matters relating to comprehensive national economic development: they are supposed

to coordinate in territory within their jurisdiction the building and reconstruction of factories irrespective of the latter's departmental allegiances, and to verify and direct the consumption and use of material, manpower and finance. This aspect of their activity has been formulated broadly and in principle.

A Supreme Soviet Deputy (if active and if he takes his duties seriously) will form a local group to check how laws are observed or to discuss amendments to draft legislation (he is sent every pertinent draft). He will seek the advice of local government or Party bodies, demand more figures from the Statistical Board or the People's Control. Most important, he knows his constituents, the collective farm, factory, or community. It is not the purpose of Leninist socialist democracy to make a collective farmer or worker into a minister in his four years in the Supreme Soviet, but it does give him the knowledge and experience to deal with affairs of state.

The Supreme Soviet has many commissions, sub-commissions and working groups, and each finds its own specific approach. The approaches are many. At working sessions, usually attended by 30 or 40 people, prepared speeches are rare. The custom is to speak off the cuff, which, incidentally, contributes to the art of oratory, the art of quick reaction and response, the art of finding the apt word, the joke that drives the point home. The search for the best decision creates a tense but by no means grim or strained atmosphere.

The working organs are accountable solely to the two chambers of the Supreme Soviet. But recent years have added to the duties of the Supreme Soviet Presidium. Its work has become more complex, for between sessions it coordinates the activity of the standing commissions, whose functions include deliberation on bills and treaties. I know of a case where a few government departments failed to report in time (they are allowed two months) on the action they took on commission recommendations. The Presidium called them to account and issued a special ruling on this score.

And one more question that readers might ask: are all Deputies equally active? No, that is not the case. They are human, and humans are not all alike. But the standing commissions and the Presidium make a point of drawing as many as possible into their work. And not Deputies only.

Let us trace the process of legislation. Of course, work on a draft law continues until the moment it is put to the vote in the Supreme Soviet. One of the last stages is a plenary meeting of all commissions involved in its framing. I attended one such meeting in the Kremlin's ornate Sverdlov Hall, topped by the very cupola that flies the national flag of the USSR.

Up for discussion was the draft of the Labor Law. Its framing had taken a long time. Mindful of all the possible implications, the commissions had gone into every detail, taking into account trade union demands and the changed conditions (higher pensions, the five-day work week, the higher wages, etc.) Everything, it seemed, had been taken care of, everything seemed clear. However, at the meeting Deputies from the Ukraine, Lithuania and the Russian Federation suggested several amendments. M. N. Kapusta, a woman textile worker, noted that the ban on dismissing expectant or nursing mothers was a welcome one. But what if a factory closed down for good? A provision should be inserted that other employment must then be provided for. And her proposal was carried.

Draft laws are published for public discussion (this is not always the case, but in recent years the practice has become more frequent). After their publication, there is usually a flow of letters, thousands of them, that have to be studied; the proposals and criticism they contain are weighed or referred for expert advice to specialists, who, it may be added, play a big part in each of the preparatory stages.

Discussion of the draft Water Law lasted all of seven months, with proposals and criticisms widely reported in the press. It was also dealt with at public meetings – 7,000 in Byelorussia alone, attended by hundreds of thousands and with 25,000 speaking their mind. In Azerbaijan, a special working group had to be set up to summarize the discussion and collate the numerous suggestions. Many important amendments were put forward. To some of these the Deputies objected, and their arguments, too, were reported in the press.

So the law-making process runs its course to the final moment, the vote in the Supreme Soviet, where it is again scrutinized and debated. Take this example. A joint meeting of the Soviet of the Union and the Soviet of Nationalities was about to vote on the draft law on marriage and the family. Deputy V. I. Shimukonene, a Lithuanian schoolteacher, proposed a number of changes; her changes were so essential that the sitting had to be extended.

The Chairman said: 'Considering that several amendments to various articles of the draft have been proposed, it is suggested that the vote be postponed until tomorrow, giving the standing commissions time to discuss them.'

The commissions sat late into the night hearing the evidence of scientists and jurists. The following day they reported that the schoolteacher's amendments should be endorsed.

Only after this, when all the finishing touches had been made, came the solemn moment when a forest of hands was raised, turning the draft into law.

Anatoly Agranovsky



A number of articles under this head appeared in our No. 3 (1971). They examined some of the general economic and political trends of present-day imperialism, and anti-imperialist strategy. In this issue we publish articles and statistical data on neo-colonialism.

Neo-colonialism and developing countries

Ezekias Papaioannou

I.

Contemporary apologists of imperialism are very fond of saying that imperialism has changed its main features and that it is no longer valid to speak of imperialist exploitation of peoples when capital investments in newly independent countries are only helping to develop their economy. In fact it has been argued by some of these same apologists that it is the developing countries that are now exploiting the former metropolitan powers!

This is absurd. For in reality, the collapse of the colonial system and the scientific and technological revolution in the industrialized countries have changed nothing in the chief means of imperialist exploitation, namely, the export of capital.

In 'Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism,' Lenin showed that in the epoch of imperialism, export of capital undergoes 'gigantic development,' assumes extremely important significance and becomes one of the 'most essential economic bases of imperialism' (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 22, p. 277).

Since Lenin wrote this, capital exports have increased still more,

as shown by the increase in foreign investments. In 1902, capital exports by Britain, France and Germany amounted to between 100,000 and 110,000 million francs (\$20,000 million to \$22,000 million at the current rate of exchange), in 1967 the foreign investments of the biggest imperialist countries – USA, Britain, France and West Germany – came to \$181,500 million.

The largest exporter of capital at present is the USA. In the period of 22 years after the Second World War, U.S. foreign investments (private and government) increased by 550 per cent, from \$18,700 million in 1946 to \$122,300 million in 1967. Of the 1967 total of \$59,300 million of U.S. direct long-term private foreign investments, \$11,900 million were invested in Latin America, \$4,300 million in Asia, and \$2,300 million in Africa. The U.S. monopolies have about 13,000 foreign subsidiaries with nearly six million workers and an annual gross output of about \$120,000 million, i.e., bigger than the gross national product of any single capitalist country except the USA itself.

U.S. monopoly capital is therefore the largest world exploiter. 'The U.S. monopolies,' says the Document of the International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties, 'have penetrated the economy of dozens of countries, where they are increasing their capital investments and seeking to gain control of key positions in the economy.'

In his 'Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism,' Lenin laid particular emphasis on the fact that the monopolies export their surplus capital to backward countries. 'In these backward countries,' he wrote, 'profits are usually high, for capital is scarce, the price of land is relatively low, wages are low, raw materials are cheap' (Vol. 22, p. 241).

A relatively smaller share of total capital exports goes to former colonies and dependent countries than when Lenin wrote his work. About two-thirds of the direct private investments of the USA, Britain and the six EEC countries are made in advanced capitalist countries* and one-third in the developing regions of the world. There are of course several reasons for this, the main ones being the scientific and technological revolution which has made it possible to realize big profits in the advanced capitalist countries; the somewhat curtailed spheres of capital investment in the developing countries due to the growth of the national liberation movement which threatens property belonging to foreign monopolies with expropriation.

The decline of capital exports to the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America does not mean loss of interest in these countries by foreign monopolies. Because although the volume of capital

*For more details, see Gus Hall's article in *World Marxist Review*, No. 12, 1970.

invested in these countries is relatively smaller its role as an important instrument by which imperialist powers exploit the developing countries has grown.

The absolute volume of capital exported by the advanced capitalist countries to Asia, Africa and Latin America is systematically growing. In the period between 1956 and 1967 the total capital flow of these countries almost doubled. Of the total capital exported to Asia, Africa and Latin America, the USA accounts for almost 50 per cent, France for 12 per cent, the Federal Republic of Germany for 10 per cent, Britain for 8 per cent, Japan for 7.5 per cent, and Italy for 2.5 per cent.

Thus, the export of capital to developing countries is one of the economic bases of neo-colonialism and an important means of prolonging that economic backwardness and dependence of the 'Third World' countries which are so profitable to the imperialists.

A distinguishing feature of neo-colonialist penetration by the big imperialist monopolies is the predominance of state capital over private. This is a sign of further growth in state monopoly tendencies in the sphere of capital exports.

Direct consequence of capital exports to developing countries is the subordination of these countries' economies to foreign monopolies. Profits realized by U.S. monopolies in the 'Third World' countries are significantly greater than the inflow of new capital investments to these countries.

The following table which shows the inflow of American investments to various world regions and the outflow of profits to the USA in 1950-1965 is indicative.

	(in \$1,000 millions)			
	<i>Western Europe</i>	<i>Canada</i>	<i>Latin America</i>	<i>Asia & Africa</i>
Inflow of direct private investments	8.1	6.8	3.8	5.2
Outflow of profits	5.5	5.9	11.3	14.3
Balance	+2.6	+0.9	-7.5	-9.1

The net loss suffered by the developing countries due to the excess of profits extracted over the inflow of capital amounted to nearly \$17,000 million in the period 1950-1965. And if we add their losses resulting from worsening trade conditions the extent to which these countries are being robbed would be doubled.

An adverse trade balance of newly independent countries with former metropolitan powers is another feature of neo-colonialism. Cyprus, for example, which has been declared independent since

1960, imports from Britain more than twice the amount it exports to that country.

In the epoch of imperialism, Lenin wrote, export of 'surplus capital' increases steadily and reaches the point where some imperialist countries become transformed into 'rentier states' which exact tribute from debtor states, in which position most of the countries in the capitalist world find themselves. 'The rentier state,' Lenin wrote, 'is a state of parasitic, decaying capitalism' (Vol. 22, p. 278).

In the last 12 years imperialist states granted \$65,000 million worth of loans, credits and subsidies to the countries of the 'Third World' within the framework of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development. The foreign debts of the developing countries have reached enormous proportions. In 1966, they totalled \$41,100 million—four times more than 11 years earlier, in 1955. Between 1962 and 1965 their foreign debt grew by 16 per cent annually, far exceeding the growth rate of their exports. Payments on these debts (including interest and repayment of the principal) amount to nearly \$4,000 million annually.

Subordination of young states and newly independent countries to the imperialist powers is accomplished by credits and loans presented as 'aid.' This 'aid' is given mainly to the countries which serve as obedient instruments in the hands of the neo-colonialists. The following table covering the period 1945-66 clearly shows this.

POSTWAR CREDITS AND SUBSIDIES OF THE U.S. GOVERNMENT
(in billion dollars)

Far East and the Pacific Ocean (without Japan)	12.9
Including:	
Thailand	2.1
South Korea	4.0
South Vietnam	2.8
The Middle East (including Greece and Turkey) and South Asia	16.7
Africa	2.6

II.

Neo-colonialism's principal *political* weapon is the imperialist strategy of drawing young states into various political and economic blocs with the former colonialists and also the granting of military and other 'aid' to the developing countries.

The main aim of both, blocs and 'aid,' is to prevent the newly independent and developing countries from charting a new road for their economy and keep them subordinated to the world capitalist economic system.

Anti-communism is the main *ideological* weapon of the neo-colonialists. All the worn-out and stupid 'arguments' used by fascism against communism are still being used, augmented with some fresh lies and slanders against communism and the socialist system. They deliberately distort Marxist-Leninist theory and the practice of socialist construction. By ascribing to the Communists everything which is alien to them, by playing up certain shortcomings in the life of socialist society and very often inventing them, the ideologists of anti-communism seek to strengthen the positions of those in the developing countries who champion the capitalist way of development, endeavor to split the forces fighting against imperialism, frighten the vacillating elements away from socialism and attract them to their side.

A favorite argument of the anti-communists and neo-colonialists is that there exists an 'international communist plot.' Needless to say, this accusation is never backed by evidence because such evidence does not exist. The desire of the Communists to mobilize the people and rally them under the banner for peace and a happy, prosperous life is not a plot. If it were a plot the world Communist movement would never have become such a powerful mass movement expressing the will and aspirations of countless millions of people. Communist ideas are becoming more and more popular because they are right and correspond to the best interests of the working masses, while neo-colonialism is hostile to the people and their cause. The myth about a communist plot is essential to the neo-colonialists in order to justify the setting up of military blocs and bases designed to suppress the revolutionary movement.

Our opponents are making an all-out effort to denigrate the socialist world system. They realize full well that it is only due to the existence of the socialist countries and economic cooperation with them that the newly independent countries have gained the opportunity to fight for economic independence, protect their national sovereignty and successfully resist all pressure from imperialism.

For most newly independent countries it would have been almost impossible to retain their independence without the resolute support of the socialist countries and in particular the powerful Soviet Union. Soviet aid to newly independent countries, in contrast to imperialist 'aid,' has decisively helped these countries to fight neo-colonialism. This has been admitted even by some bourgeois ideologists. American Professor J. S. Berliner as far back as 1958 admitted that 'the availability of Soviet aid increases the independence of the neutral countries and strengthens their bargaining power with the West.'

An example of this is the Soviet aid given to the Cyprus govern-

ment in 1964. The value of this aid is estimated at well over ten million pounds sterling, of which half was given as a gift. With this aid and the powerful political support of the Soviet Union it has been possible for the people of Cyprus to stave off invasion and imperialist threats.

The imperialists are trying to disrupt the relations of friendship and understanding between the Soviet Union and the newly liberated countries and thus deprive them of powerful support, isolate the national progressive forces of these countries and prevent them from fulfilling the vital tasks facing these states.

The chief initiative in the anti-Soviet, anti-communist propaganda designed to falsify the policy of cooperation between the socialist countries and the countries of the 'Third World' belongs to the United States. The American anti-communist 'centers,' which number about 150, are closely linked with the State Department, the Central Intelligence Agency and the U.S. Information Agency, and are in fact controlled by them. American monopolies are lavishly spending money on anti-communism and anti-Sovietism. Huge sums are also being spent by the U.S. government from the official budget. There is, for instance, the fact that U.S. imperialism has allocated 20 million dollars for anti-communism in little Cyprus since 1960 when Cyprus was declared independent. They use this money to bribe people in various positions, bribe newspapers and subsidize subversion. Indeed certain conspiratorial armed groups are financed by these 'anti-communist' American funds.

Anti-communism in Cyprus, inspired and financed in the main by imperialism and neo-colonialism uses the most crude slanders and lies against the Party of the Cyprus Working People (AKEL) and its leadership. Two books have already been published in the U.S. written by two CIA agents who have visited Cyprus and a third is under publication. They are the cheapest kind of anti-communist propaganda written for the express purpose of promoting the disunity of the Cyprus people and duping American public opinion with the 'red danger' Cyprus presents to them!

Anti-communist aims in Cyprus are to split the liberation forces of the people and make it easier for imperialism to undermine their liberation struggle and thus force an imperialist solution of the Cyprus problem. Anti-communism therefore is a weapon in the hands of neo-colonialism and imperialism with which to promote the exploitation of peoples and prevent them from fulfilling their aim for a socialist transformation of society.

III.

Contemporary revolutionary practice clearly shows that the historical development of the national-liberation movement passes through

two independent and consecutive stages – the stage of the struggle for political independence and the stage of the struggle for economic independence, which includes completion of the anti-imperialist revolution and carrying out the agrarian revolution.

Lenin drew a clear line of distinction between the question of winning political independence and the problem of attaining economic independence. 'Bourgeois newspapers . . . are talking of *national* liberation . . . leaving out *economic* liberation,' he wrote. 'Yet in reality it is the latter that is the chief thing' (Vol. 18, p. 398). 'The domination of finance capital and of capital in general,' Lenin stressed, 'is not to be abolished by *any* reforms in the sphere of political democracy; and self-determination belongs wholly and exclusively to this sphere' (Vol. 22, p. 145).

Political liberation of the colonies can rightly be regarded as the greatest achievement of the whole of mankind. This profoundly revolutionary social change considerably weakened the forces of imperialism and greatly strengthened the forces of peace and democracy. Imperialism has lost the possibility of arbitrarily deciding the destinies of hundreds of millions of people and controlling immense material resources, whereas the national forces, now at the helm of state power in the liberated countries, are in a position to develop their countries in the interests of their own peoples. Important changes are taking place in the sphere of national, juridical, political and other relations between the newly independent states and imperialist powers.

However, political liberation in itself does not yet mean complete liberation from imperialist monopoly oppression, it does not yet mean full independence. The achievement of political independence by the former colonies and dependent countries does not abolish the system of economic relations based on the domination of finance capital over their peoples. That is why, following political independence, economic liberation becomes the chief goal of the former colonial and semi-colonial peoples.

Lenin's theory of the national liberation revolution, creatively developed in the documents adopted by the international meetings of Communist and Workers' Parties in 1957, 1960 and 1969, enables us to speak of the non-capitalist way of development as an important trend in the world revolutionary movement opening up socialist vistas. Although developing countries that have embarked on the non-capitalist path of development are relatively few in number, it is quite obvious that non-capitalist development is now the key trend in modern national liberation movements.

While developing in conditions of growing preponderance of the forces of socialism over those of world imperialism, the national liberation revolution today not only assimilates creatively the

wealth of past experience but also enriches it by advancing a number of fresh and original ideas. '. . . We must understand,' Lenin said, 'what *intermediary* paths, methods, means and instruments are required for the transition from *pre-capitalist* relations to socialism' (Vol. 32, p. 349).

These paths and means, however, cannot be indicated in advance, they will be prompted by practical experience.

In the light of Marxist dialectics, it is becoming quite obvious that the non-capitalist development of the newly independent states in Asia and Africa differs essentially from the classical patterns of non-capitalist development followed by the eastern Soviet republics, which took place under the aegis of a centralized socialist state, thus ensuring great advantages for the peoples of Central Asia. This development differs also from that of Mongolia, whose extremely favorable international, political and geographical position made it possible for the Mongolian people to make best use of the all-round assistance rendered by the Soviet Union.

Countries like the United Arab Republic, Algeria, Libya, Sudan, Burma and others have effected socio-economic changes that undermine the mainstays of private capital. By hampering the growth of new private-capital enterprises and nationalizing the banking and credit system, transport, power engineering, export-and-import trade, the distribution of raw materials, fuel and scarce equipment, the progressive regimes are seeking to put the private-capital sector under their control and to use it to advance the national economy, raise the level of the population's employment and increase the output of consumer goods.

The establishment of a highly efficient state sector is one of the most important achievements recorded by the newly independent countries. Other transitional forms of relations connected with combined state and capitalist property, collective and group property, are also becoming components of the production relations in non-capitalist society.

Experience shows that expropriation of private capital calls for thorough political, organizational and economic preparations. Hasty and ill-timed nationalization seriously impairs the productive forces and becomes an obstacle to the mobilization of internal resources and further revolutionary reforms. When the state, non-capitalist sector holds key positions in the national economy, it is quite permissible to develop private capital within certain limits as well as to obtain state loans from developed capitalist countries in order to advance the productive forces and finance national development.

The sharp struggle waged by the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America for further expanding and deepening national liberation revolutions is developing now on two fronts: it is waged, on

INDUSTRIAL AND AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT IN NON-SOCIALIST COUNTRIES

	Growth of production in		Average annual growth rates (per cent)			
	1950-1969 (1950 = 100)		Agriculture		Industry	
	Agriculture	Industry	1950-1960	1960-1969	1950-1960	1960-1969
Economically developed countries	140	260	1.8	1.9	4.6	5.9
Developing countries	179	352	3.4	2.7	7.2	6.5
Africa	171	356	3.7	2.0	6.9	6.9
North	173	475	3.8	1.8	9.6	7.1
Equatorial and South	171	324	3.7	2.0	6.0	6.8
Asia	174	386	3.3	2.6	7.7	7.1
South and Southeast	173	356	3.2	2.4	6.7	7.2
Middle East	220	500	4.0	4.4	10.8	6.8
Latin America	199	324	3.7	3.7	6.9	5.8

NATIONAL INCOME OF NON-SOCIALIST COUNTRIES (1963 prices)

	Per capita income					Average annual growth rates (per cent)			
	Total (billion dollars)		(dollars)			Total		Per capita	
	1950	1960	1969	1950	1960	1969	1950- 1960	1950- 1960	1960- 1969
Economically developed countries	567.6	821.0	1,253.0	1,020	1,310	1,800	3.8	4.8	2.5
Developing countries	111.3	177.8	271.6	104	133	162	4.8	4.8	2.2
Africa	20.5	32.9	48.3	99	128	151	4.8	4.4	2.6
North Equatorial and South	5.3	9.3	13.2	122	171	196	5.8	4.0	3.4
Asia	54.0	84.9	131.5	76	97	120	4.6	5.0	2.4
South and Southeast	48.1	72.2	109.1	72	88	107	4.1	4.7	2.0
Middle East	5.9	12.7	22.4	145	233	317	8.0	6.5	4.9
Latin America	36.8	60.0	91.8	236	294	346	5.0	4.8	2.2
									1.8

the one hand, against neo-colonialism and internal reaction, and on the other against the 'Left-wing' opportunism disguised as ultra-revolutionary demagoguery.

The national liberation revolution today is developing along difficult and extremely complicated paths demanding strenuous efforts and resulting often in temporary setbacks. Lenin, however, taught the fighters against imperialism not to succumb to panic and despondency in the face of temporary, though grave setbacks. He taught us to take a sober view of miscalculations and draw the necessary lessons from defeats.

The most important lesson to be learned in the anti-imperialist, national liberation struggle is the need for the broadest possible unity of the people. In most newly liberated countries it is not only possible but imperative to achieve unity on the broadest scale with the national bourgeoisie. A section of this bourgeoisie will not go all the way with us, nevertheless it is imperative to have such an alliance with them in the struggle against imperialism and neo-colonialism.

National liberation movements must strengthen the bonds of friendship and alliance with the socialist countries, and more especially with the Soviet Union. The 1969 International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties emphasized that, 'it is of paramount importance for the prospects of the anti-imperialist struggle to strengthen the alliance between the socialist system, the forces of the working-class movement and national liberation.'

Only by unity and resolute struggle in alliance with the socialist countries and the working-class movement will the peoples of the newly liberated countries and those still fighting to free themselves from imperialist chains be able to march forward along the road of genuine political and economic freedom.

Imperialism continues to plunder Latin America

Teodosio Varela

Against the background of the deepening general crisis of capitalism, the growing might of the socialist system and the upsurge in

the national liberation movement, U.S. imperialist policy towards the developing countries, specifically in Latin America, has acquired characteristics of what is called neo-colonialism. The rulers and monopolies of the United States resort to new, more 'discreet' methods of holding their positions on this continent. It would be interesting, therefore, to look into the causes of the backwardness, or 'underdevelopment,' of the vast regions of the world characterized by pre-capitalist relations of production, the absence of normal conditions for the development of the productive forces and dependence on imperialism.

Among the instruments of neo-colonialism is economic 'aid,' especially loans and credits granted to developing countries by various government agencies of imperialist countries. During the past decade the United States has greatly increased exports of government capital, used mainly for building power stations, communications, port facilities and other components of the infrastructure. This paves the way for U.S. private investment.

The reverse side of this development is that the foreign debt of Latin American countries has been growing steadily. In 1960 it stood at \$6.6 billion against \$2.9 billion in 1945. In 1968 it climbed to \$16.7 billion, according to the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development.

The new loans Latin American countries receive are not enough even to pay interest and clear off arrears. This makes U.S. 'aid' look like a farce.

Almost 45 per cent of the developing countries' foreign debt and more than half of the loan payments made in recent years fall to seven countries: Argentina, Brazil, Colombia, Mexico, Chile, India and Pakistan. The biggest debtors in Latin America are Argentina and Colombia (\$4 and \$2 billion, respectively, in 1970).

Growing foreign debts result in something more than a net outflow of capital. They also lead to devaluation, higher fees for municipal services, higher taxes, a wage freeze, increased monopoly penetration, unequal trade, curbs on cooperation with the socialist countries, the use of the greater part of credits for purchasing U.S. goods, and other adverse phenomena.

Private investment is a traditional instrument of U.S. economic penetration into Latin America. In regard to direct U.S. investments, Latin America held third place in 1969 (\$13.8 billion) after Western Europe (\$21.6 billion) and Canada (\$21.1 billion).

The past decade has seen U.S. private capital invade not only the mining and oil industries but the manufacturing and service industries, or the most dynamic and promising. Whereas investments in oil increased from \$3.1 billion in 1960 to \$3.6 in 1968 and those

in mining went up from \$1.3 to \$1.9 billion, investments in the manufacturing industry during the same period grew from \$1.5 to almost \$4 billion.

What the U.S. monopolies want is not, of course, to bring the benefits of the scientific and technological revolution to Latin America, but to seize national markets and eliminate domestic and foreign rivals. Besides, to export capital goods for the Latin American subsidiaries of U.S. firms is far more profitable than to sell them to national enterprises owned by the state or by private business.

The penetration of U.S. monopoly capital into the manufacturing industry of Latin American countries is made easier by their governments, which exempt the U.S. monopolies from taxes, offer them easy terms for plant exports, make various concessions, guarantee the repatriation of profits, and so on. By way of camouflage, U.S. monopolies appoint more and more of their faithful allies among Latin Americans as general managers of their subsidiaries.

U.S. companies have lately been selling shares to Latin American citizens to an increasing extent. The imperialists, who sell up to 25 per cent of their securities, retain control of the enterprises and yet create the impression of Latin American participation in them. As the shares of domestic companies are distributed among numerous holders, owning as little as 15 per cent of the stock is often enough to control the enterprise.

To adopt themselves to Latin American conditions, the U.S. monopolies also set up mixed enterprises. The ultimate purpose is to win over the national bourgeoisie, extend U.S. capital's social base on the continent and conceal its exploitation of the masses.

The rise in Latin America of innumerable subsidiaries of U.S. companies and the 'national' enterprises linked to them hampers the socio-economic progress of Latin American countries and prevents them from improving their export opportunities. The subsidiaries supply mainly the home market, and this tells on the balance of payments. From 1962 to 1966, total sales of U.S. subsidiaries in Latin America amounted to \$25.3 billion, of which \$22.7 billion, over 80 per cent, was accounted for by the home market. However, only a fraction of that amount was banked in Latin America.

The International Finance Corporation (IFC), a branch of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development grouping 94 countries, holds a special place among international organizations promoting direct U.S. private investments in Latin America. The United States sets the tone in the IFC due to the amount of its financial contribution and the decisive number of votes it controls.

The IFC, established in 1956, has by now helped U.S. capitalists

to invest in more than 40 IFC countries, above all in the manufacturing industry. In 1970 the IFC signed the first agreement with ADELA investment S.A., an international private company extending financial and technological 'aid' to Latin America. This U.S. controlled company has ensnared large Brazilian, Venezuelan, Mexican, Colombian and Paraguayan enterprises and has been granted \$10 million by the IFC to stimulate investment in Latin America.

As of June 1970, IFC credits and investments added up to \$391 million, of which \$193 million was invested in Latin America.

Loans are granted on extremely unfavorable terms—at a high rate of interest plus the commitment to repay them fully or partly in shares of domestic companies. These companies must account to the IFC for their financial activity and may neither issue shares, revise their rates, amend their statutes, nor depart from accepted practices unless authorized by the IFC. Of the 133 enterprises in the developing countries associated with the IFC, 71 have for various reasons 'ceded' their shares to it. So have 10 out of the 16 Colombian enterprises linked with the IFC. On acquiring shares, the IFC generally sells them to foreign, primarily U.S. companies.

The use of international finance agencies is a typical device of U.S. neo-colonialism in Latin America. These agencies grant Latin American countries credits to impose economic 'stabilization' programs and seize key economic positions.

Foreign 'aid' and the influx of private monopoly capital make for chronic economic instability in Latin American countries and bleed them white. In 1969 the U.N. Economic Commission for Latin America (ECLA) took stock of the situation as follows: 'The external financial situation of the countries is extremely vulnerable and tends to deteriorate. Their debt has more than doubled and its repayment swallows an excessive proportion of their receipts from exports. Indeed, transferred profits and interest and repayment of foreign credits and capital now exceed 35 per cent of the value of exports from countries of the region. What causes special concern is, furthermore, the amount and scope of foreign private investments aimed at acquiring Latin American enterprises.'

The disastrous effect of foreign 'aid' is seen, first of all, in Latin America's permanent balance of payments deficit, which grew from \$1.7 billion in 1967 to \$2.2 billion in 1969. In other words, the outlook for progress is dim so long as this continent is dependent on imperialism. Even official statistics reveal a critical situation in our countries, euphemistically referred to as a 'financial gap.'

The gap between the influx and outflow of dollars is so considerable as to make it hard to conceal the real scale of the plunder going on in Latin America. Between 1950 and 1967, new U.S. invest-

ments totalled \$3.9 billion while total earnings amounted to \$16.4 billion. Out of this sum, only \$3.6 billion was reinvested, the rest, of 12.8 billion, being remitted to the parent companies in the United States. In other words, the U.S. monopolies took about \$4 out on every invested dollar.

As regards reinvested capital, it has not fostered Latin America's economy but deformed it and made it even more subservient to U.S. imperialist interests.

The monopolies will not content themselves with the rate of profit attained to date. They try hard to boost it, in particular by manipulating accounts and the prices of semi-manufactures and raw materials supplied by the parent enterprises to their foreign subsidiaries.

Technological aid and the sale of licences have been extended in recent years. This highly profitable foreign economic activity enables U.S. monopolies to share in the business and profits of domestic enterprises or even whole industries.

As a general rule, original investments in the main U.S.-dominated industries producing durable goods – chemical and pharmaceutical products, automobile assembly plants, electrotechnical and electronic equipment – are not very heavy. The technologies in use are more or less permanent and plant assembly is simple enough. Technology in these industries involves delivery of raw materials and standard components, which head companies export or manufacture on the spot, using purchased patents. This earns U.S. companies huge profits even though they never appear in the accounts, of course.

Official quarters in Colombia admit that the legislation on foreign companies in force in Colombia and other Latin American countries merely establishes the limits of profits that may be taken out of the country. Actually, much more is taken out, and not only in the form of profits, but also in the guise of fees for technological aid, interest on credits, higher prices for raw materials, semi-manufactures and plant, export cost differentials, charges for designing, construction and assembly. As a result, the actual amount of the earnings of U.S. companies never appears in the accounts of subsidiaries.

It follows that the scientific and technological revolution, rather than speeding economic progress and promoting the people's standard of life, brings backward countries more hardship. It is used as a means of bringing these countries under imperialist control through foreign investments and the capitalist credit system. The peoples pay dearly for the technological assistance they are given by imperialist powers, since the governments of developing countries cannot always bring themselves to seek aid on the vast socialist market.

When signing agreements on scientific and technological aid, Latin American countries, except for Cuba and now Chile, are at a great disadvantage due to the limitations of their home market and their industry and the low capacity of their enterprises.

One is struck by the exceedingly pliant attitude of the governments of a number of developing countries seeking technological aid, which can only be compared to their position on concessions at the turn of the century.

A consequence of this pliancy, or conciliatory policy, of Latin American governments is that imperialist 'aid' is granted on unfavorable terms. Of the 51 agreements signed with foreign firms to develop the chemical and pharmaceutical industries of Colombia, 33 provide for imports of raw materials and semi-manufactures from the 'aiding' country. Over 80 per cent of the agreements prohibit export of products of domestic or mixed companies if foreign technology is used in manufacturing them.

Transferring abroad profit on investments and interest on loans, as well as doctoring accounts are the main channels through which foreign exchange is drained off from the Latin American economy through imperialist penetration. Foreign companies understate their earnings in accounts and often even report an adverse balance. As a result, their gain from various concessionary terms often exceeds the amount of officially stated profits.

In these conditions the policy of 'industrialization in the interest of the home market' advertised by Latin American bourgeois governments proves ineffective. Owing to imperialist inroads into every economic field and to the increasing dependence of national enterprises on foreign capital, every step in this direction plays ultimately into the hands of U.S. monopolies.

Some sections of the national bourgeoisie admit that U.S. investments in the manufacturing industry are an illustration of the monopolies' effort to clear the high tariff barriers and gain a title to the privileges granted by the governments concerned to promote industrialization. The privileges range from tax exemption to overt or covert government financing of large projects of the infrastructure to the sale of commodities and services of the state sector to private industrial enterprises at low prices.

Thus whatever changes there are concern methods of making profit; the substance remains unchanged: a substantial part of the surplus value created by the working people of Latin America is withdrawn from the sphere of reproduction and siphoned off to the United States.

The foregoing is only a rough outline of U.S. economic expansion in Latin America. The neo-colonialist policies of U.S. imperialism

are intended to prevent our countries' independent social and economic development, reduce their role in world trade, keep them within the bounds of the international capitalist division of labor and bar orientation on the world socialist system. Examination of this strategy invites a number of conclusions.

Political demands go with credits and capital. It is important to take account of this factor and not the amount of profit or the time limits of repaying loans. These may vary without, however, changing anything in the fact that the countries involved are dependent.

It was not accidental that Lenin, in working on problems of imperialism, took note of the following comment made by Henry Brailsford, a British journalist, in 1914: 'The services of finance and diplomacy are mutual, and in the modern world they have become indispensable to each other. It is an immense reinforcement to diplomacy in dealing with a debtor state to know that it has, in effect, behind it the exportable capital of a wealthy nation to give or to withhold. If any power or group of powers held the monopoly of the world's money-market even for a few years, and used it with a conscious political purpose, they would in the end dictate to Russia, China, Turkey, and the Latin American Republics' (V. I. Lenin, *Coll. Works*, Vol. 39, p. 647).

Priority development of the infrastructure is a trend of imperialist penetration. Today it serves foreign capitalist interests and makes Latin American countries still more dependent. We Communists consider that what must be developed first of all is our own industry, especially heavy industry, if we are to extend our home market and carry production specialization further.

The influx of foreign capital does not benefit Latin America's balance of payments, contrary to the allegations of those who advocate foreign investment. It neither fosters industrial development nor helps to eliminate unemployment, accumulate foreign exchange or expand exports. In fact, foreign investments aggravate these problems. The countries in question are losing control of the balance of payments and the proportion of profit reinvested in their own economy is dwindling. It is plain that the Latin American oligarchy cannot put foreign aid to good use. Attempts to expand exports come up against difficulties arising from the low efficiency of domestic production, the inadequacy of technological know-how and managing experience and the export curbs imposed by imperialist monopolies.

The economic development of Latin America is financed largely out of domestic resources. However, repayment of imperialist 'aid' swallows an increasing proportion of these resources. There is a trend towards a steady decrease in internal accumulation due

to the working people's deteriorating standard of living, the low effect of domestic investment and the small amount of profits re-invested by foreign enterprises.

The working people, first of all the proletariat, are hard hit by all this. The ruling classes, however, are growing richer. The annual per capita income of 40 per cent of the Latin American population is \$260, whereas 20 per cent gets \$2,600. There are 25 million unemployed on this continent today.

The sharpening of social and economic problems, and sustained Communist effort to elucidate them foster the growth of the working people's political consciousness, leading to confrontation with the imperialist exploiters and the national oligarchy backing them, and make for a continuous expansion of the struggle against imperialism and oligarchy.

We Communists have always told the masses that imperialist penetration into our countries, which they plunder, is the main cause of their hardships. Evidence of this is the very reality of Latin America, where the anti-imperialist movement is growing and gathering strength day after day. The struggle which culminated in the Cuban revolution twelve years ago has scored new gains. There is the victory of the Popular Unity bloc in Chile and the revolutionary changes in Peru and other countries of the continent.

Facts and figures

— Per capita GNP in the developing countries is lagging further and further behind the figures for developed capitalist countries. Thus in 1969, it was 11.4 times less, compared with 9.9 times in 1950. The figures for African countries are 12.9 and 10.4 less, Mideast countries 5.5 and 6.7, South and Southeast Asian countries 17.7 and 14.4, and Latin American countries 14 and 15 times less. The gap with the U.S. is even more striking: 1969 per capita GNP in Africa was 21 times less than in the United States, Southeast Asian and Mideast countries 27 times, and Latin America 9 times.

The trend towards a widening of the economic gap between Afro-Asian countries and imperialist states shows that the road of capitalist development taken by a number of countries is no way out of economic backwardness. It is virtually a road leading to re-colonization, to poverty and suffering for millions. 'Imperialism,' the Moscow Meeting of 1969 pointed out, 'is chiefly to blame for the fact that vast masses of people in the Asian, African and Latin American countries are compelled to live in conditions of poverty, disease and illiteracy and under archaic social relations, and that entire nationalities are doomed to extinction.'

- The developing countries of Asia and Africa lack funds for economic development. The imperialist powers take advantage of this to implement neo-colonialist plans, retain their present economic and political positions in these countries and win new positions. Economic 'aid' is used as a means of exerting political and economic pressure, backing political regimes suitable for the neo-colonialists and involving them in aggressive military blocs.

UN experts estimate that during the seventies the developing countries will have to pay over \$10 billion to foreign monopoly capital for 'services,' or twice as much as in the mid-sixties. If the present growth rate of these countries' national debt to imperialist powers (a debt guaranteed by the state) persists the debt will stand at \$100 billion by the mid-seventies. Economic exploitation in every form enables imperialism to go on robbing the developing countries of 15 to 17 per cent of their national income in the form of profits.

- The developing countries employ about 30 per cent of their able-bodied population on the average. Wage labor totals about 200 million people, agriculture accounting for 46 per cent, industry, construction and transport 26 per cent and the service industry and trade 28 per cent.

Four-fifths of the working population of Asia and North Africa and up to nine-tenths in some countries of Tropical Africa are engaged in agriculture. The bulk of the rural population is made up of land-hungry and landless peasants and farm hands. Over 70 per cent of the rural population is in this category in many Asian countries.

In Latin America, about half of the gainfully employed population is engaged in agriculture. The industrial proletariat is 15 to 16 million strong.

- Economic and technological assistance from the CMEA countries is growing from year to year. Today it goes to 60 developing countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America.

The CMEA countries are helping developing countries to build over 2,000 industrial plants and other economic projects, most of which are already in operation.

- A group of developing countries has chosen non-capitalist development, which enables them to end the lag inherited from a colonial past and provide the requisites of socialist development.

For a number of years the United Arab Republic has shown a steady growth of industrial production, which increased from 1,140 million Egyptian pounds in 1967-68 to 1,323 million pounds in 1968-69 to 1,422 million pounds in 1969-70. Tentative estimates set industrial output in 1970-71 at 1,550 million Egyptian pounds. Despite the Israeli occupation of the Sinai oil fields, the oil in-

dustry of the UAR has been making good progress. Oil output between July 1969 and March 1970 increased by 16 per cent and 18.5 million Egyptian pounds' worth of oil was exported in the same period as against 7.7 million pounds in the corresponding period of 1968 and 1969.

The Algerian People's Democratic Republic has done much to rid itself of its colonial heritage and to consolidate its economic independence. Electric power, metallurgical, petrochemical and automobile assembly plants are going up in the republic. Oil output has increased in recent years. It reached 46 million tons in 1969 against 38.4 million tons in 1967. Production of building materials, fertilizers and light industry items is on the rise. Algeria is carrying out a four-year economic plan (1970-73) to end its economic lag and lay solid foundations for rapid economic growth.

Under the second five-year plan of Tanzania (1969-74), investments in capital construction are to be made chiefly out of national resources and will amount to 60 per cent of the total. The plan provides for a stronger state sector in the economy and for the promotion of agricultural cooperatives.

In Syria the national income in 1969 was up 13 per cent. Revenue from the industrial sector showed a 21 per cent increase. By the end of the third five-year plan (1971-75) daily output of oil will be roughly six times as great on the average as in 1969. The Syrians are building an iron and steel complex and have modernized an oil refinery which will soon enable them to export oil products.



Socialism: society and man

By vastly expanding production, the scientific and technological revolution allows for the satisfaction of man's more complex and varied material requirements. That is clearly evident from the five-year plans now being discussed and adopted in a number of socialist countries. In all of them higher production goes hand in hand with higher prosperity standards.

But we have to reckon also with new requirements, and they too are realized through technological progress. There is also this aspect: technical progress eliminates hard manual work and provides more free time, consequently creates new conditions for the all-round development of the personality. Lastly, there is such a social function as the formation of new requirements.

The social implications of the technological revolution are many and wide-ranging and have already produced an extensive literature. This article deals with some aspects that are receiving increasing attention from sociologists, economists and publicists.

That advances in science and technology tend to change the character of labor is generally known. And if we regard all participants in the production process as a single, collective laborer' (Marx's term), then we will not fail to notice the steady increase in the share of mental work and creative operations. There is the example of the Soviet Union: research personnel increased 120 per cent in 1951-60 and another 150 per cent in the eight years after that. In Bulgaria, employment in science and ancillary professions practically doubled in a matter of four years. Czechoslovakia employs more people in education, culture and the arts than in all branches of transport.

Nor is it merely a matter of more employment in the non-manual professions. The very nature of manual work is changing too. Total industrial employment in the USSR increased tenfold in 1925-69, whereas the number of operators rose from 1,000 to 318,000, ma-

chine-setters from 12,000 to 327,000 and electricians from 14,000 to 767,000. Trades requiring fairly high educational and skill standards are becoming the rule.

When automation was first introduced there were many sinister forebodings. And not only from science-fiction writers. In the capitalist countries even scientists maintained that the world was entering the 'age of the robot' and man would become superfluous, both under capitalism and socialism. Experience has conclusively disproved that: man, his skill and knowledge play a constantly heightening role in socialist reproduction. And industry is making higher educational demands on new workers. Statistics show that, on January 1, 1967, more than half of all Soviet industrial workers, 59.4 per cent, had either a higher or secondary education.

There is a different process in capitalist industry; there the worker is becoming an appendage of the machine. With partial automation, that is, with the use of semi-automated machinery, the worker replaces, say, the mechanical hands the machine lacks—he will spend his whole working shift inserting parts into the stamping slot. There is even 'theoretical' substantiation for this. One John Diebold, an American scientist, says that 80 or 90 per cent automation can prove highly economical, but automating the remaining 20 or 10 per cent can make the whole operation uneconomical. The capitalist takes that as his guideline.

But, the reader might ask: doesn't socialist society reckon with economic effect in formulating technological policy? Of course it does. And in recent years the economic policy of most socialist countries has concentrated on higher efficiency. But a workers' state will never take a narrow utilitarian approach to questions involving the interests of its people. And in this context, let us examine a complex problem which in recent years has occasioned a good deal of controversy among economists in socialist countries.

In the sixties, the USSR and certain other socialist countries found that there was a definite gap between the development of education and technical progress. Its most salient expression was more educated young people than skilled jobs. Probably less than 10 per cent of the workers at the new automobile plant in Togliatti do not have a secondary education, and the management explains that more than 10 per cent of the jobs call for unskilled labor. But the youngsters who come to Togliatti, like the vast majority of the Soviet young generation, are secondary-school graduates. Or this figure for the GDR: in 1959 only 2.9 per cent of the gainfully employed population over 18 could boast a secondary education; today the figure is 20 per cent and is bound to grow, for 60 per cent of apprenticeship trainees have had 10 to 12 years schooling.

One can well appreciate the resentment felt by these youngsters when offered unskilled jobs. This creates additional complications for management, since the new recruits insist on interesting work. This has prompted some Soviet sociologists to suggest – considering the vast amount of money that goes into education – cutting back on ‘superfluous schooling’ and slowing down the shift to universal secondary education.

They received scant support among educators and the general public. For Soviet society has always been guided by the premise that education is meant not only to provide an adequate supply of labor power, but also to assure all-round development of the personality. And in this respect I would like to recall the following fact, relating to 1920. The Soviet Republic had gone through two tormenting wars. Industrial output was about one-seventh of the 1913 figure and iron production back at the level of the 18th century. The Party Central Committee was arranging a conference on education. The report on polytechnical training was to be made by Nadezhda Krupskaya. Lenin went over her theses and made the following marginal note: ‘We are poor, We need cabinet-makers, mechanics, NOW, ABSOLUTELY. EVERYONE must become a cabinet-maker, mechanic, etc., BUT with the proviso that he acquires a minimum general and polytechnical education. The task of the school . . . is to produce competent people, fully capable of mastering their trade and trained for practical work as

*cabinet-maker,
carpenter,
mechanic, etc.,*

on the understanding, however, that this “craftsman” will have wide general knowledge . . . will be a Communist (specifically indicate what he should know); SHOULD HAVE A POLYTECHNICAL OUTLOOK AND THE BASICS (rudiments) OF POLYTECHNICAL TRAINING . . .’ (Complete Works, Russ. ed., Vol. 42, p. 230).

That is how the problem was solved then. And this is how it is being solved today: the directives for the 1971-75 five-year plan envisages: ‘. . . completing the change-over to universal secondary education for the youth . . .’

But there is still the problem of the partial gap between technological and cultural development. The way to bridge it is to accelerate technical progress, and the Directives call for ‘consistent reduction of manual and heavy labor, also unskilled work in all branches of the economy.’ There is also provision for ‘more professional orientation of pupils, taking into account their inclinations and the requirements of the national economy for skilled personnel.’

Higher demands on the nature of the job, which is in itself an

indication of higher educational and cultural standards, is still another factor of technical progress. And it is being carefully taken into account in the Soviet Union. Beginning with the early 1960's hundreds of big factories have been drawing up social development plans (national plans are a long-standing feature of Soviet society). They take more fully into consideration not only economic factors, but the varied interests of all the workers. In many instances this takes the form of investment in projects which from a purely utilitarian standpoint do not merit priority. But, then, it is not the purpose to help management play 'godfather' to its workers, but rather to help the worker shape his own and the collective's future. For social planning is the work of the entire collective – the plan is discussed, formulated and approved by the collective. The worker's part in managing and directing the complex factors that go into the development of the personality is a new manifestation of socialist democracy.

Socialist society is humanistic by its very nature. That should not be taken to mean, however, that all the problems relating to development of the personality are solved automatically, without difficulties and contradictions. True, the new system furnishes objective opportunities for the solution of all social problems, but these opportunities can be translated into reality only through conscientious and purposive activity. Let's go back to the education problem. Secondary school training is becoming universal as well. Not every one can go through university, but every one must have an equal chance: let the more capable and diligent win. For a society of working people that is a natural course to take. But there are problems of an objective nature. Rural school graduates, or youngsters from small urban communities, are usually less prepared for the entrance examinations than graduates of city schools.

And that is natural: there are still essential differences between town and country; city schools are usually better equipped and better staffed. Equalizing conditions in this respect is bound to take time. But this gap in education levels creates no difficulties for the university – there are always more applicants than vacancies. However, the interests of the socialist state are inseparable from those of its citizens. And the gap is being narrowed by providing more and better educational facilities in rural areas. A new movement has originated among the scientific community in Moscow, Novosibirsk and other centers. Their idea is to choose capable teenagers and put them through a special course. A Communist Party and Government decision calls for special preparatory courses at higher education institutions to give young workers and farmers the necessary training for higher-level study. Much the same is being done in Hungary.

And now, some examples of another kind. Bourgeois scientists have coined many a vogueish theory about the social implications of the technological revolution under capitalism. We are told, for instance, that it leads to a sharp rise in the share of 'intellectual capital' in the sum-value of the production assets, inducing employers to 'invest more in man.' The fact, however, is that capitalist exploitation remains unchanged in substance though much more subtle in form. The educated worker, engineer, scientist, represents much more profitable 'raw material.' It is 'produced' by the capitalist state at the expense of the working people, albeit at a relatively high cost, but the capitalists still find that it yields a high profit.

This flagrantly utilitarian function of education in the capitalist world explains why, even in the United States with its millions of highly skilled workers and technicians, there are wide strata that have no access whatever to education and culture. And there is no great secret about it: the 'knowledge factory' produces only as much 'skilled raw material' as is needed to produce goods and services. Millions of Americans, mainly those classed as 'colored,' are denied proper education and, as a result, work in the skilled trades.

How does the bourgeois world react to this? Very simply: by trotting out the 'theory' of 'socially superfluous' people for whom there is no place in a modern industrialized society. The category includes white- and blue-collar workers of low skills, and all told this category adds up to about 55 per cent of the potential labor force. In fact, an American author, Killingsworth, estimates that in 1962 unemployment in this low 'intelligence quotient' (the celebrated American IQ) group was twelve times greater than among Americans with a higher IQ.

Bourgeois society remains true to its exploitive traditions also in foreign economic policy. The U.S. imports thousands of engineers and other specialists from Western Europe, in addition to the 'brain drain' from developing countries. In fact, estimates show that this means a loss of from 20 to 40 per cent of their education and training expenditure.

Of course, there is nothing like that in socialist societies. True, socialist countries are as much concerned as any other for effectively running their economies. But there is this difference—socialist production serves man, the working man. True also, we attach much importance to such efficiency indicators as profitability. There is Lenin's remark that 'profit too satisfies "social" needs.' The operative word here is 'too'—profit is not the only consideration; it is used to measure the effectiveness of production, but the product is used to meet the people's material requirements. And in addition to these material requirements, there are growing

requirements associated with the all-round development of the personality, the desire of every individual to make full use of his abilities, share in the affairs of the community, in national decision-making, and so on.

Let us turn to the facts again, they're always the best argument. The following table is of a 1966 opinion poll of secondary school graduates in the Estonian Soviet Republic. The figures are in percentage.

<i>My ideal profession should allow me to . . .</i>	<i>First choice</i>	<i>Second choice</i>	<i>Third choice</i>	<i>No reply</i>
engage in creative work	53.5	33.3	7.7	5.5
make the most use of my abilities	75	17.5	2.9	4.5
perfect my knowledge and outlook	88	9	0.3	2.5
be of use to the economy	48.9	37.9	8.4	4.9
earn good wages	28.8	58.6	9.3	3.3
enjoy respect of friends	41.5	43.5	10.4	4.6
win high status in society	8	37.4	47.4	7
manage other people	9.6	27.9	55.9	6.5
enjoy a stable and quiet future	20.9	44.5	27.8	6.8

While not spurning material well-being, and in some cases ambition, most of the answers show that the first choice is creative work, use of one's abilities, the desire to perfect one's knowledge, contribute to the common weal.

Somewhat earlier a similar poll was conducted in London of school leavers of three types of schools. The question asked was what did they expect most of their future work, and the results are set out in the following table, the figures showing order of preference.*

	<i>Boys</i>			<i>Girls</i>		
	<i>Type I</i>	<i>Type II</i>	<i>Type III</i>	<i>Type I</i>	<i>Type II</i>	<i>Type III</i>
Good earnings	1	1	1	1	1	
Interesting Work	3	3	2			2
Work in London				2	2	
Pension	2	2				
Overseas jobs			4		4	1
Follow example of friends				3	3	4
Travel	4	4		4		
Meet people						3
Self-perfection			3			3

Of the six groups, five chose good earnings as their first pre-

*Quoted from Russian source, 'Sociological Problems of Labor and Production,' Moscow, 1969. - Ed.

ference – capitalist environment tells in a very distinct way. People begin thinking of pensions at an early age, with two groups making this their second choice, after good earnings. The Soviet school-leavers are free as the birds by comparison.

Realities in the socialist countries effectively refute the favored bourgeois contention that the interests of the collective clash with those of the individual. But let us examine the results of a poll of 2,000 Socialist Work Teams in the GDR. They were asked: What form of moral recognition or criticism do you consider most effective? And these are the answers: face to face recognition (criticism) 8.6 (18.4) per cent; public 6.8 (2.7) per cent; by the work collective 76 (61.1) per cent. Face to face criticism, and recognition by top management, are not the first preference. Why? The only explanation is that workers in a socialist country regard the collective as the highest authority. Similar sociological studies in the United States produced directly opposite results.

Engels was once asked what was the ultimate aim of his party? He replied: We have no ultimate aim.

What he wanted to emphasize was the absence of an *end* aim to show that social development would continue under socialism and communism. And Engels amplified his terse reply: '*We favor constant, continuous development, and we have no intention of dictating some kind of final laws to humanity. Set opinions about the details of the organization of future society? You will find nothing remotely resembling that.*' (Interview to a *Figaro* correspondent, May 11, 1893.)

At the dawn of their revolutionary activity, Marx and Engels gave expression to the cherished dream of mankind: a society in which '... the free development of each is the condition of the free development of all.' These words from the Communist Manifesto indicated to the working people a goal that would not be easily or quickly attained. But a very realistic goal, and that is evidenced by the documents of the Communist Party congresses being held this year in the socialist countries. There is no highfalutin talk of some kind of new, 'humane socialism,' but the reality of socialist humanism demonstrated to the world in the Directives of the 24th CPSU Congress, which gives priority to a substantial rise of material and cultural standards. And real progress, not hollow words, is the substance of the Bulgarian Communist Party's new program which reaffirms anew the slogan 'Everything for man, for the benefit of man!' Socialist society has no other aspirations, nor can it have.



The personality and freedom

Todor Pavlov

I.

Human society has never been a collection of zero units – any amount of such units still adds up to zero. No, man is a very real member of society and his character changes depending on the general and specific conditions of his development in various areas. And since Communist society qualitatively differs from bourgeois, feudal and slave-owning, it is only natural that the individuals integrated in it are bound to differ from their counterparts under capitalism, feudalism or slavery.

In their early stages, all societies played a definite progressive role and produced outstanding personalities. This was stressed by Engels who spoke of the titans of the Renaissance, a period when capitalism was in its progressive phase and the bourgeoisie, in its battle with feudalism and medieval reaction, was the legitimate spokesman of the nation.

Imperialism, that highest and last stage of capitalist development, is distinguished by many achievements in production, technology and science. But it has also this characteristic: *reaction* in every area, economic, political and ideological. Rivalry of individual capitalists grows into rivalry of monopoly giants, trusts and world banks, with consequences even more onerous for the people, for human civilization. The fight for world supremacy through the instigation of local, regional and world wars is an intrinsic feature of imperialism, and one, moreover, that sharply accentuates its conflicts and contradictions.

How has the world changed since the Great October Socialist Revolution? And what is the true picture of world reality today? These questions have been discussed in many issues of this journal. This article examines only one aspect, namely, the place of the individual in imperialism and socialism.

Imperialism's ideologists never tire of repeating that capitalist society is the acme of genuine democracy and freedom, providing all the conditions needed for normal development of the personality. More, we are asked to believe that socialism dilutes the individual in an anonymous mass, regiments his spiritual world, suffocates free thought and subjects the individual to the 'totalitarian' proletarian dictatorship state.

But what is the reality?

II.

Aristotle's definition of the slave as *instrumentum vocale* – a talking tool – completely negates the slave's individuality and freedom. Many ruling-class philosophers and sociologists have criticized this without, however, noticing (or pretending not to notice) that in many respects it has retained its validity in our day.

Notwithstanding all the disquisitions of bourgeois ideologists about man's prosperity and freedom in capitalism, the stark fact is that under capitalism mechanization and automation tend to turn the individual into a simple appendage of the productive system, a primitive cog in the social mechanism.

Many theories have been coined, and many efforts made to obscure, discount or play down this fact. And there is much reliance on psychological, sociological and cultural factors to substantiate and justify man's place in the system of capitalist production. At times these efforts are productive of results, but there is no concealing the substantive fact that capitalism continues, although in new forms, to live by the old Aristotelian formula.

For under capitalism, even the most 'refined,' and camouflaged by equally 'refined' demagoguery combined with deliberate deceit and outright intimidation, the worker is alienated from the product of his labor, from labor itself, and from his own identity. And alienation, rooted in the very foundations of capitalist exploitation, inevitably leads to the degrading and deformation of the personality, destruction of individual consciousness and self-consciousness and suppression of human dignity.

Alienation has become a favorite theme with idealist philosophers and bourgeois ideologists. They are at pains to prove that it is an attribute of all societies and, consequently, also of communism. Thus a reactionary American philosopher, Sidney Hook, speaks of the 'universal alienation' of man in the socialist countries and of 'diverse forms of subjugation in closed communist societies.' Another American philosopher, Klein, told the 1968 Vienna International Philosophy Congress that Marx was never really a humanist, for Marxism, Klein affirms, wholly rejects humanistic principles

and the 'intrinsic values of the individual.' And this from a well-known Catholic critic of Marxism, Wetter, who for many years has been repeating, without adducing any proof whatever: alienation exists everywhere, and under socialism it takes the form of man's subjection to an alien political power. The purpose behind all this is to justify the oppressed state of the workingman under capitalism and to veil the real alienation of man that is one of its built-in features.

In capitalist conditions the alienated individual ceases, in effect, to be a human personality. For alienation, which factually de-individualizes man, is incompatible with genuine personality or, to use a more contemporary term, counterposes *man as anti-personality* to *man as personality*.

Marx, Engels and Lenin saw the real cause of the worker's alienation in industrial society as stemming from its exploitive nature. They disclosed also that alienation can, to a definite degree, be overcome not only after the social revolution abolishes private property of the means of production, but also in the process of bringing revolutionary consciousness and scientific socialism into the spontaneous workers' movement.

There is the proof of history: the wider socialist theory is disseminated among the workers, the more they become the decisive force of social development. In 1917 the working class performed history's greatest revolution, followed by socialist revolutions in Europe, Asia and America. The epochal result has been the rise of the socialist world system with its new pattern of social and class relations.

By eliminating alienation we return to the industrial worker what capitalist production has taken from him. And today we see how, particularly after the founding and activation of the new, Leninist-type revolutionary workers' parties, the working class has produced from its midst not only groups and collectives capable of heroic action during strikes, risings, political campaigns, etc., but real titans of thought and action, men of Promethean mould—Georgi Dimitrov, Ernst Thaelmann, Maurice Thorez and other proletarian leaders.

The basis for the emergence of these sterling personalities of working-class background is mass organization of the workers that follows from the very nature of industrial production; the inculcation in the workers of such traits as devotion to their class, discipline, self-sacrifice; the deeper penetration into the workers' movement of scientific revolutionary theory. Georgi Dimitrov, that outstanding champion of the working class, made a valuable contribution to revolutionary theory, notably by his historic reports to the Seventh Communist International Congress and the Fifth

Congress of the Bulgarian Communist Party, and by other works on problems of program, strategy, tactics and organization, all of which he elaborated from positions of Marxism-Leninism.

The greater the social base of the collective, class or party on which the creative revolutionary personality develops, the greater is its impact on social life, and the more vividly are its abilities and talents disclosed. Accelerated and plan-controlled development of socialism and the gradual transition to communist society will enable everyone to work according to his ability and receive according to his needs. This will free man of all the remnants and forms of alienation. It will banish, also, the essentially bourgeois right to equal pay for equal work and all memory of commodity production and exchange. Man will enjoy every opportunity – economic, social, technical, psychological and cultural – for the all-round development and flourishing of his personality. We can safely say that Heinrich Heine's apprehension that in a communist society his *Book of Songs* would be used to wrap coffee and snuff in, will not come true.

A complete end to alienation presupposes effective emancipation of the working class and the toiling masses generally from all exploitation and oppression. The conditions are thus created, for the first time in the whole of history, for shaping the harmoniously developed and creative personality, possessing the traits characteristic of men like Marx, Engels and Lenin. Lenin was, beyond all doubt, the greatest personality of our epoch – no other person had done so much to liberate the millions from exploitation and slavery, reaction and obscurantism.

Lenin could accomplish this not only because he was a genius. Or, to be more precise, he was a genius just because he so clearly and profoundly expressed the interests of the most revolutionary class in history; because he foresaw, organized and directed the world's greatest revolution which ushered in the era of socialism and communism. Lenin was truly a titan, a man of Promethean calibre. He scaled the summits of the Himalayas of history, and from these summits he could see the whole world, and the whole world could see him. He was, remains and will continue to be the epitome of the really creative, really heroic and really free personality.

These objectives can also be applied to the millions of working people of the socialist countries, where the individual has acquired real opportunities for manifold development, despite all the difficulties and contradictions besetting the efforts to build the new society.

Under socialism, real human freedom is assured, above all, by the liquidation of private property, the economic basis of exploita-

tion and alienation. In the words of Marx, this is tantamount to the 'assertion of practical humanism.' *Man's economic emancipation* predetermines all the other forms of his emancipation and furnishes the basis for his free and all-round development. And by fundamentally refashioning the socio-economic structure, socialism brings the people *political emancipation*. There is created a new, socialist state; a new socialist democracy which in a very practical way guarantees the right of each citizen, each collective, each nation, actively and consciously to share in resolving all the problems of social life.

Economic, social and political liberation of the working people provided an effective basis for releasing the creative, conscious and truly free activity of the members of socialist society, the men and women who have built the new, socialist civilization.

In the process of revolutionary struggle for the new society the workers of capitalist countries overcome, to a considerable degree, their alienation and de-personalization – a fact beyond the ken of Jean-Paul Sartre, Ernst Fischer and their ilk. And in the process of this struggle the workers increasingly become full-fledged personalities with a radiant perspective and, let me add, *free* personalities. For the personality and freedom are inseparable, though not identical: they exist in a profound dialectical unity realized in different forms, depending on the way the revolutionary movement develops in various countries and various periods of history.

III.

The 24th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the 10th Congress of the Bulgarian Communist Party and other Communist and Workers' party congresses, will discuss not only freedom of the individual (worker, peasant, intellectual) but also freedom of classes, nations, peoples, of the whole of progressive mankind.

Idealist philosophers usually reduce the whole problem to freedom of the individual isolated from society. And they treat freedom as a *purely spiritual concept*. This inevitably leads to the idea of transcendental self-consciousness and 'free' manifestation of the spirit, the idea, the Logos and, in the final analysis, of God.

If we separate man from his objective environment (past, present and future) and transform him into a purely spiritual substance, self-contemplating, narcissistically admiring his spiritual 'freedom,' then, in effect, there can be no talk of freedom whatever.

The prisoner longing for freedom knows only too well that he can break his chains mentally, but not materially, that he can mentally open the prison gates, but not materially. Abstract consideration of objective real things and processes can, of course, produce an idea of them. But these things and processes cannot be

sublimated from an *idea*. Marx remarked that to refute a given idea one has only to use another, but to *translate an idea into reality* requires a material force, the real bearer of that force.

Idealists of every hue and stripe cannot, indeed do not want to, understand the profound theoretical and practical implications of that Marxian thought. They are deluded, and delude others when they speak of freedom of the individual as an *absolute, metaphysical*, self-determining factor, as the abstract creative manifestation of the individual's consciousness and self-consciousness. In fact, that is the meaning of Jean-Paul Sartre's postulate of the subject's 'freedom of choice' in a given situation, his 'freedom' to shape his essence, his 'freedom' of action – irrespective of real environmental conditions and objective laws. That, too, is the substance of all other forms of abstract humanism, including religious, based on man's immutable, metaphysical nature, postulated *a priori*, from 'above,' devoid of all real content and divorced from the living, concrete man.

On the other hand, the behaviorists, in common with all metaphysical materialists, tend to transform consciousness into a physiological function of the organism, i.e., factually ignoring it and negating the subjective aspect of the cognitive process. In the end, they arrive at complete negation of the freedom of the individual and the collective.

In its precise meaning, freedom does not, and cannot, exist where there is no human consciousness, the human personality, and human collectives (classes, nations, etc.). Plants and animals adapt themselves to their environment but the concept of freedom, and still less of its consciousness, is inapplicable to them.

Man is not merely an organism, nor merely a biological unit. By his very nature he is a social being. Every human personality – and precisely as a personality – is the embodiment of a social and natural whole, but at the same time, something unique, specific, and this distinguishes him from all the other personalities that make up the given social collective.

Nor is man only the brain, which physiologically changes under the influence of environment and, conversely, reacts on it. Similarly, man is not 'pure spirit,' or a 'purely spiritual substance' existing independently of the objective, real social and natural environment. Man thinks with the help of the brain, but that is so precisely because he is *man*. If we were to separate the brain from the rest of the human organism it might exist for a certain time, but it could not think, react to things and processes, let alone influence them.

Marx, Engels and Lenin repeatedly warned against economic and other 'Robinson Crusoe situations.' They insisted that man,

as a personality with his specific individual traits, always remains a member of a social collective. The human personality subjected to the influence of social and natural reality and reacting on it represents the dialectical unity of the general, the particular and the singular.

Hence, freedom of the individual in a concrete social and natural environment can never be metaphysically absolute, unrelated and unconditional.

The released prisoner is conscious of his freedom of prison conditions, physical and mental. But not for a moment can he forget that he is part of a concrete social reality. Similarly, the industrial worker freed of capitalist exploitation, or the nation that has broken out of oppression by another, are free in a *definite* respect, but this does not mean that their life and development are independent of social and natural conditions.

To overlook or underrate that would impart an unrelated, absolute meaning to freedom. And such an absolute, metaphysical freedom in the 'final instance,' to use a Hegelian term, has never existed either for the individual or for social collectives. It cannot exist; more, it is not needed by the worker, peasant or intellectual. For they know from their own experience that if every member of the collective is allowed 'absolute freedom,' allowed to do everything that comes into his head, then social life would become utterly impossible.

Human freedom is and should be real. But real freedom is not unrelated; not the freedom of beings unsubordinated to social and natural laws; not some absolute, metaphysical spiritual substance existing by itself and for itself and 'transforming' objective reality into its subjective image or idea.

The Bible claims that God created the world out of nothing, including man, that He is absolutely free, while man must throughout his life atone for his 'original sin.' No thinking person is likely to accept that interpretation of freedom. For such dependence of the human will and human aspirations on a 'supreme being' would be tantamount to the deprivation of all freedom, would lead to unmitigated pessimism and, in the end, to the longing for death.

To this biblical *pessimism* and fatalism, Marxism-Leninism opposes its *optimistic* understanding of human freedom. We do not deny that the working class and the individual worker must fight for freedom. But in the realities of social life we do not metaphysically counterpose freedom to necessity.

We know that, like Spinoza and Hegel, the Marxist classics – Engels made a special point of this – understood *freedom as the appreciation of necessity*.

As mentioned above, ideas can be refuted by other ideas, but

true, real freedom requires not only idea-arguments. It requires practical action, real force, concrete struggle to win freedom, to strengthen and develop it.

This principle is basic to the revolutionary world outlook of Marxism-Leninism. Socialist revolution is a historical necessity but that, Lenin teaches us, does not imply that it will come automatically, of itself, and that there is no need for an organized, scientifically directed and victoriously guided struggle for economic and social freedom of the class, the people, mankind and, consequently, the personality.

The documents of the last Communist Party congresses in the Soviet Union, Bulgaria and other socialist countries furnish additional and cogent proof that we have not only to interpret the world, i.e., not only understand and appreciate the law-governed historical necessity of changing it. It must be changed in reality, i.e., humanized in the name of the supreme ideals of socialism and communism, in the name of genuine freedom of the personality.

And we shall not purposively change the world without a human, conscious attitude to natural and social necessity. And without changing it, simple appreciation of social and natural necessity will not yet mean real and concrete human (collective and individual) freedom.

Zionism and Israel's rulers in the service of imperialism

David (Uzi) Burstein

The resolution of the 16th Congress of the Communist Party of Israel (January 1969), *The Jewish Question and Zionism in Our Time*, says: 'The predominant ideology in Israel is the Zionist ideology. Guided by this ideology the ruling circles of Israel are conducting a policy which contradicts the true national interests of the people of Israel, a policy which ties the state of Israel to the imperialist powers in their struggle against the Arab anti-imperialist national movement, against the Soviet Union, against

the international Communist movement and all forces of socialism, national liberation and social progress in the world.'

Ever since its inception in 1897, the Zionist movement has collaborated with and served imperialism.*

Early in his career Theodor Herzl, its founder, made contacts with the rulers of the Ottoman Empire, which included Palestine. At the beginning of the 20th century he went to Turkey on several occasions to confer with the sultan. He and other Zionist leaders held that a Jewish center could be set up in Palestine under Ottoman patronage.

At the same time, Zionist leaders sought contacts with the French imperialists, especially because of the latter's special interest in the Suez Canal. Rothschild, the Franco-Jewish financier, who was eager to win Palestine as a field of operations for French capital and influence, went out of his way to arrange the contacts. The Zionist leaders tried to prevail on the French imperialists to help in concentrating Jews in Palestine, saying that this would contribute to the safety of the Suez Canal.

Herzl sought close ties with German imperialism, committed in the early 20th century to a policy of active penetration into the Middle East. From the German Reich, too, he asked aid in settling Jews in Palestine. Nor did the Zionist leaders forget tsarist Russia, as indicated by the well-known meeting between Herzl and Interior Minister Plehve. Soon after the terrible anti-Jewish Kishinev pogrom engineered by Plehve in 1903, Herzl saw fit to hold talks with that out-and-out anti-Semite and Jew-baiter. What is more, he called on the Jews of Russia to stay out of the revolutionary movement and the struggle against tsarism.

After the October Revolution, during the Civil War, Zionist leader Zhabotinsky collaborated with Petlyura, a counter-revolutionary responsible for the death of many Jews.

During the First World War close links developed between the Zionists and the British Empire. In 1920, Winston Churchill, then War and Air Minister, said that if a Jewish state with a population of three or four million were founded on the banks of the Jordan under the protection of the British Crown – and this could well happen – it would be a historic event of advantage in all respects, especially to British imperial interests. It was this kind of thinking that prompted the British government to issue the so-called Balfour Declaration (Nov. 2, 1917), promising a 'national home for the Jewish people' in Palestine. Throughout British colonial rule in Palestine the Zionist organization worked hand in glove with the imperialists against the Arab national movement.

*In 1897 the Basel Congress of adherents of Zionism, the nationalist ideology of the Jewish bourgeoisie, formalized the founding of the World Zionist Organization and approved its program. – Ed.

The links between the Zionist movement and U.S. imperialism grew closer after the Second World War. And after the founding of Israel, which is now under the aegis of American imperialism economically, politically and militarily, these links became closer still. Israel maintains contacts with U.S. imperialism either directly, or through the Zionist world movement, which is headed by prominent American Jewish financiers using Israel in the interest of American monopoly capital.

The Zionist movement and the rulers of Israel also maintain contacts with other imperialist states, offering them their 'good offices.'

In 1952, they concluded a disgraceful agreement with the West German government, accepting 'compensation' in cash and goods for the millions of Jews murdered by the Nazis during the Second World War, and then went out of their way to offset the public outcry in many countries, including Israel, against the revenge-seeking and reactionary trends in FRG policy.

A few years after its founding, Israel took an active part in the tripartite aggression against Egypt aimed at overthrowing the anti-imperialist regime that had been making progress under Gamal Abdel Nasser and restoring imperialist control of the Suez Canal. That war was planned at conferences involving Ben Gurion, the then Israeli Premier, and the prime ministers of France and Britain.

Subsequently the Israeli government, prompted by its Zionist ideology, continued to promote the imperialists' neo-colonialist objectives in African and Asian countries that had won independence with support from the world socialist system and other anti-imperialist forces.

The imperialists are filled with apprehension. They are alarmed by the growing struggle of the peoples of Asia and Africa for freedom, by the disintegration of the colonial system, by far-reaching changes aimed at consolidating the independence of new states, fostering their peace policy and intensifying the fight against imperialism, for social progress. Although Israel is a small state, it plays an important role in the implementation of the imperialists' sinister plans to restore their domination over these countries and to undermine the anti-imperialist fight of the peoples. The organ of the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola wrote that Israel's participation in the colonial war, periodically denied by Israel, had lately been confirmed by the capture of arms made in Israel and used by the Portuguese at Cuango. The Movement accused Israel of actively backing Portugal and its efforts to put down the Angola rising.

Dr. Milton Obote, ex-President of Uganda, said that Israel was behind the military coup in his country. 'Israeli experts,' *Haaretz*, the Israeli newspaper, wrote on January 27 last, 'rendered assistance

in the sphere of development and Israeli officers trained Uganda Air Force personnel (General Idi Amin, who led the coup, got his "Paratrooper's Wings" in Israel). But in the world arena Dr. Obote and his representatives constantly backed the Arabs. It is to be hoped that with the consolidation of the new regime they (the new leaders of Uganda. — Ed.) will proceed differently in this respect.' Here is an instance of collaboration with imperialism and active support for the advocates of the Israeli government's policy of aggression.

Today the balance of forces is tilting in favor of peace and socialism. In the Middle East, the fight against imperialism, especially its U.S. variety, is gaining in intensity. The Arab liberation movement has made substantial headway and the bonds between a number of Arab countries and the socialist states, especially the Soviet Union, are growing stronger. This the U.S. imperialists and their main agents in the region, the Israeli rulers, find hard to stomach. They are stepping up their offensive against the Arab national movement with the object of overthrowing the anti-imperialist governments in Egypt and Syria. This explains why Israel started a new war of aggression against the Arab countries in June 1967.

The Zionist organizations and the Israeli government made the utmost use of their propaganda machine to mislead world opinion and to parade as 'innocent lambs' fighting a defensive war against the Arab 'wolves.' That is a lie, of course. General Dayan, the Israeli Defense Minister, said on June 8, 1970: 'Among other things, we started the war for conquest.' Colonel Herzog, Israel Radio's military commentator, wrote in a foreword to the album *Victory* (written by Bashen, a journalist, and published in September 1967): 'If Israel had not started the June 1967 war, the entire Middle East, the west and south of Asia and a large section of the African continent would have fallen under Soviet influence. What was at stake was domination over a considerable part of the world.'

This comment shows that the June aggression was part of the U.S. imperialists' global strategy of fighting against the national liberation movement under the pretext of combating 'Soviet influence.'

David Nes, former U.S. chargé d'affaires in Cairo wrote in the *London Times* — his article was reprinted in the Israel newspaper, *Yediot Aharonot* (Feb. 7, 1971) — that the effectiveness of Israeli air raids on June 5, 1967, was due, at least in part, to information supplied by U.S. sources about the location of Egyptian airfields and planes. As to political and economic information, the State Department had long been supplying the Israeli Embassy in Washington with copies of all pertinent reports received from U.S. embassies in the Middle East.

In sum, the June war was not a defensive action, not a war for

Israel's survival. It was a war of conquest, an annexationist aggressive war against the Arab countries, a war serving U.S. imperialist interests and waged in complete agreement with the U.S. government.

The Zionist world organization participated actively in the anti-Arab war, marshalling the aid of specialists, fighting men and, especially, cash donations. But that aggressive war, too, failed to achieve its objectives, which were to overthrow the anti-imperialist regimes in Egypt and Syria, destroy or divide the anti-imperialist Arab national movement, and disrupt the friendly relations between the Arab and the socialist countries. On the contrary, these relations have grown stronger and closer. Imperialism and its menials, the rulers of Israel, have suffered a political and moral defeat.

Four years after the June war we witness an intensification of the struggle against imperialism in the area. The anti-imperialist regimes have gained strength, and their numbers have increased through the inclusion of Sudan and Libya.

The Israeli occupation has exacerbated the problem of the Arab Palestinian people, whose struggle for national rights has assumed new dimensions and has the sympathy and support of all peace-loving and progressive forces.

Arab resistance to imperialism, primarily American imperialism, is mounting steadily. Since June 1967 the United States has lost some of its positions and influence in the region. The U.S. monopolies now fear that they may also lose the enormous profits they get from Arab oil. This development is causing concern in the Zionist movement and the Israeli government, who fear that in the circumstances U.S. imperialism may change its tactic and support the demand that Israel withdraw from the occupied Arab territories and that the Security Council resolution of November 22, 1967, be implemented. To avert this, Zionist leaders are telling the U.S. government that it should not shrink from the idea of a new aggression against the Arab countries, even at the risk of a third world war. The Zionists never miss an opportunity to stress that there is no force in the Middle East more dependable and more loyal to imperialism than the Israeli government. The West should be grateful to Israel, the *Daily Telegraph* wrote on June 19, 1967, for doing what the Western powers would have to do themselves.

S. Z. Abramov, one of the leaders of the Liberal Party (extreme Zionist party) in Israel, said in the newspaper *Haaretz* on May 13, 1970: 'Israel is fighting not only in its own defense, but also for vital Western interests . . . Israeli troops along the Suez Canal relieve the United States of the need to send its own troops to that region.' Utterances of this kind show what the Israeli boys are dying for along the Canal: they are dying to ensure that U.S. im-

perialist schemes materialize. At the same time, the Zionist organization active in the United States is on the alert to prevent tactical changes in America's Middle East policy. Its leaders use their public standing and economic influence to head off this kind of change, which they say would be a 'tragedy' for imperialism.

When, in summer 1970, the Rogers plan, which, despite its shortcomings, included a demand for the withdrawal of Israeli troops from the occupied territories, was published, the Zionist leaders tried to press the U.S. government into abandoning it. At the same time the Zionist movement did much to help the Israeli government to carry on a policy which imperils the security of the peoples in the region, including the people of Israel.

The French weekly, *Témoignage Chrétien*, published excerpts from a circular sent by U.S. Zionist institutions to colleagues in France. Signed by Jacob Turchiner, the circular (dated July 2, 1970) said: 'The main aim of the U.S. Zionist organization is to help Israel. For this purpose the organization established contacts with prominent personalities, who help us keep in constant touch with the U.S. leaders: politicians, diplomats, military officers and financiers. This was how we established contacts with the State Department. Along with the Pentagon, our military committee picks the officers that are sent to Israel. Our organization played a prominent part in obtaining the U.S. government decision permitting U.S. citizens to serve in the Israeli army. The U.S. government has agreed to supply our military committee with lists of released American servicemen, helping us thereby to mobilize young Jews for service in the Israeli army. At present their number is 25,000. What we need most are pilots and military experts willing to fight on our side by virtue of their convictions or, to put it bluntly, as mercenaries for a high reward.' The circular also revealed that Zionist organizations in Britain and West Germany are operating in much the same way.

Another key task the Zionist organization and Israeli government have taken upon themselves is a vile smear and incitement campaign against the Soviet Union over the alleged 'hard plight of Soviet Jews.'

It is a known fact that Jews in the Soviet Union enjoy full rights and are in no need of Zionist care. But then it is not the life of Jews in the Soviet Union the Zionists are concerned about but the fact that the Soviet Union is helping the Arab peoples' struggle against imperialism and the Israeli occupation. They are alarmed by the increasingly close multilateral relations between Arab countries and the Soviet Union. The Soviet state, guided by Leninist policy principles, helps all peoples fighting against imperialism, for independence and social progress. Hence the love of peoples for the Soviet Union.

This is why the world Zionist movement, the Israeli government and reactionary Jewish organizations in the United States and other capitalist countries are doing their utmost to expand their slanderous anti-Soviet propaganda, and why they organize provocations against Soviet offices and representatives in various countries, especially the United States, and are in the front line of the cold war against the Soviet Union.

In the United States the paramilitary, fascist Zionist organization calling itself the 'Jewish Defense League' is engaged in extensive anti-Soviet activity. It also carries out acts of terrorism against fighters for peace and progress in Israel itself. Not long ago the 'fuehrer' of an American fascist, anti-Semitic organization proposed to the 'fuehrer' of the Jewish Defense League, Rabbi Kahane, an alliance and 'working' together. Anti-Soviet demonstrations organized by the League included war criminals who had fled from the justice of the peoples of socialist countries, well-known anti-Semites and fascists from various countries.

At its plenary session in January 1971, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Israel strongly condemned the vicious anti-Soviet campaign of the Israeli rulers and Zionist leaders. It pointed out that the aim of this campaign is to slander the Soviet Union, increase international tension, and divert the attention of world public opinion from the fact that the Israeli rulers deliberately foil every prospect for peace in the Middle East and carry out numerous acts of terrorism and suppression in the occupied Arab territories.

This criminal activity is aimed at aggravating the international situation, undermining the policy of peaceful coexistence and making it easier to start a third world war.

The Zionist firebrands openly peddle their adventurist military plans. Colonel Peled wrote in the Israeli newspaper *Maariv*, on 29.1.71: 'It must be assumed that this time the government has considered everything in advance and drawn up clear political directives for the Israeli army in case hostilities are resumed. I hope these directives indicate that with the resumption of fire the army will immediately cross the canal, destroy the Egyptian army stationed between the canal and the Nile, eliminate Russian interference in Egypt and create a situation making it possible to sign a peace treaty with the Egyptian government. This means that, after destroying the Egyptian army, the Russian navy will have to be expelled from Port Said and Alexandria and the Egyptian government told to sign a treaty at once . . . Doubtlessly, if events develop in this way the Russians will be moved to act . . . But in that case neither will the United States be able to remain on the sidelines.'

What is thus but a call for world war!

The Zionists' satanic plan provides for the possibility of Israel employing nuclear weapons, with the active cooperation, of course, of American imperialism. The article by D. Nes mentioned above says that the United States pursues a special policy towards Israel also with regard to nuclear weapons. For years the U.S. had been using diplomatic, economic and military pressures to induce 100 countries all over the world to sign the nuclear non-proliferation treaty. Israel alone had been exempted from energetic representations. In effect, the U.S. might even have helped Israel in refusing to undertake the obligations stipulated in that international document. On the basis of an analysis prepared by the Rand Corporation at the request of the White House, the U.S. had provided Israel with the latest technological and political data on effective utilization of nuclear weapons in the Middle East. According to reports, the nuclear reactors in Israel at Dimona and Nahal Sorok had for years been producing enough plutonium for the manufacture of ten 25-kiloton bombs a year.

In 1970 the U.S. government granted Israel a \$500-million loan for the purchase of American offensive weapons. The United States has supplied Israel with more up-to-date aircraft, missiles and electronic hardware than its NATO or SEATO allies, notably many Phantom planes capable of delivering nuclear charges. According to official data published in Israel, U.S. aid to Israel between 1949 and 1970 (loans and donations by the U.S. government and of agencies linked with it) reached the sum of \$1.3 billion. In the same period, Zionist organizations transferred to Israel \$4 billion in loans and funds. However, D. Nes cited other figures. Between 1948 and 1968, U.S. government aid to Israel amounted to \$11 billion, and the private capital transferred here mainly through Zionist channels ran to \$25 billion. Thus, an average of \$1,400 in 'aid' went to every inhabitant of Israeli during this period. By way of comparison Nes pointed out that American aid to the 13 neighbors of Israel in the same period amounted to some \$35 per capita. Since 1968 American aid to Israel has grown immensely. In 1970 dollar transfers reached 800 million and in 1971 are expected to be close on \$1.5 billion.

The Israeli budget is essentially a military budget. According to official data, military spending (including supplementary outlays) grew as follows (per cent of total):

1967/68	1968/69	1969/70	1970/71
29	30	36	49

The Finance Ministry makes no secret of the fact that 90 per cent

of all taxes is used to finance the military budget. This policy is a heavy burden on the shoulders of the working people. It affects real wages and leads to growing poverty.

The Israeli government encourages foreign investment, mainly U.S. and other Western monopolies, which makes the country increasingly dependent on foreign capital. Several international conferences of Jewish millionaires have been held in Tel Aviv. Foreign millionaires, both Jews and non-Jews invest in military and civilian industries, as well as in tourism, commerce and banking, on the most favorable terms. To every sum invested by millionaires, the government adds three or four times as much in the form of subsidies and loans. Deals of this nature are handled by special financial and commercial companies registered in the United States. In 1970 foreign investments reached \$65 million but the profits taken out of Israel by foreign capitalists amounted to \$165 million. This, then, is how U.S., West German and other big capitalists perform their 'Zionist' function: they rake in huge profits at the expense of the working people of Israel.

Israel has no official alliance with the United States, nor is it a member of any existing blocs. Nevertheless, it is more subservient to U.S. imperialism and American monopolies than many other capitalist states.

However, Zionism and the Israeli government have expansionist goals of their own, which they would like to implement at the expense of the Arab people of Palestine and the Arab neighbors of Israel. The territories overrun during the June war are used in the interests of Israeli and foreign capitalists, who in 1970 contrived to sell an estimated \$95 million worth of goods in the occupied areas. Imports from these areas to Israel, including oil from the Sinai Peninsula, have reached \$70 million.

Manpower, too, is brought from them into Israel. Official quarters admit the transfer to Israel of 30,000 workers, who are paid one-third of the wages of Israeli workers, or even less. Moreover, Arab workers are denied all social rights. Thus the Israeli government is turning the population of the occupied territories into a source of cheap labor, into a second-class people compelled to bring in profits to the foreign and local capitalists lording it over Israel.

The Arab masses in Palestine are fighting against the Israeli occupation. The brutal military regime that controls the region is tightening its hold. The occupation authorities use particularly brutal methods in the Ghaza Strip. In January 1971, Israeli and world public opinion were shocked by the atrocities perpetrated by Israeli troops against the local population. The Israeli government plans to annex Ghaza, and the authorities are using every method to evict people from their homes.

As a result, the Arab refugee problem has been greatly aggravated, with half a million new refugees swelling the ranks of the million Arabs forced to leave their lands back in 1948. Those who openly oppose the occupation are jailed and tortured. Since there is not enough room for detainees, the occupation authorities have built two concentration camps in the Sinai Desert.

However, no amount of humiliation, tortures, killing, arrests or evictions has been able to force the Arab masses in the occupied areas to give up the struggle for liberation. In Israel itself the struggle against the Zionist government's expansion policy is mounting. More and more working people and young men and women are coming to see that a policy aimed against the Arab masses can bring nothing but harm, that young Israelis are sent to shed their blood and to sacrifice their lives not for the security of Israel but in the interests of the imperialists and Jewish millionaires at the head of the Zionist movement.

The Zionist claim that anyone opposing Zionism is anti-Semitic and anti-Jewish is demagogic and false. The only threat to the people and state of Israel comes from the Zionist policies of the government, which serves the interests of imperialism.

The Communist Party of Israel, which resolutely opposed the war of aggression in June 1967, demands withdrawal from the occupied territories and is fighting for the implementation of the Security Council resolution of November 22, 1967. It shows the masses the road to a lasting peace between Israel and the Arab countries.

The Communist Party of Israel opposes the Israeli rulers' Zionist ideology and Zionist policies and calls for understanding and peace with the Arab peoples, recognition of the national rights of the Arab people of Palestine and participation with the Arab peoples in the struggle against imperialism.

The Communist Party of Israel, true to its people, to proletarian internationalism and Marxism-Leninism, shows the way in the struggle for an independent, peace-loving and democratic Israel.

Structuralism

*Notes on an aspect of
French ideological life*

Lucien Sève

The past few years have seen a heightened interest in France in works and theoretical discourses on contemporary structuralism. It reached its peak in 1965-67, but throughout the 60s the anthropological studies by C. Lévi-Strauss and their related linguistic conceptions, the theories of psycho-analyst J. Lacan and human-culture historian M. Foucault, and works by other researchers, among whom Communist philosopher L. Althusser is often listed, were widely published and were the subject of keen interest and discussion.

Nor is this concentrated attention on one philosophical school unusual in modern French history: there was the Bergsonism vogue of 1900-1920, and the tremendous popularity of Sartre's existentialism in 1945-1960. However, even a cursory examination will reveal that, compared with these philosophical schools, structuralism has certain new features expressive of profound changes in the country's ideological life.

Structuralism is less concerned with proclaiming a 'new philosophy' than with demonstrating the insolvency of existing philosophical concepts in the light of the body of knowledge accumulated by the sciences of man, which is presented, moreover, as indubitable and irrefutable. Instead of one 'great philosopher,' one 'power over men's minds,' structuralism relies on a galaxy of thinkers heralding new ideas. It cannot be treated as a single, monolithic philosophical school, for it assumes the most diverse forms, some fragmentary, some even contradictory. Its attitude towards Marxism is equivocal: on the one hand, it is regarded as a close relation or at least a forebear; on the other, it is rejected as a 'dead branch' on the structuralist genealogical tree. Lastly, structuralism enjoyed but a short heyday: it began with Lévi-Strauss' sharp polemic with Sartre in his *La Pensée sauvage* (1962) and reached its high point in 1966 with Foucault's *Mots et les choses* and Lacan's *Ecrits* (the works of Althusser and his associates on Marx and *Capital* appeared at the end of 1965) only to be swept away by the events of May-June 1968.

It is logical to ask why structuralism so swiftly acquired prominence in the mid-sixties. For even when its ideas did begin to attract attention in scientific circles no one, it seems, suspected that they could cause something in the nature of a 'revolution' in epistemology. In fact, the fundamental research that is the basis of contemporary structuralism dates back to the thirties, most of it even to the period before World War I. Mention can be made of the works of Saussure and, later, Troubetskoi, Jakobson and the Prague Circle in linguistics; in psychology, the works of the Gestalt theorists, who in the period between the wars largely anticipated present-day structuralist claims; also, in a somewhat different aspect, the works of Freud; and in the philosophical domain, Husserl and the subsequent works of Bachelard on the philosophical problems of science.

All this makes it necessary for Marxists thoroughly to analyze the reasons for the spread of structuralism, especially since in the past few years, following a brief lull, there are numerous signs of a resurgence of structuralist ideas in new forms. This is partly connected with the rise of new branches of learning.

Shifts in ideology

Why should the structuralist upsurge have come only in the mid-sixties? In our view, one of the main, if not *the* main, reasons is that, up to 1960, the forefront of ideological life was dominated by accepted traditional philosophical systems of a speculative nature. University spiritualism and Cartesianism, with their penchant for *subjectivism* as an abstract form of bourgeois consciousness, dominated for over 150 years. And not due to their scientific validity, but rather to the scientific verbiage in which they clothed topical issues and presented them to the reading public in more or less 'rational' form. For a long time this enabled philosophical subjectivism to keep many intellectuals ignorant of the achievements of the various humanity sciences which, furthermore, were themselves often on far from firm ground. Bergson, for instance, imposed his subjectivist ideas on psycho-physiology and biology to make them serve evolutionary spiritualism. Sartre is doing much the same though, of course, in different circumstances. He uses the data of behavioral psychology (cf. *Esquisse d'une théorie phénoménologique des émotions*), or psycho-analysis (cf. *Baudelaire*) or even historical materialism (cf. *Critique de la raison dialectique*) and, after turning them inside out, presents them as manifestations of the individual's 'free choice,' which, in his view, is the ultimate factor. Despite certain differences and contradictions, these and similar trends in philosophical subjectivism performed

one and the same function of bourgeois ideology, namely, to delay for as long as possible the last 'Copernican revolution' that would inevitably herald the end of all idealist philosophy.

It is only natural that structuralist ideas should have come to dominate the ideological scene at a time when, for the first time since the emergence of bourgeois philosophy, subjectivism, that last outgrowth of the great idealist philosophies of the past, was no longer able to hold its ground. This conclusively confirmed Engels' thesis that the collapse of all speculative philosophical systems was inevitable. And it is not accidental that the ideas of Lévi-Strauss began to attract attention just as Sartre failed in his desperate attempt – in *Critique de la raison dialectique* – to salvage the subjective-idealist principle of the primacy of individual consciousness. And Sartre failed despite subscribing – in a show of objectivity – to historical materialism. (Since then Sartre has sought to camouflage his theoretical failure by siding with unprincipled petty-bourgeois Leftist groups.) The 'third bell' proclaiming the emergence of structuralism was Lévi-Strauss's rejection, on behalf of the science of man, of subjectivist ideology, especially its last notable manifestation, Sartre's existentialism. He did this in the concluding chapter of *La Pensée sauvage*.

This comes at a time when the results of direct monopoly domination of the state organism are becoming increasingly apparent in all spheres of social life. The growth of state-monopoly capitalism leads to the rapid decline of the traditional middle strata and old groups of the bourgeoisie, with their political institutions, their 'classical' ideology, which in France had for so long been represented primarily by university philosophy. The Utopian nature of the 'third road' – halfway between the monopolies and the working class – in solving 'French problems' became increasingly clear. Accordingly, the insolvency of speculative philosophy in general and the typical 'third-road' philosophy of Sartre's existentialism, in particular, became glaringly obvious. This also explains the more marked interest in Marxism, the spread of which contributed to the favorable ideological conditions for the big class battles of May-June 1968.

The structuralists sought to present their ideas to the public as elements of a new philosophy designed to replace existentialism and other subjectivist philosophies. That was central to all their popular literature, much of it anti-philosophical in orientation. Structuralism was helped also by its claim to generalize research results in various scientific fields, notably, ethnology, linguistics, psychology. Initially the structuralist movement was even regarded as convergent with Marxism, which seemed to be indicated by the works of Althusser. As a matter of fact, the proclamation of

the end of philosophy in the name of the sciences of man – by which is meant the old idealist system – and radical critique of the whole subjectivist ideology of humanism on the basis of analyses of the objective circumstances of every 'human fact' were always essentially Marxist principles (which only revisionists like Garaudy are incapable of understanding).

Thus, by the mid-sixties many intellectuals came to regard structuralism as a new, specific form of espousing genuine Marxism under the prestigious direction of prominent scholars and university lecturers. In this peculiar ideological climate, many progressive-minded intellectuals accepted as a new development in Marxism something utterly opposed to Marxism. Moreover, this 'new development,' structuralism, is bent on becoming the dominant ideology, at the same time proclaiming the end of all ideology. And considering the monopoly on publication and dissemination of ideas, structuralism was off to a good start to become the most popular ideological vogue ever experienced in France.

Is structuralism a Marxist method?

Lévi-Strauss describes the method of structuralism as follows. First, one must gather and analyze separate facts and draw up a comprehensive list of them; second, one must establish the mutual connections between the facts, assemble them in groups and determine their inner correlation; third, one must synthesize the parts into a single entity, bring the respective elements into a system, and thus produce a single, integrated object for investigation (S. Lévi-Strauss. *Le totémisme aujourd'hui*. Paris, 1965, pp. 18-23). This is the very pivot of the method, which gave its name to the philosophy as a whole: *structure as a system governed by specific laws*.

In the broader sense, the concept of structure denotes a system of stable internal relationships determining the essential characteristics of an object and comprising an integral whole that cannot be reduced to a simple sum of its elements. In other words, a system that governs these elements, both as regards their mode of existence and the laws of their development. This concept of structure is not new to Marxism. In fact, the radical difference between structuralism and Marxism does not manifest itself at this primary level, i.e., in the concept of structure. On the contrary, contemporary schools of thought have borrowed it from Hegelian and, even more so, Marxist dialectics. It can justly be said that the concept of structure was first applied by the founders of scientific communism in the middle of the 19th century with respect to such a category of human existence as society, and not to language, the

domain of the subconscious or the kinship system, as was done only at the turn of the century.

As far back as 1859, Marx wrote in the Preface to his 'Critique of Political Economy': 'In the social production of their life, men enter into definite relations that are indispensable and independent of their will, relations of production which correspond to a definite stage of development of their material productive forces. The sum total of these relations of production constitutes the economic structure of society, the real foundation, on which rise a legal and political superstructure and to which correspond definite forms of social consciousness.' In his 'Economic Manuscripts of 1857-1859' Marx expanded the concept of society as an organic whole, noting: 'In a completely bourgeois system economic relationship presupposes the existence of another that is bourgeois and economic in form, one conditioning the other, as is the case with every organic system. As an integral whole this organic system possesses prerequisites of its own, and its development towards integral unity consists in subordinating all the elements of society or creating the organs it lacks. Thus, in the course of historic development the system resolves into a totality.' This is certainly the most comprehensive definition of the concept of structure, and contemporary structuralism has hardly added anything of substance beyond attempts at its mathematical formalization.

Perhaps, in that case, the difference between structuralism and Marxism begins with the definition of the *rules of application* of the concept of structure? Structuralism advances what it regards as the primary principles of the methodological priority of *synchronic* over *diachronic* approach. As we shall see, a correct understanding of this principle reveals no differences of substance between Marxism and structuralism on this point. For what actually does this principle, in its strictest sense, denote? Only that a correct application of research methodologies requires a clear differentiation between the investigation of a given structure from the point of view of its state and functioning at a given time (the synchronic approach) and investigation of the way it changes with time (the diachronic approach). In other words, configuration should not be confused with transfiguration. Furthermore, if history is in fact a history of structures and not of separate elements then, according to this principle, one must first know the *state* of these structures so as then to be able to establish their *history*. Given such an interpretation, the basic rule of structuralism does not contradict Marxist thinking, and we can again refer to Marx, who applied a similar method in analyzing the economic phenomena of capitalism.

Marx's purpose was to demonstrate the historical inevitability

of revolutionary replacement of capitalist society by the higher, socialist type of social relations. He deduced the necessity for such change not from abstract schemes of development, but from a thorough analysis of the internal structures and the superficially stable functioning of the capitalist economy. Marx thus proceeds *from structures to history*. Speaking of his method of analyzing economic categories, he emphasized: 'It would be impermissible and erroneous to take economic categories in the same order in which they had played a decisive role in history. On the contrary, the order is determined by the relationship existing between them in contemporary bourgeois society, and this relationship is diametrically opposite to that which would appear natural or be in accordance with the sequence of historical development. The question is not of the positions occupied historically by economic relations in consecutive social formations. It is even less a question of their succession "in the idea" (Proudhon), that perverted notion of the historical process. The question is of their hierarchy within modern bourgeois society.'

Undoubtedly, the purpose of economics is to reveal the laws of socio-economic development, but this can be done only after revealing the inner relationship between various aspects of our object of investigation. Only thus can the true movement be correctly shown. This was the plan according to which *Capital* was conceived. Book I analyzes the phenomena which constitute the *process of capitalist production* as such; Book II is devoted to the *process of circulation*, which supplements the process of production; in Book III it was possible to 'describe the concrete forms which grow out of the *movement of capital as a whole*' (Karl Marx, *Capital*. Moscow, 1962, Vol. III, p. 25). As Marx mentioned on many occasions, if *Capital* had been completed, it would have ended with an analysis of the class struggle, that is, of the social movement which would resolve the contradictions inherent in the capitalist mode of production. In other words, Marx's investigation advanced from the 'micro-anatomy' of elementary economic forms to 'diachrony' and on to the historic process as a whole.

Thus, long before the structural method was employed in linguistics, ethnology or psycho-analysis, its value had been demonstrated in Marx's analysis of economic phenomena of capitalist society.

Fundamental difference from Marxism

All the preceding could create the impression that there is no substantive difference between the structuralist and the dialectic method. This is suggested by Lévi-Strauss's claim that he had borrowed his central concept of structure, 'along with others, from

Marx and Engels.' Amplifying that, he writes: 'I want to re-integrate in the Marxist trend all the achievements of ethnology of the last fifty years' (*Anthropologie structurale*. Paris, 1958, p. 364). And there is this significant statement in the autobiographical notes in Chapter VI of his *Tristes tropiques*: 'Marx thrilled me, for it was through his great mind that I was initiated into the philosophical trend running from Kant to Hegel: a whole world opened to me. I have not lost this feeling since then and I rarely attempt to delve into some problem of sociology or ethnology without first refreshing my thoughts by reading several pages from *The 18th Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte* or the *Critique of Political Economy*' (*Tristes tropiques*, Paris, 1955, p. 44).

But in that case, it is hard to understand why structuralists do not simply regard themselves as Marxists, and why they insist on calling the method they claim to have borrowed from Marx *structural* and not *dialectical*? The question is evocative of another; in the days when Sartre professed 'profound agreement with Marxist philosophy,' he was asked why he adhered to existentialism. The answer, as is evident from Sartre's theoretical and political evolution, is: one cannot preach existentialism without at the same time rejecting the very *essence* of Marxism. And the same goes for structuralism, for all its differences from existentialism: its refusal to be identified with dialectical materialism is not just a matter of terminology or of theoretical prestige, but an expression of its *fundamental difference from Marxism*. This is revealed in the following basic propositions.

1. Structuralism does not simply assert the methodological priority of synchrony over diachrony; it separates their very essence so radically as to completely preclude any inner unity. It does not, of course, go so far as to view objects purely statistically or to reject diachrony. But the so-called 'structural theory of diachrony' rejects, in effect, adequate solutions of historical problems.

While accepting that various structures develop in time, it treats this not as a process projected into the future but, on the contrary, as movement towards completion and, consequently, stagnation. Thus, linguist A. J. Greimas writes that 'history, instead of being a point of departure, as is endlessly claimed, is, on the contrary, completion'; it is 'more of a brake than a motor'; hence, in his view, 'there is a large share of truth in the folk adage that "the more a thing is changed the less it changes"' (*Les Temps modernes*, November 1966, p. 823). This leaves out the main thing: history as a process of continuous, limitless development of human society, i.e., all that history really is.

Wherever structuralism does concede changes in structures it sees them merely as an 'explosion of the structure' resulting from its collision with external conditions. This ignores the *inner laws*

of historical development. History is thus left 'open,' is seen merely as a fortuitous succession of unconnected epochs and periods. Thus, M. Foucault in his *Les Mots et les choses* regards epochs in the development of human knowledge as a series of epistemological pictures, as a kaleidoscope of change rather than a consistent process of the progressive development of knowledge. In contrast to the dialectical understanding of structure and history in their profound unity, structuralism, which ignores this unity, emphasizes the relative immutability of structures. This leaves it in a vicious circle, vacillating between structures with no real history and history with no real structures.

2. Marxism offers a profoundly rational understanding of the unity of structure and history and reveals the motive forces of all processes, namely, *dialectical contradiction*. As a unity of opposites, it includes both the relative invariance of structure and the law-governed succession of stages of historical development. But being at the same time a *struggle* of opposites, it reveals the inner dynamism of the structure and the qualitative changes that determine its real history.

Dialectical contradiction is alien to structuralism – that is a key characteristic of its method. It recognizes only a reciprocally complementary juxtaposition of facts, phenomena and structures, that is, the external form, or a pale reflection, of the dialectical contradiction. As a rule, structuralism is concerned with complementary juxtaposition of elements of one or another system, for example, the system of kinship or the system of concepts. These are not inherent dialectical contradictions, for the functioning of different elements of the system is not related to the dialectics, but rather to the mechanism of the phenomenon.

The main object of scientific analysis is to show that the apparent invariance of these mechanisms conceals the contradictory processes that originated them and, in the course of essential development, transforms them into new mechanisms. Marxism does not reject analyses of concrete mechanisms of social development. Witness Marx's analysis, in *Capital*, of the transition mechanism from the c-m-c cycle, i.e., the formula of simple commodity circulation, to the general formula of capital, the m-c-m cycle. Its contradictions help us understand the mechanism of the creation of surplus value and the process of class struggle. Marx's method does not ignore the mechanisms of phenomena, but it centers on revealing the dialectics of processes behind their relative invariance. It was this scientific, dialectical method that enabled Marx to prove that 'the present society is no solid crystal, but an organism capable of change, and is constantly changing' (*Capital*, Moscow, 1961, Vol. I, p. 10). In this respect the structuralist method should be regarded as anti-dialectical.

3. Why is structuralism blind to dialectical contradictions, that connecting link between history and structure? The answer is that it ignores the very basis of social development – the dialectics of the basis of human society, that is, the dialectics of the *social production of material values*. This is the crux of the matter: Marx's scientific dialectics is inseparable from his materialism, for, in the final analysis, the dialectics of all aspects of social existence and consciousness is rooted in (though not confined to) man's material activity. Hence, whatever the partial merits of structuralism, it can never be fully effective since it ignores the determinant basis of all social phenomena.

Nor is there any validity in structuralism's claim that it is a universal method of cognition of all phenomena and processes. Its point of departure is absolutization of language and linguistic structures, which are supposed to determine all other social factors. 'Language,' Lévi-Strauss says, 'is chiefly a *cultural phenomenon* (which sets man apart from animal)' (*Anthropologie structurale*, p. 392). From this follows the fundamental axiom of structuralism, namely, that *linguistics is the leading discipline* of the vast realm of the humanities. The structuralists do not seem to be very consistent: they demand analysis of the sum-total of the elements and their connections within a system, but isolate a single factor, a single element, which is then proclaimed of decisive importance. Descartes could, in his time regard language as the only thing that sets man apart from animal. In our time, there is scientific proof that there was a system of causal factors, with language as *one* element, along with other equally important elements, such as the fashioning of implements, which, in the final analysis, contributed to the emergence of language in close connection with the development of human consciousness.

The structuralists are wrong in considering linguistics as the 'leading discipline.' The mechanical transfer of the methods and concepts of one science to another, without a thorough investigation of real differences or their specific content, leads to the substitution of metaphor for scientific investigation, the Marxist linguist G. Mounin has correctly pointed out. The structuralists even assume that accumulation of a certain number of concepts and terms relating to an isolated group of facts about the human condition provides a 'key' to the 'secrets' of cognition. The fact, however, is that the 'epistemological' method is purely formal and barren. Structuralism's neglect of historical materialism is forcing it back to the unsolvable riddle of history, to the impasse of anthropological idealism and the arbitrariness of epistemological recipes.

(To be completed in next issue.)



Success for India's democratic forces

General elections to the lower house (Lok Sabha) of the Indian parliament took place early in March 1971. Together with the national elections, there were elections to the Legislative Assemblies in the three states of West Bengal, Orissa and Tamilnad. The elections were a decisive stage in the long political battle between the forces of democracy and reaction. And the former won a decisive victory. The people of India gave a crushing defeat to the 'grand alliance' of reactionary parties.

Why general elections this year?

This is the fifth national general election in India. Though the term of the parliament elected in 1967 would expire only in 1972, Prime Minister Indira Gandhi advised the President, at the end of December 1970, to dissolve the fourth parliament before time and to call for fresh elections. This step was necessitated by the crisis situation in the country. Faced by the constant obstruction of the Right-wing elements in Parliament, the Government could not go ahead with its proclaimed program

and fulfil its pledges to the people and was forced to seek a fresh mandate from the people.

It is for the first time that mid-term elections are held to the parliament in India. The significance of this can be understood only on the basis of a realistic analysis of the recent political developments in India. A year and a half ago, in July 1969, the ruling Congress Party, the party of the Indian bourgeoisie, split in two. The dominant Right-wing leadership of the Congress Party formed a separate party and crossed over to the opposition.

The Congress Party split over very important national, political and economic issues, like the nationalization of banks, the need for radical agrarian reforms, the assertion of the supremacy of parliament over the judiciary in enacting laws. The Rightists attacked the foreign policy of non-alignment, co-operation with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries and support to the governments and people fighting against imperialism.

The split in the ruling Congress Party set in motion the

process of a basic realignment of the political forces in the country. The split-away opposition Congress Party aligned itself with the avowed reactionary Swatantra Party (party of free enterprise) and the Hindu religious chauvinist Jan Sangh with its fascist-type para-military volunteer organization, engineering bloody pogroms against minority religious communities. The dominant leadership of the Samyukth (United) Socialist Party allied with them. They made many attempts in Parliament to topple the government of Prime Minister Indira Gandhi.

On the other side of the battle-line an anti-Rightist camp was taking shape, including the Communist Party of India, other Left and democratic parties and groups and progressive sections of the ruling Congress Party. Such an alliance took the organized form of a progressive front in certain states like Kerala. The gigantic mass struggle for land and agrarian reforms, as well as numerous other militant movements of the workers, students, youth and middle class employees aggravated this confrontation.

Of late, a struggle has flared up around the Bill to abolish the privy purses and other privileges of the former princes. The Supreme Court's repeal of the government order abolishing the privy purses and other privileges emboldened the reactionary forces to thrust themselves forward to capture power at the Center.

This acted like the proverbial last straw on the camel's back. Prime Minister Indira Gandhi

decided to dissolve the parliament.

Rightists' bid for power

All progressive forces in the country welcomed this decision. The Communist Party of India, in a statement issued on December 28, 1970, said that the central question involved in the election was that of 'the Rightist bid to take over power at the center on the one hand and on the other hand, the struggle of the Left and democratic forces in the country to thwart and defeat this counter-revolutionary bid, as well as to assert the sovereignty of the people's will expressed through the new parliament, to effect certain radical and basic changes in the Indian constitution to carry through fundamental and urgently needed socio-economic transformations to overcome the political and economic crisis which has gripped our country' (New Age, January 3, 1971).

Reaction's bid for power at the center was a stark and dangerous reality. When the ruling Congress Party split, two state governments (Mysore and Gujarat) were under the control of the split-away opposition Congress Party. During the closing months of last year, the three parties of Right reaction, together with the Samyukth Socialist Party, successfully maneuvered to capture the state governments in two big states in North India (Uttar Pradesh and Bihar). Their eyes were set now on Delhi.

Their opposition to the ruling Congress Party and Prime Minister Indira Gandhi in particular,

was due to the fact that under the impact of democratic forces, the shift to the right in the policies of the Congress Party was halted. This shift to the right was paving the way for U.S. neo-colonialism and monopoly capital.

In fact, Prime Minister Indira Gandhi initiated a number of measures in internal and foreign policy which were welcomed by all progressive sections in India and vehemently opposed by the reactionaries. They include: nationalization of the fourteen big commercial banks; lower prices on the crude oil imported for foreign-monopoly owned refineries; an end to the 'plan holiday' and resumption of the fourth five-year plan; taking over by the state of the import of two important industrial raw materials, cotton and raw cashew nuts; curbing the fabulous profits of the drug monopolies; inquiry into the corrupt practices and swindling engaged in by monopoly companies: closing down of some American and other imperialist 'cultural centers' in India. The reactionaries also resent the strengthening of friendly relations and expansion of trade with the Soviet Union, other socialist countries and progressive Afro-Asian states; public condemnation of neo-colonialism (e.g., at the Lusaka non-aligned summit conference); denunciation of the U.S. imperialist war of aggression in Indochina, the British decision to sell arms to the South African white racist regime, the plans for building foreign naval bases in the Indian Ocean, etc.

The reactionaries wanted to reverse this process. They ac-

cused Prime Minister Indira Gandhi of being a 'dictator,' of being 'sympathetic' towards the Communists and of making India a 'satellite' of the Soviet Union. It was clear their main target of attack was the parties of the Left, the Communists in the first place. They called for a ban on the Communist Party. To crush the progressive forces, they insisted on preventive detention without trial and demanded ruthless suppression of all mass movements and struggles.

In the typical demagogic style of fascists, they used every weapon - religious and linguistic chauvinism, casteism, obscurantism, anti-communism, anti-sovietism, money, force, violence - to disrupt and deceive the masses.

The imperialists also took a hand

The imperialists knew the high stakes involved in the Indian general elections. The American imperialist aggressors have already suffered heavy losses in Asia. One need only mention their defeats in Indochina, the victory of the United Front in Ceylon in the general elections and the formation of a United Left Democratic Government, under the leadership of Mrs. Bandaranayike, the landslide victory of the progressive democratic National Awami Party in Pakistan, considered safe for the imperialists under autocratic military rule. The imperialists, especially U.S. imperialists, naturally hoped against hope that the same process might be halted in India. And they did all they could to help their friends

and servitors in India to win the elections.

Progressive circles in India justifiably suspected that the hijacking of an Indian plane to West Pakistan, just on the eve of the elections, was masterminded by the American Central Intelligence Agency to help the Hindu chauvinist Jan Sangh in India whip up anti-Pakistan and anti-Muslim hysteria and put the blame on the government of India for failure to protect the Indian plane.

Two former American ambassadors, Sherman Cooper and Chester Bowles, paid a private visit to India two weeks before the elections and met, according to American sources, 'a number of their old friends in the government, in parliament and in public life.' Who their 'friends' in parliament and public life are, everybody knows.

An attempt was made to purchase the Rupee counterpart funds (accrued in the Reserve Bank of India for sale of food grain by the United States to India) for dollars at market-rate (which is double the official exchange rate) so that huge amounts of money were made available to the American Embassy in India for its 'operation election.' But the Government of India did not agree. Still the U.S. Embassy withdrew from the counterpart funds nearly Rs 600 million during the period from April 1969 to September 1970.

Finally the *New York Times* on January 4, 1971 issued an advertisement in the name of some Indians residing in New York, appealing for funds to support the Jan Sangh in the elections. According to the ad-

vertisement, 'it is a question of now or never. The nationalist, democratic, patriotic forces look to us for support.' We do not know who responded to this appeal and how much money poured from America to the coffers of the reactionary parties.

But the people of India said: Never!

The role of Right-wing Socialists and 'Left' Communists

The Samyukth Socialist Party, as stated earlier, openly joined the grand alliance of the three reactionary parties. The Right-wing Socialist Party leadership, to the shame of all genuine Socialists and Democrats, actually provided a smoke-screen for the reactionary parties to hoodwink the people and confuse and disrupt the democratic forces.

The leaders of the Samyukth Socialist Party propounded the wonderful theory that there was 'no theoretical or ideological basis for the split within the Congress Party.' Hence they did not find any difference between the ruling and opposition Congress parties. And since the Samyukth Socialist Party was also in opposition, they argued that there was nothing wrong in allying with the opposition Congress and other opposition parties. Hence they led the Samyukth Socialist Party into the parlor of the reactionary alliance.

The policy of the 'Left' Communists was in no way different. Of course, the call of the extreme ultra-revolutionaries among them to boycott the bourgeois parliamentary elections did not cut any ice among the people. The more influential

Communist Party (Marxist), completely blind to the realities of Indian political life and to the danger of the rightist bid to capture power, characterized both the reactionary alliance and the ruling Congress Party as 'big bourgeois landlord groups' and 'enemies of the people.' According to the Communist Party (Marxist), all Left and democratic parties, including the Communist Party of India, who called for an all-out united effort to defeat reaction, were 'enemies of the people' and 'agents of the bourgeoisie.' They rejected the fraternal offer made by the Communist Party of India to have at least partial mutual adjustments and cooperation even in a limited field where this was possible to improve the chances of getting more democratic candidates elected to the Parliament.

Though the leaders of the Communist Party (Marxist) claim that they are the only Marxist-Leninists in India, they have long pursued a bankrupt sectarian policy which refuses to differentiate the extreme Rightist forces from other sections of the bourgeoisie, advocate equidistance from fascism as well as the anti-fascist front, and oppose and denounce unity of all democratic forces.

The practice of the Communist Party (Marxist) in the mid-term elections in Kerala State in September 1970 and in the present parliamentary elections, proves that their theory of equidistance is a hoax. No political party in India in the present situation can remain really neutral, not in words, but in real life, in the crucial struggle

between the reactionary alliance and democracy. In practice, the Communist Party (Marxist) concentrated its fire against the democratic bloc as the main enemy to be fought in this election. They made surreptitious adjustments and an understanding with the parties of the Rightist alliance in Kerala, Tamilnad, West Bengal and other states, either by sponsoring common 'independent' candidates or by putting up candidates to disrupt votes to their advantage.

For a firm left-oriented parliament

The Communist Party of India called and worked for building maximum unity among all anti-Rightist forces, including the ruling Congress Party. The ruling Congress Party also called for the defeat of the parties of reaction. But it aimed at winning a majority for itself in the new parliament. The Right-wing inside the ruling Congress Party was not for any electoral united front or even adjustments with the Communist Party of India or other left and democratic parties. So there was no complete unity among all the democratic forces. In the states of Kerala, Tamilnad and Punjab there was a fighting unity among the Communist Party, the ruling Congress Party and other democratic forces. In some other states, there was a partial understanding and adjustments.

The election campaign developed into an unprecedentedly militant upsurge of the masses; there was a new spirit of determined fight against the monopo-

lies, feudal princes and other enemies of progress.

The reactionary attempt to block mass political activity by a campaign of terror against the Communist Party and other democratic parties, even by using armed goondas against candidates and supporters of the Communist and even of the Congress Party, failed dismally. In the state of West Bengal, the Communist Party (Marxist) had an active part in this campaign.

Victory for democracy and progress

But the results of the elections completely upset all the forecasts in the monopoly-controlled bourgeois press. The most they conceded was only even chances for the reactionary grand alliance and the ruling Congress Party.

The ruling Congress Party which had 222 seats in the previous parliament after the split, won 350 seats, thus securing for itself more than the two-thirds majority required for amending the Constitution itself. Such a big majority the undivided Congress Party had won only during the lifetime of the late Prime Minister Nehru.

The parties of the 'grand alliance' had a combined strength of 148 seats in the last parliament. But this time they got altogether only 48 seats. The three Right-wing parties were reduced to small regional parties. The Samyukth Socialist Party got only three seats.

The Communist Party which fielded 86 candidates and actively supported anti-Rightist can-

didates, won 24 seats (the same as in the previous Lok Sabha), spread over eight states throughout India.

Left sectarian slogans and the tactics of terror and violence against other parties, followed by the Communist Party (Marxist) paid well in West Bengal. They won 20 parliament seats from that state. But they could win only five additional seats from the rest of India.

The massive victory gained by the ruling Congress Party is described by the bourgeois press and commentators in India and abroad as a 'personal' victory for Prime Minister Indira Gandhi and a vote for 'stability.' But it must be remembered that four years ago, before the split, the Congress led by the same Indira Gandhi suffered the greatest defeat, losing the majority in almost all major states. So the victory of Indira Gandhi should be seen as a victory for democracy, which she symbolized, over reaction.

Hence it is not a vote for 'stability' by which the bourgeoisie means maintaining the 'status quo.' It is a vote for radical transformations so that reaction, politically defeated, is dislodged from its entrenched positions in the economy and social life.

And the struggle is not over. The popular victory in the elections has created favorable conditions and unleashed a new wave of mass militancy. It will enable the Communist Party and Left and democratic forces, including the progressive sections inside the ruling Congress Party, to fight in the new Par-

liament and outside it for measures to liquidate feudal landlordism, curb the power of the monopolies and eliminate

neo-colonialist plunder, as well as for effective measures to improve the life of the working people.

C. Unni Raja

Step towards 'permanent war'?

Citing statements by President Nixon and other official spokesmen, the U.S. press has been trying to create the impression that America is 'withdrawing' from Indochina. Timetables are mentioned, there is much talk of successful 'Vietnamization,' of effective operations by U.S. and Saigon forces in Cambodia, Laos, etc.

What is the real picture? What are the real aims and practical results of the Nixon administration's 'new policy'?

Leaving to stay on

To begin with, even the exponents of the so-called new policy do not claim that it affects the chief purposes of America's presence in Indochina. And these purposes are well known: continued imperialist domination, suppression of the popular liberation movement, and undermining the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, that socialist outpost in this part of the world. Washington needs its Indochina place d'armes to be able to exert pressure on neighboring independent countries, notably India and Burma, whose policy in many ways runs counter to America's expansionist plans.

And the much-used term 'withdrawal' does not betoken a desire to end interference in Indochina's affairs and allow its peoples to shape their own destinies. For Nixon and his aides have repeatedly declared that 'stability' in Asia (meaning, of course, imperialist domination) depends on American victory in Vietnam. The White House knows only too well that collapse of its aggressive policy in Indochina can trigger off a chain reaction and activate the national-liberation forces in other Southeast Asian areas—Thailand, for instance, where several regions are now the scene of guerrilla war.

Consequently, partial withdrawal of U.S. forces from South Vietnam can only mean: leaving to stay on. This is a two-birds-with-one-stone tactic: mislead world and American opinion, dampen the resentment against the dirty war by pretending that Washington is 'revising' its Indochina policy, and, at the same time, cut the top-heavy expenditure on intervention.

That the U.S. has no intention of quitting Indochina is evident from the vast amount it is investing in strategic construction. Several billion dollars have

already been sunk into more airfields, seaports, proving grounds, service facilities, fortified jungle camps, and so on. Naturally, all this spending would make no sense if the Americans were really going to withdraw. In fact, the Pentagon has announced that the U.S. will maintain from 150,000 to 200,000 personnel in South Vietnam for a long time to come to service its air force, artillery and to garrison its numerous bases.

The intervention in Cambodia has been officially 'explained' as an action to 'destroy' Vietcong 'sanctuaries,' and the campaign in Laos as a move to 'block the Ho Chi Minh trail,' which, Washington claims, is used to ship armaments and other supplies to the South Vietnamese patriots. We are told that armed invasion of these countries creates favorable conditions for an American pull-out from South Vietnam according to a pre-arranged timetable. But the American press says that the operations have not—indeed could not—produce the desired result for it would require a much greater force to 'seal off' South Vietnam. General Westmoreland said a few years ago that it would take about 200,000 American troops in Laos alone.

The main purpose of the perfidious incursions into Cambodia and Laos is not to expedite the withdrawal timetable but to place both countries under U.S. imperialist control and prevent their advance in independence and social progress. That is borne out by all America's actions, past and present. It will be recalled that for many years

the U.S. secret service had been trying to subvert Prince Sihanouk's government which was working to consolidate the country's independence and supported the struggle of the Vietnamese people. The CIA engineered a plot to overthrow the Prince and install a puppet government in Pnom Penh. Washington succeeded last year. In Laos, the U.S. has been inciting and escalating civil war, compelling the Souvanna Phouma government to cooperate with the ultras and to acquiesce in neo-colonialist plans. After the invasion, the U.S. press strongly hinted that Prince Souvanna would be overthrown and a 'strong' Saigon-type regime installed to step up the fight against the Patriotic Front, which controls the North of the country.

And to camouflage the neo-colonialist aims of this policy, the story has been put out that the U.S. seeks no economic advantage in Southeast Asia. Thus, Arthur Schlesinger in his 'The Crisis of Confidence' says that it would probably take tens and tens of years for American concerns to earn in Indochina what the U.S. spends in one year on the Vietnam war.

U.S. investments in this area are relatively small and so are profits. And investments grow slowly because of the war. But the profit-level is no less than what American firms receive on their Latin American investments. Furthermore, Indochina is rich in natural resources. One of them is oil: immense deposits have been discovered on the continental shelf off South Vietnam, Cambodia and Thailand. It

is estimated that they match the Middle East deposits and production could within a few years be brought up to *several hundred million tons*. Add to this the vast reserve of cheap labor power and a capacious market for oil products in Japan, India, Pakistan and other countries. No wonder U.S. imperialism is escalating its aggression in Indochina and wants to retain its 'presence' in Southeast Asia to make the most of this oil bonanza.

*'Vietnamization':
aims and results*

These are the main landmarks: Saigon army increased to 1,400,000 and equipped with modern heavy armaments; intensified punitive operations to 'pacify' rural areas; bolstering the puppet regime. The point and purpose of all these measures is to pass the war burden on to Saigon so that U.S. forces can gradually be withdrawn from the immediate battle areas.

And the results? The Pentagon maintains that the U.S. and Saigon forces have reduced the size of the liberated areas. But even if that were true, it would not warrant the claim that 'pacification' has been effective. The *Paris Figaro* puts it this way: Mopping-up operations solve nothing, the 'Saigon administration still has to reassert its rule over 2,500 communities of South Vietnam.' And this capitalist paper doubts whether that can be done by force. Force will never win the loyalty of the people. That can only be done by a political and economic program that accords with the

interests of the peasants and other laboring strata. The puppet regime has no such program because it serves imperialism and the exploiting top crust, not the people.

And the people are tired of this endless war. Insistent appeals to end it come not only from the laboring population, but also from broad sections of landowners, the national bourgeoisie and Buddhist priests. Yet America's stooges are still bent on 'war to the complete destruction of the Vietcong' and to make short shrift of all opposition. The only result has been increasingly to isolate the regime. True, it does have a certain support within the country — people who profit from the war: the big bourgeoisie associated with American capital; the top brass; the privileged section of the bureaucracy, tradesmen and well-to-do peasants who supply the army; night club owners; even a definite section of the workers, those employed in repair shops, transport and ports that serve the Americans, where wages are higher. According to Western observers, this support base has been somewhat expanded in recent years. But of course it is no match for the forces confronting the regime, and in this respect too Vietnamization has not produced any radical change.

The only thing it gave the Americans is a larger supply of cannon fodder for their aggressive and neo-colonialist plans. The one-million strong Saigon army, equipped with American weapons, is being turned into a serious aggressive force in Southeast Asia. And it is no

accident that after the intervention in Laos some West European observers suggested that this mercenary force might be used against other Asian countries.

The Indochina war, though confined to the peninsula, has *factually become a sharp clash between socialism and imperialism, progress and reaction*. In their just struggle, the peoples of Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia have the support of the socialist countries, and above all of the Soviet Union, of the entire revolutionary and democratic movement. And there can be no doubt that their victory is inevitable. As Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CC CPSU, emphasized in his report to the 24th Congress of the CPSU, 'anyone capable of taking a realistic view of things must realize that neither direct armed intervention, nor torpedoing of negotiations, nor even the ever wider use of mercenaries will break down the Vietnamese people's determination to become master of its own country.'

The *Washington Post* predicts a long 'permanent war' in Indochina, a war that might spill over to other areas. Of course, there is no precluding more

American imperialist aggression in Indochina. In fact, the U.S. press says that some Pentagon generals regard the drive into Cambodia and Laos as a 'test' in preparation of more extensive operations against the Democratic Republic of Vietnam.

How that 'test' has fared, can be judged by the panic retreat from Laos of the intervention forces.

There are reports, too, that the use of tactical nuclear weapons and the creation of a radioactive zone in the narrow part of Laos to 'seal off' South Vietnam are now being discussed. The *Chicago Sun and Times* links these monstrous plans with the 'Guam doctrine' which is to employ American material, but not troops, in suppressing the national-liberation struggle.

At any rate, there is ample evidence to show that the war in Indochina might become more prolonged and more dangerous. And this calls for especial vigilance from all peace and anti-imperialist forces, more effective exposure of the aggressors, their plans and maneuvers and more coordinated action in support of the heroic peoples of Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos.

B. Andre

European security — imperative of our times

The creation of an effective European collective security system is one of the continent's

pressing political problems. That Europe stands in need of peace and closer cooperation of its

nations is all too evident. That is why security questions attract public attention and are debated in the press – both Left and Right – and by statesmen and politicians. The crux of the problem is, of course, relations between Europe's socialist and capitalist states.

The Warsaw Treaty Political Consultative Committee made an important contribution towards European security at its Berlin meeting last December. It demonstrated the unity of the socialist community on this key issue and its determination to work for universal peace and to block the road to nuclear-missile war.

The statement issued after the meeting says: 'Trends towards a détente and broad good-neighbor cooperation are increasingly gaining ground in relations between European states.' And the meeting justifiably declared that preparatory work already carried out provides sufficient prerequisites for an all-European security and cooperation conference.

The Warsaw Treaty states welcome Finland's initiative for meetings in Helsinki of representatives of interested countries to discuss practical arrangements.

Reaction to the European security conference idea clearly shows who is for and who against a détente in Europe. The Soviet Union and other socialist states have made their position absolutely clear: an effective European security system guaranteed by international treaties that would fundamentally change Europe's political climate. President Pompidou of France signified his support for

the conference during last year's visit to the Soviet Union. Italian Foreign Minister Moro has also spoken in favor of an European forum, emphasizing the importance of a 'political dialogue.' As for Finland, her desire to promote European security accords with the underlying principles of her foreign policy aimed at preserving and consolidating peace.

Mounting public support for a collective security system is directly associated with implementation by the Soviet Union and other socialist countries of the Leninist policy of peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems. It can be safely said that nowadays fewer and fewer people are taken in by the imperialist propaganda figment of a 'military threat' from the European socialist countries.

The growing trend towards enduring European peace and expanded cooperation is a direct consequence of the changed international strength-balance in favor of socialism and against imperialism. The strength and prestige of the Soviet Union and the other socialist states increase with every passing year. The more realistic-minded monopoly elements, despite their inveterate opposition to socialism and progress, find themselves obliged to reckon with this, for they realize that the Soviet Union and its Warsaw Treaty allies can deal a shattering retaliatory blow to any aggressor. The events in Czechoslovakia have convinced them of the socialist community's firm resolve effectively to repel every imperialist attempt to undermine it by subversion. Hence the choice

increasingly pondered in the ruling circles of capitalist Europe: peaceful coexistence with the socialist states, or more cold war and more arms drive, with all the disastrous consequences following therefrom.

A firmer basis for peaceful coexistence in Europe would make for a healthier climate not only on our continent, but throughout the world. It would also open broad vistas for expanded trade, scientific and technological ties between socialist and capitalist countries. This would be to the advantage – in terms of guaranteed profits – of monopoly interests not tied up in arms manufacture, they know that the socialist states are good economic partners. And it is no accident that French, Italian and West German concerns have of late concluded major contracts with agencies in the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. Indeed, such cooperation is now a pressing necessity: the scientific and technological revolution, the growth of large-scale production, greater international division of labor, limitations of the capitalist market, all highlight the need for wider economic contacts between countries of differing social systems. The objective character of this process was emphasized by Lenin in the early days of the world's first socialist state. Speaking at the Ninth All-Russian Congress of Soviets on relations between the worker-peasant republic and capitalist states, he said: 'There is a force more powerful than the wishes, the will and the decisions of any of the governments or classes that are hostile to us. That force is

world general economic relations, which compel them to make contact with us' (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 33, p. 155).

Legal consolidation of the results of World War II is of primary importance for strengthening European peace. And there has been progress in this respect. Nowadays, not only progressives, but realistically minded bourgeois leaders in Western and Northern Europe are coming to realize that the peoples' future requires recognition of the postwar pattern of Europe. This implies accepting the inviolability of existing European frontiers and settlement of all outstanding issues by peaceful means, without recourse to force. This realistic understanding of the situation has led to such major diplomatic acts as the FRG treaties with the USSR and Poland, in which West Germany has, for the first time, undertaken not to make territorial claims on her neighbors and to respect the boundaries of all European countries, including the GDR and the Oder-Neisse line, as inviolable. The treaties are a serious blow to the neo-Nazi and revanchist forces in the FRG and, to a certain degree, pave the way to European collective security. However, there is no disregarding the stepped up activity of militarist forces against normalization and relaxation of tension in Europe. This applies in particular to the Right wing of the CDU and CSU, which have launched a virulent campaign against Bundestag ratification of the treaties.

The people of Finland welcome every step in strengthening peace in Europe and reduc-

ing international tensions. Post-war experience has convinced them that peaceful coexistence pays off. And not only in terms of economic development. Finland's consistent 'Paasikivi-Kekkonen line' based on the friendship, cooperation and mutual assistance treaty with the Soviet Union and good-neighbor relations with the latter, have enabled her to follow an independent peace-oriented policy that accords both with her national interests and the wishes of all the peoples of Northern Europe. The treaty guarantees Finland's security and independence, enabling her to play an active part in world affairs and to act as an important factor for international peace and understanding. But it should be perfectly clear that stable security in Northern Europe can be assured only if our countries remain outside the sphere of international tension, and this can be achieved through a European collective security system.

Finland's initiative in facilitating convocation of the conference is wholeheartedly supported by her people. One evidence of that is the formation, last spring, of a National European Security Committee, on which all political parties, trade unions, student organizations and the peace movement are represented. The Committee has set out to explain the objectives of the European conference, enlist mass support for it and assist every action aimed at promoting the conference.

Of course, the representatives of the organizations on the Committee hold differing political and ideological views, but all of

them want a meeting of Europe's statesmen. Public support for peaceful coexistence is so great that no Right-wing group has ventured to oppose this, though the Rightists have indulged in snide attacks on the government's peace policy and in anti-Communist propaganda.

In line with public sentiment, the Committee sponsored 'Security Days' in Helsinki on November 21 and 22, with well-known public figures and political leaders from East and West Europe joining Finnish officials and representatives of different sections of the population in discussing the questions involved in preparing the conference. There was much emphasis on the need for thorough preparation, but also on the need to eliminate artificial delay. The main offenders here are the NATO policy makers. Ample evidence of that was furnished by the Brussels NATO Council session at the end of 1970. Under pressure from the U.S. and West-European 'Atlantism' exponents, it took a basically negative position on the conference.

In Finland this aroused general disappointment. Of course, the Finnish public was well aware that influential NATO forces were opposed to an all-European conference and would like nothing better than to hold back peace trends in Europe. Yet it resented the way the Brussels session completely ignored the Finnish initiative, couched as it was in extremely tactful terms. Finland's suggestion for consultations on the proposed conference had met with a positive response from 35 governments, but the Brussels Council re-

sponded by insisting on NATO's 'prior conditions.' And one of these was that multilateral consultations for preparing the conference could be held only after progress had been made on West Berlin.

That strengthening European peace depends on normalizing the situation in West Berlin and on the cessation of all activity incompatible with its juridical status, need hardly be proved. Supported by the NATO countries, West German reactionaries are making unlawful claims on West Berlin and are interfering in its internal affairs. But by its status West Berlin is an independent unit, a special state-political entity. It is not part of the FRG, either in law or in fact. That is accepted by the Western powers, too, but their support of these reactionary claims has converted questions relating to West Berlin into a complicated international problem. And to link its solution with preparation of an all-European conference is tantamount, in effect, to deliberate obstruction of European collective security.

The attempt to freeze détente negotiations is in line with NATO's 'tough' policy and extension of the 'psychological war' advocated by the U.S. aggressive faction. Indicative in this respect is a pamphlet by Professor Timothy W. Stanley, 'A Conference on European Security?', published by the U.S. Atlantic Council. Such 'specialists' on the socialist countries as Rostow and Bohlen had a hand in compiling it. Its basic purpose is to prevent a European security forum, the movement for which, the pamphlet says, has assumed

'alarming proportions' in Western Europe. Like similar statements by leading U.S. official and unofficial spokesmen, the Stanley pamphlet is a clear indication that, in the final analysis, struggle against the USSR and the whole of the world socialist system is the be all and end all of Washington's European policies. The U.S. imperialists are acting in deliberate opposition to the real situation in Europe and the interests of her peoples, refusing to reckon with the changes taking place on the continent.

This, of course, suits the American 'hawks,' who want to escalate the war in Indochina and the the revanchist element in West Germany which, led by Strauss, is waging a vicious campaign against ratification of the treaties with the Soviet Union and Poland and for a recarving of the political map of Europe. But everyone who wants peace resolutely rejects this policy of preserving and aggravating European tensions. Commenting on the U.S. stand at the Brussels session, the *Christian Science Monitor* remarked that Washington was bent on strengthening its European frontiers. In other words, American imperialism wants to shore up its domination of Western Europe. But that's the last thing the European people want. In Brussels, the West-European NATO members undertook to increase their NATO military expenditure by \$1,000 million. But a new round of the arms drive and more cold war can only further aggravate and complicate Europe's acute problems. The only solution is through the peaceful coexistence

of socialist and capitalist states, relaxation of tensions, and development of economic, scientific and technological cooperation. And an all-European conference would help achieve that.

Even within the 'Atlantic community,' not everyone is prepared to support this policy of sabotaging preparation of a European forum. At the NATO Council in Brussels and later at the European Council Foreign Ministers meeting in Paris, the representatives of Norway, Denmark and Iceland expressed their disagreement with the negative stand on the conference, declaring that the time was ripe for practical preparations. Norwegian Foreign Minister Stray called for a positive response to the Finnish proposal for consultations in Helsinki.

In an attempt to weaken the movement in favor of the conference, NATO circles have sought to distort its point and purpose. It is claimed, for example, that only the Soviet Union and the other socialist states would benefit from the conference, since it would legalize the postwar boundaries. But, one might ask, what do the authors of such assertions want? Boundary revision? But that would be little short of an open appeal for war, a war that could reduce European countries to wasteland.

Another argument is that the peace program put forward by the Warsaw Treaty countries has an 'anti-Western' orientation and is meant to undermine U.S. influence in Western Europe and weaken the NATO 'military effort.' A collective security system is, of course, contrary to

U.S. imperialism's desire to exploit the West European countries' economic and military potential for its aggressive policies. It is also contrary to escalation of the arms drive which Washington is imposing on its military-bloc allies. For European collective security is meant to prevent another war; that is precisely why it accords with the interests of the people of Europe, as well as of the American people, who do not want to be plunged into a nuclear-missile holocaust. European security would make for mutual confidence and good will in international relations and would go a long way towards international detente. That, in turn, could put the brake on more military spending, higher prices and taxes, and also on the aggressive forces in unleashing local conflicts. Nor should there be any doubt that in conditions of peace the working people of the capitalist countries would be in a better position to fight for their vital rights, democracy and social progress.

There are powerful forces in Europe capable of stepping up the effort for a collective security system and promoting cooperation between all countries of the continent. However, incitement of anti-communism and anti-Sovietism, imperialist ideological and political subversion against the socialist states and against the cohesion of the Communist and workers' movement are hampering united action. The enemies of peace can be rebuffed and the obstacles towards collective security cleared by rallying broad mass support. As the 1969 International Meet-

ing of Communist and Workers' Parties emphasized, 'mass action against imperialism is a condition for implementing the policy of peaceful coexistence.'

Definite successes have been scored in the conference campaign. Progress has been made in agreeing on certain practical problems, notably its agenda and composition. However, the peace

forces must exert stronger pressure to assure its convocation. There must be more cooperation on an international scale of all organizations, trends and groups favoring the creation of a collective security system and the development of peaceful cooperation in Europe.

M. Vire-Tuominen

World fireman

Commentaries on the utterances of emperors, generals and other prominent men were very popular in ancient times. We wish to revive this unduly forgotten genre by trying it, to begin with, on an interview with President Nixon by C. L. Sulzberger, foreign affairs columnist of the *New York Times*. Among the President's numerous interviews this one is conspicuous for its outspoken manner and its bold attempt to assess the interviewee's own place in history.

1. 'I would strongly commend to you my second foreign policy report, which I think you should read carefully. I have noticed in some quarters a tendency to discuss this matter sneeringly or condescendingly, saying there is nothing new in it.'

We cannot but sympathize with the President. Life is generally hard on innovators. Besides, in this case the innovator must also prove he is one.

2. 'But that isn't so. It sets forth new policy directions and outlines the goals we hope to

achieve – the goals not only for this administration but for subsequent administrations.'

Mr. Nixon is anxious to provide his successors with foreign policy goals but he forgets that they, in turn, will want to make a name for themselves as innovators and original policy-makers. President Truman, for instance, advocated a 'Fair Deal,' President Kennedy 'New Frontiers' and President Johnson a 'Great Society.' Why should subsequent Presidents be any worse?

3. 'However, everything you see there is a new philosophy of United States policy. It is the most complete and accurate description of the Nixon Doctrine. This doctrine is designed for the specific purpose of maintaining a U.S. policy role in the world rather than a withdrawal from the world and international responsibilities.'

First of all, please note the accuracy of the terminology. The President does not speak of 'my doctrine' but of the 'Nixon

Doctrine' to stress that it is no longer his alone but has become the patrimony of history.

This specification of the substance of the doctrine is most valuable. In an effort to put on the 'Guam Doctrine' as good a face as possible, some U.S. commentators have so far interpreted it in the sense that the United States was gradually pulling out, leaving it to the Vietnamese to fight the Vietnamese, the Asians to fight the Asians, etc. But the White House must have begun to fear that people might think the U.S. was going to leave Asian affairs to the Asians. So never mind the good face, let people rather know the U.S. isn't going to give up its political role (any more than its economic positions).

Really, there was no point in letting on. The idea would have crossed nobody's mind, anyway.

4. 'The irony today, for those who look at the Washington scene, is that the great internationalists of the post-World War II period have become the neo-isolationists of the Vietnam war period and especially of the period accompanying the ending of that war. And it is ending.'

The reader must have been shocked by the application of the term 'internationalists,' and 'great' ones at that, to cold warriors. But it isn't the words that matter. The statement is representative of the rhetoric which helps the President solve at once three problems: flattering his opponents (which can never do any harm), criticizing them (something not easy to dispense with), and most important of all, creating, in passing, a peacemaker image for the electorate.

5. '. . . Americans, like all idealists, are very impatient people. They feel that if a good thing is going to happen it should happen instantly.'

Why Americans - obviously unlike other nations - are idealists is a secret open to none but God and Mr. Nixon. Otherwise this passage is reminiscent of the family scene in which Father, a good soul, says to his impatient children asking for, say, ice-cream. 'Just wait, I may yet have an election surprise for you.'

6. 'I rate myself as a deeply committed pacifist, perhaps because of my Quaker heritage from my mother.'

One more point for genetics. It appears that people can inherit love or peace or, on the contrary, a warlike disposition by means of coded information. We wonder what the President has inherited from his father.

7. 'I know that some national leaders and some countries want to expand by conquest and are committed to expansion. . . .'

Let future historians for whom this cryptic remark might be too much know that here the President is alluding tactfully to the United States.

8. '. . . I am deeply devoted to a desire that the United States should make the greatest possible contribution it can make to developing such a peaceful world.'

Why not make it then?

9. 'Of course, we had our own period of colonial expansion as typified by Theodore Roosevelt and the idea of manifest destiny. But that period is fortunately gone.'

It is clear now why the United

States dealt with the Philippines so brutally and why it tore off a chunk of Mexican territory: it was guided by Providence.

10. 'Since then this country has fought in four wars which we didn't start, and really what they have in common is the effort to bring about a better chance for a peaceful world.'

A very effective way of fighting for peace. However, one had better not abuse it or there will be nothing left to fight for.

11. 'For a time, perhaps, we would be seen as a kind of hero. But soon it would be seen that we had left behind a legacy of even greater dangers for Southeast Asia and for the Pacific region.'

Mr. Nixon is here explaining why the United States cannot get out of Indochina. Something must have gone wrong with his sense of humor if he really expects beaten aggressors to be wreathed with laurels just for admitting defeat and going home.

12. 'We had fought four wars, selflessly and for no gain.'

A specimen of American idealism. The President simply writes off such trifles as the tens of billions of dollars made by the U.S. monopolies.

13. 'And we found ourselves committed in Vietnam, in a war where there are no heroes, only goats. Our people became sick of Vietnam and supported our men there only in order to get them out. . . .'

There are heroes in Vietnam – the men and women who are beating the invaders. And it's very true that the American people are sick of the war.

14. 'In fact, I seriously doubt if we will ever have another war. This is probably the very last one.'

We, too, have serious doubts – about whether U.S. imperialism will ever renounce 'great internationalism.' But even granting that the President's incantation is utopian, we must acknowledge its value, for Washington seems to be learning some of the lessons of the Vietnam venture.

15. '. . . When Mrs. Meir, the Israeli Prime Minister, visited me, she understood me right away when I said that if America winds up the war in Vietnam in failure and an image is developed that the war was fought only by stupid scoundrels, there would be a wave of isolationism. This would embrace the U.S. role everywhere – including the Middle East. Mrs. Meir saw the point immediately.'

A touching instance of mutual understanding between two leaders – birds of a feather flock together, don't they? But, really, Mr. Nixon is wrong in admiring his visitor's perspicacity. All other inhabitants of the planet see the connection between the aggression in Vietnam and the aggression in the Middle East, which spring from one source, imperialism. As for the tag pinned on the interventionists, it could not have been more apt.

16. 'As I stated in first explaining the Nixon Doctrine, our idea is to create a situation in which those lands to which we have obligations or in which we have interests, if they are ready to fight a fire, should be able to count on us to furnish the hose and water.'

From now on everybody will please call U.S. imperialism the 'world fireman' and not the 'world policeman.' Everything else is unchanged, for revolutions, liberation movements, the struggle for democracy – all the things that endanger capital in one way or another – are said to be 'fires.'

And let it be noted that Mr. Nixon is too modest to mention the fact that, in addition to 'the hose and water,' the United States provides its own 'fire brigade,' as President Kennedy once said.

17. 'My very hardest job is to give out posthumous Medals of Honor.'

We sympathize with the President, but above all with the families of the dead, to whom the Medals bring very little consolation.

18. 'Frankly, I have far more confidence in our people than in the Establishment.'

Hardly anybody will expect the Establishment to take offence at this statement. The Establishment is laughing up its sleeve because it knows that the best way of flirting with the people is to call the ruling group names. It was Machiavelli who first offered this kind of advice to sovereigns.

We were finishing our commentary when the press carried the text of the President's Newport address. It was hard to resist the temptation to comment on two passages of that address.

'Our power has always been used for building the peace, never for breaking it – for defending freedom, never for destroying it.'

Cases in point: the intervention in Guatemala, police operations in Panama and the Dominican Republic, provocations against Cuba, support for the Israeli aggression against the Arab countries, 'defending' 'peace' and 'freedom' in Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia, and so on and so forth.

NOTE. The United States has fought over 150 wars to date. Except for the War of Independence and America's participation in the anti-Hitler coalition, those were unjust, predatory, imperialist wars.

'However it may come, it is certain that peace and the greedy ambitions of governments cannot survive in the same world. But I believe it is the ambition of governments that is going to fail, because the people want peace.'

Very true.

G. Sakh

Against monopoly plans

Last February nine political organizations of Scandinavia met at a seminar in Goteborg devoted

to the campaign against plans to bring the Scandinavian countries into the Common Market.

The seminar brought together leading spokesmen of the Communist parties of Denmark, Norway, Finland and Sweden, the Democratic Union of the Finnish People, the Socialist People's Parties of Denmark and Norway, the Social-Democratic Workers' and Small Holders' Union of Finland and the Left Socialists of Denmark.

It so happened that the seminar took place in days charged with tension all over Scandinavia. Sweden was going through its worst labor conflict since 1945, Finland was hit by the biggest strike since 1956, the Norwegian bourgeois government coalition, rent by discord over the attitude to the Common Market, was tottering (it fell in March). But while the coincidence of these events may have been accidental, their causes were not.

Scandinavian 'prosperity' is waning, social antagonisms are growing and the struggles over the ways of economic and political development are more intense. Certain advantages which the Scandinavian countries possessed and had had to maintain with great effort in the world market are either gone or disappearing. Capitalism's room for economic, social and political maneuver is shrinking. Rationalization and scientific and technological progress under state-monopoly capitalism are telling on the working people ever more strongly. The masses firmly resist capitalist attempts to integrate the labor movement and bring the numerous mass organizations under its sway.

There is a direct link between these developments and the

Scandinavian bourgeoisie's efforts to join the Common Market. The monopolies of Northern Europe know that the EEC would provide them with new means of bolstering their economic and political positions and of integrating themselves into the military-monopoly machinery of NATO in still greater measure so as better to hold their own against the working class.

When, ten years ago, the issue of joining the EEC first came up those in favor of membership referred above all to economic 'benefits.' The emphasis has shifted since then. These 'benefits' are still mentioned, but the stress today is on the political aspects of the matter. 'One Europe,' 'Democratic Europe' and 'Peoples' Europe' are some of the signboards displayed by the EEC these days. As for the Social-Democratic press, it has gone so far as to put up a 'Socialist Europe' signboard.

Dealing with the situation created by monopoly plans to seek admission to the EEC, many speakers at the seminar pointed out that the Scandinavian economy is doing quite well without the Common Market and is, in fact, strengthening its positions. EEC membership would result in disrupting traditional economic structures and bring on socio-political upheavals. Should Britain, the biggest trading partner of the Scandinavian countries, join the EEC, these countries could make up for resultant losses in more than one way. Economists have a strong case against membership.

By exposing attempts of the

big bourgeoisie to draw the Scandinavian countries into the Common Market, Communists and other progressives show that by associating themselves with imperialist economic and military blocs small countries would jeopardize their democratic institutions and encourage militarism and curbs on the gains of the labor movement. The Goteborg seminar stressed that entry into the Common Market would lead to renouncing important aspects of the Scandinavian countries' present systems of social maintenance, unemployment relief and medical care.

The tactic of the Social-Democratic leaders who advocate EEC membership is revealing. Alleging that entry into the Common Market would promote 'the struggle for socialism,' they describe the issue as a 'family

matter' of the Social Democrats. On this ground they want the settlement of 'family relations' to be put off until government delegates have completed their talks with EEC agencies. However, their attempts to delay a solution of the problem until those in power have predetermined it fell through.

Resistance to EEC membership is growing in Scandinavia. National centers grouping trade unions and other mass organizations, as well as individuals are springing up. One of these centers, the People's Movement Against Norwegian Membership of the Common Market, has over 35,000 members.

The Goteborg seminar was indicative of the trend towards cooperation in the fight for national independence, against international capital.

Goteborg-Prague *H. Pirogov*



Dominican patriots are not alone

Assassinating patriots has become a common practice in the Dominican Republic. It is done by organizations taking their cue from the Dominican secret service and the CIA. Acts of terrorism are committed against both revolutionaries and democratic-minded citizens. The number of political prisoners is growing. They are maltreated and tortured. Every popular action is labelled as 'subversion.'

Last December the Dominican Communist Party published data showing that President Joaquin Balaguer carries on from where Trujillo left off.

This prospective dictator said in a radio and television address last March that unless the general strike in San Francisco de Macuris was stopped he would use force. He described the protest strike against police repression as 'proof of the danger which Communist ideas spell for the country.'

On the same occasion Balaguer told his audience that he was sitting on a 'powder keg.' 'If it blew up,' he said, anticipating - not groundlessly - an outburst of popular anger, 'other people would get hurt too; the devastat-

ing explosion would rock the whole country.'

A widespread democratic process set in with the fall of the Trujillo dictatorship (1930-1961). In 1965 it took the unmistakable form of a national liberation movement. To crush it, the U.S. government in April 1965 landed about 40,000 Marines and paratroopers in Santo Domingo.

The situation in the country today is a direct result of the U.S. aggression. Balaguer, a puppet, became President through elections falsified by the home oligarchy and reaction.

David Fairchild, American ex-employee of the Agency for International Development, said last December that the U.S. government had a 'parallel government' in the Dominican Republic. Operating behind the scenes, this government controls the nation's economic plans, primarily those subsidized by the U.S. It guides the activities of CIA agents against popular forces, indoctrinates the personnel of the Dominican army and organizes terror.

However, the assassins operating with impunity in the Do-

minican Republic cannot stay in power for long. The situation abroad and at home is no longer what it was in the days of Trujillo the tyrant. The Dominican people are backed by the solidarity of the peoples of Latin America, especially Cuba, Chile, Peru and Bolivia. Their gains in the fight for national liberation help to lay bare the criminal activity of the U.S. imperialists and their underlings who are intent on checking the course of history by force, which they use in the Dominican Republic, Brazil, Haiti, Paraguay, Guatemala and elsewhere.

The Dominican government is

doing its utmost to conceal from world opinion the terrorism in the country. Whereas the democratic press is persecuted, the official press and the information agencies of U.S. imperialism spare no effort to misrepresent the internal situation. Their efforts have proved fruitless, however, for the truth comes out in various ways and the peoples of the world take prompt action — as during the U.S. intervention in 1965 — to back the Dominican people's courageous fight. There is no doubt that this fight will bring the Balaguer regime down as it brought down the Trujillo dictatorship. Arturo Rivera

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Before becoming a living reality for more than a third of the human race, communism traversed the road from a Utopia to a science. The generation now building communism and working towards the realization of its ideals cannot but display an interest in the history of scientific communism and in the immortal deeds of its predecessors, the great Utopians, men of keen mind and foresight. 'They looked,' Lenin wrote, 'in the direction in which development was in fact proceeding; they, indeed, were ahead of that development' (Coll. Works, Vol. 2, p. 245).

But no Utopia could give the proletariat a scientific theory for its class struggle or formulate the laws governing the building of communism. The Communist movement is helped in coping with its tasks by the experience of the working class and its ideologists in overcoming the Utopians' notions of the future society. Study of that experience is essential for successful, theoretically substantiated struggle against those who seek to falsify the history of scientific communism.

With this article by the GDR historian Seidel-Hoeppner, on Wilhelm Weitling, the Utopian socialist thinker whose hundredth death anniversary is being observed this year, we begin a new series, 'From the History of Socialist Thought.'

Wilhelm Weitling

Waltraut Seidel-Höppner

In Wilhelm Weitling the German labor movement pays homage to a courageous and dedicated fighter and to an eminent

theoretician of Utopian communism.

Weitling's name is intimately associated with the beginnings

of the German labor movement and the first decade of its development. A journeyman-tailor, he shared the fate of many artisans turned proletarians. In the early 1830s he wandered through Germany and Austria, and in 1835 came to Paris, where he found kindred minds in the League of the Persecuted, a secret petty-bourgeois democratic organization of German emigres.

In those years, Paris was the revolutionary center of Europe. In the Lyons risings of 1831 and 1834 the French proletariat waged its first class battles against capital, and it was already uniting to fight the bourgeois system, which in Germany was only just taking shape and form.

For the pioneer German proletarian fighters Paris was a school of revolution. And the lessons drawn from it accelerated the process of ideological and political maturity, giving the German workers a closer understanding of the class limitations of bourgeois and petty-bourgeois political and social reform programs. In the Babouvist Communist ideas they saw an anticipation of their own criticism of the exploiter system and of their own vision of the future world, free of poverty and exploitation. Practically simultaneously with their French and British brothers, the German workers pioneered the first class movement, though Germany was only on the threshold of the industrial revolution and the tasks of the bourgeois democratic revolution had still to be accomplished.

For nearly a decade, these artisans being turned into proletarians were the ideological and political vanguard of the

German proletariat. In the words of Engels, this enabled them, 'though not yet real proletarians,' 'instinctively to anticipate their future development and constitute themselves, though not fully consciously, as a proletarian party.' Of course, the movement was still at its rudimentary stage, and the struggle was further complicated by Germany's economic and political backwardness. The absence of a strong industrial proletariat, forced emigration and clandestine activity, all tended to limit the theoretical vision of these German revolutionaries and to reduce their sphere of practical activity.

In 1836-38 the proletarian element in the League of the Persecuted parted company with its petty bourgeois fellow-travellers. The organization of the League of the Just signified the emergence of a politically independent Communist movement of the German proletariat. Weitling was among those who helped bring it into being. In his 1838 pamphlet, 'Mankind, What It Is and What It Should Be,' he formulated the first revolutionary communist program of the German workers. This was a manifesto of German working-class communism, a testimonial to the author's political foresight and theoretical consistency, qualities expressive of the superiority of proletarian thought over all bourgeois theories. In a world in which private property, money and indolence were synonymous with happiness, Weitling proclaimed the abolition of all this as the only real path to a brighter future for mankind. Ten years before

the Communist Manifesto, he oriented the German proletariat on communism as the only organization of society that would guarantee the working people access to all the wealth they created.

The Utopia of a world without poverty and oppressive labor was quite natural at the early stage of the workers' movement (due to the immaturity of capitalism and the inadequate theoretical knowledge of the movement's leaders). But this should not detract from the revolutionary appeal and potency of the Utopian ideas. For now the workers had an aim to fight for. The political sharpness and theoretical consistency with which this early workers' communism opposed all eclectic bourgeois and petty-bourgeois doctrines was truly remarkable: 'We have no trust in reforms, which some hope to introduce with the help of capital, just as we lay no trust in the capitalists — neither can produce any good; it can only set more traps. . . . If we make the big fortunes smaller, then, morally, we shall do more harm than good, for we shall infect several thousand people with the usurer spirit. . . .'

Many of Weitling's postulates, based on the experience gained in this pioneering period of proletarian struggle, still have their significance today. He persistently warned not to expect the emergence of a new social system through amicable agreement with the powers that be: 'Don't think that you will get anything good from your enemies through agreement: your only hope is your sword. Every agreement with them is to your dis-

advantage.' Weitling was the first to tell the German workers that the communist system they longed for could only be won through their own efforts.

In 1841 Weitling went to Switzerland to unite the German workers around the communist banner. In Switzerland he began publication of the first German workers' printed journal, *The Young Generation*, which was smuggled to the Paris and London sections of the League of the Just and some copies found their way into Germany.

In its pages, the 'oppressed and humiliated pariahs of the earth,' who at best could count only on condescending sympathy, were proclaimed the makers of all the world's values, men and women strong in their convictions and in the goals they were fighting for. For the first time they were urged to come out in determined combat, shoulder to shoulder with their class brothers of other countries, for a world without suffering and vileness. In the editorial he wrote for the first issue, Weitling stated, clearly and categorically, that the German workers were politically mature and demanded power: 'We, too, want to have our say in the public discussion of mankind's suffering and happiness, because we, the men in working clothes, are the most numerous, the most useful and strong, but the least respected.'

Weitling focussed the attention of the 'wretched of the earth' on the two cardinal requirements of their liberation struggle—organization and class consciousness. 'You are the overwhelming majority,' he declared,

'and it now only remains for you to understand each other and agree.'

Organizing travelling journeymen was not easy, especially considering the fluctuation of labor power. But Weitling was able to combine illegal with legal work and bring the more revolutionary-minded members of choral, gymnastics and cultural societies into his clandestine Communist league.

There is no overestimating the effort put into these cultural undertakings of the early proletarian movement, the energy needed to break through the education privileges of the ruling classes. After a 14-16 hour day, workers would attend lectures or discuss philosophy and politics. Marx, when he first learned of the movement in 1844, had only high praise for the workers' thirst for knowledge, their energy and determination.

In 1842 Weitling completed what was to become his main and best known work, 'Guarantees of Harmony and Freedom.' In it, he essayed a systematic exposition of the communist world outlook and outlined the principal features of the future society. Like other precursors of scientific communism, he could not rise to an understanding of the laws of social development and the motive forces of history. He condemned the exploiter society simply as contrary to human nature, reason and justice, and urged its replacement by a rational and just society. But writing from proletarian positions, Weitling was able to grasp the fundamental evil of his age and to expose it

more sharply and deeply than any of the liberal and petty-bourgeois ideologists of his time. Weitling maintained that the guarantees of social well-being and harmony, both for society and each of its members, of a flourishing science and art, of man's physical and spiritual perfection, lie not in the privilege of property, but in public ownership and equal social opportunities.

Ignorance of the laws of history prevented Weitling from appreciating the historical inevitability of Germany's capitalist development. He even believed that capitalism could be bypassed and warned the German workers against repeating the bitter experience of their English and French comrades. Weitling belonged to the extreme wing of the anti-feudal opposition and trenchantly fought, from a working man's position, all the medieval survivals of feudalism - clericalism, which made 'eternal bliss in the Hereafter' conditional on 'renunciation of earthly joys,' and the religious dogmas that served as an ideological veil of privilege for the few. To the liberal criticism of religion by the Young Hegelians and its democratic criticism by Feuerbach, he added his communist interpretation of the Bible, 'The Poor Sinner's Gospel,' for which he was sent to prison in 1843.

Weitling exposed the class character of liberalism, proving that its individualistic social ideal contained nothing promising for the workingman. This liberal ideal of freely competing private property, he said, only perpetuates anarchy and exploi-

tation. What the working masses need, he emphasized, is a system of socially planned production. Private property, he declared, is a cancerous growth, its symptoms being the division into poor and rich, masters and slaves, social insecurity, denial of political rights and education to the propertyless. From this follow all its immoral attributes – envy, avarice, crime, enmity among nations and war, 'that most horrible monster which reduces man to a level lower than beast.'

Weitling did not find in the program of the petty-bourgeois democrats social guarantees of freedom, equality and fraternity. He wrote: 'You will doubtlessly accomplish much by proclaiming freedom and equality, demolishing thrones, getting rid of the nobility and the priests, abolishing standing armies and taxing the rich, but you will not assure humanity happiness. If our cause is to triumph, we must go beyond all that.'

Weitling considered communism the supreme expression of democracy, the realization of its genuine essence. He had scant use for petty-bourgeois reliance on parliamentary forms. Government by the people could be based only on public property and equal social opportunities to develop one's abilities and to satisfy one's needs.

This pioneering stage of the German labor movement was clearly internationalist and sharply critical of bourgeois nationalism. And Weitling eloquently demonstrated the primacy of class antagonisms over national contradictions, exposing the selfish interests of the

ruling element, masked by the hypocritical slogan as 'defense of the fatherland.' In contrast to this, Weitling called for international worker solidarity in the fight against national exploiters and oppressors. Six years before the Communist Manifesto he proclaimed: The workers have no fatherland, it exists only for the propertied classes; the poor have nothing of which an external foe can deprive them; they have already been deprived of everything by the internal foe. The poor must therefore unite under the battle standard of all humanity. 'We have no fatherland,' Weitling said. 'We will acquire one only when society is equally concerned for the material well-being of all its members.' Such a fatherland 'will deserve to be defended at the price of one's blood and life.'

Marx described Weitling's writings as brilliant, contrasting to the thinking of the bourgeois intellectual elite the spiritual and political potentialities of the proletariat. He wrote in 1844: 'Where could the (German) bourgeoisie – including its philosophers and learned scribes – point to a work relating to the emancipation of the bourgeoisie – its political emancipation – comparable to Weitling's 'Guarantees of Harmony and Freedom'? If one compares the drab mealy-mouthed mediocrity of German political literature with this immeasurable and brilliant debut of the German workers, if one compares these gigantic children's shoes of the proletariat with the dwarf proportions of the worn-out political shoes of the bourgeoisie, one must

prophecy an athlete's figure for his Cinderella.'

Weitling's peculiar understanding of the communist re-fashioning of the world doubtlessly helped the young workers' movement break out of bourgeois tutelage. But it was only Marx and Engels, by discovering the laws of capitalist development, who armed the proletariat with the strategy and tactics of victorious revolutionary struggle. In the second half of the 1840s the movement grew out of its 'children's shoes' and turned to scientific communism.

Weitling could not rise to the level of Marx and Engels. His appeals for revolution disregarded the real alignment of forces and ignored the objective laws of the revolutionary movement.

For Weitling the revolution was a spontaneous rising, and the working-class struggle for political rights and better conditions under the existing system an undesirable and negative phenomenon. His break with the founders of scientific communism was inevitable.

In 1846 he emigrated to America where he sought to continue his theoretical and practical work. Three days before his death he could be seen at a public meeting in New York organized by some sections of the First International. And at this meeting, for the last time, he saw the triumph and strength of the international proletarian solidarity for which he had fought all his life.

WANTED -- BACK ISSUES

Following back issues of WMR are required:

October 1958 Vol. 1 No. 2

February 1965 Vol. 8 No. 2

December 1958 Vol. 1 No. 4

April 1966 Vol. 9 No. 4

January 1964 Vol. 7 No. 1

June 1969 Vol. 12 No. 6

January 1970 Vol. 13 No. 1

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BRITAIN

This year, 1971, will see the 50th anniversary of the foundation of *Labour Monthly*, journal of the Communist Party of Great Britain. *Labour Monthly* upholds a consistent editorial line of adherence to the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

Contributors during these 50 years have included such representative figures as Clara Zetkin, George Lansbury, Pollit, Laski and Brockway in the labor movement; Tom Mann and A. J. Cook, two of the best leaders in the trade unions and the factories; Nehru, Gandhi and Cheddi Jagan in the international field; Bernard Shaw, Barbusse, H. G. Wells, Compton Mackenzie and James Aldridge in the literary field; Bernal and J. B. S. Haldane in the field of science; Rutland Boughton and Alan Bush in the field of music.

The editorial responsibility throughout these 50 years has been continuously in the hands of R. Palme Dutt – who this year will be celebrating his 75th birthday – as Editor and R. Page Arnot as Associate Editor, who have cooperated in the produc-

tion of every issue from the first number to the present.

Ever since February the journal has included a record of its history and role. A. F. Papworth

IRELAND

The Communist Party of Ireland is growing and has lately set up branches in nine districts of Dublin and vicinity. Two branches have their own periodicals. Young Communists help to strengthen the organization and carry on propaganda in their neighborhoods.

CUBA

A new law has been enacted proclaiming labor a sacred civil right. It obligates all able-bodied persons – men between 17 and 60 years of age and women between 17 and 55 – to work in the national economy. The purpose of the law is to combat elements that take an anti-social stand on labor, refuse to work or are chronically absent from work. These persons will be re-proved or punished by being sent to a factory to work under the supervision of workers' teams. They may also be imprisoned for a term of up to two years. This measure will be applied to inveterate loafers only. The emphasis will be on correction and re-education.

The law was passed after a country-wide discussion involving over three million people. About 75,000 Cubans have applied for permanent jobs in recent months.

These measures are very important for Cuba, where there

is an acute shortage of labor power in many branches of the economy.

SOVIET UNION

The cc CPSU has decided on measures to improve the functioning of district and town Soviets of Working People's Deputies.

The Soviets are expected to prepare and carry out steps to improve the operation of local industries, specifically the service industry, schools, hospitals, nurseries and kindergartens, clubs, cinemas, shops and public catering establishments. Enterprises and institutions providing diverse services for the population are to be put under the control of district or town authorities.

The practice of referring important problems of the districts and towns to the working people for discussion is to be extended.

In line with the cc CPSU decision, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR discussed measures for extending the powers of local Soviets and issued decrees on the fundamental powers and duties of district and town Soviets. The Council of Ministers of the USSR decided on strengthening them materially and financially. The executive committees of local Soviets will be allotted part of the profits of the service industry and other local industries, as well as of enterprises under republican or regional (territorial) jurisdiction. They will also be entitled to a percentage of the turnover tax in the case of consumer goods pro-

duced above plan by enterprises under republican or local control.

CHILE

The cc of the Communist Party of Chile met last March to analyze developments since the new government took office. Victor Diaz, member of the Political Commission of the cc, spoke of the Party's main tasks. He pointed out that progress made in the people's standard of life and in mother and child care and spoke highly of the steps taken to provide young people new opportunities to study and progressive intellectuals more scope for creative work, also easy-term credits to small and medium producers.

The meeting discussed tasks in the fight for the nationalization of the copper mines and the banks and for the agrarian reforms. The government has struck a telling blow at the financial oligarchy by its plan to nationalize all private banks shortly. This would make large funds available for industrial and agricultural development.

In the course of the agrarian reform, 250 new cooperatives have been set up and over 200 latifundias have been expropriated. The meeting emphatically condemned anarchic forms of struggle and stressed the importance of peasant councils, constituted on democratic lines. The fight in the countryside is going on against the big landed proprietors and not the small and medium landowners.

The Rightists and the reactionary wing of the Christian Democratic Party openly resist pro-

gressive reforms and try to form an anti-popular front. The Communist Party holds that the working class bears the greatest responsibility for the implementation of the policies of the present government. Its leading role expressed itself in the setting up of production committees in the enterprises.

Luis Corvalan, General Secretary of the Party, said at the meeting that the CP of Chile is one of the ruling parties. This confronts the Communists with new tasks, particularly in economic management. The speaker advocated studying economic problems in Party schools and classes.
J. Texier

DIARY

Visiting the Prague editorial offices of *Problems of Peace and Socialism*, Comrade Gus Hall, CP USA General Secretary, addressed the Editorial Council and staff of this journal, providing a deep-going survey of the U.S. political scene, touching on U.S. foreign policy, especially with regard to the Indochina aggression, and outlining the tasks facing his Party.

The main accent was on the 'new generation of mass organizations and mass movements.' Comrade Hall spoke in detail of the nationally-coordinated rank-and-file working-class movement emerging as a challenge to the reactionary AFL-CIO leadership and showed that the now growing welfare rights movement has become a part of the massive anti-war movement, fusing with it by virtue of 'a coming together of the war and its economic effects.' Two essentially new movements have been rising of late: that of Vietnam war veterans and of students surmounting the anarchistic trends of the Students for a Democratic Society organization and the bourgeois orientation of the National Students' Associa-

tion. The speaker noted that the mass movement for the freedom of Angela Davis has gained unbelievable scope.

In recent months, Comrade Hall said, a broad people's coalition, For Peace and Justice, has emerged on the national scene, including forces active in the anti-war struggle, the democratic and trade union movements, and movements for the rights of national minorities. The speaker stressed that the CP USA, officially included in the top committee of the coalition, has become an important factor in the various mass movements.

Comrade Hall spoke highly of the journal, *Problems of Peace and Socialism*, and called on it to carry on the battle against opportunism.

Speaking before the Editorial Council of our journal, Comrade Guillermo Garcia Ponce, Member of the Political Bureau of the Communist Party of Venezuela, described the mounting struggle against U.S. monopoly domination in his country. The CPV, which only recently came up from the underground, has joined other democratic forces in the emergent Popular Front. A tense ideological struggle was

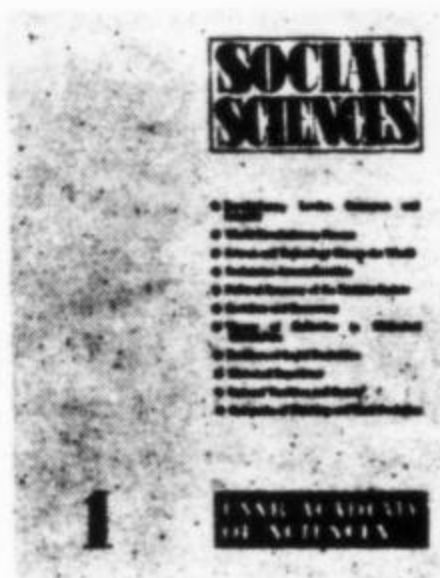
fought against renegades who had stepped forward with revisionist attacks on Marxist-Leninist theory, on the practice of the socialist countries and the world Communist movement.

Comrade Ponce thanked fraternal representatives on the journal for the moral support rendered by their parties to the Venezuelan Communists' arduous struggle that culminated in complete defeat for the splitters.

In Helsinki, V. Pessi, Central Committee Secretary of the Communist Party of Finland, other Central Committee functionaries, editors of *Kommunisti* and young Finnish readers met a representative of *Problems of Peace and Socialism*, who told them of the journal's work and plans; the audience offered concrete suggestions as to its subject matter, stressing the importance of articles answering to the needs of its young readers.

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NEW IMPERIALIST MANEUVER

Dear friends,

The bourgeois ultras of Colombia and Venezuela, closely linked with U.S. monopolies, have lately been fomenting a militarist campaign that threatens to resolve itself into an armed conflict between the two countries. The pretext used is the long-standing border dispute over the continental shelf and territorial waters in the Gulf of Venezuela. Negotiations between the two governments have so far failed.

The border area in question is very rich in oil, estimated at 14 billion barrels. The big bourgeoisie of both countries is whipping up chauvinist sentiment to sow the seeds of hatred between our nations, who have a record of joint struggles against foreign oppressors and are linked by fraternal bonds.

On July 24, 1970 the Communist parties of Colombia and Venezuela said in a joint statement wholeheartedly approved by the people that 'the real background of the conflict is the mounting greed of imperialist companies disputing control of the Gulf oil deposits and the in-

terest which the reactionary camarillas of both countries have in distracting public attention from acute internal conflicts and in making profit on the arms purchases and troop mobilizations entailed by these situations.'

Last January the two brother parties again exposed the imperialists' maneuver. The Communists realize that a war, as well as causing inevitable loss of life and material damage, would allow imperialism greater freedom of action against the expanding anti-monopoly and anti-feudal movement on the Latin American continent.

The masses in both countries are stepping up their fight for domestic control of natural resources, in particular oil—a requisite of economic independence. The term of most of the oil concessions granted by Venezuela to foreign companies is due to expire in 1983 and 1984. In 1981 these companies will have to relinquish one of the most important concessions in Colombia, on the border with Venezuela. Relevant agreements provide for the restitution of the oil fields with all installations.

It is the oil companies entrenched in both countries long ago that are building up tension. They use various stratagems to retain their privileges and to secure new agreements with those who are willing to sign them for the benefit of the imperialists.

Characteristically, the border dispute is being fanned in a spirit of aggressive intransigence at a time when the fight against imperialism in Latin America is producing tangible

results and when the reactionary governments clinging to power with the aid of international oil companies find themselves in increasing isolation.

'The national interests of Colombia and Venezuela are neither contradictory nor mutually exclusive,' the two Communist parties point out in their joint statement. 'They can and must be coordinated.' This firm conviction of the Communists of both countries is shared by the masses. Those who play with fire by staging provocations and trying to goad the two states into an armed conflict forget that in both countries there are forces prepared to counter this policy in the most diverse forms. Protest against the intrigues of home reaction and imperialism is growing among various sections of society. It found vivid expression in a statement of the Working People of Colombia and the Working People's Unitary Center of Venezuela opposing the campaign to torpedo talks on a mutually acceptable solution.

It is hardly necessary to stress that the working people of the two countries have common interests. Their chief common enemy is the U.S. monopolies

and their local partners. The fundamental interests of the Colombian and Venezuelan working class are identical. In both countries the peasants are fighting against big landownership, a source of poverty and backwardness for the bulk of the rural population. The so-called middle strata are equally exploited in Colombia and Venezuela. Mounting unemployment is a problem in both republics. The masses realize that the only way to eliminate these evils is to promote unity and exercise proletarian internationalism.

Simon Bolivar called our peoples 'brothers.' This brotherhood, forged in the trying years of struggle against Spanish colonialism and confirmed by a hundred and fifty years of common history, will never be forgotten to suit the interests of neo-colonialists. The peoples of Colombia and Venezuela will remain loyal to their tradition of friendship and solidarity. They will not allow themselves to be dragged into a fratricidal war, and will rise against any oppressor who tries to make money out of their blood.

Bogota. *Bonifacio Villamizar*



'DISCREET' ANTI-COMMUNISM

The author of this book* is an anti-Communist. Having set out to speculate on the changes that he thinks may occur in the world Communist movement 'during the next two or three decades,' he does not do his speculating in the narrow circle of experts predicting trends of the fight against communism but addresses the general reader. The underlying idea is simple enough: public opinion is being prepared for a future political reality, to be perceived from a definite standpoint.

The point of departure is as follows: 'If the system collapsed in Russia, the wound would probably be mortal for Communist governments everywhere . . . And the capacity of individual communist parties to survive, except as factions of declining significance, would be drastically impaired.' Although Crozier is free to propose but not to dispose, his propositions are typical. They reveal an essential postulate of long-range anti-Communist strategy, name-

ly, that since the Soviet Union is there the future of the Communist movement is dependably guaranteed and hence anti-Sovietism is the direction in which to strike the main blow.

The author casts about in vain for a force that could end the Soviet system by going to war against the CPSU 'and indeed against the Revolution that put the Party in power.' Absurd conjectures customary for bourgeois political thinking lead to conclusions offering little comfort to the author's fellow anti-Communists: 'One cannot see the KGB (sic) attempting to restore capitalism': 'a coup d'état by the Army is . . . unlikely to succeed'; it is just as unlikely that the 'Western liberals' hope of a peaceful evolution of socialism in a capitalist direction would materialize, any more than the Leftist groups' hope of an anti-socialist 'popular revolution.' Therefore, the author concludes, 'the prospect is a gloomy one . . . The Soviet power base of world communism is intact . . .' It will be seen that 'Kremlinologists' cherish wild ideas since they oppose the socialist state and its agencies to the Party. This brings out their complete ignorance of the nature of the socialist system. However, the admission that Soviet power cannot be expected to fall is significant.

Nor is the author happy about the prospect of anti-communism elsewhere in the world. The 'socialist commonwealth,' he writes, 'stands as a huge and apparently changeless patch on the world map.' A 'most dangerous situation' is developing in Latin

*Brian Crozier, *The Future of Communist Power*. Eyre & Spottiswoode, London 1970. 247 pp.

America and a number of West European countries, not to speak of Southeast Asia, where a 'geographical advance' of socialism is likely. The overall forecast leaves no room for doubt: 'It is going to be a long war. Any thought of a quick victory, any hope of the imminent collapse of the communist power system . . . must on the evidence be ruled out . . . This does not, on the other hand, imply a rapid extension of the system in the next few years,' although its possibility should not be dismissed everywhere, he adds. It would seem that the author, having despaired of a speedy victory, still hopes for 'a long war,' and for an outcome that would benefit imperialism.

We are in the presence of a remarkable ideological phenomenon. It shows the unique forms that the crisis in the anti-communist camp takes. While some lessons of history are not lost on even anti-Communists, these people are slow to shed their illusions. Anti-Communists realize already that things are going from bad to worse, but they refuse to admit that to lose the *foreseeable* future means losing the future in general. They persist, if without their usual optimism, in counting on epigonic forms of Marxism—Right and 'Left'-wing revisionism—and, needless to say, on brute force.

The author's chief concern is not, of course, to tell the world about the dismal prospects of the advocates of capitalism. What he is preoccupied with is the spread in the West of what he regards as flippant opinions of communism. The fact is that

today, in the early seventies, anti-Communists are up against a new and unexpected ideological roadblock which Crozier describes as the 'liberal conventional wisdom about communism.' This prompts them to try a new tactic by starting a dialogue with liberals to win their support.

There is no need to arbitrate the author's duel with liberal ideas. Duels of this kind are proof of the deepening crisis of anti-communism. Indeed, some of these ideas negate anti-Communist dogmas that for years were taken on trust in the West. The liberals believe, according to the author, that the Communist movement is not an instrument of Soviet foreign policy and hence there is no reason to make anti-communism official policy; the cold war is over and the military blocs set up on the pretext of resisting alleged Communist aggression are pointless; Communism is an idea and one could not fight ideas with weapons.

Of course, liberals do not voice these views because they are sympathetic to communism. They are against communism. But while rejecting communism in their countries, they grant that it exists as a reality elsewhere in the world. At the same time they expect the Communist movement to go through a metamorphosis, to become 'liberal' or, on the contrary, to lose its appeal and cease to be a real problem in the West. They also hope that in the socialist countries 'national interests' will prevail over loyalty to Marxism. Liberal concepts betray crass ignorance of communism and,

furthermore, carry a definite anti-Communist message. The reason why Crozier attacks them is not that he does not appreciate that message but that he regards them as a bourgeois opposition to the most militant form of contemporary anti-communism, as a factor undermining it.

Crozier has, of course, nothing to oppose to liberal views but old lies about communism. World domination, which he describes as the 'favorite cliché of anti-communist organizations, has the disadvantage of sounding exaggerated, emotive or even hysterical.' Having made this bow to liberals, the author adds that 'the cliché – "world domination" – is, however, closer to the probable truth than any other two words I can think of. Let the Russians speak for themselves.' There follows a quotation from the Central Committee Report to the 23rd Party Congress saying that 'the CPSU, for its part, will do everything in its power to ensure that the world socialist system becomes ever more powerful and advances from victory to victory.' To present this passage in the Report as an indication of the Soviet Communists' bid for world domination is clearly 'exaggerated, emotive or even hysterical.'

Crozier sees two obstacles to the liberals' adoption of militant anti-communism. One is a growing prejudice against the ideology and policy of anti-communism. 'Among normal, decent . . . people' he comments, 'there is a certain prudishness, *pudeur*, about being thought to be "anti-

communist".' Worse still, liberals identify anti-communism with reaction, which, to them 'is a less tolerable prospect than coercive socialism.' And then there was McCarthy whose 'demagogic excesses' had helped to discredit anti-communism. The other obstacle is 'the remarkable success of the Communists in persuading many intellectuals that theirs is a movement of the Left and of "the people".'

Crozier's main objective is precisely to dissuade 'normal, decent people,' intellectuals who have gone astray. This explains why the *Times Literary Supplement* recommends his book as 'an anti-agitator's handbook.' Crozier calls for a 'discreet' anti-communism. He assures the reader that this crossbreed of alleged common sense and reactionary policy 'does not in any sense involve a witch-hunt or – except at times of grave emergency – a reduction of normal liberties.' However, its permanent characteristics are 'vigilance on the part of Western security services and counter-espionage systems,' treatment of any Communist party as a 'subversive organization,' denying Communists freedom of speech, especially in the case of the mass media, military aggressive blocs, reliance on force as the only means of overthrowing Communist governments, and so on.

In short, Crozier's 'discreet' anti-communism does not seem to differ much from McCarthy's hysterical police anti-communism. Yet there is a distinction between them, for on top of everything else 'unfanatical'

liberals are urged to flock 'to factories and universities' in order to campaign against Marxism-Leninism. 'If the long war is lost,' he writes in conclusion, 'it will be because such things are not done, or not done in time.' In other words, he specifies that anti-Communists are bound to lose the battle unless they succeed in extending their social base.

The book is an unquestionable symptom of the ideological ferment among anti-Communists caused by the gains of the world Communist movement. Adapting themselves to the conditions of the class struggle in the early 1970s, they seek close links with the liberal-minded groups

of bourgeois society. Donning a 'liberal' cloak is becoming the principal commandment of anti-Communist propaganda, which is trying hard to justify itself somehow in the eyes of public opinion. This goes hand in hand with attempts by people like Crozier to push the liberals to the Right, to talk them into adopting militant anti-communism. Of course, this new mimicry cannot avert the failure in store for the champions of reaction. But it should not be left without attention. To expose modern anti-communism in any guise is a requisite of progress in the peoples' fight against imperialism.

E. Yorgen

BOOKS IN BRIEF

Zapasy KSC ocima pametniku (Contemporaries About the History of the Czechoslovak CP). Praha, Svoboda, 1971. 352 pp.

For the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia revolutionary tradition is a splendid educational aid in its ideological work. This book of Communists' remembrances, put out for the 50th anniversary of the CPC, serves the purpose nicely. Veterans who had at different times been active in central, regional, and district Party branches, re-create its history as witnesses or participants.

They recall the impact of the October Revolution on the country's working-class and national-liberation movement - how the Communist Party came into being and how it fought the bour-

geoisie over issues relating to the development and future of the young Czechoslovak state. Of interest for all are the recollections of the Fifth CPC Congress (1929), highlighted by the slogan, 'from opportunist passivity to Bolshevik activity,' which played a highly salient role in the Party's history. The contributions show how the Party championed the vital interests and rights of the people, how it battled against the then burgeoning fascism, recapitulating the the Communists' underground struggle, the Nazi death camps, the Slovak 1944 national rising and the Prague rising of 1945. The last section contains accounts by participants in the February 1948 events. E. Paloncy

Ib NORLUND, *Lenin, og nutigen* (Lenin and the Present Time). Kobenhavn, Tiden, 1970. 57 pp.

Analyzing past experience in the Danish and international working-class movement, Ib Norlund, member of the Executive of the Communist Party of Denmark, shows in his pamphlet how Lenin's ideas are materializing in the present day. 'Those who want to understand the existing society, to obtain an idea of its future,' he writes, 'cannot but study Lenin's works.' While emphasizing the significance of Lenin's method, Norlund denies the attempts to reduce Marxism-Leninism to that method, which, the writer adds, 'is often done to cover up departures from some of its basic scientific propositions.'

The pamphlet centers on such problems as the class attitude of Communists, the content of the ideological struggle, the role of the Communist Party, the relation of reform to revolution, methods of struggle for working-class power, and the forms of the anti-monopoly movement. Also, it deals with issues relating to the international nature of the struggle for socialism. He rejects the idea that the imperialism of today is too weak for its broad offensive strategy to present a real danger. Despite the contradictions among imperialist states 'the imperialist world follows in the wake of, or at least does not obstruct, the "global strategy" of U.S. imperialism.' For this reason, the writer points out, it is particularly important to cement the unity of the world Communist movement.

E. Luan

Natsionalno-osvoboditelnoye dvizheniye v Indonezii (The National-Liberation Movement in

Indonesia). Moscow, Nauka, 1970. 296 pp.

This monograph, prepared by a group of Soviet researchers (editorial group: Academician A. A. Guber, head editor; A. B. Belenky, V. A. Zharov, Prof. R. A. Ulyanovsky), examines the history of one of the first national-liberation revolutions to break out after the Second World War, showing the forces behind it, the activity of parties and other important aspects of that tempestuous period in Indonesia. The phases of the Indonesian revolution, receiving thorough coverage in the book, are: the patriotic movement during the Japanese occupation, the August 1945 revolution and the struggle against imperialist aggression, the period of consolidating national independence, and the rise and fall of the 'directed democracy' regime. Internal developments are aligned with the international situation, showing the purport of the Indonesian national-liberation movement in the context of world politics and the basic difference between the Soviet attitude towards the country and that of the imperialist powers.

The study of the emergence of statehood, of its class substance, seems useful. The centralized power for which the progressive forces were fighting conflicted with the interests of imperialism and home reaction, for a unitarian republic offered the opportunity of following a national course in many crucial issues of home and foreign policy. The book touches on the complex relationship between the various units of the state

mechanism. A special study is made of the army. The writers trace the changes of its functions in the different stages of the national-liberation movement, the rise of reactionary tendencies which led up to the military - bureaucratic dictatorship.

The book helps understand the objective and subjective causes of the September 30, 1965, events. O. Henri

Demain, la politique. . . . Reflexions pour une autre société (Tomorrow, Politics. . . .). R. Burton, J. Offredo et les équipes d'Objectif 1972. Paris, Editions Denoël, 1970. 256 pp.

The book was published by the *Objectif 1972* group, formed in France in December 1966 to promote a coming together of the theoretical postures of different European social-democratic trends. The group consists, among others, of former members of the Federation of the Democratic and Socialist Left, the Unified Socialist Party and of members of several leftist clubs.

Here, in general terms, is how the writers explain the title: the atom bomb that burst over Hiroshima was the culmination point of the dominance of politics over science; the 'explosion of scientific discoveries' gradually compelled politics to concede primacy to science.

Will politics have any sense tomorrow? As the writers see it, the future society will differ

from the 'industrial' in substance, as well as form. They infer this from the contradictions of the modern 'liberal capitalist society.'

The substance of that 'other' society is set forth only vaguely, for the writers, who shy clear of a detailed exposition, confine themselves to declaring that it will be 'a genuine socialism enabling one and all to develop and use their biological faculties to the utmost on the economic, social and cultural planes.' It is suggested that the front of this new edifice should bear this inscription: 'Knowledge, Conscience, Imagination.'

The group's idea of science's primacy over politics is, however, typically reformist and utopian. The chapter on 'Ways and Means' suggests 'four principal directions' towards socialism: mobilizing minds on the European and world scale; constituting groups of scientists, politicians and trade unionists for joint study of society's future problems; cultivating 'isles of socialist thought' with the aid of trade unions, municipalities and other organizations, and political education. All four, in effect, have for their common denominator the idea of organizing diverse forms of educational work in the framework of capitalist society. The recipe reflects the impotence of the Social-Democrats, their inability to counterpose to Marxism-Leninism anything but a humble pleading with the bourgeoisie for 'concessions to socialism.'

I. Drouard

NEW BOOKS

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khelsen ug (Selected Articles and Speeches). Vol. 4, 1966-1970. Ulan Bator, 1971, 544 pp.

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